

## ABSTRAK

Tesis ini mengkaji motif politik dari kemunculan dan pembentukan Gerakan arah baru Indonesia (GARBI). Kemunculan ini dinilai dengan motif tiga kali lipat: material-insentive, solidaritas-insentive, dan idealisme-insentive sementara formasi diukur dengan struktur tiga kali lipat: peluang politik, mobilisasi, dan pemingkaian. Secara metodologis, merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menerapkan dua teknik pengumpulan data: wawancara mendalam dan dokumenter. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa di antara tiga motif, solidaritas-insentive dapat dibuktikan sebagai faktor penentu yang mempengaruhi munculnya GARBI. Sementara itu, Framing adalah struktur dominan antara lain. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa GARBI bukan sekadar gerakan elit karena kekuatan solidaritas yang murni berasal dari para pemuja GARBI di akar rumput. Dengan memanfaatkan strategi framing, formasi GARBI dapat mendominasi persepsi publik.

**Kata Kunci:** Motif Politik, Gerakan Sosial, Motif Insentif Solidaritas, Pemingkaian Aksi

## ABSTRACT

This paper examines the political motive of the emergence and formation of *Gerakan Arah Baru Indonesia* (loosely: Indonesian New Direction Movement, GARBI). The emergence is assessed by a threefold motive: material-insentive, solidarity-insentive, and idealism-insentive while the formation is measured by a threefold structure: political opportunity, mobilization, and framing. Methodologically, it is qualitative research by applying two data-gathering techniques: in-depth interview and documentary. The finding demonstrates that among the three motives, the solidarity-insentive can be proven as the determining factor which influences the emergence of GARBI. In the meantime, framing is the dominant structure among others. It indicates that GARBI is not merely an elite movement because of the power of solidarity which purely originated from GARBI devotees in the grassroots. By utilizing framing strategy, the GARBI formation could dominate public perceptions.

**Keywords:** political motive, social movement, GARBI, solidarity-insentive, framing