

## **The Impact of Identity Politics in the 2017 DKI Elections on Anies' Electability Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Indonesia is a heterogeneous country with a population that has different backgrounds, making it vulnerable to political identity. Identity politics is often an issue that attracts the attention of the public, one of which occurred in the DKI Jakarta elections in 2017. Anies, who is running for president in the 2024 election, certainly expects great support from the people of DKI Jakarta, as the community he once led. However, Anies could not escape the turmoil of identity politics in the 2017 elections. The level of electability of a prospective leader is considered important to gain vote support from the public. Researchers used the theory of identity politics and electability to determine indicators in this study. This study aims to determine whether there is an influence of identity politics in the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections on Anies' electability ahead of the 2024 presidential election. The population of this study is the people of DKI Jakarta with millennial age. The sample taken was 100 people using the Slovin formula. The method used in this research is quantitative in the form of a questionnaire. Data analysis was carried out with the IBM SPSS version 24 program. This study shows that all variables meet the validity criteria. The novelty of this research is that it examines the variables of identity politics and electability which produce data in the form of statistical figures. This study found that the identity politics of the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections had an effect on Anies' electability ahead of the 2024 presidential election.

**Keywords:** Identity politics; electability; Anies; DKI 2017 election; 2024 presidential election.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is a heterogeneous country with a population that has different racial, ethnic, cultural and religious identity backgrounds. These diverse identities are prone to cause various kinds of conflicts, one of which is conflict that occurs in the political aspect, namely identity politics. Identity politics is a form of political action, where identity is used as the main weapon to achieve political goals, namely achieving power. Identity politics is often associated with political actions or agendas carried out by identity-based organizational groups to achieve their interests. Identity politics that is present before the election is a big challenge for Indonesia's electoral democracy. The campaign process ahead of general elections should be an intermediary for the public to get good and correct information about the ideas offered by candidate pairs. However, it is not uncommon for campaigns to lead to hateful opinions and bring down political opponents.

Identity politics is often an issue that attracts public attention. This is due to its negative interpretation. Identity politics occurs a lot in the period leading up to general elections in Indonesia, such as executive (presidential) elections and elections for legislative bodies. General elections should be a forum to carry out a democratic change of leaders based on the principle of *luber jurdil* (direct, general, free, secret, honest and fair). However, Indonesia as a country with a pluralistic society is difficult to avoid conflicts between different groups.

One of the most attention-grabbing conflicts in Indonesia was the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election. Both gubernatorial candidates have different identities from ethnic and religious backgrounds. Candidate number 02, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), has a non-Muslim background from the Chinese minority. Meanwhile, gubernatorial candidate number 03, Anies Baswedan, is a Muslim from the Javanese

majority. This group background polarizes and strengthens the different supporters of the two pairs of candidates. In addition, the phenomenon of insulting Q.S Al- Maidah verse 51 by Ahok triggered many accusations of identity politics that led to the emergence of social movements, such as the 212 Movement and Aksi Bela Islam as a form of demonstration of public disappointment over Ahok's insult. The 212 Movement was attended by Muslims, which was detrimental to Ahok as someone who is a minority in Indonesia. The action also aimed to put Ahok in prison for blasphemy. Rizieq Shihab as one of the well-known scholars in the community also enlivened the action. Thus, the 212 Movement which was attended by the masses with the majority religion, Islam, and supported by scholars in Indonesia to get rid of Ahok because of the Al-Maidah letter issue was very detrimental to him who was competing in the political contestation of the DKI 2017 Pilkada.

The 2017 Jakarta elections were dubbed as the most polarizing and divisive political contestation. In fact, Anies made the Al-Maidah case even more heated and tried to attach people's thoughts to the case. Anies made Al-Maidah as a soap brand made by the OK OCE (One Kecamatan, One Center of Entrepreneurship) community as a community formed by Sandiaga Uno to foster micro, small and medium enterprises in entrepreneurship. Of course, this is not a coincidence, there are intentions and objectives in making the name of this soap product to get the attention of the community. In addition, the guarding of polling stations (TPS) also uses Al-Maidah in the Al Maidah Sightseeing action. The action was attended by the masses at the 212 action and the Islamic Defense Action (Politeia, 2019). Based on this incident, it is clear that the capitalization of Al-Maidah benefits Anies. Conversely, the phenomenon that occurred was also very detrimental to Ahok in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada.

KPU data from several survey institutions such as the Indonesian Survey Institute showed the final results of the implementation of the 2017 DKI Regional Election which was won by Governor Candidates Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno obtaining 55.41% of the total valid votes. On the other hand, the Ahok-Djarot vote was far from the estimates of some people who obtained a percentage of 44.59%. In addition, the Polmark Indonesia survey also showed the same results, the Anies-Sandi pair received the most votes of 57.53% while Ahok-Djarot 42.47%. The third survey institution, namely SMRC (Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting) showed Anies-Sandi's vote share of 58.06% and Ahok-Djarot's 41.94% (Prasetia, detikNews). The data resulted in some community groups having the view that the identity politics carried out by Anies was applied as a means of achieving political goals with his success in becoming the number one leader in DKI Jakarta. Islam seems to be used as a strength or benchmark for political elites to gain support and win political contestation. Until now, the people of DKI Jakarta are still struggling with the impact of polarization from the 2017 elections (Halili Hasan, 2023). People are afraid that this identity politics will continue and can divide the Indonesian nation.

Anies Baswedan, who is one of the 2024 presidential candidates, is considered inseparable from the issue of identity politics. Anies is already known as the Father of Identity Politics, Anies' title as the Father of Identity Politics is difficult to eliminate (Surya Paloh in katalogika.com, 2023). In addition, Anies Baswedan emphasized to the public to immediately see the track record of work programs that have been carried out since being inaugurated as Governor until the end of the term of office, not only during the campaign (katalogika.com, 2023). Anies encouraged the public so that their view of him did not stop at the time of the DKI 2017 Pilkada. Anies asked the public to move on or move forward and see what he had done during his 5 years as Governor of DKI Jakarta. Anies' performance as Governor of DKI Jakarta received a positive response from most of the people of DKI Jakarta. Based on a survey, 77 percent of DKI Jakarta people were satisfied with Anies Baswedan's performance (Ahmad Khoirul, 2022). This is inseparable from Anies' programs that have succeeded in capturing the hearts of Jakarta residents. Such as the construction of the Jakarta International Stadium, Formula E, integrated public transportation (Jak Lingko), RPTRA construction, and other programs.

The great support from the people of DKI Jakarta is the hope of Anies Baswedan who is running as a presidential candidate in 2024. Political Indicators show that the electability of the Anies-Muhaimin pair in DKI Jakarta is in the highest position, at 39.2%. Meanwhile, 29.8% was obtained by the Prabowo-Gibran

pair, 17.2% by the Ganjar-Mahfud pair, and 13.8% did not answer (CNN Indonesia, 2023). The survey showed that most of the votes obtained by Anies came from the people of DKI Jakarta as the community he had led. However, as stated in the previous paragraph, the issue of identity politics was very strong in the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections. The people of DKI Jakarta referred to in this study are people with the millennial age category. The millennial age category is vulnerable to the influence of identity politics issues that are often present before elections. Millennials are also synonymous with swing voters, they are expected to be wise in receiving information. This research can show the results of whether the politicization of identity that occurred in the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections will affect Anies Baswedan's electability ahead of the 2024 presidential election. The level of electability of a prospective leader is considered important to see the chances of winning the political contestation.

There are several previous studies that have discussed identity politics. Such as research by Intan Suci Utari (2020) entitled "Electability and Identity Politics (Factors for Increasing PKS Votes in the 2019 Election)". This study discusses the factors of increasing PKS votes in the 2019 election through an identity politics approach that influenced PKS's electability in the 2019 election. Research by Rizka Puspita (2021) with the title "The Effect of the Use of Identity Politics on Social Media (Facebook) on the Political Participation of UIN Walisongo Students in the 2019 Presidential Election". This research raises the issue of identity politics in the 2019 presidential election which prioritizes the use of social media, Facebook, as a forum for gaining existence and forming a political image online. Furthermore, research by Tommy Mandala Putra (2019) entitled "The Influence of Local Issues on Candidate Electability in the 2019 Village Head Election in Margomulyo Village, Balen District, Bojonegoro Regency". This research raises local political issues that affect electability, how much influence they have, and how much the electability level of each candidate is. Research by Graceylla (2023) entitled "The Influence of Identity Politics on the Victory of the Regional Head Election in Sintang Regency". This study raises the implementation of regional head elections in Sintang Regency with the aim of seeing the influence of identity politics on regional head elections in Sintang Regency and how much influence identity politics has. The gap from this research lies in the results and methods used. None of the previous studies above used political identity and electability variables simultaneously with quantitative methods. This research will provide different results from previous studies. Therefore, this research is important to do because the issue of identity politics which is very thick in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada can affect Anies' electability as a 2024 presidential candidate. Based on the above background, the purpose of this study is to determine whether there is a significant influence between identity politics that occurred in the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections on Anies Baswedan's electability ahead of the 2024 presidential election seen from the perceptions of the people of DKI. Jakarta.

## METHOD

The method used in this research is quantitative. According to Sugiyono (2020), quantitative research is a research method based on the philosophy of positivism, used to research on certain populations or samples. Quantitative research is research that focuses on measuring and analyzing the cause-and-effect relationship of two or more variables. Quantitative research takes the distance between the researcher and the object to be studied through research instruments and is measuring in nature. The population of this study is the millennial community of DKI Jakarta, totaling 2,576,484 people. Calculated using an estimated error rate of 10% with the Slovin formula calculation, a sample of 100 respondents was obtained.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2} \quad n = \frac{2.576.484}{1+2.576.484(0,1)^2} = 99,99 \text{ (rounded to 100)}$$

n = Sample

N = Total Population

e = Estimated Error

This study has a hypothesis or temporary conjecture in the form of a null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ), namely that there is no significant influence between identity politics on electability. The next hypothesis is the Alternative Hypothesis ( $H_a$ ), namely that there is a significant influence between identity politics on electability. The theory used in this research is the theory of identity politics; Matters relating to politics to prioritize the goals and desires of group members because they have similarities in identity or characteristics, whether based on race, ethnicity, gender, or religion. Pierre Van den Bergh (1981) reveals the theory of identity politics by dividing three dimensions, namely Primordialism; Excessive loyalty to a culture, such as religious and ethnic identity, Constructivism; The way a person constructs knowledge from his experience, and Instrumentalism; The process of political manipulation and mobilization when social groups are arranged based on the initial attributes of ethnicity. These three dimensions are used as instruments in the research used in variable X (Identity Politics). While the instrument used in variable Y (Electability); The ability of a candidate or political party to win a political contestation. Electability is used to measure the popularity and vote support achieved by prospective leaders, using electability factors, namely Popularity; The extent to which the popularity of a candidate is assessed by the public, Political Image; Can be formed during campaigns, community socialization, and the way prospective leaders interact. The formation of a good image will make people have their own interest in prospective leaders, and Public Support; Vote or support given by the community. The more support obtained from the community, the greater the electability of a person or political party increases.

The variable is measured using a questionnaire with a Likert scale

Score 4: Strongly Agree

Score 3: Agree

Score 2: Disagree

Score 1: Strongly Disagree

The research variables used are Identity Politics as the Independent Variable (Free) and Electability as the Dependent Variable (Bound). Data collection was carried out through questionnaire techniques, the number of statements distributed was 20 items, as a primary data source and literature study as a secondary data source. Data analysis uses the IBM SPSS Version 24 program calculation tool. Data analysis includes validity, reliability, normality, linearity, simple linear regression, correlation coefficient, coefficient of determination, and T test (partial).

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Validity and Reliability Test

Based on the validity test results, the  $r$  table that has been set in this validity test is 0.1966. Meanwhile,  $r$  count of all statements for both variable X and variable Y is in the range of 0.232 - 0.865 so it can be concluded that all 20 statements with details of 11 statements for variable X and 9 statements for variable Y are declared valid and meet the criteria for data validity, where  $r$  count  $>$   $r$  table and significance  $<$  0.05.

The reliability test was applied to 20 statement items that were considered valid. All statements were declared reliable using the Cronbach's Alpha criteria  $>$  0.60. The reliability test of variable X is 0.791 and variable Y is 0.890. Therefore, it can be concluded that all statements from the two variables, namely identity politics and electability, meet the validity and reliability criteria, so they can continue the analysis test.

**Tabel 1.**  
**Normality and Linearity Test**

<b>Normality Test</b>	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0.099
<b>Linearity Test</b>	Deviation from Linearity	0.457

Source: Authors' Calculation

In the normality test using Kolmogorov-Smirnov, the Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed) of 0.099 where  $0.099 > 0.05$ . Therefore, it can be concluded that the residual value is normally distributed. Sig. deviation from linearity value of 0.457 where  $0.457 > 0.05$ . So, it can be concluded that there is a linear relationship between the dependent variable (independent) and the independent variable (dependent). After the data is normally and linearly distributed, it can be continued for regression tests because the requirements for conducting regression tests are normal and linear data.

**Tabel 2.**  
**Correlation and Determination Coefficient Test**

<b>Model</b>	<b>R</b>	<b>R Square</b>
1	0.279 <sup>a</sup>	<b>0.078</b>

Source: Authors' Calculation

The correlation value (r) between identity politics and electability is 0.279. According to the correlation coefficient level table, the value of 0.279 is in the interval 0.20 - 0.399 which is included in the low category. The calculation of the coefficient of determination is 0.078 or 7.8%, which means that the identity politics variable has an influence of 7.8% on the electability variable.

**Tabel 3.**  
**Simple Regression and Hypothesis Test**

		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>				
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	17.561	2.813		6.242	0.000
	Identity Politics	0.275	0.096	0.279	2.875	0.005
a. Dependent Variable: Electability						

**a. Dependent Variable: Electability**

Source: Authors' Calculation

Based on the results of the above calculations, it can be seen that the Constant (a) value is 17.561 and the regression coefficient (b) value is 0.275. So, if written in the regression formula is:

$$Y = a + Bx$$

$$Y = 17.561 + 0.275X$$

The conclusion from the above equation is that the constant value of 17.561 means that the consistent value of the Identity Politics variable is 17.561. The regression coefficient X is 0.275, which means that every 1% increase in the value of Identity Politics, the Electability value will increase by 0.275. Therefore, the regression coefficient has a positive value and it can be said that the direction of the influence of variable

X on variable Y is positive. The t value obtained is 2.875.  $t_{\text{count}} 2.875 > t_{\text{table}} 1.984$ . So according to the criteria in hypothesis testing,  $H_0$  is rejected and  $H_a$  is accepted.

## Discussion

This research shows that identity politics affects a person's electability. The regression coefficient shows a positive value and it can be said that the direction of the influence of variable X on variable Y is positive. Researchers found a low level of relationship between identity politics and electability. Identity politics only has an influence of 7.8% on the electability variable. While the remaining 92.2% is influenced by other factors that are not used as research variables in this study. Based on regression analysis, every 1% increase in the value of Political Identity, the value of Electability will only increase by 0.275. The findings of this study are in line with previous research that examines the effect of political identity on political participation. In this case, identity politics is also used as variable X (the influencing variable) showing a figure of 7.4% (Rizka Puspita, 2021). This figure interprets that the use of identity politics has a very low influence on political participation. This research also produces the same findings, where identity politics as a variable that exerts influence, only has a low influence or impact on the affected variable, in this research is electability, which is 7.8%. Therefore, it can be concluded that the electability of Anies Baswedan who is running as a presidential candidate in the 2024 elections is not fully influenced by the identity politics that occurred in the DKI Jakarta elections in 2017. This is in line with expert opinion which states several other factors that increase electability, namely popularity, attraction, and public support (Tommy, 2019). Popularity is the level of familiarity of candidates in the eyes of the public. Interest shows the level of public liking and interest in the candidates they will vote for, and public support is defined as people who support winning candidates. Finally, the hypothesis test (T test) shows that the t count (2.875) is greater than the t table (1.984), which means that there is an influence between identity politics and electability.

Identity politics that occurred in the 2017 DKI elections could affect Anies' electability level ahead of the 2024 presidential election. This shows that the track record of a prospective leader is also an assessment for the community to choose that candidate. DKI Jakarta millennials agree that identity politics did occur in the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections. They recognize Anies Baswedan used identity as a tool or weapon to win the political contestation to become Governor of DKI Jakarta at that time. Identity politics are matters related to politics that prioritize the goals and desires of group members because they have similar identities or characteristics, whether based on race, ethnicity, gender, or religion (Lukmantoro). In addition, Anies' track record as the leader of DKI Jakarta also affects the attractiveness of the community to vote. Anies' performance when leading DKI Jakarta was considered good and fair by the DKI Jakarta millennial generation who also considered DKI Jakarta better under Anies' leadership. DKI Jakarta millennial society assesses and provides support to Anies because of his performance. Identity politics can influence voters' preferences by using their identity, such as voting based on race and religion. Then, identity politics can also be the basis for the formation of identity groups that can form alliances to influence people's choices and have an impact on election results. Identity politics can be used to mobilize people according to personal or group goals and interests. Therefore, identity politics can affect the electability of a candidate which also affects the final results of the election in the 2024 elections.

Anies' level of electability ahead of the 2024 presidential election is proven to be influenced by the track record of the 2017 DKI elections yesterday, related to identity politics. Identity politics that has occurred only has a percentage impact on electability and has a positive influence on Anies' electability ahead of the 2024 Election. Identity politics that occurs provides its own advantages for Anies because of his religious background. DKI Jakarta millennial society considers identity factors and scholars as one of the references for choosing leaders (Researcher Data). In addition, DKI Jakarta millennial society views that identity politics can be used in the democratic system in Indonesia. The level of electability of a person does affect the election results. However, the public, as smart voters, must be critical in looking at the electability of a candidate and immediately understand the vision, mission and work program of the candidate they will

vote for. People must be careful during the political campaign period because many irresponsible people lead hateful opinions that can polarize the community. Identity politics in the 2017 DKI elections had a positive influence on Anies' electability. However, people must also pay attention to other things in order to become rational voters, not only based on the identity of prospective leaders and the level of electability.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this study is that there is a positive and significant influence between identity politics in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada on Anies Baswedan's electability ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election. This conclusion is obtained from statistical calculations with the help of the SPSS version 24 program. The correlation test shows a low relationship between identity politics (independent variable) and electability (dependent variable).

The influence of identity politics on electability is shown by a percentage of 7.8%. This figure is relatively low because there are still 92.2% other factors that are stronger in influencing the electability of a prospective leader. Therefore, it can be concluded that the electability of Anies Baswedan, who is running as a presidential candidate in the 2024 elections, is not fully influenced by identity politics that occurred in the 2017 DKI Jakarta elections. Suggestions for future researchers are to use different perceptions related to identity politics, increase the number of variables, or reduce the degree of error in order to obtain a larger number of samples and the results of research analysis can be more accurate.

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