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Portrait of t Democracy Practice and the Identity (Ethnic) Politics Struggle in the Local Political Arena: A Sociology and History Review

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ABSTRACT

The period of social, economic and political transition is closely related to the collapse of the Suharto regime and the reformtion. This condition is signed by various kinds of conflicts , starting in the national and local political arena. Political propaganda at that time occured when the country was still in the authoritarian and centralistic spirit of the Suharto government. In fact, local actors and national politics are moving the issue to take power. This study focuses on the analysis of Indonesia democratic struggles in the dynamics of identity politics, the practice of identity politics during the New Order era was given the space in carrying out the movements and compared to the reformation period in Riau Province and the process of strengthening identity politics in the local sphere in Riau Province. This study used literature study in analyzing with sociological and historical theory. The results of this study showed that identity politics in Riau Province during the New Order and Reformation eras was different. During the New Order era, identity politics had no space and local people were shifted or removed, while during the reformation period, identity politics was open and expanded the contents of local people to become leader so it emerges the conflicts and presenting cases at the local level. This study brings out the term symbolic power in the local democratic process and carries the value of the nationalism spirit in local communities

Keyword: Democracy, Ethnic Political Struggle, Local Politics

BACKGROUND

Strengthening the identity politics at the local level is an interseting discussion topics in the political arena. Democracy and identity politics in the local political arena show the dynamics and processes of change from time to time with the periodization of changing regimes in a country with full of diversity. The period of social, economic and political transition is closely related to the collapse of the Suharto regime and the passage of reforms based on various kinds of conflicts that occurred in the national and local political arenas. Political propaganda occurred at a time when the country was still in the authoritarian and centralistic spirit of the Suharto government. The disappeared government governance that changed from authoritarian and centralized to decentralized and democratic brought out to contemporary political practices and relevance to government management at that time. If it is traced that democracy has experienced a wide enough openness so that this opportunity becomes a level in carrying out local political legitimacy and regional arenas find various exhibitions of social conflicts to gain recognition in terms of social identity and politically in the realities of life.

Post-New Order shows the resistance and lawsuits of region has against regional identity. For example, we can see Papua and Aceh that are in the spotlight in their power to separate themselves from the Unitary State

of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Besides that, Riau[1] and Kalimantan filed a lawsuit in order to separate and ask for independence from the Republic of Indonesia. This started from the government that regulates authority only in the central government. According to (Lay 2003), Jakarta is very powerful and plays an active role in controlling the government system. According to (Tirtosudarmo 2007, the political transition led to the formation of various kinds of provinces and districts as well as sub-districts including new villages from various regions to provide autonomy in order to manage their own territory.

The movement is carried out as a form of attachment in carrying out the movement for the politics of ethnicity as a part of politics on the basis of the movement. So that the strengthening of regional identity politics at the local level that wraps power as a force in making the country prosperous. After the stipulation of Law no. 22/1999, it can be seen that the identity politics movement is clearly visible in carrying out the movement. (Halabo 2015) states that people will carry out a movement if in a country prioritizes their own will. It illustrates that multiethnic societies have different ideologies and characters in taking action (Tridakusumah 2015). The movement that is related to issues that are intensely in the distribution of power. (Sjaf 2014) explains that ethnic politics is a way to gain power after the post-reform era.

The identity politics actor implies that the movement carried out is in the form of power-sharing. Politically, local elites carry out struggles that are carried out as a form of expansion and are able to control local governments. The movement is carried out related to local elites innovation and play the role as citizens. According to (Klinken 2007), local elites take all political governments in developing regions and eliminate dependence on political activities. According to (Tiro 2007), political identity is not a guarantee of life but as a force in

guaranteeing interests and power. It has resulted in various movements in obtaining the rights that have been confiscated and suppressed secretly. Political actors as power arrangements carry out movements in order to strengthen identity politics aimed at overcoming conflict. However, experts see that democracy is undergoing a different process of understanding the implementation of democracy[2]. The debate related to demoracy view can be seen in table 1.

Table 1.
The Debate in Viewing Democracy

Figure	The Idea of Democracy in Life
Gaffar, Afan (1990) and Klinken, Gerry Van (2007)	Democracy may reduce conflict
Swasono (2010)	Democracy strengthens the economy
Wiradi (2015)	Democracy tends to be chaotic (conflict)
Furnivall, JS (2009)	A pluralistic society is difficult to build democracy

Source :Book processing results (Furnivall 2009); (Swasono 2010); (Gaffar 1990); (Klinken 2007)

Based on Table 1, democracy as the strength of national unity has different views. Academics, local and national governments as well as the community explain that the democracy in Indonesia did not reflect the democracy expected in the national movement. Democracy brings ideology to carry out various kinds of movements. It can be seen from the stipulation of Law no. 22 of 1999. The fact is that local actors and national politics are moving the issue to take

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[1] This paper focuses on the Riau case related to the process of strengthening local politics. This shows the issue of dissolving and separating the Republic of Indonesia from Riau. It means that Riau will seperate for the expansion of the Republic of Indonesia. This races discomfort and interest in the political system can build their respective countries.

[2] According to Gaffar, Afan (1990) and Klinken, Gerry Van (2007), .Democracy that is built in society is able to reduce the identity conflicts, of course, at the local level. However, according to Furnivall, JS (2009) said that a country with a pluralistic and multicultural and ethnic society is very difficult to build democracy. Furthermore, according to Swasono, (2010), democracy is the life of the people who can be sovereign and economically sovereign by empowering natural resources perfectly. So that people life are able to be independent in economic development. However, democracy has been associated with political interests that become national interests (Wiradi, 2015).

power. For this reason, this paper will discuss : First, how is the struggle of Indonesian democracy in the dynamics of identity politics? Second, was the practice of identity politics during the New Order era given room for movement compared to the reformation period in Riau Province? Third, how is the process of strengthening identity politics in the local realm in Riau Province? Thus, these three questions are used to start a study on the portrait of democratic practices and the struggle for identity politics (ethnic) in the local political area, especially in Riau Province. For this reason, this study uses a literature study.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study used a qualitative approach with the ex-post facto method. Data were collected through literature study by analyzing sociological and historical studies on the emphasis on social phenomena occurred. Data analysis used journals, books and documents related to the results of field observations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Democracy and Social Change

Democracy in Indonesia is very important to be considered in the national problems. Open access and public understanding of the politics will open up the ideology in using public space. According to (Putra, Arie 2014), the citizens can use public space as a power in carrying out political expression. According to (Hefner 2011), democracy will not work without modernization. Modernization theory emphasizes the homogenization of political culture. The transformation of democracy for Indonesian people underwent the changes starting from the colonial system and feudalism in terms of the kingdom. Tracing the history before the arrival of the Dutch, the Indonesian state adhered to a caste system, so that democracy could not be implemented by indigenous people at the lowest position when compared to other African, European and Asian nations. In line with that, Indonesia has established a state and administrative system since independence. With the existence of Law Number 22 of 1984, Law 22 of 1999, Law of 1974 Number 4, Law Number 18 of 1965 and Law Number 32 of 2004. Through these laws,

the government administration is based on local political and administrative systems.

(Sjaf 2014) explains that in Kendari the practice of liberative democracy can threaten the life of a multicultural nation with the emergence of ethnic identity politics. The majority ethnic group has great power to perform identity politics in controlling various sectors, including political, cultural, economic and social sectors. So that the practice of liberative democracy is a solution to the rise the identity politics. Ethnic domination is placed to dominate other ethnic groups in various political and economic arenas. Irwan (2015) explains that social change is a process that covers almost all levels of human life, starting from the individual level to the community level, both at the local level to the global level.

Social change study shows; a) identity change (social phenomena change) b) direction and pace or speed, at the change level [3] c) change level [4] and d) the supporting factor of the change [5]. This theory can be used to analyze and explain the social changes in democracy and the social phenomena that causes the various aspects in people life. We can see at the national and local level. The social changes discussed in this context include social analysis for example the institutions (political, social, economic and government) and all of these are at the local and national (state) levels.

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[3] Progress (forward or developing), linear (flat), cycles (cycles), rate: fast or slow, stages (gradual), decline (decline or decline). All of this is at the local and national community level. (Irwan, 2015).

[4] At the level: community (society: stratification, economy, politics), Individual (attitudes, beliefs, aspirations, motivations), groups (related to patterns of interaction, conflict resolution methods, cohesion and unity, and competition), institutions (marriage and family relationships, religious education and practice), organization (structure and function, communication hierarchy, productivity role relations, recruitment, socialization patterns). (Irwan, 2015).

[5] Internal actors are related to the population changes, new discoveries, social conflicts, rebellions or revolutions, external factors: physical environment (such as natural disasters and scientific developments), knowledge, technology and communication developments. (Irwan, 2015).

Ethnicity, the Political Model of Identity and Symbolic Power

According to (Donald L Morowitz. 1998), Identity politics is defined as the politics of difference. It provides a clear line as to who is included and who is rejected. The identity politics movement to build a grand narrative with the principles that they reject and build on the theory of biological factors as the reality of life. Furthermore, there are three criteria according to Von Beyme (Ubdilah 2002) namely movement patterns, motivation and goals. For this reason, the identity model according to Von Beyme can be described as follows:

Table 2.
Von Beyme's Model of Identity Politics

Model E-Government	Interaction between stakeholders
Government to Society	Delivery of public services and one-way government information to the public.
Community to Government	Exchange of information and communication between the community and the government
Government to Business	There are electronic transactions, the government provides the information needed by businesses to interact with the government.
Business to Government	Leads to the marketing of products and services to the government in order to assist the government.
Government to Employees	There are initiatives that facilitate internal service and communication with government employees.
Employee to Government	Exchange of communication and information between departments and countries.
Government to Organization	The government provides information to political parties and organizations.
Organization to Government	Exchange of communication and information between organizations and the state or government, both political parties and organizations.

Source : (Ubdilah 2002) in His Ethnic Identity Politics

Based on Table 2, there is accurate communication and information in carrying out political activities so that the chaos in politics can be handled properly, both local and national. Ethnicity as a reality of difference is seen as dichotomous. Ethnic identity is relatively difficult to change that includes ethnicity, race, nationality and caste. According to (Sjaf 2014), ethnic politics is a way to gain power after the post-reform era. Furthermore, (Sjaf 2014) states that with "symbolic power", the historical narrative of traditional royal power in Southeast Sulawesi is constructed by actors. To understand the social reality that occurs, of course, action theory becomes the analysis in this paper. Weber explains that people do actions for a purpose. The struggle for political identity as a symbol of resistance carried out in obtaining interests and power in the reform era. So that there is a model of resistance carried out by local communities and the government in the political power and symbols that exist in the community.

Tridakusumah (2015) states that the social life of a multiethnic society will have different characters and ideologies. According to (Halabo 2015), the community will carry out a movement if the state forces its own will. Therefore, politics is not a guarantor of life but it is in a position of interest in a group.

The Struggle of Democracy and the Dynamics of Identity Politics

Talking about democracy and identity politics, it is unfinished discussion carried out in both the public and academic spheres. Talking about democracy and identity politics cannot be separated from time to time that undergoes a process of change. The practice of democracy and identity politics provides an opportunity for the community to give authority to make assumptions about the strength of identity related to religion, culture, and others. According to (Sjaf 2014) explained that in Kendari the practice of liberative democracy can threaten the life of

a multicultural nation with the ethnic identity politics.

The democracy practice obtains many problems that arise in the life of a multicultural society. It illustrates that democracy results in a strong openness of identity politics in the life of ethnicity. It has led to many conflicts from various regions and presents various cases at the local level that is very worrying. For instance, there were conflicts in Poso, Ambon and other areas in Indonesia both before and now (the new order regime). The role of New Order regime in suppressing and closing the space of various communities is based on the social, economic, political and cultural arenas. For instance, the Tolaki ethnic group is the dominant group on the mainland and a symbol of the Konawe and Mekongga kingdoms. Furthermore, the Muna and Buton ethnic groups are the two dominant ethnic groups or groups in the symbol of power from the Muna kingdom and the Buton kingdom, the battle that occurs in the arena or political area, for example the Pilkada. Something that appears on the surface is land versus islands as a reflection of the operation of orthodoxy so that the doxa narrative survives the conditions experienced. It can be seen in the figure below:
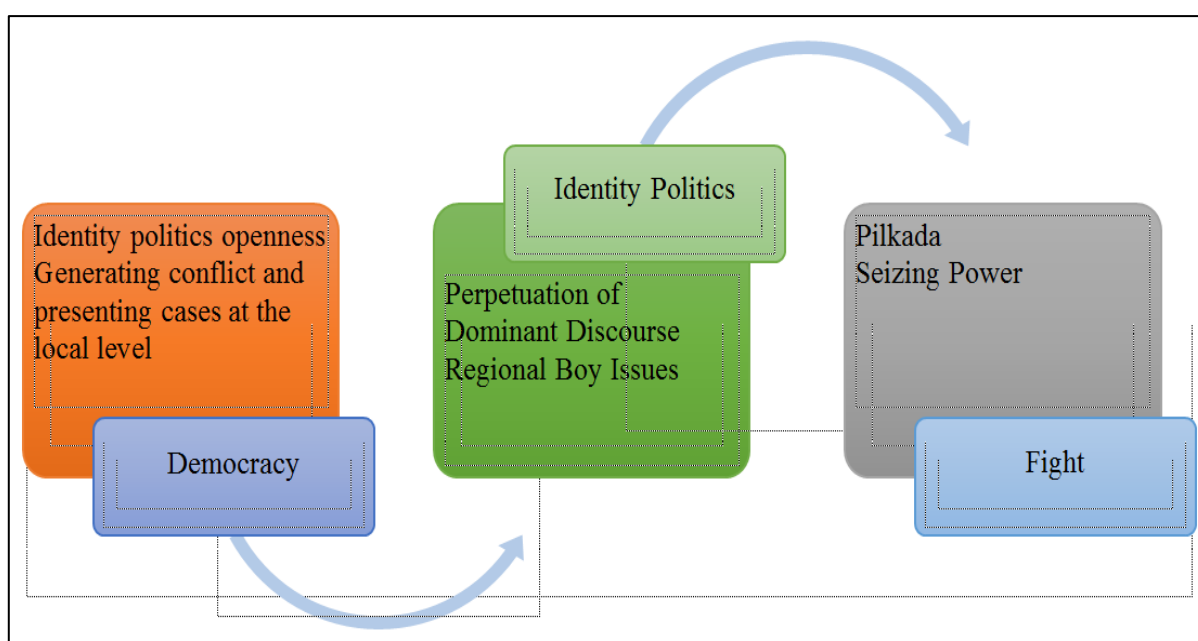

Figure 1. The Struggle of Democracy and the Dynamics of Identity Politics

Based on Figure 1, the issue of the local people and dominance is the power to gain power when the battle takes place in politics. The issues related to conflict in the arena of Indonesian ethnicity are ethnic violence from various regions that have the nation history. According to (Klinken 2007), these dynamics occurred from several regions, namely West Kalimantan, Sambas Regency in January and February 1997. Furthermore, the case that occurred in Banten concerning the dominant discourse that dominates politics and the control of economic sources. (Irfan 2011) stated that Jawara Banten who told that the Jawara Banten were trying to form Banten into the own province so that it brings forth to practices of domination, especially political and economic interests. The steps taken by dominating the dominant network in the government bureaucracy and spreading politics in local communities.

The practice that occurs can be seen from Rt. Atut Chosyiah case that was the Deputy Governor of Banten for the 2002-2006 period and the Governor of Banten for the 2006-2011 period. Rt. Atut Chosyiah is the daughter of the Jawara figure. The political process that occurs in the Banten is found in the aspects of political institutions and government bureaucracy that cannot be separated from the influence of two informal leaders, namely Kyai and Jawara. Furtherome, Banten culture is influenced by Islamic culter that places the Kiai's position in life as an important role in the political arena. It triggers the ideology that the

candidates who want to advance to participate in the regional head and legislative elections are able to control the two entities. The discourse does not only occur in ethnicity and religion, but also appears in the process of political life in Indonesia. According to (Panggabean 2004) Generally, the Golkar Party became the talk of the frequent victims of violence in the election campaign in 1999. The violence occurred not only in big cities, but also in local areas, such as southern Banyuwangi, Kretek, Madiun, Kendal, Magetan, Sidoarjo, Purwakarta and Cianjur and Grobogan. If it is traced that the perpetrators of the destruction are in the dominant party, for example PDI-P (damaging the Kulon Progo Golkar office, occupying the Golkar post and removing the Bandung flag and burning Golkar's attributes in Gunung Kidul). Furthermore, the Golkar masses who were carrying out a campaign thrown out by people from the village who were annoyed with the issue of promises. It is in the distribution of money and free meals in the Jakarta and Kendal areas.

Several political discourses illustrate that democracy can provide freedom for the people to provide opinions or insights regarding the political system. The built democracy is related to liberative democracy so that it is an act that deceives the Indonesian people. It is emerged with the basis of thinking about the disappointment and anger that occurred in local communities so that conflicts dominated by political identity occurred in the reality of people life. Thus, the struggle for democracy and identity politics becomes a force in society to gain power and authority.

Riau Province: Identity Politics of the New Order and Reformation Period

Identity politics is a form of the new order (Nordholt 2007). It illustrates that the state plays an active role in the formation of identity politics. In line with that, according to Larasati, state plays an active role in forming political identity. For this reason, the state is very dominant in controlling the conditions and situations that occur in local communities. In the new order, it is very tight to   avoid racial issues. At that time, it described the openness of the transmigration in the political and cultural areas of society. Furthermore, the influence of religion and ethnicity becomes unimportant in the nation and all arenas of life that state is the lead.

However, the problems that occur do not merely trigger conflict or turmoil. The conflict or turmoil in society is usually caused by the disappointment of the local community to the government. If we look at the Riau issue,   the issue of the sons of the region becomes a very important domination, it is increasingly emerging in the political arena. This aims to make Riau able to be led by local people and become a problem in the local political area. Under these conditions, there is a very strong and unique resistance to the central government and ultimately resulted in defeat. If traced carefully, there is a defeat, namely a great power against the local people to become governor.

The momentum of the local people to become governor occurred in 1985 when Ismail Suko wanted to become a candidate for governor. It occured   that Imam Munandar's term had ended and wanted to run for two terms. Ismail Suko was then secretary of the council and had very strong support in the Riau gubernatorial election. Thus, during the New Order era, both ethnicities were very strong in political resistance in Riau Province. At that time, both ethnicities urged the government to support Ismail Suko and staged a coup against Imam Munandar who had the support of Golkar, Suharto and Beni Murdani. However, at that time as many as 19 people turned their votes for Ismail Suko and Ismail Suko won the election. However, the result was rejected by the government and pressured Ismail Suko to resign. The steps taken by the government at that time were to use the military, police and threats against Ismail Suko, thus emerges to resentment of the Riau Malays against the authority of the Jakartan people. Thus, that the strength the sons of the Riau region is able to fight against a strong regime in controlling the government system. So that the rebellion of the sons of the Riau region is a very important issue in the new order.

Another case, occurred during the reformation period that   the make the opportunities for openness to take action. The reformation period gave awareness to local people to brings forth the ethno-nationalism of the central government.

Therefore, there is a strengthening of political identity in the transfer, eviction and deprivation of positions so that the issue of the sons of the region is not only in the elite community but also in the local community. Historically, after the New Order and the fall of Suharto power, the position of the government in Riau fell to the people of the region. It means, the governor in Riau had been controlled by the sons of the region themselves. After successfully achieving the governorship as the local people , there is a demand for the government system, whether it is regent, sub-district and village, it is expected that the local people will lead.

The movement carried out is an effort to control the government as the issue of the sons of the region. The   vertically of   the government system has been in the position of the local people in the Riau community. Not only that, the official positions, offices and head of division as well as various elements of government and companies are controlled by the sons of the region. Indirectly, the movement is carried out as a form of high politicization in the territory of the sons of the region to control the government both in the local and private levels. So that the movement is in a position to the struggle against the democratic system and identity politics of the local people of Riau Province. The following is a comparison of the political identity of Riau Province during the New Order and Reformation era.
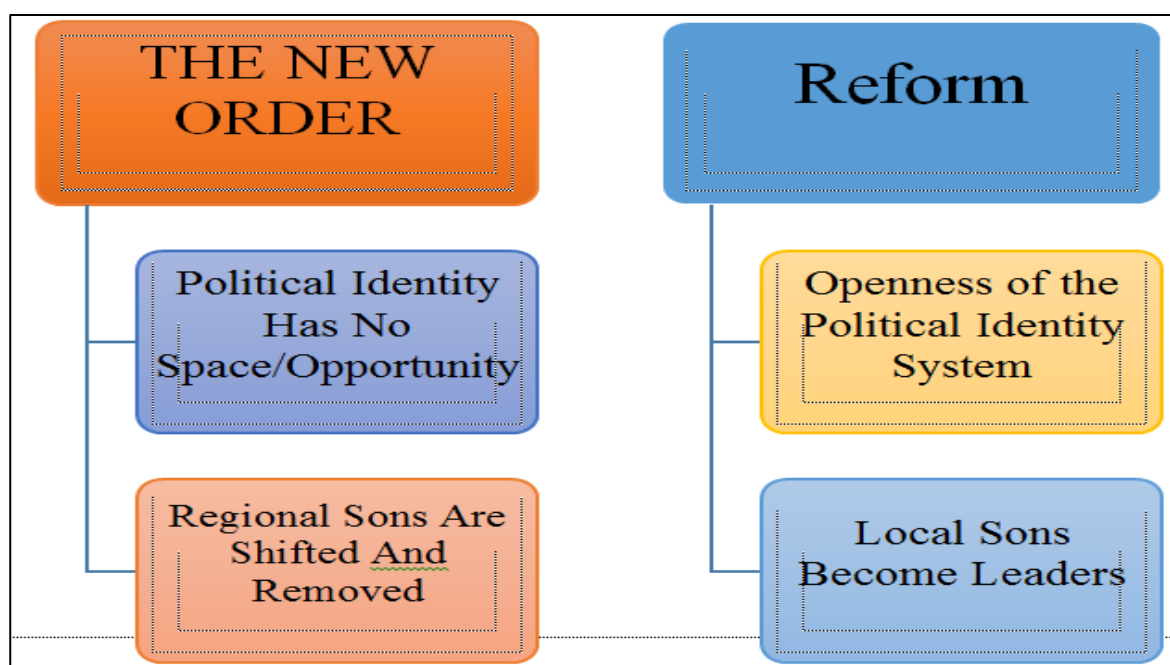

Figure   2. Comparison between Riau Province Political Identity During the New Order and Reformation Period

Based on Figure 2, the movement is carried out solely in obtaining society power. The government position that is the principal of the local people has been found by the son of Riau Province. So that the politicization including height and position can be obtained in the enormity of political management in the reform system.

Strengthening Identity Politics in Riau Province

In the New Order era, the government aspirations will be very important in political power. The refusal of a local son to become governor in Riau Province has become a history that will never be forgotten. It is given the assumption that the New Order government denied and marginalized human rights in working in the   political world. Indirectly, ethnicity in Riau Province has experienced extensification in independence and it is still oppressed by the situation and

conditions that occur. The political identity that is built is of course on the Malays to raise aspirations in the context of independence. It means that the power of political identity is based on independence that must be free from the government system that regulates independent interests. The capital that is built in the community is a symbolic model.

According to (Sjaf 2014) "symbolic power", the historical narrative of traditional royal power in Southeast Sulawesi was constructed by actors. The actors who dominate the resources that the most are those who often have large capital in order to get an economic and political accumulation. Furthermore, according to (Scott 1993)

resistance will achieve evolutionary change. Therefore, the resistance carried out is a symbolic resistance. The methods are carried out by slandering, disobeying, stealing, burning houses, a message of interaction through symbols of resistance. In addition, zakat resistance is carried out by reducing the size of the rice fields when they are about to be recorded by zakat collectors. Thus, the assumption can be described as follows regarding the power of the symbol of independence carried out by the sons of the Riau Province to gain power.
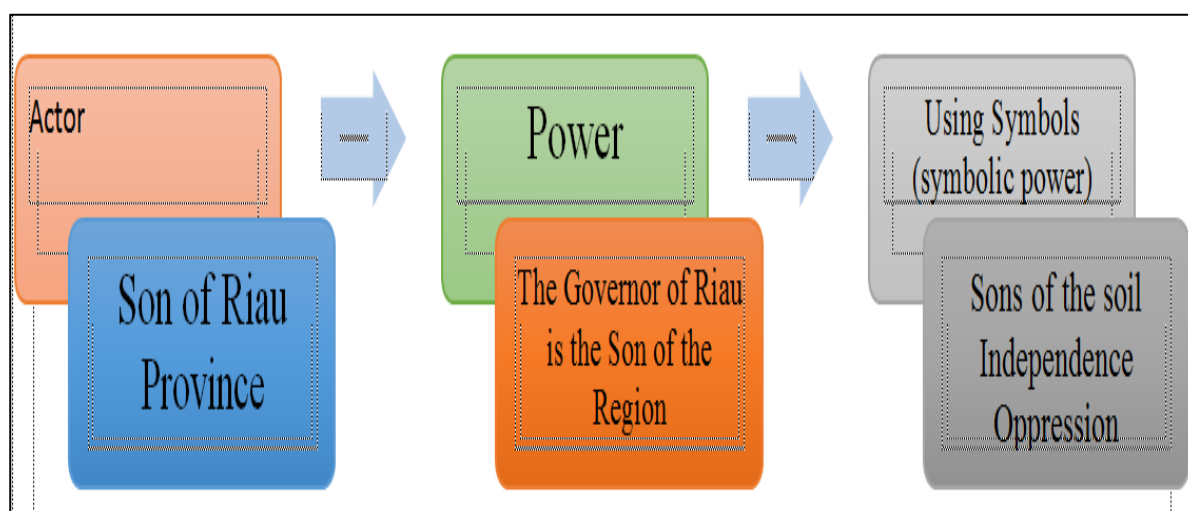

Figure 3. Strengthening Identity Politics in Riau Province

Based on Figure 3, the symbolic power in society is a construction of social status and political economy struggles. The structure of the struggle in the political arena as the formation of identity at the structural level in gaining power. Therefore, actors are very important in constructing social reality to get the target. Based on rational theory of actors as a force in obtaining the goals.

CONCLUSION

The struggle for identity politics brings a portrait of local politics face in maintaining regional power. It shown in Riau Province society who fights for local politics in obtaining government power. To maintain identity in a region and gain power, the steps taken with the issue of the sons of the region and independence and freedom from oppression are known as symbolic power.

Although the issue appears which has a worried meaning in local democratic process, it carries the value of nationalism spirit in the local community. Therefore, the suggestion is government (political parties) need to represent each region and each tribe to develop development in local communities. Local strength is the strength in the spirit of nationalism to build the region or territory of each ethnicity, culture and religion.

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