The Political Identity: Between Qur'anic View and Western Theory

Sujiat Zubaidi
Universitas Darussalam Gontor
Jawa Timur, Indonesia
abufawwaz@unida.gontor.ac.id

Aqdi Rofiq Asnawi*
Universitas Darussalam Gontor
Jawa Timur, Indonesia
aqdi.asnawi@unida.gontor.ac.id

Ide Mafaza Sansayto
Universitas Darussalam Gontor
Jawa Timur, Indonesia
idemafazasansayto98@gmail.com

Humaira Agam Putri
Universitas Darussalam Gontor
Jawa Timur, Indonesia
humairaagam99@gmail.com

Abstract

Purpose
Identity nowadays has become very complicated in the political sphere. Political identity needs to be studied from two perspectives; Western theory and Islamic theory. Islamic political identity taken from the concept of the Qur'an. This research aims to reveal identity politics from these two perspectives, namely the perspective of the al-Qur'an and Western theory.

Method
The library research method is used for this critical analysis research, which takes a qualitative approach. The qualitative method collected data and news references from books, journals, or trusted online sources.

Results/Findings
The results show that there are contradictions in interpreting identity politics. Identity politics is often interpreted as something that is considered harmful. Through critical analysis, researchers found differences from the most fundamental aspects of understanding and theory to the value of their influence on society.

Conclusion
Even though the theory of identity in the West existed and was developed by Henry Tajfel and John Turner, the theory is in line with how Islam views political identity as necessary as a political strategy that emphasizes differentiation and the utilization of primordial ties as its main category. Identity in the Qur'an is called Shibgah. The theory of identity, both in politics and outside politics, is correct and reasonable.

Keywords
political identity, Qur'anic identity theory, western identity theory, Shibgah

*) Corresponding Author

Abstrak

Tujuan
Identitas saat ini menjadi sangat rumit di ranah politik. Identitas politik perlu dipelajari dari dua perspektif yang berbeda; teori Barat dan teori Islam. Identitas politik Islam yang diambil dari konsep al-Qur'an. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap politik identitas dari dua perspektif tersebut, yaitu perspektif al-Qur'an dan teori Barat.

Metode
Metode penelitian kepustakaan digunakan untuk penelitian analisis kritis ini, yang mengambil pendekatan kualitatif. Metode kualitatif mengambil berbagai data dan referensi berita dari buku, jurnal, atau sumber online terpercaya.

Hasil/Temuan
Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa terdapat kontradiksi dalam memaknai politik identitas. Politik identitas seringkali dimaknai sebagai sesuatu yang dianggap merugikan. Melalui analisis kritis, peneliti menemukan perbedaan dari aspek yang paling mendasar yaitu aspek pemahaman dan teori, hingga nilai pengaruhnya terhadap masyarakat.

Kesimpulan
Meskipun teori identitas di Barat telah ada dan dikembangkan oleh Henry Tajfel dan John Turner, namun teori tersebut sejalan dengan bagaimana Islam memandang identitas politik diperlukan sebagai strategi politik yang menekankan diferensiasi dan pemanfaatan ikatan primordial sebagai kategori utamanya. Identitas dalam Al-Qur'an disebut Shibgah. Artinya, teori identitas, baik dalam politik maupun di luar politik, adalah benar dan masuk akal.

Kata Kunci
politik identitas, teori identitas Alquran, teori identitas barat, Shibgah

الملخص

الهدف
أصبحت الهوية الآن معقدة للغاية في المجال السياسي. يجب دراسة الهوية السياسية من منظورين مختلفين، النظرية الغربية والنظرية الإسلامية. أما الهوية السياسية الإسلامية فهي مأخوذة من مفهوم القرآن. و تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن سياسات الهوية من هذين المنظورين، وهما منظور القرآن والنظرية الغربية.

الطريقة
استخدم هذا البحث أسلوب البحث المكتبي التحليلي النقدي، الذي اتخذ منهجًا كيفيا. و تأخذ الأساليب الكيفية العديد من مراجع البيانات والأخبار من الكتب أو المجلات أو المصادر الموثوقة عبر الإنترنت. تظهر النتائج أن هناك تناقضات في تفسير سياسات الهوية، غالبًا ما يتم تفسير سياسة الهوية على أنها شيء يعتبر ضارًا.

النتائج
من خلال التحليل النقدي، وجد الباحثون اختلافات من الجوانب الأساسية ، وهي جوانب الفهم والنظرية ، إلى قيمة تأثيرها على المجتمع. على الرغم من وجود نظرية الهوية في الغرب وطورها هنري تاجفيل وجون تيرنر ، إلا أن هذه النظرية تتماشى مع الطريقة التي ينظر بها الإسلام إلى الهوية السياسية باعتبارها ضرورية كاستراتيجية سياسية تؤكد على التمايز واستخدام الروابط الأولية كفئة رئيسية.

الخلاصة
الهوية في القرآن تسمى الصبغة. وهذا يعني أن نظرية الهوية سواء في السياسة أو في السياسة الخارجية، صحيحة ومنطقية.

الكلمات الرئيسية
سياسات الهوية، نظرية الهوية القرآنية، نظرية الهوية الغربية، صبغة

INTRODUCTION

The role of identity is crucial because having an officially recognized identity can enable individuals to obtain their fundamental rights (Sabine, 1952). Identity is a unique sign or characteristic distinguishing one person or group from others. There are various types of identity, such as national identity, personal identity, gender identity, and many others. These various identities are usually listed and attached to a national identity or national I.D. to prove the entity's authenticity. Identity occurs in the process of becoming within the continuum of social change. Identity is often associated with politics until the term "politics" emerges. The phenomenon of identity politics that emerges has many variations, is horrific, and will undoubtedly have unimaginable impacts. Samuel Huntington states, "When identities that previously had multiplicity and causal relationships become focused and established, communal conflicts are usually called identity wars."(Bergman, 2015)

One example that can be referred to when talking about threats to the nation's integrity based on identity politics is when there is a political party, namely PEMILU, both on a national and regional scale. The proof is that many borrowings of religious attributes exist for political interests to gain acceptance from the group whose voice is requested. So that an analysis can be made, the contrary attitude towards identity politics is not aimed at rejecting identity politics. Instead, identity politics is used as a medium to bring down other groups or factions (Askuri & Kuipers, 2018). Political identity is a construction that determines the position of the subject's interests in the ties of a political community (Chandakirana, 1989). Political identity refers to the political mechanism based on strategic essentialism, where we act as if identity is a stable entity for specific political and practical goals (Klinken, 2007).

Many studies have focused on the topic of political identity. First, under the title "*Politik Identitas: Ancaman Terhadap Persatuan dan Kesatuan Bangsa Dalam Negara Pancasila,*" written by Leli Salman Al-Faris (2018), This research describes the phenomenon of identity politics, which is considered a threat and danger of abuse for the unity and integrity of the nation and the continuity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia as a Pancasila state (Leli Salman Al- Farisi, 1998). The other study, *"Politik Identitas Di Indonesia: Antara Nasionalisme Dan Agama,"* (2018) by Yuni Sri Lestari. This study discovered that political divisions based on religious identity and nationalism disrupted state stability, as evidenced by a crisis of trust in the government, the spread of fake news, persecution, treason, limited democratic space, and many others (Lestari Sri, 2018).

Widyawati published *Menguatnya Politik Identitas Di Indonesia Baik Karena Faktor Agama, Sosial, dan Etnis (2021)*. This discussion focuses on the political identity of many who participate in religion and marginalized groups. However, there are also many issues of political and ethnic identity that have more emphasis on political identity (Wati, 2021). Muhamad Nurul Firdaus and Lusi Andriyani published their most recent study, *Politik Atas Identitas Agama, Dan Etnis Di Indonesia* (2021). This research explains that political identity in Indonesia is due to efforts to build self-image and uphold self-esteem among tribes, cultures, religions, and ethnicities (Firdaus & Andriyani, 2021). These studies demonstrate how negative political identity is. However, these are all still necessary to find a theoretical basis to explain it scientifically.

These articles and studies discussed political identity and how harmful it is. None of the articles above focused on the context of political identity based on the Qur'an perspective and western theory, which is social identity theory. This theory was developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in 1970 (Tajfel, H., & Turner, 1986). It provides a non-reductionist social-psychological explanation of the intergroup conflict. Its most fundamental assumption is that group behavior is more than a collection of individuals behaving en masse. Al-Qur'an, as the source of all knowledge, has taught about politics (Fawaid, 1993). Researchers feel it is necessary to study political identity further from the

perspective of the al-Qur'an so that people understand verses related to political affairs.

Furthermore, lest departing from an incomplete understanding of a verse in the Qur'an will give rise to divisions on a large scale in the name of religion, specifically in the name of the Qur'an (Al-Mawardi, 1843). These are essential things that underlie the thoughts of researchers to conduct further studies related to political identity from the perspective of the Qur'an and Western theory. A complete understanding will be achieved by understanding the political realities rolling in society in the frame of the Al-Quran. Based on the above background, the researchers are interested in conducting research titled The Political Identity: Based on Qur'an Perspective and Western Theory. This research aims to shed light on identity politics from the Qur'an and Western theories in order two answer three research questions: what is the identity politic according to Al-Qur'an, what is the identity politic in Western theories, and what is the relationship between both sides. This discussion is critical since, in Muslim and non-Muslim countries, individuals frequently base their actions on these two perspectives.

METHOD

This research is a critical analysis using a qualitative approach by the library research method (Brannen, 1997). The qualitative method collected data and news references from books, journals, or trusted online news pages. Next, the domains are divided into one by analyzing the patterns found based on field data and discussing them. The discussion is based on data and facts that focus on the problem of political identity, which is the cause of the emergence of stigmas or accusations of radicals, terrorists, and racial discrimination against certain community groups, conclude the analysis that has been done (Turpin, Asano, & Finlayson, 2015).

This study analyzed data using a content analysis approach in four stages: 1) Unit processing, 2) Categorization, 3) Data interpretation, and 4) Theory formulation. Thus, after the meaning results appeared and were completed with new data, the desired theory was reformulated in a broader sense and narrowed its categories. This study referred to books, journals, proceedings, papers, dissertations, theses, and related studies for secondary sources (Rusmana, 2015).

This research employs a multidisciplinary approach. A multidisciplinary approach solves a problem using various perspectives from many relevant sciences (Muin Salim, 2002). The multidisciplinary approach is defined as solving the political identity problem using political science, Qur'an science, and social science perspectives. Thus, the research results are more precise, accurate, and comprehensive.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Political identity and its problems are caused by theoretical confusion about the relationship between religion and politics. However, this assumption is a political phenomenon associated with identity. Negative assumptions about true theory are not based on theory. Thus, it is still necessary to find a theoretical basis in order to be able to scientifically explain, control, and predict why something happened, what should have happened, and what factors influenced it (Al-Maududi, 1984).

In Islam, based on Qur'an, no Muslim can detach aspects of his life from his religious identity. It is because all aspects of life have been regulated by Islamic *Sharia* law. Therefore, religion and belief are aspects that are inherent in human beings. The sentence *Shibghah* is defined by several words (Q.S. 2:138). Some scholars interpret it as immersion, religion, and lineage. According to Ad-Dahhak, from Ibn Abbas, what is meant by "*shibghah*" is the religion of Allah. So this lineage and religion mean that man is His creation, so he has a direct lineage as His creature (*Makhluqullah*), and Allah's religion is his identity (Al-Mawardi, 1843).

The western theory called "Social Identity Theory," developed by Henri Tajfel and

John Turner in 1970, supported the truth of identity politics. (Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, n.d.) Social Identity Theory (SIT) explains the interactions between large social groups by utilizing psychological processes related to the social individuality of belonging to groups and either positive or negative impacts associated with that membership. The theory has evolved into an overarching concept for a more specific set of intergroup behavior theories.

According to SIT, categorizing our social world is a natural and inevitable human instinct that simplifies our environment. Categorizing people into groups, we also categorize ourselves into some of those groups—social identification. The term "belong" to a group ("in the group") means to seek ways to gain positive feelings from that group membership. Viewing the in-group more positively than other groups ("out-groups") is one way to achieve those positive feelings. Seeking positive distinctiveness for one's group explains why we hold negative beliefs and attitudes about out-groups in our environment. The motivational basis of social identity theory in a desire for a positive self-concept has been supplemented in recent years by additional explanations—for example, categorization and intergroup differentiation are ways to reduce uncertainty. Empirical examinations of social identity theory have shown that in-group favoritism is not isomorphic without group derogation (Tajfel, H., & Turner, 1986).

The researcher confirms in this study that identity politics is accurate and reasonable. Humans will never be separated from their identities, including in political matters. Therefore, there is no mistake in identity politics. In the Qur'an, identity is called *shibgah*. It follows Henri Tajfel and John Turner's social identity theory (SIT).

Political Identity: a Problem of Terminology

The terminology of political identity has become increasingly popular in recent times. This phenomenon continues the theoretical confusion about the connection between religion and politics in scientific studies. The practical dynamics exceed the speed of academic studies and discussions about this conception (Chandakirana, 1989). The phenomenon of Political identity still needs to find a theoretical basis to explain scientifically, control, and predict what is happening and what should happen, then what factors influence the occurrence of this. Before we discuss political identity further, it is necessary to explore the relationship between religion and politics. Those efforts to understand the relationship between religion and politics touch on three main mechanisms that require the framework of the religious context of social interactions (ideological functions), religion as identity factors, and the ethical legitimating of social interactions. First, the function of religion as an ideology: religion becomes the glue of society because It offers a framework for interpreting the meaning of social interactions. The extent to which the social order is considered a religious representation is chosen by God (Pramono, 2022).

Second, religion as an identity factor can be defined as belonging to certain social groups. This ownership gives social stability, status, outlook on life, way of thinking, and ethos. This statement becomes even more viscous when combined with ethnic identities: Acehnese Muslims, Flores Catholics, and Balinese Hindus. Ethnic or personal conflicts can become inter-religious conflicts. This identity factor also functions as social capital when viewed from Bourdieu's perspective because it is a network or resource thanks to ownership of the same religion. It becomes an adhesive factor that can foster trust and solidarity. On the other hand, it can also be a means of discrimination. Third, religion becomes the ethical legitimacy of social relations.

In contrast to religion as an interpretive framework, this third mechanism is not the sacralization of social relations but a social order that supports religion. In this context, religious formalism becomes an essential element in appreciation because it relates to social recognition and pride in group ownership. So it is necessary to name a social, economic, or cultural system with religious jargon, which will further increase the fanaticism of its adherents. (Morowitz, 1998)

Thinkers such as Ania Loomba, Homi K. Bhabha, and Gayatri C Spivak are experts who study the terminology of Political Identity and Nationalism. Their contribution in this regard is to have placed political identity as a creation in historical and cultural discourse. Whereas in Political Science literature, political identities are sorted out, so there is a clear difference between what is political identity and what is a political identity. Political identity is a construct that determines the subject's position in the ties of a political community. As the source and means of politics, political identity refers to the political mechanism of organizing identity, both political identity and social identity. (Pureklolon, 2018)

Ahead of the grand Democratic Party 2019 in Indonesia through a big agenda called the current simultaneous elections. It is well understood that political identity as a source and tool in the struggle for political power is increasingly visible in contemporary political practice. In the opinion of Donald L Morowitz (1998), the Political Science Expert from Duke University, has defined Political identity as giving a substantial line to determine who will be included and who will be rejected. The line of determination would certainly appear immutable. Therefore, the status of both members and non-members will be seen as permanent. Meanwhile, scientists involved in other political identity discourses have tried to reinterpret it in a straightforward and more operational logic. Take Agnes Heller, for example, who has defined Political Identity as a political movement focusing on differences as a significant political category (Morowitz, 1998).

Political identity, in this case as politics, focuses on a distinction, where the main category is to promise freedom, tolerance, and free play. In the end, it will lead to patterns of intolerance, violence, and ethnic conflict. Finally, political identity can include racism, bio-feminism, environmentalism (politics of environmental issues), and ethnic strife. How does nationalism play a role in political practice? In this case, the discussion related to nationalism from an anthropological perspective, as quoted in Gellner (1983), that nationalism is defined as an ideology that assumes that cultural boundaries must correspond to political boundaries, meaning that the state must include only those who "same type". Nationalism emerged due to the response to industrialization and the separation of people from various primordial ties to kinship, religion, and local communities. In the historical record of Indonesia, it is said that the role of the ideology of nationalism in politics in Indonesia was started by a group of youths who were members of the Budi Utumo organization. Through this organization, it was then seen as a symbol of the birth of nationalism awareness among the indigenous people by initiating the "Youth Pledge" as a political commitment to aspiring to their nationalist spirit (Gellner, 1983).

Agnes Heller and Donald L Morowitz share a common thread: political identity is a politics of difference. This idea also influenced the outcomes of the International Political Association Symposium in Vienna in 1994. Another impression from the Vienna meeting was the emergence of the fundamentals of identity politics. Meanwhile, in his article Geertz and Ethnic Issues, Kemala Chandakirana (1989) states that: Political identity is usually used by leaders as political rhetoric with our terms for "original people" who want power and for "migrants" who must give up power. So, in short, political identity is just to be used as a manipulating tool to mobilize politics to fulfill its economic and political interests" (Chandakirana, 1989).

The meaning of political identity differs significantly between Kemala, Agnes Heller, and Donald L Morowitz. Kemala goes on to examine political identity on a more practical level, which is typically used as a manipulative tool—a tool for mobilizing politics for economic and political gain. In contrast, Kemala's argument suffers from a retrograde interpretation by stating that ethnic ties play an important role in identity politics; they become potential cultural symbols and a source of strength for political actions. This understanding has implications for the desire to obtain recognition, equal treatment, and fundamental human rights, whether political, economic, or socio-cultural. Second, to maintain and preserve the cultural values that define the group in question. Finally, it has a solid attachment to its ethnicity (Morowitz, 1998).

In addition to the three tendencies mentioned above, Klaus Von Beyme mentions three

characteristics inherent in identity politics. The political identity movement rebuilds the "big narrative," which they reject in principle, and constructs a theory that controls the biological factors that make up the fundamental differences as the reality of life; There is a tendency in the political identity movement to construct a reverse apartheid system. When power cannot be conquered, and power sharing is not achieved as the movement's goal, secession, and self-exclusion are used to escape; the political identity movement's weakness is its attempt to create a specific group of theories from science. For example, no one can reject that a black person or a female scholar may have had experiences that made them sensitive in certain situations involving relations with other groups. Von Beyme then looks at political identity through movement patterns, motivations, and goals to achieve based on these three criteria. Klaus Von Beyme (Klinken, 2007) listed political identity characteristics are divided into three categories:

1) Rebuild the grand narrative that was rejected in principle, and construct a theory that controls the biological factors that make up the fundamental differences in the reality of life into a political identity movement.
2) The proclivity to transform the best apartheid system into a political identity movement. When power cannot be exercised, and the division of power fails to achieve the movement's goal, secession and self-exclusion are used as a method of escape.
3) The failure of the political identity movement is the attempt to create a specific set of scientific theories.

Political identity provides ample space for creating balance and opposition toward the democratization process of a country. The conflict between the two identities can threaten the country's stability if the government does not have the political will to mediate this issue. Not only political interests are at stake, but also the interests of the broader community because political identity as a politics of difference is a challenge in itself for the achievement of an established democratization system. Political identity in Indonesia threatens the plurality of identities, which destroys religious life's long-maintained integrity. In the life of the nation and state, political identity forms a large current of dominance for a group interest that extorts and eliminates opposing or minority groups. The religious and political identity that dominates Indonesia today represents the exclusivism of the Muslim majority group in Indonesia. This fact is exacerbated by Indonesian political dynamics, which tend to use religious issues to maintain political power, resulting in socio-religious conflicts (Maarif, 2012). The practice of political identity is also often a source of conflict in society, where people who feel their group are superior to inferior groups or the majority group against minority groups. Political identity was born from a social group that seemed to feel intimidated and discriminated against by the domination of the state and government in organizing the wheels of government (Gellner, 1983). This phenomenon is the basis for why political identity was born. The general understanding above shows that political identity has a negative meaning (Firdaus & Andriyani, 2021).

The Influence Political Identity Theory (Issues and Cases)

According to Kemala Chandakirana (Chandakirana, 1989), political identity is a political tool used by political elites, rulers, and leaders as political rhetoric, as we refer to "original people" who want power and "immigrants" who must give up power. The conclusions in the two statements can be easily obtained because the difference is noticeable where the authorities only use a political identity to gain power and economic interests and become a barrier tool and manipulate facts. Political identity in Indonesia already has a potential construction from the colonial era to the independence era. The equality of identity as newly independent citizens gave birth to a high sense of nationalism and attitude from the community to show their political identity in administering the state administration (Hiariej, 2018).

Political identity in Indonesia at that time was not only nationalism that became the primary benchmark. Indonesian spirit, dominated by people who embrace Islam, has also

contributed to the history of the struggle of the Indonesian people to date. It is not only theatrical that Muslims want to establish a religious identity that they believe is superior to the state order. A long history has proven that nationalism and Islam in Indonesia have coexisted and created a harmonious relationship (Pringle, 2018). The emergence of political identity in political dynamics in Indonesia, which has a very diverse political situation, cannot be separated from the sense of injustice and equality of rights considered to a particular social group or class. Differences in society are also one of the main benchmarks of diversity in Indonesia, making political identity in Indonesia even clear about these differences (Umar, 2019).

The provision of not achieving balance and a conducive situation amid the democratization of a country is the space given by political identity. As in Jakarta-Indonesia, political identity is slowly but surely transforming into two major political forces dominated by nationalists and Muslims. If the two great potentials are unmanaged with wisdom will lead to the destruction of the country's stability (Safa'at, 2018). Creating a conflict between the two identities can threaten and destroy the stability of the state if the state does not have the political will to deal with it, as well as become the middle party in addressing this issue. The community's interests are also victims because political identity as a politics of difference is a challenge in achieving an established democratization system in a country (Umar, 2019).

The conflict between nationalist and religious identity is heating up until national stability is disrupted. The difference in political views between the two makes this identity group gives rise to various issues that become a commotion wider community caused by propaganda and group claims to the truth of the identity they believe (Gellner, 1983). Identity formation can occur either partially or interactively. This identity will result in socioeconomic, political, and cultural changes. Ethnic identity and religion are two fundamental elements that influence social change. The process of religious and political identity formation will have a direct impact on social change and vice versa (Pureklolon, 2018). Ethnic political identities, directly or indirectly, are natural or vague and impact social change. This change includes the formation, naming, and use of identities which also give birth to and impact these social changes. These social changes will affect the tendency of society to carry out its role in the sphere of democracy (Morowitz, 1998). The link or interrelation between social change and identity contradicts each other vaguely or openly. Actualizing the application of identity to a person may reflect or represent him or herself or a group in the context of ethnic identities, such as Javanese, Chinese, Madurese, Balinese, etc., and can be formed in religious circles such as Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, and Catholicism. Identity in an individual may directly represent a group, ethnicity, religion, or nationality (Chandakirana, 1989).

Ethnicity, religion, and nationalism are the great forces of identity that dominantly characterize the reality in the daily life of Indonesian people. Society tends to appoint an individual to be able to reflect their identity well, be it religious, ethnic, racial, or other leaders. This tendency causes Indonesian society to become a definite political tool for the political elite. (Maarif, 2012) The emergence of political identity in Indonesia started before Indonesia's independence, namely the debate between Ir. Soekarno and Mohammad Natsir. The case debates the ongoing relationship between religion and the state. The debate point by two was the impact of the polemic at the beginning of independence. The debate between the two was about the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Soekarno praised the appearance of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk for being a symbol of Islamic modernization, which could be a separation between religion and the state. It was a mistake, according to Natsir. In 1940 they debated through notes in the magazine Panji Islam and several works in the form of books (Rais, 2001).

This situation continued during the session of BPUPKI, which continued its debate which consisted of several members discussing whether Islam was needed or not based on the state. The debate sparked the 'Jakarta Charter', recorded on June 22, 1945. In it, the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila were the foundation of the state. By eliminating the first

point, namely the obligation to carry out the *Shari'ah* for its adherents. (Maarif, 2012) The second case describes the conflict between the state and religion and the presence of the NII in 1949, which Soekarno and Kartosuwiryo's friends first raised. The Islamic State of Indonesia is known as *Darul Islam* or commonly called DI, which means the House of Islam. This movement aims to make Indonesia a theocratic state and Islam the basis of the state. The proclamation has emphasized that "the law that applies in the Indonesian state is Islamic law" and has been stated that the law that "a state based on Islam" and also "the highest law, namely the Qur'an and Hadith" (Safa'at, 2018).

The third case is in the reform era of Indonesia (1998-1999). In the reform era, people can express themselves, including diversity. It is marked by several mass organizations and Islamic parties that carry out Sharia enforcement. The Islamic parties that emerged in the new period of 1998 were the PKS, PBB, PPP, Masyumi, PNU, PKU, PCD, PAY, PSII-1905, PAN, SUNI, and PKB (Umar, 2019). The last case of political identity is the momentum of the Jakarta Pilkada. Showing some news related to the campaign, which the campaign drains the nation's energy, not only the Jakarta public but also involves the Indonesian people. Among them are cases related to Surah Al-Maidah. All community organizations in various regions of Indonesia came to Jakarta to conduct demonstrations because there was an opinion saying that 'I am Muslim; I choose a Muslim leader' (Maarif, 2012). Muslims then became the center of attention because a Muslim had to choose a Muslim leader. Muslims eventually became the theme of public discussion in the Jakarta gubernatorial election. Finally, many conclude that Indonesia is experiencing a new conflict, namely the rise of political identity in the election of governors in Jakarta (Safa'at, 2018). Islamic political parties after reformation generally have two different and conflicting currents. Some people are worried about the next round of the Jakarta Pilkada; it symbolizes the rise of religious and political identity and the Islamic movement that finally won the Pilkada (Heryanto, 2019).

In Indonesia, implementing democracy is a practice that cannot be separated from the political orientation of ethnic and religious identity. This political identity orientation can be seen in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada's practice of implementing democracy, as evidenced by the participation of political parties in previous or regional elections. The democratic process in the Pilkada region frequently involves the participation of various parties with various ideologies that contribute to the division of various religious and ethnic identities and are frequently used as political tools (Safa'at, 2018). The political identity that occurred in the implementation of the DKI Jakarta PILKADA cannot be separated from the massive movement of online media coverage among the people of Jakarta who are carrying out the PILKADA. The role of online news media greatly determines a candidate's vote because the people of Jakarta tend to be a rational society, even though it is not evenly distributed at all levels of Jakarta society (Hiariej, 2018). The news that seems to be a tool that carries messages and invites to vote for specific candidates is political identity carried out by the media and creates framing of specific candidates. In the DKI Jakarta PILKADA, political identity was very thick and carried out through mainstream media, resulting in divisions contesting the PILKADA in 2017 (Pringle, 2018).

In addition, a previous study by Ahmad Syafii Maarif (2012) entitled Political identity and the Future of Indonesian Pluralism stated that political identity in Indonesia is more related to ethnicity, religion, and local interests represented in general by elites with their respective articulations. Political identity in the name of religion (Islam), such as MMI, FPI, HTI, and PKS, endangers Indonesian nationalism and democracy, where Pancasila should be promoted as standard principles/guidelines/proportions for Indonesia, past, present, and future. This fact is because Pancasila follows the concept of democracy, which respects every difference that exists in Indonesia, such as ethnicity, the local language, religion, and historical background. Meanwhile, religious identity (Islam) does not include minority groups in Indonesia. Therefore, political identity will not harm as long as the ideals of the nation's founders of national unity and integration align with Pancasila as the philosophical basis of the state, not the majority religion (Islam) (Maarif, 2012).

Political identity in the concept of the Qur'an

Political identity in the Qur'an is a sentence consisting of three syllables: politics, identity, and the Qur'an. Therefore, to understand the sentence, it is necessary first to describe the meaning of each word. The first word, "politics" in Indonesia, is knowledge of state administration or related affairs about the country or against other countries. Politics interpreted as well as policy. This word is a name for a discipline of knowledge, namely political science (Rais, 2001). In modern Arabic dictionaries, the word politics is usually defined by *siyasa*. This word is also interpreted as driving, controlling, regulating, and other. Thus it can be concluded that politics is all matters and actions (policies, tactics) regarding the state's government and against other countries. Politics can also be interpreted as an action, a policy of acting in the face of a problem (Muin Salim, 2002).

The second is "identity." Identity is the main thing in knowing oneself or introducing oneself to the existing environment, starting from one's identity, family identity, institutional identity, and even the identity of citizens, ranging from race, ethnicity, and so on. Likewise, the leader must have a clear identity. According to experts, it is a self-reflection or self-reflection resulting from family, gender, culture, ethnicity, and the socialization process. Identity is a reflection of ourselves and other people's perceptions of us. A person's identity is individuals who differ in their behavior, beliefs, and attitudes (Kuntowijoyo, 1997). As for what is meant by political identity in the Qur'an, are Qur'an terms related to political identity in politics? Although the word political identity is not fully translated explicitly in the Qur'an, it is found in research finds several terms that imply political identity in politics. This series of terms is related to the massive direction of the Qur'an on the policy of identity politics.

Interpretation of the Qur'anic Verses Relating to Politics

No verses in the Al-Qur'an use the term "*Siyasa*" (politics) directly, but some verses discuss political issues. The author attempts to explain some of the interpretations of several commentators on these verses in this section. First, *Al-Hukm* (Q.S. 6:57) mentions one of these terms. "*al-Hukm*" means "God's decree," according to Ibn Kathir (Katsir, 1999). However, according to Quraish Shihab, the legal provisions are the laws on the Day of Judgment (Quraish Shihab, 1999). This statement is also mentioned in (Q.S. 6:62). On the other hand, several verses attribute laws to humans (Q.S. 2:213) which mentions the prophets being sent as leaders who can make decisions among humans (Quraish Shihab, 1999). That seems to be the case when decisions are delegated to people humans can trust.

Sayyid Quthb stressed the importance of Muslims having good morals when performing their duties in terms of their beliefs. In addition to his leadership responsibilities, he must be held accountable for administering justice fairly among humans under Allah SWT's instructions (Sayyid Quthb, 1968). So it can be concluded that the law attributed to humans is established by Muslim leaders who are righteous and capable of upholding justice among humans and making God's rules their principle.

Both terms, *Khalifah* or *Istikhlaf*, This sentence comes from the Arabic word *khalafa*, which means to replace (Sayyid Quthb, 1968). This term can be found in one of the verses of the Qur'an (Q.S. 2:30). This verse, according to Al-Qurthubi, is the foundation for appointing a leader (caliph), whose orders must be listened to and obeyed in order for unity to be realized and law to function correctly (Al-Qurthubi, 2006b). Moreover, to embody good laws, it is necessary to appoint leaders. Hamka states that power will be dangerous if not managed correctly (Hamka, 1988). Islam says choosing and appointing a leader is an obligation because its rules will be enforced among humans, including the power of government itself.

Al-Ummah, which means "the people," is the third. According to Ar-Raghib Al-Ashfahani, *ummah* means a group brought together by something, such as the same religion, time, and place, whether forcedly or of their own accord (Ar-Raghib Al-Ashfahani,

1989). Quraish Shihab emphasized that the word "*ummah*" is bound by the similarities of living things such as ethnicity, nation, or religion. (M. Quraish Shihab, 2005) It can be concluded that the *Ummah* is a union or group that is bound by similarities.

Some terms related to politics explained previously can illustrate that the Qur'an contains political instructions. However, its verses do not directly mention the term *siyasa* (politics). This term confirms that Islam is a religion that places great importance on politics as a way to apply law among humans so that a peaceful and prosperous life can be realized (Muin Salim, 2002).

Interpretation of the Qur'anic Verses Relating to Identity

Previously, the author explained how the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an is related to politics. Next, the author will explain the interpretation of several verses of the Qur'an that talk about identity. First, the origin of human identity Allah created humans with perfect minds to acquire knowledge. With scientific capital, humans can disperse, travel, reproduce, give birth to various types, and grow with various identities. However, humans have the exact origin of identity: Allah, the God who created them (Al-Razi, 1981).

In Qur'an, Adam and Eve were not created through biological evolution like other creatures. However, Allah created them directly, According to Ath-Tabari, who explains in the verse that Allah SWT is the only creator. It can be concluded that human identity originates from one identity, namely Adam (Ath-Thabari, 2008). Second, gender identity, ethnicity, tribe gender and ethnic identities are among the most inborn in humans. Everything is absolutely a gift from Allah SWT. No one is born without a gender, ethnic, or ethnic identity (Q.S. 49:13). Al-Qurthubi explains that Allah SWT created humans by crossing male and female with lineages, clans, tribes, and nations. From there, Allah introduced them to regeneration and found wisdom in these differences (Al-Qurthubi, 2006a). So it can be concluded that the diversity of identities should not cause divisions but should be a venue for mutual respect and respect for one another.

Third, religious identification every human being has an instinctive need for religiosity that must be met in the course of human life. Religious practices are manifestations of efforts to meet these needs (Q.S. 2:62). According to Hamka, four groups are mentioned in this verse: believers, Jews, Christians, and *Shabin*. Believers accept the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad, namely Islam. "There are six religions," says Ath-Tabari, "five of which belong to Satan and one of which belongs to Allah SWT." (Ath-Thabari, 2008) So in this verse, the author only limits religious diversity.

In Islam, no Muslim can separate aspects of his life from his religious identity because Islamic *Sharia* law governs all aspects of life. Religion and belief are natural human characteristics (Q.S. 2:138). Several words define the sentence "*Sibghah*" in this verse. Some scholars say it refers to immersion, religion, and lineage. According to Ad-Dahhak, from Ibn Abbas, "*shibghah*" refers to Allah's religion. So, because man is His creation, he has the same direct lineage as His creature (*Makhluqullah*), and Allah's religion is his identity (Sulaeman, 2022).

After the previous explanation of the Qur'anic verses on politics and identity, several conclusions can be drawn. Among them is the fact that the Qur'an indirectly emphasizes the existence of identity in every aspect of human life, including politics. Although it does not mention *siyasa* in its verses, several aspects of Islam that offend politics, such as the obligation to choose leaders, the unity of the people based on equality, and ethnic and religious identity, become identities in practical politics from an Islamic perspective (Sulaeman, 2022). Islam considers identity as something that is inherent and is a *sunnatullah*, which humans cannot escape from it. Identity as a Muslim is a necessity that forms the basis of life.

The Western social identity theory (SIT), developed in the 1970s by Henri Tajfel and John Turner, supports political identity. Social identity theory (SIT) uses psychological

processes concerning social identity to explain relationships between large social groups. This includes an individual's sense of belonging to a group and the positive or negative feelings associated with that membership. The theory has evolved into a catch-all term for various more specific theories of intergroup behavior (Brown, 2020). In the early 1970s, studies using the "minimal group paradigm" gave rise to the theory. These studies revealed people's apparent innate desire to distinguish themselves from others based on group memberships and their willingness to forego absolute levels of rewards in order to maintain relative superiority over members of other groups. For example, research participants would accept lower cash payments for their in-group if the payments for the out-group were even lower. Tajfel and Turner derived SIT, a sophisticated model of how individual identity-related motivations predict individual tendencies to discriminate between groups, from these studies. The model also explains how these individual identity processes predict individual and collective reactions to societal-level group status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

According to SIT, classifying our social world is a natural and unavoidable human instinct that simplifies our surroundings (Stets & Burke, 2000). We classify people and ourselves into some of those same groups—this is known as social identification. We seek ways to gain positive feelings from group membership once we "belong" to it (our "in the group"). One way to achieve those positive feelings is to view them in the group more positively than in other groups ("out-groups"). Seeking positive distinctiveness for one's group thus becomes an explanation for having negative beliefs and attitudes towards outgroups in our environment, and thus for prejudice and, eventually, discrimination. In recent years, additional explanations have been added to social identity theory's motivational basis in a desire for a positive self-concept, such as categorization and intergroup differentiation, to reduce uncertainty (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The ability of some social groups, particularly marginalized or minority groups, to perceive positive distinctiveness is hampered by social prejudice and discrimination (Korte, 2007). According to SIT, individual and group belief systems will motivate group response in such situations. People may use empowerment as a strategy, essentially "abandoning" one group for a different, more socially valuable group (Brown, 2020). When group members have little sense of identification with their group and group boundaries are permeable, it is relatively easy for a person to "move" from one group to another, unconstrained by visible or other signs of a group membership. When the intergroup hierarchy is viewed as relatively stable and legitimate (i.e., change in the marginalized position of the in group is unlikely), such behavior is likely. This behavior is visible when individuals "carry" as members of another group or successfully join that group (e.g., via achieving citizenship in another more desirable national group) (Tajfel, H., & Turner, 1986).

People may, on the contrary, adopt a belief system based on social transformation. This set of ideals motivates people to collaborate to challenge the status quo and elevate their group's position within the social hierarchy (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Instead of rejecting their group in pursuit of a more attractive out-group, they attempt to improve their group's position. (Morris, 2013) People are more inclined to support social change ideologies when they have a strong sense of belonging and rigid boundaries between groups. The status quo is perceived to be unstable and illegitimate. This belief system is exemplified by collective movements centered on group rights, such as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, international movements for women's suffrage, and Black South Africans' struggles against Apartheid. Social competition beliefs are another term for social change beliefs (Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, n.d.). Some strategies exist in the middle ground between social mobility and social change ideologies; Tajfel and Turner refer to these as forms of social creativity. (Trepte, 2013) For example, a group may discover alternative dimensions on which to compare itself to an out-group: "We're not as powerful, but we're more creative." Or they may seek out alternate out groups to serve as comparisons, which is why SIT explains why marginalized groups

may compete against one another rather than the dominant group. In summary, social identities are an important component of self-concept. Intergroup discrimination and other processes to support the positive distinctiveness of one's in groups are driven by the desire to maintain a positive self-concept (Tajfel, H., & Turner, 1986).

The process by which individuals focus on specific group memberships in specific contexts has been clarified by self-categorization theory (Hornsey, 2008). It explains why a person may be concerned with preserving a positive gender identity in a given situation, whereas another may be concerned with the status of their religious group (Plamenatz, 1992). Both communication accommodation theory and ethnolinguistic identity theory have provided insights into the linguistic manifestations of social identity processes, explaining why people emphasize their accent, dialect, or language or switch to an out-group communication style. The theory of ethnolinguistic vitality provides a framework for comprehending various groups' relative status and strength in any given context. Finally, SIT supports political identity from the perspective of the Qur'an (Islam, 2013).

CONCLUSION

Political identity and its issues are caused by theoretical confusion about the relationship between Religion and Politics. The phenomenon of political identity still needs to find a theoretical basis to explain scientifically, control, and predict why it happens and what should happen, then what factors influence this. Three main mechanisms are needed to examine political identity: the framework of religious interpretation of social relations (ideological functions), religion as a factor of identity, and the ethical legitimacy of social relations. Humans will never be separated from identity included in political matters. There is no mistake in identity politics. According to the Qur'an, no aspect of a Muslim's existence can be separated from his religious identity. Because all aspects of life are governed by Islamic Sharia law, religion and faith are human characteristics. In the Qur'an, identity is termed *Shibgah* (Q.S. 2:138). Some scholars interpret Shibghah in the Qur'an as immersion, religion, descent, and the religion of Allah. Therefore, this lineage and religion indicate that man is Allah's creation, as he has a direct lineage as His creature (*Makhluqullah*) and is identified by Allah's religion. It follows Henri Tajfel and John Turner's Social identity theory (SIT). Social Identity Theory (SIT) describes the interactions between large social groups by employing psychological processes associated with the social individuality of group membership and the positive or negative consequences of that membership. The theory has become an umbrella concept for more specific intergroup behaviour theories.
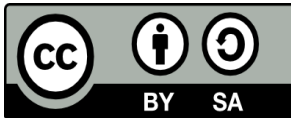
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