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## Communication of Political Identity & Indonesian Presidential Candidacy in the 2024 Election

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### Abstract:

*So far, the presidential election in Indonesia has been a public concern. President Jokowi, in his second term as President, is suspected of wanting to run for a third term if allowed by existing regulations. The emergence of presidential candidates for the 2024 period from his ministers is a challenge for Jokowi. Anisbaswedan, the former governor of Jakarta, was appointed by the Nasdem party as one of the presidential candidates. Thus, the writer addresses the above phenomena and examines the future prospects and identity communication built by respective parties. This study uses political identity, identity communication, and a constructive approach using library research. The data used comes from library sources, both in the form of text in books, articles, papers, and other written sources. This research belongs to the descriptive-analytic research category, which describes and analyzes comprehensively the Indonesian 2024 President. Source of data obtained from primary and secondary literature. The primary data source is the literature on identity and communication. Sources from the internet are used in this study as an additional reference. The research results were analyzed descriptively. They used theories such as the theory of communication, identity, and constructivism. The research results show that the identity communication of the Indonesian presidential candidate must accommodate the majority of people in terms of race, culture, and religion. East Java, Central Java, and West Java, for example, are high in population than other provinces in the region, which mostly determine the candidate's win. Postponing the presidential election is another possible case, in case Mr. Jokowi wins the Constitution Commission and grants of Indonesian Constitution for his third period.*

**Keywords:** Communication and political identity and 2024 presidential election

### 1. Introduction

Discussion of identity politics is still a new issue in Indonesia. Although these aspects have been around for a long time, the effects they left behind have only been felt recently, especially when the form of identity politics is used as a venue for mass gatherings by stakeholders. In this case, political elites use ethnic, religious, racial, and ethnic similarities to gain support from the community (<https://pekalongankab.bawaslu.go.id/berita/detail/warning-waspada-politik-identitas-menjelang-pemilu-2024>). The characteristics that exist in identity politics include the following; Have similarities and goals to form power based on its political map. Dissatisfaction arises from within the community who feel marginalized. Providing political paths is an alternative to uniting forces in a series of democratic agendas (<https://dosensosiologi.com/pengertian-politik-identitas-dan-contohnya-menurut-ahli-lengkap/>).

General Election (Election) is a manifestation of the democratic system adopted by the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, in the document International Standards and Commitments on the Right to Democratic Elections, identifies 10 (ten) components of democratic elections based on international cases and instruments. The ten components include:

- The election system,
- District arrangements (districting),
- Election administration (election administration),
- Suffrage rights and voter registration,
- Civic education and voter information,
- Candidates, political parties, and campaign funding (candidates, political parties, and campaign spending),
- Media access and protection of freedom of speech and expression in electoral campaigns,
- Balloting,
- Election monitoring (election observation), and
- Resolution of election disputes (Janedjri M. Gaffar, 2013:6)

The election of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, which is commonly referred to as the General Election (election), is one of the important agendas in the political system of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), which is carried out after the election of the legislative body. In its development, the presidential election is positioned as the most important part of the political constellation.

(<https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjpr5m9zNL8AhWz5XMBHWD7B3cQFnoECCUQAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Frepository.umsida.ac.id%2Fbitstream%2Fhandle%2F123456789%2F29231%2FD.%2520BAB%2520I.pdf%3Fsequence%3D5%26isAllowed%3Dy&usq=AOvVaw2Dbyg0h2It00oKHLhIROTx>).

The emergence of presidential candidates in the 2024 election is a rare phenomenon in Indonesian politics because Anies Baswedan is one of the non-party advocates for the Nasdem party as a presidential candidate. The attitude of Surya Paloh, who is the chairman of the Nasdem party, is a challenge to President Jokowi. Nasdem has three ministers under Jokowi's presidency. Jokowi has a presidential candidate he supports if the idea of three terms as president fails.

Based on the political developments of Indonesia's leadership in 2024, the author is interested in analyzing the emergence of many presidential candidates participating in the candidacy contest to become the Republic of Indonesia One. Besides that, the ups and downs of party coalitions are also getting sharper because there is no agreement on the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Until the party's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary this January, the PDI-P party has not yet decided on a presidential candidate. After Jokowi did not receive the blessing of Megawati Sukarno Putri to advance to a third term as president, the Indonesian Constitution does not allow the president to be spelled out for three terms. The constitution only allows for two terms.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

According to Micheal Hecth and colleagues, the communication theory of identity incorporates the following three cultural contexts, individual, communal, and public. According to this theory, identity is the main link between the individual and society, and communication is the link that allows this relationship to occur. Identity is a code that defines membership in a diverse community. The code consists of symbols such as forms of clothing and possessions, and words such as descriptions of self or things that are usually said and the meanings that are attributed to others to those things (Littlejohn & Foss, 2012, p. 131). Political identity is conceptually different from 'identity politics' (politics of identity). Political identity is a construction that determines the position of the subject's interests in a political community bond, while the meaning of identity politics refers to the political mechanisms of organizing identity (both political identity and social identity) as resources and means of politics (<http://repositori.unsil.ac.id/5192/5/BAB%202.pdf>). The constructivism paradigm traced from Max Weber's thought assesses human behavior as fundamentally different from natural behavior because humans act as agents who construct their social reality, both through giving meaning and understanding behavior according to Weber, explaining that the substance of life forms in society is not only seen from an objective assessment only but seen from the actions of individuals arising from subjective reasons. Weber also saw that each individual would have an impact on society (Max Weber, 1958: 56).

The implications of the constructivism paradigm are described by communication-based on 'self-concept' based on Bernstein's theory. According to Ardianto, Bernstein's theory states that individuals in doing something are constructed by their own life orientation (also called subject orientation), where subject-based individuals will use code elaborations that respect other people's tendencies, feelings, interests, and points of view. According to Ardianto, the basic principle of constructivism explains that one's actions are determined by one's own construct as well as the construct of the external environment from one's own perspective. Therefore, communication can be formulated, which is determined by oneself amidst the influence of the outside environment.

([https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjpr5m9zNL8AhWz5XMBHWD7B3cQFnoECA0QAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Frepository.unissula.ac.id%2F18523%2F6%2FRINGKASAN%2520DISERTASI\\_1.pdf&usq=AOvVaw2esT5PFUZYpQQRJPDntrn](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwjpr5m9zNL8AhWz5XMBHWD7B3cQFnoECA0QAQ&url=http%3A%2F%2Frepository.unissula.ac.id%2F18523%2F6%2FRINGKASAN%2520DISERTASI_1.pdf&usq=AOvVaw2esT5PFUZYpQQRJPDntrn)).

## 3. Result and Discussion

After the Nasdem Party declared Anies Baswedan as the presidential candidate they will run in the upcoming 2024 presidential election, we can begin to predict the coalition map. At least there will be three or four coalition axes that will be formed later. However, of course, politics will always be dynamic, especially since the declaration of a presidential candidate may not necessarily be able to nominate a presidential candidate if it does not meet the presidential threshold, which is 20 percent of DPR seats ([https://www.iainpare.ac.id/opini-koalisi-jegal-menjegal-pada\)-presidential-election/2/](https://www.iainpare.ac.id/opini-koalisi-jegal-menjegal-pada)-presidential-election/2/)). Many ministers under President Jokowi will run for president in 2024. Supported by the decision of the Constitutional Court, Indonesian President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) responded to the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK), which stated that ministers or ministerial-level officials do not need to resign if they run for office. Presidential candidate or vice-presidential candidate in the upcoming 2024 elections. The Head of State emphasized that his staff will continue to prioritize their duties as ministers even though they are contesting in the 2024 elections (<https://setkab.go.id/soal-menteri-jadi-capres-presiden-assignment-as-menteri-harus-diutamakan/>). However, what is at stake is the achievement of the threshold.

The 2004 Election From election to election, the threshold for the nomination of the president and vice-president has changed. In Indonesia, the presidential threshold was first formulated in Law Number 23 of 2003 concerning the General Election of the President and Vice-President. Article 5 Paragraph (4) of the Law states that a pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidates can only be nominated by a political party or coalition of political parties that obtains at least 15 percent of the total seats in the DPR or 20 percent of the valid national votes in the election for members of the DPR. This threshold provision was applied for the first time in the 2004 general election, which coincided with the first time that Indonesia had held a direct presidential election (Pilpres). Five years later, in the 2009 Presidential Election, the presidential threshold has changed. This was followed by changes in the Election Law. At that time, the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs could be nominated by political parties or coalitions of political parties that had at least

25 percent of the seats in the DPR or 20 percent of the valid national votes in the legislative elections. This rule is contained in Law Number 42 of 2008.

(<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2021/12/20/11334391/presidential-threshold-pengertian-dan-History-from-pemilu-to-pemilu-di>).

The results of the Indonesian People's Conference (called Musra) held by Jokowi's volunteers produced 10 names of presidential candidates (bacapres) and vice-presidential candidates for the 2024 presidential election. The following is a list of presidential and cawapres candidates resulting from Jokowi's voluntary Musra:

Presidential candidates:

- Joko Widodo (29.79 percent),
- Sandiaga Uno (16.92 percent),
- Ganjar Pranowo (16.1 percent),
- Prabowo Subianto (11.1 percent),
- Anies Baswedan (9.02 percent),
- Ridwan Kamil (5.17 percent),
- Puan Maharani (4.16 percent),
- Dedi Mulyadi (2.87 percent),
- Moeldoko (2.57 percent),
- Andika Perkasa (1.42 percent),
- Others (0.89 percent)

Vice-presidential candidates:

- Ridwan Kamil (38.89 percent),
- Airlangga Hartarto (13.25 percent),
- Erick Thohir (12.81 percent),
- Arsjad Rasjid (10.33 percent),
- Puan Maharani (9.49 percent),
- Anies Baswedan (4.88 percent),
- Sandiaga Uno (4.06 percent),
- Ganjar Pranowo (2.76 percent),
- Moeldoko (1.54 percent),
- Dedi Mulyadi (0.68 percent),
- Others (0.56 percent)

(<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20220831190540-4-368252/jangan-kaget-ini-10-register-bakal-presidential-candidate-2024-jokowi-top>).

Nasdem, Democrats, and PKS have agreed to form a coalition, and then their ideal composition will pair Anies Baswedan and Agus Harimurti Yudoyono (AHY). At least the figures of kingmaker Surya Paloh and SBY already have sufficient experience to formulate a winning concept if this coalition can materialize. Especially if you look at the emotional relationship of the three parties that have been intertwined for a long time, PKS will also rationally choose a coalition axis that can accommodate their political interests unless the Gerindra and PKB coalition or the KIB Coalition makes a more rational offer for the interests of the PKS Party because the opportunity to form a coalition with PDIP seems difficult to achieve given the political relations between the two in the last ten years. Then the coalition initiated by Golkar, PPP, and PAN has yet to determine whom they will run as presidential and cawapres candidates. The figure of Airlangga Hartanto is currently considered not to have strong electability to be promoted as a presidential candidate when compared to popular names, such as Ganjar Pranowo, Ridwan Kamil, Erick Thohir, and Khofifah Indar Parawansa. However, if you use the perspective of democratization of political parties, ideally, a political party is obliged to carry its own chairman. This is because it will be a failure of political parties to carry out cadres if, in the election contestation, they have to carry candidates from outside the party or even carry cadres of other political parties (<https://www.iainpare.ac.id/opini-koalisi-jegal-menjagal-pada-presidential-election/2/>).

As a result of the identity communication of the Indonesian President, the candidate must accommodate the majority of people in race, culture, and religion. East Java, Central Java, and West Java, for example, are higher in population than other provinces in the region, which mostly determine the candidate's win. Postponing the presidential election is another possible case, in case Mr. Jokowi wins the Constitution Commission and grants of Indonesian Constitution for his third period. So far, the non-Javanese still find it difficult to become Indonesian President since the existing political habit is based on identity and majority. Therefore, identity communication and political identity are still essentially used as political devices.

#### 4. Conclusion

Eliminating the practice of identity politics will be an important task for Indonesia ahead of the upcoming 2024 elections. This is important because it is closely related to equal rights, community unity and integrity, and democratic principles. Moreover, issues of ethnicity, race, and religion (SARA) are quite sensitive matters to be used as campaign tools. As a multicultural and democratic country, it is appropriate for all people to have equal rights in elections. Not only Javanese but outsiders too can become state leaders. Not only Muslims but non-Muslims, too, can become state leaders. In the sense that a person's right to become a leader or representative of the people is not based solely on ethnicity, religion,

race, or ethnicity but rather on the ability of these people to lead and protect society (<https://pekalongankab.bawaslu.go.id/news/details/warning-waspada-politics-identity-aheadof-election-2024>). The idea of postponing the 2024 elections has resurfaced in the public sphere. This time the idea of postponing the upcoming elections was brought up by two general chairmen of political parties, Muhaimin Iskandar from the National Awakening Party and Zulkifli Hasan from the National Mandate Party. They argued that the election was postponed so that the momentum for economic improvement due to the pandemic would not be lost and cause the economic sector to decline because it was disrupted by political events. Determination of the 2024 Election on February 14, 2024, as achieved through a joint meeting between Commission II of the DPR RI, the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, the General Election Commission, and the General Election Supervisory Body (<https://www.iainpare.ac.id/state-of-emergency-if-the-2024-postponed-election/>).

Rusdianto Sudirman analyzed that there will be at least four coalition axes that can be formed:

- First, the United Indonesia Coalition (KIB) axis, which has been declared since the beginning, consists of GOLKAR, PAN, and PPP (25.87 percent of DPR seats).
- The second axis consists of NASDEM, PKS, and Democrats (28.50 percent of DPR seats),
- The third axis consists of Gerindra and PKB (23.25 percent of DPR seats), and
- The fourth axis is PDI Perjuangan which is the only political party that can carry presidential and cawapres candidates without forming a coalition with other parties, with a percentage of 22.38 percent of parliament seats.

However, the coalition axis mentioned above could be narrowed down into three axes or even two coalition axes, depending on the agreement and political calculations of each political party. The author refers to this as the practice of tripping coalitions because the main goal is victory, regardless of whether the victory was obtained through honest and fair means or through fraud and cunning. Even though the essence of holding elections is fulfilling the means of realizing people's sovereignty to create a transition of power in a dignified manner and uphold democratic values as stipulated in the constitution (<https://www.iainpare.ac.id/opini-koalisi-jegal-tackle-on-election/2/>). Identity communication is one way to get additional votes in several places in Java for presidential candidates. The role of the three provinces that the author mentioned above is a central role for anyone. Identity cannot be separated in presidential politics in Indonesia. Even though there are still many challenges to identity, this opposition is still overcome by the proliferation of the pattern of identity itself.

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