

# POLITICS OF IDENTITY IN INDONESIA: EVIDENCES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

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## Abstract

*Of lately, the issue of politics of identity has been on the rise in Indonesia. Some recent developments such as the 212 massive rally symbolize the critical juncture in the historical interaction between politics and identity in the Indonesian political landscape. Against the backdrop of this contextual setting, the study sought to empirically test theories of identity politics through analyzing the correlation between collective identity and protest participation. To that end, it adopts Klandermans' PCI (politicized collective identity) model as a theoretical framework, hypothesizing that collective identity is not significantly directly correlated to the protest participation. It is rather mediated through the politicization in the form of power struggle. The study applies a cross-sectional survey method to collect the data. As it found that predicting variables to protest participation might not only be having multi-collinearity, but also unspecified. The study, therefore, uses path analysis to illuminate the causal correlations of all variables, specified or not (Streiner, 2005). The study reveals that affective identity has a positive but not significant effect on protest participation. It, instead, has a significant indirect effect mediated by claim for political compensation. Whilst, the behavioral identity, engagement with identity organization, not only directly influences protest participation, but also has indirect effect mediated by shared grievances. These results would mean that merely being a Muslim does not drive someone to participate in the protest. But shared grievances such as feeling of injustice and active engagement in the identity organization would highly likely do so. The study sheds light on the possible future trajectory of identity politics in Indonesia. It might be safely hypothesized that identity politics will remain a very potent issue and may at any point in time burst into the political arena when issues of feeling injustice, among other things, arises as trigger mechanism.*

*Keywords: Politics Identity, Indonesia, 212 Rally, PCI Mode.*

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## Introduction

The year 2016 witnessed momentous things that symbolize the critical juncture at the history of Indonesia's political developments in the post 1998 *Reformasi* era. One of them is the blasphemy case and its subsequent political ramifications which are considered by many as a hallmark of the rising trends of politics of identity in Indonesia. The case originally happened when former Jakarta governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, made a statement on September 30, 2016 which was then accused of insulting the holy book of Islam, the Quran.

Resultantly, it triggered massive Muslims' protest, especially from those Islamic groups who often considered as hardliners. Some of most important protests are two biggest rallies ever in the post *reformasi* era. The first one took place on November 4, 2016 involving hundreds of thousands of people from around the country. And the second which took place on December 2, 2016 was believed, according to some accounts, to involve approximately 7 million people. These two rallies are later called, after their date, as the 411 and 212 Rally respectively (*Aksi 411 and 212*). The protests mainly demanded Governor's punishment and his impeachment from the governorship.

The case, for some, really represents a broader phenomenon in the contemporary Indonesian politics. Islam, as a religion of majority, and its interaction with politics or the state never ceased to be a hotly contested topic of political discourse in Indonesia. Since the last two decades, after the 1998 *reformasi*, Islam along with other social movements has made a comeback to political arena.

Through this case we may empirically test theories of identity politics from political psychology such as social identity, collective identity, and collective political action. In the backdrop of that case, this study is sought to analyze the correlation between collective identity and collective political action.

### **Research Question**

As stated before, the study is set analyze the causal correlation between collective identity and collective action. It seeks to answer following questions accordingly:

1. Does affective identity have a positive and significant influence on shared grievances?
2. Does affective identity have a positive and significant influence on adversarial attribution?
3. Does affective identity have a positive and significant influence on claim for political compensation?
4. Does affective identity have a positive and significant influence on protest participation?
5. Does engagement with identity organizations have a positive and significant influence on shared grievances?
6. Does engagement with identity organizations have a positive and significant influence on adversarial attribution?
7. Does engagement with identity organizations have a positive and significant influence on claim for political compensation?
8. Does engagement with identity organizations have a positive and significant influence on protest participation?
9. Does shared grievances have a positive and significant influence on protest participation?
10. Does adversarial attribution have a positive and significant influence on protest participation?
11. Does claim for political compensation have a positive and significant influence on protest participation?
12. Do shared grievances mediate the influence of affective identity on the protest participation?
13. Do adversarial attribution mediate the influence of affective identity on the protest participation?
14. Do claim for political compensation mediate the influence of affective identity on the protest participation?
15. Do shared grievances mediate the influence of engagement with identity organizations on the protest participation?
16. Do adversarial attribution mediate the influence of engagement with identity organizations on the protest participation?
17. Do claim for political compensation mediate the influence of engagement with identity organizations on the protest participation?

### **Literature Review**

#### **Social Identity Theory**

Research on politics of identity, collective political action and other related topics draw a lot from social identity theory. There two mostly referred branches of social identity theory namely social identity theory and self-categorization theory. The former was developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979) which focuses on motivational factors or origins of social identity. It posits the motivational needs of among group members to differentiate their own groups positively from others to achieve a positive social identity. Whilst the latter as an extended version was developed by Turner et al. (1987) more focuses on the cognitive underpinnings of social identity. It posits that a member self- labeling as a (part of) group and act accordingly is the minimal intergroup situation. Huddy (2001) referred to these two approaches as process of belonging to a social category and internalizing its meaning. Frederick Barth (in Huddy, 2001) differentiated them between nominal identity based on name and virtual membership based on experience.

#### **Identity Politics**

The main idea of identity politics is the relationship between identity and participation in political action. The concept is strongly related to psychology of protest in the literature of social psychology and social movement in the field of sociology. Three main factors motivate people to do or participate in collective

action or protest. First is instrumental factor that refers to the targeting goal or end of the protest. Second is ideological factor that refers to ideational elements, belief and thought of protest. Third, identity as 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 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.

### **Collective Identity and Collective Action**

It is pertinent to understand distinction between personal, social and collective identity in order to grasp the idea of identity politics. Social identity is a characteristic of an individual and involves more than one group. Perhaps Brewer's (2001) explanation might shed light on the basic conception of these different levels of identity. Brewer proposes that all conceptualizations of social identity refer to the idea that an individual's self-concept is derived, to some extent and in some sense, from the social relationships and social groups he or she participate in.

It follows that social identity as a concept may be identified by four variations. Two of them are at individual level which relates to the question of 'what kind of person am I?' namely Person-based social identities and Relational social identities. The former emphasizes the content of identity and its acquisition in the self-conception, while the latter defines the self in relation to others. The other two are at group or social unit level namely Group-based identities and Collective identities. The former refers to social identity as the process of identification with a collective, while the latter represents an achievement of collective efforts, above and beyond what category members have in common to begin with. It is therefore argued that the latter serves as a link between social identity and collective action in political arena, and is key concept in the study of identity politics.

In line with that argument, Klandermans (2014) defines collective identity is a characteristic of a group and involves more than one individual. Group identification connects social and collective identity. Identification with a group makes people more prepared to act as a member of that group (Turner, 1999). In nutshell, collective identity is social identity in action, manifest.

The question is how to observe that social identity being activated? This process refers to the idea of salient collective identity. It is that contextual circumstances drive a person to display his personal, social or collective identity (Turner, 1999; Turner et al., 1987). Circumstances may force a collective identity into awareness whether people like it or not. Having multiple identities, one performs an act of juggling to activate a particular dimension of his identity at a given social context (Brewer, 2001).

A host of Studies (Klandermans et al, 2001; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Simon et al., 2000) suggest the correlation between collective identity and protest participation. Simon et al. (1998) suggest that collective identity stimulates collective action participation. The main argument is that a strong identification with a group makes participation in a protest participation on behalf of that group more likely (Klandermans, 2001). Identity processes occupy a central place in protest participation participation (Klandermans, 2014). Protest participation: demonstration, blockade, boycott, distributing pamphlets, and so on.

### **Politicized Collective Identity (PCI) Model**

Collective identity has been defined by many as part and related to social identity. Based on the aforesaid theories, it has at least three components: a cognitive component that refers to the process of categorization, an evaluative component that refers to the assessment of the group's position relative to that of other groups, and an affective component that refers to the degree of attachment to the group (Klandermans et al., 2002). Klandermans further added another behavioral component that is participation in identity organization.

Politicized collective identity may be materialized into collective political action such as revolution and protest. Protest participation of a group of identity, for instance, takes a variety of forms as demonstration, blockade, boycott, distributing pamphlets, and so on. A host of Studies (Klandermans et al, 2001; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Simon et al., 2000) suggest the correlation between collective identity and protest participation. The main argument is that a strong identification with a group makes participation in a protest participation on behalf of that group more likely (Klandermans, 2001).

Merely awareness of being a group member is not sufficient to mobilize its collective political action. Another mechanism is needed. Simon and Klendermans (2001) proposed the triangular model of

politicized collective identity (CPI) might be simply defined as a form of collective identity that underlies group members' explicit motivation to engage in power struggle against other groups in a broader societal context. Politicization takes place through sequential processes of awareness of shared grievances, adversarial attribution, and involvement of society.

Collective identity politicizes when it becomes the focus of a struggle for power (Simon and Klandermans, 2001). It is not an on/off phenomenon. Politicization of collective identity and underlying power struggle unfold as a sequence of politicizing events which gradually transform the group relationship to its social environment.

The process of politicization involves following steps: awareness of shared grievances; a political actor blame for group predicament, claims for compensation are leveled against that actor, the power struggle continues until compensation is granted. If in the process the group seeks to win the support of third parties such as more powerful authorities or general public, collective identity fully politicizes. PCI thus implies a cognitive restructuring of the social environment into opponents and (potential) allies.

### **Causal Mechanism**

The question is how to explain the mechanism of collective action. Klandermans (2014) proposes some concepts. First, identification and consensus mobilization. This concerns the dissemination of the social movement's view point. At the heart of every protest are grievances. Although they do not provide sufficient reason for people to take part in the protest, grievances are the fuel of the motivational engine (McCarthy & Zald, 1976). Identification with an organization makes people susceptible to the frames and interpretations propagated by that organization. Thus, through its influence on the effects of persuasive communication, identification, identification impacts protest participation (Klandermans, 2014).

Second, identification and action mobilization. This concerns the transformation of sympathizers into participants. The stronger people's identification with the organizers and other participants, the more they are determined to participate. Social embeddedness: the more people embedded in organizer networks, the more they identify with the organizations and other participants, and the more they are determined to participate in protest (Klandermans, 2014; Simon, 2011; Sturmer, 2000).

Third, identification and action preparedness. For instance, De Weerd and Klandermans (1999) did not find a direct link between identification and participation; they did find that group identification affects action preparedness which in turn affects action participation. Group identification, action preparedness, and action participation seem to function as a recurrent, self-reinforcing mechanism (Klandermans, 2014). In a nutshell, grievance interpretation, identity formation, and politicization take place within social networks. That is why social embeddedness in such networks is crucial in processes of politicization and mobilization. Politicization of collective identity takes place when grievances are turned into claims and group members begin to campaign and mobilize to win support for their cause (Klandermans, 2014).

### **Confounding variables**

Apart from the aforementioned variables, the literature is also replete with other possible predicting variables for both identification and protest participation. First, demographics such as education, gender and income are expected to be positively associated with protest (Jennings and Van Deth, 1990; Verba et al., 1995). Second, political engagement, preference and discussion may also have effect on action participation. The idea is that engagement with politics can act as incentive to take action in the political arena (Verba et al., 1978, 1995; Klendermans, 2008). Third, partisan engagement is certainly expected to have effect on protest participation (Lowrance, 2006). Last, recruitment as practical way to mobilize the people may also affect the correlation between identity and protest participation.

### **Conceptual Framework**

Drawing much from the aforesaid studies, this study will focus on the collective identity (independent variable), the politicizing process of that identity (intervening variable), and protest participation (dependent variable). Based on the formulation of the problem and the frame of thinking, in this study which is independent variable is affective identity (X1) and engagement with identity organization (X2), the intervening variable is shared grievances (X3), adversarial attribution (X4) and claim for political compensation (X5), while the dependent variable protest participation (Y).

In accordance with the number of variables identified, based on the framework previously described, then compiled a concept that explains the relationship between variables in this study. Conceptual framework adopted from Klandermans' PCI model (2001). Drawing from the aforementioned literature and the number of variables identified, the path analysis of Politicized Collective Identity (PCI) in the empirical case of Blasphemy Protest in Indonesia may be hypothesized as follows:

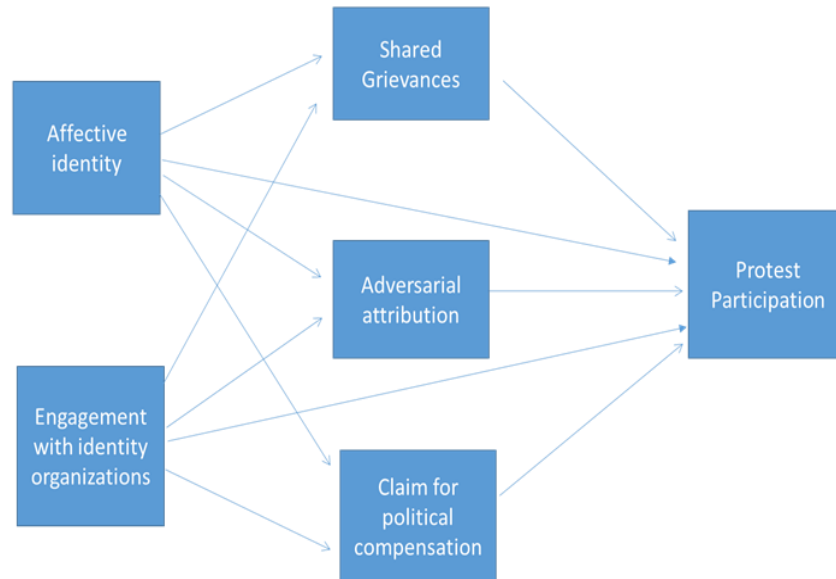


Figure 1. Conceptual Research Framework

## Hypothesis

Following are general hypothesis which will be more specified in the hypothesized path analysis:

- H1: Affective identity positively and significantly influence on shared grievances.
- H2: Affective identity positively and significantly influence on adversarial attribution.
- H3: Affective identity positively and significantly influence on claim for political compensation.
- H4: Affective identity positively and significantly influence on protest participation.
- H5: Engagement with identity organizations positively and significantly influence on shared grievances.
- H6: Engagement with identity organizations positively and significantly influence on adversarial attribution.
- H7: Engagement with identity organizations positively and significantly influence on claim for protest compensation.
- H8: Engagement with identity organizations positively and significantly influence on protest participation.
- H9: Shared grievances positively and significantly influence on protest participation.
- H10: Adversarial attribution positively and significantly influence on protest participation.
- H11: Claim for political compensation positively and significantly influence on protest participation.
- H12: Shared grievances mediates the influence of affective identity on the protest participation.
- H13: Adversarial attribution mediates the influence of affective identity on the protest participation.
- H14: Claim for political compensation mediates the influence of affective identity on the protest participation.
- H15: Shared grievances mediates the influence of engagement with identity organizations on the protest participation.

H16: Adversarial attribution mediates the influence of engagement with identity organizations on the protest participation.

H17: Claim for political compensation mediates the influence of engagement with identity organizations on the protest participation.

## Research Design

### Method

The study applies a cross-sectional survey method to collect the data. Having drawn enough sources from the literature, we found that predicting variables to protest participation might not only be having multi-collinearity, but also unspecified. And merely relying on simple multiple regression or multivariate method which focuses more on linear composites of observed variable, we may not be able to grasp the causal mechanism between identity and protest participation (Leohlin, 2004).

The study, therefore, uses path or structural equation analysis to illuminate the causal correlations of all variables, specified or not (manifest or latent) (Streiner, 2005). A number of studies have paved the way in applying structural equation model (SEM) to analyze the causal mechanism between identity and protest participation. Strummer and Simon (2009), for instance, elaborate theoretically the pathways to collective protest. A study by Giguere and Lalonde (2010) on the student demonstration used path analysis to examine the causal correlations between identity, instrumental value, argument, and political participation. In so doing, this study uses a computer package, SPSS to run the analysis.

### Sample and Data Collection

Survey questionnaires were distributed to respondents for data collection. In this study, a purposive sampling technique was adopted by selecting respondents in this case the participants of action 411 or 212. Because the population in this study is not known with certainty, sampling technique follows a binominal proportions (Snedecor & Cochran, 1967; Lemeshowb, et al, 1997):  $n = Z^2 P (1 - P)/d^2$ .

Whereas:

$z = 1.96$

$p = \text{maximum estimation} = 0.5$

$d = \text{alpha} (0.05)$

It follows,  $n = 1.96^2 \cdot 0.5(1-0.5)/0.05^2 = 384$ .

The number of respondents in this study was 384 people taken purposively from protest participants 411 or 212 rally. The frequency of respondents' profiles is shown below.

Table 1. Respondents' Demographic Profiles

<i>Demographic</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Gender</i>		
<i>Male</i>	192	50%
<i>Female</i>	192	50%
<i>Age</i>		
<i>15-20</i>	40	10.42%
<i>21-30</i>	75	19.53%
<i>31-40</i>	63	16.41%
<i>41-50</i>	81	21.09%
<i>51-60</i>	62	16.15%
<i>61-70</i>	61	15.88%
<i>&gt; 70</i>	2	0.52%
<i>Income</i>		
<i>&lt; 100 USD - 100 USD</i>	51	13.28%

> 100 USD - 200 USD	72	18.75%
> 200 USD - 300 USD	105	27.34%
> 300 USD	81	21.09%
<i>Education Level</i>		
Senior High School	51	13.28%
Diploma	72	18.75%
Bachelor	105	27.34%
Magister	124	32.29%
Doctoral	32	8.33%
<i>Ethnic</i>		
Javaness	105	27.34%
Sundanese	72	18.75%
Bugis	51	13.28%
Others	156	40.63%

Source(s): Data Adapted from Author's Surname year of publication.

## Questionnaire and Measurements

### Independent Variable: Collective Identity

*Affective Identity (AI)*. To measure the affective aspect of identification with Muslim we used three item modified from Klandermans (2001). Scores are made on 5- point scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

*Engagement with Identity Organizations (EIO)*. Using Cameron (2004) model, this variable may be considered as in group ties and usually measured through membership status in identity organization (Klandermans, 2001). We use one items of involvement in any organizer networks of protests. Scores are made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always/regularly).

### Intervening Variable: Power Struggle (Politicization of Collective Identity)

*Awareness of Shared Grievances (SG)*. The measurement of grievances is modified from Lawrence (2006). Scores are made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (To a very large degree).

*Adversarial Attribution of Political Actor (AA)*. We use some three items to measure the adversarial attribution against the actor Scores are made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

*Claim for Political Compensation (CPC)*. Claims for compensation from political actor for causing grievances are measured through three items. Scores are made on 5- point scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

### Dependent Variable: Protest Participation

*Protest Participation (PP)*. Protest participation are measured through one items Scores are made on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Since the protest actually already took place four times, we are basically able to use ratio value to measure the protest participation.

### Confounding Variables: Epsilon

To measure the possible confounding variables such as age, gender, education, income, ethnic, party affiliation, political preference, recruitment, we largely adopt the Lowrance's model (2006).

### Preliminary Results

Prior to evaluating the structural model, collinearity issue was first assessed. The VIF values in the extent of 1.961 to 3.036, which were below the threshold value of 5 (Hair et al. 2014) did not indicate any lateral collinearity issues in this model. Following this, path-coefficient was assessed to examine the significance of hypotheses.

Table 2. Path-Coefficient Assessment

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Std. Beta</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>Result</i>
<i>H1</i>	AI -> SG	0.194	0.029	1.620	0.110	Not Significant
<i>H2</i>	AI -> AA	0.266*	0.032	2.257	0.027	Significant
<i>H3</i>	AI -> CPC	0.134	0.032	1.106	0.273	Not Significant
<i>H4</i>	AI -> PP	0.028	0.075	0.233	0.816	Not Significant
<i>H5</i>	EIO -> SG	0.827**	0.030	12.026	0.000	Significant
<i>H6</i>	EIO -> AA	0.453**	0.053	4.165	0.000	Significant
<i>H7</i>	EIO -> CPC	0.412**	0.052	3.703	0.000	Significant
<i>H8</i>	EIO -> PP	0.431**	0.121	3.906	0.000	Significant
<i>H9</i>	SG -> PP	0.588**	0.249	5.948	0.000	Significant
<i>H10</i>	AA -> PP	0.484**	0.243	4.526	0.000	Significant
<i>H11</i>	CPC -> PP	0.524**	0.243	5.030	0.000	Significant

Note: AI (Affective Identity), EIO (Engagement with Identity Organization), SG (Shared Grievances), AA (Adversarial Attribution), CPC (Claim for Political Compensation), PP (Protest participation).

Based on results in Table 2, eight out of eleven direct relationship hypotheses were supported. Analysis path and statistics test show that:

1. Affective identity has a positive effect of 0.194 on shared grievances, and the relationship is not significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.110 > 0.05).
2. Affective identity positively effect of 0.266 on adversarial attribution, and the relationship is significant because the p value is smaller than 0.05 (0.027. < 0.05).
3. Affective identity positively effect of 0.134 on claim for political compensation, and the relationship is not significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.273 > 0.05).
4. Affective identity positively effect of 0.028 on protest participation, and the relationship is not significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.816 > 0.05).
5. Engagement with identity organization has a positive effect of 0.827 on shared grievances, and the relationship is significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.00 > 0.05).
6. Engagement with identity organization positively effect of 0.453 on adversarial attribution, and the relationship is significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.00 > 0.05).
7. Engagement with identity organization positively effect of 0.412 on claim for political compensation, and the relationship is significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.00 > 0.05).
8. Engagement with identity organization positively effect of 0.431 on protest participation, and the relationship is significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.00 > 0.05).
9. Shared grievances positively effect of 0.588 on protest participation, and the relationship is significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.00 > 0.05).
10. Adversarial attribution positively effect of 0.484 on protest participation, and the relationship is significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.00 > 0.05).
11. Claim for political compensation positively effect of 0.524 on protest participation, and the relationship is significant because the p value is greater than 0.05 (0.00 > 0.05).

Table 3. Hypothesis Testing For Indirect Relationship

<i>Hypothesis</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Direct Effect</i>	<i>Indirect Effect</i>	<i>Decision</i>
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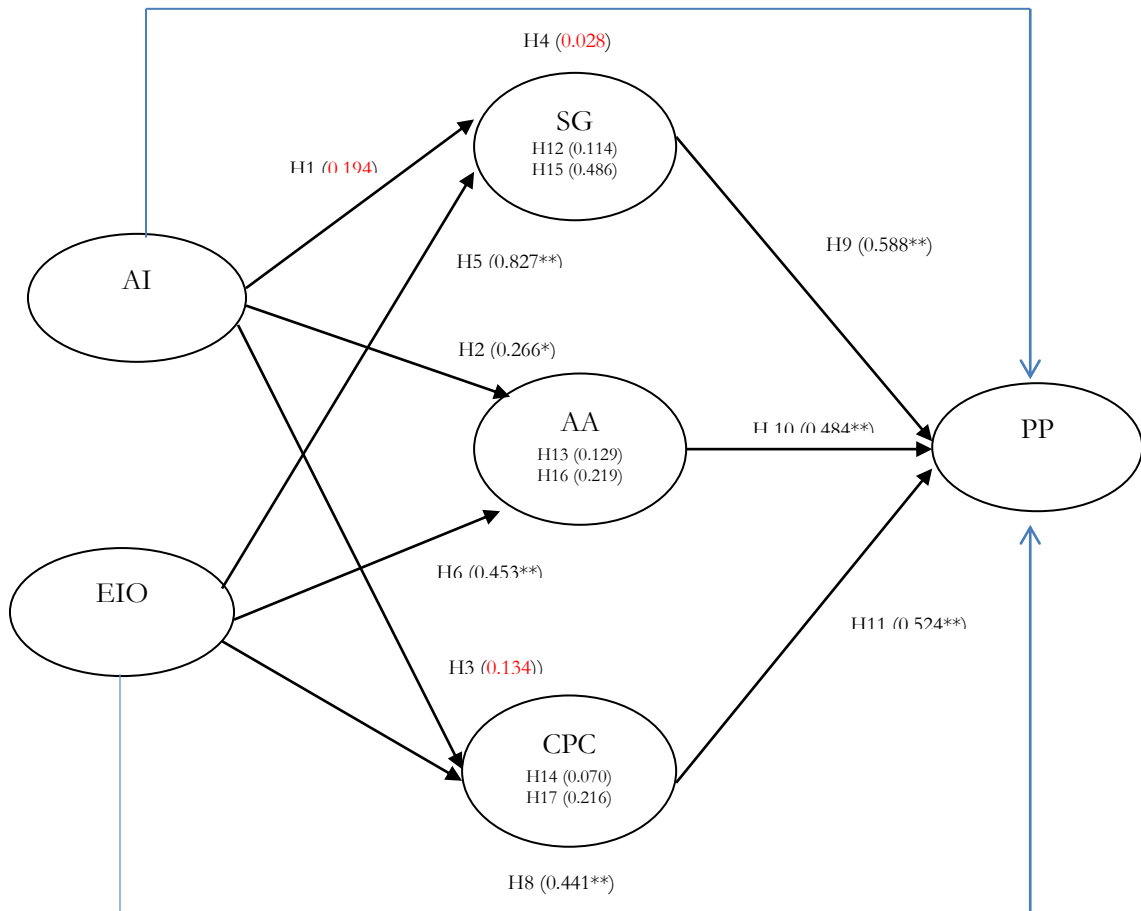


<i>H12</i>	AI->SG->PP	0.028	0.114	Supported
<i>H13</i>	AI->AA->PP	0.028	0.129	Supported
<i>H14</i>	AI->CPC->PP	0.028	0.070	Supported
<i>H15</i>	EIO->SG->PP	0.431	0.486	Supported
<i>H16</i>	EIO->AA->PP	0.431	0.219	Supported
<i>H17</i>	EIO->CPC->PP	0.431	0.216	Supported

Source(s): Data Adapted from Author's Surname year of publication.

Results displayed in Table 3 indicated that indirect effect for H12, H13, H14, H15, H16 and H17 were supported. Based on the analysis of the indirect effect in table 3 it is show that:

1. Direct influence given affective identity to protest participation is equal to 0.028. While the indirect effect of affective identity through shared grievances on protest participation is 0.114. This proves that affective identity not only directly influences protest participation, but also has indirect influence mediated by shared grievances.
2. Direct influence given affective identity to protest participation is equal to 0.028. While the indirect effect of affective identity through adversarial attribution on protest participation is 0.070. This proves that affective identity not only directly influences protest participation, but also has indirect influence mediated by adversarial attribution.
3. Direct influence given affective identity to protest participation is equal to 0.028. While the indirect effect of affective identity through claim for political compensation on protest participation is 0.129. This proves that affective identity not only directly influences protest participation, but also has indirect influence mediated by claim for political compensation.
4. Direct influence given engagement with identity organization to protest participation is equal to 0.431. While the indirect effect of engagement with identity organization through shared grievances on protest participation is 0.486. This proves that engagement with identity organization not only directly influences protest participation, but also has indirect influence mediated by shared grievances.
5. Direct influence given engagement with identity organization to protest participation is equal to 0.431. While the indirect effect of engagement with identity organization through adversarial attribution on protest participation is 0.219. This proves that engagement with identity organization not only directly influences protest participation, but also has indirect influence mediated by adversarial attribution.
6. Direct influence given engagement with identity organization to protest participation is equal to 0.431. While the indirect effect of engagement with identity organization through claim for political compensation on protest participation is 0.216. This proves that engagement with identity organization not only directly influences protest participation, but also has indirect influence mediated by claim for political compensation.



Note:

AI = Affective Identity

EIO = Engagement with Identity Organization

SG = Shared Grievances

AA = Adversarial Attribution

CPC = Claim for Political Compensation

PP = Political Participation

Figure 2. Research Findings

## Discussion

Based on the tested results about the influence of affective identity on the protest participation, it shows that affective identity has a positive but less significant impact on the protest participation. Whereas indirect effect of affective identity, mediated through shared grievances, adversarial attribution, and claim for political compensation, on the protest participation is more significant. These results would probably mean that the better the affective identity the protest participation will be better too. But the protest participation would be highly likely taking place had it triggered by shared grievances, adversarial attribution, and claim for political compensation.

Slightly different, the tested results on the effect of Engagement with Identity Organization on the protest participation shows that there is a positive and significant effect. Although the indirect effect of Engagement with Identity Organization as mediated through shared grievances, adversarial attribution, and claim for political compensation, on the protest participation is more significant than its direct one. These results would mean that the more people engaged in their identity organizations, the more probably they participate in the protest. But the probability to participate in the protest will be higher if it is triggered by shared grievances, adversarial attribution, and claim for political compensation.

Thus, through the path-analysis, all hypotheses proposed in the study which states that identity, both affective and behavioral, has a positive and significant effect on the protest participation is proven. The study also proved the hypotheses which states that the effect of identity on the protest participation is higher when it is mediated by shared grievances, adversarial attribution, and claim for political compensation. The results of this study are in line with the extant studies/researches on the causal correlation between collective identity and collective action except for following cases; (1) the effect of affective identity on the protest participation is positive but less significant when compared to its indirect effect, mediated by other variables; (2) affective identity has a positive but less significant effect on shared grievance and claim for political compensation; and (3) the effect of affective identity on the protest participation is positive but less significant when compared to the effect of Engagement with Identity Organization on the protest participation.

## Conclusion

The results strongly indicate some important points as our conclusion. First, by merely belong to a particular identity does not drive people to participate in the collective action carried out for the sake of that identity. But this identity attachment must be further capitalized by more substantial factors. In our case, merely being a Muslim does not really cause someone to participate in those rallies (*Aksi 411 or 212*). But there must be other motives which encourages him to do so. The study reveals that factors such as sense of injustice, blame, and claim for compensation or responsibility help catalyzing the potent identity attachments and translate them into concrete collective political action, protest participation. Moreover, the path to the collective political action is smoother and faster through engagement in the identity organizations than that of affective identity. This means that networks of those identity organizations along with their activities across the country play more significant role in organizing the masses to participate.

The study sheds light on the possible future trajectory of identity politics in Indonesia. It might be safely hypothesized that identity politics will remains a very potent issue and may at any point in time burs into the political arena when issues of feeling injustice, among other things, arises as trigger mechanism.

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