NARRATIVE OF IDENTITY POLITICS IN THE 2024 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This research investigates the effects of social media on the quality and functioning of democracy in Indonesia, especially in relation to the 2017 DKI Governor Election and the upcoming 2024 presidential election. Social media is a vital platform for political participation, mobilization and expression, as it enables citizens to access information, voice their opinions and engage with diverse perspectives. However, social media also poses risks and challenges for democracy, as it can be used to manipulate public opinion, spread misinformation and incite violence.

Theoretical framework: The influence of negative campaigns on voting behavior and political participation has also been a focus of research, with studies analyzing the impact of campaign narratives and media attention on election outcomes. In this context, many studies have highlighted how campaigns dominated by negative narratives can influence voters' opinions and attitudes. Negative campaigns tend to focus attention on the weaknesses and defects of political opponents, often leading to polarization and dissatisfaction with the political process as a whole. Apart from that, the role of the media in strengthening or balancing the campaign narrative is also an important aspect to be researched. The mass media has great power in strengthening the narratives conveyed by candidates and political parties through the coverage, analysis and opinions they convey to the public. In this case, media attention to certain campaign narratives can influence voter perceptions and preferences.

Methods: The research examines how social media was used by different political actors and groups to support or oppose Anies Baswedan, who was a candidate for the governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017 and is now a presidential candidate backed by the Nasdem Party, PKB and PKS. The research also analyzes the impact of social media on the political culture and values of the Indonesian society, as well as the opportunities and limitations for enhancing democratic accountability and transparency through social media. The data collection methods include interviews, document analysis and internet-based sources and social media from 2016 to 2017.
Result & Conclusion: The research findings show that social media has both positive and negative effects on democracy, as it can foster civic engagement, deliberation and pluralism, but also create polarization, distrust and intolerance. Social media is the third most popular medium for spreading campaign content, after television and newspapers. The campaign content in the 2017 DKI Governor election was then used in a national context to undermine Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate, who was backed by the Nasdem Party and PKB, who were his political adversaries in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Governor election.

Research Implications: Highlights the importance of responsible social media strategies to support democracy, recommending enhanced digital literacy and content regulation.

Originality/Value: Provides a unique analysis of the impact of social media on political elections in Indonesia, offering insights into changing campaign strategies and socio-political interactions.

Keywords: identity politics, campaign, 2014 presidential election.

NARRATIVA DA POLÍTICA DE IDENTIDADE NAS ELEIÇÕES PRESIDENCIAIS DA REPÚBLICA DA INDONÉSIA DE 2024: ANÁLISE CRÍTICA DO DISCURSO

RESUMO

Objetivo: Esta investigação investiga os efeitos das redes sociais na qualidade e no funcionamento da democracia na Indonésia, especialmente em relação às eleições para governador do DKI em 2017 e às próximas eleições presidenciais de 2024. As redes sociais são uma plataforma vital para a participação, mobilização e expressão política, pois permitem aos cidadãos aceder à informação, expressar as suas opiniões e interagir com diversas perspetivas. No entanto, as redes sociais também apresentam riscos e desafios para a democracia, uma vez que podem ser utilizadas para manipular a opinião pública, difundir desinformação e incitar à violência.

Enquadramento teórico: A influência das campanhas negativas no comportamento eleitoral e na participação política também tem sido foco de investigação, com estudos que analisam o impacto das narrativas de campanha e da atenção dos meios de comunicação social nos resultados eleitorais. Neste contexto, muitos estudos destacaram como as campanhas dominadas por narrativas negativas podem influenciar as opiniões e atitudes dos eleitores. As campanhas negativas tendem a centrar a atenção nas fraquezas e defeitos dos adversários políticos, conduzindo muitas vezes à polarização e à insatisfação com o processo político como um todo. Além disso, o papel da mídia no fortalecimento ou equilíbrio da narrativa da campanha também é um aspecto importante a ser pesquisado. Os meios de comunicação social têm grande poder no fortalecimento das narrativas veiculadas pelos candidatos e partidos políticos através da cobertura, análise e opiniões que transmitem ao público. Neste caso, a atenção dos meios de comunicação social a determinadas narrativas de campanha pode influenciar as percepções e preferências dos eleitores.

Métodos: A pesquisa examina como as redes sociais foram utilizadas por diferentes atores e grupos políticos para apoiar ou se opor a Anies Baswedan, que foi candidato a governador do DKI Jacarta em 2017 e agora é candidato presidencial apoiado pelo Partido Nasdem, PKB e PKS. A investigação também analisa o impacto das redes sociais na cultura política e nos valores da sociedade indonésia, bem como as oportunidades e limitações para melhorar a responsabilização democrática e a transparência através das redes sociais. Os métodos de coleta de dados incluem entrevistas, análise de documentos e fontes baseadas na internet e mídias sociais de 2016 a 2017.
Resultado e Conclusão: Os resultados da investigação mostram que as redes sociais têm efeitos positivos e negativos na democracia, uma vez que podem promover o envolvimento cívico, a deliberação e o pluralismo, mas também criar polarização, desconfiança e intolerância. As redes sociais são o terceiro meio mais popular de divulgação de conteúdo de campanha, depois da televisão e dos jornais. O conteúdo da campanha na eleição para governador do DKI em 2017 foi então utilizado num contexto nacional para minar Anies Baswedan como candidato presidencial, que foi apoiado pelo Partido Nasdem e pelo PKB, que foram os seus adversários políticos nas eleições para governador do DKI em Jacarta em 2017.

Implicações da Pesquisa: Destaca a importância de estratégias responsáveis de mídia social para apoiar a democracia, recomendando aprimoramento da alfabetização digital e regulação de conteúdo.

Originalidade/Valor: Fornece uma análise única do impacto das mídias sociais nas eleições políticas na Indonésia, oferecendo percepções sobre as mudanças nas estratégias de campanha e interações sociopolíticas.


NARRATIVA DE LAS POLÍTICAS DE IDENTIDAD EN LAS ELECCIONES PRESIDENCIALES DE 2024 DE LA REPÚBLICA DE INDONESIA: ANÁLISIS CRÍTICO DEL DISCURSO

RESUMEN

Objetivo: Esta investigación investiga los efectos de las redes sociales en la calidad y el funcionamiento de la democracia en Indonesia, especialmente en relación con las elecciones de gobernador de DKI de 2017 y las próximas elecciones presidenciales de 2024. Las redes sociales son una plataforma vital para la participación, movilización y expresión política, ya que permiten a los ciudadanos acceder a información, expresar sus opiniones e interactuar con diversas perspectivas. Sin embargo, las redes sociales también plantean riesgos y desafíos para la democracia, ya que pueden utilizarse para manipular la opinión pública, difundir información errónea e incitar a la violencia.

Marco teórico: La influencia de las campañas negativas en el comportamiento electoral y la participación política también ha sido un foco de investigación, con estudios que analizan el impacto de las narrativas de campaña y la atención de los medios en los resultados electorales. En este contexto, muchos estudios han destacado cómo las campañas dominadas por narrativas negativas pueden influir en las opiniones y actitudes de los votantes. Las campañas negativas tienden a centrar la atención en las debilidades y defectos de los oponentes políticos, lo que a menudo conduce a la polarización y la insatisfacción con el proceso político en su conjunto. Aparte de eso, el papel de los medios de comunicación a la hora de fortalecer o equilibrar la narrativa de la campaña también es un aspecto importante a investigar. Los medios de comunicación tienen un gran poder para fortalecer las narrativas transmitidas por los candidatos y partidos políticos a través de la cobertura, el análisis y las opiniones que transmiten al público. En este caso, la atención de los medios a ciertas narrativas de campaña puede influir en las percepciones y preferencias de los votantes.

Métodos: La investigación examina cómo diferentes actores y grupos políticos utilizaron las redes sociales para apoyar o oponerse a Anies Baswedan, quien fue candidato a gobernador de DKI Yakarta en 2017 y ahora es candidato presidencial respaldado por el Partido Nasdem, PKB y PKS. La investigación también analiza el impacto de las redes sociales en la cultura política y los valores de la sociedad indonesia, así como las oportunidades y limitaciones para mejorar la responsabilidad democrática y la transparencia a través de las redes sociales. Los métodos de recopilación de datos incluyen entrevistas, análisis de documentos y fuentes basadas en Internet y redes sociales de 2016 a 2017.
**Resultado y conclusión:** Los resultados de la investigación muestran que las redes sociales tienen efectos tanto positivos como negativos en la democracia, ya que pueden fomentar el compromiso cívico, la deliberación y el pluralismo, pero también crear polarización, desconfianza e intolerancia. Las redes sociales son el tercer medio más popular para difundir contenidos de campaña, después de la televisión y los periódicos. El contenido de la campaña en las elecciones para gobernador de DKI de 2017 se utilizó luego en un contexto nacional para socavar a Anies Baswedan como candidato presidencial, que contaba con el respaldo del Partido Nasdem y el PKB, que eran sus adversarios políticos en las elecciones para gobernador de Yakarta de 2017.

**Implicaciones de la investigación:** Destaca la importancia de estrategias responsables de redes sociales para apoyar la democracia, recomendando una mayor alfabetización digital y regulación de contenidos.

**Originalidad/Valor:** Proporciona un análisis único del impacto de las redes sociales en las elecciones políticas en Indonesia, ofreciendo información sobre las estrategias de campaña cambiantes y las interacciones sociopolíticas.

**Palabras clave:** políticas de identidad, campaña, elecciones presidenciales de 2014.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

Elections are a big desire of all Indonesian people which then become a five-year agenda and provide space for all people to participate, both to be elected and to vote. Elections can be interpreted as a gateway to realizing the ideals of independence, namely the creation of general prosperity, so that elections should be eagerly awaited by all Indonesian people in a joyful atmosphere. However, what has happened at least until today is that the election has actually created new problems in society. Differences in political choices often create distance and trigger commotion, social conflict caused by differences in choices, which we often find in several regions in Indonesia. Surprisingly, political parties often come into play and sharpen divisions in society (Ezekiel, 2023).

Political participation, which is a manifestation of people's sovereignty, is something that is very fundamental in the democratic process (M.Sc, 2021). Political participation is the role of the community to take part in determining all decisions that can affect their lives (Surbakti, 2010). The basis of democracy in Indonesia is an obligation, not only in the context of general elections, but also in the context of providing equal rights in worship, religion, and building communities that do not violate the unity and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. In this research, the author discusses how law enforcement for human rights violations is contrary to the basic principles of democracy that should be implemented in Indonesia. Conventionally, elections can also be interpreted as a political process in which politicians are held responsible for making policies that
reflect the will of the public (Heywood, 2013). This shows that the main purpose of elections is to present what is the will of the people, by the people and for the people. A government that is supported by the people will gain strong legitimacy so that it can be said that a government can be called legitimate if the power is given by the people (Paralihan, 2019).

In recent years, parties and candidates challenging core democratic norms have gained unprecedented popular support in liberal democracies around the world. Based on public opinion data from the World Values Survey and various national opinion polls, we show that the success of anti-establishment parties and candidates is not a temporal or geographic aberration, but rather a reflection of increasing public dissatisfaction with liberal democratic norms and institutions, and increasing support for authoritarian interpretations of democracy (Foà & Mounk, 2017).

A democratic government system is an option that is widely used in various countries in running government (Tinambunan, 2023). In the Indonesian context, the agreement on democratic government is a mandate for reform that must be maintained and maintained, bearing in mind that a democratic system is the best system for measuring the administration of a government. By democratizing, elites credibly transfer political power to citizens, thereby ensuring social stability. Democracies consolidate when elites do not have strong incentives to overthrow them. These processes depend on (1) the strength of civil society, (2) the structure of political institutions, (3) the nature of political and economic crises, (4) the level of economic inequality, (5) the structure of the economy (6) the form and extent of globalization (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2005).

Because democratic leaders have limited budgets but need to win elections, they often divert resources to politically influential sectors, generating more negative attitudes toward democracy among people who are overlooked in elections. Ballard et al (2022) detail the historical record that supports the mechanisms identified in the model. By providing cross-country quantitative evidence that dissatisfaction with democracy increases among geographic populations when governments distribute resources disproportionately to other sectors (Ballard-Rosa et al., 2022). The political-economic balance may indicate a persistent (although decreasing) mismatch between political institutions and political culture, which tends to develop more slowly than formal institutions (Ticchi et al., 2013).
In an authoritarian government, political support generally relies heavily on the collective memory of past democratic experiences. Political instability is then flavored with propaganda to become very effective campaign material to influence society. To illustrate the theoretical findings with case studies of two authoritarian regimes preceded by periods of political instability the Russian Federation under Vladimir Putin, and Chile under Augusto Pinochet provides cross-national empirical evidence to support the argument. Research conducted by Belmonte and Rochit (2018) also shows that in regions where the media is less independent of the state, recall campaigns are more effective (Belmonte & Rochlitz, 2018). Fragments of media publications focus on how “then” and “now” are represented and connect or conflict with each other (Malinova, 2021).

In the case of Germany and China, the states’ “historical charters” of the late 19th century were violated, resulting in very different expressions of nationalism and national identity (in Germany) and nationalism (in China) today (Liu & Khan, 2021). However, in Palestine most of the events that occur are wholly or partly negative, reflecting the conflictual situation in the country. The analyzed studies confirm the partial existence of socio-centrism: in Latin America and Palestine most of the events are national. Negative historical events are related to low social welfare in Palestine (Casas et al., 2023). Remote political events, such as the French or American Revolutions, are considered more positive than similar events in the 20th century (Techio et al., 2010).

In the context of elections in Indonesia, election campaigns, both post-conflict regional elections, legislative elections and presidential elections, are still limited to image and brand contestation, have not yet led to contestation of ideas and concepts, candidate debate events in both post-conflict regional and presidential elections are still very textual and candidates are given leaks or questions, which of course shows that the candidate is actually not ready to compete with ideas in a genuine way. So social media is often the most effective campaign alternative, apart from being able to display the good side and positive image of the candidate, it also doesn't interact much physically with potential voters so it can reduce campaign costs. Social media is an integral part of human interaction, occupying an increasing proportion of time and social space (Allen et al., 2021).

The election law regulates the schedule and implementation of campaigns in elections which also provides limits and rules that must be obeyed by all election contestants, however, the massive movements of supporters of certain figures usually
tend to be without control in campaigning for their candidates. Campaigns should be a strategy for candidates to convey their vision and mission (Abdillah, 2014). However, the relatively long campaign period also has an impact on the candidate's success team in formulating the right strategy (Perdana & Wildianti, 2018).

Along with changes in society, the presence of social media is a very effective space for conveying political messages. At the same time, the proliferation of survey institutions, both those that actually present data based on scientific research and those that only fulfill orders from certain parties, is increasingly creating color and messages. Social media is now an inseparable part of our society's social interactions and is increasing (Lewis et al., 2019). And it becomes a new space for candidates and their success teams to be able to convey their vision and mission (Aminah, 2006). In the context of elections in Indonesia, campaigns are often peppered with SARA (ethnic, racial and inter-group) phenomena which can disrupt our social relations and thrive in this political year. In fact, they often use hate speech aimed at dividing society in election competitions (Warburton & Aspinall, 2019).

The relationship between religion and politics is examined from a theoretical perspective, with the assumption that ulama can be co-opted by rulers who act as autocrats (Auriol & Platteau, 2017). Because of its reference to sacred areas of life, religion provides the transcendental legitimacy that an autocrat may seek to support his rule (Budiarti, 2023). This may be an effective strategy in traditional societies where the influence of religion is very widespread due to low levels of urbanization and low levels of education of the majority of society (Auriol & Platteau, 2017). Some pollsters show increasing trust in the state and decreasing support for extremism, so religious sensitization may be effective in preventing Islamic radicalization and anti-social behavior (Vicente & Vilela, 2022).

The empirical literature has demonstrated a strong relationship between Muslim countries and indicators of political and democratic performance. The idea of a “clash of civilizations” proposed by Samuel Huntington and applied to Islam by Bernard Lewis and others points to unique aspects of Islamic religion and culture that made the emergence of democracy extremely difficult. In this article, I show that there is a systematic misunderstanding regarding the nature of the relationship between Islam and politics: instead of being integrated with the realm of religion, politics tends to dominate religion. Due to several characteristics, namely the absence of a centralized religious
authority structure and the large variability in interpretation of Islamic law, then there is a risk of an "obscurantist deadlock" in the form of a cruel process involving the ruler and his political opponents to defeat each other using religious idioms. This risk is very large, especially in crisis situations triggered by international factors such as those that occurred in the second half of the 20th century. From a brief comparative analysis, it is difficult to conclude that unique aspects of the Islamic faith are ultimately responsible for the persistent autocratic nature of Muslim governments (Platteau, 2011).

Social tensions and violence caused by Muslim radicalization affect many parts of the world. Added to this is the Islamic euphoria. Social tensions and violence caused by Muslim radicalization affect many parts of the world. Added to this is the euphoria of Islam. As we know, there are two major schools of thought in the character of fiqh, namely cultural Islam and Islam literally (AL-Barbasy, 2016).

The situation in the global world has finally faded with the emptiness of goals that have never been realized (Ridwan, 2024). A religious campaign against extremist views of Islam, targeting belief change found that only religious treatment reduced the tendency to destroy others' gains. This is what later gave rise to the popular term "Identity politics". In political science studies, identity politics is another term for biopolitics and politics of difference which is based on differences that arise physically. Even though this discourse has been around for a long time, its implementation is still a matter of study in political science which only emerged after a symposium at the international meeting of the International Political Science Association in Vienna in 1994 (Heller & Riekmann, 1996).

In Haller's view, identity politics is a concept and political movement that focuses on differences (differentiation) as the main thing, the idea of differences has promised freedom, tolerance and freedom of play even though in the end it gives rise to new threats where Social identity seems to act as social glue. Here, community participation is very important in counterterrorism efforts as the main source of information regarding local activities (Ridwan, 2022). This provides stability in groups that would otherwise collapse (van Vugt & Hart, 2004).

Research conducted by Prague (2022) in Russia shows that the expansion of the Church network is increasingly less able to attract people and significantly increase the number of believers. However, it influences the political preferences of those who, regardless of their belief in God, identify themselves as Orthodox. A potential channel for persuasion is the media (Prague, 2022). This shows that places of worship are often
more effective in conveying political messages compared to religious moral messages or eschatological messages.

Several previous theories and research define hoaxes as fake news or information whose truth is uncertain, which can shape public opinion. This research was proposed by Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2017), Situngkir, H. (2017), Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017), Siswoko, KH (2017), Walsh, L. (2006) and Juditha, C. (2018). The research agrees that the highest spread of hoaxes occurs on social media because information is conveyed by users directly without filtering, assessing and checking facts, including the spread of fake news in the election. The development of hoaxes is increasingly wide open and uncontrolled along with freedom of media and opinion to create democratic elections (Delmana, 2023).

The 2024 elections are almost similar to the 2014 elections where one of the candidates is Anies Baswedan, former Governor of DKI Jakarta, who since his victory in the 2017 DKI regional elections has always been accused of using identity politics, his victory is said to be the result of the use of identity politics and so on, stigmatization Negative towards Anies always adorns public spaces, especially on social media. After the appointment of Anies Baswedan as a presidential candidate by the Nasdem Party, the stigmatization campaign was increasingly carried out both by parties that were not in line with Anies' policies and former supporters of Anies' political opponents in the 2017 regional elections.

This research was conducted to find out whether there was a specific and significant correlation to the stigmatization of identity politics in the 2017 DKI regional elections, which was then combined with the narrative of the "haram" of identity politics in the DKI Jakarta regional elections involving Anies Baswedan on the political dynamics in the upcoming 2024 Presidential Election.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The 2024 presidential race in Indonesia is marked by the emergence of identity politics narratives that shape the public discourse and influence the voters' preferences. Identity politics refers to the political mobilization of people based on their social identities, such as ethnicity, religion, gender, or class. In this article, we use a critical discourse analysis approach to examine how these narratives are constructed,
disseminated, and contested by different actors and media outlets. We will also analyze how these narratives relate to the broader issues of democracy, development, and inequality in Indonesia.

One of the main theoretical frameworks that we will use is the economic origins of dictatorship and democracy by Acemoglu and Robinson (2005), who argue that political institutions are determined by the balance of power between different social groups and their preferences over economic policies. According to them, democracy emerges when the elites are unable to suppress the demands of the masses for political participation and redistribution, and when the masses are able to coordinate their actions and overcome collective action problems. Conversely, dictatorship emerges when the elites are able to exclude the masses from political power and prevent them from forming a credible threat to their interests.

Another important reference that we will use is the media politics, democracy, and political media by Aminah (2006), who examines the role of media in Indonesian politics and democracy. She argues that media can play both positive and negative roles in promoting or undermining democratic values and practices. On the one hand, media can provide information, education, and deliberation for the public, as well as monitor and criticize the government and other powerful actors. On the other hand, media can also manipulate, distort, and sensationalize information, as well as serve the interests of certain political or economic groups.

Identity politics narratives have become a prominent feature of the Indonesian 2024 presidential race, as different candidates appeal to various religious, ethnic, and ideological groups. According to Belmonte and Rochlitz (2018), such narratives can shape collective memories and influence political support for authoritarian regimes. They argue that propaganda can manipulate the public perception of historical events and create a sense of loyalty and gratitude towards the ruling elite. In the context of Indonesia, this could mean that some candidates use identity politics to justify their authoritarian tendencies and to discredit their opponents.

However, identity politics can also pose a threat to democracy and human rights in Indonesia, as Paralihan (2019) warns. He analyzes the role of Islam in Indonesian politics and how it has been used to mobilize voters and to legitimate violence against minorities. He claims that identity politics can undermine the principles of pluralism, tolerance and equality that are essential for a democratic society. He calls for a critical
reflection on the relationship between religion and politics and a rejection of any form of extremism or intolerance.

On the other hand, identity politics can also be seen as a way of expressing political values and preferences that are shaped by cultural transmission. Ticchi, Verdier and Vindigni (2013) propose a theoretical model that explains how political values are transmitted from parents to children and how they affect the choice between democracy and dictatorship. They suggest that identity politics can reflect the diversity of political cultures and the demand for representation and participation in the political system. They also acknowledge that identity politics can generate conflicts and polarization, but they argue that these can be resolved through democratic institutions and mechanisms. Identity politics narratives in the Indonesian 2024 presidential race are influenced by various factors, such as collective memories, propaganda, religion, human rights, cultural transmission and political values. These narratives have different implications for democracy and authoritarianism in Indonesia, depending on how they are used and interpreted by the candidates and the voters.

Finally, we will also draw on the geography of democratic discontent by Ballard-Rosa et al. (2022), who study how spatial inequalities affect the support for democracy and authoritarianism across countries. They find that regions that are more economically disadvantaged, socially marginalized, or politically excluded tend to have lower levels of democratic satisfaction and higher levels of authoritarian nostalgia. They also find that these effects are mediated by the quality of governance and public services, as well as by the exposure to alternative political models. By using these references, we hope to provide a comprehensive and critical analysis of the identity politics narratives in the Indonesian 2024 presidential race, and their implications for the future of democracy in Indonesia.

To theoretically discuss black campaign narratives in elections, it is important to consider the various factors that contribute to the proliferation of black campaigns, especially in the context of social media. Highlighting the influence of legislation, law enforcement, and the need to improve regulatory mechanisms on social media to counter the impact of technological advances on black campaigns (Dewanti, 2022). This underscores the importance of legal and regulatory frameworks in addressing the challenges posed by smear campaigns. Additionally, research by Nai et al. (2019) emphasized the personality traits and campaign styles of political leaders, such as Donald Trump, and their implications for policy styles and achievements during their terms in
office (Nai et al., 2019). This highlights the role of political figures and their campaign strategies in shaping the black campaign narrative.

In addition, the emotional dynamics of election campaigns and the phenomenon of affective polarization among politicians, which raises the question of whether politicians become emotional during election campaigns (Öhberg, 2023). This underscores the emotional and psychological dimensions that may underlie smear campaign narratives. Furthermore, research conducted by Widhiasthini (2020) discusses the various benefits of election campaigns via social media, highlighting the challenges posed by hoaxes related to black campaigns and their impact on voters (Widhiasthini, 2020). This confirms the role of social media in the spread of black campaign narratives and the related challenges in overcoming misinformation.

The use of social media in spreading negative narratives and false accusations during election campaigns has become a focus of research, highlighting the role of digital platforms in shaping political communication and public opinion (Mueller, 2021; Rumata & Nugraha, 2020). Additionally, the racist nature of political messages and the impact of identity politics on campaign strategy have been explored in the context of black campaigns. Research has examined racial symbolism and narratives used in political discourse, highlighting the dynamics of race and competitiveness in election campaigns (Vidal et al., 2021); (Johnson, 2018). Additionally, the intersection between race, gender, and political activism has been the subject of investigation, particularly in the context of social justice movements and the mobilization of marginalized communities (Mitchell-Walthour, 2018); (Suyono et al., 2020).

The influence of negative campaigns on voting behavior and political participation has also been a focus of research, with research analyzing the impact of campaign narratives and media attention on election outcomes (S. Anderson, 2020); (Erkel et al., 2018). The role of political knowledge, cultural leanings, and media visibility in shaping public support for campaign finance reform and policy preferences has been examined, providing insight into the complexity of electoral dynamics and public opinion formation (Jorgensen et al., 2017); (Bencova, 2020). The use of metaphor and storytelling in news and political discourse has also been explored, emphasizing the role of language and communication strategies in shaping political narratives and public perceptions (J. Anderson et al., 2017).
2.1 IDENTITY POLITICS

In building a theoretical basis for identity politics, there are several factors that need to be considered. One of them is a study conducted by Sternisko et al. (2020) which discusses the dark side of social movements, social identity, non-compliance, and the appeal of conspiracy theories. This highlights the dynamics of social identity and conspiracy in politics (Sternisko et al., 2020). Additionally, research by Han et al. (2019) explained the relationship between political identity and financial risk taking, using social dominance orientation as a foundation (Han et al., 2019).

Furthermore, a study by Kuo et al. (2017) highlighted the relationship between social exclusion and political identity, particularly in the context of political participation of the Asian American ethnic group (Kuo et al., 2017). Meanwhile, research by Kuhn (2019) discusses how identity politics shapes the direction of European integration (Kuhn, 2019). From the results of this research, it can be concluded that the theoretical basis of identity politics involves the dynamics of social identity, political orientation, social exclusion, and political integration at regional and international levels.

Furthermore, Lerner (2019) theorizes that victim nationalism is a strong identity narrative with key constitutive elements, which highlights the power dynamics inherent in identity narratives in international politics, this emphasizes the role of victimhood and power in shaping political identity narratives.

Additionally, Bliuc & Chidley (2022) explore the role of collective narratives in shaping group behavior, highlighting the implications of narrative contributions to political identity and collective action. This influences the collective narrative of identity and political behavior. Meanwhile Innes (2023) explores the role of narrative identity in creating stability and the potential for change, emphasizing the dynamic nature of political identity narratives. This highlights the fluidity and adaptability of narrative identity in the political realm.

The concept of identity politics is increasingly attracting the attention of researchers, especially in the context of election campaigns (Hidayati, 2021). Discusses the role of social media in shaping political communication and branding of political leaders, highlighting the significant influence of technology companies such as Facebook, Twitter, Microsoft, and Google in shaping political communication during election campaigns (Siahaan & Kause, 2022) emphasizing the role of identity politics in triggering
intergroup conflict, particularly in the context of religious affiliation, demonstrating the divisive nature of identity politics. Prayogi & Pasaribu (2021) further emphasized that political identity is an inherent characteristic of liberal democratic countries, providing space for various groups to articulate their interests and goals thereby influencing the electoral process. Additionally, Fernando (2022) discusses the impact of political mediatization and voter behavior, highlighting the importance of understanding public participation and electoral processes in the context of political identity.

3 METHODS

This research adopts a qualitative method with a phenomenological perspective, which is a way of understanding the meaning and essence of human experiences (Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, 2009). The research relies on the lived experience and awareness of the essential qualities of the phenomena that happen, both the visible and the hidden aspects. The primary data sources in this research are online news content and social media content that were popular in the media from May to June 2017, on Facebook and Twitter platforms. The secondary data were collected through direct interviews with actors and the public who participated actively in the 2017 election campaign activities. The analysis follows a qualitative approach with logical analysis, interpretation, comparison and other techniques that lead to a conclusion.

4 RESULTS

The 2017 DKI regional elections were attended by three pairs of gubernatorial candidates, namely Agus Yudhoyono-Sylviana Murni, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama-Djarot Saiful Hidayat, and Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno because in the first round they could not produce a winner who produced vote support (50% + 1) so a second round of voting was held, followed by the pair of candidates who received the first most votes and the second most votes, namely Basuki Tjahaja Purnama-Djarot Saiful Hidayat (42.96%) and Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno (39.97%). Data obtained by each candidate in the first round can be depicted as in the following graph:
Graph 1. Results of the First Round of the DKI Regional Election

In the second round there was a very significant change in votes for the pair Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno from 39.97% in the first round to 57.95% in the second round. Meanwhile, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama did not experience an increase and even tended to experience a decrease in votes from 42.96% in the first round to 42.055 in the second round. This condition can be explained by the migration of Agus - Sylvi voters in the Anies - Sandi pair. The victory of the Gubernatorial Candidate Pair Anies Rasyid Baswedan and Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno with a total of 3,240,332 votes or 57.95% of the total valid votes caused dissatisfaction for the losing pair until then the term "Identity politics" emerged where the Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno pair was labeled used verses and corpses to win the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election contest. Data on the results of each candidate in the second round can be depicted as in the following graph:

![Graph 1. Results of the First Round of the DKI Regional Election](image-url)
If we refer to voter data based on religion, based on this data, there are 8.6 million Muslim voters, 888,800 Christians, 411,700 Catholics, 385,900 Buddhists, 20,262 Hindus, 1,200 Confucians and 226 religious groups. Meanwhile, the DKI Round of Permanent Voter List (DPT) second is 7,218,280. This data shows that the high number of Muslim voters does not automatically have a significant influence on their decision to elect a leader who is also Muslim. The data above raises a new question, is it true that Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno’s victory in the 2017 DKI Governor election was due to the use of identity politics? why is the vote tally only 3,240,332, If it is true as stated that voters based on similarity of religion reached 71.4% and Agus Yudhoyono's voters' votes migrated to the Anies-Sandi pair, then Anies’ votes should have reached 3,992,385. And only a difference of 889,087 from the pair Basuki Cahaya Purnama - Djarot Saiful Hidayat who got 2,351,245 votes. Another fact, as mentioned by eep Saefullah Fatah, is that the findings of the Polmark Research Institute from the exit pool results in the second round of the DKI Jakarta regional elections, Agus Silvy voters apparently did not migrate to the Anies-Sandi pair but to the Ahok-Jorot pair. This finding further clarifies the fact that Anies - Sandi's victory in the 2017 DKI Jakarta regional elections was not due to identity politics campaign factors but because the people of Jakarta believed more in Anies Baswedan's campaign promises.

Graph 2. Results of the Second Round of the DKI Regional Election
Identity politics in the DKI Jakarta regional elections was blamed more on the use of religion (Islam), which at that time was triggered by the controversial statement by the then Governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) regarding the Al-Maidah verse 51 as a tool of lies. (Rina Atriana, 2017). The wave of protests among Muslims who were spontaneously moved because their sacredness was disturbed by a Basuki Cahaya Purnama who believed in another (religion) was then considered a political movement driven by the couple Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno. This is where we need to pay attention to whether it is true that the defeat of the Ahok - Djarot pair was only because of this problem or because of their policies during their leadership which no longer reflected siding with the people of Jakarta so that when there is a new figure who is considered to be able to bring change to the province of DKI Jakarta, have good ideas and side with the people and then get the most support.

The issue of religion in general is a very sensitive issue not only in Jakarta but in several regions, if you look at the composition of Jakarta's population, the population of Jakarta who are Muslim has even reached 8.6 million people. This is a very large number considering that in general the majority of native Jakarta residents (Betawi people) are Muslim, although currently the population of Betawi people, especially in the DKI Jakarta area, is only 28.1% or is in second place, while immigrants from the Javanese tribe are in first place with 35%, Sundanese 14.5%, Chinese 6.5% and Batak 3.4%. The population of Jakarta based on religion and belief can be depicted in the graph below:
Elections, both regional and local elections, must be interpreted as a gateway for change and improvement, therefore elections only display a contestation of ideas, a contestation of ideas in developing the country in the future, not a contestation of images or the spread of fake news, let alone slander and adulation so that elections can be a means of good political education for society and especially the younger generation. So the more alternative ideas there are, the more choices will be made and the more it will show that we have a stock of quality potential leaders. So when choosing we do not base our choice on emotional factors or psychological closeness but rather on offering better ideas. The Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2012 was widely covered by the mass media, possibly generating more controversy in Indonesia than any other election since the general election in 1999. In the history of the implementation of regional government in Indonesia, it is recorded that several regions have special autonomy with different names according to the historical background of its formation and the regional autonomy policies that regulate it (Chaidar, 2020).

This brought new sensitivities and hopes to politics. The election of Joko Widodo ('Jokowi') and deputy governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama ('Ahok') set Jakarta society's expectations for change. The victory of the Jokowi-Ahok pair in the 2012 DKI Jakarta regional elections was a victory for democracy despite an ethno-religious campaign (Miichi, 2014).
5 DISCUSSION

One of the interesting topics to explore in the Indonesian 2024 presidential race is the role of identity politics narratives in shaping the voters’ preferences and behavior. Identity politics refers to the political mobilization of certain groups based on their shared characteristics, such as ethnicity, religion, culture, or ideology. According to Belmonte and Rochlitz (2018), identity politics can be influenced by collective memories and propaganda, especially in authoritarian regimes that manipulate historical facts and create myths to legitimize their power. However, identity politics can also emerge in democratic contexts, as Paralihan (2019) argues, when some groups feel threatened by the diversity and pluralism of society and resort to religious fundamentalism or nationalism as a way of asserting their identity and interests. In this regard, Ticchi et al. (2013) suggest that the cultural transmission of political values, such as democracy or dictatorship, can affect the formation and persistence of identity politics across generations.

In the Indonesian 2024 presidential race, we can expect to see different narratives of identity politics from the candidates and their supporters, depending on their backgrounds, agendas, and strategies. For instance, we can analyze how the candidates use their ethnic, religious, or regional identities to appeal to certain segments of the electorate, or how they frame their opponents as threats to the national unity and harmony. We can also examine how the voters respond to these narratives, whether they are influenced by them or not, and what factors shape their political choices. By doing so, we can gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics and implications of identity politics in Indonesia's democracy.

The 2024 presidential race in Indonesia has been marked by the resurgence of identity politics narratives, which have polarized the electorate along religious, ethnic and ideological lines. Identity politics, or the use of collective identities to mobilize political support, is not a new phenomenon in Indonesian politics, but it has gained prominence and intensity in recent years. This paper aims to analyze the causes and consequences of identity politics narratives in the 2024 presidential race, drawing on concepts from Belmonte and Rochlitz (2018), Paralihan (2019) and Ticchi et al. (2013).

Belmonte and Rochlitz (2018) argue that collective memories, or shared representations of past events, can be manipulated by authoritarian regimes to create propaganda and generate political support. They show that authoritarian leaders can use
selective memory, distortion, omission and fabrication to shape the public perception of history and legitimize their rule. In the context of Indonesia, this paper suggests that some presidential candidates have used collective memories of past conflicts, such as the 1965 anti-communist purge, the 1998 reformasi movement and the 2002 Bali bombings, to create a narrative of threat and victimization for their supporters. For example, some candidates have portrayed themselves as defenders of Islam against the perceived enemies of secularism, communism and liberalism.

Paralihan (2019) examines the relationship between Islam and democracy in Indonesia, and argues that the rise of identity politics poses a threat to human rights and pluralism. He contends that identity politics is based on a narrow and exclusive interpretation of Islam, which rejects diversity and tolerance. He warns that identity politics can lead to violence, discrimination and radicalization, as seen in the cases of the 2016 Jakarta gubernatorial election, the 2017 blasphemy trial of former governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), and the 2018 Surabaya church bombings. He calls for a more inclusive and democratic version of Islam, which respects human dignity and diversity.

Ticchi et al. (2013) explore the cultural transmission of political values, or how parents pass on their political preferences to their children. They develop a theoretical model that shows how different types of political regimes affect the intergenerational transmission of values. They find that democracy fosters more diversity and heterogeneity in political values, while dictatorship promotes more homogeneity and conformity. They also show that cultural transmission can generate persistence or change in political regimes over time. In the context of Indonesia, this paper argues that identity politics narratives can affect the cultural transmission of political values, by creating a sense of loyalty or alienation among different generations of voters.

We have analyzed the role of identity politics narratives in the 2024 presidential race in Indonesia, using concepts from Belmonte and Rochlitz (2018), Paralihan (2019) and Ticchi et al. (2013). It has shown that identity politics narratives can have significant effects on the public perception of history, the relationship between Islam and democracy, and the intergenerational transmission of political values. It has also highlighted some of the challenges and opportunities for Indonesian democracy in the face of identity politics. This is of course very different from the 2017 Pilkada, if we look at the DKI Jakarta Pilkada in 2017, there are at least several notes that have repeatedly become top trending on all social media, which can be described by Anies Baswedan as in the graphic below:
The negative stigma surrounding Anies Baswedan's victory in the 2017 gubernatorial election cannot be suppressed even though during the five years Anies Baswedan has been in office there has been no evidence of partiality towards intolerant, radical, anti-diversity groups and the use of identity politics. This means that the negative issues in the 2017 DKI Governor election which were specifically pinned on Anies Baswedan's personality were just content that was deliberately created to downgrade Anies Baswedan so that he would not be able to run in the upcoming 2024 presidential election.

In a survey conducted by LSI Denny JA regarding the demographics of Muslim voters in DKI Jakarta in 2017, it was found that as many as 71.4% stated that shared religion was important in choosing a candidate for governor, 17.3% chose Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) and 26.5% chose Anies Baswedan, meaning that in the voter segment based on religion, Anies lost to Agus Yudhoyono. Meanwhile, in the Betawi voter segment, Agus is ahead with 40.5%, then Ahok with 28.4% and Anies only in third place with 22.7%.(Putro, 2017). If you look at the Betawi voter segment which is the Muslim voter segment, this data also once again casts doubt that Anies' victory was purely due to the use of identity politics.

Another thing that is worth paying attention to is why Anies-Sandi's victory is always only associated with the use of identity politics, is there no correlation with the disappointment of the people of Jakarta towards the leadership of Basuki Tjahaja

Purnama who replaced Joko Widodo? all of them received support from the people of Jakarta so it would be impossible for the people of Jakarta to choose another one if they didn't use an identity politics campaign? Although it must be acknowledged that some groups of society who are still conservative certainly cannot accept Ahok who is said to be a non-Muslim and non-native, this conservative issue is only temporary and is used only because of similarities in interests (Putro, 2017).

Jakarta is often a national parameter both from an economic and political perspective (RH Solehudin, 2022). Even Jakarta has an attraction for regional people in Indonesia to try their luck in Jakarta (Solehudin, 2023). So the DKI Jakarta regional elections have become a mecca for projecting democracy in the country. Success or failure in the DKI regional elections can be a measure of the quality of the implementation of democracy in Indonesia, however, if the measure used for the success of holding the regional elections is based more on subjective sentiment then this assessment will not be fair.

In the political context in the country, the use of identity politics has actually been going on since the early days of the founding of this republic, for example the PKI carried out its political movements by inviting groups that had the same communist ideology or were in the same country. in line with socialist thinking, so it could also be called "identity politics", as well as the emergence of the NU Party, Masjumi Party and others who also campaigned to elect those who had the same views and beliefs. The position of Muhammadiyah and NU is an example of how Islamic organizations exist changed its ideological position towards Pancasila, from the critical and skeptical attitude shown during the debate at the Independence Preparatory Working Body (BPUPK) and the sessions at the Constituent Assembly, including the accommodative one towards Pancasila (Al-Barbasy & Zaman, 2020). And there is no threat of division and does not cause turmoil at the lower levels, meaning that this nation has long been educated in diversity but cannot be separated from its identity.

It is very natural that those of us who are Muslim are more comfortable inviting Muslim people to vote for us compared to inviting people from outside groups that we don't necessarily know well, and it is also very natural that people from a Javanese ethnic background prefer to campaign among other people (Mustika & Tellys Cortiana, 2022). Javanese people and use Javanese, and so on. So where are the problems that are violated
when we don't use methods of attacking, provoking, pitting other groups with different choices against each other?

Political identity that occurs in Indonesia has two patterns, namely positive and negative or even destructive (Kiftiyah, 2019). Research conducted by Nelwan (2022) in the Manado regional elections stated various reactions from the public regarding participants based on their religious identity. Relations in society begin to be disturbed when political discussions are always side by side with religion. So what happens is that people support their candidates because of religion. This situation is considered to disrupt harmony between religious communities in Manado City, especially Christians and Muslims (Nelwan, 2022). The research results show that identity political orientation and political representation influence the democratic process in the 2018-2022 DKI Regional Election case (Nasrudin, 2019). The victory of the Jokow-Makruf Amin pair in the 2019 presidential election shows that the dynamics of moderate Islam in Indonesia are still adhered to by the majority of Muslims in Indonesia (Rubaidi & Setianingsih, 2021). Strengthening cultural idioms related to Islam is necessary to mobilize public support in the struggle for power based on community-based political identities (Hadiz, 2018).

Hoaxes in elections are a national threat because they cause disruption in various aspects, namely security defense, political ideology and public morals. Handling hoaxes requires cooperation from various parties, by finding the source of hoax news, suppressing and stopping its spread, and providing correct literacy and information. The public’s tendency is that when information matches their beliefs and attitudes, they will spread hoax information easily, without caring about the truth of the news. The situation is made worse when the relevant stakeholders have not dealt with it massively and simultaneously, it is certain that the news will reduce the trust and integrity of the election organizers in the eyes of the public.

The development of information technology which later gave birth to digital technologyIn order to attract the attention of young people or first-time voters in the campaign, all propaganda and negative campaigns are spread through social media. Anies is often the target of social media users who criticize various DKI Jakarta Provincial Government policies which are often considered useless and not the result of the aspirations of Jakarta residents. For example, in recent times at the beginning of 2020 regarding the Jakarta floods. Social media users harshly criticized Anies Baswedan's policies. The direction of change is giving birth to a social society where social interaction
is dominated in the digital space, as a result digital media has become the most effective and efficient means for a politician to convey his campaign messages. Social networking which means interaction due to common goals (Agusyanto, 2014).

This condition is almost similar to the attack on Jokowi when he wanted to run as a presidential candidate in 2014, who was often accused of being part of a banned organization such as the PKI and so on. So the presidential election contestation does not make democracy more advanced, instead it actually creates new commotion in the public space. The contestation that emerged was more about a contestation of good images and bad images, there was no contestation of ideas which should be a measure for prospective leaders in bringing the nation forward. The issue of poverty and welfare should be a priority considering that poverty is still a multidimensional problem that cannot only be resolved through education alone, there are many factors that are correlated both directly and indirectly, meaning that as a multidimensional phenomenon, poverty is therefore the solution must also use a multidimensional approach. too (R. H. Solehudin et al., 2023).

What we regret most is that the label or stigma regarding the use of identity politics is only given to certain parties, for example Anies Baswedan who is currently the presidential candidate of the coalition for change. And several groups are affiliated with Islamic organizations or mass organizations which have often been stigmatized as radical groups (Solehudin, 2023). This is certainly a serious problem where Islamic groups who try to uphold their beliefs are considered a scourge for democracy.

Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election, the issue of identity politics that was pinned on Anies Baswedan was then taken up at the national level and there was even a high-ranking official in this country who conveyed a message to the public not to vote for a presidential candidate who had a track record of dividing people. The question then arises as to whether the accusation This is based on or just because of his dislike for the figure of Anies Baswedan. If the 2024 election campaign is only filled with narrative content from the 2017 DKI post-conflict regional election campaign then this is clearly a step backwards towards democracy because in the 2024 election the people will not be able to see the contestation of ideas but will only see democratic rubbish which makes the public space stuffy such as hoaxes, insults, accusations without bases, slander and so on.

It is certainly strange and unreasonable that the content of the 2017 gubernatorial election campaign is still being used to downgrade a particular candidate, namely Anies
Baswedan, who has served as Governor of DKI Jakarta for five years. And during his tenure as governor, none of the policies issued by Anies Baswedan legitimized or came close to these accusations. In fact, what happened was the opposite, Anies was able to embrace and gain support across parties, across society and across religions. We need to understand the constellation of Islamic political movements from the perspective of the psychology of the people in looking at the reality of life through religious lenses (Chaidar & Sahrasad, 2013).

As a party that is not based on religion, Nasdem is actually the only party that guarantees that Anies is the right figure to be able to unite the nation to stop polarization and gaps between groups of the nation's children and between Muslims (Mustika et al., 2022). This also confirms that what is used as campaign content is negative and The use of the term "Identity politics" regarding the figure of Anies Baswedan has no basis at all. As the Nationalist Party which became Anies Baswedan's political rival in the 2001 election for Governor of DKI Jakarta and was the political party that first nominated him as a candidate for President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024, this also confirms that the accusations and stigma of Identity politics against Anies Baswedan are accusations which cannot be proven.

6 CONCLUSION

The victory of the pair Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno is often associated with Identity Politics, so that during his five years as Governor, Anies' policies which were far from identity politics were unable to reduce the negative campaign that was labeled ahead of the 2017 Pilkada, even several previous studies also concluded this, as a result Identity politics is stigmatized as a very frightening scourge of democracy. The irony is that this negative stigma only applies to Anies Baswedan and does not apply to other parties or other groups. The negative stigma of identity politics in the 2017 DKI Regional Election was then drawn into a national context because Anies Baswedan is currently a presidential candidate supported by the Change Coalition spearheaded by the Nasdem Party. So, if this is still being drawn into the narrative content of the upcoming 2024 presidential election campaign, it could disrupt the election contestation which is expected to bring change to the nation in a better direction, becoming a contestation arena for the spread of hoaxes,
slander and conflict between supporters which has the potential to harm the practice of democracy in our homeland.
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