

THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICIZED IDENTITY ON COLLECTIVE ACTION MEDIATED BY GROUP-BASED ANGER AND GROUP-BASED EFFICACY (CASE STUDY OF PROTESTS ON BLASPHEMY IN INDONESIA)

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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to explain the factors that caused Islamic organizations to protest the blasphemy (action 212) by testing the Social Identity Collective Action Model (SIMCA). This study used quantitative research with a survey technique involving 384 correspondents who asked protest action alumni 212. The results of the study found politicized identity, group-based anger, groupbased efficacy were direct predictors of collective gathering actions. Politicized identity is also a direct predictor of group-based anger and group-based efficacy. Other findings show why groups based and effect groups mediate between politicized identities of collective action.

KEYWORDS: *Collective Identity, Collective Action, Political Protest, Governor Election, Indonesia*

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, demonstrations in the name of religion often occur in Indonesia in various ways and forms. 2016 was an important moment in creating a history of protest in the name of the biggest religion in Indonesia after the 1998 Reformation which became known as Aksi 212. This case initially occurred when former DKI Jakarta governor BasukiTjahajaPurnama or Ahok made a statement on September 30, 2016, which was later accused of insulting the Muslim holy book, the Qur'an, triggered massive protests on December 2, 2016. In social psychology, this action was classified as a collective action. The operationalization of collective actions includes attitudes, intentions, and inclinations of participatory behavior, reports of past actions, and real behavior in collective action arrangements (van Zomeren&Iyer, 2009).

There are three main theories that explain collective action (Shi et al., 2015; van Zomeren&Iyer, 2009), namely, the theory of relative deprivation (RDT; Smith et al., 2012), resources mobilization theory (RMT; McCarthy &Zald, 1977), and social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel& Turner, 1979). Van Zomeren, et al. (2008) attempted to combine three theories in a model called the collective action social identity model (SIMCA), which consists of three causal factors in the form of group-based anger, group efficacy, and social identity, which are included in the integrative model. SIMCA's focus is on the centrality of social identity factors, especially politicized identities.

According to Simon and Klandermans (2001), politicized identity is a form of identity consisting of individual members of a group that consciously struggles for power in the name of the group in a broad social context. Van Zomeren et al. (2008) simplify this concept, defining it as the identity of "activists" who use it to carry out collective actions. A

meta-analysis by van Zomeren et al. (2008) also found that politicized identity has a stronger influence (value of effect size) than identity that is not politicized against collective action.

Through this case, we may empirically test theories of identity politics from political psychology such as social identity, collective identity, and collective political action. This study aims to explain politicized identity with other mediator variables, such as group efficacy and group-based anger. The type of action to be examined in this study is 212 protest actions related to alleged blasphemy by the former DKI Jakarta governor BasukiTjahajaPurnama or Ahok. Although the case has become history as Ahok has been convicted for 2 years, yet these initially spontaneous politicized identity actions metamorphose into a more organized grouping, called as *PA212 (Presidium Alumni 212)*, and it continues to color current national political scenario.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on politics of identity, collective political action, and other related topics draw a lot from social identity theory. The main idea of identity politics is the relationship between identity and participation in political action. The concept is strongly related to the psychology of protest in the literature of social psychology and social movement in the field of sociology. There three main factors motivate people to do or participate in collective action or protest. First is an instrumental factor that refers to the targeting goal or end of the protest. Second is the ideological factor that refers to ideational elements, belief and thought of protest. Third, identity as a motivational factor that drives people to do or participate in the protest. So, at the heart of political psychology of protest is identity. It is understood that from the perspective of political psychology, identity politics strongly relates to some basic concepts such as social identity, collective identity, collective action, grievances, politicized collective identity and so on.

Identity politics in Indonesia are more related to ethnicity, religion, ideology and local interests that are generally represented by political elites with their respective articulations (Ma'arif, 2012). It is this identity that results in collective action when a group feels its group is interrupted or hurt. Many studies on collective action have focused on politicized identity (Alberici&Milesi, 2013, 2016; Blackwood & Louis, 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Becker and Tausch (2015)conducted a literature review of collective action studies and concluded that a politicized identity in both direct and indirect (through group-based efficacy and group-based anger) could strengthen the desire for peaceful action.

Some studies have found that group-based anger is a strong emotional basis for collective action (Shepherd et al, 2013; Shi et al., 2015; Stewart et al., 2016; Tausch& Becker, 2013; van Zomeren et al., 2011). Other studies have attempted to explain the role of group efficacy factors (Alberici&Milesi, 2013; Shi et al., 2015; Stewart et al., 2016; Tausch& Becker, 2013; van Zomeren et al., 2011). In particular, high group efficacy was found to better predict normative collective action, while low group efficacy leads to violent action (Tausch et al., 2011). Both group-based anger and group efficacy are served as mediating factors in some research (Becker &Tausch, 2015; Milleret al, 2009; Stewart et al., 2016; Shadiqi et al., 2018).

Based on the literature review, the hypotheses in this study are as follows:

- Hypothesis 1: politicized identity influences collective action.
- Hypothesis 2: politicized identity influences group-based anger.
- Hypothesis 3: politicized identity influences group-based efficacy.

- Hypothesis 4: group-based efficacy influences collective action.
- Hypothesis 5: group-based anger influences collective action.
- Hypothesis 6: group-based efficacy mediates the effect of politicized identity on collective action.
- Hypothesis 7: group-based anger mediates the effect of politicized identity on collective action.

METHOD

This study employed a survey method and the data was analyzed using a correlation technique. This method was selected to answer the correlation between the variable. There are three variables in this research is politicized identity as independent variables, group-based anger and group-based efficacy as an intervening variable, and collective action as a dependent variable. Data were collected from 384 participants of 212 protest action.

All research variables were measured using self-reporting methods entailing individuals' responses to distributed questionnaires (Stangor, 2011). The instruments were adapted from previous studies and adjusted to the context of the current research. All items were measured using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1= extremely disagree to 5 = extremely agree. The measurement of collective action was adapted from Tausch et al. (2011), with 8 statements related to normative or nonviolent actions. Each of the instruments measuring politicized and religious identities consisted of four items, and both instruments were adapted and developed from instruments constructed by van Zomeren et al. (2010) and van Zomeren et al. (2012).

Data was collected using a questionnaire method administered both directly to members of action 212 that are spread across several regions of Indonesia using Google Forms online. The researchers performed statistical analysis by running a Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) on LISREL to test the research hypotheses

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This research was conducted to examine whether the politicized identity directly and indirectly affected collective action on 212 protest cases in Indonesia. The results of testing the direct effect between research variables can be seen in table 1 as follows:

Table 1: Direct Correlations among Research Variables

Hypothesis	Relationship	Std. Beta (β)	t-Value	p-Value	Result
H1	PI -> CA	0.594**	4.620	0.000	Significant
H2	PI -> GBE	0.421**	4.233	0.000	Significant
H3	PI -> GBA	0.402**	4.626	0.000	Significant
H4	GBE -> CA	0.528**	5.233	0.000	Significant
H5	GBA -> CA	0.627**	5.626	0.000	Significant

Note: PI (Politicized Identity), GBA (Group-Based Anger), GBE (Group-Based Efficacy), CA (Collective Action), ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

Based on Table 1, it is known that politicized identity, group efficacy, and group-based anger have a positive and significant correlation with collective action. In addition, politicized identity also has a positive and significant correlation with group efficacy and group-based anger. Politicized identity has a positive and significant correlation with collective action ($\beta = 0.594$; $t = 4.620$; $p < 0.01$). Politicized identity had a positive and significant correlation with group efficacy ($\beta = 0.421$; $t = 4.233$; $p < 0.01$). Politicized identity had a positive and significant correlation with group-based anger ($\beta =$

0.402; $t = 4.626$; $p < 0.01$). Group efficacy has a positive and significant correlation with collective action ($\beta = 0.528$; $t = 5.233$; $p < 0.01$). Group-based anger also has a positive and significant correlation with collective action ($\beta = 0.627$; $t = 5.626$; $p < 0.01$).

The structural similarities in this research can be seen in Figure 1 below:

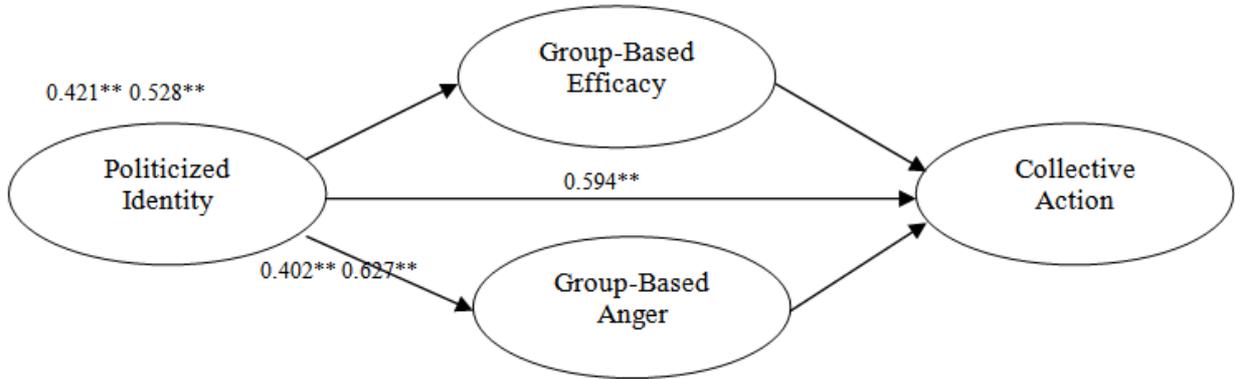


Figure 1: SEM Test Result of Model

The SEM test results show that politicized identity has a significant direct effect on collective action (meaning the researcher's hypothesis is proven). This is consistent with the results of previous research on collective action (see Tausch& Becker, 2013; Thomas, McGarty, &Mavor, 2016; van Zomeren, et al., 2008), where more and more people identify themselves as part of a group movement (i.e., politicized identity), the more they want to be involved in collective action. In particular, it was found that socio-political identity is a better predictor of collective action than non-political identity (Alberici&Milesi, 2016; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Furthermore, group efficacy also has a positive and significant direct influence on collective action. The results of several previous studies are consistent with the findings of researchers about the role of group efficacy in collective action (Alberici&Milesi, 2013; Saab et al., 2015; Shi et al., 2015; Stewart et al., 2016; Tausch& Becker, 2013; van Zomeren et al., 2011). In particular, the stronger the beliefs of individuals in groups, the more individuals want to be involved in normative or peaceful collective actions (van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004).

In addition, structural equations also reveal that group-based anger has a positive and significant effect on collective action. These findings are in line with previous findings (see Shepherd et al., 2013; Shi et al., 2015; Stewart et al., 2016; van Zomeren et al., 2011), except for the results of the research by Shadiqi et al. (2018) who found that group-based anger did not have a positive and significant effect on collective action.

In addition to testing the direct effect, the researcher also saw that the influence was not directly from the research variables. The following is presented the indirect effect between variables which can be seen in Table 2:

Table 2: Results of Mediator Effect Tests

Hypothesis	Relationship	Std. Beta (β)	t-Value	p-Value	Decision
H4	PI->GBE->CA	0.222**	5.620	0.000	Supported
H5	PI->GBA->CA	0.252**	5.826	0.000	Supported

Note: PI (Politicized Identity), GBA (Group-Based Anger), GBE (Group-Based Efficacy), CA (Collective Action), ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

The results of the analysis in table 2 above show that there are simultaneous indirect influences from both mediators (group efficacy and group-based anger). Partially, the results of the study found that the group efficacy functioned as a partial mediator that was significant ($\beta = 0.222$; $t = 5.620$; $p < 0.01$) in the politicized identity of collective action. On the other hand, group-based anger also has a significant mediating effect ($\beta = 0.252$; $t = 5,826$, $p = 0.01$) on the politicized identity of collective action on the phenomenon of the blasphemy protest in Indonesia (action 212).

According to their demographic data, most of the action participants 212 were affiliated (either as members or administrators) with the Islamic organization that acted on the action itself. This shows that the resources provided by religious organizations can result in the formation of social or political movements (Burns & Kniss, 2013). Our findings reveal that although the effect size is small, as indicated by the mediation test, group efficacy is found to significantly mediate the relationship between politicized identity and collective action in this action 212. This indicates that the researcher's hypothesis states that group efficacy mediates the relationship between politicized identity with proven collective action.

In addition, group-based anger was also found to have a significant mediating role in politicized identity relationships with collective action (hypotheses formulated by researchers were proven). The findings of this researcher are in line with the findings of previous research that social identity influences the desire to act through group-based anger (Tausch & Becker, 2013; Thomas et al., 2014), except for the results of research by Shadiqi et al. (2018) who found that group-based anger does not mediate between politicized identity and collective action. Indonesian Muslims feel anger at BasukiTjahajaPurnama or Ahok for his statements which are considered insulting their holy books. Group-based emotions are believed to arise when individuals consider their own emotional experiences in response to group-related events (Goldenberg et al., 2014).

Finally, this study has several limitations that must be considered. One limitation of this research is the design, which is only able to explain the interactive effects between variables because of their correlational nature. To explain a causal relationship, an experimental design is needed. We suggest that future researchers examine the central role of social identity using experimental designs. We also recommend that further studies consider the concept of multiple identities, which can include national identity (eg Indonesian nationality) and ethnic identity (eg, membership in certain ethnic groups), especially in countries that have diverse ethnicities such as Indonesia.

CONCLUSIONS

This study found that politicized, group-based anger, group-based efficacy identities were direct predictors of collective action. Politicized identity is also a direct predictor of group-based anger and group-based efficacy. The results of the tests indirectly found that group-based anger and group efficacy mediated the influence of politicized identity on collective action.

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