POLITICAL COMMUNICATION BASED ON IDENTITY POLITICS AND SOCIAL NETWORKING MEDIA IN THE PERIODE 2012-2017 DKI JAKARTA GOVERNOR ELECTION

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ABSTRACT

The pattern of centralized government that turned into decentralized has brought a shift in the locus of power from the center to the regions, including changes in political authority at the local level. The spirit of democratization that occurred after the New Order regime had a follow-up impact in the form of decentralization with the enactment of Law No.22/2001 on Regional Autonomy which was later revised into Law No.32/2004 and Law 12/2008. The implementation of regional autonomy is an entry point for the rise of identity politics at the local political level. This condition occurs in the megapolitan city of Jakarta, whereas the capital of the country inhabited by residents from various identities. Identity-based mobilization was actualized by the pair of gubernatorial candidates who competed in the 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election, especially in the second round between the incumbent governor Fauzi Bowo who paired with Nachrowi Ramli (Foke – Nara) who came from the Betawi ethnicity against the pair Joko Widodo – Basuki Tjahaja. Purnama (Jokowi – Ahok) as a blend of Javanese ethnic identity comes from Solo and Chinese ethnicity from East Belitung, Sumatra.

Key words: Identity Politic, Political Communication, Social Network Media, Governor Election.

ABSTRAK

Pola pemerintahan sentralistis yang berubah menjadi desentralistis telah membawa pergeseran lokus kekuasaan dari pusat ke daerah, termasuk perubahan kewenangan politik di tingkat lokal. Semangat demokratisasi yang terjadi pasca Orde Baru memunculkan dampak ikutan berupa desentralisasi dengan diberlakukannya UU No.22/2001 tentang Otonomi Daerah yang kemudian direvisi menjadi UU No.32/2004 dan UU 12/2008. Pemberlakuan otonomi daerah menjadi pintu masuk bagi kebangkitan politik identitas di aras politik lokal. Kondisi tersebut terjadi di kota megapolitan Jakarta, dimana sebagai ibukota negara yang didiami oleh penduduk berasal dari beragam identitas. Mobilisasi berbasis identitas diaktualisasikan oleh pasangan calon gubernur yang berkompetisi dalam pemilihan gubernur DKI Jakarta Tahun 2012 terutama terlihat nyata pada putaran kedua antara petahana gubernur Fauzi Bowo yang berpasangan dengan Nachrowi Ramli (Foke – Nara) yang berasal dari etnis Betawi melawan pasangan Joko Widodo – Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Jokowi – Ahok) sebagai perpaduan identitas etnis Jawa berasal dari Solo dan etnis Tiong Hoa dari Belitung Timur, Sumatera

Kata Kunci: Politik Identitas, Komunikasi Politik, Media Jejaring Sosial, Pemilihan Gubernur.

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INTRODUCTION

Ethnic diversity in Indonesia has an influence on political behavior in Indonesia. This can be seen from the beginning of the independence movement against Dutch colonialism, which was pioneered by various youth organizations based on similarities in ethnicity, religion, and place of birth. The Youth Pledge of 1928 became a turning point in the independence movement, where since then ethnic, religious and regional identities were no longer as political identities for struggle, but based on the unification of diverse identities into national political identities, namely: the Indonesian nation. The spirit of nationalism crosses ethnic boundaries, which Reid (2001) calls 'civic nationalism'.

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia grew as a nation by pledging a strong national spirit to leave the ethnic identity of each community group, but that does not mean ethnicity has disappeared from political life in Indonesia. The capital of civic nationalism has succeeded in overcoming the narrow boundaries of ethnic and religious barriers, but the ethnic identity of community groups remains inherent in the journey of the Indonesian nation, because what Geertz (1973) calls primordial refers to the assumption that ethnicity is an inherent identity that is born from birth. Although all of them are Indonesians, each of them has a primordial identity as Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, Makasarese, Minang, Malay, Acehnese, Dayak, Balinese, Ambonese, Papuans and so on (Central Bureau of Statistics groups the Indonesian population into more than a thousand ethnicity in the 2000 population census).

Primordial identities, such as ethnicity, regional language, and religion can change or shift, are fluid and situational when the social context changes, therefore it is something that can be constructed and adapted to needs. Ethnic identity has boundaries that make it different from other ethnicities, where it is these boundaries that can be shifted (shifting identity) according to the situation and context into something that can be negotiated (Hall, 1996, Varshney, 2003 and Varshney et al. al. 2004).

In the context of regional head elections, ethnicity is often something that tends to be fixed, unchanging and strategic, where candidates who are fighting for political office carry out ethnic mobilization by using symbols of ethnic identity to attract sympathy from people. people who feel they have or are close to the ethnic identities of the candidates, as expressed by Castells (2010:421), "… thus on the other hand the dominant global elites inhabiting…, while on the other hand people resisting economic, cultural and political disfranchisement tend to be attracted to communal identity."

Along with the waning of the New Order's power, the regional movement re-emerged by taking the political setting of ethnicity which was part of identity politics as the basis of its political movement. In fact, it is pointed out by many observers that the identity politics movement is increasingly being used by politicians and authorities at the local level to gain power cake, both in the political and economic fields.

The strengthening of identity politics gains legitimacy through the politics of decentralization which gives power and authority from the center to the regions after the enactment of Law no. 22/1999 on Regional Government which was later revised into Law no. 32/2004. As a consequence of that, since June 1, 2005 the sovereignty of the people has been restored by giving the people the opportunity to use their right to vote directly in the process of electing regional heads in provinces and districts/cities.

The granting of greater power and authority to the regions, not only creates competition between elites and local leaders in competing for political positions through the

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mechanism of regional head elections, but also this condition creates an anti-immigrant attitude that strengthens the justification and support for the phenomenon of the issue of the sons of the region. Regional heads can give birth to ethnic and religious consolidation, but they can also be a source of conflict (Lay, 2006:33).

Likewise, social networks play a vital role in political developments in Indonesia, especially with regard to local elections, where networks emphasize how citizens receive and interpret information about politics, as expressed by Heaney & McClurg (2009; 729-730), " especially applications pertaining to the flow of information, coordination, cooperation or trust, informal organization, and multiple levels of organization."

The relationship between the Governor candidate and the voting community is connected not only through direct meetings, but also using information technology through various media to reach out to the multi-status society broadly and massively. The interaction of political communicators, political messages, political persuasion, political communication media, political communication audiences, and the consequences of political communication is a study of political communication (Nimmo, 2005), so that communication activities that occur refer to the expansion and increase in the exchange of symbols or messages that have consequences for the political system actually and potentially directs human behavior in conditions of peace, even conflict, as stated by Nimmo (2005:17): "Communication activity considered political by virtue of its consequences, actual and potential which regulate human conduct under the condition of conflict "

Information for voters about cagub and cawagub emerged from various sources prior to the gubernatorial election. In the openness of the information and technology era, cagub and cawagub use various sources of multi-dimensional communication networks, such as media networks and the internet that bring information to the voters' living rooms to influence their choices at the time of voting in the voting booth.

Members of the social networking community through the exchange of information become aware of the gap between the social reality experienced and the ideal reality in terms of power relations, especially between the identity of the dominant ruler and community members who are in a subordinate position. Members of the social network community build each other's critical awareness that the social reality experienced is not the reality that it should be. The position of dominant and subordinate rulers is not ideal, where the community builds resistance identity against the dominant ruler (Castell, 2010).

The meaning of an ideal reality encourages the construction of a new identity for social networking communities to carry out social actions aimed at realizing the ideal reality that has been constructed together (Castell, 2010). Thus, the content of social media, in this case interaction/shared meaning, will encourage the emergence of critical awareness that reconstructs community identity. Based on the meaning of social reality, the identity of the resistance community and the projected reality and identity, members of the social networking community take action to realize the ideal social reality that is constructed in the virtual world.

METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach, namely research to describe social phenomena/realities that cannot be achieved (obtained) by using statistical procedures or by other means in the corridor of quantification (measurement). This qualitative research can show research on people's lives, behavior, as well as on organizational functionalization, social movements, or kinship relationships (Creswell, 2010: 202).

The resulting data will be interpreted as an assessment and input to that reality, as stated by Creswell (2010:264):

> "qualitative research is interpretative research As such, the biases, values and judgment of the researches become stated explicitly in the research report. Such openness is considered to be useful and positive"

While the research analysis method uses a symbolic interaction approach that focuses on role behavior, interactions between individuals, and observable actions and communication. According to Blumer (1986) symbolic interaction refers to the distinctive nature of interactions between humans, where humans translate and define their actions, both in interactions with other humans and with themselves. Blumer (in Veeger, 1993: 224-227) states that the interactions that are formed symbolically in society include language, religion, customary provisions, social objects, symbols, and various views.

Symbolic interaction is an activity characteristic of humans, namely the exchange of symbols based on the meaning of something they face through the process of self-indication (Blumer, 1986: 141). This process is a communication process within the individual that starts from knowing something, assessing it, giving it meaning, and deciding to act on that meaning.

DISCUSSION
Identity Politics

Identity politics is a new concept in the study of political science, first presented at the International Association of Political Scientists in Vienna in 1994 which resulted in a conception of the basics of identity politics practice and made it a study in the field of political science. The understanding of identity politics refers to a French poststructuralist-postmodernist philosopher, Foucault (1991: 87-104) who criticizes the negative consequences of modernism and shows its alignment with "oppressed discourses" from the "big discourses" that dominate and control, which then so-called identity politics (biopolitics) such as differences about body politics.

Bourdieu (1983) defines identity as something else by calling the categories 'native' (indigenous people), 'folk' (people), or 'lay' (lay/ordinary) where these categories develop and spread to community actors. as a distinguishing feature of the separate categories of experience used by social analysts.

Tilly (1996: 1-17) characterizes identity as a vague, but indispensable concept and defines it as the experience of actors with categories, ties, roles, networks, groups or organizations related to public representation through their experiences, where public representation often takes the form of a historical narrative.

Meanwhile, Appiah (2005: 65) criticizes aspects of identity that are formed based on national identity, race, religion, and gender. He considers people whose identity exists as people who limit their lives to certain criteria, certain groups, so that they easily discriminate, cause violence, and lead to catastrophic events. He tries to raise the claim of individuality and defend liberalism's view of human equality, but is also aware of the claims about differences that exist since birth.

Suparlan (2004:25) says that identity or identity arises and is in the interaction of someone who has a certain identity because his existence is recognized by others in a valid relationship. Based on this understanding, it appears that a person or group of people need an identity to be used in interactions. This means that in the interaction, the actor takes a position. Furthermore, based on this position, the actor carries out his role according to the style or structure of the ongoing interaction. In everyday reality, everyone will have more than one identity. That is, the more roles that are carried out in a person's social life, the more the person concerned will have an identity.

Identity politics (political identity) is distinguished from political identity (political identity). Political identity is a construction that determines the position of the subject's interests in the ties of a political community, while political identity refers to the political mechanism of organizing identity (both political identity and social identity) as a source and means of politics. The meaning that identity politics is a source and political tool in the struggle for political power is very possible and is becoming increasingly prominent in everyday political practice.

The emergence of ethnic politics begins with the growing awareness of people who identify themselves with one particular ethnic group, where this awareness raises group solidarity. From post-structuralist theorists to post-modernity who criticize modernity, especially ethnic discourse in a political context (ethnic politics) that ethnic identity politics is a process of modernity's failure to fulfill its promises.

The strengthening of identity politics in the local sphere along with the politics of decentralization after the enactment of Law no. 22/1999 on Regional Government which was revised into Law no. 32/2004 and Law 12/2008, the identity politics movement has become clearer. In fact, many local and national political actors consciously use this issue in power-sharing, as happened in the provinces of Riau, Central Kalimantan, West Kalimantan and Irian Jaya which clearly shows how powerful this issue is used by political actors when dealing with political entities. others (Haris, 1999).

Ethnicity is related to the birth of democracy in the world at the beginning of the 21st century. The rise of the democratic process is in line with the politics of decentralization in which the central government gives the right to local governments to obtain political freedom and recognition in their own regional head elections. Ethnicity which becomes a very emotional and deep bond has given birth to the struggle of certain ethnic groups from the domination of the majority ethnic group. Ethnicity is also related to each culture which has the characteristics of the ethnic group, in that group there is an attachment between people in the group or known as primordialism. So it is not uncommon for these ethnic ties to be manipulated and used as tools or vehicles by elite groups in fighting over sources of power, especially in areas with heterogeneous populations.

Kanchan Chandra in Ishiyama and Breuning (2011: 218) states:

"Those attributes acquired genetically (eg skin color, gender, hair type, eye color, height, and physical features), or through cultural and historical inheritance (eg the names, languages, places of birth and origin of one's parents and ancestors), or acquired in the course of one's lifetime as markers of such an inheritance (eg last name, or tribal markings). Further, it includes attributes believed to be associated with descent, which mean attributes around which a credible myth of association with descent has been woven, whether or not such an association exists in fact. The definition thus includes both a subjective and an objective element".

Schermerhorn (1970) complements it by saying that an ethnic group is a collective society that has or is described as having a common ancestor, having a common historical experience, and having a cultural focus in the symbolic elements that express membership, such as family patterns, physical characteristics, alliances of religions and beliefs, forms of dialect or language, ethnic affiliation, nationality, or a combination of these characteristics basically have ties between its members as a group.

Meanwhile, Castells (2010:8) mentions three forms of identity development:
1. Legitimizing identity, which is an identity introduced by an institution that dominates a society to rationalize and continue its dominance

over social actors, for example a state institution that tries to improve the national identity of community members. The institution has indeed gained the legitimacy to do so.

2. Resistance identity, which is a process of identity formation by social actors who are under pressure from domination and stereotypes by other parties, thus forming resistance and the emergence of an identity that is different from the dominating party with the aim of sustaining life of the group or group.

3. Project identity, which is an identity in which social actors form a new identity that can determine a new position in society. For example, it occurs when feminist activists try to form a new identity for women, renegotiate their position in society, finally changing the structure of society as a whole in viewing the role of women.

Klaus Von Beyme in Abdillah (2002:17) analyzes the character of the identity politics movement in three stages of development; First; the premodern stage where fundamental divisions occurred, ethnic groups, and nationalities gave rise to a comprehensive socio-

political movement, where there was ideological mobilization by elites in competition for power from rulers to new rulers.

Second; At the modern stage, the movement emerges with a conditional approach, division requires resources to be mobilized, there is a balance of mobilization from above and participation from below so that the leader's role is no longer dominant and aims at power sharing. Third; postmodern developments, the emergence of movements stems from their own dynamics, protests arise on various individual occasions, and no one group or division is dominant. The pattern of action and activities is based on self-awareness that is autonomous as the final goal. In a state of multi-identity and ethnicity, the politics of difference thrives and triggers the emergence of the struggles of marginalized groups trying to present themselves and survive.

Table 1. Klaus Von Beyme's Model of Identity Politics

Model	Description pattern	Action pattern	Movement goal
Pre modern	Objective division (where there are fundamental divisions there must be an overarching social movement	Sc mobilization ideological on the aspirations of the leader	Seizure of power
Modern	Conditional approach (split requires resources for mobilized)	Balance mobilization from above & participation from below	decapitation of power
Postmodern	Movement of its own dynamics. Protests arise from a variety of individual occasions. There is no dominant split	Self-awareness	Autonomy

Source: Ubed Abdilah, 2002; 147

Identity formation always focuses on actors (subjects) and structures (objects), so that there are two theoretical discourses on ethnic identity formation. First, group structuration theory and agent theory. The theory with a structuration perspective focuses on the role of structure in determining the actions of actors and vice versa, the theory with an actor perspective emphasizes that the actions of actors are not fully influenced by the existing structure, but actors are individuals or free beings.

Then the second theoretical discourse, comes from the theory of identity and its constituents. This group theory is based on differences in identity levels, namely individual, group, and communicative (Sjaf, 2012).

Table 2. Typology of Identity Politics

Pelaku

Kelompok

Tipologi 5

- Agen/aktor adalah kelompok sosial;

- Kekuatan sejarah menempatkan

Tipologi 2

Identitas ditentukan kelompok dan identitas individu tidak dapat dilepaskan dengan konteks kelompoknya, baik

Konstruktivis

Tipologi 6

Agen/aktor (baik individu maupun kelompok) tidak dapat menghindar dari tekanan struktur di atasnya, akan tetapi mampu mengkonstruksi kondisi yang ada sesuai dengan konteks

StrukturalismeK

Tipologi 3

Identitas individu dibentuk dan terbentuk melalui komunikasi untuk membangun kesepakan

- Individu tidak mempunyai kekuatan untuk menentukan ciri dan karakteristik identitasnya;

- Setiap individu memiliki multi peran;

- Individu mengkonstruksi identitasnya sesuai

konteks peran yang

- "Hegemoni" struktur senantiasa menentukan

Individu

Social networking

In addition to the primodialism approach, regional head candidates competing in the regional head election approach through political networks, namely the unification of power and influence in a group that is built on the trust and reciprocity of its members. The main building of the network is the nodes (nodes) and supports (edges). Nodes are typical of actors and supports are typical that represent relationships between actors. The support may be indirect (A and B are connected), or direct (A sends B an engagement), invaluable (there or no bond), or valuable (various grades are possible). Newman, Barabási, and Watts (2006;2) define political networks as follows:

> "networks are ubiquitous: any set of interconnected nodes. The nodes can be individuals, groups, organizations, or states (as well as cells or Internet users); the connections or links can consist of personal friendships, trade flows, or valued resources."

Computer and internet technology have become the infrastructure of virtual village buildings for virtual communities in the form of social networking sites (Social Network Sites / SNS) as social media. In a political orientation-based community, social media becomes an arena for interpreting the reality of power, where the community activates symbolic messages to negotiate communal identity against the legitimacy of the dominant ruler and build counter power against the dominant ruler, where members of the social networking community begin to adopt a communal identity based on meaning of shared experience of social reality.

Networks talk specifically about three interconnected dimensions, namely: the number of nodes, the breadth of the network or the frequency of interaction between networks, and the network structure that distinguishes the pattern of connections between networks. These dimensions, especially structure are used to analyze and explain the efficiency of different networks. Efficiency is the ability to spread information across networks quickly which is defined as the number of steps or networks between nodes, where a message must be executed before it reaches the target. Thus, a network is defined as a set of interconnections between nodes which are distinguished by the quality and quantity of their connections. As Barabasi (2003;111-122) states:

> "Efficiency is the ability to transmit information across the network "quickly," with speed defined as the number of links between nodes through which a message must travel before reaching its target. Robustness, by contrast, is the ability of the network to function (i.e., transmit information) after the "failure" of a node or its removal from the network."

A political approach to networks is needed if nodes can be identified by actors to formulate and make improvements to choices, alternative outcomes have distributional implications for nodes, and various nodes have differences in power and influence. If these conditions occur, then nodes will try to manipulate others in the network to produce their desires and require a political or strategic approach in interacting (Lake and Powell, 1999).

In the reality of social networks, nodes are people or organizations that can make more or less informed choices in search of clear definitions. This implies that nodes should be wary of other nodes that have incentives to demonstrate the prerequisites for the success of the network. If the facts of the node are committed to the goals for the network that are formed and always show responsibility within the network, it is also necessary for other nodes to be committed and responsible.

The multifaceted appearance and emergence of power in the network illustrates how the differing preferences and capabilities of participants underscore the analysis to reconsider conventional wisdom within the

network as a relatively absolute and powerless entity. The best connected nodes own and use power within the network to transform their own preferences for outcomes while at the same time adding value to the network.

    Mass communication networks provide power in networks that follow the network logic of creating power, as stated by Castells (2009; 72-55) as follows:

> *"In a world of networks, the ability to exercise control over others depends on two basic mechanisms: (a) the ability to constitute network(s) and to program/reprogram the network(s) in terms of the goals assigned to the network ; and (b) the ability to connect and ensure the cooperation of different networks by sharing common goals and combining resources while fending off competition from other networks by setting up strategic cooperation"*

In the 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election, primordial issues also surfaced, where the cagub and cawagub pair Fauzi Bowo - Nachrowi Ramli, known as Foke - Nara identified themselves as both sons of the Betawi ethnic group who have the right to lead DKI Jakarta, while the pair Joko Widodo – Basuki Tjahaja Purnama who is called Jokowi – Ahok is a mixture of two different cultures, Joko Widodo is a Solo person who comes from Javanese ethnicity, and Ahok is the nickname of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama from the Tiong Hoa ethnic group from East Belitung, Sumatra, as can be seen in the table below:

Table 3. Cagub and Cawagub DKI Jakarta 2012 Based on Ethnicity

No Urut	Nama Cagub – Cawagub	Etnis
1	Fauzi Bowo – Nachrowi Ramli	Betawi
2	Hendardji Soepandji – Riza Patria	Jawa – Betawi
3	Joko Widodo – Basuki Tjahaja Purnama	Jawa – TiongHoa
4	Hidayat Nur Wahid – Didik J. Rachbini	Jawa – Madura
5	Faisal Basri – Biem Benjamin	Sunda – Betawi
6	Alex Noerdin – Nono Sampono	Palembang – Jawa

If viewed from the perspective of ethnicity, the second round of the 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election was a battle of 3 ethnicities, namely Betawi, Javanese, and Tiong Hoa. The original inhabitants who inhabited Sunda Kalapa, which later changed to Batavia were the Sundanese (Muhadjir, 2001: 48–50). The category of Betawi people actually emerged in 1930 as a new category in the population census data made by the Dutch East Indies government by stating that the Betawi people were the majority population of Batavia at that time (Muhadjir, 2001: 78).

This is reinforced by the study of the demographic history of the Jakarta population pioneered by the Australian historian, Lance Casle, who in April 1967 announced his research "The Ethnic Profile of Jakarta" in the

Indonesian magazine published by Cornell University, America regarding the origins of the Betawi people. mid 19th century as a result of the fusion process of various ethnic groups who became slaves in Batavia (http://kompasiana.com accessed 13 June 2012)

The development of ethnic composition in DKI Jakarta can be seen in the table below:

Table 4. Ethnicity in DKI Jakarta in 1930, 1961 and 2000

Etnis	1930	1961	2000
Jawa	11,01%	25,4%	35,16%
Betawi	36,19%	22,9%	27,65%
Sunda	25,37%	32,85%	15,27%
Tionghoa	14,67%	10,1%	5,53%
Batak	0,23%	1,0%	3,61%
Minangkabau	0,60%	2,1%	3,18%
Melayu	1,13%	2,8%	1,62%
Bugis	-	0,6%	0,59%
Madura	0,05%	-	0,57
Banten	-	-	0,25%
Banjar	-	0,20%	0,10%
Minahasa	0,70%	0,70%	-
Lain-lain	10,05%	1,35%	6,47%

Source: http://www.kependudukancapil.go.id

Meanwhile, religiously, the cosmopolitan city of DKI Jakarta is supported by the majority of Muslims as much as 83%, Protestants 6.2%, Catholics 5.7%, Buddhists 3.5%, and Hindus 1.2% (http://www.kepenresidenan capil. go.id).

In political reality, the pair Joko Widodo - Basuki Tjahaja Purnama received minority support of 18% of the combined political parties that won seats in the DKI Jakarta DPRD, where this support only slightly exceeded the minimum legal requirement of 15% as stated in Law No. . 12 of 2008 concerning Amendments to Law No. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government

Article 59 paragraph (2) that "A political party or coalition of political parties as referred to in paragraph (1) letter a can register a pair of candidates if they meet the requirements for obtaining at least 15% (fifteen percent) of the total seats in the DPRD or 15% (fifteen percent) of the accumulated valid votes in the general election for DPRD members in the area concerned".

The number of seats and electoral districts for members of the DKI Jakarta Provincial DPRD does not only follow Law No. 10 of 2008 concerning the Election of DPR, DPD and

DPRD, Article 23 paragraph (2) letter e. Provinces with a population of more than 7,000,000 (seven million) to 9,000,000 (nine million) people receive an allocation of 75 (seventy five) seats, but also optimize the use of Law No. 29 of 2007 concerning the Provincial Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta. as the Capital of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, Article 12 paragraph (4) Members of the DPRD DKI Jakarta Province amount to a maximum of 125% (one hundred and twenty five percent) of the maximum total population of DKI Jakarta.

The phenomenon of Joko Widodo's victory as the Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2012 indicates the existence of identity politics in his election process. When combined with the identity of Joko Widodo from the Javanese ethnicity with Basuki Tjahaja Purnama from the Tiong Hoa ethnicity, they are supported by an ethnic identity of 40.69% compared to the pair Fauzi Bowo and Nachrowi Ramli, both of whom are Betawi people with 27.65%.

This is in contrast to the reality of political party support for the two governor pairs, where Joko Widodo - Basuki Tjahaja Purnama is supported by 2 coalitions of political parties, namely PDIP and Gerindra with 17 seats in the DKI Jakarta DPRD or 18%, compared to Fauzi Bowo - Nachrowi Ramli. supported by the majority of political parties in the DKI Jakarta DPRD totaling 77 seats or 82% of the total 94 seats in the DKI Jakarta DPRD, namely: the Democratic Party, PKS, Golkar, PPP, Hanura, PDS, PAN, and PKB, as shown in the following table :

Table 5. Composition of Political Parties in the 2012 DKI Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

NO	PASANGAN CALON	PENDUKUNG			JUMLAH	
	GUBERNUR WAGUB	PARPOL	KURSI	%	KURSI	%
1		Demokrat	32	34	77	82
		PKS	18	19		
		Golkar	7	8		
	Fauzi Bowo	PPP	7	8		
	Nachrowi Ramli	Hanura	4	4		
		PDS	4	4		
		PAN	4	4		
		PKB	1	1		
2	Joko Widodo	PDIP	11	12	17	18
	Basuki Tjahaja Purnama	Gerindra	6	6		

In addition to the primodialism approach, candidates for governor and deputy governor in the 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election approached and mobilized through political networks and social networks to optimize support and sympathy from the people of DKI Jakarta in winning the governor election.

The Jokowi-Ahok pair managed to garner support from volunteers who campaigned on social media and these volunteers are members of JASMEV (Jokowi-Ahok Social Media Volunteers) by having 20 social networking addresses and three websites to introduce the tagline "New Jakarta". The majority of Jokowi-Ahok volunteers are workers, students, and laborers who are coordinated into three networks, namely:

1. New Jakarta volunteers consist of 15,000 personnel, they are Jokowi's backbone during the campaign period. Working with a command system, during their campaign they led the masses of supporters into masses in the campaign for Jokowi's victory. These 15,000 volunteers were placed at the RT, RW, kelurahan and sub-district levels to reach the masses.

2. Volunteers of the Joint Secretariat, after the gubernatorial election is over, will change its name to a people's coalition with 60,000 volunteers who during the campaign period moved to reach the masses from the sub-district to RT levels, campaigning door to door for Jokowi-Ahok's victory.

3. Jakarta Labor Volunteers consist of elements from the Confederation of All-Indonesian Trade Unions (KSPSI), the Indonesian Prosperous Labor Union (SBSI), the Confederation of Indonesian Prosperous Trade Unions (KSBI), the Federation of Indonesian Metal Workers Union (FSPMI) and the Indonesian Workers' Consultative Assembly (MPBI). .

Meanwhile, the volunteers supporting Foke-Nara are members of several networks that are divided into general and ethnic categories, namely:

1. Betawi Rempug Forum (FBR), Betawi Children Communication Forum (FORKABI), Betawi Youth Forum (FPB), NTT Youth Forum, Andalas Bangkit Community Forum (Andalas Format).

2. Anti-Money Politics Task Force (SAPU), Blue Forces, Barindo, Ampija, Nusantara Brigade, Independent Community (KMM), and the Pro-People Alliance.

(Data processed from various sources, 2012)

The activities of volunteers from various communities have succeeded in attracting sympathy, support, and real contributions through political and social networks to the residents of DKI Jakarta to elect the pair Joko Widodo - Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in the 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election with votes in 5 administrative areas of DKI Jakarta. The success of the extensification of identity politics and political networks through virtual media has massively resulted in the victory of the Joko Widodo - Basuki Tjahaja Purnama pair in seizing the reins of power in DKI Jakarta for the next five years in the 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election which has been determined by the DKI Jakarta General Election Commission. , as shown in the table below:

Table 6. DKI Jakarta Governor Election Results Recapitulation in 2012

URAIAN	JKT UTARA		P. SERIBU		JKT PUSAT		JKT TIMUR	
	SUARA	%	SUARA	%	SUARA	%	SUARA	%
Fauzi Bowo – Nachrowi Ramli	300.12	40,96	8.794	73,45	249.427	49,30	611.366	46,79
Joko Widodo – Basuki TP	432.71	59,04	3.178	26,55	256.529	50,70	695220	53,21
Suara Tdk Sah	10.678	1,44	144	1,19	9.773	1,89	22.358	1,68
Suara Sah & Tdk Sah	743.55	63,61	12.166	74,03	515.729	65,32	1.328.944	66,98
JML PEMILIH	1.168.988		16.367		789.489		1.999.040	

URAIAN	JKT SELATAN		JKT BARAT		JUMLAH	
	SUARA	%	SUARA	%	SUARA	%
Fauzi Bowo – Nachrowi Ramli	476.742	48,45	474.298	45,11	2.120.815	46,18
Joko Widodo – Basuki TP	507.257	51,55	577.232	54,89	2.472.130	53,82
Suara Tdk Sah	16,628	1,66	15,415	1,44	74.996	1,65
Suara Sah & Tdk Sah	1.000.627	66,14	1.066.945	70,65	4.667.941	66,71
JML PEMILIH	1.512.913		1.510.159		6.996.951	

Therefore, the phenomenon of Joko Widodo's victory as Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2012 is a confirmation of the research results of Saiful Mujani and William Liddle (in Aspinal & Meitzner, 2010: 94) related to the Presidential election which shows that the political party from which the presidential candidate comes is not significantly correlated. with the figure of the presidential candidate himself. In other words, the candidate for leader, whether the President, Governor, Mayor or Regent is elected by the people is based on the leadership figure of the candidate concerned rather than the candidate's affiliation to his political party.

CONCLUSION

Political reforms have brought about fundamental changes in the power structure in Indonesia, including in the regions. Decentralization and democratization make regions an arena of power that has real autonomy to manage their household affairs, including directly electing regional heads. This condition opens the door for the entry of identity

politics in the practice of electing Governors and Regents/Mayors as a necessity, even being deliberately mobilized into a network that works politically to win candidates in regional head elections.

The Jokowi-Basuki TP pair uses identity politics as a network bond that forms into collective volunteers and distributes sources of information about the two. The network ties are joined in political organizations by working to have a fixed territory and are bound above their political organization.

Identity politics that has been formed in the ties of organizational networks is accelerated massively through social networks in virtual media to influence the political preferences of the people of DKI Jakarta in the election of the Governor of DKI Jakarta. The success of the Joko Widodo - Basuki Tjahaja Purnama pair in winning the 2012 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election contest is their ingenuity in combining and utilizing identity politics by aggregating and articulating social networks that are optimally managed and synergized in JASMEV, opening up opportunities for Joko Widodo to take part in the contestation to the level of the national political stage as a candidate. presidential candidate in the 2014 presidential election.

Socialization is a condition sine qua non in the election of leaders involving many people from various identities, especially at the local level who mobilize symbols of ethnic and cultural identity. The neutrality and honesty of election administrators with the participation of opinion leaders will avoid or at least minimize conflicts and their post-election impacts due to identity mobilization, where ethnic and cultural diversity is a gift as the glue and social capital of the Indonesian nation.

Therefore, the study of political communication in Indonesia with the dimensions of identity politics and social networks, ideally accompanied by political cultural literacy as a form of implementing citizens' rights and participating in determining their leaders. Social capital which is related to

the values of a network, binds certain people, and is bridging (bridging) between different people through the norm of reciprocity (reciprocal exchange) is an important component to be elaborated further in enriching the repertoire and broadening horizons. political communication studies.

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