



Literature Study of Political Communication Based on Politic Identity and Symbolic Interactionism: The Role of Middle Class in Information of Democratization

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Abstract: Political communication is a very important part of the development of politics in Indonesia. Every general election will be filled with various kinds of propaganda targeting various segments of society. Identity politics is a form of public political expression that uses slogans that contain every political message. The characteristics of the use of identity politics can be identified through the concept of symbol interactionism. This study uses a qualitative approach with literature studies and focuses on analyzing the relationship between identity politics by identifying it with the concept of symbol interactionism and connecting it with Acemoglu's three-class model with a focus on middle-class voters. The purpose of this study is to find out the impact of the movement of using identity politics targeting the lower middle class on efforts to mature democratization in political communication. This research will combine the phenomenon of identity politics with symbol interactionism to a simplified pattern of political communication. The results obtained are the phenomenon of identity politics which is identified by symbol interactionism and mathematical modeling is formed as an explanation for the classification of each phenomenon. The classification of each phenomenon found in this study includes elements of (1) revolution, (2) repression, and (3) coup. By referring to the literature associated with the identity politics model in symbol interactionism, it is found that the role of the middle class is very small in the revolution, very high for starting repression, and very unlikely to start a coup.

Keywords: identity politics; symbolic interactionism; human behavior; politics

INTRODUCTION

Politics is a phenomenon that affects people who always live in society. We know that humans have nature as social beings who will always live and develop dynamically. Therefore, it can be said that politics is a symptom that manifests itself in the context of a person's development process, as part of that manifestation and the people are at the heart of politics. As stated by H. Djawamaku (1985) which states that a human being has a basic unit to understand the empirical aspects of political analysis in his life. This shows that political science, cannot leave the human factor in it. The meaning of the use of the word politics itself refers to an individual's actions and personal characteristics. The term politics over time is growing. The word politics is then absorbed into the term in Indonesian, which has three meanings (WJS Poerwadarminta, 183: 763), namely all affairs and actions (policies, tactics, and so on) regarding the interaction of a state government system with other countries, deception or cunning, and is used as a whole scientific discipline which is named political science.

Many experts put forward the definition of politics, but in short, politics can be understood as the process of forming and sharing power in society, which can be in the form of a process of policy



formation in a country. Politics is also a tool used by citizens in realizing the common good. Every country has a certain political system, including Indonesia. The political system is the "vein" for every nation, which is the vital breath of a healthy, prosperous, and stable nation. The functioning of a healthy and prosperous political system depends on the great hope of the nation-state to express the "blood flow" for the growth and development of various aspects of state life. Discussing about the political system, in the course of life this country has gone through various eras since its independence. Starting with the development from the independence revolution to the present reform era. Over time, many political groups emerged with identities in them. Both concerning the religion, social, and culture of a group. Such politics is often referred to as identity politics, which has the meaning that the implementation of politics prioritizes the interests of group members based on similar identities or characteristics, be it race, ethnicity, gender, or religion.

Identity policy is a political action that aims to influence politics, to control the distribution of what is considered a value, to the most basic demand, and primary self-determination. In its journey, identity politics is often used by the majority group to gain power. The use of identity politics in gaining power is felt to exacerbate differences and encourage conflict. Identity politics seems to form an essentialist whole regarding the existence and recognition of certain social groups based on their primordial identification. According to Agnes Heller, identity politics is a political concept and movement that refers to differences as part of the main political strategy. In general, two main factors make ethnic-religious appearances attractive, as if used, and influential in the political process. First, when religious ethnicity is threatened with extinction, it is necessary to maintain or protect the identity of the group. Second, when the political process is competitive. This means that the political process forces identity groups to face each other, no one is dominant, so it is not very clear who will win. Elections, including Pilkada (local general election in Indonesia), are political processes in which various factors, such as identity, are threatened. It all depends on the actors involved how to manage issues such as ethnicity and religion that are proposed.

The issue of the relationship between religion and politics is an issue that will always surround human life and still leaves debate in it. The answer to this question always provokes debate about the position of religion in the political arena, which in practice will always involve two opposing groups. One party campaigns for religion to be included in every political consideration (Hidayat, 2017). This idea is hereinafter called theocracy or government based on religion. As a result, religion becomes the highest umbrella in every political cycle. On the other hand, the other side rejects religious interference in political affairs. Religion must be separated from public discourse, understood as a private matter that only concerns personal interests. Religion is nothing more than a ritual that describes the relationship of human dependence on God. Therefore, there is no good reason for the state to take care of religion, just as an individual has no right to bring religion into the political arena.

It can be seen that religion is not only a trigger for social cohesion but also has the potential to cause social conflict. This condition is mainly determined by the position of religion, especially when it is in public discourse. Public discourse can accelerate the internalization of the value of social conflict in society.

There are different views regarding the existence of religious "interference" in the political sphere. If we observe together that there is a fundamental difference between the two things. Religious teachings about direction, rituals of worship, and morality. Meanwhile, politics in practice is more about the basic rules for the struggle for power in the context of state life. However, the two can be combined, as we see in the teachings of Islam, in history, where religion and politics cannot be separated from the time of the Prophet until now. This is different from Christian teachings which strictly separate the rights of church and state. This can be seen in Christian societies in the West, where there is a clear separation between religion and state. Religion is a private matter. The state should not interfere in it. The state protects and regulates a person as a citizen, not a shepherd of the faithful.



The development of identity politics can also be seen from the composition of adherents of the dominant religion in a country. By looking at the composition of the Indonesian people, who are predominantly Muslim, it is considered "natural" for religion to try to play a role in politics. This is also supported by historical factors, which as we know that religion had a close relationship with politics at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, although this also caused quite serious political problems. Conflicts and problems between Islamic dynasties have never subsided and are still raging. The emergence of political power struggles seasoned with religious legitimacy. An example is a dispute between Saudi Arabia and its ally, Iran, which plays a major role in the Middle East conflict. Both sides claim to be supporters of Islam, but both have different political agendas.

In Islamic society, there is always an obsession to establish a system of government in the form of an "Islamic state". By using the verses of the Qur'an and Hadith as the basis of the state, the reference and agenda of each policy will be taken. In short, it can be understood that religion is felt to be included in the space of the state political system. This is due to the strong influence of religious symbols on politics. Thus, Indonesia is no exception in the Islamic world, the role of *ulama* is very significant in every election process.

The middle class is a group that mediates between the poor and the rich. The middle class is not only required to pay taxes but also requires some income redistribution provided by the government. The poor class has a tendency to pay less taxes (or in some government policies will be exempt from tax obligations) and for developing countries will have a fairly large mass mobilization. In addition, the poor tend to receive the greatest benefits from income redistribution in the form of social and health assistance to support their welfare. On the other hand, the rich have very high tax obligations and can take care of their own needs without help from the government. The middle class has an important role in creating a democratic balance and controlling stable political communication between the characteristics of the poor and the rich which have very large differences. One of these democratizations can be used by the middle class through the use of balanced political communication to maintain the political system and socio-political stability in their environment. In conclusion, the middle class is the most important key decision of democratization. The existence of democratization depends on the incomes of the middle class. Because they are middle-class voters, they can lead the political system in part or in full. Increasing the share of middle-class income will change the behavior of the middle class, who demand a lower income redistribution from the government.

We can see in practice, the election process that took place in Indonesia in 2019 (Intan, 2019). That the issue of religious identity is still very strong is used as a basis for politics for some elements in society. Not only religion is used as a tool to get people's votes, but identity politics, such as race, ethnicity, and other social groups, is also widely exploited in this Democratic Party. This is also the impact of the politicization of religion that surfaced in the Pilkada DKI Jakarta (general election of special capital city of Jakarta) which took place in 2017 ago (Nasrudin, 2018). This leaves a hard mark for some people in the use of identity politics in elections. So that it can be used again in the 2019 election, it may continue in the next election. Other than that, the strengthening of political identity politicized religion that occurred during the New Order. One of the impacts of the suppression of freedom of expression in the public sphere. Today, when Islam is given space for expression, it is being misused by politicians to gain votes.

Religion Concept

Many opinions state that the term religion comes from Sanskrit, namely "a" which means not, and "gama" which means chaotic. So the term religion can be interpreted as not chaotic (orderly). Thus religion can also be interpreted as a regulation, namely a regulation that regulates the human condition, as well as regarding something supernatural, regarding character and social life together.



According to Daradjat (2005), religion is a process of human relations, which is felt about something where he believes that there is something higher than humans.

Religion is interpreted by some experts as a system of symbols, belief systems, value systems, and institutionalized behavioral systems, all of which focus on issues that are manifested as the most meaningful (ultimate mean hypothetical). Clifford Geertz termed religion as a system of symbols that refers to the regulation of a strong mood of motivation. This is what penetrates endures in man, formulating the idea of a general order of existence. Moreover, he wraps these concepts in such a glimmer of reality that his moods and motivations are realistic (Geertz, 1992). Religion is described by Hadikusuma in Agus (2006) as teaching revealed by God as a guide in human life. Some describe religion as a universal feature of human social life in the sense that all societies have a way of thinking and behaving which is called "religion" which consists of symbols, images, beliefs, and values. the specific way in which people interpret their existence, which contains a ritual component.

There are several other terms for religion, including religion, religion (English), *religie* (Dutch), *religio / relegare* (Latin), *dien* (Arabic), Religion (English). The word religie (Dutch) comes from the mother tongue of both languages, in particular from the Latin root "*religio*" "*relegare*", which means obligatory. According to Cicero, relegare means doing something with great suffering, that is, the type of worship that is done repeatedly and continuously. Lactancius defines the word relegare as binding together in a common union. In Arabic, religion is known as al-din and al-milah. The word al-din itself contains various meanings. It can mean *al-mulk* (royal), *al-khidmat* (service), *al-izz* (glory), *al-dzull* (disgrace), *al-ikrah* (coercion), *al-ihsan* (benevolence), *al-adat* (habits of), *al-ibadat* (devotion), *al-qahr wa al-sulthan* (power and government), *al-tadzallulwa al-khudu* (submission and obedient), *al-tha'at* (obedience), *al-Islam al-tauhid* (surrender and unite God).

Identity Politics

Theoretically, identity politics is politics to advance the interests of group members, because they have the same identity or characteristics, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or religion. Identity politics is another form of different politics. Identity policy is a political action that aims to direct aspirations to influence politics, to control the distribution of values that are valued for the most basic demand, namely pre-determination of self-determination. Ethnic-based identity politics is reflected in efforts to incorporate values into regional regulations, separate government areas, seek special autonomy, and separate themselves. At the same time,

Identity politics can be more narrowly defined as a sign for an activist who moves politically (Cressida, 2007). Whereas in a broad sense, identity politics refers to liberation from marginalized situations that specifically involve group voters (membership) in a wider context or for biological purposes. Examples are race politics and gender politics. According to Agnes Heller, identity politics is a political movement that focuses on diversity as the main political category. Identity policy stems from individual awareness to develop a certain identity in the form of relations in the original ethnic-religious identity. However, in the next journey, the identity policy was hijacked and adopted by the majority group to assert its supremacy.

The use of identity policies to seize power, which exacerbates differences and conflicts of contention, does not mean that it is not sharply criticized. Identity politics seems to emphasize the existence of essentialist integrity in the existence of certain social groups based on initial identification. Agnes Heller defines identity politics as the political concept of a movement that focuses on differences as the main political category (Sabhana, 2002). In every community, although they have ideologies, they have the same goal, it cannot be denied that there are different types of individuals who have their individuality and identity.



So, in general, the general theory of identity policy results. Different research results show that two main factors make ethnic religion attractive. use to be influential in the political process. First, when ethnic religions are threatened. There is a need to preserve or protect some kind of identity. Second, when the political process is competitive. This means that the political process forces identity groups to face each other, no one is dominant, so it is not clear who will win in the long run. Elections, including pilkada, are a political process in which various factors, such as identity, are threatened. It's just a matter of how threatened the actors involved in managing these ethnic-religious issues are.

Symbolic Interactionism

The idea of symbolic interaction theory was popularized by Herbert Blumer in 1939. The theory of symbolic interaction was put forward by many world sociologists such as John Dewey, Chales Horton Cooley, to GH Mead (1932) . This theory focuses on the use of expressions of symbols (vocals, physical movements, body expressions, and other media that are done consciously) with the interaction between individuals consciously causing reciprocity. (Siregar, 2011). The theory developed has its characteristics but in general, the theory developed by GH Mead (1932) regarding symbolic interaction has become one of the references in several studies (Siregar, 2011; Setiawati, 2011; Pramitha 2020; Shintaviana, FV, & Yudarwati, GA, 2014). The theory developed by GH Mead (1932) is based on ideas about individuals' relationships with society. At the heart of symbolic interaction is a typical human activity, namely the communication or exchange of sensible symbols. GH Mead (1932) illustrates that the main prerequisite that needs to be achieved from a process of unifying the human segment is through symbols that are believed and adhere to a uniform definition that embodies cultural unity. (Setiawati, 2011).

From this point of view, it can be assumed that human behavior should be considered as a process that allows people to shape their behavior, taking into account the expectations of others with whom they cooperate (Blumer, 1969). The definitions they give to other people, situations, objects, and even themselves, determine human behavior. In this context, meaning is constructed in the process of interaction; the process is not a neutral environment that allows social forces to play their role but is the real ingredient of a social organization of social forces.

According to the theory of symbolic interaction, social life is primarily a human interaction that uses symbols, they are interested in the way people use symbols that represent what they mean to communicate with each other. And also the impact of the interpretation of these symbols on the behavior of the parties in social relations. In conclusion, the theory of symbolic interaction is based on the prerequisites (1) Individuals respond to symbolic situations, (2) Meaning is the result of social interaction, and (3) Meanings interpreted by individuals can change from time to time.

The important concept that Mead (1932) puts forward in this regard is contained in his book *Mind, Self and Society* (Pramitha, 2020). Mead (1932) takes three concepts that are necessary to influence each other to build a theory of symbolic interaction. Symbolic interactions specifically describe language, thoughts, and reflection social interactions (Siregar, 2011; Setiawati, 2011; Pramitha 2020; Shintaviana, FV, & Yudarwati, GA, 2014). Thought, as a social phenomenon, is not a process of talking to oneself. Thought originates in a social process. Social processes precede thought, and social processes are not products of thought (Soekanto, 2009). The thought itself can evoke not only one response but the response of society in general (Ritzer, 2007). This means that the mind responds to a particular organization. When a person has that answer within himself, that is what is called thought. After the mind is formed, attention will focus on the interaction, where a nonverbal or verbal cue can be formed that can influence people's thoughts in interacting. An interaction can be a form of a symbol that has a special meaning (a significant symbol). (Siregar, 2011). In pragmatic practice, thinking also includes thinking processes that lead to problem-solving. The real world is full of 'problems' it is a function of the mind trying to solve problems to enable one to be more productive in life.



Mead (1932) (1932) also has a view of the self (self). The self is the ability to accept oneself as an object and, on the other hand, as a subject (Mead (1932)). In social relations, the self often acts as the subject. The self appears to develop when there is social communication or communication between humans. In Mead (1932) 's thought, we can focus on the concept of symbolic interactionism which has a focus on the philosophy of pragmatism and psychological behaviorism, first in the philosophy of pragmatism covering several sociologically oriented aspects and second for psychological behaviorism, which is a self-perspective that creates stimuli or behaviors that elicit responses. (Dalmenda & Elian, 2016).

The self also allows a person to participate in conversations or interact with others. Having a role here means that a person can understand what they are saying, listen to what is being said to others, and then decide what to say about their relationship with the other person. To achieve self, one must leave oneself or be "outside oneself" to see oneself as an object that can be rationally reflected without using emotions. People cannot feel themselves directly, but by placing themselves indirectly, especially from the perspective of others. Because of this reflection, the self becomes one with the social group.

Mead (1932) speaks of society in general, which means the endless social process that precedes self-thought. Society is very important for the growth and development of the mind. Society is also a collection of organized responses that make up the individual. Society will determine its values and norms for its community (Soekanto, 2009). Norms or rules in written institutions (constitutional law, applicable law, sanctions according to applicable official law) unwritten (ordinary law, custom, sanctions are social or moral sanctions (eg expulsion). Community institutions mean general responses in society or customs This life habit is the result of social interactions that shape and are shaped by society (Shintaviana, FV, & Yudarwati, GA, 2014). According to Mead (1932) , social institutions should only define what individuals should do in a very broad sense. general, providing sufficient space for individuals with creative abilities.

The Role of Middle Class in Democratization

In Daron Acemoglu's paper he explains the two-order model $i \in [r, p]$ that the rich and the poor have an impact on democratization.

Democratization function is $f(\mu, k, \varphi, \theta, \tau^i, \delta)$

- μ = cost of revolution
- k = cost of repression
- φ = cost of coup
- θ^r = an income shared of rich people,
- θ^p = an income shared of poor people
- V^i = Indirect utility of consuming government policy
- δ^r = a proportion of rich people
- δ^p = a proportion of poor people



In non-democratic conditions, the rich have de jure power to determine what they prefer. tax rate τ^i while the poor have a de facto force, which is a collective action revolution against the rich. Revolution occurs when the transfer is not enough means that the rich set low tax rates to maximize their indirect utilities. Since the revolution is always successful. \perp The rich get nothing after the revolution. The likelihood of democratization increases as the rich choose to democratize to prevent a revolution. It is the expected payment for the rich in a non-democratic environment higher than the poor because it can set a tax rate that can maximize their consumes useful.

$$V^r(ND) > V^r(D) \text{ note that } \tau^r < \tau^p$$

$$y^r - \tau^r y^r + (C(\tau^r) - \tau^r)\bar{y} > y^r - \tau^p y^r + (C(\tau^p) - \tau^p)\bar{y}$$

However, the rich still have a choice: either repression or democratization when the poor choose to make a revolution. Repression is more attractive in a poor society, as the rich may realize that the cost of repression is lower than the price of democratization. Because democratization with higher transfers be expensive for the rich, the rich prefer repression to democratization. So, the likelihood of democratization decreases. With the two-class model, assuming that citizens are poor, they make up the majority people, which means that they have the power to act collectively against the elites. We: Know that the elites are rich, they do not want to pay high taxes, the poor they can make a revolution when they worry about being the remnants of a post-revolution higher than staying under non-democracy. De jure power can be transfer from the rich to the poor by revolution or democratization (Acemoglu, 2003).

$$V^p(R, \mu) > V^p(ND)$$

$$\frac{(1 - \mu)\bar{y}}{\delta^m + \delta^p} > y^p - \tau^r y^p + (C(\tau^r) - \tau^r)\bar{y}$$

Before the transition to democracy, elites can exert pressure to stop the poor development of the poor. Repression occurs when the poor are very poor. The rich realize that in a democracy, there is a higher price to pay than tax the cost of repression, as the poor can impose higher taxes in a democracy. Therefore, the rich prefer to use repression in a poor society.

$$V^r(O|k) > V^r(D)$$

$$(1 - k)y^r > y^r - \tau^p y^r + (\tau^p - C(\tau^p))\bar{y}$$

In a democracy, de jure power belongs to the majority of voters who are poor. They can set their preferred tax τ^p . Coups are being carried out by the rich It only happens in a democracy. When the poor set a high tax rate, it means the rich should give them a higher transfer, the price of staying in democracy relatively higher than the cost of the coup. Higher tax rates make it more attractive coup for the rich. Consequently, the probability of remaining in a democracy decreases. The following equation shows the indirect benefit of a coup when the tax rate is high because the rich are better off. The greater the tax burden on the rich, the greater the tax burden the more social conflict.

$$V^r(C, \varphi) > V^r(D)$$

$$(1 - \varphi)y^r > y^r - \tau^p y^r + (\tau^p - C(\tau^p))\bar{y}$$

Moreover, the middle class plays an important role in development of democracy. First, the middle class can change the political system democracy, in particular, it has greater power in the context of partial democracy. Second, that can spread political power over the poor \perp partially turn into full democracy. Third, the middle class can be a buffer between the rich and the poor. Finally, average class as a linear, which has more power than solid lines to smoothly transition to a democratic race. In conclusion of Acemoglu's work, the model is focusing to the rich and poor position in democratization with different role. In model we assume that rich people prefer to non-democracy because of future allocation is more costly. In the other hand, the poor people prefer the democratization to gain the public policy for social care and any other program for wealth. This gap because poor people need higher transfer from government



than the rich people want to pay lower tax. In the population, we have known and assume that poor people most populated than rich people and make them to majority vote, especially in developing country.

METHOD

The library research method or another term is library research, which is a technique where data is collected by reviewing literature from various sources such as books, reports, notes and literature related to a problem that you want to study. solved (Nazir, 2003). Literature study is a series of activities related to the method of collecting library data by reading, taking notes, and processing research materials (Supriyadi, 2016). According to Danandjaja, library research is a research method in the form of a bibliography that is systematically arranged scientifically in which there are bibliographic materials related to research targets, research techniques, data collection using library methods, as well as organizing and presenting data (Danandjaja, 2014).

In a literature study methodology generally used is an approach in the form of a qualitative approach that produces information in the form of descriptive data and notes under study. The use of this literature study is used, among others, to seek and find information related to the problem under study, examine a theory that is the basis for the topic to be studied, seek a theoretical basis and also try to deepen the knowledge of researchers about a problem and field. to be studied (Setiawan, 2020).

RESULTS

The Development of Identity Politics in Indonesia

Humans are social creatures who need other people, cannot live alone, each individual must interact with each other. All individuals certainly want both economic, cultural, social, political, and so on. To do this, of course, can be done in different ways the well-being of each individual is relative. In the process of achieving prosperity, of course, not all positions can be held by every individual. Of course, there will be competition to achieve it, namely prosperity, which can change the main goal. Any means to achieve goals, but holding a position in a larger, larger institution, system, or organization, pursuing certain interests, ideals, can be said to have such behavior. political.

According to Deliar Noer Politics is all behavior related to power with a specific purpose to influence, change or maintain agreement in society. (Nambo & Peluhuluwa, 2005) As for identity, it is an element of characteristics or distinctions between one or more people. The so-called national identity, which is a character or identity of a country. Likewise, an identity must exist in humans, as well as politics in society. Therefore, there is something called political identity in recent times. Identity politics is a political way to unite groups based on similarities with themselves, be it race, ethnicity, religion, and even gender. (Nasrudin, 2018) In this ethnic format,

According to Cressida Heyes, according to her, identity politics is a sign or characteristic of political activity. (Nasrudin, 2018) In a broad definition, identity politics is for interest and liberation from the marginalized system specifically from membership and more broadly. Therefore, it can be said that a development related to identity politics in Indonesia stems from the awareness that identifies the community as a group. So from this awareness finally emerged solidarity for the group itself.

According to Klaus Von Beyme, this identity politics has undergone several developments, starting from the pre-modern stage to the post-modern stage. (Habibi, 2018) Fundamental divisions, the emergence of socio-political movements from these groups in a comprehensive way. In this case, under the leadership of a leader who aims to seize power from the old ruler to the new ruler. In modern times, he uses this stage with a conventional (early) approach. As a result of the split, of course, requires movement from top to bottom to get balance. In this stage, the role of a leader is no



longer dominant and the ultimate goal of the struggle is equal distribution of power. After that, came the post-modern stage. It is a movement that derives from its dynamics so that there arose criticism and protest from several groups because there had been various individualist opportunities. Although no one is dominant in the division of a group, the pattern of actions and activities of the group no longer has its territory (territory). (Habibi, 2018). The goals of each group are, of course, different from those of the classical nationalists. They do not want self-confidence (determinism) from a group or nation in a region (country). However, it will be more of protection and advancement for the group for the parties involved in it in an existing country or group. Although no one is dominant in the division of a group, the pattern of actions and activities of the group no longer has its territory (territory). (Habibi, 2018). The goals of each group are, of course, different from those of the classical nationalists. They do not want self-confidence (determinism) from a group or nation in a region (country). However, it will be more of protection and advancement for the group for the parties involved in it in an existing country or group. Although no one is dominant in the division of a group, the pattern of actions and activities of the group no longer has its territory (territory) (Habibi, 2018). The goals of each group are, of course, different from those of the classical nationalists. They do not want self-confidence (determinism) from a group or nation in a region (country). However, it will be more of protection and advancement for the group for the parties involved in it in an existing country or group.

In Indonesia, the democratic process is something that cannot be separated from religion or ethnicity. This can be seen in the participation of political parties in general elections in previous years, in regional mayoral elections. The strengthening of the political identity of political representation automatically appears as a result of the opening of political participation from the reform era to the present. So, in general, it can be said that identity politics shows that there are two factors where religion and ethnicity are very influential in the political process. First, religion and ethnicity are factors that are at stake. Because to protect the identity of each group: to protect. Second, politics is competitive. This leads to the fact that identity groups face each other, no one being too dominant. So,

In general elections, including local elections, that identity is very important and has a strong influence on him. Therefore, the task of the actors involved is to manage issues such as ethnicity and religion in matters that affect politics. A success from the application of political identity in crime was during the 2019 presidential election because in this activity it had become a raw model for several regions to use political identity as the main foundation in political activities, both formal and informal. The practice of democracy in Indonesia seems to have shifted from deliberation to competition for those who know neither friend nor foe.

The danger of excessive political identity will certainly lead to fascism, or even fall into a much worse condition, namely separatism. This political identity was created by some of these groups to create a state of self-isolation. Forcing the Indonesian people to lose their memory of the history of its diversity. In short, identity politics cannot be countered with a more lenient identity politics. Of course, it must be opposed, it must be emphasized that religion should not be introduced in the political field. Religion is a religion for each of its adherents, as a moral guide both individually and socially. Because religion emphasizes faith, personality rituals: morality. While politics itself emphasizes the struggle for power within the state. If religion is included in politics, there will be community violence on the horizon, democracy, the spirit of democracy that was opposed in 1998, will be in vain. Apart from religious figures, as well as Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Protestantism, and other religions, he called for not appearing among religious groups by certain groups to satisfy themselves and their families with power.

In a book entitled “The Good, the bad and the ugly of Identity Politics” published by Princeton University, United States, he gives an example of an activity using identity politics in Canada. He also said that identity politics is a global disease that must be cured because discrimination has occurred and then the New Jersey Supreme Court has decided to make anti-



discrimination legislation (Wartika, 2020). This case did not only appear in Indonesia, but also Canada and America. Even though the US is more concerned with human rights and democracy, it is still unimaginable if a Muslim can become a president in the US, but it is a very burdensome thing because of the religious beliefs that are embraced in it. So, it is only natural that this situation appears similar in Indonesia. First, the majority of religions in Indonesia are Islam. Second, the relationship between religion and politics has always been unified even though this has also caused problems in politics.

Identity Politics in the 2019 General Election: Role of Middle Class

This identity politics in Indonesia is increasingly embedded in the local realm along with the politics of deterritorialization. After the enactment of Law no. 22 of 1999, this identity politics has become increasingly clear. Many political actors take advantage of this consciously by using the issue of power-sharing (Habodin, 2012). As reported by Kompas.com on 9/4/19, Intelligence and Security Observer, Stanislaus Riyanta said that the 2019 election is inseparable from identity politics which can cause chaos and have the potential to cause conflict in society. Therefore, according to Stanislaus, regarding identity politics, attention must be paid to this. Because it should be noted that conflicts that occur in Indonesian society are the result of an identity background. In addition, one of the things that triggers a conflict is the spread of fake news (hoax). This event was once brought up by the presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 2019 election to win. Therefore, these two aspects must certainly get the attention of several parties and the community. because it will cause a very big conflict. (Erdiato, 2019)

As reported by Komnasham.go.id on February 19, 2019, the Deputy Chairperson of Komnas HAM, Hairansyah, participated in a discussion related to the prevention and handling of election actions, especially identity politics, organized by the Legal Division of the National Police Headquarters. This action is to get support from the same community, both race, ethnicity, culture, religion, and so on. The danger of such action is vulnerable to conflict and division. Therefore, to minimize this, of course, all parties take an active role in the supervision to harmonize a common point of view (KomnasHAM, 2019). Reporting from CNN Indonesia, Komnas HAM said that in Indonesia identity politics has always been the root of the problem in the issue of racism. Thus, a person or group who lives in one identity will usually exercise supremacy because that group is superior to other groups. This racism case has been going on for so long, that Komnas HAM surveyed 2011-2018. It turned out that in 2016 and 2017, it turned out that this racial case was quite increasing with as many as 77 cases, most of which occurred in Jakarta, Indonesia as many as 34 cases. Followed by DIY with 25 cases, West Sumatra with 6 cases, North Sumatra with 6 cases, and West Java with three cases related to racism (CNNIndonesia, 2021).

During the 2019 presidential election campaign, it became a way for the public to get information about the ideas or mindsets of candidate pairs. Thus, the public is looking forward to the emergence of various pragmatic stories that can be the basis for making their choice on August 17th. But unfortunately, the campaign that has been going on for more than five months is still dominated by SARA, identity politics, hate speech campaigns (falsification), hate speech campaigns, and political mockery of non-content circles. In a campaign that was intensified by mass media activities, including through buzzers to accelerate the dissemination of questions to promote a quality electoral process, this case has added to the system of public incitement; intensify the movement for golput in general elections.

With this incident, the Center for Political Studies at the University of Indonesia (Puskapol UI) examined this by researching "Managing Political Identity: Counter-Narrative Stratification Against Identity Political Politicians in the 2019 Elections Through the Involvement of Candidate Campaign Teams". By conducting this research, the aim is to get a clearer and more detailed picture of the issue map and how to manage identity politics issues in the 2019 elections as well as to prepare



recommendations to encourage programmatic campaigns and counter-narrative strategies against identity issue politicians. The research system carried out is FGD and in-depth interviews with various parties from digital world experts, academics, election activists, media crews, and also representatives from each candidate pair campaign. The research was carried out in addition to FGDs, but also nationally in three regions that have a high level of vulnerability to elections. Based on data from the 2018 Bawaslu-RI IKP, areas that are prone to high elections are the Special Region of Yogyakarta, North Sumatra (Medan), and West Kalimantan (Pontianak). (UI, 2019)

In this research activity, some very important disclosures need very serious attention, especially not only made by the two pairs of candidates, but also by stakeholders from the 2019 election. First, when contestation during the current presidential election is a residue. from the sharp polarization and issues related to identity politics that also occurred in the 2014 presidential election and the DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election in 2017. So it can be said that from these issues both dynamically and contestation are still being treated to this day. Second, the electoral design that continues to set the presidential threshold, which also increases political intensity, because politically it only opens up opportunities for two candidates. Third, the phenomenon of the emergence of the political consulting industry, influencers, and buzzers in candidate digital campaigns. Digital platforms are very important in issue production and amplification of election-related content, their role can also exacerbate political polarization and the issues of politicization of identity in it. It can be seen clearly, that every non-programmatic issue is continuously produced and glorified by the cyber army of each camp. Fourth, in the 2019 election, issues related to the presidential election were more dominant and eliminated or marginalized the public's attention to the legislative elections, both DPR-RI, DPD, and regional DPRD. Fifth, the media which is used as a means of information for the public at that time tend to study more related to non-programmatic issues in their reporting. Digital platforms are very important in issue production and amplification of election-related content, their role can also exacerbate political polarization and the issues of politicization of identity in it. It can be seen clearly, that every non-programmatic issue is continuously produced and glorified by the cyber army of each camp. Fourth, in the 2019 election, issues related to the presidential election were more dominant and eliminated or marginalized the public's attention to the legislative elections, both DPR-RI, DPD, and regional DPRD. Fifth, the media which is used as a means of information for the public at that time tend to study more related to non-programmatic issues in their reporting. Digital platforms are very important in issue production and amplification of election-related content, their role can also exacerbate political polarization and the issues of politicization of identity that exist within them.

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From the points listed above, it can be seen and found in the three regions that have a high level of vulnerability to elections. The narrative in the campaign is more dominant in discussing campaigns at the national level so that it marginalizes local issues such as campaigns for legislative candidates and political parties at the regional level. TKD and BPD, in general, only transmit content from the center as a form of framing issues that are not following the context and political constellation at the regional level. With this, the candidates at the local level are in a complicated situation because it has divided the concentration of political parties between their focus on the legislative and presidential elections. So that legislative candidates and political parties experience a dilemma when they want to manage the issue of the presidential election campaign in the electoral district which is more characterized and diverse. (UI,

If these findings continue, the campaign will continue and will not benefit the voting community, especially for the undecided voice group. In addition, the wider community even with the existence of these issues will certainly give negative assumptions. From the debate between the two candidates, the public wants a healthy fight by using the ideas or ideas of each candidate instead of bringing each other down. Because with this, of course, it will be vulnerable to cause major conflict and a division.

With this case in the 2019 Pilkada, identity politics will also threaten the Pilkada in the following years and will even become stronger as in the 2020 Pilkada. The political polarization in the 2020 election is based on irrationality, which includes malicious campaigns, fake news, slander and SARA will strengthen in the 2020 elections. The role of social media is the main tool for reviewing developments related to campaigns, hoaxes, slander, and so on. If it is seen from that the use of social media Indonesia is ranked 3rd in the world with the number of Facebook users as many as 132 million users, Twitter users as many as 50 million users, and Instagram users around 45 million users. (Kurnia, 2018) so that social media is likened to a double-edged sword.

As a result of the political polarization that has occurred in 2019, identity politics has become a very powerful instrument for mobilizing the masses and voices. This identity politics will apply to people who have a high religious level, education level, and economic level. From these actions, people often become victims when consumed by negative narratives. This will certainly damage the existing democratic system in Indonesia and prioritize aspects of opinion justice, especially in the election of a leader based on belief, vision-mission, quality, program, and so on regardless of ethnic origin and religion.

As a nation that is intelligent in democracy, of course, it will put aside things or actions that discriminate against one another. Because one of the goals of the election is to choose a leader who is trustworthy, responsible, honest, and can prosper the people. And each individual must also prioritize a high sense of tolerance between fellow human beings so that conflicts and divisions can be avoided. For this reason, to prevent the act of political identity from being carried out together. First, political parties need to carry qualified and integrity cadres in the elections so that the campaigns carried out do not carry SARA, slander, hate speech, and so on. But, By holding this election, should focus on programs that can develop both at the regional and national levels. Second, create a digitally literate society. By improving the field of education to make wise use of digital and maintain sustainable and also consolidated stakeholders, such as elections, KPU, Bawaslu, Kominfo, Kemdikbud, Menpora, and other institutions. (Wartika, 2020)

One of the conditions of the 2019 election which is thick with identity politics is where the public is already at a stage where they mock others for having different political choices. Even between relatives, friends, and even parents, if there are political differences, there will be a tendency to break the ties of brotherhood. Based on the Polmark survey, 5.7% of respondents felt that this election had damaged the ties of brotherhood (BBC, 2019). Mocking, making fun of is unavoidable. According to a sociologist from the University of Brawijaya, I Wayan Suyadnya from the same source,



he said that it was as if this condition was allowed by the political elite. This political elite is responsible for the current conditions. The narrative that develops is that if you choose one candidate, you will go to heaven, and if you choose another, you will go to hell.

Identity politics is a weapon to achieve victory coupled with a post-truth strategy, namely the condition of objective facts no longer has much influence on the formation of public opinion, but beliefs and emotional attachments that are used as a basis for action (Ristianito, 2019). In advance, we can classify the identity politics as the repression movement by the middle class and low class people. In the other side, the rich or we can classify the entrepreneur need to don't focus with political communication tragedy but if the politic communication impact to business environment the rich will be act for repression for democratization. The revolution will be according to repression to government policy. Well the low, middle and high class in Indonesian politic have to decided the repression choice because this is the best way to accommodate all interests. We can identify the politics is more brutal than the previous election (Permana, 2019). The repression way in political communication happen in Indonesia and it will be the "political maturity" to Indonesian political system. According to them, the use of identity politics is used to get the most Islamic predicate so that political opponents are associated with being un-Islamic.

Analysis of Symbolic Interactionism Theory on Identity Politics and The Role of Middle Class

After seeing how strong identity politics occurred in the 2019 general election, where the presidential and vice-presidential elections were held, this time we will discuss identity politics, especially about religion, which is still in demand among the public.

Symbolic interactionism theory can be explained in terms of basic forms and ideas about individuals and their interactions with society. Human behavior is seen as a process that can shape behavior, regulate behavior, by paying attention to the expectations of others. Social life is based on human interactions related to symbols, how humans or individuals use these symbols to represent what is meant, is by following influence that can arise from an interpretation of symbols.

If you look at the case of the 2019 election, starting from the pre-campaign period to post-election, identity exploitation is used as a political propaganda tool, namely ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA). With one candidate taking a cleric with a large support base as his running mate, and another candidate pair supported by a religious organization, this means that the 2019 election is thick with identity politics based on religion, especially Islam. Jargons such as 2019 Change the President (tagline supporter for *Ganti Presiden*), *Partai Allah vs Partai Setan* (God's party vs Satan's party), people power (Ardipandanto, 2019), coupled with news from the media that said one of the candidate pairs was close to a *pesantren* (religion school).

This religious sentiment is realized because they see that people in their lives are very close to religion, especially if you look at it in the context of Islam. This is shown by the existence of large Islamic organizations such as *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), *Muhammadiyah* which have a large follower base, so that the involvement of religion in the social life of Indonesian society is still very strong.

If we look into the theory of symbolic interactionism, it can be interpreted that the 2019 elections are based on the premise of the symbolic interactionism theory as follows:

1. Individuals respond to a symbolic situation. If you see candidates creating certain symbols such as religion, society or individuals will see and respond to these symbols in a certain action. Referring to the 2019 election, the desired response is that the community or individual will choose the candidate pair.
2. Meaning is a product of social interaction. With the interaction between the candidate pair and the community or individual, meaning is created from the use of language.



3. The interpreted meaning will change from time to time in line with changing situations found in social interactions. This change occurs because individuals can carry out mental processes, namely communicating with themselves. This mental process can be used as a step or a way to make a respond to the symbol given to consider the eligibility of the candidate pair.

Mead (1932) put forward important concepts in symbolic interactionism, namely Mind, Self, and Society. These concepts are needed to influence one another to construct symbolic interactionism. This symbolic interactionism sees that the community in determining their choices and actions in the context of the 2019 election is due to the process that Mead (1932) says is mind, self, and society. This concept is seen to explain the above case. Mead (1932) defines thought as the process of talking to oneself. This thought appears to develop in a social process. The idea is the ability of the individual to come up with not just one answer, but the answer of the whole community. According to Mead (1932), it is also a process where individuals interact with themselves to see existing symbols.

Society or individuals see the pairs of candidates create a symbol used to get a response from the individual. In the process, individuals will think to themselves by looking at the symbols created by the two pairs of candidates. He also said that through this process of thinking with oneself, individuals will choose which of the stimuli to respond to. This is the beginning of individuals in choosing pairs of candidates in the context of the 2019 election. According to Mead (1932), there are also four stages of interconnected actions, namely Impulse, Perception, Manipulation, and Consumption Stage (Upe, 2010).

Impulse is a spontaneous stimulus associated with the actor's sense of responsibility to the stimulus. When an individual receives a stimulus in the form of a statement or statement from a candidate pair through a symbol in the form of religion, it is an impulse. When one of the presidential candidates announces his partner and information is received by the individual, there is an impulse and reaction to the information that has been received.

Perception is when an actor or individual investigates, responds to a stimulus. Information received from individuals will be considered for the selection of one of the two pairs of candidate candidates. By seeing the two pairs of candidates carrying an identity politics, what is given to the public is information, which can be said to be the most 'religious' one. Information that comes to the community or individual then becomes a consideration for taking an action.

Manipulation is the stage where the individual determines the action. After the individual obtains the information, the decision has been made to choose who to choose. This stage is important so that the responses do not occur spontaneously. After understanding the information received, the individual will choose who he will choose in the election here, the individual begins to side with only one partner.

The consumption stage is the stage where the actor or individual takes an action, such as defending the candidate pair he supports. The occurrence of actions such as mocking each other, ridiculing others who do not agree with him is proof of the entry of identity politics into the minds of individuals. Any extreme action taken is the result of a person's thinking by looking at the stimulus he receives.

According to Mead (1932), self is the ability to accept oneself as a subject from the point of view that comes from society, and the self as a subject, a special ability. Seeing oneself means consciously placing oneself in the environment of others, acting according to what one thinks, so that the individual or person can examine himself as others do. Self allows you to play a role in communicating with other people, which means that the individual can be aware of what he is saying, listening to what is being conveyed to others. In a reciprocal relationship, as subject: subject, the



object is indicated by the concept of 'me' while the subject is indicated by the concept of 'I'. 'me' is the self that is seen by others, while 'I' is the self that pays attention to myself.

When a stimulus or symbol is created by the candidate pair, they tries to place himself in another person in this context is society. With the politics of religious identity, the candidate pair tries to bring their religious side to society. The symbols carried are jargon such as *Takbir* and others. These candidate pairs must understand that the community also has its own symbol where the community, especially traditional ones, is very close to religion so that the thoughts of the candidate pair will be felt and closer to the community through a religious approach, especially during campaigning. On the other hand, the community will see that the approach taken by the candidate pair is in line with what the community wants so that they feel represented and become one unit.

Mead (1932) also talks about society, which means that social processes will endlessly precede self-thought. Society will influence individual actions, criticize and control them. On the other hand, he also has thoughts about social institutions which are a shared response or habit of living in a community. Characteristics of institutions such as symbols of values, goals, norms, and others.

The circumstances of the surrounding community can also influence the choices of individuals. When institutions in society already exist in this context of religion, then the choice to choose a candidate pair who carries a religious identity, especially one religion, has a greater chance for the individual to follow a joint decision because as stated that the institution is binding and relatively long. By looking at the explanation above, the entry of identity politics into the community is very wide open. The factor is because the identities carried by the two pairs of candidates are close to the identity of the community. The identity of the two candidate pairs regarding who is the most Islamic is very close to a society where the religious culture is strong.

The religious symbols used to make the individual or society respond in accordance with the symbols created. A stronger symbol is to feel that he is the most Islamic and his opponent is associated with un-Islamic. This becomes a process of interaction with symbols that occurs in individuals, so that in the end the individual will choose and perform an action according to the given stimulus. With symbols such as the devil's party vs Allah's party, one candidate pair is close to the *ulama*, the other candidate is close to the *pesantren*, by making these claims and dropping the opponent as if it is not Islamic, they respond to individuals to think that their choice is right and the others are wrong so that the response occurs namely mocking, making fun of and even between families becoming enemies. In identity politics, ties of ethnicity, race, religion, between groups, are like symbols of great potential, becoming a force for political action. This has an impact on political recognition and the desire to be treated, just as identity politics will be able to maintain cultural preservation and loyalty to the people (Habibi, 2018).

In general, this identity politics exists because it reconstructs a big story that they reject in principle, and builds a concept that can control the factors that are the main differentiator from the previous one (Habibi, 2018). Identity politics has positive aspects, such as efforts to preserve the cultural values inherent in the group so that the culture survives. The strengthening of this identity exists if the previous identity only accommodates some groups and cannot unite them. While the negative impact of identity politics is that this movement is an attempt to create a special group and prioritize that group.

CONCLUSIONS

The 2019 election is full of identity politics. Both pairs of candidates feel that they are the most religious, thus creating symbols that are accepted by the community. This opportunity is open because the candidate pairs know that religious identity is an issue that is very close to the community. Seeing that several religious organizations in Indonesia are very large and strong and supported by a very large number of masses, it proves that religion, especially Islam, is very close to



the community, so it is felt that by taking advantage of this, the opportunities for winning in political contestation are wider. Identity Politics has become an appropriate and effective formula for mobilizing the masses and influencing public opinion to raise voices with an identity spice.

Symbolic interactionism sees the behavior of individuals to choose based on the existence of symbols received by individuals in the form of religious symbols. To achieve an action now, there is a process that occurs, mind, self, and society are concepts that are intended to see that the actions taken by individuals are due to these processes until they reach the taking of a response or action that interacts with the created symbols. The symbol of identity politics in the form of cornering political opponents with religious symbols makes the response given by the individual (society) difficult to control. Mocking, making fun of is a response given because of the interaction with the symbols created so that this can happen.

With these activities, these groups have a goal, namely to get the best and superior position among other groups. With this treatment, the government from several experts who are engaged in politics, that this political identity is very dangerous for a country because it can cause big conflicts and divisions. This is to minimize these cases, namely the government, the parties involved and the public must be literate about the political activities that will be held. Because the involvement between religion and ethnicity is a very influential thing for a candidate to determine a privilege by taking advantage of all means that are carried out in an unhealthy (negative) way. With this case in the 2019 elections, identity politics will also threaten the elections in the following years and will even become stronger as in the 2020 elections. The political polarization in the 2020 elections is irrational based on which there are unethical and unethical campaigns. evil, fake news, slander, and SARA will strengthen in the 2020 elections. Meanwhile in the role of middle class study for the literature identification found that the voters (including low, middle and high class) have the position to be repression act for political communication and decision.

Identity politics has become a very powerful tool for mobilizing the masses and voices. This identity policy will especially apply to people who have a high level of religion, education, and economy. People often fall victim to this act when they are consumed by negative stories. This will certainly damage Indonesia's democratic system, by prioritizing the aspect of fairness of opinion, especially in the election of leaders based on belief, vision, mission, and quality, program, regardless of ethnicity or religion. As a person who is intelligent in democracy, of course, he will put aside discriminatory things or actions. Because one of the goals of the election is to choose a leader who is trustworthy, responsible, honest, and can prosper the people. And each individual must prioritize a high sense of tolerance between others so that there is no conflict or division. For this reason, to prevent the act of political identity from being carried out together. First, political parties must have qualified and complete cadres in elections so that their campaigns are not trapped in politics that smells of SARA, slander, hate speech, and so on. However, with this election, the focus should on programs that can develop both at the regional and national levels. Second, create a digital literacy society.

The danger of identity politics is that it can create division and conflict so that parties such as politicians, policymakers, academics and, religious and ethnic leaders say that religion and ethnicity cannot be used as content in the political field. If viewed from religion, of course, the views of these religions are very different, for example from the history and teachings of Islam, religion and, politics since the time of the Apostles until now can still be united. This is different from Christianity when Christians prefer the theory of secularism when talking about politics. Religion should not be included in politics, religion is sufficient as a living belief - a moral guide in itself - social. This case does not only occur in Indonesia, but also Canada and the United States.

Identity politics has positive aspects, such as efforts to preserve the cultural values inherent in the group so that the culture survives. The strengthening of this identity exists if the previous identity



only accommodates some groups and cannot unite them. While the negative impact of identity politics is that this movement is an attempt to create a special group and prioritize that group. So, of course, the situation is similar in Indonesia. First, most religions in Indonesia are Islam. Second, the relationship between religion and politics is always unified, although it also creates problems in politics.

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