

The Effects of Collective Challenge, Common Purpose, Social Solidarity, and Sustained Interaction in Participation in the 411-212 Movements in Jakarta's Governor Election

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the effects of collective challenge, common purpose, social solidarity, and sustained interaction on participation in the so called '411-212' movements against the incumbent governor of Jakarta, and to find the most dominant factor that moved people to join the movement. Preliminary study at the grassroots level found many informants considered the movements as a way to defend their religion. Through a quantitative method with additional qualitative data, data analysis was conducted with Partial Least Square (PLS) with 245 samples from a religious institution that was involved in these movements. The result showed that collective challenge and sustained interaction as having positive effects on the participation in the movements, with the collective challenge as the most dominant factor producing $R^2 = 0.959$, and $GOF = 0.7735$. The implication of this study is that religious issue was not the single cause for participating in the movements, but there are other factors such as dissatisfaction toward the local government's policy. Further study is recommended that take into consideration these factors, as well as expanding the location of the research, as this has become a national movement.

1 INTRODUCTION

The 4 November and 2 December 2016 rallies (commonly referred to as the '411-212' movement respectively) attracted media attention due to the fact that it involved a large number of participants and the incumbent governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (BTP) was accused of blasphemy against Islam (Astiana, 2016; Holmes, 2016; Ichwan, 2016). While, a social movement could be influenced by the political environment (Can, 2014), a social movement that happened due to the opportunity created from a political situation such as the '411-212' movement, is not always considered as a political movement (Ichwan, 2016). This line of thinking was confirmed through data from preliminary research, which showed that participants claimed they joined the rallies because they wanted to defend their religion.

From the behavioural science perspective, Kornhauser (Can, 2014) found social movement emerged due to the weakening social bond in families and communities. Yet, the '411-212' movement contradicted this, because the bond amongst Muslim

communities who agreed with the aims of the movement was in fact strengthened (Ichwan, 2016). Tarrow (2011) put forward another theory on social movement, which considered it as a movement based on collective challenge, common purpose, social solidarity and sustained interaction as the basic principles. Considering the conflicting perspectives on social movement, surely, it would be interesting to study the factors that influenced the reason why people participated in the '411-212' movements. The authors chose Tarrow's theory of social movement since the results of the preliminary research showed the resemblance of the factors of the social movement that he proposed, with the behaviours of the participants in the movement.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

della Porta and Diani (2006) found social movement's actors usually involved in collective actions because previously they participated in conflictual relationships with identified opponents, so

that they became bonded in an informal network, and in due course picked up a collective identity. Tarrow, one of the first political scientists to recognize the relevance of social movements as political actors (della Porta, 1995), defined social movements as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" (Tarrow, 2011).

Tarrow (2011) basically considered collective challenge as an action by a group of people to challenge an opponent group. Social movements use collective challenge as the main supporting points, attracting the opponent and third-party attention, and creating a constituent for representing it (Can, 2014; Sunoto, 1994; Tarrow, 2011; Willet, 2013). Furthermore, collective challenge has often been shown through the disruption over people activities and on the governance level, it can be symbolized by a slogan, dress code, or by giving a new name to an object with a new symbol (Tarrow, 2011).

Common purpose is a goal that group members wanted to achieve, which in turn provided a common reason for people to join a movement, such as to collect common claim against a perceived enemy, the authority, or the elites (Tarrow, 2011). Even though, organization or group with certain interest will encourage people to join a movement, not all conflict emerged because of group interest. Sometimes a feeling of having common or overlapping interest provided a reason for people to act and join it (Gamson as cited in Baron, 2013). On the other hand, people will not sacrifice their resources and take a risk to become involved in a movement without a good reason (Can, 2014; Tarrow, 2011; Willet, 2013).

Solidarity in social movement is an acknowledgment of common interest which then changes as a potential to act in a movement (Tarrow, 2011). One of the forms of social solidarity in a community is the willingness of its member to help other members whenever assistance is needed (Durkheim as cited in Can, 2014). On the other hand, group identity shows the willingness and responsibility of the group members to encourage people to participate in a social movement (Polletta and Jasper, 2001).

Social interaction is a general process whereby two or more people involved in meaningful contact, resulting in modified behavior (Elredge and Merrill as cited in Muhammad, 2011). For a social interaction to happen, two things must be present - communication and social contact (Gillin and Gillin as cited in Baboe, 2016). Collective action will turn into a social movement when a controversial issue is maintained, hence the interaction between the movement

participants and the opponent must also be sustained (Tarrow, 2011). While the interaction between the parties involved could happen indirectly, say through social media (Lim, 2005; Lim, 2017), direct interaction is also needed to facilitate it (Matthiesen, 2012).

Based on Tarrow's theory of social movement, this study proposed the following hypotheses:

- H1: Collective challenge has a positive effect on participation in the '411-212' movement in Jakarta
- H2: Social solidarity has a positive effect on participation in the '411-212' movement in Jakarta
- H3: Common purpose has a positive effect on participation in the '411-212' movement in Jakarta
- H4: Sustained interaction has a positive effect on participation in the '411-212' movement in Jakarta

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is based on a quantitative method with additional qualitative data, and the quantitative data were collected using a questionnaire which was created from Tarrow's social movement theory. Participants were asked to indicate their agreements for each of the items based on a five-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 ("*strongly disagree*") to 5 ("*strongly agree*"). The measure was grouped into the four factors of Tarrow's theory, which are collective challenge, common purpose, social solidarity and sustained interaction. Sample questions for each dimension included, "*I carry poster to show that I support the issues that we are fighting for,*" "*I must protest government authorities who do not act upon the mistake of public officials,*" "*As a religious person, I should participate in acts that defend my religion,*" and "*I join a social media group to follow the issues related with my group.*" Prior to the study, reliability testing was assessed against 46 former participants of the '411-212' movement for each social movement factor and items with low reliability were deleted from the scale, leaving 57 items that can be used for the study. Alpha Cronbach were as follows: collective challenge ($\alpha = 0.79$), common purpose ($\alpha = 0.76$), social solidarity ($\alpha = 0.68$), and sustained interaction ($\alpha = 0.72$). Total Alpha score for the entire scale was 0.89.

Using criterion random sampling technique, 300 participants (128 women and 117 men) who are

members of an Islamic Majelis near Jakarta participated in the study after giving informed consent. The participants were selected randomly, as long as met the sample criterion, which are participation in the movements and is an adult. All of the participants were able to read Indonesian at a sufficient level to complete the written scale and were between 12-18 and >55 years of age. On average, participants had 15 years of education. Of the 300 questionnaires that were distributed, 269 was returned (response rate of 89.67 %), and 245 were used for the data analysis. An in-depth interview was conducted to deepen the quantitative analysis results.

4 RESULT

Variance-based Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) using Partial Least Square method was chosen for the data. For this study, the SmartPLS 3 software was used to analyze the data.

The initial model of this study assumed that collective challenge, common purpose, social solidarity, and sustained interaction would have positive effects on the participation of the ‘411-212’ movements in Jakarta. The criteria of the Good of Fit (GOF) index: 0.1 for small size effect, 0.25 for medium size effect, and 0.36 for large size effect (Wetzels, Odekerken-Schröder and van Oppen, 2009). Figure 1 showed the PLS result of the initial model.

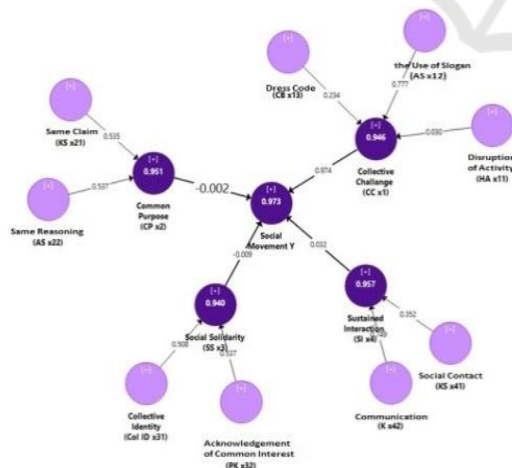


Figure 1: Initial structural model of social movement.

The hypotheses were tested by running a bootstrap towards the initial model, with acceptance criteria of *T* statistics significant at ≥ 1.96 and $p < 0.05$. The result of the test could be seen on the Table 1.

Table 1: The result of hypotheses testing

Hypotheses	Variables	T Statistics (p < 0.05)	Significance
H1	Collective Challenge (X1)	$t = 116.345 \geq 1.96$	Significant
	Disruption of Activity (HA x11)	$t = 1.198 \leq 1.96$	Not Significant
	The Use of Slogan (AS x12)	$t = 33.110 \geq 1.96$	Significant
	Dress Code (CB x13)	$t = 11.288 \geq 1.96$	Significant
H2	Common Purpose (X2)	-	Did not meet validity and reliability criteria
	Same Claim (KS x21)	-	Aborted
	Same Reasoning (AS x22)	-	Aborted
H3	Social Solidarity (SS X3)	$t = 0.816 \leq 1.96$	Not Significant
	Collective Identity (Col ID x31)	-	Aborted
	Acknowledgement of Common Interest (PK x32)	-	Aborted
H4	Sustained Interaction (X4)	$t = 2.172 \geq 1.96$	Significant
	Social Contact (KS x41)	-	Aborted
	Communication (K x42)	-	Aborted

From the table, it can be seen that there are two constructs and two derivative constructs which are significant. The first construct is collective challenge (X1) with derivative constructs “the use of slogan” (AS x12) and “dress code” (CB x13). The second construct is sustained interaction (X4). Therefore, only these constructs are included in the final structural model.

After a further run on the PLS software, the final structural model is emerging, and is being shown in Figure 2.

Using the GOF global formula by Vinzi, Tenenhaus, Chatelin and Lauro (2010), the GOF value of the final model is 0.7735. This means that the model is fit for big sized effect (≥ 0.36) and could explain the 77.35% of the present variants. This result shows that collective challenge and sustained interaction has a positive effect on the people’s participation in the 411-212 movements in Jakarta, with collective challenge is found as the most dominant factor.

5 DISCUSSION

The result of this study only supported two hypotheses, which are the first and fourth hypotheses. Therefore, different from what Tarrow (2011) has found, for the ‘411-212’ movements in Jakarta, collective challenge and sustained interaction are the only two factors that have positive effect toward the participation in the social movement of ‘411-212’.

For the supported hypotheses, there are two explanations. First, the participants used ‘411-212’ movements as a form of collective challenge against their common enemy (BTP). Second, while the participants interacted one another within the group, it was not often nor intensive. On the other hand, interaction with the outer group was limited to daily life interaction which didn’t bring the blasphemy issue. There was indeed interaction in cyberspace, but only some activists conducted it intensively.

The unsupported hypotheses, in the author's opinion, happened because of conflation. Based on the qualitative interviews, there is a possibility of other issues than religion that act as influencing factors. For example, one of the Islamic Majlis's representatives told one of the author that for such a big movement, it was impossible for people not to have their own agenda, so that while surely many participants joined the movements to defend Islam, it was possible for many parties to take advantage of the movements to achieve their own goals (Personal communication with informant on January 5th 2018). According to Haught (1995), conflation emerges when the identity of two or more things, individuals, concepts, places or something with similar or same characteristics, lost its differences, so that those differences became blurred and seen as the same thing. On the '411-212' movements, conflation happened when the participants experienced an obscurity in putting a meaning to the movements. They claimed the '411-212' movements were a way to defend their religion, but they also admitted that they joined the movement because they are against the election of BTP, who had become their common enemy because some of his policies were not favorable to them.

The result of this study is reflected on the current situation of the '411-212' movements, in which the participants who afterwards created an organization called the '212' alumni, were experiencing discord among themselves due to differences in the aims and goals of the movement, especially at the caretaker level of the organization (Defianti, 2018; Fadhil, 2018; Maharani, 2018; Taher, 2018).

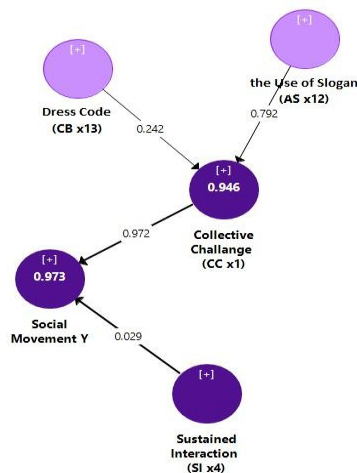


Figure 2: The final structural model.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the discussion on the result of the study, it can be concluded that, first, the theory of social movements by Tarrow (2011) is supported partially, in which only two factors had positive effects on the '411-212' movements participation. These factors are collective challenge and sustained interaction, with collective challenge as the most dominant factor. Second, there might be conflation among the '411-212' movement participants on the meaning of participating in the movement, which was originally thought as purely religious, but turned out might be caused by dissatisfaction on social policies as well as political issues. These facts are reflected in the current situation, with a discord in the '212' alumni, due to the interests and goals differences.

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