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EVOLUTION OF IDENTITY POLITICS: A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

Studies of identity politics tend to prioritize partial issues without making it relevant to the historicity and interregional context. A holistic understanding is required to recognize the evolution of identity politics, especially from the efforts of the state to accommodate multicultural identities, whether by providing space for subaltern groups to gain public recognition, enforcing repression through policies and institutional arrangements, or even using them for political economic interests. A systematic literature review with a bibliometric co-occurrence analysis and network visualization was conducted through three stages consisting of identification, screening, and included studies. The key terms were developed and used to search for scientific articles in the Scopus database, establish the inclusion and exclusion criteria for data sorting and extraction, and analyze patterns of identity politics through inter-thematic networks. The entire process resulted in 108 corresponding scientific articles. The American region has an identity politics trend related to leadership, the trend in the European region is related to the context of religion especially Islam, the trend of identity politics in the Asian region leads to nationalism and ethnicity, the African region focuses more on political and ethnic themes while in Australia the trend discusses more about social media, race, identity politics, and sexuality. Identity politics has undergone substantive decadence globally, which is initially based on moral values and rationality turning into political pragmatism that prioritizes epistemological skepticism.

KEYWORDS: Identity Politics; Conceptual Evolution; Political Pragmatism; Systematic Literature Review; Bibliometric Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Young (2019) interestingly states that *even though 'identity politics' is not a term I feel is worth claiming or even necessarily critiquing anymore, I do believe that there is always identity in politics. None of us come to politics from a vacuum – we arrive with affiliations that mould our worldview.* Such statement shows that there is always a tendency in politics. Partiality in a certain identity will result in one group wanting to dominate another group. Therefore, the concept of identity politics is remarkably diverse depending on how a person interprets identity and determines an attitude toward such meaning. Identity politics is constructive as it is in line with the social, cultural, and political conditions of society (Bernstein, 2005).

Identity politics has been historically defined as a social movement to fight for the status of minority groups as well as a form of opposition to the power that limits their social life (Bernstein, 2005; Duignan, 2025; Fukuyama, 2018; Heyes, 2024; Hill & Wilson, 2003; Wolfe & Klausen, 1997). The constructivity of identity politics is not only limited to society's bottom-up efforts but also related to identity instrumentalism, in which a group of political entities form a collective identity based on ethnicity, race, and language in order to be "naturalized" in understanding political actions (Hill & Wilson, 2003). Such concept leads to the attempt of political elites to gain or maintain power, where the issue of identity is transformed into the voice of the majority to suppress minority groups for practical political interests.

Therefore, Fukuyama (2018) defines identity politics by placing the development of identity in the first place that distinguishes a person's character from the social environment in which he/she is located. Identity politics can become a representation of national identity that determines a country's policies and in its negative form can cause horizontal conflicts in society or referred to by Huntington as a clash of civilization (Huntington, 2008).

In relation to such role, previous studies by Huntington (2008), Fukuyama (2018) and Townsend (2021) investigate identity politics in the American region and its correlation with the national identity. Similarly, Igoe (2006), Alumona & Azom (2018), and Klandermans (2014) mostly study identity politics in Africa, identity instrumentalization, and sectoral interests to make local identity become a national identity. Meanwhile, Risse (2002), Betz (2003), Borzel & Risse (2018), and Noury & Roland (2020) explore identity politics in the European region and the problems of national integration caused by the politicization of identity. Identity politics in the Asian

region is researched by Denison (2003), Lau & Mendes (2012), Naseem & Stober (2014) and Chhachhi (2019) with an emphasis on multiculturalism and nationalism. On the other hand, according to Ang & Stratton (1998), Fells (2003), and Rimmer (2004), the identity politics in Australia focuses on sexuality injustice and multiculturalism crisis that threaten the national identity.

Most research remains limited to explaining identity politics in a specific regional context, and no elaboration has been given to obtain holistic understanding of the conceptual evolution related to the efforts of the state to accommodate multicultural identities, to maintain national stability by providing space and accommodating subaltern identities to gain public recognition, to enforce repression against marginalized groups through centralized policies, or to use them for political pragmatism.

With a systematic literature review through a bibliometric analysis of keyword search (Amir *et al.*, 2025), this study aims to provide a comprehensive and systematic literature review by mapping, categorizing, and correlating the trends of identity politics research in America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia as well as providing a review from the historical aspect. This was done through the selection of clear inclusion and exclusion criteria as well as transparency of the research procedures. Therefore, the results of this research are expected to contribute practically to determining and reading the development of a country's national and international policy orientation (Grossman & Helpman, 2021) and contribute academically toward providing valuable synthesis to develop studies of identity politics not only in a normative aspect but also in an empirical aspect through actualization and interregional coherence.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed a systematic literature review to identify research trends in identity politics in America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia. A systematic literature review is an attempt to synthesize scientific evidence to answer a particular research question in a transparent and reproducible way by including all published evidence on the topic and assessing its quality. The primary aim of systematic literature review approach is to reduce the risk of bias and to increase transparency at each stage of the review process by relying on the inclusiveness, clarity, heuristicity, and transparency methods (Ritzer, 2008) (Lame, 2019). In this context, the systematic literature review applied referred to the

bibliometric co-occurrence analysis as an important tool for quantitatively analyzing the existing literature, thereby identifying evolutionary performance in a particular field (Phoong et al., 2022). Through such approach, the evolution of the concept of identity politics could be reviewed from its historicity and actualization in some regions.

Referring to the aim of systematic literature review, it is necessary to provide inclusion and exclusion criteria to narrow down the themes of previous studies based on the research focus. The inclusion and exclusion criteria were divided into three aspects, consisting of the type screen, methodological screen, and practical screen. The type screen is a restriction based on the type of documents, the methodological screen is a restriction on the aspect of research approaches and data collection techniques, and the practical screen focuses more on a substantial restriction whether a journal article truly discusses identity politics or not by referring to the concept of identity politics per se.

In terms of the concept of identity politics, some perspectives are put forward by experts. Paul (2019) explains Kauffman's perspective that identity politics is the belief in identity per se – its elaboration, expression, or affirmation – which is and should become the primary focus of political work. This is also emphasized by Siems (2023) who states that identity politics refers to the idea of social identity

and collective identity which should become the primary focus of politics. In the Stanford Encyclopedia (2024), it is stated that collective identity can be realized through social movements as the basis of the struggle to gain recognition and social justice that, according to Bernstein (2005), can ultimately affect a group and make them have to distinguish between “us” and “others” based on an agreed common goal (in Bliss, 2013).

When well understood, the abovementioned concepts show a bottom-up effort from society to obtain social justice for the discrimination they receive. Meanwhile, identity politics can also be given a top-down interpretation as the strategy of a group of political entities in establishing a collective identity based on ethnicity, race, and language to be "naturalized" into a political act (Hill & Wilson, 2003). This is justified by Kurtz (2022) who states that identity politics refers to politics based on religion, ethnicity, language, nationality, gender, and sexuality but not a movement based on social class. Identity politics shows the fact that society's politics is shaped by their identity aspects to gain power and overcome marginalization.

These differences were then elaborated by extracting the keywords from each concept to be made into the exclusion and inclusion criteria at the practical screen stage. A more complete explanation can be seen in the following table.

Table 1. Research Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria.

Practical Screen	Methodological Screen	Type Screen
Inclusion Criteria	Inclusion Criteria	Inclusion Criteria
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There is a correlation between social identity and collective identity with activism or political contestation. The political contestation is the power struggle, competition, and other political conflicts among society and the state as well as the implementation of national and international policies. In this case, social and collective identities refer to the race, gender, religion, nationality, sexuality, language, and ethnicity aspects. 2. There is injustice or marginalization of a group based on the inherent identity in the political context of a region and country. Such identity involves the race, ethnicity, language, gender, religion, nationality and sexuality aspects. 3. There is a social movement by a group in fighting for social justice against the experience of discrimination or marginalization of identity (in the race, ethnicity, gender, language, religion, nationality, and sexuality aspects). 4. There is use of identity based on race, ethnicity, language, gender, religion, nationality, and sexuality for gaining power 5. The focus of research on identity politics uses primary data or occurs in the context of the focused regions, including America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia. For example, when discussing identity politics in America, the emerging primary data should be related to the conditions in America, not the identity politics that occurs in other regions while the conditions in America only become secondary data. 	<p>The research uses empirical data collected through a quantitative method based on a survey or experimental study, qualitative method through in-depth interviews and participatory observations, or mixed methods where one of the methods used emphasizes empirical field data. This limitation is placed to observe the actualization of identity politics in some regions and its implementation in community's social life and not merely a theoretical discussion or discourse analysis.</p>	<p>The type of documents used is journal articles since this study prioritizes empirical data to observe the actualization of identity politics in some regions and not merely the concept.</p>

Exclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. There is a correlation between social identity and collective identity with activism or political contestation that refers to social class. 2. There is use of social identity and collective identity not in the political realm of the society or the state (not in the context of seizing and maintaining power, making and implementing national policies, general elections, or political conflicts). 3. The research uses America, Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia as secondary data. 	<p>The research only involves a literature review, be it theoretical comparison or discussion paper, discourse analysis, or quantitative data analysis (only based on online quantitative data comparison and not based on data obtained directly from the field)</p>	<p>The type of documents is book chapter, book, conference paper, and review paper.</p>

The research procedures with a systematic literature review approach used the PRISMA framework consisting of identification, screening, and included studies. The entire process is illustrated in the PRISMA flow diagram in Figure 1. At the identification stage, the Publish or Perish software was used systematically in the Scopus database to perform a keyword search by using the term "identity politics" in America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia. No limitation was placed on a specific time frame for the search as the observation focused on studies of the evolution or development of identity politics in some regions.

At the selection stage (Table 1), to guarantee the scientific quality, the type of publication was limited to only scientific articles and not book chapters, book reviews, proceedings, paper reviews, or conceptual studies. At the methodological selection stage, this research only involved studies that use empirical field data obtained through interview techniques, participatory observations, experimental studies, and direct surveys (not online surveys). In terms of the selection of substance or practical screen, the study referred to the important points in each concept of identity politics by excluding articles that (1) do not relate social or collective identities based on race, gender, ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, and sexuality with such political contexts as power struggle and power legitimacy, political competition, and policy formulation at the local, national, or international levels, (2) do not discuss the social movements of a group that arises as a result of marginalization or discrimination based on the

identity factor, (3) do not use primary data from the identified location; for example, the search is about identity politics in America, but the research only uses the American region as secondary data.

The identification process was carried out by the first author while the type screen process was performed by the second author. The third author conducted the methodological screen, and the fourth author carried out the practical screen. To avoid assessment subjectivity, all the authors collaborated closely and discussed the overall selection results to ensure whether they were in accordance with the inclusion and exclusion criteria, thus resulting in a joint agreement for a sample of 108 articles (Figure 1). The articles that were in line with the research focus were analyzed by using the VOSviewer software to determine the research trend in each region through a keyword analysis (co-occurrence). The co-occurrence analysis was selected because it aims to collect a set of comprehensive publication data related to the topic of interest and to map this research into a comprehensive landscape of such topic with a series of research flow that will allow the identification of gaps, networks, and relationships between disciplines and themes (Klarin, 2024; Wang et al., 2022). After the analysis through bibliometric co-occurrence, the following feature used was the Network Visualization for identifying the correlation between one theme and another. Through such correlation, the trend of identity politics in a region could be comprehensively interpreted. Otherwise, the theme would stand on its own without a clear meaning and direction.

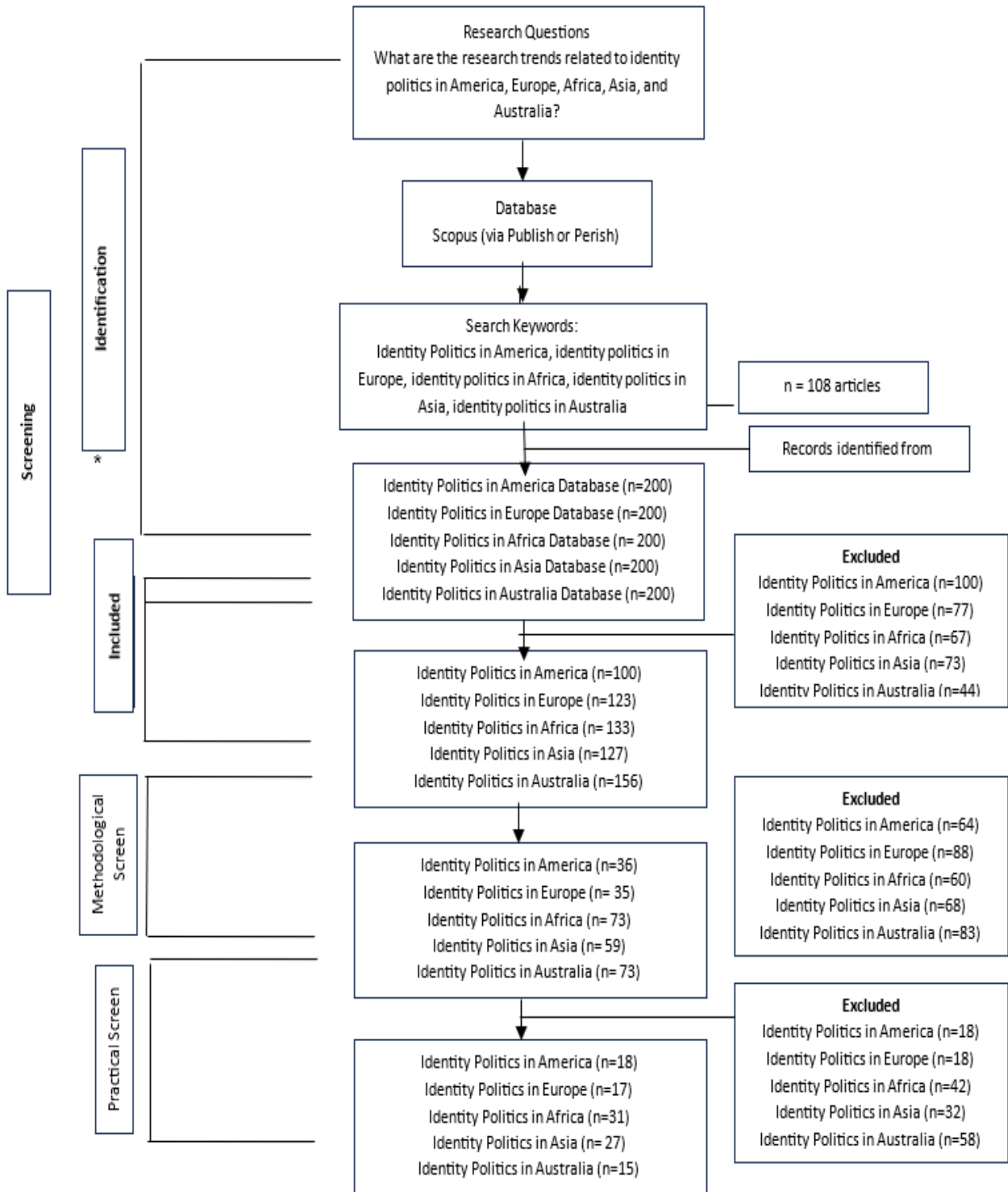


Figure 1. The PRISMA Analysis.

RESULTS

Identity Politics in America

The results of data reduction based on three categories of inclusion and exclusion criteria showed

that 18 articles of previous studies were in accordance with the focus of the study of the identity politics in America. When analyzed using the VOSviewer, the results are as follows

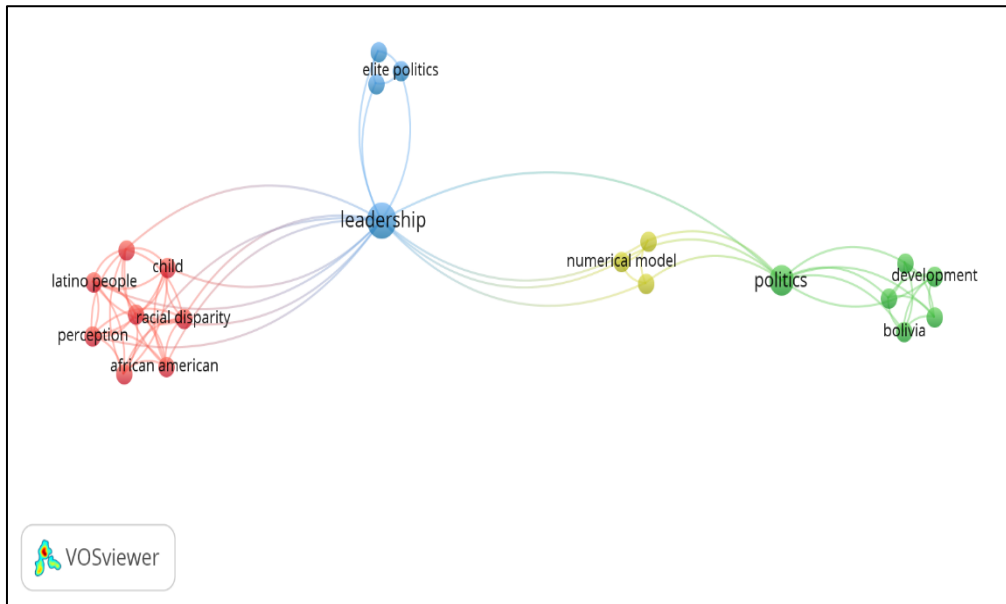


Figure 2. Network Visualization of Identity Politics in America.

Table 2. Trend of Identity Politics in America.

No.	Trend	Total	
		N	%
1.	Leadership	3	3,26
2.	Politics	2	1,94

Table 3. Classification of The Relevance of Identity Politics in America.

Author Keywords	Publication Year	Author	Title
Leadership; Numerical Model; Political Discourse; Politics; Religion	2008	Zúquete, J.P.	The missionary politics of Hugo Chávez
Elite Politics; Empirical Analysis; Governance Approach; Leadership	2008	Lindsay, D.M.	Evangelicals in the power elite: Elite cohesion advancing a movement
African American; Child; Ethnopolitics; Gender Role; Latino People; Leadership; Perception; Racial Disparity; Racial Identity	2008	Bigler, R.	The politics of race and gender: Children's perceptions of discrimination and the U.S. presidency

Based on this visualization, the trend of research on identity politics in America leads to the leadership aspect. The leadership aspect is widely discussed in studies of identity politics in America and is associated with such other themes as an empirical analysis of the leadership of political elites and public figures in shaping social movements based on identity factors, the leadership of political elites in the government reviewed from racial, gender, and ethnic factors, as well as the public leadership that plays identity discourse in realizing their political pragmatism.

An empirical analysis of the leadership of political elites and public figures in shaping social movements based on identity factors is done by Lindsay (2008). The research investigates the role of public figures and political elites in building a contemporary social movement, the American evangelism. These leaders establish organizations, create networks, exercise power to hold rallies, and make use of formal and

informal authority positions. The results show that religious identity and cohesive networks have played an important role in shaping leaders' political goals and ambitions.

Based on the most common research trend, the realization is that the identity politics in America leads to the instrumentalization of identity factor for political interests. This will encourage an interesting discussion on the historical aspect of the emergence of identity politics in the United States in the 1960s, which actually led to social movements to fight injustice and discrimination against minority groups (Duignan, Brian, 2025; Younge, 2019).

Identity Politics in Europe

The data reduction for the identity politics in Europe resulted in 17 articles. The research trend emerging from the VOSviewer analysis with co-occurrence for these 17 articles is as follows

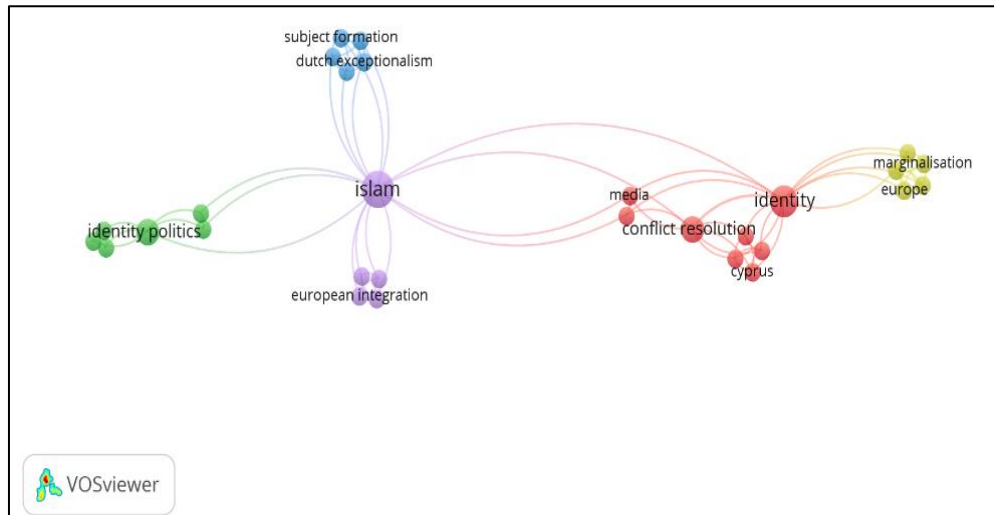


Figure 3. Network Visualization of Identity Politics in Europe

Table 4. Trend of Identity Politics in Europe.

No.	Trend	Total	
		N	%
1.	Islam	4	4,6
2.	Identity	3	3,45
3.	Conflict Resolution	2	2,3
4.	Identity Politics	2	2,3

Table 5. Classification of The Relevance of Identity Politics in Europe.

Author Keywords	Publication Year	Author	Title
Conflict resolution; Identity; Islam; Media; Religious pluralism	2005	Saint-Blancat, C.	Why are mosques a problem? Local politics and fear of Islam in northern Italy
European integration; Incorporation; Institutionalism; Islam; Religious diversity	2007	Koenig, M.	Europeanising the governance of religious diversity: An institutionalist account of Muslim struggles for public recognition
Dutch exceptionalism; Islam; Milli Görüş; multicultural debate; secular nostalgia; subject formation	2011	Bracke, S.	Subjects of debate: Secular and sexual exceptionalism, and Muslim women in the Netherlands
Conversion; Denmark; Identity politics; Islam	2008	Jensen, T.G.	To be 'Danish', becoming 'Muslim': Contestations of national identity?

The trend of research on identity politics in Europe shows that religious factor, especially Islam, becomes the most frequently discussed. There are four articles that emphasize such theme, including research from Saint-Blancat (2005), Koenig (2007), Bracke (2011) and Jensen (2008) (Table 5). Saint-Blancat (2005) associates the Islam theme with the social movements of minority groups in Italy in realizing the construction of mosques in their region because the conflict over the construction of mosques in Europe is highly dependent on the level of legitimacy obtained by Muslims in public space. The research seeks to uncover the role of Muslim actors in the movement to voice the importance of cultural and religious pluralism amid Islamophobia issues that involve local and national political elites as well as the media.

Considering several journals that discuss religion-based social movements, the trend of identity politics

in Europe is therefore distinct from what happens in America. In America, the obvious emphasis is on identity politicization without alluding to the resistance of marginalized groups. Meanwhile, the identity politics in Europe is more oriented toward social movements to gain public recognition of state repression through the formation of discourse, policies, and institutional arrangements. One of the social movements intensively conducted is the struggle of the Muslim community. This occurs because Europe is one of the regions with the ideology of secularism (Casanova, 1994; Roy, 2010). Therefore, the social movement of Islamic groups emphasizes the aspect of resistance to Islamophobia discourse, supports public participation, improves social services, encourages adherence to Islamic values, supports progressive thinking, and opposes the issue of radicalism (Kastoryano, 2002; Göle, 2011).

Identity Politics in Asia

Based on the bibliographic co-occurrence analysis of 27 studies of identity politics in Asia that fit into the inclusion and exclusion criteria, there is an emphasis on several themes, including nationalism,

ethnicity, identity construction, identity, conflict management, national identity, and identity politics per se. For more details, the following is a graph of bibliographic co-occurrence analysis of the identity politics research in Asia

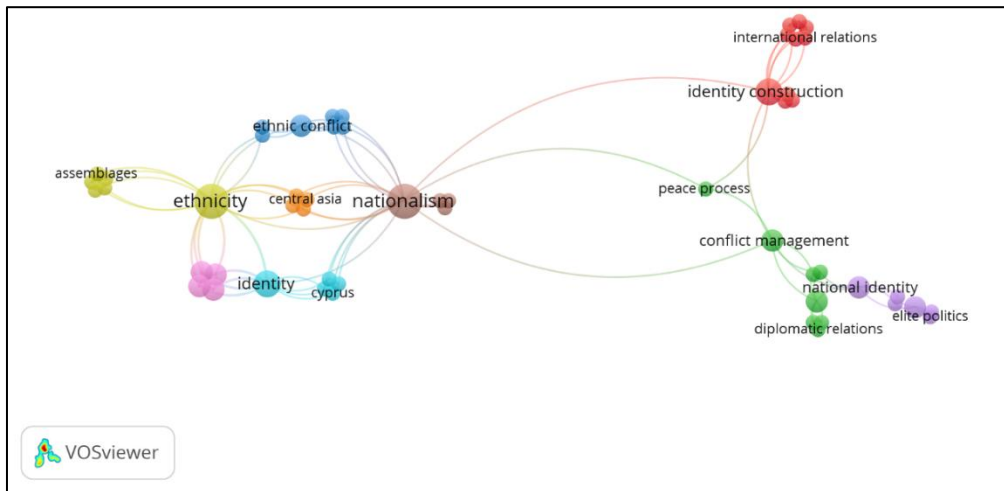


Figure 4. Network Visualization of Identity Politics in Asia

Table 6. Trend of Identity Politics in Asia.

No.	Trend	Total	
		N	%
1.	Nationalism	5	3,76
2.	Ethnicity	5	3,76
3.	Identity Construction	3	2,25
4.	Identity	2	1,5
5.	Conflict Management	2	1,5
6.	National Identity	2	1,5
7.	Politics of Identity	2	1,5

Table 7. Classification of The Relevance of Identity Politics in Asia.

Author Keywords	Publication Year	Author	Title
India; Nationalism; Political Violence; Stereotypes	2007	Anand, D.	Anxious sexualities: Masculinity, nationalism and violence
Conflict Management; Identity Construction; Nationalism; Peace Process	2005	Lacher, H.	Transforming identities: Beyond the politics of non-settlement in North Cyprus
Chinese New Immigrants; Ethnicity; Identity; Integration; Singapore; Xenophobia	2014	Liu, H.	Beyond co-ethnicity: The politics of differentiating and integrating new immigrants in Singapore
Conflict Resolution; Cyprus; EU Enlargement; Identity; Movements; Nationalism	2007	Loizides, N.G.	Ethnic nationalism and adaptation in Cyprus
Indigeneity; Indigenous Peoples; Ethnicity; Laos; Translocal; Assemblages	2015	Baird, I.G.	Translocal assemblages and the circulation of the concept of "indigenous peoples" in Laos
Ethnic Conflict; Ethnic Group; Feminism; Nationalism; Neighborhood; Violence	2008	Haniffa, F.	Piety as politics amongst Muslim women in contemporary Sri Lanka
Ethnic Conflict; Ethnicity; Ethnopolitics; Policy Analysis	2004	Simonsen, S.	Ethnicising Afghanistan?: Inclusion and exclusion in post-Bonn institution building
Central Asia; Ethnicity; Islam; Kazakhstan; Nationalism; Sufism	2014	Yemelianova, G.M.	Islam, national identity and politics in contemporary Kazakhstan
Chinese New Immigrants; Ethnicity; Identity; Integration; Singapore; Xenophobia	2008	Vural, Y.	Beyond ethno-nationalism: Emerging trends in Cypriot politics after the Annan Plan

Referring to the trend of identity politics in Asia, there are two major themes emphasized: nationalism and ethnicity. The nationalism theme is examined by Anand (2007), Lacher (2005), Louzides (2007),

Haniffa (2008) and Yemelianova (2014) (Table 7). For example, Anand (2007) links identity politics to nationalism in a reciprocal relationship among representation, violence, and identity in India. First,

negative representations of the “other” legitimize violence and provide a positive construct to the identity of the majority – the representation of Muslims as dangerous, fanatical, jihadist, and sex-obsessed individuals legitimizes the use of extreme violence against Muslims and instead enhances the positive construction of Hindu identity as a good, enlightened, and disciplined group. Second, violent incidents resulting from various instrumental factors but being internalized by many people build and reinforce inhumane representations. Riots often create new stigmatizations and reinforce former stigmatizations against Muslims among Hindus as well as create anxiety among them. Third, identity politics is formed as an image that degrades the “other” and creates an environment in which violence is normalized. The interaction between identity discourse (nationalism, masculinity), representation (stereotypes, sexual imagination), and violence results in a greater mortality rate with the involvement of the state.

Another theme with the same number is ethnicity. This theme is studied by Liu (2014), Baird (2015), Simonsen (2004), Yemelianova (2014), and Vural (2008) (Table 7). Liu (2014) emphasizes identity politics through its association with public discourse about new Chinese immigrants. This discourse results in three narratives including that (1) new immigrants are socially and culturally different from the main and previous immigrants, (2) new immigrants have intensified the competition for

scarce resources, and (3) new immigrants are politically tied to China, whose rise as a global power only serves to strengthen such relationship. However, at the level of political elites, political pragmatism and identity politics that prioritize the nation over ethnicity become the main factors influencing public attitude and policy choices regarding new immigrants.

This explanation shows that identity politics in the Asian region focuses more on identity conflicts that affect the stability and integration of the nation. The pattern of identity politics in Asia is the result of integration between the patterns that occur in America and Europe. While in America the identity factor is instrumentalized for political interests, in Europe it focuses more on social resistance from the grassroots to state repression through the formation of discourse, national policies, and institutional arrangements. Meanwhile, in the Asian region, the identity factor becomes one of the triggers for vertical conflicts that lead to efforts to legitimize identity as a national identity. Therefore, in ethnonationalism, sectoral interests dominate the national interest and how this problem is used by the elite for their political interests.

Identity Politics in Africa

There were 31 articles about identity politics in Africa that met the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The bibliometric co-occurrence analysis produces the following pattern

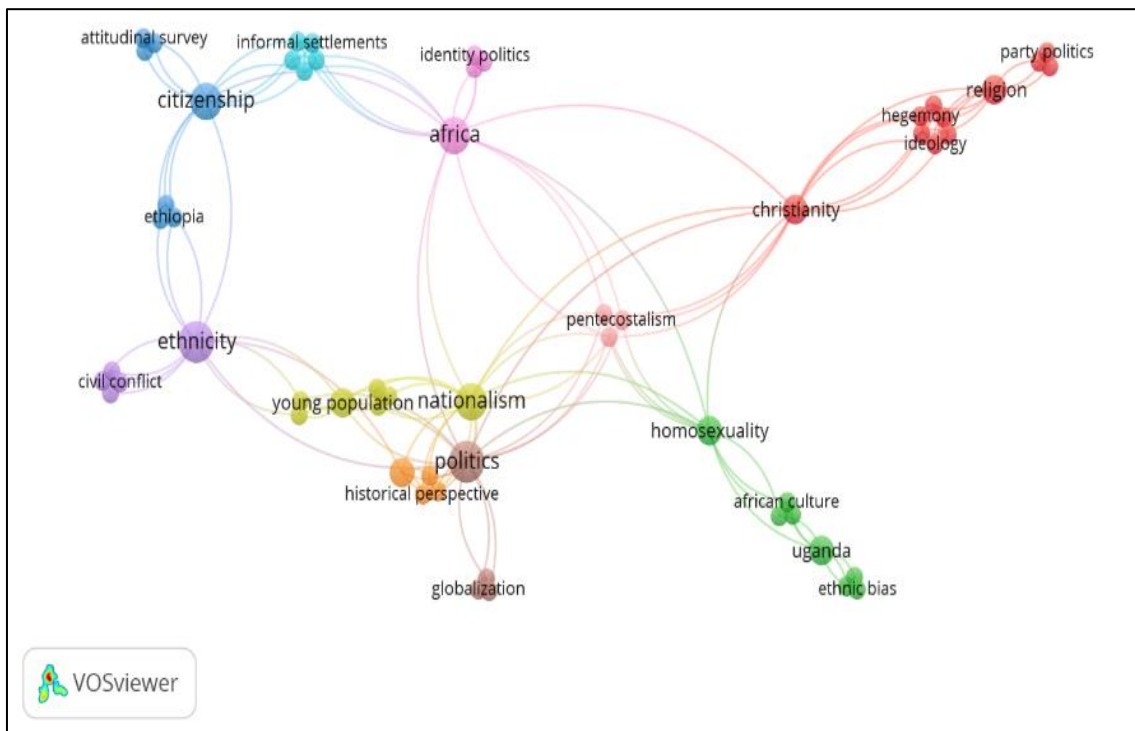


Figure 5. Network Visualization of Identity Politics in Africa.

Table 8. Trend of Identity Politics in Africa.

No.	Trend	Total	
		N	%
1.	Politics	4	5,92
2.	Ethnicity	4	5,92
3.	Nationalism	3	4,44
4.	Citizenship	3	4,44
5.	Africa	2	2,96

Table 9. Classification of The Relevance of Identity Politics in Africa.

Author Keywords	Publication Year	Author	Title
globalization; identity construction; indigenous population; politics	2006	Igoe, J.	Becoming indigenous peoples: Difference, inequality, and the globalization of East African identity politics
cultural identity; ethnicity	2006	Lynch, G.	Negotiating ethnicity: Identity politics in contemporary Kenya
election; ethnicity; governance approach; politics; young population	2006	Kagwanja, P.	'Power to Uhuru': Youth identity and generational politics in Kenya's 2002 elections
colonial legacy; cultural identity; historical perspective; land rights; nationalism; politics	2005	Hughes, L.	Malice in Maasailand: The historical roots of current political struggles
Citizenship; Ethiopia; Ethnicity; Federalism; Language policy	2008	Smith, L.	The politics of contemporary language policy in Ethiopia
Civil conflict; Democratization; Ethnicity; Genocide; Peacekeeping	2006	Young, C.	The heart of the African conflict zone: Democratization, ethnicity, civil conflict, and the Great Lakes Crisis
Africa; Christianity; Homosexuality; Nationalism; Pentecostalism; Politics; Public religion; Zambia	2014	Klinken, A. Van	Homosexuality, politics and pentecostal nationalism in Zambia

Based on this data, the theme of politics and ethnicity has become a trend of identity politics research in Africa. The theme of politics is discussed by Igoe (2006), Kagwanja (2006), Hughes (2005), and Klinken (2014) (Table 9). Igoe (2006) discusses indigenous movements in Africa, one of which is the Maasai group in Tanzania that experiences an identity transformation from pre-colonial tradition to a response to economic and political liberalization. To realize this, the Maasai group forms a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) to fight for land rights and identity that cause inequality in access to resources and identity recognition among indigenous groups.

On the other hand, the trend of identity politics in Africa also leads to the aspect of ethnicity. With the same number, studies of identity politics and ethnicity are conducted by Lynch (2006), Kagwanja (2006), Smith (2008), and Young (2006) (Table 9). Lynch (2006) discusses evolution and devolution of ethnic identity. The research on the struggle of the Sengwer ethnic community for recognition and access to resources as well as the study in the Rift Valley Province and the Western Province of Kenya show that ethnic identity constantly undergoes the process of creation and negotiation depending on the political and social contexts. The research reveals how ethnic communities can shrink and/or evolve and how actors and groups of individuals can use

historicity to justify their 'migration' from one community to another. There are facts and realities of ethnic construction, deconstruction, and creation in postcolonial Kenya about the process of ethnic negotiation and renegotiation that is ultimately driven by the desire to claim and access the resources controlled by the state and external agents. In the end, the negotiation and renegotiation of ethnicity are closely linked to political interests in the process of identity redistribution and representation.

The process of identity reconstruction and deconstruction in the African region indicates that the actualization of identity politics in this region is a blend of what is happening in America, Europe, and Asia. Ethnicity and colonialism arrangements that remain deeply rooted among indigenous peoples show that identity is instrumentalized in the cultural, social, economic, and political realms. Such complexity is different from identity pragmatism in the political context in America, social movements to gain public recognition in Europe, and national legitimacy for local identities in Asia.

Identity Politics in Australia

The classification based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria resulted in 16 articles about identity politics in Australia. When analyzed using the bibliometric co-occurrence approach with network visualization, the display shows as follows

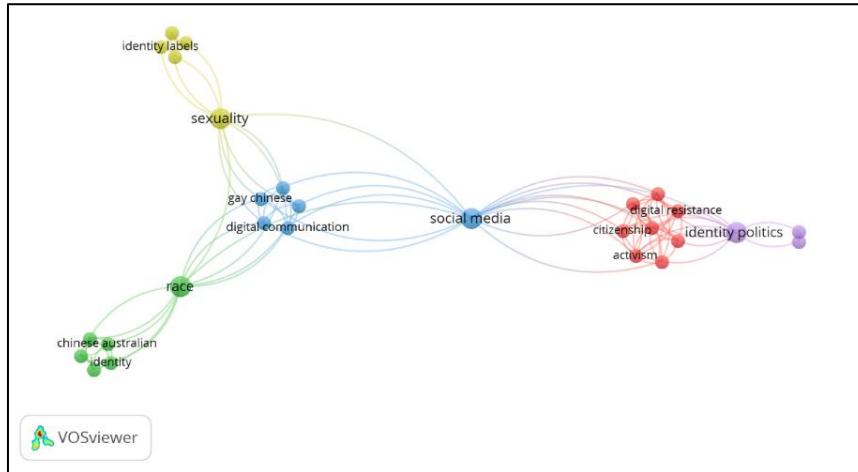


Figure 6. Network Visualization of Identity Politics in Australia.

Table 10. Trend of Identity Politics in Australia.

No.	Trend	Total	
		N	%
1.	Social Media	2	1,78%
2.	Race	2	1,78%
4.	Identity Politics	2	1,78%
5.	Sexuality	2	1,78%

Table 11. Classification of The Relevance of Identity Politics in Australia.

Author Keywords	Publication Year	Author	Title
Chinese Australian; Exclusion; Identity; Race; Racialisation; Racism	2006	Tan, C.	'The tyranny of appearance': Chinese Australian identities and the politics of difference
Activism; citizenship; digital resistance; Facebook; forced migrations; identity politics; mediated visibility; Rohingya genocide; social media; statelessness	2024	Aziz, A.	Rohingya diaspora online: Mapping the spaces of visibility, resistance and transnational identity on social media
digital communication; gay Chinese; migrant; placemaking; race; sexuality; social media; Tongzhi	2019	Yu, H.	Tongzhi on the move: digital/social media and placemaking practices among young gay Chinese in Australia
hate crime; identity politics; policing transgender	2004	Moran, L.J.	Violence, identity and policing: The Case of violence against transgender people
Identity labels; neoliberalism; queer; rural; sexuality	2020	Grant, R.	Homonormativity or queer disidentification? Rural Australian bisexual women's identity politics

The trend of identity politics research in Australia refers to four major themes consisting of social media, race, identity politics, and sexuality. The four themes have the same number or repetition. The social media theme is researched by Aziz (2024) and Yu (2019) (Table 11). Aziz (2024) links identity politics to social media in terms of the social movements by the Rohingya ethnic group in Australia to establish identity narratives and fight against the genocide that befalls their group. This research shows that social media platforms facilitate the development and construction of Rohingya identity through 'imaginary communities' that can be mobilized for resistance, transnational advocacy networks, and diaspora media production. Therefore, social media can voice the aspirations and anxieties of marginalized groups who yearn for the

homeland, justice, and citizenship rights.

In the race theme, research by Tan (2006) (Table 10) also discusses the movement of migrant groups, particularly by the people of Chinese descent settling in Australia. Using interviews and personal narratives, the study analyzes Chinese-Australians who negotiate their identities in response to their 'disparities' and 'differences' from indigenous Australians. This study demonstrates the exclusion mechanisms applied by indigenous Australians to prevent complete acceptance of Chinese-Australians even though they have the rights to birth, citizenship, national identity, and culture deeply rooted in Australia. These results also indicate the external imposition of Chinese and Asian identities on Chinese-Australian migrants although they seek to establish a collective identity that counters such marginalization.

Table 11 shows that the theme of identity politics is investigated by Aziz (2024) and Moran (2004). The research by Aziz (2024) analyzes identity politics in the context of the social movements by Rohingya groups to fight for their citizenship status. The transnational networks built through social media are expected to collect support from the global community and to advocate national policies.

The sexuality theme is highlighted by Yu (2019) and Grant (2020) (Table 11). As explained earlier, the research by Yu (2019) links identity politics to not only the role of social media and race but also sexuality factor. Besides discussing the role of social media in the struggle for the identity of the Tongzhi group who are of Chinese-Australian descent, this study also examines the movements of gay groups in Australia. The marginalization experienced by the Tongzhi group is caused by both the racial factor and their sexual identity. Therefore, they need special media to build their identity and gain public acceptance.

The emphasis on the role of social media in identity politics research in Australia is explained by Pious (2017) and Highfield (2016). Their articles explain that social media has begun to be actively

used by Australian people, especially marginalized groups, since the Covid-19 pandemic. They use several platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram to advocate mobilizing support, organizing collective actions, and shaping public discourse.

The trend of identity politics research in Australia has similarities with such emerging trend in Europe. They equally emphasize social movements by minority groups to gain public recognition, but the more dominant identity factor in Europe is religion while in Australia it is more about race and sexuality. Another difference between the two regions is in the modernization of movements through the use of social media found in Australia but not in Europe. The social movements in Europe prioritize the participation of the actors to conduct public discussions as well as formulate integrative strategies for gaining social recognition.

Evolution of Identity Politics: From New Social Movements to Postmodernism

The trends in identity politics in America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia can be broadly classified as follows:

Table 12. Global Classification of Identity Politics Research.

Region	Identity Politics Trend	Identity Politics Orientation
America	Leadership	- Identity instrumentalization for political pragmatism
Europe	Islam	- State repression through the establishment of discriminatory discourse, national policies, and institutional arrangements - Social movements by marginalized groups due to identity politicization by the national elites
Asia	Nationalism and Ethnicity	- Involvement of the state in identity conflicts - Identity instrumentalization for political pragmatism - Centralized identity discrimination through national policies - Emergence of ethno-nationalism movements as an effort to transform local identity into a national identity
Africa	Politics and Ethnicity	- Identity conflicts caused by identity instrumentalization for political pragmatism - Centralized identity discrimination through national policies - Emergence of ethno-nationalism movements as an effort to transform local identity into a national identity
Australia	Social Media, Race, Identity Politics, and Sexuality	- Social movements to gain public recognition through social media - Centralized identity discrimination

The term identity politics emerged in the United States in the 1960s as a representation of the social movements of marginalized groups of the black and women who were considered inferior to the white and male groups. They sought to reject these stereotypes as they were considered detrimental and able to eliminate the rights to education, public facilities, and political participation in elections (Nicholson, 2008). Therefore, many movements have emerged in the name of identity politics such as Black Power, Women Liberation, and Civil Rights.

Why was it America? And why did the term identity politics appear in the 1960s? Hobsbawm

(1996) explains that the political situation in the United States, as a center of politics since becoming a country of mass immigration from any regions in Europe, has triggered vulnerability to community conflicts based on ethnicity, race, gender, and sexuality. Meanwhile, identity politics peaked in the 1960s because of the previous special procedures enacted in the United States, one of which was the rulings of civil rights in the 1950s, resulting in racial segregation between the black and the white against accessibility to public facilities, education, and suffrage. The complexity of the conflicts extended toward gender segregation between men and

women, which began with the dichotomy between public space and private space. In the early 19th century, Victorianism emerged as a context that separated work from domestic territory within a family. Women's accessibility which was limited to some sectors resulted in the emergence of social movements to obtain voting rights in political contestation, or referred to as the first wave of feminism, followed by social movements in the economic, educational, reproductive and freedom sectors toward social values and norms that were detrimental to women as the starting point for the second wave of feminism (Heilmann & Llewellyn, 2014).

Referring to the historicity of identity politics, there are various concepts about identity politics per se. Based on its orientation, identity politics can be defined bottom-up through the social movements of marginalized groups to gain public recognition (Paul, 2019; Bliss, 2013) or top-down through the politicization of identity to gain and maintain power. Bernstein (2005) summarizes these two orientations into three approaches to identity politics, including the neo-Marxist approach, the new social movement approach, and the postmodernism approach. The neo-Marxist approach emphasizes the separation between culture and class, institutional, political and economic factors. Therefore, structural or social class inequality, according to this view, does not include dynamic cultural or psychological aspects. Meanwhile, the new social movement approach prioritizes why and when people will act. Based on more rational considerations, this approach organizes contemporary movements based on values and ideology to regain control over policies and life aspects that are increasingly controlled by the state, to resist colonialism, and to change the social order of civil society. Meanwhile, postmodernism is a perspective that opposes the existence of social control by the state. This approach is an antithesis of the modernism theory that combines industrialization, market-oriented capitalist economy, new social classes, democracy, and enlightenment values - reason and progress. Postmodernism first emerged in the Western society where they rejected the elite control over all resources. This movement sparked the rise of social activism that called for an end to capitalist ideology and an exit from all standard measurements, consolidating individual relationships and encouraging consumer culture.

Based on the above classification described by Bernstein (2005), the historical emergence of identity

politics in the early 19th century is relevant to the approach of new social movement theory. This theory explains the shift of material issues, such as differences in classes, wages, and occupations, to more symbolic cultural issues such as religion, race, ethnicity, and gender. This shift changes the characteristic from a classical social movement as an interclass struggle to a new social movement that is more centralized and based on a network of grassroots organizations to gain recognition and identity autonomy (Langman, 2013). Some of the movements mentioned earlier, such as feminism, Black Power, Women Liberation, and Civil Rights, are examples of new social movements. In this context, marginalized groups move based on morality to obtain equality and not solely to prioritize sectoral political economic interests.

Based on the results of research analysis in some regions such as America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia (Table 12), there are several cases that are included in the new social movement. These cases are mostly found in Europe and Australia. In the European region, new social movements are mostly performed based on religion, especially Islam. As a religious minority, Islamic groups and their leaders seek to gain public recognition against the state repression represented through the discourse formation, national policies, and formation of discriminatory institutions. Meanwhile, in Australia, the identity they fight for is race and sexuality. Asian-Australian descendants and recognition of the sexuality identity of LGBT groups dominate the trend of identity politics research. The only difference is that the struggle in Australia prioritizes the use of social media as a space for seeking justice.

On the other hand, in some regions such as America, Asia, and Africa, the results of the study show that there is an evolution of identity politics from expecting public recognition to identity objectification for political economic interests. Studies of identity politics in these three regions clearly show that there are ideological conflicts between marginal groups and repression from the state and the elite to make use of the identity factor for mobilizing masses or realizing their pragmatic interests. In the United States, for example, the initial basis for the emergence of identity politics movements evolves into a political tool for the elite. Political elites compete to implement marketing strategies that prioritize identity factors to increase voter preferences. Meanwhile, in Asia, identity politics pragmatism is based on society multiculturalism that prioritizes culture as a reference and philosophy of life. This has penetrated

various aspects, one of which is the political sector. For example, the conflict of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, who wish to maintain their identities and even have the initiative to make it a national identity, is used by some to maintain or gain power. The ruling regime sees this split as an opportunity to attract the partisanship of indigenous peoples. On the other hand, the conflict between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin indigenous peoples in Kenya, Africa also leads to the same situation. The identity politics confrontation is initiated by some elites who want to rule while traditional leaders are willing to sacrifice their communal identity for their economic interests.

From the three approaches put forward by Bernstein (2005), the major orientation of identity politics leads to the postmodernism approach. Kaltmeier & Thies (2012) explain that, in the postmodernism era, identity politics is considered a cultural commodity in which minority identities are used and commoditized to gain profit for certain parties. They quote the statement of Zygmunt Bauman that no one can be a subject without turning into a commodity and no one can keep his subjectivity safe without constantly reviving and replenishing the expected and needed capacity of a marketable commodity.

The statement from Kaltmeier & Thies (2012) establishes a paradigm that, in the era of postmodernism, people perceive identity as a commodity that can be enjoyed and used to achieve certain goals. Identity no longer becomes an essential matter and prioritizes group idealism; instead, it is a commodity that can be used by the elite to realize their political economic interests. Sectoral egoism and group interests to make local identity a national identity are not solely aimed at obtaining equality but also being an effort to gain legitimacy and dominance over other identities.

As a form of opposition to the modernism theory, postmodernism considers identity to be contingent, fluid, and constructive (Hekman, 1999). Therefore, various perspectives of postmodernism emerge and are constructed by experts, including those related to the critical postmodernism initiated by Baudrillard, Foucault, and Derrida. This paradigm assumes that every position in postmodernism is characterized by political "affiliation" and historical agendas (Foster, 1983). Baudrillard considers that, in the postmodernism era, the society is faced with political economy and the death of subjects, meaning, truth, and reality, or the so called hyperreality (Ritzer, 2008). Referring to neo-Marxist thought, Baudrillard's perspective also

intersects with Foucault's perspective on the idea of epistemological skepticism that puts forward suspicion of rationality and sensitivity to the role of ideology in maintaining political and economic power (Haber, 2021). Skepticism of rationality is justified by Derrida's assertion that there is no absolute truth in interpreting a text because it will deconstruct itself. Postmodernism is an attempt to oppose an objective "truth" because everything in the world can be interpreted in an infinite way (Gaut, 2005).

The existence of this phenomenon proves that there is a substantive decadency related to the concept of identity politics per se. The existing evolution moves from a new social movement to postmodernism, showing how an identity fought for moral interests and the preservation of local cultural values turn into a pragmatic ambition that puts aside rationality. Therefore, epistemological skepticism as the focus of thought of postmodernism experts should be considered in the assessment of the global political reality. Although many criticisms of postmodernism thought are considered against the objectivity of truth, the universal narrative or the standardization of the meaning of a text, the shift in meaning, and realization of the concept of identity politics at least show that identity politics is constructive and contextual in nature as it can transform rational identity into a progressive conflict.

CONCLUSION

This systematic literature review can provide a general landscape of how the actualization of identity politics in some regions is only partially discussed. In fact, when the patterns or trends in identity politics are analyzed and made relevant to each other, there is a conceptual evolution from the early history. The new social movements, which emphasize identity asceticism and the willingness of marginalized groups to sacrifice in fighting for their communal identity to gain public recognition, have experienced a disorientation toward political pragmatism. Research in some regions proves the existence of epistemological skepticism, a postmodernist perspective that sets aside rationality and moral values in favor of sectoral egoism through political economic interests. Such reality needs follow-ups in future studies to map the figures behind identity instrumentalization, the surrounding contexts, and the strategies performed as an effort to gain holistic understanding of the global political system.

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