

The Effectiveness of Political Identity in Post 212 Movement

Yusa Djuyandi, Rahmah Ramadhani

The 2019 election did not escape from a variety of cases and issues, whether this is entirely affected or not at all. Elections are also an arena of competition that does not escape cheating, which can hurt the ongoing campaign period until the election. But most of the issues contained in this election period have a background regarding political identity. The emergence of 212 movements that initially aimed to convey the anger of the Muslim masses over the attitude of the Governor of DKI Jakarta Previously, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), turned out to have an impact until before the 2019 Election. This movement also emerged as a combination of conservative views and the rational attitude of the Muslim community to the conditions they were experiencing at that time. When referring to the ideology of liberalism, conservative nature is considered to create intolerance in society, although conservative societies also have other reasons behind their political attitudes. This political identity is also unavoidable in the 2019 General Election, where two presidential and vice-presidential candidates get support from two different identity groups, Muslim and Nationalist. In other words, in the 2019 general election the two candidates for president and vice president also use political identity to win the competition.

Keywords: political identity, general election, Muslim, conservative.



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Introduction

On December 2, 2016, mass marched neatly in the central area of Jakarta, calling for takbir to prayer. This 212 movement is known as a peaceful action, because mass mobilization shown is in the form of worship, although in essence this is a demonstration. The masses of Muslims expressed their voices for their willingness to defend their beliefs and protest the speech of the former Governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or called Ahok, which was considered to defame the Quran. In his past speech in Thousand Islands (Kepulauan Seribu) on September 27, 2016, he alluded to Al-Maidah verse 51 which contained a statement about the guidelines for choosing a leader.

Ahok speech on the video was spread on October 6, 2016 by Buni Yani via Facebook social media. This was very controversial and became the starting point for the formation of the mass movement of 212 on 2 December 2016. The case also caused various polemics and even commotions because of the 2017 election, where Ahok was also one of the candidates (Pamungkas & Octaviani, 2017). Until Ahok was reported to the police by Habib Novel Chaidir Hasan and had to bring it before the judge. Ahok was finally by the court was snared under article 156a of the Criminal Code and sentenced to two years in prison.

Since the mass action 212 has taken place, there has been a strengthening of conservative attitudes among voters, ranging from rejection of non-Muslims in political positions to an increase in the support of the Islamic political agenda (Fernandes, Politik Identitas dalam Pemilu 2019: Proyeksi dan Efektivitas, 2018). Median Survey Institute also shown that the 212 mass actions are even believed to be one of the supporting indicators for the victory of Anies Baswedan in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor Election (Putri, 2018).

Even though Anies Baswedan's victory in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election was also influenced by identity politics, Fernandes (2018) based on his research stated that Anies's victory in Jakarta and its identity politics will not affect Jokowi's vote in the 2019 Presidential Election. Jokowi's vote in 2019 Presidential Election is believed will not decrease, while the vote for Prabowo Subianto will also considered to remain stagnant.

Although identity politics is deemed not to be able to influence Jokowi's vote, but in reality, both Jokowi and his success team, still look worried about the impact of identity politics. In determining the vice-presidential candidate which took place very tough, suddenly

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public were shocked by the decision of Jokowi and his winning team who chose the figure of Ma'ruf Amin as a candidate for vice president. Ma'ruf Amin's figure as a Muslim cleric and also a religious leader who was involved in the 212 action, is considered capable of reducing identity politics (Saputro, 2018).

However, after the 2019 Election ended, Jokowi - Maruf was declared as the winner of presidential election, as if the political identity game in the election was not going well at this time. Even before the presidential election, the CSIS survey showed that Jokowi's electability had increased by 9% and Prabowo had stagnated (Fernandes, *Politik Identitas dalam Pemilu 2019: Proyeksi dan Efektivitas*, 2018). If this political identity really works and has an impact, Jokowi should experience a decline in votes because most Muslim votes are won by the scholar's. Even though Indonesia is not an Islamic country, Indonesian political policies cannot be separated completely from Muslim aspirations as a majority.

The 2019 election did not escape from a variety of cases and issues, both of which affect the whole or not at all. But most of the issues contained in this election period have a background regarding identity. These issues also emphasize the fact that the 2019 Election is very inseparable from social media. 212 movement came about as a result and resulted in a high conservative view of the people. Islam is very conservative, where what is written in the Quran is not recommended to be changed to adjust the times.

Based on the description above, the problem in this research is how Identity politics that are very effective in accompanying the 2019 Election, actually does not have a significant impact on the results of the 2019 Election.

The purpose of this paper is to describe this problem and describe using the glasses of Liberalism's ideology, towards the magnificent conservatism that was built after this 212 movement.

Methods

The methodology used in this study is qualitative. This is intended to understand and look for the meaning of this event and see the 212 Movement from the perspective of Liberalism's ideology. Qualitative research itself aims to reveal the meaning of the behavior of individuals and groups participating in regional elections until the 2019 general election.

The link between the movement 212 towards the 2019 election uses qualitative methods because by looking at the issues that occurred at that time, this method could understand the emergence of distrust to make it many voters to be conservative. The emergence of new parties that adorn the 2019 elections has involved 16 political parties and 4 local parties in Aceh, a total of 20 political parties. These parties are within the scope of ideologies and different interests, so it is clear that the 2019 elections are very playing within the scope of ideology. All of them are divided into two voices, between those who take part in the first and second pairs of candidates for president and vice president. This has an impact on the community as voters in determining their choices. Therefore, this time the author will write how the 2019 election is seen through a rational approach, both in terms of people who are directly involved in politics and the people who participate or not in this democratic party.

Discussion

Politics of identity, Islam and movement 212

The 2019 election did not escape from a variety of cases and issues, both of which affect the whole or not at all. Simultaneously, elections were held with various challenges until the campaign period ended, of course this is no exception with hoaxes, cases, and issues that bring down every opposing candidate, which of course can hurt the ongoing campaign period until the election. General election is also an arena of competition that is not immune from fraud, where there are also sound trading terms (vote trading) and vote buying (vote buying) which both mean giving something both goods and money to voters (Fitri, 2018).

Political identity is where the identification of individuals is referred to based on political affiliation, is when individuals or groups stand out with a particular political group, they adopt the attributes of the political party in which they are located. Political identity leads them to prejudice, monopoly; hegemony, and others because it directly develops a particular bias approach between political actors. This shows that political identity represents the role of awareness and political affiliation. The role of significant awareness in developing political identity because when deciding to join certain political groups, all return to the individual who decides (Sajjad, Malghnai, & Khosa, 2018).

In a rational approach, rational judgment from citizens is what determines, not the existence of party ties or the dependence of structur-

al social bonds (Zidni, 2014). Actually this approach was adopted from economics, where a human being must choose the smallest capital for maximum profit. This can be equated with human behavior in choosing the candidate of choice in the election, which considers whether the choice will harm him or choose which one is the least harmful.

According to Anthony Downs (as cited by Zidni, 2014), voters with rational glasses will always prioritize their interests over the interests of others, because they want to prosper. This means the voter will choose a candidate or party who, if they win, will benefit him. It can be seen in several people who voted for Jokowi in 2014, then switched to choosing Prabowo in 2019, can be assessed in a rational approach. It could have been that the person felt that he was not prosperous during Jokowi's administration, and they wanted to change their destiny with one of the ways he wanted his country to be led by a new president, which might be oriented towards the new president's better life than the previous president. It can be seen that this kind of thing proves that the people in choosing prioritize their interests. Even if there is someone who assumes that the choice represents the people, it is a form of justification of his opinion with the opinions of others who are the same as him, and still oriented towards his interests, first seeing the interests of others whether they are the same or not.

The most interesting thing discussed here is that the election this time plays with identity politics. Identity politics itself comes from two words, politics and identity. Political etymology of politics comes from Greek, namely *Politeia*, which means state or city. While Identity, etymologically comes from the word Identity which means the inherent characteristics of a thing, such as ethnicity, race, religion, and others that differentiate from others. Political Identity is a tool to achieve certain goals, where emergence is caused by the emergence of something that is considered an ethnicity as a threat in the form of injustice in politics (Buchari, 2014). According to Smucker (2011), politics is always based on identity with a group and there cannot be politics without the identity of a group. Political identity is defined as identification of the main political party for self decryption (Sajjad, Malghnai, & Khosa, 2018).

According to Alfaqi (2015), identity politics by a group exists as a means of struggle and to fulfill their desires. This arises because a sense of injustice arises involving one group and another, so that one group demands justice in the name of Identity. According to Castells as cited

by Buchari (2014), there are three establishments for building identity, namely legitimacy, resistance, and project identity. Legitimacy Resistant Identity (legitimizing identity) is where Identity is introduced by a body or institution that dominates and continues its dominance, but the institution has been legitimized to do so. Resistance Identity (resistance identity) is an identity made by social actors in a depressed condition with the aim of sustaining their class. While project Identity (project identity) is where social actors form a new Identity to change the structure of society (Alfaqi, 2015). These three things form the politics of Identity. As a tool and Identity, Identity politics appears to fight for justice in a depressed state.

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Since the mass action 212 has taken place, there has been a strengthening of conservative attitudes among voters, ranging from rejection of non-Muslims in political positions to an increase in the support of the Islamic political agenda (Fernandes, Politik Identitas dalam Pemilu 2019: Proyeksi dan Efektivitas, 2018). However, identity politics after the mass action 212 did not stand alone, on the other hand came another group with another identity basis, namely the Chinese ethnicity group, which tried to emulate the strength of the 212 group in the DKI Jakarta Election. Political solidarity strengthening of the Chinese ethnic can be seen from their increased participation in the Jakarta elections in 2017, especially in residential areas dominated by Chinese ethnic. Exit Poll data in the first round of voting showed that the Ahok-Djarot pair won an absolute victory at the polling station where the majority of the voters were Chinese or non-Muslim (Khamdan & Wiharyani, 2018).

The 212 mass groups, whose majority of participants were Muslim, although there were also a number of non-Muslim figures who supported this movement, in fact decided to continue to strengthen the group's consolidation even though Ahok had lost the election and was sentenced by the court. This condition was then considered by political parties which supported Jokowi, because there was a fairly close relationship between Jokowi and Ahok, especially when both were elected as governors and deputy governors of DKI Jakarta in 2012.

The impact of these calculations then led to a change in the attitude of the political parties and Jokowi's success team in determining the prospective vice-presidential candidate, who initially Jokowi was so strongly juxtaposed with Mahfud MD but later turned into Ma'ruf Amin. This political choice transition seems to show a political strat-

egy to win Muslim votes, especially when its rival, Prabowo, is closer to Muslim figures who are trying to encourage Prabowo to choose a vice presidential candidate based on the consideration of Ijtima Ulama (scholar's itjima).

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From the electoral side, the action of 212 did not have a significant impact, because Jokowi - Ma'ruf's vote did not decrease, as did Prabowo - Sandi whose vote did not have a significant increase. If this identity politics really works, then logically the vote for Jokowi will decrease, because most Muslim voices are influenced by the scholars (ulama's) decision.

Even though Indonesia is not an Islamic country, Indonesian political policies cannot be separated completely from Muslim aspirations as a majority. The involvement of the identity issue is still a hot topic in various parts of the world in politics. Even the victory of the PKS itself which was founded by campus activists already has a wide field of rational voter sympathizers, such as cadres of students with Islamic ideology (Supriyadi, 2015).

But if you look at it from a rational perspective, people who have no interest in politics should look at the values of extravagance compared to the issue of identity. As in the case of why a voter who is satisfied with the Jokowi administration must follow the scholar 'uljima. If using a rational approach, in producing a rational approach there are situational factors that play a role in the decisions and actions of the person in politics, for example various issues to what the candidate is like. Voters can assess these political issues, so voters will make their choices with rational considerations. Even in its own democracy, the will of the people is a combination of rational considerations of each individual who is combined. But not all individuals have the same rational considerations, so the solution to this difference of opinion is election, by determining the outcome of the most votes. Not everyone also uses this principle of rationality, which could be due to differences in the level of education to the conditions around them. It could be because the voter was involved in buying votes, so he chose the candidate, even though he felt that he would lose out when he had to be in the government of his choice.

Ideology also becomes party identity, it provides them with ideals that underpin the society they wish to establish (Joyce, 2015). It can be seen from the old and new parties certainly adhering to the Pancasila (nationalist) or Islamic parties, although some indicate their position

in the center, but increasingly shifting to the right increasingly thick with Islamic ideology, and if increasingly shifting to the left increasingly thick with nationalists. The new parties that emerged also tried as the antithesis of the old parties, which were considered to be the time for new parties to emerge, which the old parties could no longer bring up. It could also be the emergence of these new parties as a form of dissatisfaction with their bureaucratization in the government for quite a long time. Rationally, young people of this nation feel disadvantaged by a government system led by parents who actually feels a lot of negative things. However, these new parties are not separated from the old parties as coalitions, for alignments with candidate pairs. The issue of the party and the president is two different things in the 2019 election, because in the same time the legislative and presidential administration, the issues that affect both are also different. The party must make new issues that influence it and its opponents.

Speaking of the 212 movement, this movement may have arisen as a result of the conservative views of some Muslims. For some people, Islamic thought is considered quite conservative, where what is written in the Qur'an is not recommended to be changed even though the times have changed. But that view does not apply to Islam-liberals who feel religion is a personal and God's business, so it does not need to interfere with religious life and must adjust to the times.

Ma'ruf Amin himself who is the vice president for the period 2019-2024 states that liberal thinking is very dangerous in interpreting Islamic teachings. Even the Indonesian Scholar Council (MUI) in 2005 issued a fatwa that liberalism is not in accordance with Islam because it uses mind that tends to be free. Also regarding secularism, MUI issued a fatwa concerning religious secularism that separates world affairs from religion (Irawan, 2018).

But basically liberalism does not merely arise because everyone demands freedom. Because at the same time religion has its own teachings, this makes human beings compartmentalized and intolerant that cannot be avoided. So that what is Islam-liberal demands transparently is how to respect all things in the world from everyone so that tolerance is maintained. According to Budy Munawar-Rachman, to avoid ambiguous liberalism, he distinguishes between good and bad liberalism. Good liberalism is based on anti-theocracy, pro-democracy, women's rights and freedom of speech. While bad liberalism contains neoliberal policies which are secular liberals (Irawan, 2018). Liberalism

which is fought by Islam is also actually useful for a peaceful and tolerant national life. That's because liberal Islam is a Muslim who understands religion with rationality, so what is taught in religion is applied to adjust in interfaith, intergroup and inter-tribal relations. They oppose fundamentalists and Islamic conservatives who understand religion as if religion curbs freedom of rational and critical thinking.

But with simultaneous elections held, this Identity politics is not so applicable in the legislature. In fact, legislative campaigns tend to be lacking. The legislature depends on the party that becomes its political vehicle and is lucky for those in the regional winning party. Voters tend to choose which representatives of the stronghold they hold or which party supports which candidate pair. Even though the legislature is elected people who will connect the people's aspirations to the country. It is even undeniable that by choosing people's representatives who are in the camp which causes voter fanaticism to the presidential candidate. People's representatives who are in the opposing camp are considered wrong and bad, even though ethos of work may be that some people's representatives in the camp that are considered right are no better than the people's representatives in the opposing camp.

Although Muslims are a large majority in Indonesia, this country has from the start still been a 'secular' country. After playing an important role in anti-colonial resistance, Islam remained excluded from the Indonesian national framework and the more 'secular' state ideology, Pancasila, was chosen by Indonesian leaders. Proposals and efforts to formally establish relations between Islam and the state often fail because of a lack of popular and political support. The nationalist-oriented Indonesian nationality then became the face of political discourse and practice in this country.

Like Marxism, Islamism is marginalized from state power and ideology in a discursive and constitutional manner. During the Soekarno era and the first two decades of the Soeharto regime, political Islam was never allowed to dominate national politics and political organizations committed to explicit Islamic goals (Abdi, 2009). Muslim groups, especially those relating to non-sectarian and harmonious relations between various religions. has played an important role in accepting and supporting Pancasila as the final foundation of Indonesian nationality. The Soeharto era, groups of civilian or liberal Muslims held many key positions in government and civil society. Indonesia after the New Order did not only see the continued strength of liberal and progres-

sive Islamic thinking and movements. Islam that is more ideological, political, literal and violent also lives in a more open political and public sphere (Abdi, 2009).

The connection of social media in the 2019 election also cannot be forgotten, because social media is a bridge between political actors and the community besides having to take to the streets. The media and the existence of democracy in Indonesia cannot be separated. For example, during independence, Soekarno's speech was broadcast by radio. Currently, campaigns are also held on social media. This does not escape the hoaxes, rumors, and others that can poison the course of democracy. Similarly, Identity politics can be said to be streamlined by the existence of social media as a tool in political campaigns. The existence of mass media in fact for some people who only judge candidates from the mass media becomes a place where they seek their Identity and ideology. Voters will judge which identity suits him, in terms of interests, and of course he will choose the one that is profitable and not detrimental to him. Then the voter will look for the outline of the candidate and compare whether the political Identity of the candidate can be on the same path as the ideology of the voter. Not infrequently many social media users, when viewing a political element post, they will see top comments, which are definitely the most liked comments and comments. From these posts, users of social media can be advised that what is a comment is a truth and reality that many people agree on, so that the commentary suggests that the social media user has agreed to this, which may not necessarily and it is possible that the account is biased in terms of the selector of the account and its followers.

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Flow 212 movements in 2019 Election

The simultaneous holding of elections in April 2019 did not escape the issue of Identity politics, but this did not have a significant impact on the rise and fall of the votes of the two candidates. Simultaneously, elections were held with various challenges until the campaign period ended, which of course enabled many hoaxes, cases, and issues to bring down every opposing candidate. Elections are also an arena of competition that does not escape cheating, which can hurt the ongoing campaign period until the election.

In the eyes of liberalism, the impact of the movement 212 in the form of identity politics is very evident in causing intolerance in society. It can be concluded that this year's voters are not completely in-

fluenced by identity issues and Identity politics, but keep returning to their respective decisions with rational principles that are processed by each individual voter. But it is undeniable that the way to make rational decisions of voters is also influenced by the circumstances and issues that occur adorning the 2019 elections, such as the issue of identity and identity politics. So that it can be said that both of these did not effectively affect the 2019 elections, especially in the scope of the candidates' votes, but affected the way rational decision-making was made by voters. In fact, this also affected the candidates, which in the end both used a political strategy which both of them wanted to win the votes of Muslims as the majority in Indonesia. Although Muslims are a large majority in Indonesia, this country has from the start still been a 'secular' country. After playing an important role in anti-colonial resistance, Islam remained excluded from the Indonesian national framework and the more 'secular' state ideology, Pancasila, was chosen by Indonesian leaders.

The effectiveness of identity politics does not take too much role in the vote acquisition of the 2019 election. Similarly, Identity politics can be said to be streamlined by the existence of social media as a tool in political campaigns. The existence of mass media in fact for some people who only judge candidates from the mass media becomes a place where they seek their identity and ideology. Voters will judge which Identity suits him, in terms of interests, and of course he will choose the one that is profitable and not detrimental to him. Then the voter will look for the outline of the candidate and compare whether the political Identity of the candidate can be on the same path as the ideology of the voter.

However, after the 212 action, it is undeniable that many people slowly become conservative in making choices, choosing candidates who are considered the same or supporting their Identity, until the rejection of non-Muslims is political office. From that moment on, intolerance became enlarged and the gap between the majority and the minority seemed to be enlarged by political conditions. In fact, this situation is a scenario of people with an interest in politics who want to gain or maintain their power. Not only voters, some of whom cannot be seen rationally in their choice, but also political actors, such as the PBB, which is the right-hand party or with Islamic ideology, should support Prabowo like PKS. But perhaps the PBB sees that being a party coalition supporting Jokowi is more profitable than joining the party

coalition supporting Prabowo. All of that returns to the rational thinking of each individual.

Conclusion

The 212 movement which was based on an identity politics movement did not really have an effective impact on predictions of the 2019 Presidential Election vote, although this movement also showed that there were several groups of people who wanted religious values to be internalized in political life. However, this movement also received more attention from the success team and the political parties that supported Jokowi, at least this can be known from the decisions was taken suddenly and at the end of time to elect Ma'ruf Amin as a vice-presidential candidate.

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