FIBER IDENTITY POLITICS AND POTENTIAL THREATS

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ABSTRACT
The practice of identity politics has again strengthened and dominated the socio-political discourse in this country. Identity politics that appears in all spheres, be it the political stage (elections), social and economic domains, must receive special attention for all stakeholders who still have love for the homeland and patriotism, and require a comprehensive study. This study aims to examine identity politics comprehensively regarding the root causes, forms and patterns of movement and the potential threats it carries. This study uses qualitative research methods, while the data collection techniques are carried out by exploring journals, books, and other information relevant to the study. The results of the study show that identity politics in Indonesia arises due to various factors. The basic causes of identity politics also determine the form and pattern of movements or actions of identity politics that are carried out. In the form of radical action, political reasons, namely ideology, often become the root of the problem which is then closely intertwined with rationalization of action based on identity as the cover. Identity politics is a way to mobilize support and advance the hidden agenda behind the practice of identity politics that is shown. This is of course very vulnerable to the life of the nation and state because such pragmatism will only lead the community to social conflict as a result of the strengthening of identity and self-exclusiveness sentiments or groups and, whether consciously or not, often involve acts of physical or symbolic violence.

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INTRODUCTION

Identity politics that appears in all spheres, be it the political stage (elections), social and economic domains, must receive special attention for all stakeholders who still have love for the homeland and patriotism, and require a comprehensive study. The reason is that if allowed to spread, it will be like mushrooms in the rainy season, it grows very quickly and ultimately threatens the integrity of the nation. If so, it is not impossible that the threat to the ideology and sovereignty of the state is a risk that must be paid dearly by the state. This paper intends to present a comprehensive discussion of identity politics in order to present a comprehensive and rational picture.

Indonesia is one of the most unique countries, especially in terms of geography, population, natural resources, and various implications. This uniqueness is reflected in the existence of diversity, plurality, and heterogeneity both in terms of ethnicity, religion, race, inter-group (SARA), regional languages, customs, and culture, which have the potential to become a formidable force if they can be directed into a solid unity. On the other hand, if it fails, it has the potential to become an object of division, colonial history has shown that fact and currently there are certain parties who for personal gain, both economic and political, make efforts to divide the unity of the nation.
The history of the formation of the Indonesian nation from various communities spread across various islands, both large and small islands, especially with examples from scholars, ulamas, non-formal leaders, awakens the spirit of unity by promoting what is called a common denominator, united against the colonial non-physical (soft power) then at a favorable moment the resistance was carried out with hard power. History has recorded several pillars that strengthened unity and integrity, including in 1908, known as the national awakening, awareness for the nation and state. Next was the Youth Pledge on October 28, 1928, followed by several pillars with the same goal, namely to build national unity based on Indonesianness, using the word Indonesia as a national identity.

Ideologically, our country has clearly emphasized that Pancasila is the embodiment and result of the crystallization of the noble values of the Indonesian nation, which was then used as the basis of the state. The value of unity as a nation is clearly stated in Pancasila and it indicates that unity is the value of togetherness that is upheld by all ethnic groups, groups, or groups in the context of social, national, and state life. This means that all differences which are an inevitability given by God do not become a barrier, on the contrary, become an impetus for the formation of an
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Indonesian nation that is free from colonialism. The history of Indonesia records that the commitment to maintain unity and integrity as a nation, although full of obstacles, did not dampen the efforts to seize and fulfill independence. In its development, along with the progress made through development, the freedom and awareness to obtain their rights and obligations as Indonesian citizens are guaranteed by law. The negative excesses of freedom that go beyond limits and interfere with the freedom of others, often lead to social conflicts.

Along with the national reform movement since 1998 which is marked by the swift currents of democratization, freedom of expression in public, the more openness to obtain actual information, social conflicts are increasingly complicated by the rise of identity politics. Some cases that indicate this include identity-based social conflicts (blood, ethnicity, religion) that occurred in several areas, such as conflicts in Sambas, Poso, Ambon, Lampung and others. Various social and political phenomena came to the fore. The strengthening of adat (customary revivalism) in various forms, the exclusiveness of some actors who use religious understanding, or movements that demand economic equality often use identity as part of the rationalization basis of their movement. If this is not balanced with awareness of the importance of national unity, it is not impossible to raise concerns about the risks that must be faced by all Indonesian citizens. This risk will be even greater if there are groups who deliberately ride the practice of identity politics for their economic and political gain.

The issue of the emergence of identity politics on the Indonesian political stage is not a new event. In the historical trajectory of the founding of this country, various forms of identity politics have appeared with various faces but often display faces full of violence, both physically and symbolically. Therefore, identity politics is a problem that must get the attention of all parties who are committed to the values of unity as a nation. In its development, various identity politics phenomena appear in the electoral realm. This becomes a problem when the nature of democracy, which is based on our spirit, is damaged because of exclusive sentiments that emphasize differences and affirmations between me and you or between us and them. The nature of self-exclusivity during diversity, if allowed to continue to grow, will be increasingly viral and in turn can lead to social conflict, tending to lead to self or group fascism. An introspective attitude towards all concerns caused by the complexity of the driving factors that cause divisions must be directed at the main actors causing the divisions, including the fibers that strengthen their existence. Based on the background of these problems, researchers are interested in conducting research that aims to map the factors causing the emergence of movements or practices of identity politics, the forms, and patterns of their movements as well as the configuration and potential threats they pose.

METHOD

This study used qualitative research methods. Qualitative research method is a research method that focuses on in-depth observations. Therefore, the use of qualitative methods in research can result in a more comprehensive study of a phenomenon. Qualitative research that pays attention to humanism or the human individual and human behavior is the answer to the awareness...
that all consequences of human actions are affected by internal aspects of the individual. These internal aspects such as beliefs, political views, and social background of the individual concerned (Ardianto 2019). While the data collection is done by exploring journals, books, and other information relevant to the study. The data sources used are the results of research data and books, journals, articles, and similar things obtained through Google Scholar. Activities in qualitative data analysis in this study were carried out by relying on an interactive model (Miles 1984) which was carried out through data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Identity Politics

The term identity politics has various meanings because it depends on the position (perspective) in which we understand the term. Ibrahim (2013), for example, mentions that there are three perspectives that can be used when studying the issue of identity politics. Ibrahim (2013) mentions the three perspectives, namely the Primordial Perspective, the Instrumentalist Perspective, and the Constructivist Perspective. Ibrahim (2013) explains that the first perspective is the Primordial perspective, which insists on the assumption that identity is something that is certain and given and emphasizes the emotional strength factor as a reinforcement in affiliation by looking at aspects of religion, language, customs and so on. Geertz in Ibrahim (2013) reveals that the basic substance of primordial sentiment is basically the longing not to belong to other groups. These components include tribalism, regionalism, communalism and so on. The center of primordial crystallization according to Geertz in Ibrahim (2013) is blood ties that become a family unit and then expanded, race, which is characterized by phenotypic identity, language which is often an important marker, regionalism or regionalism, religion which becomes a barrier and customs that become the basis of primordial crystallization. “Carrier of civilization” claims.

Although it can be moderated, according to Geertz (1992) in Ibrahim (2013) the tensions of primordial sentiments cannot be eliminated. The innate elemental power of place, tongue, blood, views, and way of life shapes an individual's view of who he is and with whom he originates. In looking at identity and identity politics, namely the Instrumentalist Perspective, according to Ibrahim (2013) this perspective actually sees identity as a tool to achieve goals that are built with a process of manipulation and mobilization by utilizing identity attributes that have been arranged from the start (Ibrahim, 2013). Hutchinson and Smith (1996) in Ibrahim (2013) treat ethnicity as a social, political, cultural resource for group interests and status. Ibrahim (2013) revealed that this approach focuses on elite competition which emphasizes the need for symbol manipulation as something vital and gaining mass support and achieving political goals. Collectivity in this case according to Chalmers (2006) in Ibrahim (2013) is used as an instrument of social and political domination through manipulations by the elite.

Meanwhile, the Constructivist perspective sees that identity is created in such a way according to needs. This perspective sees that identities are constructed, selected and emphasized in social interactions, and that ethnic groups are seen as a unit defined by social boundaries (Ibrahim, 2013). The three perspectives described by Ibrahim (2013) are very helpful for us to
examine the phenomenon of identity politics that comes to the surface. Studies on identity politics are strongly influenced by the perspective used in viewing the phenomenon of identity politics itself. Even so, from the results of his dissertation study, Ibrahim (2013) found a formula that in studying identity politics mixing from the three perspectives is needed but with different degrees.

From these various perspectives, studies on identity politics are then carried out with various approaches such as the elite approach, the political economy approach, to the cultural approach. It is through this that the term identity politics is defined or given meaning. According to Hiplunudin (2017: 14) the person who first explained the nature of identity politics by tracing its origins was L. A. Kauffman, a study on the anti-violent student movement known as SNCC (the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), an organization of the civil rights movement in the United States in the early 1960s. In the issue of identity politics, the relationship between meaning and the word politics is very close. Buchari (2014: 21) connects the meaning of the term politics with identity politics and reveals that in essence identity politics is an effort to achieve certain power in life and the political stage, where the recognition and presence of representatives from groups is an important part of the political struggle carried out in the interests of the group. Furthermore,

Buchari (2014) cites Brown's opinion that group identity supports social construction to promote representation of group interests. Socio-political behavior becomes related to the identity of the group to be raised at a certain moment for the benefit of the group (Buchari, 2014: 21). Through this explanation, we find that identity is a process of social construction and has the potential to be used as a political instrument by a person or group of people to achieve certain interests at a certain moment. The definition of identity politics has also been put forward by many experts. Castells in Buchari (2014: 19) defines identity politics as individual participation in social life which is more determined by one's culture and psychology. Identity is the basic construction of culture and psychoculture of an individual that gives meaning and purpose to the life of the individual, because the formation of identity is a process of internal dialogue and social interaction.

The definition by Castells views the issue of identity politics as a result of negotiations between subjects and their social interactions. Kristianus (2009) in Buchari (2014: 20) provides an understanding that identity politics is related to the struggle for political power based on ethnic and religious identities. According to him, the struggle for identity politics is essentially a struggle for groups who are marginalized (marginalized) politically, socially, culturally and economically. Political action by prioritizing the interests of members of a group is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion (Buchari, 2014: 20). This understanding of Kristianus brings us to the emphasis that political actions carried out within the scope of the term identity politics are based on certain interests based on a common identity or certain characteristics, be it race, ethnicity, gender or religion.

Heller in Abdillah (2002) cited by Hiplunudin (2017: 12) assumes identity politics as politics that focuses on differentiation as the main category that promises freedom, tolerance and free play, even though it creates patterns of intolerance, violence and ethnic conflict. According to him, identity politics can include racism, bio-feminism, environmentalism (politics of environmental issues) and ethnic disputes. Meanwhile, Abdilah S (2002) in Ibrahim (2013) defines identity
politics as politics whose focus is on differences based on physical assumptions and physiological characteristics, as well as contradictions that arise as a result of these assumptions and characters. The politics built by this ethnicity, according to Abdilah, was initiated by the awareness to identify with a particular ethnic group or group.

It is this awareness that gives rise to the solidarity of the grouping. So that exclusivity becomes unavoidable. Morrowitz (Diamonf and Mars, 1999) quoted by Hiplunudin (2017: 14) defines identity politics as providing a firm line to determine who will be included and who will be rejected because the lines of determination cannot be changed, then the status as a member is not a member. immediately appear to be permanent. From the description above, we can see that identity politics is an effort to achieve certain power in life and the political stage by focusing on differentiation as the main category and it is based on race, ethnicity, gender, or religion. In this political struggle, the recognition and presence of representatives from groups is an important part. This identity politics also promises freedom, tolerance, and free play, even though it creates patterns of intolerance, violence and ethnic conflict. Identity politics begins with the awareness to identify with a certain group or ethnic group. It is this awareness that gives rise to the solidarity of the grouping. So that exclusivity becomes unavoidable.

**Causes, Forms and Patterns of Movement and Potential Threats to Identity Politics**

Identity politics is an attempt to achieve a certain power in life and the political scene by focusing on differentiation as its main category. It is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion. This definition leads us to problems in the political realm where interests, power and actors are the main elements discussed. In the political arena and in the administration of government in Indonesia, these various identity politics phenomena appear and often manifest themselves in forms that are colored by violence. In the context of political competition, conflict is often an unavoidable problem. Various ways are taken in order to achieve the interests and the achievement of the desired power.

Identity politics prioritizes differences as the main category, disturbing the social cohesiveness of society. Huntington (2012) explains that primordialism is the basis of bonds in world civilizations and then clashes with each other (clash of civilizations). Huntington (2012: 211) explains that along with the passage of modernization, global politics has been reconfigured across cultural boundaries.
Peoples and countries with similar cultures go hand in hand, and those in different cultural areas are separated from each other. According to Huntington, the division occurs because it is based on ideological reasons and superpower relationships which then give way to the formulation of alignment through culture and civilization. According to him, political ties are further strengthened by the existence of cultural ties: ethnic, religious, and civilisational.

These cultural communities then replaced the cold war blocs, and the intersection between civilizations became the focal point of conflict in the global political arena (Hutington, 2012). From Huntington, we learn that ideological reasons and their relationship to the problem of the tendency to stick to one of the superpower blocs are the causes of identity politics.

We can also read Huntington's explanation as a warning to us that cultural ties such as ethnicity, religion and civilisation have the potential as a means of strengthening politically-based identity politics (read: ideological) to appear even though in practice or in their movements they often do not show any signs of violence, themselves with their political identity but show their cultural identity (ethnicity, race or religion).

In Indonesia, such clashes have colored the life of the Indonesian people so much. Raben (2011) for example, suggests that the history of Indonesia in the 1950s noted that at that time Indonesia was in a position of ambiguity, between regions and the state attracting each other's interests, causing many conflicts. Raben (2011) considered that the complexity of regional sentiments and their overlapping and sometimes contradictory meanings were the main issues in Indonesia in the 1950s.

The 1950s, according to Raben, in Indonesia are generally described as years of failed attempts to establish parliamentary democracy and as years of regional toughness and restlessness in the face of efforts to unite Indonesia. Interest in local events according to Drake in Raben (2011) usually involves regional rebellions.
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Regional stubbornness is often defined as a problem of integration, as resistance to "old forms" in the outer provinces of Java against a centralized modern state, or as political and cultural resistance to Javanization. This resistance presents regionalism as one of the latent disturbances to the nation-state, which will be overcome in their respective time. Furthermore, according to Drake (1989) that it is only part of the problem.

In 1998, when regionalism and demands for regional autonomy resurfaced, Indonesia again faced regional unrest. Recent events force us to look back to the 1950s, when regional sentiments expressed themselves in the most explicit, most political, and often the most violent ways. It would be wrong if we uncritically conclude it is an ordinary conflict between national interests and regional interests (Drake 1989 in Raben 2011).

Democracy which tends to be liberal is also seen as the cause of the emergence of identity politics in Indonesia. Jumadi (2009) in Buchari (2014: 28) explains that the rise of identity politics can also be understood as a mechanism for adapting society due to the high level of uncertainty in the era of democratization. According to him, democratization has made the competition for economic and political resources even tougher. The mobilization of kinship, ethnic and religious networks was then created to win the fierce competition.

According to Jumadi, in the case of new democracies, it is often the pre-group leaders who manipulate the ups and downs of their group identity. According to him, these leaders exploit historical clan factors and cultural symbols to mobilize political support (Jumadi, 2009 in Buchari, 2014: 28).

The study conducted by Friday is in line with the results of studies conducted by Agustino and Yusoff (2010) and Mitzner (2012). Agustino and Yusoff in their article “Local Politics in Indonesia: From Autocratic to Political Reform” note that after the reform period, collaboration between the central and local elites disappeared, but instead strengthened the position of local rulers. So that democratic government by the people which is actually at the local level is not really achieved. The administration of government through the conception of Good Governance at the local level that puts forward the principles of effective and efficient governance has the potential to fail when faced with these problems.

After the Reformation, it was identified the rapid growth of political brokers and local strongmen, thus placing strong people at the local level, who began to take over the void and strengthen their access to control over local politics. The brokers and local strongmen who took over the vacancy of players in the local political arena during the Reformation Order were usually old brokers who in the past were unable or did not get the opportunity to compete with local strongmen who supported the New Order regime.

Meanwhile, the brokers and local strongmen who succeeded in getting their nails deeper in the reform era were the old players or brokers who in the past had become proxies of the New Order. But because of their ability to reorganize power during the transition to democracy, they managed to manipulate the public’s state of mind so that local strongmen became more powerful and influential than ever before.
Marcus Mietzner’s (2012) article on "Indonesian Democratic Stagnation: Conservative Elite vs. Civil Society", reveals that democratic stagnation in Indonesia is caused by conservative elites who want to restore their power, which they had before the reform took place. Mitzner says they are behind recent efforts to halt the democratization process in Indonesia. It is difficult to pinpoint, or simply describe clearly, the conservative groups in this group, because representatives are found in almost all political parties, in every government institution, and even in civil society.

According to Mitzner, these people did not only appear in the figures of the state apparatus, the military, businessmen and a number of political and power operators who had triumphed during Suharto's new order. But there are also political party leaders who were born after the fall of the authoritarian government, bureaucrats in government, and leaders of religious organizations, both mainstream organizations and militant organizations.

Agustino and Mietzner's writings provide a basis for the argument that democratization at the local level has also been hijacked by elites at the conservative local level or they are local strongmen and bosses who hijack power for their political interests so that in the dynamics of local politics and the management of power are closely intertwined with interests. ruling elites. From this description, here the author wants to emphasize that cultural leadership that prioritizes ethnicity has the opportunity to become a means of hijacking democracy through ethnic or cultural politics in order to achieve certain political interests.

In the political realm, namely the election stage, identity politics is also often carried out. Buchari (2014) researched the Dayak Ethnic Identity Politics in the 2007 West Kalimantan Governor Election. the existence of common sense, common goals, common interests and finally giving rise to identity politics, which is a political flow by involving a person or group of people who have similar characteristics, such as religion, ethnicity and culture (Buchari, 2014: 199).

In addition to Buchari, Sofyan Sjaf's (2014) writing also examines the same study, namely ethnic politics, namely in the political economy arena that occurred in Kendari. Sjaf (2014) observes the dynamics of local politics in Kendari which has given rise to ethnic politics in practice. According to him, the choice of liberal democracy (mainstreaming individuals and homo economicus) has evoked the emotionality of ethnicity which poses a threat to the division of the younger generation, the future of rural areas, and the barrenness of (re)production of national leadership. According to him, it's not just that, this choice has given the local elite an advantage to capitalize on ethnic identity in order to get the greatest possible advantage behind the ongoing democratic process. In fact, according to him, ethnic differences are intentionally (re)produced by ethnic bias elites in order to perpetuate symbolic, economic and political power.

From the results of the study conducted by Sjaf (2014) it proves that the practice of ethnic [identity] domination in the local political economy arena through a liberative democratic system needs to be addressed as early as possible so as not to backfire for the future of the Republic of Indonesia. Symptoms of ethnic inequality, the practice of domination of ethnic bias (symbolic, economic, and political power), and so on according to Sjaf are a threat as well as a common challenge for us to treat identity politics in the local political economy arena which is framed with the spirit of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Sjaf, 2014: 314). )
Various collective movements emerged from protest forms to radical forms coloring the dynamics of relations between the center and the regions. Raben's writing invites us to see the emergence of local culture on the political stage as a result of tensions between the center and the regions. Meanwhile, Hiarij (2010) wrote about another form of collective action that also came to the fore as a result of the friction of the tension between the state and society, namely the religious radicalism movement. The tension relations that exist between actors when viewed from a contentious point of view and social movements always lead to resistance and conflict as a way to negate the interests of each actor. The emergence of the collective movement that was launched according to Hiarij (2010) could be the result of the calculation of the rationality of profit and loss (especially those affected by rational actions such as Olson, 1965), or the result of the formation of an identity (by constructivists).

Hiarij (2010) argues that collective action is not a given reality, but the product of social movement efforts to construct internal coherence. Without understanding the construction of this social movement it seems difficult to digest the logic of all forms of action carried out by activists. The actions of radical Islamic groups are therefore an expression of a certain internal unity. This element of internal unity is created through two framing processes: First, by defining who he is and who his enemies are, and second, by outlining the problems being faced and how to overcome them. But that does not mean that the radical Islamic movement is a unified and unified whole. Disagreements on certain issues and internal conflicts among activists make the internal coherence on which the collective identity is based has a certain degree of fluidity.

In his study Hiarij (2010) stated that in general radical activists are involved in four types of action. They carry out blasts in places such as churches, buildings associated with Western countries and facilities most frequented by Westerners; conduct campaigns against prostitution, pornography, drugs, alcohol and gambling; and staged mass marches and street protests. The collective action of this group can be seen as an expression and performance of a radical Islamic identity produced by an internal process of constructing ours - the movement.

In order to identify themselves, the activists photographed their group as the most original Muslim citizens who have a noble obligation to realize the implementation of Shari'a and establish Islamic political authority and carry out jihad and da'wah to fight for these goals. Activists believe this sacred mission from a worldly perspective can be justified in overcoming the socio-economic crisis in Indonesia following the 1997-1998 monetary crisis.

Radical Islamic groups also recognize themselves and value their sacred mission as something real and important by constructing the enemies of Islam. The most important enemy is Christianity, followed by the West and the Jews. Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent and Communists, like Liberal Islam groups, are also seen as no less dangerous enemies. This paper also argues that radical activists such as Ba'asyir will reject the distinction between the area of ethics and the area of practice because for them Islam must not only be constructed abstractly in human thought but also be expressed concretely through the human body. In many cases, radical activists even prioritize the physical expression of faith through clothing or physical appearance to affirm the real Islam (Hiarij, 2010: 150).
The article which also raised the theme of radical movements in the name of identity in relation to the administration of power was also written by Umar (2010). Umar through his political economy perspective in his analysis stated that there are two things that we can read as the cause of radicalism.

First, the historical legacy of Muslims that are conflicting with the regime, because there are modes of oppression of Islamic politics that have occurred in several historical fragments, especially the New Order. These historically marginalized groups, with historical awareness, try to restore the political position of Islam with non-state and structural ways. In the global context, the marginalization of Islamic politics by hegemony in international politics (the United States) has led to an awareness to restore Islamic political sovereignty. Transnationalism brought this awareness to Indonesia in the form of Islamic political movements (Umar, 2010: 172).

Second, the political-economic phenomenon. Besides the existence of political oppression, the second argument of this paper is the existence of political-economic oppression. With this argument, radicalism arises because of the excesses of capitalism which creates those who do not have access to sources of capital. In the language of political economy, this approach is known as the class approach - that is, the response to radicalism is basically a class response to fight the oligarchic hegemony of capital with the state (Umar, 2010: 172). Thus, radicalism is read as a portrait of historical consciousness combined with class consciousness. Umar's writing elaborates on these two arguments as a tool to trace the roots of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia (Umar, 2010: 172).

Umar stated that the revival of local identity through radical movements could also be seen as the impact of the government's failure to manage public problems. Umar (2010: 182) revealed that "terrorism - in Indonesia will not be completed if the government does not fix the structural problems faced by Indonesia. Umar argued that poverty is an implication of misreading and imitation of policies that are not adapted to the context and objective conditions of the country. The issue of the birth of Radical Islam - will not be separated from how the state eradicates poverty. It is the government's job to answer all of that” (Umar, 2010: 184).

The writings of Raben, Hiearij, Umar have mapped the issue of conflict relations with identity and management of state power. From the three writings, it can be mapped out how to see the re-emergence of local culture to the surface seen through 3 perspectives, namely first as a result of tensions between the center and the regions; second, as a negation of the existence of identity and third as an expression of the problem of the failure of power management and distribution of resources. The three articles also help to map the importance of the relationship between ideology, identity and power management. Political marginalization causes ideological conflicts to emerge as an expression of this marginalization through the denial of identity and various forms of collective action.

Another study that confirms the root causes of the rise of enthusiasm for adat was carried out by Henley and Davidson (2010). Hanley and Davidson (2010) through the article “Radical Conservatism-Various Faces of Indigenous Politics”, explore the origins of the recent enthusiasm or enthusiasm in Indonesia to return to adat, what gives culture, as a political reason, the ability to
attract and mobilize support and why can this mobilization occur today, and develop rapidly in an exhibition of traditionalism and Indigenism that suddenly emerged after the Suharto era.

Four major factors are discussed in Henley and Davidson's writings, the first being the inspiration and support of international organizations and networks fighting for the rights of indigenous peoples, the preservation of cultural diversity, and the idea that communities and traditions can help the environment. The second factor was pressure and oppression under the New Order; Third, the important opportunities and demands of reforms related to Indonesia's recent political and economic history; and the fourth root of the revival is ideological heritage, historical in nature, and lies in the role that adat has played in the Indonesian political imagination since the dawn of nationalism in the early twentieth century. Henley and Davidson's writing further emphasizes that the issue of identity politics is a problem caused by the support of ideas and resources, the management of power that tends to be dominant, the structure of political opportunities, and the historical ideological heritage.

The various forms and patterns of identity-based political movements or practices above are also emphasized by Heller in Hiplunudin (2017: 12) which states that according to him, identity politics can include racism, bio-feminism, environmentalism (politics of environmental issues) and ethnic disputes. Meanwhile, Hiplunudin revealed that the extreme form of identity politics is the emergence to some extent of the idea of separatism (Hiplunudin, 2017: 15). The various forms of identity politics emphasize that the scope of identity politics is very broad because of its nature which allows it to move beyond the boundaries of cultural identity alone.

The identity politics movement also has its own character. Beyme in Abdillah (2002) quoted by Hiplunudin (2017: 14), he analyzed the character of the identity political movement in three stages of development, namely the first pre-modern stage where fundamental divisions occurred, ethnic groups, and nationalities gave rise to a comprehensive socio-political movement, where there was ideological mobilization by the elites in the competition for power from the incumbent to the new ruler.

Second, at the modern stage, the movement emerges with a conditional approach, division requires resources to be mobilized, there is a balance of mobilization from above and participation from below so that the leader's role is no longer dominant and aims at power sharing.

Third, postmodern developments, the emergence of movements stems from their own dynamics, protests arise on various individual opportunities, no one group or division is dominant. The pattern of action and activities is based on self-awareness that is autonomous as the final goal. Thus, Hiplunudin explained the characteristics of the identity politics movement that Beyme expressed.

Democracy which tends to be liberal is also seen as the cause of the emergence of identity politics in Indonesia. Jumadi (2009) in Buchari (2014: 28) explains that the rise of identity politics can also be understood as a mechanism for adapting society due to the high level of uncertainty in the era of democratization. According to him, democratization has made the competition for economic and political resources even tougher. The mobilization of kinship, ethnic and religious networks was then created to win the fierce competition.
According to Jumadi, in the case of new democracies, it is often the pre-group leaders who manipulate the ups and downs of their group identity. According to him, these leaders exploit historical clan factors and cultural symbols to mobilize political support (Jumadi, 2009 in Buchari, 2014: 28).

The study conducted by Friday is in line with the results of studies conducted by Agustino and Yussof (2010) and Mitzner (2012). Agustino and Yusoff in their article “Local Politics in Indonesia: From Autocratic to Political Reform” note that after the reform period, collaboration between the central and local elites disappeared, but instead strengthened the position of local rulers.

So that democratic government by the people which is actually at the local level is not really achieved. The administration of government through the conception of Good Governance at the local level that puts forward the principles of effective and efficient governance has the potential to fail when faced with these problems.

After the Reformation, it was identified the rapid growth of political brokers and local strongmen, thus placing strong people at the local level, who began to take over the void and strengthen their access to control over local politics. The brokers and local strongmen who took over the vacancy of players in the local political arena during the Reformation Order were usually old brokers who in the past were unable or did not get the opportunity to compete with local strongmen who supported the New Order regime.

Meanwhile, the brokers and local strongmen who succeeded in getting their nails deeper in the reform era were the old players or brokers who in the past had become proxies of the New Order. But because of their ability to reorganize power during the transition to democracy, they managed to manipulate the public's state of mind so that local strongmen became more powerful and influential than ever before.

Marcus Mietzner's (2012) article on "Indonesian Democratic Stagnation: Conservative Elite vs. Civil Society", reveals that democratic stagnation in Indonesia is caused by conservative elites who want to restore their power, which they had before the reform took place. Mitzner says they are behind recent efforts to halt the democratization process in Indonesia. It is difficult to pinpoint, or simply describe clearly, the conservative groups in this group, because representatives are found in almost all political parties, in every government institution, and even in civil society.

According to Mitzner, these people did not only appear in the figures of the state apparatus, the military, businessmen and a number of political and power operators who had triumphed during Suharto's new order. But there are also political party leaders who were born after the fall of the authoritarian government, bureaucrats in government, and leaders of religious organizations, both mainstream organizations and militant organizations.

Agustino and Mietzner's writings provide a basis for the argument that democratization at the local level has also been hijacked by elites at the local conservative level or they are local strongmen and bosses who hijack power for their political interests so that in the dynamics of local politics and management of power are closely intertwined with interests. ruling elites. From this description, here the author wants to emphasize that cultural leadership that prioritizes ethnicity.
Fiber Identity Politics and Potential Threats

has the opportunity to become a means of hijacking democracy through ethnic or cultural politics in order to achieve certain political interests.

In the political realm, namely the election stage, identity politics is also often carried out. Buchari (2014) researched the Dayak Ethnic Identity Politics in the 2007 West Kalimantan Governor Election. the existence of a common sense, common goal, common interest and finally giving rise to identity politics, which is a political flow by involving a person or group of people who have similar characteristics, such as religion, ethnicity and culture (Buchari, 2014: 199).

In addition to Buchari, Sofyan Sjaf's (2014) writing also examines the same study, namely ethnic politics, namely in the political economy arena that occurred in Kendari. Sjaf (2014) observes the dynamics of local politics in Kendari which has given rise to ethnic politics in practice. According to him, the choice of liberal democracy (mainstreaming individuals and homo economicus) has evoked the emotionality of ethnicity which poses a threat to the division of the younger generation, the future of rural areas, and the sterility of (re)production of national leadership. According to him, it's not just that, this choice has given the local elite an advantage to capitalize on ethnic identity in order to get the greatest possible advantage behind the ongoing democratic process. In fact, according to him, ethnic differences are intentionally (re)produced by ethnic bias elites in order to perpetuate symbolic, economic and political power.

From the results of the study conducted by Sjaf (2014) it proves that the practice of ethnic [identity] domination in the local political economy arena through a liberative democratic system needs to be addressed as early as possible so as not to backfire for the future of the Republic of Indonesia. Symptoms of ethnic inequality, the practice of ethnic bias dominance (symbolic, economic, and political power), and so on according to Sjaf are a threat as well as a common challenge for us to treat identity politics in the local political economy arena which is framed with the spirit of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Sjaf, 2014: 314).

In the course of the history of the Indonesian nation, the impact of the practices of identity politics has been felt from time to time. Huplunudin (2017) wrote about various identity politics practices from the historical period in the colonialist era to reformation. During the colonial period, identity politics resulted in the existence of a social hierarchy that was used by colonialists to perpetuate colonialist power and at the same time oppress the Indonesian people. Various physical and symbolic violence that demeaned the natives (the term at that time for the indigenous population) occurred a lot. However, on the other hand, as a colonized nation at that time, the identity politics carried out by the colonialists had also given birth to an awareness of nationalism and a revival of the spirit of struggle to escape the shackles of colonialism.

Later, namely the Old Order and the New Order, as part of the description above, the impact of identity politics was the emergence of ethnic conflicts such as the South Lampung conflict, the Dayak conflict with Madura in West Kalimantan, the emergence of separatist movements such as GAM (Free Aceh Movement). OPM (Free Papua Organization) until the events of the release of East Timor are conflicts that wear identity as the basis for rationalization and legitimacy of their actions. Of course, as we know, these conflicts have claimed many victims and many losses must
be obtained. Therefore, the impact of identity politics is so powerful, it is appropriate for all parties who are committed to avoiding political pragmatism to use identity politics as an act of struggle.

Lately, movements that reflect identity politics are getting stronger. Various events appear to the surface, ranging from extreme acts of terrorism, peaceful actions demonstrated by religious nationalist groups (eg the 212), as well as actions triggered by various emerging issues such as the revival of the Communist Party (PKI) in Indonesia, which which was enough to make harmony and the political situation in Indonesia heated up.

These extra-parliamentary movements are essentially closely intertwined with the identity sentiments of the group. The mass movement does provide an opportunity for the transmission of sentiments that will lead to a structure of political opportunities for interested actors to take advantage of this momentum. While on the other hand, individual actions through terror methods tend to spread fear rather than strengthen group cohesiveness.

Furthermore, in the form of radical acts of terrorism based on political reasons, namely ideology, it is often the root of the problem which is then closely intertwined with identity (race, religion, ethnicity, region) as the basis for rationalizing the actions taken. Terrorism with its tendency to destructive behavior becomes a serious threat to the security and social stability of society.

The psychological impact that he transmits is the fear if left unchecked will evolve into suspicions that infect every individual in society. These suspicions are one of the causes of the estrangement of social relations between members of the community so that people are vulnerable to being infiltrated by divisive politics from irresponsible parties, which in the end creates chaos.

It needs special attention that the failure of the state to manage power and distribution of resources has resulted in the emergence of identity politics in the face of regionalism, ethnic politics and environmental movements to separatism as an extreme form. These movements also pose a threat to the integration of the nation and state. Various outbursts of discontent were expressed in separatist and extremist movements that demanded justice in the management of resources between the center and the regions.

There are many ways for the government to eliminate fibers that have the potential to disrupt the stability of the continuity of state life, one of which is the issuance of Law No. 32/2004 on regional government which was subsequently revised into Law no. 23/2014 which specifically regulates decentralization. However, when decentralization and regional autonomy were implemented in various regions, it turned out that the problems were not immediately resolved, the fibers of identity politics were still closely attached.

The struggle for power over resources is not only between the center and the regions but also at the local level or the regions themselves. This, if we look closely, is the result of the freedom given has caused the contestation for control over resources to become more open and tougher. The emergence of old elites and new elites at the local level has further brightened the contestation for control over these resources.

Threats to social integration arise when these competing elites for control use strategies or methods that have the potential to divide society or at least disrupt the previously maintained social
harmony in order to gain support for it. The emergence of identity politics which often uses identity, whether it be race, religion, ethnicity or region as an instrument to gain power, has opened opportunities for the disruption of conducive conditions and situations in the community.

Identity politics on the one hand has increased cohesiveness between individuals within a group. But on the other hand, whether consciously or not, it has increased the estrangement of social relations between groups in society. To overcome this problem, the strategy that the state can take as a conflict manager is divided into several ways, depending on the root cause of the emergence of identity politics.

Identity politics movements or actions rooted in the problem of resource inequality, the effort that can be carried out is to moderate the management of resources between the state and the community. Meanwhile, at the local level, it is necessary to open access to resources by the wider community from the monopoly of elites at the local level.

Increasing community participation in development in all fields and implementing deliberative democracy at the local level are some of the ways that can be taken with the aim that resource management at the local level can be more evenly distributed and thus stability at the local level can still be controlled. Solving the problem of inequality in resource management in this case is a panacea to prevent the emergence of identity politics whose emergence is caused by inequality itself.

The movements or actions above tend to be carried out extra-parliamentary. In reality, it cannot be denied that identity politics has also strengthened in the parliamentary realm (electoral: general elections). The procedural democracy with a liberative character adopted by this country, however accommodates every individual from various groups to participate as contestants or voters as long as it is regulated by the existing laws and regulations.

Through this electoral domain, identity politics is generally used to win contestations, even though it departs from various motives, such as economic motives, namely the control of resources, political power or affirmation of ethnic identity. The election route is the main choice targeted by individuals or groups to change conditions or maintain power for the elites who hold power. Involvement of identity in the realm of elections is a way to broaden group sentiment and ultimately broaden support.

The fiber of identity politics began to appear in the case of the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election, which has become complicated because it links identity issues such as religion and ethnicity as well as legal issues. This condition has not fully recovered until mid-2020, what are the implications then? The trend that occurred after the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election was held, the remnants of sentiments of hatred, racism, and others still afflict individuals in society, especially those who are involved in the political arena in this country. No exception at the local level, we can see simple examples such as in the village, village head elections involving economic, political, cultural and social capital mostly leave chronic diseases in the form of hatred against individuals or opposing groups. Until the village head election ended, these diseases did not go away. Various threats that can damage the harmony of society need to be handled. Prevention efforts can be carried out through various strategies, first, the government must take
persuasive actions in the form of spreading public political awareness so that people do not get trapped and fall into blind sentiments that end in identity politics. The development of political awareness is also directed at how the public can avoid various issues and hoaxes that can divide unity and unity.

The radicalization of democracy that leads to agonism, namely emphasizing the attitude of not eliminating each other towards opponents, also needs to be injected into public awareness during democracy which tends to be liberative at this time. Second, through an institutional strategy, the government can further improve the functions of existing institutions to support the government's efforts to maintain unity and integrity. Third, through the legal corridor, the government can intervene to provide direction to sanctions (with the protection of the rule of law of course) against violations and the implementation of elections that lead to identity conflicts in the community.

Some of the strategies that emerged as prevention and control efforts were put forward, of course the author is well aware that in practice it is not as simple as written. This is because, in practice, identity politics often arises due to various intertwined problems, whether it is discrimination and marginalization of groups, ideology, issues of political contention, issues of struggle for control of resources and others. So that it gives rise to quite a variety of treatments, meaning that it requires a combination of existing efforts so that the root of the problem is completed and resolved. In addition, the emergence of identity politics on the political stage will be minimized in line with the increase in the rationality of citizens who act as voters.

CONCLUSION

Identity politics in Indonesia arises due to various factors. The root causes of identity politics also determine the form and pattern of movements or actions of identity politics that are carried out. In the form of radical action, political reasons, namely ideology, often become the root of the problem which is then closely intertwined with rationalization of action based on identity as the cover. In addition, the failure of the state to manage power and distribution of resources has resulted in the emergence of identity politics in the face of regionalism, ethnic politics, and environmental movements to separatism as an extreme form. While in the political arena, the emergence of identity politics is more due to the fluidity of identity which has the potential to be used as a political tool to achieve victory by a candidate or political party and the nature of liberative democracy which triggers the emergence of emotional ethnicity which in the end gives birth to the identity politics movement. Identity politics is a way to mobilize support and advance the hidden agenda behind the practice of identity politics that is shown. This is of course very vulnerable to the life of the nation and state because such pragmatism will only lead the community to social conflict as a result of the strengthening of identity and self-exclusiveness sentiments or groups and, whether consciously or not, often involve acts of physical or symbolic violence. Furthermore, it is not impossible that the hidden agenda behind the use of identity politics can jeopardize the existence of state power, such as the motive to change the state order. Therefore, in this case, it is in the interest of the state to immediately address the issue of identity politics with
appropriate formulations so that unity and integrity and harmony in the life of the nation and state can be maintained.

Looking at the root causes of the emergence of identity politics that occurred in Indonesia as described above, the right solution, of course, logically is to cover the root problems which have given birth to identity politics. The results of the studies above emphasize good management of state power, wise management of resources, reinterpretation, and reconsideration of the implementation of democracy in Indonesia, namely implementing the Pancasila democratic system where deliberation is the key to decision making and community development of political awareness and awareness. the life of the nation and state needs to be strengthened. Increased rationality and a responsible attitude of society will reduce the tendency to get involved in the puddle of identity politics. Through these various suggestions, it is hoped that the management of identity in Indonesia by the state can be carried out appropriately so that the emergence of identity politics practices can be minimized, if not eliminated.

REFERENCE