

## Second-Wave Boycott of Israeli Products as Political Economic Movements

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**Abstract.** Israel's attack on Palestinian Gaza left thousands of people dead, including both women and children. In addition, many public facilities such as hospitals, mosques, and refugee camps were damaged. Sympathy for Palestinian Gaza residents has emerged in various countries worldwide. One of them is in the form of a boycott of products that are indicated to be related to Israel. The purpose of this research was to investigate the motivations behind the boycott of goods and services related to Israel in response to the war launched by Israel in Gaza, Palestine, on October 7, 2023, by some Muslim countries and other democratic nations across the globe. The study aimed to determine whether the boycott was driven by political or economic interests alone. This research is a descriptive qualitative research and data collection technique that searches for documents published in various online media in Indonesia and various other countries. The data analysis technique uses the content analysis of published news. The findings of the study revealed that the primary objective of the boycott, which was to put an end to the war in Gaza, Palestine, was not achieved, as the war continued despite the boycott efforts. However, the study found that the secondary objective, which was to reduce the income of companies with ties to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs, was successfully accomplished. The decline in revenue of these companies, whose products were boycotted in various Muslim countries, indicated that the economic goal of the boycott was achieved. It is important to note that this research had certain limitations, including the time frame of the study, which was conducted over only three months, from October to December 2023.

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**Keywords:** Conflict; Israel; Palestine; OIC; Boycott.

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### INTRODUCTION

This research discusses the second wave of boycott movements carried out by the people and governments of a number of countries in the world in response to Israel's attack on the Gaza region, Palestine, in October 2023. The war carried out by Israel under Netanyahu's leadership was initially a populist movement to attract the sympathy of Israeli citizens. Although not as severe as in Israel, populist movements also occur in other

countries, such as in India (Imtiyaz & Fahadayna, 2023). This boycott action is not the first time that this has occurred. The movement has actually been carried out by society or the state with various interests. The boycott movement was carried out by Islamic countries during the first boycott in 2000 against Israeli companies. Boycott movements have also been carried out by several countries in response to the conditions in other countries.

The boycott movement is a form of political-economic movement with various goals. This research was conducted to determine the boycott movement carried out by various countries in the world against Israeli products as a pure economic movement or political movement to fight the war against Israel.

The boycott movement against a brand of product made by a company or produced by a country has long been carried out by many countries and by people around the world. This was done in the United States. The boycott carried out by the United States was carried out as a form of control over products or goods exported from the United States to the country being boycotted (Ryngaert, 2008). Tiongkok also boycotted products originating abroad during the Covid-19 pandemic (Suhud & Allan, 2021). This is done to facilitate control of domestic goods, as well as so that domestically produced goods are better absorbed by the market, which is in a sluggish condition due to the Covid-19 pandemic (Ltifi, 2021). Tiongkok also boycotted products from Japan, in response to the worsening economic conditions in Tiongkok at that time (Reilly, 2014). Canada also boycotted South Africa and Israel (Bueckert, 2020).

Likewise, Arab countries and countries with the majority Muslim of the world's population have carried out a boycott movement against products that have ties to Israeli companies (Slawotsky, 2018). This movement started in 2000-2005, which was

called the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) (Morrison, 2015). The boycott movement against Israel was triggered by Israel's actions, which were considered cruel towards the Palestinians (Cohen & Freilich, 2018). Apart from that, the cause of the boycott was the failure of the peace process to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in accordance with the agreement reached in Oslo (Krylov, 2021). This movement then raises its pros and cons. Opponents consider the boycott to be an anti-semitic movement. Meanwhile, groups that are pro-boycott think that the boycott is a peaceful and non-violent movement to oppose the oppression carried out by Israel against Palestinians (Hitchcock, 2023). The boycott received approval and support from non-Israelis, but was opposed by Israelis living in various countries (Chaitin et al., 2017). The results of BDS movements remain debated by researchers. Ira Sheskin and Ethan Felson assess that the boycott movement can have a measurable and positive impact in certain situations, but there is no guarantee that success will be achieved (Sheskin & Felson, 2016). However, according to Sean McMahon, the boycott movement, which has been carried out since 2000, is considered to have achieved some success in a relatively short time (McMahon, 2014).

Boycotting Israeli products is a topic that is still current and attracts the attention of experts and scientists. This is known from the large amount of research on the boycott of

Israeli products that has been published in the last five years. Like research conducted by Hayiel Hino. Hino's research shows that the boycott of Israeli products carried out in Germany, England and France was driven by anger at the actions taken by Israel against Palestinians, as well as driven by a sense of empathy for the plight of Palestinians (Hino, 2023). Aurelie Brockerhof and Mufid Qassoum conducted research that showed the opposite condition. As a political movement, boycotting Israeli products presents many dilemmas, especially those related to market issues, so it is not easy to implement. (Bröckerhoff & Qassoum, 2021). Jack Shepherd conducted research that correlates with Brockerhof and Qassoum's research. Shepherd revealed that the boycott of Israeli products related to tourism had failed (Shepherd, 2021). This is also the case with sports boycotts that fail. This was revealed by research conducted by Tamir Sorek. Sorek said that 69 percent of Israelis were worried about boycotts in general, but this did not apply to sports, especially football (Sorek, 2021). In Indonesia, research on the boycott of Israeli products was carried out by Hanifah Indriyani Anhar. Anhar researched the legal aspects of the Indonesian Ulema Council's Fatwa which prohibits Muslims from buying Israeli products. Research shows that this prohibition does not conflict with the laws and regulations in force in Indonesia (Anhar, 2023). Conflict resolution is needed, so that the boycott does

not escalate into a social conflict that is detrimental to society at large. One way of conflict resolution is multicultural education (Nurgiansah et al., 2022).

Previous research was mostly related to the first wave of boycott movements carried out by Israeli countries against Israeli products. Apart from that, many other studies have reviewed the boycott of goods from other countries, as a pure economic movement. No other research discusses the second wave of boycott movements carried out in 2023 by various countries in the world against Israeli products. Here this research is truly different, as well as new.

This research questions whether the boycott movement carried out by many Muslim countries, including other democratic countries, is a political movement or just an economic movement. This study seeks to reveal this point. Was the second wave of the boycott movement successful or unsuccessful? If considered successful, what makes it successful? If it fails, what factors cause the failure? This is fully revealed in the Results and Discussion section. According to researchers, the second wave of boycotts by the government, the Muslim community, and other democratic countries was an act of peaceful political economic diplomacy without violence but still firm. This is called strict because there is a prohibition on buying and enjoying certain products that were previously free to buy and consume. It is called

peaceful diplomacy because efforts to prohibit it are carried out only by calling, without any physical violence against other people to accept the invitation and call. This includes no coercion over other parties who reject the boycott movement.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research is descriptive qualitative research, which describes the boycott carried out by many countries, governments, and communities in various countries in the world against products that are indicated to be related to Israel. This research is also a type of phenomenological research that reveals the boycott phenomenon, which is a pure political or economic movement or a political economic movement at the same time, which seeks to stop the war in Gaza, Palestine by reducing income and profits from goods and services that are considered to be related to Israel. The instrument for this research is the leading online media published at the time the research was conducted, namely, October-December 2023. Both media were published in Indonesia, and online media were published in other countries. The data analysis used in this research is a content analysis technique, namely, news content published in various online media. Data validity is carried out by cross-checking or triangulating news sources, namely published online media. Researchers use online media as news sources to avoid bias in the interests of the media and journalists.

This study collected data sourced from online media published in various countries. Data collection using online media sources was justified in the qualitative research. According to Stephen Neville, Jeffery Adams and Catherine Cook, internet-based data collection is one of the strengths and advantages of the digital era. This can be a replacement for data search activities carried out manually, such as before the digital era. This can also encourage researchers to utilize technology and move away from traditional face-to-face interviews when conducting research on vulnerable and limited populations (Neville et al., 2016). According to Meghan Lynch and Catherine Mah, collecting data through online media can be an alternative technique in diverse and extensive qualitative research (Lynch & Mah, 2018).

This research data-collection technique was performed in several steps. *First*, a general data search was conducted. Data searches are generally performed by entering keywords into a Google search engine. The keywords entered into Google are "names of countries that are boycotting Israeli products, 2023." *First*, countries that are members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference are included (OIC). After all of OIC member countries were included, there were several countries that boycotted products that were indicated to be related to Israel. Of the 57 OIC member countries, 28 OIC member countries were found, or half declared a boycott of

Israeli products. *Second*, sorting. The sorting process was carried out by tracing the boycott actions. 1). Is a boycott officially carried out by the government? To find out about boycotts, look for news related to boycott actions by state institutions at a certain level, whether the government, parliament, or institutions outside the government, but whose existence the government recognizes. 2). The boycott is only carried out by the people of that country.

*Third*, content analysis. News content analysis was carried out by analyzing the phenomenon of boycotting products that were related to Israel. Analyze news containing the impact of boycotts on boycotted products in various countries. Content analysis research in qualitative research is common. This was conveyed by Snelson. According to (Snelson, 2016), content analysis is the second most commonly used approach; researchers use posts in online media as a data source. Analyzing the content of news sources that become research materials is relevant in qualitative research. This was stated by Seth Lewis, Rodrigo Zamith and Alfred Hermida. According to Lewis et al, content analysis can be done manually or with digital computing (Lewis et al., 2013).

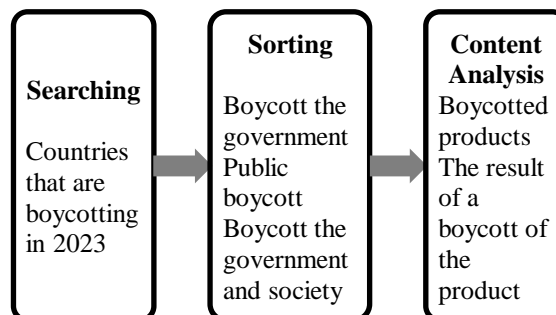


Figure 1. Research Data Collection Techniques (Hidayaturrahman, et al, 2024).

The content analyzed in this research is the relationship between the boycott of Israeli products and the economic impact of these products in the country carrying out the boycott. To avoid biased interests of media owners and journalists who write news, researchers conducted an analysis of various sources of news content from the media. In one country, researchers not only use one medium, which is the source referred to, but also the source of the data analyzed, but it is also varied. For example, in Indonesia, the author refers to the largest media, Kompas.com, in addition to news released by Republika. For clarity, the author attaches table 1, as the main material in this research.

Table 1. List of Media Sources Reporting on the Boycott of Israeli Products, 2024

Num	Name of Media	News Title	Publication Time
1	Cnn indonesia	OIC Countries Call for Boycott of Israeli Products	March 07, 2016
2	Cnbc indonesia	List of countries that hate Israel, North Korea & Cuba the most	November 12, 2023



3	Bisnis.com	40 Latest Israeli Products That Have Been Boycotted Internationally, 36 of Which Are in Indonesia	November 13, 2023
4	Bisnis.com	List of pro-Israel products being boycotted from cosmetics to food	November 13, 2023
5	Voa indonesia	Call to boycott pro-Israel products, is it effective?	November 12, 2023
6	Investopedia.com	Why North Korea Hates the U.S.	August 27, 2021
7	Nbc news	Cuba policy is domestic politics. It's a tough spot for Biden	August 6, 2021
8	Time.com	What to Know About U.S. Military Support for Israel's Gaza Offensive	November 3, 2023
9	The wall street journal	North Korean Officials Ordered to Support Palestinians, Says South Korea	November 2, 2023
10	38 north	North Korea's Covert Alliance with Iranian Aligned Militias in the Middle East	October 23, 2023
11	Reuters.com	U.N. votes to end US embargo on Cuba; US and Israel oppose	November 3, 2023
12	Middleeastmonitor.com	Boycott campaign against pro-Israel companies is sweeping the Arab world	November 7, 2023
13	Themediaonline.org	Jordan: Anti-Israel Boycott Campaigns Target American, British, French Products Companies	November 11, 2023
14	Samaa.tv	Boycotts target Western brands in some Arab nations over Israel's war on Gaza	November 23, 2023
15	Asianews.network	Amid the crisis in Gaza, people are calling for boycotting 'Israeli' goods. But do they work?	November 28, 2023
16	Dailysabah.com	Boycott of Israeli goods grows across Turkey amid attacks on Gaza	November 6, 2023
17	Ypagency.net	Algerians boycott brands supporting "Israel"	November 6, 2023
18	Malaysiakini.com	Is boycotting Israeli products effective?	November 9, 2023
19	Newarab.com	Egypt's boycott campaign of pro-Israel Western franchises grows	November 3, 2023
20	Kaieteurnews.com	Muslim shops in India are boycotting Israeli products	November 14, 2023
21	Currentaffairs.adda247.com	Israel Products List to Boycott in India	November 28, 2023
22	TheDiplomat.com	Uzbekistan's Imams Stand in Solidarity with Palestine, Caution Against Propaganda	November 3, 2023
23	Aljazeera.com	Iran's Khamenei calls for boycott of Israel amid Gaza bombardment	November 1, 2023
24	Raajje.mv	Maldivians take to the streets, demand to boycott companies profiting from genocide in Palestine	December 8, 2023
25	Cnbc indonesia	Starbucks Losses IDR 186 T Due to Israel Boycott Action	December 10, 2023
26	Republika.co.id	Starbucks is quiet due to boycott, investors in Malaysia are recommended to sell shares	December 11, 2023
27	Republika.co.id	Calls to Boycott Zara Increase	December 11, 2023
28	New straits times	The impact of your Israeli goods boycott	November 14, 2023
29	Theedgemalaysia.com	Malaysia's economic growth to be affected if Palestine-Israel conflict escalates	November 28, 2023
30	Wionews.com	Malaysians boycotting McDonalds, Burger King over support to Israel, Palestine respond	November 4, 2023
31	Middleeastmonitor.com	Boycott campaign against pro-Israel companies is sweeping the Arab world	November 7, 2023
32	Timesofindia.indiatimes.com	Boycott campaigns over Gaza war hit Western brands in some Arab countries	November 23, 2023

33	Voanews.com	Top Indonesian Islamic Clerics Call for Israe November 13, 2023 Boycott
34	Arabnews.com	Boycott campaigns over Gaza war hit Western November 22, 2023 brands

## RESULT

After the Israeli attack on the Gaza region, Palestine, October 2023, governments and communities in various countries in the world carried out a boycott campaign against products that were indicated to be related to Israeli companies. The boycott campaign was accompanied by calls for Arab countries to establish severe ties with Israel. At almost the same time, Turkey and Jordan recalled their ambassadors at Tel Aviv. South Africa also summoned its diplomats for consultations. Colombia, Chile, and Bolivia have cut diplomatic relations with Israel. Bahrain's House of Representatives announced the severance of economic ties with Israel, although the government did not confirm this. The same call was made for Jordan. This also happened in Egypt, Qatar, Kuwait, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (Middle East Monitor, 2023).

Calls for a boycott of Israeli products were made by member countries of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) at the Extraordinary Summit held in Jakarta, Indonesia, on March 7, 2016 (Armandhanu & Samosir, 2016). Of the 57 member countries of the OIC, 28 countries have declared a boycott of products that are indicated to be related to Israel. These countries are Algeria, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Morocco,

Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, Indonesia, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Maldives, Malaysia, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan, Yemen, Jordan, and Turkey. Apart from OIC member countries, there are several other countries whose residents have declared a boycott of products that are indicated to be related to Israel, such as India, etc.

In Indonesia, the call for a boycott of products indicated to be linked to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs was conveyed by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), through MUI fatwa Number 28 of 2023 concerning "Law on Support for the Palestinian Struggle." In this fatwa, the Indonesian Ulema Council appealed to or recommended Muslims to avoid transactions and the use of products supporting Israel (Nurdifa, 2023). In Turkey, a boycott of products linked to Israel was carried out by the Grand National Assembly in the Turkish Parliament. It said it decided "not to sell products of companies that support Israel in restaurants, cafeterias and shops on campus." (Wardah, 2023). In Malaysia, Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim uttered harsh words against Israel, which further sparked anger against the West, including against companies indicated to have ties to Israeli companies. This was greeted with a boycott of McDonald's, Burger

King and Starbucks circulating on social media (Singh, 2023).

Several forms of rejection have been carried out in several countries in Israel. *First*, we rejected passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. A total of 16 Arab and OIC countries do not accept Israeli passports: Algeria, Bangladesh, Brunei, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Oman, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. Eight of them also did not accept passports from other countries whose holders had Israeli visas authorized in that country. *Second*, state-owned companies are prohibited from flying to Israel. There are 22 countries that prohibit direct flights to and from Israel: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brunei, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the UAE, Yemen, and Palestine. *Third*, prohibit buying products that are stated to have a connection with Israel. In Indonesia, boycotts were carried out on pro-Israel trademarks, such as PT Fast Food Indonesia Tbk (FAST), which sells the KFC trademark; PT Erajaya Swasembada Tbk (ERAA), which sells the iPhone trademark; and PT Mitra Adiperkasa Tbk (MAPI), which sells several brands. trade: Starbuck, Subway, Burger King, Domino's Pizza, Krispy Kreme, Converse, New Balance, and Nike. In Turkey, the Turkish government and parliament prohibit

all restaurants and restaurants from selling Coca Cola and Nestle beverage products.

The Generally, many products are related to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs that are being boycotted, including Sabra, Pillsbury, Axa, SodaStream, Ahava, Jaffa, Eden, Strauss, M&S, River Island, Delta, Scarlett, ESQA, Rose All Day, Dr. Fischer, Saboon, and Moroccanoil. In Algeria, entrepreneurs who owned businesses in large malls announced that they would stop marketing many Israeli brands. Oran Shopping Center, a large shopping center in western Algeria, announced that it was boycotting brands that supported Israel and stopped introducing all brands that supported the Israeli government's economy. In Indonesia, quite a large number of products were boycotted which were indicated to have ties to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs, ranging from food, clothing, cosmetics, electronics, etc (Lestari, 2023).

The policy or political attitudes of countries that boycott products indicated to have ties to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs cannot be separated from the political interests of these countries to oppose any Israeli interests (Acosta, 2023). The weakening of Israel's economic strength will make it increasingly economically dependent on other countries. Furthermore, when Israel is dependent on other countries, Israel will no longer be a strong country. This will, of course, reduce Israel's war spending, including



spending on providing weapons and paying army salaries. Thus, Israel is not easy or free to carry out military aggression again in the Gaza region of Palestine. The countries that

conduct boycotts and the forms of boycotts are presented in detail in Table 2.

Table 2. Forms of Boycotts by Countries in the World Against Israel, 2024

Country	Forms of Boycott	Products	Brand
Algeria	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel. Boycott products and companies that support Israel	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Afghanistan	Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Airplane ban	
Saudi Arabia	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Libya	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Morocco	Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel. Boycotts food and drinks.	Airplane ban	Starbuck
Egypt	Boycotts food and drinks		Pepsi, Coca Cola, McDonald's, Burger King, Pizza Hut, Papa John's, Domino's Pizza.
Somalia	Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Airplane ban	
Sudan	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Tunisia	Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Airplane ban	
Indonesia	Prohibits the purchase of products deemed to have ties to Israel.		KFC, Starbuck, Subway, Burger King, Domino's Pizza, Krispy Kreme, Danone, McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Burger King, Pizza Hut, Papa John's, Nestle, Jaffa, Eden, Strauss, Tivall. I-Phone, Hewlett Packard (HP), Siemens, Motorola, Intel, IBM, AOL, META

			Converse, New Balance, Nike, Timberland, PUMA, M&S, River Island, Delta. L'Oréal, Revlon, Estée Lauder, Kimberly-Clark.
Bahrain	Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Airplane ban	
Bangladesh	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Brunei Darussalam	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Iraq	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Iran	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Kuwait	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	Starbucks, McDonald's, KFC
Lebanon	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Maldives	Ban on Israeli passports entry to Maldives	Passports	Puma, Pizza Hut, KFC, Starbucks, McDonald's.
Malaysia	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	McDonald's, Burger King, Starbucks, Grab, Milo, Nescafe.
Oman	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Pakistan	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	Dominos, Carrefour, McDonalds, Coca Cola, dan PepsiCo
Palestine	Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Airplane ban	

	Banning ZARA products		ZARA
Qatar	Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Airplane ban	McDonald's French Maitre Choux Cake
United Arab Emirates	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Uzbekistan	Calling for a boycott while looking for alternatives		Starbucks, Pepsi, Coca Cola
Yaman	Reject passports from Israel and other passports containing Israeli stamps or visas. Prohibits state-owned airlines from flying to and from Israel.	Passports Stamps Visas Airplane ban	
Jordan	Jordanian citizens launched a strong boycott campaign		McDonald's, Coke, Pepsi, Starbucks, KFC, Pizza Hut, Carrefour.
Turki	Removing products from menus in all restaurants.		Coca-Cola, Nestle Unilever
India	Muslim shops in India are boycotting Israeli products		Cassidi, Castro, Fox, Honigman, Kenvelo, Elie Tahari, TNT, Gottex, Tzomet Sfarim. Angel Bakeries, Bamba, Berman's Bakery, Bissli, Carmel Agrexco, Cow Chocolate, Klik. Krembo, Landwer Coffee, Tiv Ta'am, MacDavid, Max Brenner, Osem. L'Chaim Vodka, Lone Tree Brewery, Mey Eden, SodaStream, Tempo Beer Industries, and Vodka Perfect. Pepsi, Coca Cola.

## DISCUSSION

### *Politically and Economically Motivated Boycotts*

Boycotting economic activities is considered a relevant step as an alternative for decision making for various reasons and motivations (Klein et al., 2004). In an economic context, a boycott is intended to provide punishment or sanctions for the party being boycotted so that those who are boycotted can change their behavior (Braunsberger & Buckler, 2011). However, boycotts that are often carried out also have non-economic motives and goals such as religious motives (Mirza et al., 2020). Boycotts

with religious motives can be successful if carried out with encouragement and examples from religious figures. However, religiously motivated boycotts are only strong among religious people (Kalliny et al., 2018).

Boycotts are often politically motivated. This is similar to the boycott of Japanese goods sold in various countries in 1930 (Ayuso-Díaz & Tena-Junguito, 2020). In addition, a boycott was carried out by the United States government in 1930 (Hawkins, 2010). Politically motivated boycotts carried out by Muslim countries against Danish goods were carried out after the Prophet

Muhammad Comics case in 2005 (Chen, 2023). China boycotted Japanese goods in response to the Senkaku/ Diaoyu Island conflict in 2012 (Prabowo, 2021). Likewise, the boycott was carried out by the United States of goods produced by France as a result of the Iraq War in 2003. Turkey also boycotted Israeli goods in response to the conflict in Gaza, Palestine in 2014 (Heilmann, 2016). In European countries, such as Northern Europe, Central Europe, Southern Europe, and Eastern Europe, boycotting goods for political reasons is often considered a new political model or a new model of political participation (Kyroglou & Henn, 2022). This can be called consumer politics, which remain sensitive to the social and political structures between countries in the form of consumer participation (Yates, 2011). Consumer boycotts are a global and historic phenomenon in modern society that is repeatedly practiced by many countries (Smith & Li, 2010).

A boycott carried out by a country against another country's products or goods has strong political motives and encouragement. Cases of boycotts carried out by various countries are related to political issues which then have an economic effect on boycotts. The same thing also happens to boycotts carried out by governments or countries, and communities in various parts of the world, which are political actions using economic instruments. The boycott was carried out to pressure Israel to stop aggression in Gaza, Palestine. The decline in Israel's economic income is expected to reduce Israel's income from products and goods sold in various countries. With decreasing state income, it is hoped that Israel will lack or run out of money to finance its war in Gaza, Palestine. Moreover, because the costs incurred by Israel for the war in Gaza, Palestine are very large.

However, is the boycott carried out by dozens of countries in the world effective or successful in stopping the war waged by Israel? It doesn't seem to work. Until the end of December 2023, the Israeli-Palestinian war is still ongoing. Even though the call for a boycott has been made since October 2023. This means that several months after the call for a boycott of Israeli products was made, Israel continues to carry out its actions in Gaza, Palestine. If looking at the main target, the boycott of Israeli products was not successful. However, this is not the case with the intermediate target, namely reducing the income of companies that are indicated to be related to Israeli companies. Starbucks experienced a decline in market value of almost US\$12 billion, or around Rp. 186 trillion, over the last month. The losses experienced by Starbucks occurred because sales were reported to be slowing amid declining consumer purchasing power and increasing disputes between the company and its own employees. There are also those who speculate that the decline in value is the result of a boycott of Israel's attack on Gaza (CNBC Indonesia, 2023).

In Indonesia, for example, boycotting products that are indicated to have ties to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs in Indonesia has an impact on the company's performance and income. Within a month, the shares of three companies, namely PT Fast Food Indonesia Tbk (FAST), PT Erajaya Swasembada Tbk (ERAA), and PT Mitra Adiperkasa Tbk (MAPI) experienced a decline. PT Fast Food Indonesia Tbk (FAST) fell 5.62% in a month at IDR 755/share, PT Erajaya Swasembada Tbk (ERAA) fell 23.98% in a month at IDR 336/share, and PT Mitra Adiperkasa Tbk (MAPI) fell 15.33% in a month to IDR 1,685/ share (Setiawati, 2023).

Likewise with Malaysia, the high enthusiasm of Malaysians for boycotting products and goods that are indicated to be related to Israel has had a negative impact on these products and goods (Hakim, 2023). One of the products affected by the boycott in Malaysia is Starbucks. Starbucks experienced a decrease in visitors of up to 30 percent, as a result of the boycott related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This was stated by RHB Research in Malaysia. As a result of this decline, it is recommended to sell Berjaya Food Bhd shares (Noor, 2023). In Malaysia there are 50,000 workers affected by the boycott (Bernama, 2023).

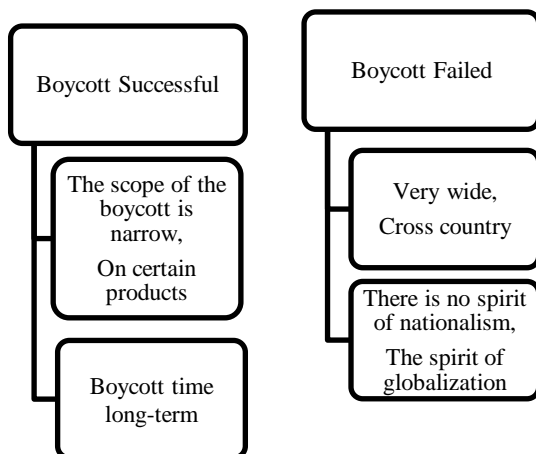


Figure 2. Causal Factors that Make Boycotts Successful and Unsuccessful (Hidayaturrahman, et al, 2024).

### Causal Factors that Make Boycotts Successful and Unsuccessful

Boycott actions do not necessarily produce results in accordance with the goals desired by the party carrying out the boycott. There are conditions and situations that make a boycott succeed or fail. There are several conditions that can make a boycott successful. *First*, boycott within one region or country.

Such as China's boycott of tourism in a number of countries, in the form of prohibiting Chinese tourists from traveling to a country. This boycott action has an impact on the income of the boycotted country's tourism sector (Yu et al., 2020). *Second*, the boycott is carried out in the long term. This happened when China boycotted products and goods from Japan, from 2009 to 2015. The boycott had a significant impact on sales of vehicles and other goods from Japan. So Japanese brands dropped significantly during and after the impactful boycott (Barwick et al., 2019).

Meanwhile, boycotts are unsuccessful or experience failures in companies or products in the following ways. *First*, the market is very broad, across countries. Multinational companies do not easily experience negative impacts from boycotts. This is because the market is very wide. It could be that a boycott in one country is successful, but it doesn't apply to markets in other countries (Hoffmann, 2014). *Second*, the spirit of globalization and the feeling of equality among citizens of different countries. This happened in South Korea, when Japan boycotted South Korea (Vekasi & Nam, 2019).

It is interesting to discuss here, if all the variables of successful and unsuccessful boycotts are present, then, among these variables, the strongest one. From the data collected and analyzed by researchers, it turns out that many products that were boycotted in the second wave experienced quite large



losses. This means that the economic goal of the boycott is achieved, when the boycott is carried out simultaneously, both by the government and society. This happened to the Starbucks company, which experienced losses of up to hundreds of trillions after the second wave of the boycott movement, in 2023. However, not all products or companies that are boycotted suffer the same fate as Starbuck, although they also experience losses, but not as badly as Starbuck.

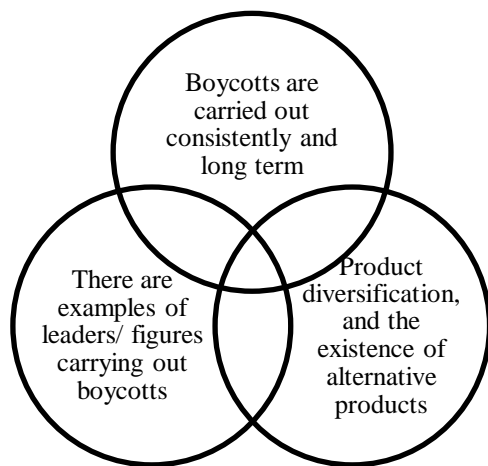


Figure 3. Boycott Strategy to Run Effectively (Hidayaturrehman, et al, 2024).

If the boycott action carried out by Muslim-majority countries and others wants to be politically successful, especially to achieve the main goal, namely stopping Israel's war in the Gaza region, Palestine, then the initiators and drivers of the boycott action need to pay attention to the following things. *First*,

boycotts are carried out consistently and long term. Boycotts are not only carried out at certain times, but are also carried out for a long period of time and are consistently implemented. *Second*, there are examples of figures or leaders carrying out boycotts. Figures and leaders gave continuous warnings against the boycott. *Third*, product diversification, or the creation of alternative products. Countries that boycott products and goods that are indicated to be related to Israel need to make similar products or goods that become market needs. So that after a boycott is carried out, consumers do not return to the boycotted products or goods. Here it is important for the state to open the free market as freely as possible, so that other producers can enter as an alternative. In the era of globalization, this is very possible. Or it can also be done by empowering local or domestic producers.

**Second Wave Boycotts and Boycott Theory**

Boycott actions that are carried out consistently and over the long term are relevant to the boycott theory put forward by Robert Innes. According to Innes, a boycott can take the form of a small continuous boycott of small companies in a particular industry, or a temporary boycott with a large scale against companies that are also large in an industry. Such a boycott will encourage the

target company being boycotted to eventually agree to the boycott demands quickly (Innes, 2006). Similar things were conveyed by Hayiel Hino and Israel Nebenzahl. According to Hino and Nebenzahl, boycotts have an important impact on a company's market share and profitability. To deal with massive boycotts in broader markets, there needs to be the development of effective strategies to overcome the complex consequences of consumer boycotts in foreign markets. (Hino & Nebenzahl, 2021).

Likewise, the existence of figures who influence the general public to boycott certain products is in accordance with the boycott theory put forward by Cheng Hong and Cong Li. According to Hong and Li, consumers have a tendency to boycott a product when their personal stance is connected to a sociopolitical issue that consistently receives strong support from the public. This happens because individual perceptions are influenced by information spread as a form of public support (Hong & Li, 2021). A similar opinion was also expressed by Beatriz Palacios-Florencio, and friends. According to Florencio and friends, participating in a boycott of a product is influenced by the legitimacy given to the boycotting behavior and an ethical ideology based on idealism. This is an explanatory factor in attitudes towards boycott behavior (Palacios-Florencio et al., 2021).

The existence of product diversification also makes boycott actions

more effective. This was stated by Timothy Brennan. According to Brennan, boycotts will be effective if there is repetition of action, and there is variation in relative preferences over time, so that consumers have the opportunity to compare one product with another. When a product is boycotted, and consumers move to another product, consumers have previously tried using that product. If these factors are ignored, the impact of the boycott will be insignificant. Product heterogeneity over time will increase consumer preferences, and may increase the impact of boycotts. Consumer preferences for various products are necessary for a boycott to be effective (Brennan, 1992).

The boycott movement that takes place globally, across countries, is expected to be able to influence the political policies of a nation. According to Michiel Bot, the transnational nature of the boycott movement raises problems related to political legality issues across national borders. Bot questions whether the transnational boycott campaign movement is legally justified as a right to political participation in local or national policies (Bot, 2019). This was then answered by Omar Barghouti, who stated that the boycott movement is a form of non-violent movement, so that there is a balance between ethical principles and strategies that are considered effective in fighting for equality, justice and freedom for Palestine (Barghouti, 2021). Sriram Ananth also considered that the movement to boycott Israeli products was a

form of struggle and political solidarity from all citizens of the world regarding the fate of Palestinian civilians (Ananth, 2013). Simona Sharoni, and friends consider that the boycott movement is the right and urgent solution for Palestinians to get justice and freedom. As well as a form of solidarity for the Palestinian people that they are not alone in their struggle (Sharoni et al., 2015). John Chalcraft called the movement to boycott Muslim countries an inclusive, democratic movement that has political goals, without having to take over power (Chalcraft, 2018). According to Abdel Razzaq Takriti, boycotts play an important role in the global war of position currently involving the Palestinian solidarity movement (Takriti, 2019).

The boycott movement against products that are indicated to be related to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs, which began in 2005, and will be intensified at the end of 2023, is a political and economic movement that is dignified and legal in humanitarian terms. The boycott movement is a political effort carried out by the government/ state and society, to pressure Israel to stop the war in Gaza, Palestine. However, political efforts to stop the war failed. However, the economic goal, namely reducing the income of companies that were indicated to be related to Israeli companies and entrepreneurs, was successfully carried out. Furthermore, the decline in Israel's economic income in the

future is expected to stop Israel's war in Gaza, Palestine, in the long term

## CONCLUSION

The boycott carried out by many countries, especially Muslim-majority countries, against goods and services that are indicated to Israeli companies and entrepreneurs is driven by the main motive, namely political motives, to stop the war being waged by Israel in the Gaza region, Palestine, not successful, because until the end of December 2023, Israel was still fighting in Gaza, Palestine. The economic goal, that is reducing the income of companies that were indicated to be related to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs, was successfully achieved. In many countries that carried out boycotts, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and others, the income of companies that were indicated to Israeli companies or entrepreneurs experienced a significant decline during the boycott. This research has limitations in terms of time, because it was only carried out in three months, during October-December 2023. There needs to be further research regarding how consistently the government and Muslim community carry out boycotts. Further research is also needed to measure how much companies around the world lost during the boycott.

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