

Multicultural Politics in Governor Candidates of DKI Jakarta 2017 in Tempo.Co

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Abstract: The purpose of this research is how to comprehend the politics of Indonesian people for accepting ethnic, racial, religious and tribal diversity in occupying government seat (governor's election of Jakarta) in the context of multicultural country. This research uses Michel Foucault's theory, especially in implementing the discourse of "indigenous Indonesian leader" in people's mind. Foucault's critical discourse analyses alone does not fully answer the issues of politics in Indonesia, therefore this research also uses Jacques Ranciere's theory in its democratic spirit and the multicultural view of Bhikhu Parekh. The result of the research are society's heterophobia of multicultural politics, the emerging burden of multicultural politics in Indonesia, antagonism, failures in politics, and epilogue, becoming a difference border. The conclusion is, issue of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, intergroups) still exists, especially in a country with multicultural status. Politics and multicultural discourses which do not find the logic of the equation is not the *dissensus*, but consensus.

Key Words: political discourse, heterophobia, Politics Of Multiculturalism, Governor Candidates, Tempo.Co

Introduction

Candidates of governor election for DKI Jakarta 2017 are increasingly preoccupied with the issue of SARA (tribe, religion, race, and inter-group) to seize the seat of government in Indonesia. It is still vividly recorded how every contemporary political struggle always tries to embed the primordial issue to mobilize support and sympathy. Ahmad Dhani (2016) consciously attacked Ahok, the elected governor of DKI, with such statement as "*Kamu ini kan turunan Majapahit, Mataram. Jadi, Indonesia ini tanah warisan Nusantara, warisan leluhur nenek moyang kita, bukan nenek moyang Ahok kan*" ("You are the descendant of Majapahit, Mataram. So, Indonesia indeed, is a heritage land of our ancestors, not 'Ahok' ancestors, right?"). The word "Ahok" itself is a familiar call for Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, one of the governor candidates of DKI 2017. Although there are many disagree, and even opposed Ahmad Dhani's statement, the fact is that this

issue continues to roll and as if to affirm the existence of the issue. Yusril Ihza Mahendra, one of the governor's candidates firmly said that he would not use the SARA issue in his campaign. In fact, Yusril implicitly used the SARA issue and responded to the problem, Yusril (Tempo:2016) even said that he is close to Chinese mainly because of his fluency in Chinese. The statement further reinforced with the fact that he also mentioned some other ethnics such as Minang, Madura, and Bugis who also gave full support to him. Although he tried not to roll out similar issues, in fact, Yusril continued to practice the same discourse to attract sympathy. This statement strengthens the fact that in Indonesia, people still favor major ethnicity compared to minor ones, especially indigenous Indonesian citizen. Hardiman argued, it has been embedded in the minds of the people about the concept of indigenous and non-indigenous so that the government is more adhered to ethnic nation rather than the civic nation where ethnic

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becomes the dominant thing (Hardiman in Kymlicka, 2011: xv).

Ahmad Dhani's effort in opposing Ahok's politics is increasingly shown by his attempts to reawaken the concept of cultural artifacts. It means that Ahmad Dhani tried to give taxonomy on various ethnic groups according to their historical understanding, which in the spirit of politics has no direct relationship. Politics or in the concept of Mouffe (2005: 33-34) is called as the political. This concept introduces about all practices of domination battle through the power of ideas and views, which are then challenged by the counter ideas. Then, the problem arose not only in the multicultural framework of SARA, but also the gap in political practice. Therefore, it needs further explanation and approach from the multicultural base, which is also impossible if it is not implicated in the paradigm of political science. If the multicultural issues base that the world of community experience is antagonistic, then how political events can provide solution? Based on the reading through Tempo newspaper that pertain to the SARA issue, there is an attempt to reconstruct the understanding, why the battle showed in the election of the governor is more preoccupied with primordial talk than ideological issue in accordance with the spirit of the party or the views held. Moreover, it is to answer the question, why the discourse of this distinction always arises in political events or moments.

The SARA issue has never had a direct reference to the political view, especially the political offer. Consequently, the candidate dispute requires multicultural and political view to explain the phenomenon as well as to provide a solution to the issues being debated. The multicultural and political approaches consider the management of antagonism and heterophobia to be important to the state scheme in Indonesia. Although this country has a variety of race, ethnicity, culture, and customs, this is not a guarantee for this country to be able to accept all classes to enter the government system in Indonesia. The fact is happened in the current political period when Ahok ran for governor candidate of DKI Jakarta for the period of 2017. The majority Muslim population underlies its people to choose leaders with the same status. It strengthens with the knowledge of the ethos of good Islamic work; increasingly perpetuate the community to be consistent in choosing a fellow Muslim leader. It was also delivered by Amalia (2013) in the journal

Pulpit, Vol. 29, and the title is, *Nilai Islam terhadap Kinerja Kerja (Islamic Value Toward Work Performances)*. It tells about "Islam tells its people to work in cooperation and in accordance with the moral values, akhlaq or ethics". The type of morally hard worker is a dream of the characteristics of nation's leaders for the people. However, the context is very different from the case experienced by Ahok. Coming from a small group of "Chinese and non-Muslim" groups, Ahok's move to sit in a government seat is not easy.

Based on the social context in the society, the problem which will be discussed in this research is how the politics of Indonesian society accepting the diversity of ethnic, race, religion and tribe to occupy the seat of government with the context of multicultural country. In this study, the focus of the problem is related to the nomination of Ahok who will be appointed in the research by presenting the issue of SARA as a political polemic in Indonesia. In addition, the method used in this research is qualitative research method through descriptive approach to get political strategy of Indonesia in the case happened to Ahok when running for governor candidate of DKI Jakarta.

Research Methods

This research will focus more on the reflective position of reading the picture presented in Tempo newspaper in March, April and May edition in 2016. The news consists of 10 articles that have been published in the last three months related to the news about Ahok in politics such as: "Serang Ahok dengan SARA, Ahmad Dhani Diminta Belajar Sejarah", "Fasih Berbahasa Cina, Yusril Yakini Bisa Kalahkan Ahok", "Sindir Ahok Yusril Berjanji Tak Gunakan Isu SARA", "Hadapi Ahok, Sandiaga Uno Berjanji Tak Gunakan Isu SARA", "Tak Dukung Ahok, PKS bukan SARA", "Ribuan Nitizen Teken Petisi Pecat Dubes Yusron Ihza Mahendra", "Pengemar Ahok dan Dhani Saling Serang, Diskusi Pilkada DKI Bubar", "Dhani Heru Perkenalkan Jokowi dan Ahok Kepada Penguasa", "Cerita Ahok Dipinang Wiranto Agar Gabung Hanura", "Ahok Hafal Surah Al. Maidah Jadi Senjata Politik Saingannya".

The researcher chose Tempo newspaper as the object to be analyzed because Tempo.co newspaper is a big national media, which tends not to affiliate with political party. As can be seen, some major media in Indonesia

have relationships with certain political parties.

Postmodern media texts often give the impression of being self-reflexively critical of media images. However, read carefully, and in relation to contemporary social context, postmodern texts often harbour many contradictory agendas (Saukko, 2003: 114)

Therefore, the focus is more on the social context, texts, and possibilities of overlapping agendas. This research highlighted the news of Tempo.co, which preached the issue of SARA in the political constellation of governor candidate of Jakarta 2017 with 3-month news ranges because the problem about the selection of candidate for governor of DKI became the hot topic, which was discussed intensively.

Michel Foucault: Discourse and Power

In presenting the news, the Tempo newspaper also presented a discourse on "*Sosok Pemimpin Yang Layak Untuk DKI Jakarta*" (*The Worthy Figure of Leader for Jakarta*). The discourse is cannot be implanted directly in the minds of the community, but there is a process through the power system. The researcher uses approach by Michel Foucault where he connects a discourse and power system. It aims to be able to understand the meaning lifted from the newspaper Tempo.co. The approach offered by Michel Foucault first offered an "archaeological" analysis of the archive. Foucault introduces discourse into social sciences. Then, the thought became an important contributor to science and is now a discourse that is now becoming a common methodology for solving a problem. This analysis is used to interpret certain subjects in certain contexts by a particular group of people, in order to interpret what is being done politically through these statements.

In *The Archeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault said that discourse cannot be reduced to merely language and speech (Michel Foucault 2002: 54). He focused on the micro-practice of power / knowledge in the modern societal institutions that give birth (for continuous criticism of Foucault's use (Selby: 2007). The archaeological method was never abandoned by Foucault but he redeveloped the method more explicitly, captivated on the performance of power. He replaced archeology with genealogy. He emphasized that power had a central role in

shaping the historical archives. Therefore, he wrote a book entitled "*Neitzsche, Genealogy Historis*." Foucault emphasized that every piece of history consists of the relationship of war, battle, and "the struggle ... which is exerted by the force of coercion against one another" (Foucault 1991: 83). The success of history belongs to those who are able to seize the rules.

The definition of power by Foucault is not understood in terms of ownership, in which one has a certain source of power. The power in Foucault's view is not owned but is practiced in the scope where there are many positions that are strategically related to others. He asserted that power could happen everywhere in which there are mechanisms of rules, regulation system. Wherever there are humans who have a certain relationship with each other and with the world, there is power.

The mechanism of power is born because of the underlying knowledge. It is almost impossible for power to exist without being supported by the political economy of truth. Knowledge is not a vague expression of power relations but knowledge is in the power relations itself. Foucault's concept brings the consequence of knowing the power of research required on the production of knowledge underlying power. It is because every power is organized, established, and manifested through certain knowledge and discourse. This discourse eventually becomes the knowledge of a truth, which is then perpetuated in the minds of the community as an example in the politics of the majority of Indonesian population. The majority population of Javanese and Islamic tribes will dominate the political system within Indonesian political party space. The indigenous concept that still reminds of the concept of the majority is always raised in the struggle for the seat of government.

The Spirit of Indonesian Democracy: A Multicultural Culture in the Politics

To look deeply the multicultural politics of Indonesia, the researcher also uses the perspective of Jacques Ranciere in the spirit of democracy and multicultural views. In his view of politics, Jacques Ranciere was originally guided by three divisions of western political philosophy namely *Archipolitic*, *metapolitic* and *parapolitic*. The *Archipolitic* does not answer the politics that emphasize equality. Rather, everyone is positioned

somewhere and strives to achieve the position they expect compared to achieving equality. The second way of politics was spearheaded by Aristotle, namely *parapolitic*. The concept of politics is perceived to be more democratic than ever before, where the conflict in politics is acceptable but to be immediately reformulated into more flabby forms such as inner competition, consensus, and representation. The third is *metapolitic*, derived from Marxist thought. According to Ranciere, *metapolitic* is essentially a form of "political" denial caused by political truths often placed or sought elsewhere "out there". So to offer a new way of politics, Ranciere made an anti-thesis of political philosophy in which he began by conducting research on the lives of workers empirically. From his research, he found that most of the workers did not question their lives due to material reasons but rather to the low quality of life due to the hierarchy of the social establishment. Therefore, the point that Ranciere wants to emphasize is that the most radical class is not the class who wants an absolute change in the social hierarchy, rather the class that is in a situation or position of 'migration'; the class is in the border area such as those who have an ideal that goes beyond its material restrictions.

To deepen the understanding of the concept of multiculturalism in politics, the approach of Bhikhu Parekh becomes important to be involved in explaining the political phenomena occurring in every prospective governor of DKI Jakarta 2017 with the form of analysis based on the tempo.co newspaper texts for the period of March, April, and May 2016. Bhikhu Parekh divides the discourse on multiculturalism into 3 areas (Parekh: 2000), namely first community groups that have systems and values of traditional practices that differ from the public. They are in a region that has a dominant tradition but they still want to create new cultures such as gay, lesbian, and single parent groups. Second, critical communities to the culture dominantly want to seize and perpetuate the new culture they create as the worldview they want, for example feminists and radical group activists. Finally, the third is a group of people who already have their own perspective. They are well organized in their communities such as immigrants, religious or tribal groups.

Finding Society's Heterophobia On Multicultural Politics

Indonesia still understands the concept

of indigenous and non-indigenous. This means that the government is more embraced the ethnic nation rather than the civic nation where ethnic becomes the dominant thing (Hardiman in Kymlicka, 2011: xv). It is not surprising that there are more power-sharing forms based on ethnic taxonomy. This capital is culturally inherent as a religion that is very easy to classify because there are only five religions in Indonesia rather than other divisions, which are of course more diverse and 'complicated'. So also indigenous and non-indigenous, who unwittingly always assume Java as the center. Here we can see how a territory of power is geopolitically attached. This is also not easily changed because historically the island of Java is closer to the political discourse. Taxonomic issues are then taken to the political arena of candidates for governor. Although Yusril said unequivocally that he would not bring the issue of SARA to his political campaign, in fact, he was still questioning Ahok who did not get the support from the Chinese community. He insisted that he had the full support of the Chinese group by saying that "Many Chinese communities are supporting me because I am in the management of The Supreme Council for the Confucian Religion.." (Riana, Tempo.co. 2016) It is more hinted that the issue of SARA used to bully Ahok as his political enemy. Meanwhile, Sandiaga Uno, one of the candidates promoted by Gerindra Party also promised not to use the SARA issue. However, the statement the use of "non-indigenous" diction is still common when talking about minority communities who still vote on the racial basis to choose candidate leaders. This form of binary tradition is precipitated and crystallized to the prospective leader to obscure the bargaining and ideological values held.

Another concern is the emergence of moral monism, in a position; the meaning of the text on the presence of SARA issues not only represents the disappearance of constructive political intentions, but also reinforces the hegemonic identity wrapped through moral monism. Parekh criticized moral monism for as if there was only one way of life that was truly human, true or best, and that others were imperfect because of the deficiency (Parekh, 2011: 33). It is also in order to give hegemonic identity to the party. However, unfortunately, the identity is often blurred because of the loss of the spirit of political ideology. PKS is one of the parties, which refuse to give support to Ahok because

it is considered as a deficiency. The main reason Hidayat Nur Wahid refused to return Ahok is not because of the SARA issue, but because Ahok failed to absorb the full budget, while Ahok argued to see more needs analysis rather than become a field of corruption. As a party that has a high level of openness to the budget funds, PKS uses it as a strategy to resist Ahok subtly. A study conducted by Rachmiate (2013) showed that

"Sebagian besar partai politik tidak mau menyerahkan laporan keuangan dan program kerja yang diminta. Hanya tiga partai politik yaitu PKS, Partai Hanura, dan Partai Gerindra yang merespon dengan menyerahkan Laporan Keuangan. PKS memberikan laporan keuangan tahun 2010. Gerindra menyerahkan laporan keuangan dari APBN tahun 2011 dan surat konfirmasi masih dalam proses audit untuk laporan keuangan. Hanura memberikan laporan keuangan dari APBN tahun 2011

(Most of the parties refused to give their financial reports and programs which asked by the government. There are only three political parties, PKS, Hanura, and Gerindra, responded by giving out their financial reports. PKS handed the report of 2010, Gerindra gave financial report of 2011 state budget and confirmation letter was still in the process of audit, while Hanura gave their report of 2011)

The form of rejection should be seen in terms of political views or vision of the mission, and not to look at patterns of politeness or budget absorption problems. Instead of not speaking SARA, PKS actually reinforces his moral monism. Moral monism according to Bikhu Parekh does not deny that they are different and there is no exact human insane, but there is still a stance that differences determine their specificity, not their humanity (Parekh, 2011: 35). It presupposes the existence of differences is not mutual, especially PKS stated its unmatched style of leadership, the style used as a benchmark is not a difference in the political mission. The second, moral moralism followers confirm the assumption of moral excellence and ontologism of similarity over differences, so that the logic of equations is more suitable than the logic of difference (Parekh, 2011: 35). This concern is more appropriate when PKS prefers to offer their support for other candidates such as Yusril, Adhyaksa or Sandiaga Uno as candidates who can get more attention because of the closer classification of religion, such as religion, race, and morality or more precise way of communication

Moral monism attaches to the body and the consciousness of politicians so unimaginable, many politicians are more

concerned with moral monism as a tool of power. It is also happened to Indonesian ambassador for Japan who is Yushril's brother. He stated racist comments that lead to many netizen protests. A racist attack on Ahok indicates the loss of healthy politics in argumentative debates about political ideas and views.

Ahok mengakui tidak asing mendapatkan perlakuan diskriminatif. Sebab itu saat ini dia hanya berfokus pada kinerja. Ahok tak menampik elektabilitasnya boleh jadi sangat dipengaruhi unsur rasis. Banyak pihak yang belum bisa menerima karena dirinya bukan dari kaum mayoritas. "Banyak isu SARA segala macam. Saya sudah kenyang. Saya fokus kerja saja," katanya (Hidayat dan Huda, Tempo.co: 2016 and the title Ketika Ahok Diserang dengan Ayat Al-Quran).

(Ahok admitted that discriminative treatment was not something new to him. He was only focus on his work at that moment. He didn't deny that his electability may pretty much affected by race element. Most people have not embraced him yet since he came from minority. "There are a lot of issues of SARA. I have had enough of them. I just focus on my work," he said. (Hidayat dan Huda, Tempo.co: 2016 with the title When Ahok Attacked by The Quranic Verse).

The attack of racism became a moment when Ahok was attacked through his understanding of the Qur'anic verse, which was politically capable of sparking a greater feud. It is also the momentum when Indonesian people are not ready yet to a multicultural politics that is an attempt to be fair to the differences. However, this kind of politics cannot be implemented if a society maintains heterophobia, fear of others in its sake (Hardiman in Kymlicka, 2011: xx). Then, there is an attempt to see the logic of equations in the context of the state and politics that certainly exist in the macro region. Ranciere then spawned the term for such conditions as *archipolitic*.

Archipolitics, whose model is supplied by Plato, reveals in all its radicality the project of a community based on the complete realization of the arche of community, on its integral sensibilization, replacing without any leftover the democratic configuration of politics. (Ranciere, 1999:66)

Archipolitics easily eliminates the 'political' possibility of not being present. This concept is based on Ranciere's reading of Plato's manuscript in his book *The Republic* (2007) in which he idealized the hierarchy of concepts in society where the artist occupies the lowest space so that it is impossible for him to come to the surface together. This is because of the concept of *arche*, which

does not see equality because there is an ideal shape. This is similar to the concept of indigenous and non-indigenous, when the indigenous hierarchy is superior to non-indigenous then what happens is an absence of democratic space. Strangely, in addition to the destruction of 'political', this rises the police order, where the hierarchical structure landed in mind

The police order extends well beyond its specialized institutions and techniques, it is equally important to say that nothing is political in itself merely because power relationships are at work in it. For a thing to be political, it must give rise to a meeting of police logic and egalitarian logic that is never set up in advance (Ranciere, 1999:32)

Here, Rancier finally opens the chance that there are events that allow 'the political' to emerge when 'police logic' and 'egalitarian logic' meet. This means that moral monism admitted there was a difference, but did not want to greet each other.

The Emerging Burden of Multicultural Politics in Indonesia

Politics is the art of warped deductions and mixed identities. It is the art of the local and singular construction of cases of universality. Such construction is only possible as long as the singularity of the wrong - the singularity of the local argument and expression of law - is ... separate from the naked relationship between humanity and inhumanity (Ranciere, 1999:139)

Ranciere's remark is similar, that is, the politics must ultimately see humanity and non-humanity. The political situation is a situation where mutual deductions and identities become mutually greeted in their universal space. It was only at this stage that the determination of the vision of the political mission became more 'healthy' and found the relevance of its argumentative ideas. Not surprisingly, even though Indonesia has been recognized as a democracy, as a continuation of *archipolitics*, it can sometimes only emerge a more advanced level, which is usually called *parapolitics* because sometimes the differences have been given to speak out but it is quite possible to leave other problems.

The problem for parapolitics will be to reconcile the two concepts of nature and their opposing logics: the one in which the greatest good is the rule of the best and the other, in which the greatest good in terms of equality is equality. Whatever we may say about the Ancients and their city of common good, Aristotle effects a decisive break within this common good, thereby initiating a new brand of "political philosophy. (Ranciere, 1999:71)

The emergence of a variety of different educational backgrounds shows that there is good acceptance of differences. Ahok who is also able to occupy the governor's seat and become the number one man in Jakarta now proves the emergence of acceptance. However, this cannot be a reference of success. If offered politically is clear, the debate on the existence of the view becomes more important than the thing that has no essence with political activity. This is clearly illustrated by supporters of candidates who can only make a fuss about background issues and political experience rather than on the significant offers that characterize prospective candidates. Tempo.co's March, April, and May 2016 editions of 10 articles prove an unhealthy debate and even lead to rioting when a supporter declares that Jakarta does not need a musician (read: Ahmad Dhani) as a leader who must have angered his supporters. Not to mention Dhani is also famous as a candidate who likes to use the primordial issue as a tool to attack Ahok with words such as rulers and ancestors. This variety of events makes it difficult to determine collectively the views of every leader. However, there is a certainty that any distinction attempts to accommodate is still concerned with common good. This is then always in the minds of leaders who show the best goodness and always demand representation, consensus, and other things that seek to see a form of domination fully.

Then how to look at the offer to get out of this enemy experience? This political event became the moment of birth of the subject of migrant. The subject of migrants by Ranciere is a very dreaded subject because it can move on the border

Perhaps the truly dangerous classes are not so much the uncivilised ones thought to undermine society from below, but rather the migrants who move at the borders between classes, individuals and groups who develop capabilities within themselves which are useless for the improvement of their material lives and which in fact are liable to make them despise material concern (Reid in Ranciere, 1989:xxix)

On the other words, the migrant region is the area where the subject moves on the border. In short, subject of migrants does not want absolute change, but the crossing of the social hierarchy so that it does not become static. This happens not because individuals or groups are able to transcend their material boundaries. This explains why other political

elites hate Ahok, since Ahok does not demand political equality on himself as a Chinese citizen, nor a constitutional change. However, Ahok is able to go beyond the limitations of his social hierarchy by becoming a politician while still ensuring his identity as a Chinese citizen. In addition, Ahok also did not reject the political party system because he still wants to join Hanura Party

Ahok can be said to be radical because he does not want absolute change in the social hierarchy, by demanding equality of rights over Chinese issues and political issues when advancing independently. On the opposite, it is because he is in a situation or 'migration' position, the classes within their borders, which has an ideal that goes beyond its material limitations. Precisely because of that in this event, finally Ahok is considered dangerous.

This position shakes the sensibility, or the distribution of the sensible, as called by Ranciere. Easily, the distribution of the sensible can be interpreted in the law of propriety and decency,

Partage du sensible is the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it (Ranciere, 2004: 12)

It is the proper and inappropriate law that creates a police consciousness in which the law of power sharing, classification, and rule are used as benchmarks. In this context, it can be seen in the case of Ahok who is ethnically declared unlawful to be a ruler as Ahmad Dhani said. On the other hand, Ahok is also attacked in religious cases where majority views cannot accept Ahok as a leader with so many attacks through Quranic verses especially An-Nisa, which meaningfully reject non-Muslim leaders. In such a minor area, Ahok is not in a position to address issues of SARA, but rather intends to engage in productive political work.

This propriety and disobedience distribution are ultimately shaken by Ahok, as he is not busy to take affirmative action, petition minority law, or ask for quotas, and even representations such as the multicultural politics Kymlicka offers. Nevertheless, his presence precisely seized a lot of sympathy with a form of real performance and able to establish itself to advance with an independent path. This form of attitude makes the issue of *deparpolitization* increasingly strong. It makes

some parties that had become a specific legitimacy to advance to the stock market, actually hunt Ahok to join and sometimes just invite polemic in the party body. As was the case with the *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP), which experienced internal turmoil when many of its cadres refused to take Ahok.

In this occasion, Ahok who does not care about Chinese ethnic and religion can be called a dangerous subject or a subject of migrants because he shook the sensibilities where inappropriate and inappropriate distribution no longer applies to him.

Antagonism, Failures in Politics

Where in the limits of every objectivity, are shown - in the sense in which Wittgenstem used to say that what cannot be said can be shown '..... Strictly speaking, antagonisms are not internal but external society; or rather, they constitute the limit, the latter's impossibility of fully constituting itself (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:125)

According to Laclau and Mouffe, Antagonism is an event in which the objective boundaries of society are shown. Indonesia that supposedly upholds diversity turned out to be a practice of diversity and ethnic classification has failed in the practice of statehood. Whereas if it is referred to in the political aspect there is no offer from Ahok that violates the practice of politics. Nevertheless, that does not mean that Ahok becomes completely different from other political opponents because they have the same goals, uphold the democracy and what is the particular political offer of each candidate. In this occasion, Ahok who does not care about Chinese ethnic and religion can be called a dangerous subject or migrant subject because he shakes the sensibilities where inappropriate and inappropriate distribution no longer applies to him.

In a political understanding, Laclau-Mouffe envisioned political imaginary, or political ideas that would later be built into the political practice in an arena of democratic revolution (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 176-177). Thus, there is clarity of political subject and not social positivity management (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 190). Why this should be distinguished, because the latter demands consensus while the first dissensus. Consensus tends to silence differences and while dissensus demands disclosure through the subject of language politics. This also led to a radical political tradition in democracy, which is able to accommodate the silenced

voices of presenting rivals and not the dominant logic of major matters.

Epilogue, Becoming a Difference Border

Multicultural view of heterophobia still encounters the minds of state politicians. The attitude to launch racial issues is evidence that monism still prevails in society. Ahok who is attacked through the issue of SARA is nothing but the loss of political imaginary from the mind of every politician so that politically does not come up with an enlightening idea. Ahok also considered dangerous not because he has a political imaginary but still struggling on the same thing that is social positivity management similar to other political opponents. This means that there is no distinctive offer in any candidate because the form of attack is only done through an attack that touches the area of failed management, procedures, and everything that is administrative.

Ahok becomes dangerous not because he is a prominent figure or thinker in the political area. Rather, his attention in popular legitimacy can be called as the subject of migrants who can seize millions of people's hearts to carry it independently. Even though Ahok himself fully aware if later to join one political party that is Hanura, his condition that can move freely on the border of China and Non-Islam but able to win the people's heart is called cultural crossing. No wonder that it is finally alluded the issue of SARA, not the political issue.

Conclusions

The concept of the majority and minority groups as well as the indigenous and non-indigenous people inherent in the minds of society incurs unfairness for a multicultural country. Communities cannot fully select a leader born from their minority group. The unpreparedness of accepting the leader of the minority is reflected in the attitude to launch racial issues. Critics attack Ahok through the issue of SARA by dropping his reputation through ethnic minorities and deposing him through religious postulates. As an offer, democratic-plural-radical politics should be able to eliminate heterophobia in politics, as it should happen in the country of this state of Bineka Tunggal. In the concept of democratic political-plural-radical heterophobia, the issue

of SARA should not be exist, especially with the status of a multicultural country. Politics and multicultural discourse will find the logic of the equation is the *dissensus* and not the consensus that is the difference.

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