Why Do Indonesians Support Controversial Draft-Law? Identity, Group-Based Anger, and Collective Action

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ABSTRACT

The total number of cases of sexual abuse against women in Indonesia is increasing every year. However, there are issues with these rules because there is no specific legal framework that controls sexual violence. The students who were dissatisfied with the parliament's performance then carried out a large demonstration that spread across various cities in Indonesia. Demonstrations are examples of collective action. According to the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA) from [6], at least three things can trigger or predict the emergence of collective action, namely social identity, efficacy, and anger. This study uses a quantitative approach with data collection to college students across Indonesia. The data collection process is carried out by an online survey through SurveyMonkey. We collected 107 people with an age range of 17-29 years (M_{age}=20.33; SD=1.984). The most common age was 21 years (26%). Data was dominated by females with 93 people (87%) and males with 14 people (13%). We analyzed the data using mediation model regression with the PROCESS MACRO Hayes. The results show that group-based anger significantly mediates the effect of politicized identity on collective action. However, politicized identity and group-based anger significantly predict directly on collective action.

Keywords: collective action, politicized identity, group-based anger, psychology, SIMCA.

INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence in Indonesia against women and children has a total number of cases that have increased every year [1, 2]. Unfortunately, legal guarantees for victims of sexual violence in Indonesia are still contained in several separate laws and regulations. Because no law in Indonesia particularly addresses sexual assault based on legality, offenders of sexual crimes may be able to avoid punishment [3].

As a result, the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) has been working on a draft of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (*RUU PKS*) since 2014. In 2016, this draft law was sent to the House of Representatives of Indonesia. The bill, however, has not yet been ratified and has been postponed for continued discussion until the end of 2021. It sparked an activity to persuade the parliament to return this bill to the priority national legislative agenda and complete its ratification, starting with the problem of its uncertain status [4]. The masses, who were displeased with the House of Representatives' performance, staged a major demonstration across Indonesia, including in Yogyakarta, in front of the DPR RI Building in Jakarta, Malang, and Banjarmasin. This action, which took place in September 2019, was organized by students from numerous universities across Indonesia [5].

A demonstration and online petition collection are examples of collective action [6]. A collective action phenomenon is any action in which individuals behave as members of a group to pursue a common goal in social change [7]. Collective action in a political context can be defined as any action taken by individuals as members of a psychological group to achieve group goals [8].

The normative collective action chosen for this study is based on the fact that the movement to ratify the bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence is a peaceful collective action in which participants try to communicate their aspirations by collecting online petitions and holding street demonstrations (Saab 2017). Long marches, creating and distributing flyers conveying case information, as well as

participating in official (advocacy) discussion meetings with the government/stakeholders, are all examples of normative collective action (Tausch 2011). Several groups, such as students and feminist groups, who are disadvantaged groups and observers, are hostile in demonstrations.

Using the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) developed by van Zomeren et al. (2008), it is obvious that social identity can be a powerful motivator for collective action. SIMCA was created to explain why people of disadvantaged groups engage in collective action. According to SIMCA, at least three factors, namely social identity, efficacy, and anger, can cause or anticipate the formation of collective action. SIMCA focuses on the importance of social identity components, particularly politicized identity [6].

However, it turns out that group-based anger does not always show consistent results in its effect on collective action. According to previous research on the findings of Shadiqi et al. (2018), group-based anger is not a component that drives collective action, either directly or indirectly as a mediating effect [11].

Identity

According to a meta-analysis, people who have politicized identities have a stronger influence on collective action than unpoliticized identities people [6]. Politicized identity is a link between social identification and political features; in general, politics is used to affect the distribution of human resources in a group to establish an attitude toward a social movement [12].

Becker and Tausch (2015) reviewed the literature on collective action studies and concluded that a politicized identification could boost the desire for peaceful action in both direct and indirect ways (via group efficacy and group-based anger) [13]. Shadiqi et al. (2018) further show that politicized identification, as measured by the strength of participants' affiliations with Islamic movement organizations, is more effective than religious identity in predicting solidarity action intention [11].

Anger

Based on SIMCA, an individual's group identification can predict their participation in collective action both directly and indirectly through their group-based anger (which should be stronger in people who have a high group identification) [14]. These emotional experiences can raise the unique power of motivation to do something about injustice. Group-based anger feelings are founded on group-based perceptions of injustice; these emotional experiences can increase the unique power of motivation to do something about injustice [15]. SIMCA reveals that disadvantaged group members who define themselves and identify as members of the group have stronger group-based furious emotions and are more likely to participate in collective action as individuals [14]. The outrage has been focused at the Indonesian House of Representatives, which has a habit of delaying discussions and not prioritizing this draft-law to end sexual abuse.

Given the ongoing efforts to approve the law, this research must be made public. As a result, the relevance of this study is to investigate the impact of politicized identity and group-based anger emotions on a person's participation in the elimination of sexual violence's ratification collective action.

Research Hypothesis

There are 4 hypotheses in this study which include 1 major hypothesis and 3 minor hypotheses, namely:

1.4.1. Major Hypothesis

There is an influence of politicized identity on collective action mediated by group-based anger (H1).

1.4.1. Minor Hypothesis

There is an influence of politicized identity on collective action (H2). There is an effect of politicized identity on group-based anger (H3). There is an effect of group-based anger on collective action (H4).

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METHODS

Design and Sample

The data was examined utilizing a survey correlational in this study. This method was chosen to answer exploratory questions concerning the dynamics of the components that determine the intention to take collective solidarity action. (1) politicized identity (as a member of a movement); (2) group-based anger were the two predicted elements that served as research variables. Meanwhile, the dependent variable was (5) collective action on supporting the bill on the elimination of sexual violence.

We collected college students across Indonesia. To recruit participants who were conveniently available, convenience sampling, a non-probability sample technique, was used [16]. The data collection process is carried out online through SurveyMonkey. After the data was collected there were 107 people with an age range of 17-29 years (M_{age}=20.33; SD=1.984). The most common age was 21 years (26%). Data was dominated by females with 93 people (87%) and males with 14 people (13%).

Measurements

The measures were derived from earlier studies by Shadiqi et al. (2018) and tweaked to fit the needs of this study [11]. Except for negative items, which were rated in reverse, all items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1=extremely unlikely/disagree to 7=extremely likely/agree.

Expert evaluation, such as that of psychologists, social psychology researchers, sociologists, and feminists, as well as English and Indonesian language specialists, was used to determine validity. Cronbach's alpha value was used to determine reliability in this study.

With 8 statements relating to normative actions, the measurement of collective action was derived from Tausch et al. (2011) [10], the reliability of this scale in this study is .916. Both questionnaires used four questions to measure politicized identity (alpha reliability=.901) and group-based anger (alpha reliability=.902), and both were adapted and developed from van Zomeren et al. (2010) [17] and Becker et al. (2011) [18]. Some components were updated to reflect the situation in Indonesia, most notably the formulation of categories of action based on expert judgment.

Statistical Analysis

The mediation model regression analysis technique was used to evaluate the hypothesis in this study. The researchers employed the IBM SPSS Statistics 26 application, PROCESS v4.0 from Andrew F. Hayes, with model 4, Bootstrapping 1000, and a total sample size of 107 people [19].

RESULTS

The major hypothesis suggested in this study is that politicized identity has an effect on collective action mediated by group-based anger, such as "passing the bill on the elimination of sexual violence." Hypothesis testing is used to see if the role of the predictor variable on the criterion variable is significant using the mediator variable. The principal hypothesis test in this study found that politicized identity is significant in predicting collective action through group-based anger, (H1, accepted), with a significance of β = .2638, *BootSE* = .0666, *BootCI* 95% [.1371; .3952].

The results of the calculation of the first minor hypothesis show that the politicized identity is significant in predicting collective action directly, (H2, accepted), β = .6000. $t(105)$= 7.6855, $p < .001$, *CI* 95% [1.1149; 1,8902]. Thus, as much as 36% of the variance of politicized identity is able to explain collective action, $F(1, 105) = 59.0667$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .3600$.

The results of the calculation of the second minor hypothesis show that group-based anger is significantly predicted by politicized identity, (H3, accepted), β = .5299, $t(105)$= 6.4032, $p < .001$, *CI* 95% [.2992; .5677]. Thus, a significant 28% variance from politicized identities explained group-based anger, $F(1, 105)$= 41.0006, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .2808$.

For the third minor hypothesis, the results of the analysis show that there is a significant effect of group-based anger on collective action, (H4, accepted), β = .4977, t(105)= 6.3343, p < .001, CI 95% [1,0467; 2,0008].

The correlation coefficient between all predictor variables is positive, which means that the higher the predictor score, the higher the criterion, and vice versa.
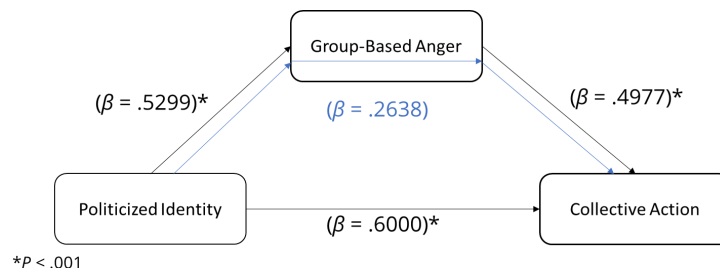

Figure 1 Research result diagram

The major hypothesis "there is an influence of politicized identity on the collective action of the elimination of sexual violence bill mediated by group-based anger" as well as all the minor hypotheses of this study were verified by the hypothesis test utilizing the mediation model regression.

DISCUSSION

This study aims to determine the mediating effect of group-based anger on the role of politicized identity on the collective action of the elimination of sexual violence bill. The findings of this study are consistent with other prior studies that show that politicized identities might predict collective action, such as those of van Zomeren et al (2008) and van Zomeren et al. (2010). Because there are instruments of group social identity and political aspects, individual involvement in a social group leads an individual to believe and act in accordance with the group's goals, to be able to lead someone to be involved in a collective action, which states that politicized identity is so far from the main predictor of collective action [6, 17].

People with a politicized identity, according to our findings, can conduct collective action either directly or indirectly. One of the factors that mediate the relationship between identity and action is group-based rage. Anger might be viewed as a reaction to the ongoing unfairness of sexual violence [20]. This rage prompted many to take peaceful actions in support of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence ratification in Indonesia. Because these group-based criteria were important, we concluded that 87 percent of our participants were women, the majority of whom belonged to groups that were regularly subjected to violence [21].

Because of social group links and political beliefs formed as a consequence of a group, someone with a strong politicized identity will be active in an activity. Politicized identity is based on collective identity, which is a crucial link between social identification and collective action, implying that it involves not just a single social identity in the form of group features or characteristics, but also a collective identity [15]. As a result, the findings of this study show that political identity has a significant impact on the incidence of collective action.

The findings of this study further support Craig's route model, which explains how a person's sense of injustice toward his group (disadvantaged group) can trigger an emotional response that stimulates collective action through the sensation of anger [22]. When people become aware of an unfair incident, they choose to identify as a member of a disadvantaged group (social identity) (disadvantaged group). At the group level, feelings of unfairness are the outcome of a person's collective judgment for the unfair treatment they receive from others [23].

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As a result, this study was able to confirm the hypothesis that ratifying the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence was the result of a person's attachment to a social group, such as someone who joined a student group of sexual violence activists who believed that government stakeholders were not working optimally. This has an impact on the formation of an unified objective to support and oversee policies for sexual violence prevention and punishment by working together. Anger among a group has an additional indirect impact on a person's identity.

CONCLUSION

The impact of a prominent or politicized social identity can lead to group-based anger. Individuals experience injustice as a result of social groupings feeling aggrieved by injustice against victims of sexual violence, resulting in group-based anger. This has an effect on the formation of a shared objective to promote and monitor preventive and punitive measures in situations of sexual assault through collective action. Anger among a group has an extra indirect impact on a person's identity.

There are several limitations that this research has, such as the gender distribution of the research respondents, as well as a small sample of a fairly large population spread throughout Indonesia and limited to student groups. Furthermore, despite the fact that there are many other variables that cause a person to conduct collective action, this research is still limited to discussing the causes of collective action on the aspects of politicized identity and group-based anger.

It is intended that future studies wishing to undertake research on collective action to ratify the Bill of Elimination on Sexual Violence will broaden the issue and reach out to the entire Indonesian population, not only student groups. In addition, researchers can use another predictor variables and motivation to participate in collective action, because there are many other elements that can be investigated to determine what motivates a person to engage in collective action.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Muhammad Alfiannor: Conceptualization, data collection, formal analysis, writing – original draft. Muhammad Abdan Shadiqi: Methodology, Review & Editing, Supervisor. Rifki Zidan: Data collection.

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