



## **Potential of Identity Political Issues in The Pandemic Era: Between Threats and The Integrity of The Republic of Indonesia**

Reza Abdurrahman,<sup>1)</sup> Fernanda Alice Pradita <sup>2)</sup>

Master of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences  
Diponegoro University

rezaabdurrahman@students.undip.ac.id <sup>1</sup>

fernandaalicee@students.undip.ac.id <sup>2</sup>

### **Abstract**

There is a practical potential for Islamic identity politics that emerged through controversial actions by the leader of the Islamic Defenders Front organization Habib Rizieq Shihab and actions against religion-based government in the pandemic era. The controversy over the return of Habib Rizieq Shihab which is studied through political science. The method used is literature study to analyze in order to obtain scientifically accountable results. The results of the study found the potential symbols of Habib Rizieq Shihab's political controversy with religious politics through fanaticism and crowd cases, which visibly obscures appreciation of the reality of diversity as well as reduces the important role of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian state. The case of Habib Rizieq Shihab's return, this attitude of fanaticism and other contradictions often leads to the mobilization of the masses to express an identity that they want to be considered different from the majority, which is one of the potential forms of Islamic identity politics. Such a situation and potential can tear apart the religious plurality that this nation has fostered for a long time and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is the solution.

**Keywords:** Pancasila, Identity Politics, Potential

### **INTRODUCTION**

The rise of Islamic identity politics symbolized by the recent controversy has obscured the substantive values and functions of religious teachings. Religious character should be displayed with friendliness, tolerance and moderation, not with a face that is controversial and full of controversy towards different public views. The portrait of the history of political conflict on the basis of identity is a valuable lesson for the journey of the Indonesian nation that national unity and unity can be divided when identity politics cannot be managed effectively, canalized and should even be prevented.

The reform period has been running for almost two decades, which has brought changes both procedurally and substantially to the quality of democracy. In contrast to the symptoms of Covid-19, which provide gaps in all lines of economic, cultural, political, health life. This period of inequality is called the pandemic. Indonesia is a country with high multiculturalism including ethnic, ethnic and religious diversity. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is the fundamental ancestor of the nation in maintaining the diversity of Indonesian multicultural society which is founded on Pancasila.

But in this pandemic era the public was shocked by several controversies based on religion, namely Habib Rizieq Shihab's return to Indonesia on November 10, 2020 (Covid-19 Pandemic Period) became a controversy in Indonesia both in the eyes of the mass media and the public spotlight. The figure of the head of the FPI high priest who has recently been in the media spotlight with all its controversies and problems. Returning means coming from leaving. Previously, Habib Rizieq Shihab went to Saudi Arabia after leaving several phenomena in



Indonesia, including the history of identity politics during the election of Governor Ahok. The phenomenon of identity politics at that time was able to give a big problem to the Indonesian State in democracy and the faded life of Pancasila. Identity politics is broadly indefinitely an "abuse of Indonesia democracy" and is prone to giving birth to various security problems and can even threaten Indonesia's national integrity. Identity politics revives divisions, barriers based on SARA which have actually been absorbed in the spirit of Pancasila which has been agreed and accepted as the foundation, foundation and view of life of the nation and state by the founders of this Republic.

The Indonesian state, with its rich culture, many religions and beliefs, as well as the existence of activists who have a religious background, in criticizing the government of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, resulted in Islam becoming a less positive spotlight. Even though the majority of Indonesia's population is adherent to Islam, as well as the leader, is clearly a Muslim. But in this pandemic era, the public was shocked by several controversies based on religion, namely the return of Habib Rizieq Shihab, the head of the FPI high priest who recently became the media spotlight with all its controversies and problems. Returning means coming from leaving. Previously, Habib Rizieq Shihab went to Saudi Arabia after leaving several phenomena in Indonesia, including the history of identity politics to Basuki Tjahya Purnama during the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election.

This phenomenon of identity politics seems to be able to give a big problem to the Indonesian State in a democracy and a life that is fading from Pancasila. Identity politics revives divisions, barriers based on SARA which have actually been absorbed in the spirit of Pancasila which has been agreed and accepted as the foundation, foundation and view of life of the nation and state by the founders of this Republic. The description of identity politics cannot be separated from the meaning of identity itself. Suparlan (2004: 25) defines identity or identity as recognition of an individual or a certain group that becomes a comprehensive unit marked by entering or being involved in a particular group or group. Cressida Heyes (2007) defines identity politics as a sign of political activity in a broader sense and a theory of finding experiences of injustice experienced by members of certain social groups. Agnes Haller (1995) defines identity politics as a political concept and movement whose concern is difference (difference) as a major political category.

A study conducted by Fitri Ramdhani Harahap (2014) entitled Religion-Based Identity Politics suggests that the plurality of identities in Indonesia is threatened by the existence of identity politics which leads to the destruction of the long-defended integrity of religious life. Identity politics in the life of the nation and state forms large-flow domination for the interests of groups that exploit and get rid of opposing groups or minority groups. Identity politics that dominates Indonesia today is religious identity politics which presents the exclusivism of the Muslim majority in Indonesia. This is also exacerbated by the dynamics of Indonesian politics which tend to use religious issues to maintain political power and tend to cause socio-religious conflicts.

Based on the above phenomenon, this paper has a novelty because it highlights the practical potential of Islamic identity politics that emerged through controversy by the leader of the Islamic Defenders Front organization Habib Rizieq Shihab and acts of resistance against religion-based government in the pandemic era. The controversy over the return of Habib Rizieq Shihab which is studied through political science. Therefore, this paper seeks to examine several things, namely: (1) Tracing various potential forms of identity politics based on controversy; (2) the potential for multicultural fading in the Republic of Indonesia. (3). Solution in preventing identity politics through Pancasila.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Identity Politics**

Identity is the concept of how people identify themselves and are identified by others based on race, ethnicity, culture, language and religion. Identity is a source of meaning for the actors themselves and is constructed by themselves through the process of individuation. Therefore, even though every individual is absorbed in social identity, each individual has his own identity and identity in the various groups in which he is located. Francis M Deng (19995:



387). The theoretical concept of identity politics is defined as 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 difference politics. Identity politics is a political act with efforts to channel aspirations to influence policy, control over the distribution of values that are considered valuable to the most fundamental demands, namely self-determination on the basis of primordiality according to Lukmantoro in (Wartika, 2020: 3). Muhammad Habibi, a political expert from Mulawarman University, explained, "Identity politics is another name for biopolitics and difference politics. Biopolitics bases itself on differences arising from differences in bodies. In philosophy, this discourse has actually emerged for a long time, but its application in political science studies emerged after being disseminated at an international meeting of the International Political Scientists' Association in Vienna in 1994. The meeting resulted in a conception of the basics of political practice and made it a study in the field of political science. . Agnes Haller takes the definition of identity politics as a political concept and movement whose focus is difference (difference) as a major political category.

Purwanto (2015: 62) explains, "Identity politics (in textbooks it is often referred to as two interchangeable terms: "identity politics "or" politics of identity ") refers to various forms of political mobilization on the basis of collective identities that were previously hidden (hidden), suppressed, or neglected, either by the dominant groups in the liberal democratic system or by the political agenda of citizenship that is promoted for and on behalf of a more progressive democracy. Not all identity politics takes the form of a struggle for secession. The gay and lesbian movement or, the struggles of "diffable persons" are other examples of identity politics which are primarily aimed at gaining more basic political recognition in order to allow fairer treatment on the basis of special differences (peculiar). ) owned and or attached to the individual". Meanwhile, according to Karim, (in As'ad, 2016: 6) Identity politics that have occurred in Indonesia have historically contained ethnicity, religion and political ideology. In the context of Islam as an identity, for example, the agenda they are fighting for is to make Islam the main ideology in spreading ideas. The spread of ideas that make Islam an ideology creates conflicts between religion on the one hand and the state on the other. So that in Indonesia, the problem often arises how to organize the relationship between religion and politics, especially those related to the Pancasila ideology. This problem arose because it had strengthened the opinion of some government elites and a group of community members, that Islamic groups still have a veiled intention to replace Pancasila with Islamic ideology. The theme of Islam and politics in Indonesia is actually not new, a number of studies have been conducted in order to explore the above concepts. But the study of identity politics, as far as it can be shown, regarding Islam and the Post-New Order era, has not been much addressed by researchers, either by institutions or by individuals. For this reason, this book will strengthen or critically-academically question a number of methods or thoughts that have previously been written by other Islamic thinkers, which are written in the form of scientific works, either in the form of books, theses or dissertations. In this theory of identity politics, there are three perspectives or approaches related to the formation of identity, namely:

First, the primordial perspective. In this perspective, the collective identity of a community is formed through a hereditary socialization. In this primordial perspective, identity is scientifically obtained from generation to generation. Second, constructivism perspective. This constructivism perspective views identity as something that is formed and the result of complex social processes. Identity can be formed through cultural ties in a society. This view, for example, has the assumption that the identity of waria is formed on the basis of social categories and is a cultural awareness in society. Third, the instrumentalist perspective. This instrumentalist perspective emphasizes the aspect of power. Identity is understood as something dynamic, because the relationship between identities is always changing. In addition, it is also in line with the development of political discourse products from the ruling elite. So, from several important points above, it can be understood that identity recognition is obtained by conducting identity politics. A strategy to achieve something expected, namely recognition of identity. Identity shifts along with changing interests, so identity is something political. The basis for identity politics is because there is a community that has various



interests and causes changes in different interests in a community, thus experiencing a shift in interests. However, in the next journey, identity politics was hijacked and embraced by the majority group to establish power domination. The use of identity politics to gain power, which actually amplifies differences and encourages conflict, does not mean that it does not attract sharp criticism. Identity politics seems to confirm the existence of an essentialistic whole about the existence of certain social groups based on the identification of primordiality.

### **The Politics of Identity and Integrity of the Republic of Indonesia**

Towards the entry of the 21st century, including in post-reform Indonesia, this was marked by a phenomenon that was full of surprises and even unexpected in political and national life. As Ariel Heryanto (2019: 1) in the results of his research on "Identity Politics and Enjoyment in the Latest Screen Culture in Indonesia" illustrates that most Indonesians, especially the urban young middle class, try to reformulate their identity in the first decades of the 21st century. is a time of unhappiness, filled with promises of freedom but also, at the same time, fear. This period was also marked by several things such as: an unprecedented increase in Islamic politics, public debates about past human rights abuses, prolonged and irreconcilable divisions within the political elite, the rise of Asian economic power, and a digital communications revolution welcomed by young people all over the world. The dangers of identity politics in the context of global politics, we can take a lesson from the history of political atrocities committed by Hitler and the Nazis to come to power in Germany. It is the exploitation of identity politics. Both by chlorinating the Aryan nation and setting up the Jews. Even though yes, the issue of identity is an inherent feature of things that we cannot choose. Even though religion, there are some people who don't practice their religion well but believe that religion remains their identity. So here is the problem with identity politics.

Identity as politics basically doesn't matter, because it's part of the reality where we come from, which becomes a problem when this identity is amplified, manipulated for political targets while colliding with the identity of the opponent. Even though we live in a plurality or plurality that we cannot avoid. And we also don't live in a zero sum logic, if one wins then the other loses as is open politics. And the most dangerous thing is that identity politics can override rationality, from this there will be a lot of consequences, it can be inappropriate policies, policies that are simply populist. Syamsuddin Haris (2014: 51) describes clearly the dangers in the nation in his writing entitled "Mismanagement of the State and the Fragility of Indonesianness". According to him, the potential for conflict and disintegration is rooted in the tendency of political elites at almost all levels to manipulate people's aspirations and interests. More clearly, the potential in this sector arises when political elites, especially the state bureaucratic elite (civilian and military), manipulate personal, family and group interests as "national" interests and abuse state authority to protect and maintain such vested interests. This phenomenon seems more relevant in looking at various empirical cases related to the question of integration during the New Order period and the potential for post-New Order disintegration. As a result of the continuous manipulation by the country, the May 13-15 1998 riots developed into racial (anti-Chinese) riots. In Ambon and Maluku in general, conflicts were sharpened by highly sensitive religious issues, resulting in horizontal conflicts where the factors overlapped with each other, namely between the representational issue of Islam-Christianity in the local bureaucratic structure and the issue of socio-economic gaps between indigenous people and people. the newcomers. Meanwhile, in Sambas, West Kalimantan, the conflict between Madura and Malays and Dayaks overlaps with the issue of socio-economic disparities between these ethnic groups. Furthermore, according to Haris (2014: 69), the absence of genuine commitment from organizers and government at the national level has an impact on the emergence of creativity which is not always positive at the local level. Therefore, the thickening of identity politics on the part of the local community, whether in the name of religion, ethnicity, or region, could be a form of "creativity". That means, the phenomenon of identity politics is not certain to be genuine in itself. It is not impossible that part of the religious, ethnic and regional sentiments is an instant way for the people and elites at the local level to escape from the failure and inability of the state to formulate the promised new Indonesia. The phenomenon of anarchy and political thuggery which tends to be rampant lately can also be



read in this way. Observing the dangers in the nation's area, it is clear that everything is closely related to the issue of identity. If this condition is revived by the practice of Identity Politics in every moment of our political life, especially in political contestation at the national level as well as in local politics, it is certain that it is difficult to avoid the occurrence of political conflicts that have occurred, which will return to haunt the journey of national and state political life. We are ahead. We must not be caught in the same trap, only a nation that wants to learn from its history will become a great nation and a strong nation.

## CASE STUDY

### Habib Rizieq Shihab's Return

Riziq Shihab's return to Indonesia on November 10, 2020, is in the public spotlight. Habib Rizieq Shihab returned to Indonesia immediately received sympathy and criticism from various elements of society and the government. Sympathy comes from supporters, who have long awaited the return of the leader of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). The welcoming of FPI sympathizers at Soekarno Hatta International Airport made activities at the airport stop for approximately five hours. The FPI crowd when welcoming Habib Rizieq Shihab violated health protocols because in the era of the Covid 19 pandemic, large crowds were violated by the Indonesian government. Crowds who ignored standard health protocols ensnared Habib Rizieq Shihab on two occasions, starting from welcoming him and the two carrying out his son's marriage which made a large crowd and violated Corona health protocol. This series of events related to Habib Riziq Shihab then caused reactions from the central government and all political observers. Menkopolkam Mahfud MD sent an ultimatum to regional heads and officials to take firm action against those who deliberately created crowds and ignored health protocols in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. The government's tough ultimatum eventually resulted in the removal of four public officials, namely the Head of Metro Jaya Police, Irjen Nana Sudjana, West Java Police Chief Inspector General Rudy Sufahriadi, Central Jakarta Metro Police Chief Kombes Heru Novianto, and Bogor Police Chief AKBP Roland Ronaldy (Margianto, 2020: Kompas.com). Furthermore, Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan was also involved in this case and received a summons from Polda Metro Jaya. Anies Baswedan was questioned for his alleged criminal act of organizing a crowd in the middle of the pandemic. The existence of Rizieq Shihab and his political agenda to carry out a "moral revolution" has captured the attention of the public so that this series of controversial return events needs to be critically highlighted as a socio-cultural phenomenon that needs to be traced back to its historicity and influence. It needs a broad and critical study to see the problems behind Habib Rizieq Shihab's return. On the other hand, the development of non-mainstream media in the reform era is increasingly developing, unlike in the New Order era, which controlled the big media to maintain their power. The advancement of information technology also plays a role in facilitating any social groups to construct and disseminate their ideologies according to their respective interests.

Politically, Habib Rizieq's counter-government position made him a symbol and a basis for attacking the rulers in a vulgar manner. Especially by groups that have been eager to replace the president and lose in the 2019 Presidential Election. His tough attitude and open attacks made Rizieq considered to have his own character. Unlike the elites of other religious streams who tend to be soft and diplomatic. Religiously, Rizieq has the connotation of having a different Islamic color from other Islamic mass organizations. The philosophy of the struggle of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* has been accented harder to the surface which is narrated more aggressively to attack other parties and the government that is accused of being anti-Islam. Naturally, Rizieq's discourse always provokes excitement. It is not only the government that has been heavily criticized, but other Islamic organizations that have been accused of being incompatible have also been attacked. Not infrequently other religions are also ridiculed. Many are concerned that Rizieq's return will bring back the potential for divisive sentiments of identity politics. Even though the political wounds of the effects of the 2019 Presidential Election and the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada have not fully healed. Now the public is back living in the shadow of the revival of identity politics.

## METHOD

This study uses the literature study method as a way to analyze it so that later scientifically it can obtain accountable results. An argument needs to be supported by data and scientific studies so that it can be justified.

In this section, an assessment of the concepts and theories used is based on the available literature, especially from articles published in various scientific journals. Literature review serves to build concepts or theories on which to base studies in research. For this reason, this paper uses literature study to support the arguments that are built.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Controversy Findings and Forms of Identity Politics

The return of Habib Rizieq Shihab has several controversies that could potentially be considered a practical form of identity politics.

#### 1. FPI fanaticism

FPI members have a high spirit of fanaticism with proof that Habib Rizieq Shihab's return as the high priest of FPI was welcomed at Soekarno Hatta International Airport which had stopped activities at the airport for about five hours.

This fanatical action that in the end made political dynamics bustle amid the ongoing pandemic, but the government failed to stop the crowd that occurred. This then led to the incessant call for a moral revolution that was announced by Habib Rizieq and followed by FPI by making many billboards so that it was marked by the presence of a new identity politics in the midst of the pandemic.

## ANALYSIS

Seeing from Habib Rizieq's return, which caused a lot of controversy, such as presenting a crowd in the midst of a pandemic, echoing a moral revolution and holding a crowd at his child's marriage as if the government was ignoring the regulations that had been made regarding Health protocol in the midst of a pandemic. This is what many political observers see as the emergence of a new identity politics from Habib Rizieq's return. Therefore, there are several dangers of misuse of identity politics for national unity and integrity as well as the continuity of the Republic of Indonesia as a Pancasila state, in full in the following description:

#### 1. Threatening the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia

Currently, threats to the integrity of the nation are increasingly worrying because identity politics that prioritizes religious identity are getting thicker. Not only identity politics, in fact, today there are groups that are starting to question the ideology of the nation. Of course this is a very big threat to the integrity of the nation. It is very ironic, why during this pandemic era, there were parties who questioned religious ideology through controversy. An understanding of the dangers of identity politics in society. It needs to be given because the issue of SARA concerns the emotions of the masses, some of which do not even know the real facts, such as examples of violations of social norms and examples of violations of the values of Pancasila.

#### 2. Presents the nature of sheepfights and opportunities for division

In fact, controversies, elite figures, and phenomena that secure identity will have an impact on fighting against one another between communities. Moreover, if it is related to identity, whether on religious or personal issues, this will be considered more sensitive. Because identity politics is actually cruel and sharp because it can plunge them into the abyss of hostility which in turn will have various impacts that can threaten the unity of the nation. The controversy of Habib Rizieq Shihab and the Islamic group FPI can lead to divisions in the majority of Islamic faiths, no longer against minorities because of the negative stigma of controversy against the government over Islamic religious burials, making Islamic leaders, Ulama, and other Islamic groups feel disadvantaged.

#### 3. Threats to pluralism

Pluralism (English: pluralism), consists of two words plural (diverse) and ism (understand) which means understanding of diversity. The definition of pluralism is often misinterpreted as a diversity of understandings which in turn triggers ambiguity. Pluralism

can also mean a willingness to accept diversity (plurality), that is, to live tolerantly in different ethnic societies, gology, religion, customs, and even views of life. Pluralism implies actions that lead to the recognition of freedom of religion, freedom of thought, or freedom to seek information, so that to achieve pluralism requires maturity of a person's personality and / or a group of people.

#### 4. Generating Polarization and Pragmentation of political power

Polarization of indigenous and non-indigenous issues cannot be considered a wind. Habib Rizieq Shihab is a native who has an Arabic background, so the position of Habaib and other Arab descendants in Indonesia is also tarnished. It polarizes the society that there is indigenous pragmentation that is good for exercising political power.

#### 5. Bringing the dispute / conflict

Disputes over religion and claims of divinity will never be resolved. Even a professed atheist cannot possibly deny the existence of Divine Being. Dostoevsky's very rational explanation, "When it is stated that in this universe there is no God, it becomes clear that all actions will be justified." This sentence provides an explanation that truth can be present in every group, but only God has the right to determine universal truth. That is, for the divine dimension, it is possible for a group of people to hold fast to the truth, just like any other group. Everything can be right, it can also be wrong. In fact, if this clash of primordial identities is continuously allowed, then our democracy will be like a jungle, the strong who will pounce on the weak, and the many who will rule. There will be resistance from other groups in the government with all their policies.

### **Solutions Prevent Potential Identity Politics**

In Nugroho's research, (2018: 105), Pancasila can be a solution to prevent the potential for identity politics, namely by looking at the Pancasila values: 1) Inclusive behavior. 2) Accommodating pluralistic nature. 3) Not looking for the win itself. 4) Deliberation to reach consensus. 5) Based on compassion and willingness to sacrifice. 6) Tolerant of differences.

The implementation of Pancasila values to anticipate the potential dangers of identity politics by:

#### 1. Inclusive behavior.

In a community life that applies the motto of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, he sees that he, either as an individual or as a group of people, feels that he is only part of the unity of the wider society. How big and important the group is in living together, not looking down on and underestimating other groups. Each has a role that cannot be ignored, and is meaningful for life together.

#### 2. Accommodating pluralistic nature.

The Indonesian nation is very pluralistic in terms of the diversity of religions that are embraced by the community, the various cultural customs that have developed in the regions, ethnic groups with their respective languages, and occupy thousands of islands which are often so far apart from one island to another. Without understanding the pluralistic meaning and how to properly realize unity in diversity, national disintegration will easily occur. Tolerance, mutual respect and respect, placing each party according to their role, dignity and dignity appropriately, not underestimating others, let alone removing the existence of groups from common life, are conditions for the preservation of the Indonesian nation-state. The harmony of life needs to be developed properly. An example before the reformation took place, in Ambon, there was a pattern of living together called *pela gandong*, a pattern of community life that is not based on religion, but solely on collective life in certain areas. Adherents of various religions are very harmonious, helping to assist in activities that are not religious in nature. They do not differentiate between the tribes who live in the area, and so on. Unfortunately, with the reformation that promotes freedom, this ideal pattern of community life has been eroded by the current of reform.

#### 3. Not looking for the win itself

Respecting the opinion of other parties, by not assuming that his own opinion is the most correct, he or his greatest group needs to be regulated in implementing Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Being able to accept and give opinions is something that must develop in a



diverse life. This difference is not to be exaggerated, but to seek common ground. It is not divergence developed, but what must be endeavored is the realization of convergence of various diversity. For this reason it is necessary to develop consensus to achieve consensus.

#### 4. Deliberation to reach consensus.

In order to form unity in diversity a deliberative approach is applied to reach consensus. It is not the opinion itself that must be made a collective agreement, but a common denominator, namely the essence of the commonality that is chosen as a collective agreement. This will only be achieved by a deliberative process to reach consensus. In this way all ideas that arise are accommodated in agreement. Nobody wins nothing loses. This is what is commonly referred to as a win win solution.

#### 5. Based on compassion and self-sacrifice.

The application of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in the life of the nation and state needs to be based on compassion. Mutual suspicion should be thrown away. Mutual trust and trust must be developed, jealousy, envy must be removed from the Bhinneka Tunggal Ika dictionary. This will take place if the implementation of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika implements the adage "Ieladi sesaming dumadi, lonely and selfless, the role of Pancasila and Unity in Diversity in overcoming the politics of identity gawe, jer basuki mowo beyo." Our existence in the world is to provide service to others, based on selflessness and group, accompanied by sacrifice. Without sacrifice, at least reducing personal interests and selfishness, unity cannot be realized.

#### 6. Tolerant of differences.

Every Indonesian citizen must see that the differences in traditions, languages and customs between one ethnicity and another as, between one religion and another, are a national asset that must be respected and preserved. This kind of view will foster mutual respect, nurture a spirit of harmony, and nurture a spirit of tolerance in each individual.

If every citizen understands the meaning of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, believes in its accuracy for the foundation of national and state life, and is willing and able to implement it appropriately and correctly, the Indonesian State will remain strong and united forever. Unity in Diversity in the current Globalization era, Indonesia is currently experiencing many setbacks in unity and integrity. The cause is the existence of social inequality, economic inequality, unstable governmental political conditions in Indonesia, making people grow into apathetic people towards the government.

The bad impact of globalization that has brought new cultures has made the cultural composition of Indonesian society more complex or complicated. Because many new cultures have just come and are accepted, causing cultural distortion in society, not to mention trivial classical problems but have serious impacts such as differences in ethnicity, religion, race and between groups which further divide the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation. Seeing conditions like this, of course we all must not be pessimistic and discouraged, the country's slogan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika which means different but still one, will forever remain relevant to accompany the life of a state in this multicultural country, because the composition of the life of the Indonesian people will continue. diverse at any time. Social inequality, economic disparities, differences in ethnicity, religion, race and between groups between us should not be used as a differentiator. The rapid development of the era and the entry of new cultures should be let go, because basically we are all one, one nation, the Indonesian nation. One homeland, the homeland of Indonesia. One language, Indonesian. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, different but still one.

## CONCLUSION

The conclusion from a social situation such as the return of Habib Rizieq Shihab can tear apart the religious plurality that this nation has fostered for a long time. (1) The existence of various potential forms of identity politics (2) the potential for the deterioration of multiculturalism in the Republic of Indonesia. (3). Identity politics can be prevented through Pancasila values.





The phenomenon of Habib Rizieq's return made political dynamics busy amid the ongoing pandemic, but the government failed to stop the crowd that occurred. This then led to the incessant call for a moral revolution that was announced by Habib Rizieq and followed by FPI by making many billboards so that it was marked by the presence of a new identity politics in the midst of the pandemic.

## REFERENCES

- As'ad, M.H. (2016). *Politik Identitas Dan Gerakan Sosial Islam (Studi Atas Frot Pembela Islam)*: Transwacana Press, 2016: Ciputat, Tangerang
- As'ad, M.H. (2016). *Identity Politics and Islamic Social Movements (Study of Islamic Defenders Front)*: Transwacana Press, 2016: Ciputat, Tangerang
- Akhrani, Lusy Asa. (2018). Islamic Defenders Front: Exploring the roots of religious conflict in terms of religious fanaticism, religious prejudice and conflict intentions. *Phenomenon: Journal of Psychology*. Vol (1) 1
- Alfaqi, M.Z. (2015). Understanding Indonesia through the Perspective of Nationalism, Identity Politics, and Solidarity. *Journal of Pancasila and Citizenship Education*, 28 (2), 111-116.
- Ardiyanti, Dwi. Anastasia Meilin Gita Permata Laia, M. Hafiz Nabiyin. (2019). Democracy, Law Enforcement and Identity Politics in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Chinese Minority in the Case of Meliana. *Journal of Resolution*, 2(2). Major Potential Universities
- Azmi. (2016). Democracy in the State based on Pancasila Law and Islamic Society, "In AL QALAM 33(2).
- Asih, Isnul Rahmawati Dwi. (2018). Habib Rizieq Shihab and Politics: The View of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) Sidoarjo DPW on Habib Rizieq Shihab's Political Activities. Essay. (Surabaya: Philosophy and Islamic Politics Study Program, Faculty of Ushuluddin and Philosophy, UIN Sunan Ampel.
- Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif, et al. (2010). Identity Politics and Our Future of Pluralism. Jakarta: Center for the Study of Religion and Democracy (PUSAD) Paramadina University.
- Budiardjo, M. (2015). *Fundamentals of Political Science*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Barakatu, A. R. (2017). Moral Education: Between hope and Reality. *Lentera Pendidikan: Journal of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training*, 11(2).
- Haris, Syamsuddin. (2014). *Democracy and Nationality Problems in the Reformation Era*. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Heriyanto, Ariel. (2019). *The Politics of Identity and Enjoyment in Indonesia's Latest On Screen Culture*. Jakarta: Popular Gramedia Libraries
- Habibi, Muhammad. (2018). Analysis of Indonesian Identity Politics. *Researchgate*. Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Mulawarman University, Samarinda. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326251963>
- Faisol, Ach. (2019). The Politics of Identity of Kiai (Case Study in Kalanganyar Village, Sedati, Sidoarjo). *Jas: Scientific Journal of Ahwal Syakhshiyah* 1(2)
- Francis M Deng. War of Visions Conflict of Identities in the Sudan. (Washington, D.C: The Brookling Institution, 1995), 387
- Irwan, Safitri. (2019). Islam and Identity Politics: The Study of Understanding the Values of Islamic Education. Medina-Te: *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 15 Number 2, December 2019
- Jauhar, Najid. (2007). Islam, Democracy, and Human Rights are a philosophical and theological clash. *In the Journal of Social and Political Sciences* 11(1).
- Purwanto. (2015). Identity Politics and Transformative Conflict Resolution, (*Journal of Political Review* Volume 05, No 01, June 2015), p. 62
- Suparlan, P. (2004). Inter-ethnic Relations. KIK Press: Jakarta.
- Wartika. 2020. Identity Politics: Threats in the 2020 Pilkada. *Intelligence Journal*. p. 2-8
- Nugroho, Rizal Habib (2018). The Role of Pancasila and Bhineka Tunggal Ika in Tackling Identity Politics in the POLHI Senas Proceedings. Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Wahid Hasyim University Semarang.



Margianto. (2020). Mass Organizations Controversy and Post-Truth Phenomenon in the Reformation Era, Kompas.com Article  
Retrieved from  
<https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/11/20/100844465/kontroversi-ormas-dan-fenomena-post-truth-di-era-reformasi?page=all> accessed on 4 January 2022 , at 19.00