

# **Islam and Identity Politics In The 2019 Presidential Election (From The Perspective of Structuration Theory)**

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## **Abstraction**

*We already know that the 2019 presidential election contestation is a very harsh contestation between two pairs of presidential candidates, namely Jokowi and Prabowo Subianto. The severity of the contestation is feared to trigger horizontal conflicts and people divisions which causing at least 8 people to die in the election results protest on May 21-22, 2019 in Jakarta. The severity of the contestation is one of the things because the 2019 presidential election involves identity political practices. Therefore this research intends to analyze how much the role of agents and structures in influencing the independence of political choices of voters in each Identity. In the process of analysis this research uses Anthony Giddens' Theory of Structuralization. Departing from Anthony Giddens' theory of structure, this research seeks to explore how significant the influence of agents and structures in influencing the independence of political choices of voters. This research uses qualitative research methods with a critical empirical approach. In this study, it has been found that in influencing the independence of political choices, agent voters and structures are supported by two things, namely alocative and authoritative resources, but in this study there is a finding that to influence the nature of the independence of political choices, voters is not enough only with alocative and authoritative resources, but we find that there are logistical and historical resources that play a significant role in influencing the independence of the political choices of each voters.*

**Keyword:** Identity Politics; Historical; Logistics.

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# **Islam dan Politik Identitas dalam Pemilu Presiden 2019 (Dari Perspektif Teori Strukturalisasi)**

## **Abstrak**

Kita telah mengetahui bahwa kontestasi Pilpres 2019 merupakan kontestasi yang sangat sengit antara dua pasang calon presiden, yaitu Jokowi dan Prabowo Subianto. Sengitnya kontestasi tersebut dikhawatirkan dapat memicu konflik horizontal dan perpecahan umat yang mengakibatkan sedikitnya 8 orang meninggal dunia dalam aksi unjuk rasa hasil pemilu pada 21-22 Mei 2019 di Jakarta. Sengitnya kontestasi tersebut salah satunya karena Pilpres 2019 melibatkan praktik politik identitas. Oleh karena itu penelitian ini bermaksud untuk menganalisis seberapa besar peran agen dan struktur dalam memengaruhi independensi pilihan politik pemilih pada masing-masing Identitas. Dalam proses analisis penelitian ini menggunakan Teori Strukturalisasi milik Anthony Giddens. Berangkat dari teori struktur milik Anthony Giddens, penelitian ini berupaya untuk mengeksplorasi seberapa signifikan pengaruh agen dan struktur dalam memengaruhi independensi

pilihan politik pemilih. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan empiris kritis. Dalam penelitian ini ditemukan bahwa dalam mempengaruhi hakikat independensi pilihan politik pemilih agen dan strukturnya disokong oleh dua hal yaitu sumber daya alokatif dan otoritatif, namun dalam penelitian ini terdapat suatu temuan bahwa untuk mempengaruhi hakikat independensi pilihan politik pemilih agen tidak cukup hanya dengan sumber daya alokatif dan otoritatif saja, akan tetapi ditemukan adanya sumber daya logistik dan historis yang sangat berperan dalam mempengaruhi hakikat independensi pilihan politik masing-masing pemilih.

**Kata Kunci:** *Politik Identitas; Historis; Logistik.*

## Background of the problem

Political studies on voter behavior have so far been explained through three approaches: sociological, psychological and rational choice. These three approaches to voting behavior tend to see the direction of a person's or group's political choices as determined by sociological, psychological and rational choice factors (Asfar, 2023). In fact, a person's political choice is actually not only about the direction of political choice but also about the independence of political choice. To see the independence of a person's political choices, this research uses Anthony Giddens' Structuration theory approach, to explain independent and autonomous political choices, amidst the practice of identity politics.

In Anthony Giddens' Structuration theory, Agent and Structure are factors that are able to influence the independence of voters' political choices, because there are at least two resources contained in the Structure that are able to influence voters' independence. Namely, allocative dominance resources and authoritative dominance resources. Based on this argument, the research question then arises, are there other resources besides allocative resources and authoritative resources in the Community Structure, which are able to influence the independence of voters' political choices in the practice of identity politics?

As we all know, the 2019 presidential election is a presidential election that is full of the use of identity politics, because both pairs of candidates used identity issues in the voter mobilization process. In the classic definition, identity politics is understood as the participation of individuals in politics on behalf of certain groups (Mason and Nicholas, 2015). In another definition, Identity politics is a political tool of a group such as ethnicity, tribe, culture, religion or others, for certain purposes. For example, as a form of resistance or as a tool to show the identity of a group (Alfaqi, 2016).

Identity is politicized through extreme interpretations, which aim to gain support from people who feel 'the same', whether in terms of race, ethnicity, religion or other adhesive elements. Ethnic and religious issues are two things that are always on the agenda of elite identity politics in Indonesia. Especially because the atmosphere of primordialism and sectarianism is still quite strong in Indonesia. So it is very easy to win public sympathy, trigger anger and mass sentiment by spreading ethnic, religious and group issues (Suherman et al, 2020). Meanwhile, identity revival is interpreted as a form of awareness and mobilization on the basis of a collective identity that was previously hidden, suppressed or ignored, either by the dominant group in the liberal democratic system, or by the

political citizenship agenda promoted for and in the name of a more progressive democracy (Purwanto, 2015). Therefore, the act of carrying out political mobilization in the name of identity, whether religious, ethnic or other local interests, is the practice of identity politics itself.

The phenomenon of Identity political practice is not something new and rare in African countries, Nigeria, Somalia in the 1970s and 1980s. Ethnic strength is an important determining factor in political position (Bareilly, 2021). This phenomenon has even hit large democratic countries such as the United States. Also taking place in several other countries such as France, England, the Netherlands, Africa and Asian countries. Since Donald Trump was elected as the 45th president of the United States in early 2017, the political conditions in the United States have been inversely proportional to the political path of his predecessors (La Ode Machandani, 2020). This difference is clearly visible from the political policies promoted by Donald Trump, which are considered very racist and discriminatory. One of them is: Building a separation wall between Mexico and the United States, to prevent the entry of immigrants from South America, as well as prohibiting Muslims and refugees from entering the United States. This shows the decline of American liberal democracy. Francis Fukuyama emphasized the connection between the decline of liberal democracy in the United States and the increase in identity politics and hate politics which have an impact on polarization in society (Fukuyama, 2018).

According to Kemala Chandrakirana, identity politics is often used by agents as a

tool for political agitation with the title “us” for “indigenous people” who want power and “them” for “immigrants” who must be willing to give up their power or position (Haboddin 2015). According to Sri Astuti Buchari, there are several advantages to the practice of identity politics. First, identity politics can be used as a tool for an ethnic group’s political struggle to achieve certain political goals. Second, political costs are quite cheap because political consolidation on the basis of ethnic, tribal and cultural equality will be easier and cheaper to consolidate for certain political interests on the basis of equality (Sri: 2014). Third, there is a large possibility of inter-ethnic power sharing (Henk Schulte Nordholt and Gerry van Klinken 2005).

The impact of using the practice of ethnic identity politics is very dangerous, if ethnic identity politics cannot be managed well and is used excessively, which can lead to fascism. Even worse is separatism. A society that has been constructed around a certain identity can be easily mobilized by groups who want to achieve their political agenda. The conflict between the Dayak-Madurese tribes, the May 1998 political conflict in Jakarta which resulted in the overthrow of President Soeharto, the expulsion of the Buton-Bugis and Makassar (BBM) ethnic groups in Ambon, are clear examples of the impact of ethnic identity politics. Another worst impact of the intensification of inter-ethnic conflict is the disintegration of the nation, especially as the multicultural Indonesian nation certainly has very high resistance. Identity Politics burst into the public sphere when the world closely watched the election process for the governor of DKI Jakarta

which was held in April 2017 (Saiful Mujani, 2020).

The practice of religious identity politics, according to Harahap, is the practice of politicians who prioritize the interests of group members who have similar identities or characteristics, a political practice that provides clear lines for determining and selecting who will be included and who will be rejected or left behind. Religious identity politics uses religious equality as a firm line (Harahap: 2014). In the practice of religious identity politics there are several advantages. Based on the results of research conducted by the Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies Program or Center for Religious and Crosscultural Studies (CRCS), it can be seen that identity politics involving religion also has advantages if managed well. The reason for religious differences alone is not a determining factor in conflict. Likewise, although regulation and law enforcement are needed, the legal approach needs to be strengthened by a process of "social engineering" that supports a situation of coexistence or harmony. The negative impact of the politicization of religious identity based on the results of Fox and Menchik's research shows that it is not uncommon for electoral mobilization to be carried out by affirming contestation between identity groups. This is very vulnerable to causing conflict and getting stronger and further dividing society (Colm and Menchik 2011).

The practice of identity politics with the issue of regional primordialism or local interests, it cannot be denied that many political agents, both local and national, use this issue intensively to share power.

In Indonesia, the strengthening of ethnic and religious identities in general election contestation (Pemilu) throughout 2014-2019 has encouraged researchers to analyze its impact on the quality of democracy (Ari Ganjar Herdiansah<sup>1</sup> and Husin M. Al-Banjari, 2023).

From several arguments from this research, at least it shows us that ethnic identity, religion, ideology and local political interests have a very significant role in the construction of identity politics in Indonesia. From the results of the research above, it is possible to assume that the construction of identity politics can be born from various sources which are continuously produced and reproduced by certain agents from each contestant for their political interests. The practices of identity politics by capitalizing on the power of networks of religious groups expressed in the form of mobilization by agents of each religious network group, down to the family level, strengthened as the 2019 elections took place. Various religious-based mass organization groups tended to strengthen identity. inherent in him, in strengthening the existence of religious groups and strengthening the position of voter behavior intervention in an effort to fight for the interests of his group. The involvement of identity in the 2019 Presidential Election makes the friction between identities very clear and increasingly harsh on each supporter base. Both Prabowo and Jokowi supporters. Based on the description above, this research seeks to explain the reality of religious identity politics which is an instrument of Identity Politics Practice.

Therefore, based on the arguments

above, the appropriate research object to look at the important role of Structure and Agent in influencing the nature of voter independence in the practice of identity politics in the 2019 Presidential Election is Paciran Village, Paciran District, Lamongan Regency, East Java.

This research attempts to analyze the practices of identity politics using Giddens' Structuration theory. Researchers see a dialectical relationship between agents and structures in influencing the independence of political choices according to their respective identities. According to Giddens, agency is a person's ability to think, behave and act independently, freely and autonomously, according to his or her own will. According to Giddens, agents are at least characterized as follows: having intention, routine, power, Reflection of Monitoring Action (RMA) and dialectica of control.

Meanwhile, according to Giddens, structure is divided into two parts, namely structures that are not bound by space and time, and structures that are bound by space and time. Structures that are not bound by space and time are in the form of rules which include a number of written and unwritten norms, which are controlling, controlling and dominating so that they are constraining. Meanwhile, structures that are not bound in time and space provide resources that give agents the capacity to create various social practices. According to Giddens, there are three structural resources, namely significance, dominance (allocative and authoritative) and legitimacy (Giddens, 2010). The dominance that exists in a structure that is bound in space and time, both allocative

and authoritative, has a very significant role in the voter mobilization practices carried out by agents in the practice of identity politics that occurred in the 2019 presidential election in Paciran Lamongan Village.

In the description above, it can be explained that Structure and Agents have a very significant role in shaping society, where both are important components in society. Likewise with the occurrence of social practices that exist in society. Structures and agents have quite a significant role. One of them is the political process that occurred in the 2019 presidential election contestation in Paciran Lamongan Village, where agents and structures capitalized on shared identities to win one of the candidates, either Jokowi or Prabowo. The role of structures and agents in involving NU and Muhammadiyah mass organizations in mobilizing political power to win the 2019 presidential election is very significant. Each agent and structure uses NU and Muhammadiyah as a means of unifying identity in the name of closeness and similarity of vision, organization, cadres, leadership and so on. Involving the identities of the NU and Muhammadiyah extended families in Paciran Lamongan Village in the victory of each candidate had a significant impact and made it easier for agents to gain support in an easy and cheap way.

The forms of political practices carried out by each Agent use organizational tools from both NU and Muhammadiyah, where the Prabowo Success Team Agents are included in the recitation groups and majlis ta'lim within Muhammadiyah, as well as in the Aisyah recitation group



(Women's Organization Muhammadiyah), the Muhammadiyah Youth study group, as well as joining the recitation or recitation in the mosque and Muhammadiyah prayer rooms in Paciran Lamongan Village. Jokowi's supporting agents also did the same thing. They entered NU organizational spaces, in religious study groups, majlis ta'lim, tahlilan forums within NU as well as fatayats or muslimat (NU women's organizations), the Anshor Youth Movement study group. Also enter the recitation or ta'lim rooms held in the mosque or NU prayer rooms in Paciran Lamongan Village.

The agents of each supporter not only enter the formal spaces of recitation or ta'lim assemblies, but also enter the informal spaces of coffee shops or "cangkruan" spaces for Muhammadiyah and NU residents, which are filled with discourse about the involvement of their respective identities. candidate. This continued to be discussed and crystallized, until it entered the most private space, namely the family room. The debate between Jokowi and Prabowo, which was carried out in the name of the shared identity of each candidate in the organization, ended up crystallizing not only in organizational spaces or discourse debates in coffee shops, but also penetrated into family rooms.

The impact of this crystallization of support is to dichotomy that NU voters and their extended families are Jokowi voters because of their close identity. Likewise, Muhammadiyah and its extended family chose Prabowo because of their close identity. In this context, each agent has succeeded in using identity politics practices to crystallize the political preferences of the

residents of Paciran Lamongan Village. It is these differences in political choices which then become increasingly hardened and increasingly dichotomous between Jokowi voters and Prabowo voters.

The arguments above show the significance of the role of Agents and Structures in influencing the nature of independent and autonomous political choices amidst the practice of identity politics. Therefore, this reality then raises the research question, are there other variants of dominance that are able to influence the nature of a person's independent choices, apart from allocative dominance and authoritative dominance that have been mentioned by Anthony Giddens?

## Research methods

This study used qualitative research methods. According to Hennink (Hennink, 2020). Qualitative method is an approach to building knowledge statements through interpretation of multi-perspective input from all participants involved in the research. Qualitative research aims to build an ideographic body of knowledge, so it tends not to provide an in-depth explanation or extrapolation of the object under study. He believes that in society there is order that is formed naturally. Therefore, the researcher's task is to find this regularity, not to create or create its own boundaries based on existing theory. On that basis, qualitative research is essentially a systematic activity that finds theories to test theories or hypotheses.

Empirical approaches and social criticism are used as research methods. This approach is used because the problems revealed in this study do not arise from

a priori assumptions, but are based on empirical facts in the field, which can be obtained through observations or field observations carried out in a complex and objective manner. As well as to find answers to research problems through describing their meanings (Norman, 2009). Armed with an empirical approach and social criticism, in this research researchers can be connected to the most basic human experiences.

In extracting initial data, the subjects of this research were determined purposively, consisting of leaders of mass organizations and Islamic boarding schools in Paciran Lamongan Village. The criteria for determining leaders of mass organizations, Kiai, residents and Islamic boarding school students as resource persons in this study were based on considering their highly regarded position in the Paciran Village community.

The subjects of this research are First, the Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan Rating Leaders and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Branch Leaders. Second research subject; Karangasem Islamic Boarding School caretaker. Karangasem Paciran Lamongan Islamic Boarding School, is an Islamic boarding school with a Muhammadiyah culture. This Islamic boarding school produces many cadres, ustadz-ustadz, kiai-kiai in the Muhammadiyah environment both in Lamongan and in East Java. Third, Modern Islamic Boarding School Caregivers. Almost the same as Karangasem, the Modern Islamic Boarding School is one of the Muhammadiyah Islamic boarding schools which produces many Muhammadiyah preachers, kiai and activists both locally

and nationally. Fourth, the caretaker of the Mazroatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. Mazroatul Ulum Islamic Boarding School is an Islamic boarding school with the Nahdiyin culture.

There are several methods of data collection that are known in qualitative research, but the first step in the empirical data collection process begins with understanding the location of the research object. In this case, the researcher will be directly involved and become part of the research subject. This is done so that researchers gain trust as part or research subjects (going native). In this way, researchers can understand the setting and collect empirical data, then understand and reflect on individual experiences descriptively. Researchers begin by gathering information from key informants, namely actors who have broad and in-depth knowledge and experience about the problem being studied.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Role of Structure and Agents in Building Independence of Political Choice.

Basically, structures and agents have a very significant role in shaping society, where both are important components in society. Likewise with the occurrence of social practices that exist in society. Structure and Agents have quite a significant role. One of them is in the political process that occurred in the 2019 presidential election contestation in Paciran Lamongan Village, where agents and structures capitalized on similarities in identity to win one of the candidates, either Jokowi or Prabowo. The role of structures and agents in involving NU and Muhammadiyah mass

organizations in mobilizing political power to win the contest in the 2019 presidential election is very significant. Each agent and structure uses NU and Muhammadiyah as a means of unifying identity in the name of closeness and similarity of vision, organization, cadres, leadership and so on. Involving the identities of the NU and Muhammadiyah extended families in Paciran Lamongan village in the victory of each candidate had a significant impact and made it easier for agents to gain support in an easy and cheap way.

The forms of political practices carried out by each Agent use organizational tools, both NU and Muhammadiyah, where Prabowo's success team agents are included in Muhammadiyah recitation groups and majlis ta'lim as well as in the Aisyah recitation group (Muhammadiyah Women's Organization), Muhammadiyah Youth study groups, as well as participating in recitation or recitation at mosques and Muhammadiyah prayer rooms in Paciran Lamongan Village. Jokowi's supporting agents also did the same thing, where they entered NU organizational spaces, recitation groups, majlis ta'lim, NU tahlilan forums as well as fatayat or muslimat (NU women's organizations) recitation groups of the Anshor Youth Movement. They also entered the recitation or ta'lim rooms at the mosque or at the NU prayer rooms in Paciran Lamongan Village.

The agents of each supporter not only enter the formal rooms of recitation or ta'lim assemblies, but also enter the informal spaces of coffee shops or "cangkruan" spaces for Muhammadiyah and NU residents. The discourse regarding the involvement of each candidate's identity

continues to be discussed and crystallized, until it enters the most private space, namely the family room. The debate between Jokowi and Prabowo, which was carried out in the name of the shared identity of each candidate in the organization, ended up crystallizing not only in organizational spaces or discourse debates in coffee shops, but also penetrated into family rooms. The impact of this crystallization of support is to dichotomy that NU voters and their extended families are Jokowi voters because of close identity. Likewise, Muhammadiyah and its extended family chose Prabowo because of their close identity. In this context, each agent has succeeded in using identity politics practices to crystallize the political preferences of the residents of Paciran Lamongan Village. It is these differences in political choices which then become increasingly hardened and increasingly dichotomous between Jokowi voters and Prabowo voters.

The agents of each candidate continue to produce and continue to reproduce political practices with an identity approach as explained above using organizational structure, family, social relations, friendship and other approaches. All methods and efforts to approach and political practices will continue to be produced and reproduced by Agents so that this discursive practice occurs, so that they can influence voters to participate in the Agent's political choices.

In Structuration theory, the resource function here is the potential power possessed by the structure. In several interviews conducted by researchers with both residents and elites of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' in Paciran Lamongan



Village, researchers found other variants of dominance apart from allocative and authoritative resource dominance. Namely logistics resources. Logistics resources here are material or financial resources.

In implementing political practices such as socialization and so on, even though using an identity approach, apparently logistical variables are still very much needed by each success team/agent, to expedite and strengthen the course of political consolidation. These logistical or financial resources have a very significant role in financing the campaign process, team recruitment and other winning operational costs. Therefore, in this research we found that to win a contest, even if the contest involves identity or identity politics, the dominance of allocative and authoritative resources as initial capital is not enough. Logistical or financial resources are needed to win a contest even if the contest involves identity politics.

### Logistics Resources

Logistics in election contestation are often associated with money or materials. The study of money politics that occurs in political contestation in Indonesia, and its influence on elections, has actually been researched by (Burhanudian Muhtadi, 2019). In his research, Muhtadi tried to see how much money politics there is in Indonesia, and how effectively it influences choices. Using many methods, both individual, observational and experimental techniques, the proportion of voters involved in money politics in the 2019 elections was in the range of 19.4 percent to 33.1 percent. The range of money politics is very high according to international standards, and

places Indonesia as the country with the third largest money politics ranking in the world. The experimental design also produces findings that are consistent with direct questions, so it can be concluded that money politics has become the new normal practice in our elections. This means that the logistical power of money politics greatly influences the contestation results to be achieved.

Logistics in this research is not only money politics but logistics is everything related to winning instruments. These include funding, winning machines, campaign attributes, winning structures, government policies, state officials including ASN, TNI and Polri, regional heads, sub-district heads, village heads, village heads. This means that the more people involved in the winning instrument, both individuals and institutions, the greater the logistics of the candidate pairs currently contesting. According to Aminudin (Aminudin, 2019), in the 2019 simultaneous elections (17 April 2019), the practice of money politics in the form of giving away money and goods (cooking oil, rice, sugar, headscarves) still occurred in almost all provinces and districts. There is even the practice of money politics in the form of handing out Umrah coupons. The practice of money politics in the 2019 simultaneous elections is actually much more numerous and massive compared to the practice of money politics that occurred in the 2009 Election and the 2014 Election. According to Muhtadi, elections are an arena for fighting financial power and personal popularity, and money sovereignty will be the key word for victory. electoral. The size of logistics will

increasingly influence the independence of a person's political choices.

Therefore, the availability and alignment of sufficient logistics will greatly influence the political practices carried out by agents and structures. And we all know that in the 2019 presidential election in Paciran Lamongan, agents and structures each had resources that could be maximized to support one of the supported pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates. So the availability of logistics will certainly increase the strength of each successful team, one of which is assistance with financial resources for the winning process. The source of winning funds does not depend on the center or the contesting candidates, meaning it does not have to be top down but can be bottom up or donations from partisans or supporters have a very significant role in moving the political machine. The role of logistical resources in the practice of identity politics in the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin pair is very much recognized by each candidate pair's success team.

As we mean, the resources in the structure, both those that are bound in space and time and those that are not bound in space and time, include resources of significance, dominance and legitimacy as supporting forces in the process of influencing voters. The function and role of logistics in influencing voters is very significant if there is no money politics in the process, at least there is logistics to move the winning machine. Even though they departed on the basis of a political fight wrapped in identity, the existence of logistics is crucial to maintain the moral enthusiasm of the Agents and Structures to continue moving in their political practices,

to win the contestation. At least balance the fighting process or in other words, at least there is resistance.

The existence of logistics is very crucial in the process of maximizing political practices, although the existing logistics do not have to come from the candidate pair's team. It could be that logistics provided by crowds or assistance from supporters of each candidate or even cadres and success teams who feel they have been given a mandate actually spend money to heat up their political machines.

The solid and massive support provided by the Structure and Agents meant that the massiveness of the winning movement which was carried out expanded, not only affecting the residents of NU Paciran. However, the agents are also expanding by trying to influence the structure and agents in Muhammadiyah. This is in accordance with H. Khusnul Abid's statement. The importance of the availability of logistics cannot be denied and this was acknowledged and felt by H. Khusnul Abid as Chair of Muhammadiyah Ranting Paciran, in an interview conducted by researchers regarding the alleged money politics that occurred in the 2019 presidential election.

In several studies, at least according to Syarif Hidayat, the practice of money politics starts from the candidate nomination process, during the campaign period, up to voting day and vote counting. There are at least two variants of money politics. First, directly by giving money to voters. Second, indirectly by providing goods that have high use value and exchange value (Syarif, 2009).

In general, Bumke categorizes money politics into three dimensions, namely: vote buying, vote brokering, and political corruption, as emphasized by Edward Aspinall. According to him, money politics is an Indonesian term related to vote buying and the phenomena related to it. Just like Bumke, apart from vote buying, vote brokers or success teams are an important part of money politics (E. Aspinall & A. Hicken, 2019)

*First*, vote buying is corrupt behavior which usually takes the form of giving or gifts, especially in the form of money, valuables, or promises with the aim of influencing the recipient's behavior (Abdurrahman, 2021). As corrupt behavior, vote buying can be defined as persuasion by providing financial benefits by one person to another to influence that person's choice. According to Valeria Busco, vote buying is the giving of money or generally consumer goods by candidates or political parties to voters, as a form of exchange for votes from the recipient. Voters feel they have an obligation to vote for candidates or parties that have given them something (Valeria, 2004). Vote buying means buying or converting with votes. This is where the role of Agents and Structures is to work hard according to the resources they have to convince voters. One of them is the vote buying approach.

According to Lynn T White, vote buying in democratic countries can take various forms. Some of them directly provide money, especially in countries with low per capita income (Lynn, 2009). Schaffer categorizes several characteristics to differentiate vote buying from other forms of mobilization strategies in elections, with reference to scope, timing, and legality.

*Second* is, vote broker. The process of bartering money or goods with voters usually does not involve candidates directly. Apart from being easily known by political opponents, the risk is very high. Therefore, forming a team that plays a role in determining the winning strategy, including practicing money politics as part of the strategy to win the competition. Individuals or groups of people whose role is to represent candidates in distributing money or goods in order to influence voters are often referred to as vote brokers.

Voting brokers are usually part of the success team. But generally they are not registered as a formal team that is reported to the General Election Commission (KPU). Aspinall groups vote brokers into three categories. First, activist brokers who support candidates based on political, ethnic, religious or other commitments. Second, clientelist brokers, who want a long-term relationship with candidates or senior brokers with the aim of gaining material benefits in the future. Third, opportunistic brokers who only seek short-term profits during the campaign period.

Research conducted by Valerina Busco shows that groups of people with a lower middle economic level are the main targets of money politics. The same results were shown by research conducted by Pedro C. Vicente and Leonard Wantchekon in Africa (Pedro, 2009). The main targets of money politics are groups of voters with low levels of education and income. Money politics is an attempt to bribe voters by giving money or voter preference services that can be given to a briber (Edward Trias Pahlevi and Azka Abdi Amururobbi, 2020)

NU Agents and Structure work hard to maximize the winning organizational machine. Therefore, systematic and massive involvement of structures has a very significant role. This is very understandable because the vice presidential candidate is a Kiai and a senior figure in NU. This is very different from Muhammadiyah. The contesting candidates are not Muhammadiyah cadres or administrators so Muhammadiyah does not involve the organization structurally to win the contest. However, because of these differences in identity, in the end the majority of Muhammadiyah Agents and Structures supported other candidate pairs, simply because of these differences in identity.

Muhammadiyah Paciran agents and structures worked sincerely and without logistical assistance from the center to win Prabowo - Sandiaga Uno in Paciran Village. Without logistical assistance from the center or from the Prabowo Team in Lamongan, East Java. There is only the enthusiasm to help each other between agents to fulfill the campaign needs and win Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno in Paciran Lamongan village.

If we read the long historical explanation of the dynamics of political practices that occurred in Paciran, Lamongan, we will understand the political reality that occurs today in that village. This means that the enthusiasm to win the contest carried out by the Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan Agents and Structures is very understandable. The spirit that is constructed from the dialectic of long political history from time to time and then built on a common identity, will give rise to strong militancy between organizational groups/groups.

Muhammadiyah's political attitude in choosing political culture as per Syarikatan Muhammadiyah, is worth noting as a civil society force that has a participatory level of political awareness. Persyarikatan members are always present and influence politics, government and national dynamics, in various ways. Until decision makers inevitably have to take it into account. This participatory culture continues along with political progress and developments in Indonesia, including in the 2019 presidential election. Of course there are ups and downs. However, the participatory culture that has developed so far means that Muhammadiyah members can be said to have never been absent from the series of political events taking place in this republic, including the 2019 presidential election.

The 2019 presidential election event is a challenge in itself for Muhammadiyah. Apart from having to play its role as civil society, Muhammadiyah also has big challenges in managing conflict (Bhakti Gusti, 2021). Muhammadiyah members participated in various ways and with varying intensities. There are members of the Persyarikatan who take part in national politics, there are those who take part in intellectual ways, there are also those who take part through constitutional jihad. Everything is a manifestation of the enlightenment and transformation movement towards a progressive Indonesia.

So the participatory self-reliance orientation that emerged in the political practices carried out by Muhammadiyah Agents and Structures in the 2019 presidential election, by Muhammadiyah members, is a manifestation of the affection



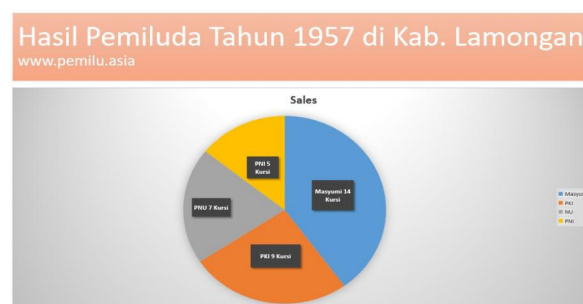
and desire of Muhammadiyah members to create a progressive Indonesia. A just and prosperous Indonesia in accordance with the ideals of the Indonesian nation contained in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. So it is understandable that the various political practices of Muhammadiyah Agents and Structures work together to win candidates who are deemed capable of carrying out Muhammadiyah's great mission, namely making Indonesia a progressive nation. The role of Agents and Structures becomes significant in building militancy to sacrifice energy, time, even money, on the basis of a shared vision and identity, to win the candidate they support. The availability of logistics in winning the contest is very important. Therefore, according to researchers, logistics is very important to be included in the resources that can influence voters in Anthony Giddens' Structuration theory.

### Historical Resources

The practice of Identity Politics in Paciran Lamongan Village did not suddenly appear in the reality of the political dialectical space in Paciran Village. There is a series of past events that have constructed political practices over a long period of time. Not just the local political aspect. Changes in the national political map also play a major role in the changes and dialectics of local politics in Paciran. Several major historical events also had an impact on changes in political practices at the local level. Therefore, political events in history have played a significant role in constructing identity political practices in Paciran Lamongan.

Historically, Paciran has been a contributor to the votes and vote base of Islamic parties. Including the vote base of the Indonesian Muslim Syuro Council Party (Masyumi), where the Masyumi party became the winning party in the region. As a result, the 1958 Election brought K.H. Abdurrahman Syamsuri was elected as Member of the Lamongan DPRD from the Masyumi Faction. And, when Masyumi was disbanded on 19 August 1960, the local community remained active in Muhammadiyah and NU. When the Indonesian Muslim Party (Parmusi) was founded, the people of Paciran made their political choice on the Islamic political party founded by Mohammad Syafa'at Mintaredja on February 20 1968. Many Muhammadiyah members are involved in Parmusi (Indonesian Muslim Party). Meanwhile, NU residents have channeled their political activities to the United Development Party (PPP). It is not surprising that the two Islamic political parties received a large number of votes in Paciran District in the 1971 Election, namely 75 percent of the total votes in the district.

Figure 1:



Paciran's existence as a base for Islamic students and parties is maintained to this day. This can be seen from the vote



acquisition between Islamic-based and Nationalist parties in the 2014 Election. The National Mandate Party (PAN) got 19%, the Social Justice Party (PKS) 3%, the National Awakening Party (PKB) 17%, and the United Development Party. (PPP) 5.4%. The votes of Islamic parties in Paciran continue to grow, especially in the 2019 elections. The issue of religious identity politics was able to increase the vote share of all Islamic-based political parties. The vote share of Islamic-based political parties rose quite significantly in the 2019 elections. For example, PAN got 23%, PKS 5.7%, PKB 21%, and PPP 6.5%. This shows that historically the practice of identity politics in Paciran Village has worked effectively.

If viewed sociologically, the Paciran community is actually affiliated with an Islamic organization. The most prominent are Nahdlatul Ulama' and Muhammadiyah. So that almost all residents of Paciran Village are divided into these two large religious organizations (Widiyastutik, 2021). This has an impact on the high influence of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' on the Paciran community. The influence of these two organizations is not only about worship or matters related to fiqhiyah, but extends to political choices. Both national and local, even at the village level. This has an impact on the political attitudes of the Paciran Village Community which tend to be the same as the political attitudes of the two organizations, which is reflected in the political attitudes of the figures and elites of these organizations. This is very understandable, because in achieving its goals, Muhammadiyah carries out programs to increase empowerment, guidance, development and political education of the community and increase

actual national involvement and participation, in facing contemporary national problems. Muhammadiyah has also played and continues to play its role in the process of consolidating democracy in Indonesia by building "positive peace" through various fields such as education, health, economics and philanthropy (Muhammad et al. 2019)

Participation of KH. M'ruf Amin and the support given by Kiai and NU figures for the Jokowi-Ma'ruf candidate pair, as well as the partiality of several Muhammadiyah organization cadres towards the Prabowo-Sandi candidate pair in the presidential election contestation, are the background to the issue of non-neutrality being given to the Muhammadiyah and NU organizations (Zainuddin, 2021). So it is understandable if the practice of identity politics that occurred in the 2019 presidential election was not present and just appeared. The practice of identity politics that occurred in the 2019 presidential election was a series of historical events that were repeated from previous contestations. The struggle for power and the confirmation of the dominance of influence between the NU identity and the Muhammadiyah identity, confirms the gap between the two.

History has recorded that these two religious organizations have played a significant role in contributing to the development of community resources in Paciran Village, through various kinds of efforts that have been characterized by both. Whether in the form of Islamic boarding schools, schools, madrasas, or hospitals. All this further emphasizes the influence of their Structure. Both structures that are bound by space and time and structures that are not bound by space and time.

This long historical relationship with various dynamics means that the people of Muhammadiyah Paciran have constructed their political views in such a way. Both nationally and locally. The factors of ideology, justice, economics, law enforcement and taking sides with the interests of the Muslim struggle are among the benchmarks that mark the choices they aim for. So, historical factors have a quite significant role in the independence of political choices, apart from other factors as reinforcement.

From the various arguments above, we can see the historical dynamics that occurred in Paciran Lamongan Village. The involvement of identity in various kinds of political contestation at various levels shows that the intensity of production and reproduction of identity political practices has been going on for a very long time with various kinds of dynamics.

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schools, schools, madrasas or hospitals. All this further emphasizes the influence of their Structure. Both structures that are bound by space and time and structures that are not bound by space and time.

The large role of history or the long history of both, increasingly emphasizes that the role of history is very large in the practices of identity politics. Therefore, structural resources that are bound in space and time, which have been defined by Giddens in his Structuration theory, are important for deconstruction. Structure resources are bound in space and time, it is not only about authoritative resources and allocative resources, but historicity is also able to influence structures to act in political practices.

So then the political choices of the Paciran Community are not only influenced or built by resource factors that exist in the structure of society, namely a structure that is not bound by space and time, in the form of rules that include a number of written norms and are not controlling, controlling, and dominating so that it is coercive (constraining). Or a structure that is bound by space and time in society which has significance and dominance or legitimacy as a justification for individuals to carry out identity political practices in order to build the independence of one's political choices. From the various arguments above, it can be explained that historical factors are also very influential in the political choices of the Paciran Lamongan people.

From this reality we can see that history plays a major role in reproducing and producing identity political practices. Therefore, we propose that history, or history, is one of the structural resources that is bound in space and time.

## Conclusion

Structuration of Identity political practices by capitalizing on the power of religious group networks is expressed in the form of mass mobilization of members from each group, down to the grassroots institutional level. This reality seems to be strengthening as the 2019 presidential election progresses. The various strengths of these religious groups strengthen each other's inherent identities. The aim is none other than to strengthen the existence of the group, as well as strengthen the position of voter behavior intervention in an effort to fight for the interests of the group.

**First**, agents and structures are intertwined and mutually influence voters to choose according to their desired political choices. Operations or campaigns through agents and social structures have a very significant role and influence in influencing voters' political attitudes and choices. **Second**, the practice of identity politics makes it possible to always produce and reproduce identity politics practices to influence the independence of a person's political choices. **Third**, structural resources, one of which is dominance, which includes two things, allocative resources and authoritative resources, have a very significant role in influencing voters. However, these two resources are not enough to influence the independence of a person's political choices. So supporting resources are needed, namely financial or logistical resources, where these logistical resources function to support the operational needs of the Agents' winning campaigns. Historical aspects or historical resources also have a significant

role in contributing to influencing voters' independence in determining their political choices in accordance with the wishes of the Agent and the Structure of each Identity.

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