



THE CYCLE OF CONTENTION IN SEKBER 65 MOVEMENT MOBILIZATION

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ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS

social movement; threat and opportunity; cycle of contention; Sekber 65

This study aims to analyze the cycle of contentions in the mobilization of the Sekber 65 movement by outlining strategies for utilizing threats and opportunities. Reform succeeded in driving the formation of a democratic narrative and the state's commitment to meeting the human rights needs of its citizens. Democracy influenced the emergence of various social movements and civil society organizations that consistently criticized the state. Various contentious actions responded to the post-reform state's increasing cases of human rights violations. Sekber 65 is one of the social movements that emerged at the beginning of the reformation period to try to restore the reputation of the 65's victims and demand protection of human rights from the state for them. The contentions relationship between Sekber 65 and the state analyzes using the theory of contentious politics in social movements from Sidney Tarrow's perspective, particularly in using threats and opportunities in the cycle of contentions. This research uses qualitative methods and a case study approach. This research obtained primary data sources through in-depth interviews with Sekber 65 officials. This study found that (1) Sekber 65 emerged from post-reform democratization opportunities and continues to face threats in the form of state rejection of 65's victims. However, Sekber 65 seeks opportunities during this lifelong threat by mobilizing a broader movement. (2) Sekber 65 has the cycle of contentions stages, creating a demobilization movement.

INTRODUCTION

Human rights policy mechanisms in Indonesia have developed since the ratification of Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights and Law Number 26 of 2000 concerning Human Rights Courts (Supriyanto, 2014). In the early days of reform, the state had committed to fulfilling the human rights needs of its citizens. This policy goes hand in hand with forming a democratic narrative that upholds the values of Pancasila (Mietzner, 2020; Prasisko, 2016).

Unfortunately, implementing policies and changes in the post-reform Indonesian government system did not last long. Over time, it is not uncommon for the state to take actions that violate the rules of law. Human rights violations that often occurred before the reform are now being perpetuated even by the state itself (Mietzner, 2020).

Fortunately, post-reform democratization has created freedom for civil society to assemble and associate. Various social movement groups or civil society organizations with their respective interests continue to fight for the rights of their groups (Prasisko, 2016). After the reform, the relationship between the people and the state is often contradictory and creates a variety of recurring conflict actions.

One of the human rights movements that emerged in the early days of reform was Sekber 65. Since 2005 this movement has continued to gather victims of the 65 tragedy whose rights had been violated during the New Order era (Asyifani & Suryadinata, 2021). National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) research stated that the state committed gross human rights violations in 1965-1966. Violations of human rights by the state in 1965-1966 included enslavement, persecution, torture, killings, enforced disappearances, forced evictions, sexual violence, and deprivation of liberty (Komnas HAM, 2012).

As a movement that brings together victims of the 65 tragedy, Sekber 65 demands that the state restores the victims' good name and provides proper human rights protection to them. It is a complex thing because the context presented by Sekber 65 tends to be very sensitive (Asyifani & Suryadinata, 2021). The relationship between the state and Sekber 65 forms a contention and counter-movement relevant to the concept of contentious politics in social movements by Sidney Tarrow (Lichbach, 1998; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001; Tarrow, 2011).

According to Tarrow, contentious politics is when ordinary people ally with influential parties to confront the elite or opponents. The threats trigger contentious politics, creating opportunities for social movements to carry out their collective actions even with limited resources. The existence of repeated contentious politics then creates a cycle or what Tarrow calls a cycle of contentions (Lichbach, 1998; Tarrow, 2011, 2021).

The cycle of contention is a conflict or contention between a contender and an opponent, which in each repetition phase always experiences an increase in level. This cycle creates an opportunity, obtained from the outside, to overcome weaknesses within the social movement. According to Tarrow, this cycle focuses on restoring civil society's political rights (Tarrow, 2011).

Tarrow describes the cycle of contention in five phases. The first phase is mobilization, which maps out the relationship between social movements and the state. The second phase is forming coalitions and a repertoire such as campaigns, field actions, or discussion groups. The third is the exhaustion phase. The movement experiences a setback in the mobilization process due to a weakening of collective identity and a need for more internal and external resources. The fourth phase is institutionalization, which improves the shape of the movement to become more structured and intense. The final phase is stabilization, which means the return of good relations between actors (Tarrow, 2011).

Previous studies in Indonesia that analyzed social movements using contentious politics theory by Tarrow were still limited to explanations related to moments of collective action of local movements (Ayodya et al. 2017; Gili, Noak, and Bandyah 2018; Kodri 2016; Ratu and Vidya 2020). Meanwhile, contentious politics theory continues to develop in Europe and America by highlighting the cycle of contentions. Boudet & Ortolano (2010), Romano (2012), and Hutter & Weisskircher (2022) show that the political situation and collaboration of resources greatly influence the movement mobilization process (Boudet & Ortolano, 2015; Hutter & Weisskircher, 2022; Romano, 2012). Hsiao (2018) shows that social movements must be able to find repertoire innovations and adapt to technological developments (Hsiao, 2018). Walgrave et al. (2011) demonstrated the phenomenon of potential movement fatigue, which affect the proliferation of movement institutionalization. The emergence of movement digitalization with new repertoire forms alludes to the implementation of the re-stabilization phase (Walgrave, Lance Bennett, Van Laer, & Breunig, 2011). In this way, the analysis of contentious politics, especially in the ongoing cycle of contentions in the Sekber 65 organization, is a form of the empirical novelty of past studies. Moreover, This study aims to analyze the cycle of contentions in the mobilization of the Sekber 65 movement by outlining strategies for utilizing threats and opportunities.

RESEARCH METHOD

This qualitative research uses a case study approach in the new social movement organization, Sekretariat Bersama 65 (Sekber 65), located in Solo. A case study is a qualitative approach that examines a particular locus or research focus in a specific and in-depth manner (Creswell, 2013). Sekber 65 was chosen as the locus of research because it is the only independent social movement organization working to seek reconciliation for victims of the 65 tragedy in Solo and its surroundings. The data source for this research was obtained primarily

through observation and in-depth interviews, as well as secondary data obtained from previous literature. The informants interviewed were determined using a purposive sampling technique so that the information obtained followed the research data needs and could answer the formulation of the problem (W Lawrence, 2014). The informants of this study consisted of 5 Sekber 65 administrators who took care of all the administrative needs of the movement, 2 Sekber 65 members who were pioneers in the founding of the movement, and one informant from Sekber 65 partner institutions. Data reduction processes, presentation, and make conclusions were conducted in data analysis (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2013). In the case study approach, data triangulation is crucial to test the validity of the data and determine objective information findings (W Lawrence, 2014). This study uses source triangulation to validate information obtained from other sources. The limitations of this research are related to limited access to exploring the process of collective action in the early days of the movement's formation. This research delimitation focuses on taking advantage of the movement's opportunities amid various external threats to the movement's sensitivity in the reform era, so it does not examine the related ideologies that have indirectly influenced the formation of this social movement.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sekber 65 and Reconciliation Strategy

Sekber 65 is a human rights advocacy organization, especially for victims of the 65 tragedy in Solo Raya. Previously, Sekber 65 was only a small group of victims of the 65 tragedy who struggled to restore their good name after the New Order government violated their rights. Lembaga Pengabdian Hukum Yekti Angudi Piadeging Hukum Indonesia (LPH YAPHI) supported this small group from 2005 to 2011.

At that time, Sekber 65 was not a formal organization but only a social movement that brought together victims of the 65 tragedy in Solo Raya and its surroundings, including Surakarta, Sragen, Karanganyar, Sukoharjo, Wonogiri, Klaten, Boyolali, Magelang, Magelang, Purwokerto, Purbalingga and Cilacap. Initially, this association only held regular meetings and monthly discussions without any structured forms of collective action. One of the reasons is because the majority of its members are elderly.

Because it needed a clear organizational structure, from 2005 to 2011, LPH YAPHI managed many activities of the Sekber 65 movement. Unfortunately, this has led to the blurring of the collective identity of Sekber 65. Finally, in 2011, the main actors of Sekber 65 decided to leave YAPHI. The other victims of the 65 tragedy disagreed with the possibility of disbanding the movement group and continued to encourage young actors to form new movements independently. However, the collective activity of the Sekber 65 movement at that time also did not increase.

Finally, after a year hiatus, in 2012, the young activists of Sekber 65 and the remaining victims of 65 met again. The meeting reformulated its relation to a systemic organizational structure, the movement's collective identity, and the movement's goals, as well as the programs that Sekber 65 would carry out in the future. In the same year, Sekber 65 officially became an organization with a legal entity to carry out its collective activities legally.

As an official organization, Sekber 65 builds a more collective solid identity. Even so, both administrators and members remain careful in carrying out movement struggles, considering how sensitive the presented context is. To disseminate opinions on human rights issues, especially gross human rights violations, Sekber 65 introduced a reconciliation strategy.

Local Level Reconciliation

The reconciliation presented by Sekber 65 considers the values of social inclusion, which means that every human has equal social life rights. Sekber 65 prioritizes equal rights and life

opportunities for marginalized groups or discriminated against groups. Unfortunately, many parties still do not support this national reconciliation strategy. As a result, Sekber 65 tries to bring about local reconciliation for the victims.

The victims of the 65 tragedy openness with their families and surrounding communities are encouraged by implementing inclusion values as the strategy of the local reconciliation process. In addition, Sekber 65 also demands open access to public services for victims of political policies, especially victims of the 65 tragedy. Sekber 65 expected the filing of these demands to urge a change in government policy by prioritizing justice and equality of rights.

Sekber 65 had a routine approach program for more than ten years to provide understanding to the victims' families about their rights. Many victims' families are reluctant to demand justice because they are afraid or have accepted their current life circumstances. Sekber 65's challenge in this approach is mainly in advocating for the victims' closest family or neighbors who discriminate against and provide a continuous negative stigma.

Sekber 65 also regularly publishes a monthly magazine and several books about victims of the 65 tragedy as a form of human rights education strategy. These books are intermediaries for victims, their families, and the surrounding community. Usually, in these magazines, the inspiring activities of the victims are written. Sekber 65 distributes this magazine free of charge to victims as a regional reconciliation strategy.

Meanwhile, to file a demand for open access to public services, Sekber 65 uses the legal force of the Old Age Law number 13 of 1998 Article 1 Paragraph 2, which explains that the term elderly refers to those who live more than 60 years. With an average age of members is more than 70 years, Sekber 65 is looking for an elderly association in Surakarta. The aim is to involve Sekber 65 members who are victims of the 65 tragedy to be actively involved in organizing legally.

While finding an elderly forum, Sekber 65 visited the Surakarta Bappeda, the official body that oversees various civil society organizations and associations in the Surakarta area. Luckily, the Bappeda welcomed Sekber 65's intention of submitting a request to facilitate a forum for elderly victims of political policies. Sekber 65 engaged in routine discussions with civil society organizations in Surakarta with Bappeda.

One of the results of the discussion agreed on a plan to make new government regulations related to elderly welfare. In 2018, the Surakarta City Government passed Mayor Regulation Number 20 the year 2018 concerning Increasing the Social Welfare of Seniors in Surakarta. Following up on this regulation, Sekber 65, with support from the Bappeda, is seeking to increase the legal force of this regulation to a higher level. Thus, in 2019, Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2019 concerning Elderly Welfare was promulgated.

Advanced Reconciliation

To this day, the issue of the 65 tragedy has yet to receive any follow-up from the state as the leading actor who violated the human rights of citizens at that time. Compared to the state, Komnas HAM has already taken follow-up actions on gross human rights violations in the pre-reform period, including the tragedy 65. Since Komnas HAM's function is only limited to providing recommendations, the results of Komnas HAM's investigation and research into the memory of the 1965-1966 tragedy can only be used as a basis for issuing suggestions to the state regarding the urgency of resolving gross human rights issues, especially in the year 1965.

Even so, Komnas HAM was able to facilitate the creation of SKKP HAM or Certificates of Victims of Human Rights Violations for victims of the 65 tragedy who were under the umbrella of Sekber 65. In the SKKP HAM, Komnas HAM provided information that the victims of the 65 tragedy were victims of political policies in the past, so they had rights and opportunities to live appropriately as Indonesian citizens. For SKKP HAM to be right on target, Komnas HAM provided special requirements for victims of the 65 tragedy, including KTP or

KK, letters of release from detention, and testimonials from fellow victims who witnessed firsthand the process of human rights violations.

The large number of dead victims makes testimony requirements challenging to obtain. Sekber 65 then returned to discussions with Komnas HAM to facilitate victims of the 65 tragedy who had difficulty obtaining testimony. Finally, Komnas HAM allowed Sekber 65 to compile recommendation sheets for victims of the 65 tragedy. Sekber 65 and Komnas HAM also made victim statement forms for victims who had lost their detainee release certificates. The political power of SKKP HAM provides justice and equal citizenship rights for victims of the 65 tragedy.

In facilitating free health assistance for victims with SKKP HAM, Sekber 65 collaborated with the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK). The LPSK also holds periodic meetings with Sekber 65 to conduct health assessments for victims 65. It tends to update data in the Buku Hijau or particular treatment control book for victims of the 65 tragedy.

Even though the form of support and opening access from Sekber 65 partners is nothing compared to revenue from the state, the facilities obtained have given the victims of the 65 tragedy their pride. They feel that there is still an opportunity for them to live appropriately and side by side with society in general. Compared to the pre-reform era, now they can access various public facilities more easily without having to go through various checks on their past status as former political prisoners.

Campaigns and Publications

Sekber 65 has done many things to restore of victims' good name of gross human rights violations in the 65 tragedy. In addition to the forms of reconciliation previously mentioned, Sekber 65 also collaborates on collective activities, campaigns, and publications on human rights issues. The repertoires provide general human rights education for the public, especially in the history of the 65 tragedy.

Sekber's website has published various forms of campaigns since mid-2018. Some publications include reports on audiences with the Surakarta City Government, various repertoires of collaborative actions with partners, member biographies and documentaries, and a youth opinion section. Since 2021, Sekber 65 has also had a YouTube channel that uploaded various discussions on human rights for young people. Program Peduli and Voice from Indonesia untuk Kemanusiaan (IKA) supported the content on youtube.

Sekber 65's primary focus is to provide human rights education to the younger generation. Even so, Sekber 65 continues to maintain the movement's collective identity, especially concerning fighting for justice for victims of the 65 tragedy. Along with the times and technology, Sekber 65 continues to adapt to keep its organization active and sustainable.

DISCUSSION

Opportunities and Political Threats in the Mobilization of the Sekber 65 Movement

The 1998 reforms prompted changes in many aspects, including freedom of association. Therefore, during the early reformation period, Sekber 65 actively gathered members and held meetings. Even though they are still under the umbrella of another organization, this does not prevent the members – who are political victims of 1965 – from sharing their concerns and fighting for justice together.

This background is a form of opportunity for forming a social movement, according to Tarrow. Changes in the national political situation encourage the growth of a democratic system, which means that all citizens have the same right to be involved in politics. This factor makes civil society groups dare to form associations freely.

The victims of the 65 tragedy, who were considered second-class people during the New Order era, should not receive different treatment. Changes in the post-reform national political situation are the most significant opportunity for victims of 65 to become equal to other citizens

to demand justice for the state's treatment of them during the New Order era. Young activists who were critical of upholding human rights issues were assisting the formation of various victims' groups.

Even though the formation of a democratic narrative continues to be carried out by the state, the 32-year history of the New Order has influenced people's lifestyles in a binding manner. Though reforms have occurred, the negative stigma from the state and society towards the victims of the 65 tragedy has never changed. It is a form of threat in the mobilization process, according to Tarrow.

In continuing its movement, Sekber 65 faces threats in the form of no state revenue for them. The various demands for justice submitted by Sekber 65 to the state have yet to receive the proper reciprocity. It does not reflect the existence of democracy in Indonesia, especially in terms of human rights policy mechanisms. One of the real threats that Sekber 65 experienced was that they often received threats of disbandment from the police during routine meetings.

Sekber 65's activities in fighting for justice do not stop just because of facing these threats. Sekber 65 continues to pursue various strategies for disseminating issues, including a local reconciliation strategy. Even though it took a very long time to establish cooperation with the government, Sekber 65 has opened up opportunities for victims of the 65 tragedy to be appropriately treated like legal Indonesian citizens.

During the threat of state rejection of the victims of the 65 tragedy, Sekber 65 is trying to find opportunities at the local level. As mentioned in the results sub-chapter, one of the local reconciliation efforts by Sekber 65 is to take advantage of opportunities to plan and draft elderly policies. Using the context of elderly victims of political policies, the Regional Development Planning Agency of Surakarta agreed to involve victims of the 65 tragedy in the elderly welfare policy.

This situation illustrates that Sekber 65 has understood the existence of threats in a social movement mobilization process. However, during this threat, the actors of the Sekber 65 movement must be able to take advantage of existing opportunities. As a result, since the formation of the 65 victims' association with YAPHI in 2005, until now Sekber 65 is still able to maintain its collective identity and remains active in carrying out various repertoires of actions.

Threats and opportunities appear like a cycle that always comes and goes as long as social movements exist; this is the case with Sekber 65. The recent threat was the national political situation during Covid-19, which had stopped various activities of Sekber 65. However, amid these threats, Sekber 65 succeeded in looking for loopholes by taking advantage of digitalization opportunities to remain active in mobilizing a repertoire of actions. In the limited activities during the pandemic, Sekber 65 focuses on human rights education for the younger generation through various social media platforms.

It is very relevant to Tarrow's argument, which states that sustainable social movements must be able to innovate repertoires. Social movements must adapt to the times to continuously update the movement mobilization strategy. What is happening now is very different from the classical social movement situation, which is synonymous with field actions and requires the physical participation of movement actors. The current social movement has developed into a non-transgressive movement that allows discursive mobilization of action but remains on target.

The Cycle of Contention in the Mobilization of the Sekber 65 Movement

Tarrow explained that the cycle of conflict could run if the state or government, as the opposing party, is in a weak position. The early period of reform showed the weakness of the Indonesian state, which was changing many aspects, including changes to the president, cabinet

reshuffle, to changes in national policy. In addition, with efforts to implement Pancasila democracy, the state is expected to consider the people's opinions in making political decisions.

The weakness of the state is an opportunity for social movements. They can make demands freely, and the state must consider them. For Sekber 65, the weakness of the state, which is the foremost opportunity for the movement, is its formalization of Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights and Law Number 26 of 2000 concerning the Human Rights Court. With the existence of these laws, Sekber 65 can submit demands for justice based on the interest of fulfilling the human rights needs of the victims of the 65 tragedy. This opportunity became the key for the Sekber 65 movement in the early days of reform, which opened the movement's conflict cycle.

Tarrow said that the cycle of contention consists of five main phases. The first phase is movement mobilization. The main actors who play in this phase are the victims of the 65 tragedy, as contenders. The second actor is the state as an opponent. The position of both actors is clear. Sekber 65 demands the state to restore the victims' good names whose rights have been violated during the New Order era, and demand proper human rights protection.

We can see the form of contentious politics in the relationship between Sekber 65 and the state because it has experienced unique patterns, namely the raising of issues and repeated counter-movements. Initially, Sekber 65 submitted a request for national reconciliation to the state to restore the good name of the victims of the 65 tragedy as legal Indonesian citizens. Unfortunately, the state provides reciprocity with The Constitutional Court's decision Number 006/PUU-IV/2006, which annulled Law Number 27 of 2004 concerning the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which complements the legal mechanism of Law Number 26 of 2000 concerning Human Rights Courts, based on Article 27 is considered inconsistent with the 1945 Constitution.

Sekber 65 has continued trying to present demands for national reconciliation to the state. On another occasion, a counter-movement emerged from the government to hold a human rights court which required Sekber 65 to collect evidence of human rights violations. Sekber 65 responded to this with the help of Komnas HAM with the results of its investigation into various forms of human rights violations during the 65 tragedy. Furthermore, the patterns of conflict continued to repeat between the two actors, both nationally and locally.

This pattern of contentious politics led Sekber 65 to the second phase of the cycle of contentions, namely forming a movement coalition. External resources are essential for the continuity of social movement mobilization. Sekber 65 has received various kinds of support from local human rights organizations, even art theater associations such as Ketoprak Srawung Bersama (KSB) Surakarta. In addition, the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK), Indonesia for Humanity (IKA), and the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) are a form of national support.

The existence of external resource support Sekber 65 in carrying out various repertoire innovations. For example, KSB, since 2012, has facilitated Sekber 65 to stage ketoprak with the theme of human rights education. Komnas HAM and IKA also assist Sekber 65 in publishing human rights issues, especially related to the 65 tragedy. Sekber also carries out various repertoires of its actions, such as publishing magazines, activating social media, making video content for YouTube, and collaborating with various universities in Surakarta to gather young people interested in studying human rights issues.

During its journey, Sekber 65 has experienced movement fatigue. Some of the factors experienced by Sekber 65 include the decreasing number of members (who died due to old age), weakening of collective identity, and lack of support from external resources. It is the third phase that Sekber 65 experienced in 2011. This phase is the transition period for Sekber 65 from an unstructured social movement to an organization with a legal entity.

The exhaustion phase brings Sekber 65 to the fourth phase, namely institutionalization. After officially becoming a legal entity, Sekber 65 strengthens collective identity and member solidarity. Sekber 65 also defines a vision and mission tailored to the movement's goals and collective identity. With a systemic organizational structure, Sekber 65 can expand the dissemination of human rights issues and establish cooperation with intense movement resources.

The final phase of the cycle of contention is movement stabilization. A good relationship between Sekber 65 and the state or other opponents refers to the stabilization phase of the cycle of contention. According to Tarrow, the state or government has a more dominant role in the stabilization phase. There are two strategies that the elite can use to neutralize the situation, namely by repression or facilitation.

Sekber 65 is always careful in mobilizing their movements because they know the sensitivity of the issues they present. Therefore there has never been any repressive action from the state or local government against them. One of the most frequently done by the government is sending the police to control or occasionally disbanding Sekber 65 associations. However, other than that, the Surakarta City Government tends to carry out stabilization peacefully.

The facilitation carried out by the Surakarta City Government in response to Sekber 65's demands was to make it official Perwali Surakarta and help strive to ratify the Elderly Regional Regulation. The country or the central government still needs to take concrete steps to stabilize the Sekber 65 movement. Most of all, it is in the form of the president's promise regarding a plan to resolve the problem of gross human rights violations, especially those that occurred before the reform period, which has yet to be realized.

CONCLUSION

Sekber 65 is a social movement organization that focuses on the issue of upholding the justice of human rights, especially restoring rights for victims of the 65 tragedy. Although democratization created opportunities for the formation of Sekber 65 after the reform, the attachment of the Indonesian state and society to the mindset of the New Order era created various threats for Sekber 65. Tarrow said that social movements must be able to identify political threats and opportunities around them to determine further collective action. Sekber 65 also experienced five phases in the cycle of contention in mobilizing social movements. Sekber 65 (contender) and the state (opponent) have a conflicting relationship, prompting Sekber 65 to demand justice for human rights for victims of the 65 tragedy to the state. Komnas HAM, LPSK, and IKa assisted Sekber 65 as an external resources coalition in carrying out this collective action. These institutions also assist Sekber 65 in innovating local and national repertoires. Movement fatigue was experienced by Sekber 65 in 2011 before it was formalized as a movement organization with a legal entity. After obtaining organizational legality, Sekber 65 developed local and semi-national reconciliation strategies assisted by partners.

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