

Ethnicity and Religion in the Identity Politics: A Historical Reflection of Jakarta Regional Head Election in 2017

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Abstract: *DKI Jakarta is a reflection of the diversity of races, nations and religions of Indonesia in the form of a city. From this diversity, DKI Jakarta has always been in the spotlight of other regions, especially politics. The governance system that is run by DKI Jakarta has always been the focus of attention, 2017 has become a political year for the election of the governor of DKI Jakarta with fierce betting both candidates for incumbent or challenger. The candidates are Batsuki Tjahatja Purnama (Ahok) - Djarot, Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno, and partner Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono-Sylviana. In the first round, the pair Agus-Sylvi had to be eliminated while the pair Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandiaga successfully walked into the second round. Religious and ethnic elements contributed to the final results of the elections. Prospective leaders who represent the majority of the population of the region to be led, have better capital than prospective leaders who represent a minority in a country. In terms of religion, Anies-Sandiaga has similarities with the majority of the population of DKI Jakarta, which 85% of the population is Muslim. While Batsuki Tjahatja Purnama came from two layers of minority groups in Indonesia, namely Chinese and Christians. In terms of winning strategy, Anies-Sandiaga is racing to prioritize aspects of primordialism. Whereas Ahok-Djarot did not make ethnicity or religion the main issue but diversity was prioritized. Although the use of identity politics is not prohibited, the excessive use of the identity of the candidate can gradually damage the Indonesian diversity. In this scientific article, the researcher seeks to elaborate on the misuse of ethnicity and religion for political interests in the DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election in 2017. The use of ethnic and religious identities in each political year is interesting to be examined, because both of these issues have an impact quite meaningful in achieving political interests and overthrowing the opposing party.*

Keywords: *Identity politics, DKI Regional Election, Rationality.*

INTRODUCTION

February 15, 2017 will not be lost from memory, which became one of the hottest political year events in Indonesia with the implementation of the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors or commonly referred to as Regional Head Elections simultaneously for the second time. The first simultaneous regional elections were held in December 2015 which became the largest simultaneous regional elections in the world with a level of conflict that could be minimized with the participation of 264 selected regions. In contrast to 2015, the 2017 simultaneous regional elections were

attended by 101 regions in Indonesia covering 7 provinces, 18 cities and 76 regencies (Muhtadi, 2019).

One of the hottest areas in the 2017 simultaneous regional elections is DKI Jakarta. It is no longer new for the Indonesian capital to be able to steal the attention of the entire population of Indonesia, this can be seen from the level of enthusiasm of the residents of DKI Jakarta itself or residents of other regions who can't wait to find out who is trusted to lead a city as big as Jakarta. The first round of the DKI Jakarta Pilkada was held on February 15, 2017, at which time there were three pairs of candidates. The first pair, namely Batsuki Tjahatja Purnama (commonly called "Ahok") from the incumbent chair, ran for himself along with Djarot Syaiful Hidayat. The second pair is Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, a former TNI officer who is also the son of the leader of the Democratic party Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (former President of the Republic of Indonesia) who took Sylviana Murni. And the last couple is Anies Baswedan who has a background as an academic and a former Indonesian minister of education and culture who stepped in hand with Sandiaga Uno (Setyagama, 2021).

In the first round, the pair Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono-Sylviana Murni had to stop their move by bagging 937,950 votes with a percentage of 17.02%. Meanwhile, the pair Batsuki Tjahatja Purnama (Ahok) and Djarot Syaiful Hidayat managed to get 2,364,577 votes with a percentage of 42.99%. And the Anies-Sandiaga pair received 2,197,330 votes or with a presentation of 39.95% (Ardipandananto, 2017).

The Jakarta Regional Election (Pilkada) uses rules that are *lex specialist derogat legi generali*. That is, in one round, the governor candidate must get more than 50% of the votes to win the election, the rule is contained in the Law which if the results in the first round obtained by the governor candidate do not reach 50%, a second round of elections will be held. Because in the first round, neither the incumbent nor the challenger had a percentage that exceeded 50%, a second round was held. From the first round, it can be stated by the KPU that the Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi pair are superior to the Agus-Sylviana pair, so that the two pairs of candidates will certainly advance to the second round which will be held on April 19, 2017. The KPU's calculation results for this second round, it was stated that the Anies-Sandi pair

managed to outperform the 3,240,332 votes or with a percentage of 57.95% while Ahok-Djarot won the Jakarta vote of 2,351,245 or with a 42.05% percentage of the votes. With these votes, the Anies-Sandi pair succeeded in becoming the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period (Warnars et al., 2017; Lestari, 2019).

For Anies-Sandi's victory in the second round of the DKI Jakarta Pilkada, there are many things that underlie the type of political strategy used to win the seat of Governor/Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta. The momentum of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada has also featured issues that were deliberately rolled out to get votes. These issues have become political fuel that has been able to burn the rationality and emotions of prospective voters. According to Burhanudin Muhtadi, in behavior as a voter, voter indicators are influenced by several things, including the performance of the incumbent, the similarity factor between the candidate leader and the leader, which in this case is ethnicity, religion, race between groups or commonly referred to as SARA (Muhtadi, 2019).

Directly or indirectly, the issue of primordialism has been raised to win the 2017 DKI Jakarta Election. Primordialism itself is defined as the bonds that exist between humans and one another that are genuine and have been carried since humans were born, such as religion, race/ethnicity and clan. Primordialism is closely related to identity politics which, looking back, 2017 is not the first time that identity politics has been used for political purposes. Identity politics such as religion and ethnicity seem to have always existed and never died in the political years (Abdullah, 2017).

In a study entitled "The Awakening of Identity Politics in the Jakarta Governor Election Arena" the view of Pierre Van Den Bergh argues that identity politics, both ethnic and religious, is deliberately constructed by political elites to gain power. Identity politics is based on the politicization of elements of shared identity or feelings of similarity that become the collective glue of a group (Sumaktoyo, 2021).

METHOD

This study uses historical research methods, namely methods that rely on the process of testing, critically analyzing documents and previous studies which include heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography. As the object of data mining, the authors use materials in the form of written documents as data sources. This research is library research, so the procedure for obtaining data is carried out through library research, by examining or reviewing organized data. After the data in the literature is collected, then the data is processed in the following way: a). Editing. Re-examination of the data that has been obtained, especially in terms of completeness, clarity of meaning and harmony of meaning between one another; b) Organizing. Integrate the data obtained with a predetermined framework; c) Bibliography Findings. Carry out further analysis of the results of organizing data by using predetermined rules, theories and methods. Data analysis is done by organizing the data, breaking it down into units, synthesizing it, arranging it into a pattern, choosing which ones are most important and what will be studied, so that they can make conclusions that can be told to others (Bungin, 2017).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Identity Politics Concept

Identity politics consists of two word phrases, namely politics and identity. The political concept according to Morgenthau (1960) which says that politics is a struggle for power. Meanwhile, according to Laswell (1963) politics is "who gets what, when and how". From these two experts, a concept about politics can be drawn. Politics is a tool of struggle used to gain, maintain, implement, and even oppose power (Fukuyama, 2018).

Meanwhile, identity is a characteristic or identity that exists in the distinguishing structure of individuals in a group. Dina Lestari in her research states that a person with the same identity has similarities in terms of culture such as religion, race, political organization, language, and social which naturally grows feelings and emotions (Lestari, 2019).

Hogg and Abrams (1988) define identity as a concept in society about who and what they are like, as well as how they relate to other people. Basically, society is

structured in a hierarchy that contains the classification of individuals in social strata. These classifications include race, social class, ethnicity, religion, gender, type of work, and so on. From these classifications, they have a strength that causes the emergence of a distinctive and differentiated strata or membership level in the sphere of social life (Rajchman, 2014).

Manuell Castells' book entitled *The Power of Identity* (2010), stating that identity is divided into 3 groups, namely (1) legitimate identity, namely identity categories that introduce dominance for the purpose of expanding their dominance over the social environment, (2) resistance identity. is an identity category with a pattern of maintaining identity from the stigma of the dominating party, and (3) project identity is an act to form a new identity to reintroduce their position in the social sphere. From the definitions of politics and identity described above, it can be concluded that the two phrases namely politics and identity when combined into the term identity politics can be interpreted as a concept of using elements of individual or group identity that are intentionally used to obtain, maintain, implement or oppose power (Castells, 2011).

Candidate Identity in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Election

DKI Jakarta regional head election contestation in 2017, followed by 3 pairs of candidates. The first candidate to declare and register with the KPUD was the pair Batsuki Tjahatja Purnama (commonly called "ahok") - Djarot Saiful Hidayat, as the pair from the incumbent line. Next is the pair Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono-Sylviana Murni and the last is the pair Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno (Effendi & Syafrudin, 2020).

The name Batsuki Tjahatja Purnama alias Ahok is not new to the world of politics. Before replacing Jokowi as Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2014-2017 period, he was a member of the East Belitung DPRD for the 2004-2009 period. Then in the 2005 local elections, Ahok ran for the regent of East Belitung for the 2005-2010 period. Furthermore, Ahok joined the Golkar party and became a Member of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the period 2009-2014, and also joined the Gerindra party and became deputy governor of DKI Jakarta who was then paired with Joko widodo,

until finally Ahok was appointed as Governor of DKI Jakarta after Jokowi was elected President RI period 2014-2019 (Fautanu et al., 2020) .

Ahok holds two layers of minorities in Indonesia, namely ethnic Chinese and Christian. In Ismantoro Dwi Yuwono's book, entitled *Gara-gara Ahok: from noise to noise*, he tells about Ahok as a child who often received discriminatory actions by his environment. When he was in elementary school, Ahok was discriminated against when he was not allowed to be a flag hoist, on the grounds that he was of Chinese ethnicity (Prayogi, 2019).

Indonesian society seems to have a "different" stereotype towards Chinese descent. As Yosafat Hernawan said that ethnic discrimination by non-Chinese people against ethnic Chinese occurs repeatedly, this thought is rooted in the frozen perspective of society. This ethnic discrimination continued to be experienced by Ahok even when he was an adult and became the Regent of East Belitung. At that time, he wanted to be the master of ceremonies at the flag ceremony held in his office. However, when he was about to come forward, he was hindered and tried to prevent him from becoming the master of ceremonies. The reason is because the indigenous people do not want to respect the Chinese (Sawri, 2020).

From all the discriminatory actions he received, it did not make Ahok a person who abused his power to take revenge for the majority group who had hurt his heart and feelings since childhood. This can be seen when Ahok served as Regent of East Belitung he was more concerned with building a mosque than building a church, with the reason that the Muslim community was the majority community, so it was necessary to contribute to the construction of many mosques (Effendi & Syafrudin, 2020).

The second candidate is Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, who was once known as one of the TNI officers who made Indonesia proud. He is the son of former Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In contrast to Ahok, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono comes from the Javanese ethnicity and the same religion as the majority of the population of DKI Jakarta, namely Islam. Agus' attitude in the world of politics is described in terms including (1) laws of personal unity which describe Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono as a person who has just stepped into the political world but is

quite assertive and this is in accordance with his initial profile as a TNI officer. In addition to the laws of personal unity, Agus' figure is also described as (2) laws of persistence, namely his willingness to leave the military world which catapulted his name for the sake of his desire to advance DKI Jakarta. (3) laws of leadership, which shows that Agus has courage, firmness, and charismatic character. (4) laws of specialization which show Agus as a person who really cares about progress, dedication, and has a humanist and tolerant side. In the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono has the potential to be chosen by rational voters only or can be called the element of primordialism, which is not a prominent issue for the pair of Agus and Sylvi (Sumaktoyo, 2021).

Next up is Anies Baswedan. Before advancing to the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, he was first known as an academic and former minister of education and culture. Anies Baswedan comes from Arab and Indian ethnicity, so Anis' advancement in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada represents that ethnic group. Although this ethnic group is also an ethnic minority in Indonesia. however, the stigma against these two ethnicities is not negative from the community (Damayanti & Hamzah, 2019).

DKI Jakarta has a heterogeneous population, including Chinese and Arabs, so this is a source of primordial strength, especially for the governor candidate Batsuki Tjahatja Purnama (Ahok) and Anis Baswedan. Ahok, who represents the Chinese ethnic group, is certainly supported by residents of DKI Jakarta who are ethnically Chinese as well, especially residents of the Chinatown area whose areas are from Kelapa Gading, Sunter, Keramat Luar Batang, and Pluit from North Jakarta to the Glodok area, as well as West Jakarta or other areas. this is referred to as the territory of the dragon path. Likewise, Anies, who comes from the Indian Arab ethnicity, certainly gets political support from the groups he represents. These groups are scattered between the East Jakarta Condet area and ethnic Indians, mostly in the Bandar Kemayoran flats, Central Jakarta. Unlike Ahok and Anies who represent minority groups in Jakarta, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono does not represent certain groups. It only emphasizes rationality without frills or ethnic or religious issues (Burhani, 2017) .

Incumbent Capital and Challenger Opportunities

Ahok's position as a challenger can certainly be the capital of his choice in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada. However, of course he also has shortcomings when he leads. In general, the incumbent has bagged popularity. 100% of DKI Jakarta residents have known him, regardless of whether the incumbent's performance is good or bad, at least his citizens have known him. In fact, his popularity is not only known by residents of DKI, but also residents of other regions, who are often found on social media praising Ahok for his performance and attitude that is firm and not selective (Hidayat, 2019).

Even though Ahok is popular in the eyes of the citizens of DKI, it does not mean that it guarantees that Ahok can easily obtain likesability by 100% of the residents. The work program he runs and the policies he makes, of course reap the pros and cons in the eyes of the people. Around 70% of DKI residents have a perception of Ahok's performance, although this figure is good but not optimal. From the popularity and performance that Ahok has proven, it becomes a basis that can save his future to run in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada. But even though 70% of residents are satisfied with his performance, not all of them express their satisfaction in the form of their choice. From a survey conducted by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) in the 2012 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, ethnic and religious factors became significant predictor variables in the behavior of Jakarta voters' decisions. So, with Ahok's popularity and real evidence, do the challengers still have any hope of winning votes? The answer, of course, is still there. Although usually the challengers are still minimal in terms of popularity, there is still a chance for them to win the hearts and voices of the citizens. The opportunities and challenges that Agus and Anies have as challengers are, of course, highly dependent on the parties that carry them, which in this case can be called the anti-Ahok party. If these parties nominate candidates who are credible, competent, have a high resonance and are more popular or at least well-known, although not as far away as Ahok, surely their chances of becoming a challenger to defeat the incumbent will be higher (Prayogi, 2019).

Apart from the factor of the supporting party, the opportunity for challengers to overtake the incumbents can also come from their strategy as outlined in the form

of a work program that is able to offer new hope or new hope for significant changes in Jakarta. However, if they as challengers fail to offer new hope for a change in Jakarta, then the behavior of voters will tend to choose candidates who come from incumbents who have proven performance, policies and all their advantages or disadvantages. Because for them as voters, choosing the incumbent is far better than other candidates from the challenger camp, who even offer hope is not convincing let alone provide real work. Of course there are doubts and fears to choose them (Mujani, 2020).

The Effect of Ethnic and Religious Generation in the DKI Jakarta Regional Head Elections

The use of ethnicity and religion in elections is nothing new in politics. In 1982, which was marked as the Bradley Effect, they found a factor in the use of identity, namely race, in the victory of George Deukmejian as governor of California, United States. At that time there were two candidates, namely Tom Bradley, former mayor of Los Angeles, California, who came from the black race whose popularity and performance were recognized by the people of Los Angeles. Tom Bradley is also known as the first leader who came from the black race who was able to lead the Los Angeles area where the majority of the population is white race. For his popularity, he ran for the California gubernatorial election and at that time fought a Republican candidate who came from the white race named George Deukmejian (Hill & Wilson, 2003).

At the time, many pollsters believed that Tom Bradley would win the California gubernatorial election. However, when the official results came out, the situation was the opposite. George Deukmejian was the one who managed to occupy the seat of Governor of California at that time. Charles Henry's statement (1983), finding a racial factor behind the defeat of Tom Bradley. At the time of the survey, many white Californians were hiding their antipathy for fear of being accused of racism. So many survey experts remember the incident as the Bradley Effect, when the majority white population of California was unable to choose a leader from outside their racial group (Noury & Roland, 2020).

Regarding the Bradley Effect, many people suspect that the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada can also be called the Bradley Effect, but with a different personal frame. Before the election took place, many survey institutions predicted that the 2017 Jakarta governor seat would be occupied by Basuki Tjahatja Purnama. This is not without reason, the respondents admitted to the surveyors that they would choose Ahok. But on the D day of the election, they canceled their intention to vote for Ahok on the basis of religious and ethnic factors. So the official results stated that it was the opposite of the predictions of several survey institutions, and it was Anies Baswedan who was able to win the seat of the Governor of DKI Jakarta at that time (Lestari, 2019).

Religion and ethnicity are like soft food for identity politics to take place in Indonesia and have become commonplace even before the 2017 DKI Jakarta election. Ethnic and religious effects have been proven to have electoral effects. Socially, it can be seen that the heterogeneous people of DKI Jakarta with various ethnicities, religions, and ethnicities are able to live side by side in safety and peace. However, when the element of SARA is included in politics, what happens is that it is easy for friction to occur in social conflicts. Exploitation or use (excessively) of ethnicity and religion is deliberately raised by elements, especially the success team to get to a shortcut to victory (Dwijayanto, 2020).

Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno pair and their successful team seem to understand that the right strategy to defeat Ahok is to know his weaknesses. One of the prominent weaknesses in Ahok's personality is the fact that he comes from Chinese ethnicity, where many Muslim residents are reluctant to vote for him on the grounds that Muslims should not choose a candidate for leader who comes from non-Muslim groups. Maybe that's what the conservative Muslim community has in mind. As for moderate Muslims, the reason why they don't want to vote for an Ahok is none other than because Ahok comes from Chinese descent, which as is well known that the Chinese have controlled the Indonesian economy, so they are afraid that if Ahok becomes the leader it will bring the Chinese minority group to control two fields at once namely Economics and Politics. His character, which tends to be rude and arrogant, as well as his religious and ethnic background, is one of the shortcomings that his political opponents are ready to process (Marx, 2010).

The political communication used by the Anies-Sandi candidate pair can be categorized into a black campaign or black champaign. The black campaign is deliberately carried out by the candidate pair to raise his good image in the eyes of the voters for the purpose of gaining sympathy and also this type of campaign is to spread a bad image in the eyes of the constituents. This means that this black campaign is a campaign carried out by building bad perceptions in the eyes of voters against their political opponents with the goal to be achieved is to get the maximum vote. The black campaign itself can be marked by the rise of primordial issues that focus on ethnicity, religion, race, between groups (Sawri, 2020). Called a black campaign because the candidate pair Anies-Sandi indicated that their activities tended to approach religious figures, including religious parties who had clashes with Ahok, namely the FPI (Islamic Defenders Front) which was initiated by Habieb Rizieq. It was proven when Habib Rizieq spoke openly in front of the participants of the Defending Islam Action. Although this candidate pair is also supported by the nationalist Gerindra party, the bargaining power maneuvers launched continue to lead to religious materials and indirectly sway the case of Al-Maidah: 51 which stumbled upon Ahok in 2016 (Yuwono, 2017). Indeed, in 2016 Ahok slipped into a speech in his speech which was held at the Thousand Islands, related to his comment about "being lied to using al-Maidah: 51" and then by Buni Yani posted on his Facebook wall with the caption "being lied to by al-Maidah" Maidah: 51" in October 2016. Broadly speaking, Al-Maidah: 51 contains an explanation that Muslims are not allowed to choose a leader other than their group.

However, Ahok tried to explain that the comments were not meant for Muslims, but rather for political elements who always brought Al-maidah to lower the credibility of his election. However, instead of explaining, various reactions emerged from various groups, especially the Muslim population who concluded that Ahok had insulted Islam. Not only did he explain the meaning of his words, but Ahok also apologized to the public, especially Muslims, who did not accept his words. However, his apology did not dampen the emotions of the residents (Nasrudin, 2018).

The case eventually also invited a reaction from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which produced a fatwa that Ahok had desecrated the Qur'an and insulted the

Holy Qur'an as well as insulted scholars and Muslims. From the fatwa, finally emerged the Action for Islamic Defense Volume 1 which was held on October 14, 2016. And it continued with other actions to defend Islam. The implications of this case are not only in legal territory, but also in political areas that are capable of mobilizing large masses of people and have been proven to reduce public trust in Ahok (Prayogi, 2019).

From the Anis-Sandi and Agus-Sylvi camps, Ahok's slip momentum has benefited his electability. The two pairs of candidates used the momentum of the Ahok case with a strategy of subverting the opponent's good image through a third party. The third party in question is the fatwa issued by the MUI which has an impact on mass movements. Since then, campaigns with SARA nuances have begun to emerge, especially on social media, such as on Facebook pages, tweets on Twitter and so on. This is none other than the sympathizers of each candidate pair (Triantoro, 2019).

Although among the sympathizers of the political parties voiced for healthy politics, and focused on not conducting black campaigns, in fact indications of black campaigns still occur. They use this social media for nothing but to strengthen the influence of the election on the election day. The campaigns with SARA nuances are very prone to causing rifts in relations and hostility between members of the community. Moreover, these campaigns were carried out on social media which not only aroused the emotionality of the residents of DKI Jakarta but also other areas, because the issues brought up were issues related to 'we' or commonly called primordialism (Sawri, 2020).

The use of SARA issues through social media to attack political opponents is actually very bad for the political elite. Because Indonesia is arranged in diversity with the diversity of tribes, ethnicities, languages, and religions. So it is very unfortunate if the wealth of heterogeneity that is owned must be divided because of issues that do not really need to be discussed. The potential for conflict is not only between different tribes, ethnicities, languages, and religions, but conflicts can even occur within a certain religion/ethnicity/tribe. It is these problems that can damage the harmony of the people in religion and socially, which in the end will also threaten national integrity (Muhtadi, 2019).

Unfortunately, to overcome the strong use of issues of ethnicity, religion, and other identities in politics, the government does not yet have a clear legal system related to development, security, and control that can defuse the political situation every year. And now is not the time for this politics to become a stage for identity/primordial debate but to become a political stage that contains a battleground for ideas, ideas and work programs to bring DKI Jakarta as a role model for other regions (Lestari, 2019).

DKI Jakarta Residents Reject Rationality?

The electability of candidate pairs for regional heads can be explained by many factors. Among these factors are psychological, sociological and rational choice. In the psychological model, the proximity factor to the supporting party is the benchmark for the size. In contrast to the sociological model, which is believed to be a measure of religion, age, ethnicity, gender, education level, income level. So that voters express their choice on the basis of similarities in religion, ethnicity, education level, etc. In the psychological-sociological model, the work program offered by the candidate for regional head is not the most important issue. While the rational choice model is the opposite of the psychological-sociological model. The rational model prioritizes work programs and experience or concrete evidence from prospective regional heads. Of course, this is an advantage for candidates who come from incumbents to initiate work programs, because they know in advance what are the strengths and weaknesses of the region/region they have led (Damayanti & Hamzah, 2019).

In the 2017 DKI Jakarta election, it raised a question mark what was the underlying reason for Ahok's defeat. According to a survey of longitudinal data on Indonesian political indicators in January 2016, around 73.4% of DKI Jakarta residents are satisfied with Ahok's leadership. This satisfaction includes many things, such as Ahok's performance in overcoming floods and waste in the capital, improving services in the government sector, etc. However, the satisfaction they feel is not reflected in the form of choice. Of the 73.4% satisfied Jakarta residents, only 48% are willing to vote on the D day of the election. While in the May-June survey, Ahok's approval rating reached 76%, but his choice was only 56%. So it can be concluded that

not all DKI Jakarta residents who are satisfied with Ahok's performance are willing to vote for him to advance to the governor's seat for the second period. There are other things that cause a gap between rationality which is represented in the form of satisfaction with voter behavior. In addition to rationality, other indicators of voter consideration are ethnicity and religion factors. This is further strengthened by the case that happened to Ahok related to blasphemy. If all the citizens of DKI Jakarta are really rational, Ahok should be able to get around 60-70% of the vote according to the proportion of the percentage of citizens who are satisfied with his performance. However, the official results announced in the second round stated that Ahok-Djarot lost badly by only pocketing 42% of the vote. They rationally acknowledge Ahok's performance which has brought progress to the city, but emotionally or psychologically-sociologically they are against choosing Ahok (Fautanu et al., 2020).

If they use reason more (rationally) then Ahok will win the DKI 1 seat, but on the other hand if they prioritize "heart", then Anies will be superior and win the DKI seat. this is where the narrative of rationality and emotionality of voters is tested.

According to BPS data, the education level of more than 50% of DKI Jakarta residents is high school graduates, while 13.7% of those who have college education are quite far from the national average. So when viewed from the level of education, the rational capital owned is actually very large compared to the level of education in other regions. From that narration, it can be concluded that the rationality of the citizens of DKI Jakarta has drowned with the boisterous 'we' which in this case is religion and ethnicity (Prayogi, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Through the description above, it can be concluded that in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, the game of identity politics is very visible. Particularly in this case is the use of political maneuvers that lead to religion and ethnicity, as well as the use of the case that ensnared Ahok as a strategy to gain votes. The religious and ethnic factors of the candidate pairs are sufficient to have a good electoral effect to overthrow the candidate pairs from the minority camp. Although the rationality of the citizens of DKI Jakarta tends to be high compared to other regions, in fact, if the issue of religion

and ethnicity has been played out, it is proven to affect the rationality of voters. Excessive use of religious and ethnic issues will have a negative impact, including causing social conflicts which will ultimately threaten our national integrity, which is tied to the thread of diversity. So it is very important that religious and ethnic issues are controlled by both the election organizers and future political leaders. It is time for politics to become a stage of debate to bring the country towards progress not lead to decline by focusing on differences which are actually a valuable state asset.

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