

IMPLEMENTATION POLITICAL ISSUES OF IDENTITY AND POLITICAL DYNASTY IN THE 2020 SIMULTANEOUS ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN PANGKEP REGENCY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research to identify politics is a political act with efforts to channel aspirations to influence policies, control over the distribution of values that are considered valuable to the most fundamental demands, namely self-determination on a primordial basis. In the form of violence, identity politics is reflected starting from efforts to incorporate values into regional regulations, separating government areas, the desire to land special autonomy to the emergence of a separatist movement. Meanwhile, in the context of religion, identity politics is reflected in various efforts to include religious values in the policy-making process, including the implication of sharia regulations, as well as efforts to make a city synonymous with a particular religion. The method used in this research is qualitative method. This study attempts to analyze identity politics and the issue of political dynasties in the implementation of the simultaneous regional elections in 2020. The qualitative method approach in this study was carried out in the form of a description. This study examines the literature on the phenomenon of identity politics and the issue of political dynasties in the 2020 simultaneous regional elections from various media and also other written sources to complete the review of the researcher's discussion.

Keywords: *Implementation; Identity politic; political dynasty; Regional elections 2020*

ABSTRAK

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi pelaksanaan politik identitas sebagai tindakan politik dengan upaya menyalurkan aspirasi untuk mempengaruhi kebijakan, kontrol atas distribusi nilai-nilai yang dianggap berharga hingga tuntutan yang paling mendasar, yaitu penentuan nasib sendiri secara primordial. Dalam bentuk kekerasan, politik identitas tercermin mulai dari upaya memasukkan nilai-nilai ke dalam peraturan daerah, pemisahan wilayah pemerintahan, keinginan untuk mendaratkan otonomi khusus hingga munculnya gerakan separatisme. Sementara itu, dalam konteks agama, politik identitas tercermin dalam berbagai upaya memasukkan nilai-nilai agama dalam proses pengambilan kebijakan, termasuk implikasi regulasi syariah, serta upaya menjadikan kota identik dengan agama tertentu. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode kualitatif. Penelitian ini mencoba menganalisis politik identitas dan isu dinasti politik dalam pelaksanaan pilkada serentak tahun 2020. Pendekatan metode kualitatif dalam penelitian ini dilakukan dalam bentuk deskripsi. Kajian ini mengkaji literatur tentang fenomena politik identitas dan isu dinasti politik dalam pilkada serentak tahun 2020 dari berbagai media dan juga sumber tertulis lainnya untuk melengkapi ulasan pembahasan peneliti.

Kata Kunci: *Implementasi; Politik identitas; Politik Dinasti; Pilkada serentak 2020*

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of identity politics is a dominant issue for democratic countries with heterogeneous social conditions and conditions (Ardipandanto, 2020). There is concern about the strong influence of identity politics in the local sphere. can lead to segregation in sustainable community social life (Daulay, Kusmanto, & Kadir, 2019). Identity politics insofar as the implementation of general elections both at the national and local levels is a powerful issue to break down the defenses of political opponents. These elements include ethnicity, religion, race, and between groups (Daulay, Kusmanto, & Kadir, 2019). The use of identity politics can be realized in different ways (Faridiany, Kusmanto, & Warjio, 2019). Campaigns allow each candidate and participant to propagate unique forms.

The massive use of identity politics occurs in general elections in almost all sectors, including presidential, legislative and executive elections in the regions. This situation has been murky since the election for the governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017 (Lestari, 2019). The phenomenal issue of identity politics occurred in the DKI Jakarta regional head election event in 2017. The identity politics being rolled out is ethnicity and religion. This began when Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), who came from a non-Muslim background, was accused of blaspheming religion as a result of quoting Surah Al-Maidah Verse 51 during his visit to the Thousand Islands on September 30, 2016 (Lestari, 2019). This issue was used as a boomerang for the Ahok-Djarot candidate which then gave birth to action. volumes. The propaganda created a prolonged divide between its supporters, thus influencing anti-Chinese or foreign sentiments among the people. The use of identity politics has a negative impact on democratic life, especially since the issue of SARA has been ingrained even since Indonesia was not yet independent (Lestari, 2019). The won candidates Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno got 3,240,332 or 57.95% in the second round, even though the first round got 2,197,333 votes or 39.95% while the candidates of Ahok-Djarot 2,364,577 or 42.99% are superior. The issue of identity politics in fact continues in the simultaneous regional elections (pilkada) in several regions in 2018, presidential elections in 2019 and simultaneous regional elections in 2020.

The political identity used by candidates through non-verbal symbols such as taglines and the like builds emotional closeness with voters (Slamet, 2019). The gubernatorial candidate pairs using the strategy include Deddy Mizwar, Ridwan Kamil, Sudrajat, and Tubagus Hasanuddin. The issue of religion is not echoed in the political phenomenon in West Java because the candidate pairs have similarities regarding religion so that it is simplified into certain symbols. Pamungkas and Triindriasari's research (2018) discusses identity politics from the point of view of ethnic identity, which is more dominant in Papua in the 2018 simultaneous regional elections. The results of the research show that this issue is more loaded with the interests of certain elites who want their interests to be accommodated with the main objective being the use of both natural and human resources. The impact shows that the issues of Papuan identity are not optimal. A study of identity politics from a religious perspective was also carried out. This study discusses the exclusivity of Islam which influences the course of democracy in Indonesia (Anam, 2019). The rise of this phenomenon of identity politics has opened up a chasm between religions in This study discusses the exclusivity of Islam which influences the course of democracy in Indonesia (Anam, 2019). The increasing phenomenon of identity politics has opened up a gap between religions in Indonesia's heterogeneous society. In

recent years, Islamic populism which has been dominated by identity politics, has been very influential, both among clergymen, politicians and grassroots movements. There is also a dichotomy in identity strategy to get people's voice, namely through a political approach and a cultural approach (Dauly, Kusmanto, & Kadir, 2019). The political approach was taken by the couple Edy Rahmayadi and Musa Rajek Shah (ERAMAS) by approaching traditional and religious leaders, while the couple Djarot Saiful Hidayat and Sihar Sitorus (DJOSS) took a cultural approach. The pattern of different approaches between the two pairs of candidates formed a sentiment in society. The strategy considered to be able to contribute to the partiality of the majority. The method used by the two governor candidate pairs is by using identity-based political advertisements (Faridiany, Kusmanto, & Warjio, 2019). Another issue is calling himself a local son to bring his emotionality closer to the community. Another dominant phenomenon in the simultaneous local elections in 2020 is the issue of political dynasties.

Conceptually, a political dynasty is a leadership reproduction system that relies on familial or kinship relations with certain elites (Gunanto, 2020). Some elite politics at the central level increasingly shows political dynasties through the reproduction of leadership both in the field of political parties and directly as public officials (Ichsan et al, 2020). The issue of political dynasty emerged simultaneously with the issue of identity politics in the simultaneous local elections. in 2020 with the nomination of a familism entity in the general election constellation. The tendency to build political dynasties is not only carried out at the party level or at the central government but also at the regional government level. Based on the various phenomena that have been described above, the researcher examines further the phenomena of identity politics and dynastic politics that occur in simultaneous regional elections in 2020 by examining this phenomenon.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Definition of Identity Politics

Politics is all matters relating to the state or government through a political system which involves determining the goals of the system and how to achieve goals. Identity is defined as an essential characteristic that forms the basis of recognition of something. Identity is a special characteristic of each person or community that becomes an entry point for other people or other communities to introduce them. Theoretically, identity politics according to Lukmantoro is politics to prioritize the interests of members of a group because they have the same identity or characteristics, whether based on race, ethnicity, gender, or religion. Identity politics is another formulation of the politics of difference.

Identity politics is political action with efforts to channel aspirations to influence policies, mastery over the distribution of values that are seen as valuable to the most fundamental demands, namely self-determination on a primordial basis. In the format of violence, identity politics is reflected from efforts to incorporate values into regional regulations, separate areas of government, the desire to land special autonomy until the emergence of a separatist movement. Meanwhile, in the religious context, identity politics is reflected in various efforts to include religious values in the policy-making

process, including the sharia regional regulations. as well as efforts to make a city synonymous with a particular religion. Meanwhile, Cressida Heyes defines identity politics as a sign of polar activity (Cressida Heyes, 2007). Meanwhile, in a broader sense, identity politics is concerned with liberation from situations of marginalization which specifically include constituencies (membership) of groups in a wider context. If you look closely, identity politics is actually another name for biopolitics which talks about a group that is identified by biological characteristics or biological goals from a point of view. For example, race politics and gender politics.

According to Kauffman (in Maurif, 2012 4) identity politics stems from the interests of members of a social group who feel excluded by the dominant group in a nation or country. The examples such as what happened in the United States, where the practice of distinguishing community groups has built awareness of groups who feel marginalized such as black people, and other ethnic groups against white people. Based on that thing, identity politics seems to confirm the existence of an essentialistic need for the existence of certain social groups based on the identification of primordialism Agnes Heller defines identity politics as a concept and political movement that focuses attention on differences as the main political category (Abdilah S, 2002: 16).

In every community, even though they share a common ideology and goals, it cannot be denied that there are various kinds of individuals who have their own personalities and identities. So in general the general theory of identity politics and various research results show, there are two main factors that make ethnicity and religion attractive and appear to be used and influential in the political process. First, when ethnicity and religion are the factors at stake. There is a kind of need to maintain or defend the identity of a group. Second, when the political process is competitively competitive, it means that the political process causes identity groups to face each other and no one is dominant so that it is not clear who will be the winner long ago. General elections, including local elections, are political processes in which various factors such as identity are at stake. It remains only now how the actors involved in managing issues such as ethnicity and religion are at stake. So it can be concluded that identity politics is a political action carried out individually or by a group of people who have the same identity both in terms of ethnicity, gender, culture and religion to realize the interests of its members. Identity politics is often used to recruit the support of marginalized people from the majority group.

The Difference between Identity Politics and Political Identity

In political science literature, identity politics is really sorted out, so that there is a clear difference between what is identity politics and what is nu political identity. Political identity is a construction that determines the position of the interests of the subject, within the bonds of a political community. As for identity politics will refer to

the political mechanism of identity organizing, both in political identity and social identity which is the source and means of politics (Setyaningrum, 2005: 19). Simply, what is meant by identity is defined as an essential characteristic that is the result of the recognition of something. Identity is a special characteristic of every person or community that becomes an entry point for other people or other communities to introduce them (Widayanti, 2009: 13). This is a simple general definition of identity. According to Stuart Hall, one's identity cannot be separated from the sense of collectivity. From this statement, then when identity is formulated as something that makes a person have various similarities with other people, then at the same time identity. formulate the difference or something that is out of the equation the equation is spread out. So that the characteristics of identity are not only formed by collective ties, but also by different categories (Setyaningrum, 2005: 26). Identity is always attached to every individual and community. Identity is a characteristic that distinguishes one person from another so that person can be distinguished from another. Identity is the difference between a community and other communities. Identity portrays a person's personality, and can determine a person's position. There are 3 approaches to identity formation, namely: Identity portrays a person's personality, and can determine a person's position. There are 3 approaches to identity formation, namely:

1. Primordialism identity is obtained naturally, passed down from generation to generation.
2. Constructivism identity as something formed and the result of a complex social process. Identity can be formed through cultural ties in society.
3. Instrumentalism identity is something that is constructed for the benefit of the elite and places more emphasis on the aspect of power (Widayanti, 2009: 14-15).

Identity politics can be said to occur in every group or community, one of which is what happened in the Upin and Ipin film series. Each individual has an identity individuals who are different from ethnicity. The ethnicity and religion have joined into one community that has a collective identity even though they have a collective identity as legal Malaysian citizens, it is undeniable that they still have an ego to fight for their personal identity. This is where competition occurs between individuals within a community that is in this Upin and Ipin film. This is known as identity politics.

The Positive and Negative Impacts of Identity Politics in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the concept of identity politics is getting stronger, especially when there is a political contest. The chairman of the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) M. Imdadun Rahmat said that currently there has been a significant increase in cases of intolerance due to violations of freedom of religion and belief. He stated that in 2015 Komnas HAM received a number of reports and this increased to 97 reports in 28116. Meanwhile in 2017, acts of intolerance have

increased, especially since the DKI Jakarta election campaign period took place. Acts of intolerance which tend to increase during general elections and local elections occur because of identity politics which differentiates community membership. also tends to strengthen. Society is ultimately vulnerable to becoming a means of perusing political breadth in practical political interests. According to Buchari (in Buchari, 2014: 27), the concept of identity is an act that distinguishes an individual or a group from other individuals or groups and is carried out simultaneously in social interaction so as to give rise to certain opinions related to the existence of the individual or group. This condition finally makes pluralism no longer a bond in unity and oneness. In a political contest, everyone gets rare legitimacy without making SARA differences according to the interests of their political view model. SARA differences, which so far have been a form of pluralism that has been successfully embraced by tolerance, have turned around and made people active in carrying out revenge politics with identity sentiments. Cortes Politics finally made the SARA difference even more visible. A pluralistic society with awareness has compartmentalized itself according to SARA equality in determining its political choices. In addition, extreme forms of identity politics can also carry ideas about separatism. This can happen if the identity political movement continues to strengthen in society.

One example of the effects of identity politics which divides the nation was revealed by the President of Afghanistan, Ashraf Ghani, to President Joko Widodo where Afghanistan is actually a rich country and has extraordinary wealth of gold, gas and oil mines, but as a result of the conflict broke the country apart. It is very difficult to reconcile. Harmony is difficult to re-create because the conflict, which initially occurred as a result of conflict between 2 groups, has now grown to 40 groups. Therefore, it is important for every element of the people to continue to maintain harmony and unity so that conflicts do not escalate in Indonesia. Both the political elite and society need to restore the atmosphere that was injured due to the strengthening of identity politics in society related to identity politics which is still ongoing and occurs a lot both in cyberspace through social media and online sites as well as discrimination in people's lives in general. The presence of identity politics through iu SARA needs to be addressed and anticipated so that it does not happen again in the Simultaneous Pilkada which will be held in 2018 and 2019 elections. Based on the examples above, the positive thing that can be taken from identity politics is that there are efforts to continue to preserve cultural values that are characteristic of the group concerned, so that the strengthening of culture will not fade and disappear. accommodate something that is felt unable to represent or unite these groups. In fact, the power of the group also creates tension between groups to gain dominance from a concept that will be built. Strengthening group identity to make it as domination in a container or even out of a container is called Identity Politics The real goal of politics is to achieve the common good. So whether using identity politics or identity politics, as long as a

government built on the basis of politics is able to realize the common good, it will be good. However, it cannot be denied that identity politics still has many negative impacts which, if exploited by irresponsible elements, can trigger discrimination between one group and another, for example the domination of the majority on the minority level. In fact, if left unchecked it can lead to separatist movements that lead to disintegration in Indonesia. Therefore, the Indonesian people need reconciliation so that the divisions caused by identity politics do not get worse and cause disunity.

According to Fahrenholz (in Geiko Muller-Fahrenholz, 2005 123-132) reconciliation is an action that focuses on ways to rebuild relationships that have been damaged by conflict, so that in reconciliation there must be mutual forgiveness from both the victims and perpetrators of oppression. Different from the figures, especially when political contests have made people tend to only like opinions that are in accordance with their interests and identities. Therefore, in realizing reconciliation, especially after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, the role of religious leaders, community leaders, and political figures is very much needed to overcome identity politics for the sake of national unity. This is because reconciliation does not only bring together parties who hate each other, but reconciliation is a place that contains truth (truth), human compassion (mercy), justice, and peace (John Paul Lederach, 1999; 29).

Apart from that, reconciliation also always requires a point of view to be able to see the main problems that exist, discourses that are developing, as well as existing businesses, in order to be able to find new innovations in reconciliation efforts. Like what happened after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada political contestation, one of the acts of reconciliation carried out by the community appeared in the activity of 1000 candles and singing the national anthem at the Governor's Chamber of DKI Jakarta building. This movement is one example of a movement carried out by the community to push back the spirit of pluralism which was torn apart in the regional election contestation in DKI Jakarta. However, this action is not enough if it is not supported by the participation of community leaders as well as the government and DPR RI. Therefore, there needs to be awareness among the people and every element of the nation so as not to be provoked into identity clashes, so that people can return to the Pancasila identity consensus and be able to accept any differences that exist. Furthermore, this reconciliation must be carried out on an ongoing basis. This is important because reconciliation will enable every party in this nation to understand that diversity and differences are the reality of the nation as well as being the driving force so that each party continues to move forward. In a society divided by conflict or conflict, reconciliation is an absolute must for a peaceful future (John Paul Lederach, 1999: 23).

Political Dynasties in Indonesia

Dynastic politics is an oligarchic political strategy to be able to perpetuate power

while political dynasties are the reproduction of power by relying on the power of family or kinship (Gunanto, 2020)) One issue of political dynasties that has been in the public spotlight a few years ago was the case of Banten Governor Ratu Atut who built a political dynasty involving siblings, husbands, in-laws, in-laws, stepmothers, to their children (Effendi, 2018). This is similar to a monarchy system that relies on lineage. The only difference is in the democratic system. must pass through general elections. However, the political strategy is based on familial and kinship ties which will very easily manipulate the voices of the people. When described in detail, there are so many examples that can be used as bad precedents for the rise of political dynasties in Indonesia. What is even more massive is happening at the local level, both at the provincial and district/city levels. If drawn historically, the embryo of political dynasties in Indonesia can be traced back to the time of President Soekarno as reflected in Megawati Soekarnoputri, Sukmawati and Guruh Soekarno.

Even. now, the daughter of Megawati Soekarnoputri, Puan Maharani continues in her dynastic footsteps to the stage of being the Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament who has also served as a minister, member of the DPR and as an elite in a political party. Likewise the presidents after him like KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, Suharto through his sandalwood family, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), whose son is even now leading the Democratic Party. Now President Joko Widodo is back in the conversation because he is considered to have been affected by the political dynasty virus through the nomination of Gibran Rakabuming Raka, to become a candidate for mayor of Solo and was elected. In addition, his son-in-law Bobby Nasution was also elected mayor of Medan. The establishment of political dynasties by local and regional elites has an impact on the democratic model that is applied. Opportunities for the middle class and lower class people to lead are very minimal because almost every nomination sector is dominated by political dynasties. This created an upheaval at the grassroots level of the electorate and also at the top level with interests. There are many pros and cons that occur regarding the nomination of candidates who have close ties with the elite. This problem raises criticism and also oblique issues that can be found on social media. Plus this polarization is. the impact of the 2019 democratic party which is full of identity politics. The feedback. there are many people who use social media as a means to drive SARA issues. The latest data shows that 130 million Indonesians are Facebook users and are the fourth most Facebook users in the world, with 50 million Twitter users and 45 million Instagram users (Wartika, 2020). The 2020 simultaneous regional elections were not spared from the presence of massive political dynasties campaigning in several regions.

RESEARCH METHODS

The method used in this research is qualitative method. This research attempts to analyze identity politics and the issue of political dynasties in the implementation of

the 2020 simultaneous local elections. The qualitative method approach in this study is carried out in the form of a description. This research examines the literature on the phenomenon of the issue of identity politics and the issue of political dynasties in the 2020 simultaneous local elections from various media and also other written sources to complement the review of the researcher's discussion. Data analysis techniques are processed based on facts found through social media, previous research journals and also literature regarding the spread of issues of dynastic politics and identity politics in South Sulawesi, Pangkep Regency.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Identity Politics in the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections

The democratic political system is a form of implementing people's sovereignty in Indonesia. The form of people's involvement is through general elections which are held periodically. General elections held in Indonesia are divided into elections to elect the legislature and elections to elect the executive. The people have the power to determine leaders who will then be entrusted with running the government in a direct democratic system. Simultaneous regional elections are one of the models for implementing democracy in Indonesia which is used as a faucet for changing leadership from one entity to another. Pilkada must be held under any circumstances, including during a pandemic. Pilkada is the gate of leadership rotation in the regions which is a prerequisite of a democratic country. So therefore, even though the COVID-19 pandemic hit the world and had an impact on Indonesia, the simultaneous local elections were still being held on December 9, 2020.

The government's decision to continue running the simultaneous local elections initially raised pros and cons. The reason is that at the same time the COVID-19 pandemic is still massive in Indonesia so that the implementation of the simultaneous local elections was postponed which should have been held on 23 September 2020 to 9 December 2020. On 9 December 2020, several regions in Indonesia held regional elections both at the provincial and regional levels regency/city. The fundamental reason for simultaneous regional elections to be held in 2020 without waiting for 2021 is so that the running of the government is more optimal because the leadership of the executor/acting officer (Plt/PJ) definitively has limited authority (Farisa, 2020). Another consideration for the implementation of the permanent regional elections in 2020 is from the budget side. In addition, constitutionally the change of leaders must be carried out five times. Once a year, the simultaneous regional elections in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic require special treatment because, along with restrictions on community activities in several districts and cities in Indonesia (Marisa, Pornauli, Indra, & Aurora, 2020). The 2020 simultaneous regional elections are held in 270 regions in Indonesia, covering 9 provinces, 224 districts, and 37 cities (Aida, 2020). The main factor that the 2020 simultaneous regional elections must still be held even

though they have changed from the usual schedule is so that regional heads can work more optimally to be able to quickly overcome the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

Regulations regarding simultaneous local elections in 2020 have basically been stipulated in Law Number 10 of 2016 Article 201 paragraph 6 which reads "Simultaneous voting for governors and deputy governors, regents and deputy regents, as well as mayors and deputy Mayor election results in 2015 will be held in September 2020" (Ristyawati, 2020), while arrangements regarding the procedures for holding simultaneous local elections in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic are regulated in Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (PERPPU) Number 2 of 2020 concerning Pilkada, Campaigns in the simultaneous local elections in 2020 will be carried out by candidates to sympathizers. Campaign implementation must comply with regulations determined as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. The restrictions social services in the district and city areas closed the opportunity to hold a grand campaign.

General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) 10/2020 contained in Articles 58 to 60 explains that the implementation. limited campaigns only. and must implement very strict health protocols (Prabowo, 2020). Media campaigns eventually mimicked in various forms, one of which is using social media. Social media is considered an effective method as a media campaign amid restrictions. The massive spread of campaigns and identification of candidates through social media has resulted in several cybercrimes and the rise of the issue of identity politics aimed at several couples. This issue has become a public appearance in the implementation of the 2020 simultaneous elections, The phenomenon of identity politics can be traced since the enactment of Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government which stipulates that people in the regions can directly elect their leaders (Lestari, 2019). The formation of this identity is based on the collective awareness of the community, namely the emergence of sentiments based on similarities held by sympathizers with the candidates they support. The emergence of these specifications provide categorization based on the differences that are owned by certain objects. Another name for this reality is. biopolitics, politics is based on differences (Dhani, 2019). The driving factor for the formation of identities which then leads to the political constellation of the homeland is the feeling of injustice felt by individuals or groups of people.

The injustice that occurs is mostly caused by polarization based on social status such as oligarchy, educational background and a lack of a sense of egalitarianism (Jung & Mittal, 2020). This position is usually affected by the exclusion of certain individuals or groups or in other words. marginalized in their social status (Ayu, 2020). This effort was caused by feelings of being marginalized, experiencing oppression, socially, economically and culturally marginalized for a long time (Mahpudin, 2019). There are seven areas with a diagnosis level of SARA issues with a high level of vulnerability, including Depok City, East Halmahera Regency and Solok Regency. 18.

regions with a moderate level of vulnerability and 236 with a low level of vulnerability from various regions that carry out regional elections. simultaneously (Balitbang HAM, 2020) The level of vulnerability is formed by several indicators such as the strengthening of the politicization of issues of ethnicity, religion, race, between groups and the politicization of identity. The tendency to politicize these issues affects the categorization of the level of vulnerability that exists in each region. The shift in the issue of identity politics has been modified in posts and tweets on social media which are full of hate speech and images related to SARA Kartika (2020).

The issue of identity is increasingly rooted in Indonesian society so that in whatever form and condition the issue of identity is still an influential trade item. Changes in the societal paradigm can be influenced by propaganda from a higher status such as the president or other entities (Hornsey, Finlayson, Chatwood, & Begeny, 2020). The recession of democracy is increasingly visible by overthrowing the issue of identity because it is considered cheap and able to control the emotions of the masses through the narratives that are made. The setback from the previous general election has had a very bad impact on the political constellation since then, where selling identity politics has become one thing that cannot be avoided because it is considered a strategy that attracts the interest of the masses. In another. On the other hand, the issue of identity that is rolled out tends to be forced to be followed by the masses, both those who are supporters and those who are not (Drozdowski & Matusz, 2021). Therefore, the root of identity issues in the majority of society cannot be ruled out the role of mass elites who try to read this reality as a political opportunity and even penetrate into economic, cultural and other factors. The importance of political ethics to validate developing issues needs to be increased as a form of political knowledge community (Vakil, 2018).

Identity Politics and Political Dynasties in Pangkep Regency, South Sulawesi

South Sulawesi is a former territory of the kingdoms of Gowa, Tallo, Wajo and also other small kingdoms. The government system during the royal period influenced the administration of government in the following period. In the Dutch era, kings were appointed as regional heads (regent) and administering government. The government bureaucracy is also colored by aristocrats and technocrats with the titles of andi, karaeng, and daeng. The appointment of the kings as regional heads and the nobility in the government bureaucracy was influenced by the culture of the people of South Sulawesi. Even though they obtained power from the Dutch government, if they were not from high social stratification then they were unable to run the government, because in the culture of the people of South Sulawesi, people from lower stratification may not rule over people from higher stratification (Ahimsa Putra 1988; 53). Thus, the cultural elite usually also becomes a structural elite. At present, the nobility realizes that their nobility status is not enough to maintain power, so it is strengthened by

education (S2/S3) and activities in social organizations, because social achievement is a means to maintain and increase social stratification in South Sulawesi society.

The strong phenomenon of kinship politics in South Sulawesi is not only due to the inheritance of structural and functional elites, but is also influenced by political socialization within the family. In the Yasin Limpo family, for example, discussions or talks about politics are carried out continuously so as to foster interest in politics from an early age among his extended family. Of the several political families in South Sulawesi, Yasin Limpo's family is the largest. Political socialization in Yasin Limpo's family which is carried out routinely motivates family members. to be active in politics. Yasin Limpo's family stated that political discussions within the family were political education and political schooling for them, even for several South Sulawesi figures. Judging from the network of social organizations, members of political families inherit social organizations that are followed or led by their families.

There are similarities in social organization in the phenomenon of kinship politics such as being active in the KNPI, AMPI, FKPPI, which is an organizational wing of a political party or organization close to power. Experience in social organizations is not always considered an achievement, because the organizations such as FKPPI, AMPI and KNPI are colored by children of fighters, children of officials or children of rulers. Becoming the chairman of a social organization in the area is a legacy from his parents. As stated by Armin Mustamine Toputiri, during the New Order era, the position of chairman of the KNPI was the ticket to becoming a member of the DPRD or DPR. His activities in these organizations provide greater opportunities for political family members to obtain education and training as well as provide political and organizational experience which is an asset in the political recruitment process. As stated by Almond and Verba which was reinforced by Prewitt and Martinez that socialization within the family also determines the continuity of the political family because there is inheritance of political knowledge and skills. so that candidates who come from political families have the qualifications needed in political recruitment. South Sulawesi itself is a ballot box for the Golkar Party, so that the political family in South Sulawesi is rooted in the Golkar Party. The joining of family members to other parties is a manifestation of political pragmatism and efforts to strengthen family power in politics, through various opportunities offered in the reform era.

In addition to similarities in political affiliation, political families are usually also the administrators of political parties and form oligarchic relationships within their management. In party organizations that tend to be oligarchic, the opportunities for political family members to be active in political parties are greater, as well as the opportunities to become candidates supported by the party are also increasing. The strength of the political family is also reflected in the division of constituencies. There is a tendency for electoral districts to be similar between one member and another, although not 100 percent the same, due to differences in the level of competition as

national, provincial and district/city politicians. However, there is the same intersection between the constituencies of each member as the basis of their political support. This support base is usually also related to the ethnic aspects of the candidate. Candidates from the Bugis ethnicity are area-based with a Bugis ethnic majority, and conversely, candidates from the Makassar ethnicity are usually area-based with Makassar ethnicity. Thus, the candidate obtains the support of a network of parties, social organizations, ethnicity and kinship from other family members.

Meanwhile, judging from the legacy of social organizations, only 1 (6.25%) of the 16 members had different social organization activities. This difference is more due to differences in interests outside the socio-political organization, so that there is one member of the political family who is not active and has no previous experience in socio-political organizations. The political family, in addition to being a structural elite, usually also become a cultural elite (nobility) and functional elite (economy). The background before becoming a politician included coming from the government bureaucracy (43.75%), entrepreneurs (43.75%) and 12.5% not yet working. The high position of political families in South Sulawesi increases political, economic and social capital which provides greater opportunities to be elected in elections. In addition to kinship networks, bureaucratic networks, party networks and patronage networks (both ethnic and economic) are factors that determine political families in election contestation.

CONCLUSION

From various examples of the use of identity politics and the issue of political dynasties in several existing regions, it appears that the problem of identity and the strength of political dynasties is still a serious problem and must be faced by all Indonesian people. The opportunity for the division of society as a result of identity politics is a reality that is difficult to deal with today. The pattern of issues being rolled out is related to kinship with political elites, religious identity, black campaigns, hoaxes and hate speech that appear most often with various strategies. The issue of identity politics and political dynasties is still rooted in every political performance in the homeland until now Indonesian society must build a new culture without identity politics. This serves so that society is not divided and the precepts of Indonesian Unity in Pancasila can be realized.

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