

POLITIC INDENTITY OF INDONESIA CASE STUDY OF BASUKI TJAJAJA PURNAMA (AHOK)

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Abstract

Democratization which upholds freedom is the foundation for every individual in actualizing himself, including in political matters. Individual freedom guaranteed by the constitution in Indonesia reflects the high popularity of this democratic system. However, this freedom ultimately clarifies the gap between identities (religion, ethnicity, language, gender, etc.) that exist in Indonesia, especially with regard to national political issues. Issues of religion and nationalism are two identities currently being debated in Indonesia. The polemic of identity politics is increasingly tapering to the point where truth claims emerge that one interest group is better than another. This interest affair then began to divide the nation which previously upheld differences. This article aims to find out the reality of identity politics in Indonesia today, focusing on two identity groups, namely religious groups and nationalist groups as a case study of Anis Baswedan and Basuki Tjahaya Purnama. This study uses qualitative methods and literature review to examine this issue. This study finds that the divisions that arise due to political groupings based on religious identity and nationalism cause disturbances to the stability of the country which is marked by the emergence of a crisis of confidence in the government, the spread of hoax news, persecution, treason, limited democratic space, etc.

Keywords: Identity Politics, Nationalism, Religion, Indonesia

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries with a nation in it that is rich in ethnic and cultural diversity. However, at the beginning of the reform, the seeds of ethnic divisions in the regions began to emerge against a background of conflicting interests. As regional autonomy is enforced, which gives rights to each region to regulate and empower their respective regions, it has an impact on disparities between regions because the potential of each region is different both in terms of human resources and natural resources. Conflicts based on ethnic differences have often occurred after the enactment of regional autonomy, such as the conflicts in Aceh, Papua and Kalimantan. Each ethnic group shows its rivalry in prioritizing the interests of its group, both from an economic, social, cultural and political perspective.

Changes in the government system at the local level after the New Order and decentralization policies were marked by the start of the application of the concept of checks and balances, local political power in political institutions in the regions, including the legislature and executive. The roles and functions of these two institutions have become bigger than in the New Order era. In other words, decentralization from the impact of regional autonomy is an entry point for democratic policies that generate identity politics to dominate certain ethnicities over other ethnicities, both minorities and majorities. In the political arena, identity politics is reproduced as an issue of local people which is mostly done by local elites to seize and perpetuate their political power.

Identity politics is a response or political action carried out by a person or group of people because they have the same identity as ethnicity, gender, culture and religion. Identity politics always prioritizes the interests of its group, in ethnic and ethnic identity politics it plays an important role, namely as a cultural symbol that has its own potential and gives strength in carrying out political actions. Identity politics itself arises because of the desire to be recognized and treated equally or fairly, the willingness to maintain the cultural values of each group, and because of a sense of loyalty to their ethnicity. From identity politics, it then discusses ethnicity, and ethnicity as the identity of a group that does not forget the purpose of politics, which is to achieve the common good.

Because in identity politics there will be two kinds of approaches, the first approach is primordialism, namely a bond that is formed naturally which can be seen from boundaries within ethnicity such as religious ties, kinship relations, race, language, region and customs. Then the instrumentalist approach is the result of the thinking of a person or ethnic group in choosing and combining several cultures for welfare, power, and status by building feelings based on ethnic similarities. Identity politics is a term for differences, concepts, and discourses of differences. Identity politics is actually another name for biopolitics which talks about a group that is identified by biological characteristics or biological goals from a point of view. An example is race politics and gender politics. In identity politics, it discusses the recognition of similarities and differences. Therefore, looking at the situation in the 2019 Jakarta City Election with ethnic, ethnic and cultural diversity which greatly influences the emergence of differences in the existence of dangerous threats from other groups which trigger movements as a response to things that are not in line with the views or ideology of individuals and groups.

II. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

A. Understanding Politics

In terms of etymology, the word politics comes from the Greek, namely polis which means a city with the status of a city state (city state). In the city-states of the Greek era, people interacted with each other in order to achieve prosperity (good, according to Aristotle) in their lives. The politics that developed in Greece at that time can be interpreted as a process of interaction between individuals and other individuals in order to achieve the common good. Thoughts about politics, especially in the western world, are heavily influenced by ancient Greek philosophers. Philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle considered politics as an attempt to achieve the best political society (polity). However, the definition of politics resulting from the thoughts of these philosophers has not been able to put pressure on practical efforts in achieving good polity. Although it must be admitted, Political thoughts that are developing today cannot be separated from the influence of these philosophers. In its development, political scientists interpret politics differently so that the variant definitions enrich thinking about politics.

Gabriel A. Almond defines politics as an activity related to the control of public decision-making in certain communities in certain areas, where this control is supported through instruments that are authoritative and coercive in nature. Thus, politics is closely related to the

process of making public decisions. The emphasis on the use of authoritative and coercive instruments in public decision-making is related to who is in charge, how to use that authority, and what the purpose of an agreed decision is. If the red thread is drawn, the definition of politics according to Almond cannot be separated from interactions in the political community (polity) to agree on who is given the authority to rule in making public decisions. The definition of politics is also given by other political scientists,

According to Andrey Heywood, politics is an activity of a nation that aims to create, maintain and amend the general regulations that govern its life, which means it cannot be separated from symptoms of conflict and cooperation. With this definition, Andrew Heywood implicitly reveals that political society (polity) in the interaction process of making public decisions is also inseparable from conflicts between individuals and individuals, individuals and groups, and groups and other groups. In other words, each group influences each other so that an agreed public decision is in accordance with the interests of a particular group. Conflict and cooperation in a public decision-making process are an inseparable unit as part of the process of interaction between interests. The aspirations and interests of each group and individual in society are not always the same, but are different and even contradict each other in many ways. Therefore, it is common for certain political groups to achieve the goals they aspire to in everyday reality.

Peter Merkl said that politics in its worst form is the struggle for power, position and wealth for self-interest (politics at its worst is a selfish grab for power, glory and riches). a commonplace when in everyday reality it is often found that political activities that are not commendable are carried out by certain political groups in order to achieve the goals they aspire to. Peter Merkl said that politics in its worst form is the struggle for power, position and wealth for self-interest (politics at its worst is a selfish grab for power, glory and riches). A commonplace when in everyday reality it is often found that political activities that are not commendable are carried out by certain political groups in order to achieve the goals they aspire to. Peter Merkl said that politics in its worst form is the struggle for power, position and wealth for self-interest (politics at its worst is a selfish grab for power, glory and riches).

B. Identity Politics Concept

In political science literature, identity politics is sharply distinguished between political identity and political identity. Both political identity and social identity) as a source and means of politics (Habodan, 2012). Heller (In abdillah, 2002) identifies identity politics as a political concept and movement whose focus is difference (difference) as a major political category. This idea of difference promises forms of freedom, tolerance and freedom of play. Although behind that there are consequences, namely the emergence of intolerance and violence. Because of the focus of attention and the existence of differences as significant and determinant political entities, the politics of difference is another term for identity politics. The concept of difference has been explained by Aristotle in general, with his concept which is called the "middle way remover", (in Abdillah, 2002) that something is A or not A. It is impossible for something to be A and at the same time not A or not A at the same time, or between the two.

This thinking implies that something is different from something else. The concept of difference has been explained by Aristotle in general, with his concept which is called the "middle way remover", (in Abdillah, 2002) that something is A or not A. It is impossible for something to be A and at the same time not A or not A at the same time. , or between the two. This thinking implies that something is different from something else. The concept of difference has been explained by Aristotle in general, with his concept which is called the "middle way remover", (in Abdillah, 2002) that something is A or not A. It is impossible for something to be A and at the same time not A or not A at the same time. , or between the two. This thinking implies that something is different from something else.

C. The Definition of Identity Politics

In the previous explanation, identity politics has been revealed by Heller. Then, another scientist who defines identity politics is Morowitz. He (in Haboddin, 2012) defines identity politics as follows: "Identity politics is to provide a firm line to determine who will be included and who will be rejected. Because the lines of determination appear to be irreversible, the status as a non-member immediately appears to be permanent". Both Heller and Morowitz show a common thread, that is, identity politics is interpreted as a politics of difference. While Chandrakirana (in Haboddin, 2012) states that:

So, in short, identity politics is just to be used as a tool to manipulate a tool to mobilize politics to fulfill its economic and political interests. But in another part, Kemala (in Haboddin, 2012) says that: "In identity politics, of course, the bond of success plays an important role, it becomes potential cultural symbols and becomes a source of strength for political actions". This understanding has implications for the tendency to: first, want to receive recognition and equal treatment or basic human rights, both political, economic and socio-cultural. Second, for the sake of maintaining and preserving the cultural values that characterize the group concerned. Lastly, strong loyalty to the entity it belongs to. Beyme (in Abdillah,

Within the identity politics movement there is a tendency to build a reverse apartheid system. When power cannot be conquered and division of power cannot be achieved as the goal of the movement, secession and self-exclusion are taken as a way out; the weakness of the identity politics movement is the attempt to create a specific group of theories from the sciences. For example, no one can deny that a black person or a female scholar may have had experiences that made them sensitive in certain cases concerning relations with other groups. Of these three criteria, Beyme (in Abdillah, 2002) makes further analysis by looking at identity politics through movement patterns, motivations and goals to be achieved. Organizing identity becomes important to maintain the existence of individuals or groups. Basically identity is formed in order to obtain social equality and recognition from other parties (Kinasih, 2007). Identity is what guarantees self-awareness. Identity will always be maintained reflectively based on changing needs and interests. Identity is a process that is not given. And not static (Kinasih, 2007:5). Identity will always be maintained reflectively based on changing needs and interests. Identity is a process that is not given. And not static (Kinasih, 2007:5). Identity will always be maintained reflectively based on changing needs and interests. Identity is a process that is not given. And not static (Kinasih, 2007:5).

According to Abdillah (2002: 26) the search for identity is a "becoming process", in which each individual or group continuously identifies himself, searches for himself and forms his identity. Her identity is a hybrid that is easy to manipulate. When the socio-political environment changes, identity will also change so that it is difficult to distinguish between real identity and which identity has been politicized. Identity mobilization is used to suppress people who are considered to have a different identity. The concept of identity politics that has been explained above, will be able to analyze and explain how the identity politics of the "Galuh Sadulur Association" in Ciamis Regency. Then,

Those values are applied or not, and useful or not in society can be known as a result of this research. The identity politics of the association is a picture of the relationship between an individual community association and the government. This relationship can have an impact on government performance for the community on the other hand. Paguyuban also seeks to establish a bond with the government in the governance of government management. Thus, the relationship becomes a reciprocal effort between the subject and the object to which the benefits will be given. Identity politics also encourages efforts to understand the importance of a culture that must be maintained in a society that has experienced changes due to the dynamics of the times. Although, times have changed, but the positive values of a culture can be maintained as a characteristic inherent in a society that distinguishes that society from other societies. Identity is important in the continuity of life. By using the concept of political identity, it will be known how the pattern of identity political movement actually is from the research object to be carried out.

D. Religious Politicization

Religion, which in fact is something that is holy and noble and a way to find the truth, then becomes something that is very inappropriate if it is used as an excuse for things that are not related to it. As part of the journey of individual faith and belief, religion is an absolute thing that is personal as a relationship of interaction between humans and the Creator. So matters related to religion should be different from unusual matters. If religion is upheld by state provisions, then the consequence is that religion will have the potential to be misused by parties carrying out political actions, so that religion can lose its holy and noble nature and the purity contained in it (Faridah and Mathias: 2018).

In essence, religion and politics are two fundamental things with very different substances. Religion comes from revelations that come down from God Almighty and is absolute or absolute, while politics is something dynamic which according to Miriam Budardjo (2008), politics is a variety of activities in the state system which involves the process of determining goals and implementing those goals. Religion is a pure teaching about God's values and rules that must be obeyed by humans in order to have a blessed path and find happiness in this world and in the hereafter. In raising issues related to the politicization of religion, the discussion is always interesting and there is never a lack of discourse. For example, in the religion of Islam, which incidentally has a very large development in Indonesia, and these developments have three stages of entry, namely; the initial process of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, then the period of its development, until Islam became a significant political force (Lubis: 2015).

There are two basic models in the religious political system, namely; (1) the organic model, which is characterized as the concept of the unification of the functions of religion and politics and is carried out by a unified structure; (2) the church model, which is characterized by a close alliance between two different institutions, namely the government and religious leaders who exchange religious and political functions extensively (Donald: 1985). There are two basic models in the religious political system, namely; (1) the organic model, which is characterized as the concept of the unification of the functions of religion and politics and is carried out by a unified structure; (2) the church model, which is characterized by a close alliance between two different institutions, namely the government and religious leaders who exchange religious and political functions extensively (Donald: 1985). There are two basic models in the religious political system, namely; (1) the organic model, which is characterized as the concept of the unification of the functions of religion and politics and is carried out by a unified structure; (2) the church model, which is characterized by a close alliance between two different institutions, namely the government and religious leaders who exchange religious and political functions extensively (Donald: 1985).

There are two ways of formulating the relationship between religion and politics, namely when religion is used for political purposes, then religion can lose its true identity and essence considering it has been used to gain momentary power. And conversely, if politics is used for religious purposes, then life in society will be more integrative and orderly because what is studied is the meaning broadcast by the religion (a message of kindness that every adherent follows). A polemic that has occurred in Indonesia related to religion and politics is in the old order regime which was debated about the attitude of one Islamic mass organization in responding to the Sukarno era. Among the mass organization leaders who gave this response, a polemic emerged regarding NU's participation in the Nasakom government, which included representatives from the communist group. NU's participation in this cabinet is called an opportunistic act, because it gives the impression that religion is being used for political purposes (Lubis: 2015).

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative approach, namely research that does not use calculations but emphasizes the natural characteristics of data sources. This research will be presented in the form of a description by analyzing the issue of identity politics in Indonesia based on issues of nationalism and religious issues. This type of research is a case study that is analytical-descriptive in the form of written or oral words from the situation studied in relation to the issue of identity politics between nationalism and identity. Sources of data in this study were collected using literature study data collection using secondary data in the form of documents, archives, books, articles, and journals related to research problems. Analysis of the data in this study used a qualitative descriptive technique, namely the technique of analyzing data using descriptions, narratives, and descriptions of data that are qualitative in nature. The steps of data analysis in this study include; recording and reviewing the results of the data that has been obtained from various sources; collect, sort, synthesize, summarize and classify data according to the formulation of the problem; Data that has been categorized is then analyzed to find

meaning, relationships and linking existing findings with the problem formulation. Data analysis was then tested for validity to obtain valid data using the Triangulation technique, namely the existing data sources were compared for their accuracy with the chosen method and then compared again with other studies.

IV. DISCUSSION

The past implementation of the 2017 DKI Pilkada is a portrait showing where identity politics tends to lead to issues of ethnicity, religion and race. The role of ethnicity, religion and race plays a very strong role and even crystallizes in such a way that it puts psychological pressure on the electorate. Such a political process, whether we realize it or not, will undermine democratization in Indonesia. Seeing this phenomenon, it cannot be denied. Another thing that also needs to be looked at is the problem of micro politics, namely the relations of power in the practice of daily life claim to be a regime of truth which is managed in a structured manner and is involved by arousing people's emotions so that marginalization occurs until the emergence of label "the other", such as; religious differences, gender differences, ethnic differences etc.

In fact, the successful implementation of identity politics in DKI in the 2017 Pilkada has become a raw model for several regions to use identity politics as the main foundation for each contestant to win formal and informal political battles. Parties are no longer a representation and vessel as well as a tool for consolidation processes and communication. The domination of identity politics in the public sphere which is happening every day with such big waves on social media is not something to be celebrated, because it seems that social media has also contributed to the occurrence of increasingly widening social segregation. The practice of democracy in Indonesia seems to have turned into a race that knows no friends or foes, all of which are carried out in an oligarchic democracy that is very familiar with racial and divisive politicization.

Identity politics carried out by certain groups seeks to create a mono-identity state. The Indonesian people seem to have lost their memory of the history of the diversity they have. In short, identity politics cannot be fought with "softer" identity politics. It must be fought with politics that prioritizes public interests above personal interests. Another thing that also needs to be addressed is that religion should not be brought into the political sphere. Religion is sufficient as a life belief and moral guide, both in the individual and social domains, because religious teachings emphasize faith, worship rituals, and morality, while politics emphasizes the rules of the game in the struggle for and distribution of power in the context of state life, because if religion is used as primordial sentiment and ethnicity for the sake of political interests, then what will happen is the politicization of religion which has the potential for horizontal communal violence, and as a result the spirit of democracy that the people's power had struggled for in 1998 will be in vain.

On the other hand, the role of religious leaders from both Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism must simultaneously direct their followers not to be trapped in the politicization of religion carried out by certain groups in order to fulfill their political lust for power. And as a result, the spirit of democracy which the people's power had

fought for with difficulty in 1998 would be in vain. On the other hand, the role of religious leaders from both Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism must simultaneously direct their followers not to be trapped in the politicization of religion carried out by certain groups in order to fulfill their political lust for power. And as a result, the spirit of democracy which the people's power had fought for with difficulty in 1998 would be in vain. On the other hand, the role of religious leaders from both Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism must simultaneously direct their followers not to be trapped in the politicization of religion carried out by certain groups in order to fulfill their political lust for power.

1. Competition of Economic-Political, Religious and Ethnic Identity in DKI Election

The DKI Jakarta Province Regional Head Election (Pilkada) which was held in 2017 is an interesting political phenomenon to study. The democratic process became the arena for the hottest and most horrendous contests for governor candidates (cagub). There are several factors that need to be considered more closely in this case, including those related to economic factors that also influence the implementation of democracy in the capital city. If it is based on the history of the Archipelago, Islam, which is the belief of the majority of the indigenous population, was brought by Arab merchants in the seventh century AD after previously being controlled by Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms influenced by India in the first century AD.

During the colonial era, Chinese traders, along with Arabs and Indians, played a major role in Indonesian trade, especially in Batavia. Initially, the Chinese came and settled in the archipelago as laborers and workers brought in by the VOC and the British, then the Dutch raised the social class of the Chinese to be equal to the Indians and Arabs as intermediaries for Dutch trade with the natives. Jakarta is a trade and economic center for immigrants. Most of its territory is occupied by ethnic Chinese, followed by Arabs and Indians. The Chinese and Arab ethnic groups even have their own settlements in Jakarta. The residential areas of ethnic Chinese are called Chinatowns. The Chinese ethnic group occupies an area believed to be the dragon's path, starting from Kelapa Gading, Sunter, Keramat Luar Batang, and Pluit in North Jakarta, to Glodok, and Jakarta Kota in West Jakarta. Arab ethnicity has its own village in Condet, East Jakarta and many Indian ethnicities live in the Bandar Kemayoran flats, Central Jakarta. Because there are many ethnic Chinese and Arab residents in Jakarta, this is the primordial strength for DKI Jakarta governor candidates Ahok and Anis Baswedan.

Ahok's identity as a cagub of Chinese descent will receive support from ethnic Chinese Jakarta residents, as well as Anis Baswedan who is of Arab descent will certainly be supported by the majority of Condet residents, apart from each having a support base of voters with a rational identity. Meanwhile, Agus Yudhoyono only has the potential to get support from rational voters. The different identity backgrounds of the two cagub, provide a different picture of the polarization of support and financial strength. Ahok will definitely be supported by Chinese businessmen or tycoons who almost control the Indonesian economy, especially Jakarta. The Arab ethnicity actually does not have a history of solidarity like the Chinese ethnicity, so financial support from local Arabs is not very convincing. However, the PKS factor as a bearer party will become an intermediary for Arab donations for Anis Baswedan because PKS has

close ties to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Tarbiyah Movement or Muslim Brotherhood in various Middle Eastern countries.

Therefore, the DKI Jakarta Pilkada will become an arena for an identity battle that has great power behind it, namely between China and the Middle East. Politically, this identity may not be shown on the surface by cagub because it is unprofitable and very sensitive. Namely between China and the Middle East. Politically, this identity may not be shown on the surface by cagub because it is unprofitable and very sensitive. Namely between China and the Middle East. Politically, this identity may not be shown on the surface by cagub because it is unprofitable and very sensitive. However, at a practical level, whether or not the domination of identity between the two cagub is acknowledged or not will be seen. This is evidenced by the existence of several phenomena that occurred ahead of the regional elections, such as the case that ensnared Ahok which was followed by demonstrations carried out by Muslims known as peaceful demonstrations 212.

From these facts it can be seen that identity exists, is strengthened, and has the potential to continue to be constructed to gain other benefits, for example financial support. This identity does not just appear, but through a long process that allows it to be identified in the formation process. This identity is formed through the articulation and choice of cagub-cawagub positions, including capital penetration and also the structural dominance of the supporting party. Historically, the identity formed from this primordial pattern has long been a collective solidarity that opposes each other. Collective identity will explain how a group creates, introduces, and maintains its group identity as a matter of prestige against other groups.

A long battle took place between America and China which was a feud between the ideologies of capitalism and communism which led to identity sentiment. The various anti-Chinese riots in Indonesia were the culmination of America's and European countries' dislike of Chinese communism through the hands of the local population. The existence of ethnic Chinese or Chinese has a dark history in the past when anti-Chinese riots occurred in Batavia in 1740 known as Geger Pacinan or the Angke Tragedy which claimed more than 10,000 Chinese lives. The 10 May 1963 racial incident in Bandung which spread to various cities in West Java, 1972 in Pekalongan, 1973 in Jakarta, Palu and Bandung, the Malari incident in 1974, 1980 in Ujung Pandang, Solo and Medan, 1995 in Pekalongan, Riots from 1997 to 1998 in various places led to the riots in May 1998. This apparently had an impact on the process of forming the Chinese ethnic group, which was strotypically different from other non-Chinese ethnic groups. If observed more closely, it seems that this problem has affected the DKI Pilkada process in the second round.

Of all the ethnic groups that have existed in Indonesia, the Chinese are most often the victims of indigenous anger. This happened because the identity sentiment was created by the Dutch by enacting a population law which positioned indigenous people as inlanders, or lower class citizens, while the Chinese occupied the upper class and got economic access that was not given to the natives. This discriminatory treatment made the indigenous people harbor anger against the Chinese, so that at any time outsiders such as America, who did not like China, could inflame it into racial riots. Another factor that greatly influences the DKI Pilkada process

is the religious factor. Even though the role of religion is not a significant thing in the Pilkada process. But religion is often used as a powerful tool of politicization to attract the sympathy of voters in determining their choice. If based on a study by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) for the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada, it shows that there has been an increase in the intensity of campaigns based on identity politics, especially ethnicity and religion. Meanwhile, only 3.6% of voters chose based on religion. (Kompas.com, 2017).

Thus we can see that there is a political orientation that leads to economic, religious and racial identity. As happened in the case of the DKI Pilkada in the second round which was won by Anis-Sandi. This cannot be separated from the influence of primordial identity politics related to Chinese ethnicity and religion. There are several phenomena that lie behind the ups and downs of the electability of candidates running for the second round. If you look closely, each of the two pairs of candidates both play their respective identities. The Ahok-Djarot candidate pair played on Chinese identity and at the same time became a representation of the Chinese economy, race and religion, which is Catholic. The couple experienced a decline in electability when faced with the Ahok case which was ensnared in the blasphemy law. Meanwhile, the Anis-Sandi couple portray their economic, racial and Islamic religious identities. Economically, ethnically and religiously, Anis-Sandi represents the Arab nation.

2. Religion and State Relations in Indonesian Political Journeys

Indonesia is a country with a spiritual spirit as an important foundation. Seen in the state ideology, the element of God is placed first in Pancasila which is the foundation of the other four precepts. On the other hand, the state cannot run wheels of government without any political action. Political action in the state order becomes important because thanks to politics a policy can be born, so that the sustainability of the state can be realized. While talking about religion and politics, Gunter W. Remmling (1976) sees both as two separate forms but both carry social roles in society. .

Religion with its moral values acts as a guardian of rules, harmonization, norms and values in society. On the other hand, politics is synonymous with power and regulatory roles. In Herbert Spencer's Thesis, politics and religion play the same role, which is related to regulating and restraining. Regarding the study of institutions, according to Spencer, religion and politics have a role in society as regulatory agencies and maintain the values adhered to in society. In another statement, religion and politics are indeed different. Religion is good news and a warning according to the interpretation of Al-Quran Surah Al-Baqarah verse 119, while politics is coercion. Religion influences the course of history with collective conscience, while politics influences history with decisions, power and war.

In the history of Indonesia, the relationship between religion and the state is clearly seen from the presence of religious community organizations and political parties. The presence of community organizations and political parties in Indonesia has been present since before independence until now. During the pre-independence Dutch colonialism, there were organizations such as the Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI), which was a group of Islamic traders who opposed Dutch politics regarding allowing foreign traders to enter. SDI then transformed

into the Islamic Union Party (PSI) in 1920. There were several Islamic parties during the pre-independence period which were members of the Indonesian A'laa Islamic Council (MAI). Meanwhile, during the Japanese occupation, parties and political movements were prohibited.

During the Japanese colonial era, the Masyumi did not talk much in the political field, the party did a lot in the social field. Along with the post-independence period until now, where freedom of expression is guaranteed by the state, political parties with religious affiliations are growing more and more. The post-independence religious parties that have participated in and are still participating in Indonesian politics include NU, Masyumi, Parmusi, the Indonesian Islamic Sarikat Party (PSII) and Perti (Association of Tarbiyah Islamiyah) joined to become the United Development Party (PPP) PBNU, the Christian Party Indonesia, Catholic Parati, Crescent Star Party, PAN, PKB, PKS and others. The relationship between religion and the state does not only appear in religious political parties, there are two religious organizations.

There are many radical religious movements that threaten the stability of the state and fortunately Indonesia still has large religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU to suppress them. In another context, the relation between religion and the state is interpreted as not being mutually beneficial by the leftist figure, Karl Marx. Marx regarding "religion as the opium of the people" is implicitly a description of the relationship between religion and the state. The state "utilizes" state institutions for practical interests. In a capitalist society, the bourgeoisie as "the ruling class" uses church fatwas to "justify" their exploitation of the workers.

Of course, you still remember the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, which was won by the pair Anis Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno. The victory of the Anis Baswedan pair, which was carried by the Gerindra Party, certainly cannot be separated from the blasphemy case that entangled Basuki Cahya Purnama alias Ahok, his political opponent at that time. The wave of massive Muslim protests seemed to demand the government to immediately decide "what Ahok did was blasphemy". The MUI fatwa decision through Maruf Amin regarding Ahok's religious blasphemy before the Pilgub was held, certainly had an effect on the vote acquisition which resulted in Ahok losing the governor election. The Ahok case above illustrates the success of identity politics in winning a political competition.

Gerindra Elit's statement supporting identity politics was stated by Gerindra DPP Chairman Ahmad Riza Patria, who also serves as Deputy Chair of Commission II of the DPR RI, although according to them that will be played in identity politics related to SARA. Identity politics steps are also felt to be taken by political opponents of the Presidential Election 2019 Joko Widodo with his decision to choose Maruf Amin. Jokowi claims to have received approval and input from various elements of society, such as clerics, party chairmen, party officials and volunteers. Jokowi's reason for choosing Maruf Amin was that Maruf Amin was considered a wise religious man, besides that he also had experience in government.

Biopolitics bases itself on differences arising from differences in bodies. Identity according to Jeffrey Week is related to belonging, about similarities with a number of people and what distinguishes one person from another. Jeffrey Week's opinion emphasizes the importance of

identity for each individual as well as for a group or community. Agnes Haller takes the definition of identity politics as a political concept and movement whose focus is difference (difference) as a major political category. Like it or not, identity politics in Indonesia is still in great demand by political elites to win political competitions. One of their distinguishing identities is religion. For example, talking about the electability of Jokowi-Maruf Amin, At the beginning of their decision to become a presidential election partner, Jokowi's electability decreased, especially for non-Muslim voters, but experienced an increase for Muslim voters. Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia seems to be a vehicle for the elite to win political competition.

Regarding electability, Jokowi's electability has gradually increased due to Muslim voters. In August 2018 it was recorded at 52.2%, October increased to 52.6% and early November 54.1%. Kopko (2012) stated that religion has an effect on political participation. He exemplifies the teachings of the Mennonite Church, which prohibits political activity because of its worldly nature. This has an impact on the low political activity by members of the Mennonite Church. The effects and relations of religion with political participation in Indonesia cannot be avoided. In many cases in Indonesia, religion is used as a tool to positive or negative in arousing political participation. Religion and the state in political activities found in the Mennonite Church in the United States, are in contrast to what happened in Indonesia.

If in the Church the low political participation is caused by the doctrine of religion, in fact in Indonesia political participation can be increased through religious means. Several cases, for example, the fatwa against abstentions carried out by the MUI at the Istima' meeting in Padang on January 25 2009. In this session it was very clear the relationship between religion and the politics of a country. The right to vote in election activities is a citizen's right to determine a leader, not as a citizen's obligation to vote. The existence of this fatwa will actually position voters as someone who has an obligation to determine their choices in elections. As individuals who adhere to religion, they will consider it a sin if they do not participate in elections.

The fatwa of a religion related to the choice of abstaining certainly has an impact on the actions of its followers. MUI as an institution that accommodates Islamic scholars and scholars when determining fatwas will certainly have an impact on the actions of Muslims when facing elections. The MUI fatwa and the attitudes of Muslims are of course used by political elites to form themselves with the political identity they want to embed in them. The consequence is that the political elite fixes itself so that it is seen as a leader mandated by religion; honest, responsible or trustworthy, intelligent, able to convey the right messages and news, and looks very religious in general and Islamic in particular because the majority of Indonesian people are Muslims.

After 2009, when the fatwa against abstentions spread, legislative candidates or presidential candidates competed to seek support through religious means. For example, they seek the support of clerics, kyai, religious leaders or simply wear religious attributes or symbols. The relationship between religion and the state facing the 2019 election, especially the presidential election, is very clear that the two presidential candidates are carrying out identity politics by means of religion. From the two candidates, they are very aggressive in approaching ulemas,

Islamic boarding schools and religious leaders in their political activities. One of them is Joko Widodo's decision to choose Ma'ruf Amin as a vice presidential candidate. The effect that can be seen immediately is the electability of voters before and after the appointment of the vice president. Reported the survey results from LSI through Denny JA, before partnering with Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council Ma'ruf Amin, Joko Widodo's electability reached 53.6 percent. However, when paired with Ma'ruf Amin, electability fell to 52.2 percent.

The decline in Jokowi-Ma'rif's electability occurred due to several voter segments, namely, non-Muslim voters (22.8 percent), educated voters (40.4 percent), and first-time voters (7.6 percent). From these data it is clear that the relationship between religion and the state in politics is very close in terms of political participation and even to the determination of political choices or leaders. Although there were opinions from several media that the decline in electability at the start of Ma'aruf Amin's election was due to the lack of optimal coordination within Ma'arif's camp. Electability fell to 52.2 percent. The decline in Jokowi-Ma'rif's electability occurred due to several voter segments, namely, non-Muslim voters (22.8 percent), educated voters (40.4 percent), and first-time voters (7.6 percent). From these data it is clear that the relationship between religion and the state in politics is very close in terms of political participation and even to the determination of political choices or leaders.

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Democratization and decentralization must be the main reasons for increasing people's political participation through identity politics. There is no longer any exclusion, inferiority and confinement in determining the fate of the region, because through direct local elections, the people determine their representation to change the fate and face of their region in a conscious and responsible manner. For this reason, ethnic communities must again emphasize that leadership values based on local wisdom of ethnicity which must be upheld become a universal

value, not merely promoting ethnic identity "self". Ethnic communities must have an understanding of multiculturalism, in which multiculturalism recognizes various potentials and legitimacy of socio-cultural diversity and differences of each ethnic group, race, religion, and cultural entity.

In this view both individuals and groups from various social units can join society, be involved in societal cohesion without having to lose their cultural identity, while still obtaining their rights to participate fully in various fields of community activity, especially in general elections. With the rise of ethnic identity politics, Indonesia has not returned to the era of cultural voters. However, this ethnic basis can be understood rationally, not only in terms of ethnic similarities or limited to political actor figures representing certain ethnicities, but looking at the identity political values brought by the candidate figures in accordance with local wisdom of the identity or not. So the accusations of cultural voters,

Ethnic identity politics must be brought about as a shared awareness of enriching local wisdom in filling the concepts of leadership and development in Indonesia, not merely becoming a political vehicle for elites on behalf of ethnicity to be involved in elite circulation through the election mechanism. This is what really needs to be avoided.

Therefore, it is necessary to strengthen political institutions to provide socialization and political education regarding essential identity politics regarding the struggle for rights and political ideas. Political parties also cannot close their eyes and only use identity politics as marketing materials. Of course this is a shared task, both from election management bodies, political parties, to cultural figures and community leaders in the regions.

Grounding the values of local wisdom as the foundation for political life with ethnic identity is a human right that is inherent in humans. A necessity of democracy that is protected and must be maintained in order to achieve a better democratic life. So that Indonesia can be richer in producing knowledge through local concepts and ideas about political, social, economic life, development and so on which are indeed more suitable because they are extracted from the noble culture of their own nation such as Pancasila.

If the Indonesian democracy that is currently recognized is Pancasila democracy, then it is the duty of the State, every ethnicity and every tribe in Indonesia to cultivate seeds of democracy that continue to revive Pancasila as the basis of diversity politics.

V. CONCLUSION

The rise of identity politics in Indonesia after the Soeharto government has resulted in the journey of democracy in Indonesia for two decades not progressing towards substantial democracy. In the end, Indonesian democracy is still trapped in procedural democracy, which is only concerned with matters of elections and the process of changing elites. But in practice the life of citizens still does not show a democratic life. Various cases of violence and intolerance as well as the strengthening of identity sentiment on the basis of ethnicity and religion have led to discriminatory and exclusionary practices against other different identity groups. This condition is often exploited by political elites who play an important role in

sharpening identity and religious sentiments to gain power. Especially entering the election period as an example in the 2019 DKI Jakarta regional election between Anis Baswedan and Basaku Tjahaya Purnama. This makes Indonesian democracy experience a regression.

The divisions that arise due to political groupings based on religious identity and nationalism have disrupted the country's stability, which is marked by the emergence of a crisis of confidence in the government, the spread of news *Hoax*, persecution, hackers, limited democratic space, etc. The substance of the existence of religious identity politics is not the main factor contributing to the destruction of national integrity in Indonesia, but the identity of nationalism is also the trigger for disharmony in identity politics in Indonesia today.

Religious identity (Islam) is one of the foundations for upholding the identity of Indonesian nationalism, so it should Identity politics in Indonesia must be responded to by providing the widest possible space and access for the public to prove that religion (Islam) and nationalism are compatible and have one goal, namely to maintain the sovereignty of the Indonesian state,

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