

New Social Movements (A Case Study of Aksi Kamisan in Jakarta)

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Abstract

The severe human rights violation cases in the past that have not been resolved by the government trigger the victims and their families to fight for their rights in various ways. The state ignores the lawsuit conveyed by the victims and their families. Therefore, they unite their power to fight collectively through silent protest, namely Aksi Kamisan. Aksi Kamisan has been over 14 years old and this action consistently prosecutes the government to resolve the vicious human rights violations cases. This research aims to find: (1) the background of Aksi Kamisan, (2) the strategy of Aksi Kamisan in reaching its goal, (3) the strategy of Aksi Kamisan in maintaining the movement solidarity. This research used the qualitative method. The research site was in Jakarta, precisely in front of Istana Negara (State Palace). The data were taken from interviews with the initiators and young activists of Aksi Kamisan. The collecting data techniques were performed through interviews, observation, and documentation. This research applied interactive data analysis as the technique of data analysis. Analysis of the data begins with collecting, reducing, presenting, and concluding the data. This research finds out that the background of Aksi Kamisan is due to the struggle of human rights victims and their families that have not been resolved over time. On the other hand, they have grown old. Therefore, all the victims and families initiate to unite their struggle to strengthen their power. The movement strategy used by Aksi Kamisan is doing advocacy with several steps, namely litigation, non-litigation, campaign, and public education. The movement solidarity maintenance is carried out by lifting up the contextual issues or taking an issue from afar to be themed for Aksi Kamisan and its reflection. Another way to keep the solidarity is inviting the other groups outside the activist's circle to be involved in helping the struggle of Aksi Kamisan, retreat, the leader's role, the public engagement, and the regeneration of Aksi Kamisan activists.

Keywords

New Social Movement; Aksi Kamisan

INTRODUCTION

Various researches about social movements are growing in line with the number of that type of movement that has emerged in many countries. "Social movements" itself refers to the phenomenon of movements initiated by civil society such as the peace movement, the environmental movement, the feminist movement to the anti-war movement. Singh

(2010) explains that the transition in society from modern to postmodern becomes a kind of reflection of changes in old social movements into new ones. The ideological orientations related to capitalism and anti-capitalism are slowly being abandoned by new social movements that have more diverse orientations in determining demands.

Basically, the new social movements are a manifestation of protest that is based on increasing state control and oversight of society. In addition, the community individually and in groups begins to have an awareness of their personal and group needs; they do not want to just wait and rely on the government in various matters. Social movements are also a response to the increasingly widespread intervention of the state and the market which has penetrated into all aspects of people's lives. Therefore, it provides an alternative paradigm regarding collective action.

Aksi Kamisan is an example of collective action in the form of resistance protests in Indonesia. The motive used by the activists is different from most other protests; others are identical to various forms of violence and chaos, while Kamisan completely dissociates from both. The activists in the silent protest stand quietly in front of the State Palace—wearing all black action attributes. The members choose to convey their demands by writing them down on the action attributes. This is the reason why they use the tagline “Silent Protest Against Impunity”.

The Kamisan resistance becomes a kind of rejection or antithesis of the idea of social movement tendencies expressed by Lofland (2003). Lofland (2003) states that social movements tend to be short-lived, between five to eight years. If a social movement exceeds that age, it will weaken. This statement is refuted by the presence of Aksi Kamisan Action as an example of a social movement that has been going on for more than 14 years. This very long life does not weaken that movement. This is evidenced by the development of new Aksi Kamisan in various other areas such as Bandung, Malang, Yogyakarta, Semarang, East Kalimantan, Padang, and many more. Although the content of the demands is different comparing to ones spoken in

Jakarta, the demands of Aksi Kamisan Action in other areas remain in the same corridor concerning the struggle for humanitarian issues. This silent protest succeeds in proving that the action exists and multiplies.

Based on this phenomenon, the researchers feel the need to research new social movements in the form of protests and resistance performed by Aksi Kamisan which have a long history. Therefore, the formulation of the problem posed is "what are the background and movement strategies of Aksi Kamisan, both the strategy in achieving goals and the strategy of maintaining the solidarity?"

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used the descriptive qualitative research method. It took location in front of the State Palace in Jakarta. The focuses of this research were the background of Aksi Kamisan, its movement strategy, both self-maintenance strategy and the strategy used to achieve goals. The types of data used were primary and secondary data. This study applied data collection techniques through in-depth interviews with the initiator and young activists of Aksi Kamisan, observation, and documentation. This study used qualitative analysis including data reduction techniques, data presentation, and data conclusions.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Concept of New Social Movements

New social movements are the result of the dynamic development of social movements that have more diverse issues to fight for. This new type speaks about, for instance, humanist, cultural, and non-materialistic issues. Singh (2010) argues that the transition in society from modern to postmodern becomes a kind of reflection of changes in old social movements into new

social ones. Ideological orientations related to capitalism and anti-capitalism are slowly being abandoned by new social movements that have more diverse orientations in determining demands. New social movements are a form of protest against the increasing control and supervision of the state over society. In addition, people individually and in groups have begun to have an awareness of their personal and group needs; they do not want to just wait and rely on the government in various things.

In line with Singh's statement, Martono (2012) reveals that the existence of new social movements may have become a special feature of modern political life. It is interesting to note that they not only provide momentum for political change, but also in the wider context of life. This further reinforces that the issues and goals of the new social movement are universal and diverse. The development of these issues and goals is the impact of the wider human interests caused by modernity— together with globalization. This new social movement represents the struggle to bring these interests, ranging from the feminist, peace, environmental movements, and others.

Tilly and Wood (2015) states that the new social movements combine three things. They use public campaigns, band together to make a shared confession with the target audience. They combine all forms of political action which include public meetings, processions, and rallies (meetings) before demonstrations, petitions, and the formation of unions for specific purposes. And, in the end, they show and present themselves to the public as good and meritorious people. They are united, with a considerable number of supporters.

To facilitate understanding of the new social movement, Pichardo (1997)

formulates the characteristics that distinguish it from the old one as follows: (1) ideology and goals: new social movements no longer use an ideological orientation such as anti-liberalism, anti-capitalist, and other ideologies; their orientations are more diverse, such as humanitarian movements, environmental movements, feminist movements, and others, (2) tactics and organization: new social movements prefer informal political channels by using tactics that attract public opinion and disrupt opposing parties to gain political bargaining power. Meanwhile, the old social movements are more monotonous with trade union measures, (3) structure: new social movements create an open, decentralized, and non-hierarchical structure in which this structure is more responsive to individual needs. The organization runs more fluidly and not rigidly to avoid oligarchization in the movement's body, and (4) participants or actors: actors and participants in new social movements are not only limited to the proletariat, workers, and farmers. Their members are more varied by not just fixating on one or typical social class.

Two major theories that can serve as a basis for understanding new social movements are resource mobilization theory and identity orientation theory. Cohen (1985) argues that since the beginning, resource mobilization theory is a theory that provides an explanation by rejecting the emphasis on the involvement of "feelings" and "complaints" and the use of psychological categories in explaining new social movements. This theory also turns down the approach to characterizing mental disorders and collective behavior. Besides, it collects a lot of empirical evidence to refute the notion that the main actors of social movements and collective actions are motivated by social tensions.

Furthermore, the resource mobilization theory shows that to mobilize collective action, new social movements have more sophisticated forms of organization and communication than the ones shown by old social movements.

In that theory, rationality is at the root of understanding the phenomenon of new social movements. This theory pays more attention to the success and failure of a movement, as well as notice political and economic factors more by putting aside the attention to the psychological aspects of movement members. Resource mobilization theory assumes that understanding the phenomenon of new social movements by assuming that there is motivation and a sense of alienation from within individuals who join the movement is irrelevant. In line with this, according to Singh (2010), this theory is considered to have some assumptions that are too voluntary.

Based on various studies on the rationality basis of participation in collective action, Pichardo (1997) then found out that there are three basic elements in the resource mobilization theory regarding the process of a social movement occurrence, namely resources, motivation, and the political environment.

On the other hand, identity orientation theory is based on assumptions that criticize the approach presented by resource mobilization theory. Singh (2010) suggests that compared to the resource mobilization theory whose analysis focus is on the dimensions of rationalism and materialism, this theory is non-materialistic and more expressive. It describes the integration and solidarity of groups joined in collective action. Also, it rejects the efforts presented by resource mobilization theory which emphasizes neo-utilitarian and voluntaristic models in explaining social movements and collective action. Movement is not always an expression of

strategic calculation against enemies, but it also moves something else. Its members can also be seen as subjective individuals. Pizzorno (1977) states that there is no rational logic that relies on profit and loss calculations that can explain the collective actions displayed by new social movements seeking identity, autonomy, and recognition.

The proponents of this theory agree with the psychological aspect of the individual who accepts the repertoire elements of Marxist theory which elevate the concepts of resistance, class struggle to solidarity. This is because the new social movement is a form of resistance response from the community to situations that are considered to disturb the sense of injustice they experience. However, this theory does not necessarily accept the materialistic concept emphasized by Marxist theory, let alone regarding class formation which is the goal of Marxism.

Sukmana (2016) concludes that in understanding the perspective of identity orientation theory, there are determinant factors for social movement occurrence that should be known, namely: (1) collective identity; (2) solidarity; and (3) commitment. According to Snow (2001), collective identity is the sharing of feelings about "we" and collective institutions. Furthermore, Polletta and Jasper (2001) provide a definition of collective identity as an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional relationship with the wider community, category, practice, or institution. Collective identities represent perceptions of shared status or relationships that may be imaginary rather than direct experience and are distinguished from personal identities—even though collective identities are part of personal identities.

Durkheim (1984) elucidates that the real function of the labour division is to create solidarity between two or more people. He

divides two types of solidarity, namely mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. A society characterized by mechanical solidarity becomes one and cohesive because all people are generalists. Bonds in a society like this occur because they are involved in the same activities and responsibilities. On the other hand, a society characterized by organic solidarity survives together precisely with the differences that exist within it, with the fact that everyone has various jobs and responsibilities.

Like solidarity, commitment is also seen as the key to exploring participation in social movements. Zurcher and Snow (2017) state that commitment is relative, varies from one movement to another, including in the same movement. Kanter (1972) gives a different view. Commitment is a willingness to meet the conditions for a social relationship. For him, it refers to a person's compliance to achieve the conditions for social action. Commitment can be viewed as individual identification with the collective that leads to instrumental, affective, and moral complements to the investment activity of the movement.

Protest

The concept of protest still becomes a notable subject to be explored continuously by experts to find the ideal formulation. This is due to the wide variety of collective actions that can be categorized as protests. In the end, however, the analysts agreed to group. Lipsky (1968) views protest through two concepts, namely:

The first concept views protest as a political action characterized by unusual activities carried out by relatively weak groups. So, boycott and strike activities are not included in this definition because these two actions were carried out by relatively powerful groups. The second concept is a

protest from an extreme point of view. protest is all forms of violence or non-violent action against something. This definition by Piven and Cloward (1995) includes strikes in their analysis of protest as a deviation that triggers serious judgment.

Lofland (2003) offers an easier-to-understand concept of protest. Lofland (2003) concludes several dimensions of protest as follows: (1) rejection or objection; (2) on something opposite; (3) which has become intolerable; (4) addressed to a person or institution in power; (5) in a crowd and officially; (6) which is done openly, and (7) based on a feeling of injustice.

Social Movement Strategy

Suharko (2006) says that there are at least four variations of strategies that can contain an outline of the understanding and general rules of social movement strategy as follows:

a. Low Profile Strategy

Fisher (1992) calls this "a political isolation" strategy that is specifically suited to a repressive political context and is effective in avoiding co-optation from the authoritarian government (or authority).

b. Layering Strategy

Fowler (1993) mentions this as a layering strategy. Layering is the development of welfare-oriented service provision which actually contains methods and activities oriented towards empowerment and social transformation. Opponents or parties outside the social movement organization see it as an effort to increase welfare. On the other hand, those involved in it consider it as a complex method of empowerment.

c. Advocacy Strategy

As explained by Suharko (2006), advocacy is the main strategy used by NGOs, both in developed and developing

countries. Advocacy strategies are often used to push for social change. When combined with media campaigns and alliances with foreign donors, this strategy makes NGOs a powerful policy-changing force, especially on issues where they have a lot of experience.

d. Critical Engagement

According to Suharko (2006), various social movement organizations, especially NGOs, try to combine advocacy strategies with cooperative strategies when dealing with the government or other state agents (parliament, judicial bodies, and the military). Although cooperation between NGOs and the government is more common in public service provision activities, in order to influence and change public policy, NGOs can combine cooperation and advocacy strategies.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Background of Aksi Kamisan

Aksi Kamisan is a silent protest standing in front of the State Palace which is held every Thursday afternoon and is equipped with identical attributes as a notable characteristic. This action was born from the fact that the state has not been able to resolve cases of severe human rights violations that occurred in the past. To avoid a bad precedent related to the enforcement of gross human rights, this protest is present as a solid element that continues to urge the state to be willing to resolve various unrevealed cases.

The history of Aksi Kamisan formation cannot be separated from the struggles carried out by the victims and their families in demanding justice from the state. According to Sukmana (2016), social movements emerge driven by a perception that all is not well. This means that victims and their families think that the situation is not good due to the attitude of the state in

responding to cases of gross human rights violations that need to be fought for.

In the beginning, the struggle was carried out by each group of victims according to the cases of violations experienced; there are various groups such as the Families of the Missing, Families of Tanjung Priok Victims, Families of Talangsari Victims, Families of the Semanggi Victims, and others. Various ways and steps have been taken to urge the state to take concrete action in solving this problem. However, it turns out that the struggle done by the victims and their families to seek justice ended with an extremely unsatisfactory result. They considered the state to be too indifferent to the issue of gross human rights violations they experience. Over time, they realized that collective strength was needed because they knew that this struggle was somehow very long and they were getting old. Sukmana (2016) explains that in the stage of incorporation of social movements, namely after emergence, a social movement must define itself and develop strategies to reach the public.

Apart from the lack of results from the struggle for justice, the awareness to gather strength collectively was also sturdily motivated by the increasing age of victims and their families which has an impact on the struggle consistency. With advanced age, their mobilities in carrying out efforts related to pressure on the state to resolve severe human rights violations have decreased.

Eventually, the victims and their families held a meeting to discuss the possibility of uniting forces to jointly demand justice which is the responsibility of the state. Later, an association was formed to accommodate them of past gross human rights violations such as the Talangsari Tragedy, the '65 Massacre, the Tanjung Priok Tragedy, the Kidnapping of Pro-Democracy Activists,

the Semanggi Tragedy I and II, the Munir Murder, and others. The association is called the Victims Solidarity Network for Justice (JSKK).

After JSKK conducted several meetings regarding the initiative of an advocacy activity, finally at a meeting on Tuesday, January 9, 2007, together with KontraS and Humanity Volunteer Network (JRK), they agreed to hold an agenda to survive in the struggle to uncover the truth, seek justice, and against forgetting. The agenda is a silent protest carried out once a week. Initially, this action was agreed with the vision of "Silent Protest Against Impunity"—JSKK viewed that one of the reasons the government has not yet resolved cases of gross human rights violations was because the government perpetuated impunity. Ironically, at this time, impunity continues to be fostered around the palace—a place where justice should be served. This is evidenced by a large number of alleged perpetrators of severe human rights violations who become assistants to the President at the State Palace. However, because this routine action is carried out every Thursday (in Indonesian, *Kamis*), this action is more often known as Aksi Kamisan.

That meeting also discussed time, place, attributes, and so on. An agreement was reached: the silent protest would be held every Thursday from 4.00 to 5.00 PM. Thursday was chosen because it is the middle day of the week; it is considered not a busy day like at the beginning or at the weekend. Meanwhile, the time, namely 4.00 to 5.00 PM, was chosen regarding the crucial moment. At that hour, people finish their activities after a day of work or school. Thursday's action is expected to attract public attention.

The front of the State Palace was chosen as the location because it symbolizes the

power of the state, in this case, held by the president, who has the responsibility and authority to settle cases of severe human rights violations. Black umbrellas and black clothes are the characteristics that describe their identity to attract public attention. The umbrella symbolizes a form of protection, that the state also must protect every citizen. On the other hand, black is believed to be a color that shows determination, persistence, and consistency, as well as to remind the public and the state that there were dark events in the past that had not been resolved. The action is carried out in silence and standing. Silence does not mean defeat. On the other hand, it is even an attitude that the victim and their families are still holding on. Meanwhile, standing up is a form of a statement that they are still fighting steadfastly. One of the concepts of new social movements according to Cohen (1985) is that in general, the theory of new social movements underscores symbolic action in civil society or the cultural environment as an arena for collective action—in addition to instrumental action in the political or state environment.

By times, Aksi Kamisan is a fluid action; there is no movement organizing structure. This condition allows all parties to be involved in various activities. The abolition of this structure is also intended to avoid any kind of individual or group ownership as Kamisan is an action taken together to demand justice. As the association that initiated the Kamisan Action, JSKK takes part in the advisory role. Kamisan is an example of a new social movement in Indonesia. It is in line with several characteristics described by Pichardo (1997), namely (1) ideology and goals, (2) tactics and organization, (3) structure, and (4) participants or actors. Ideologically, basically, Aksi Kamisan is not a movement that directly fights for an ideology, but

something that is based on humanitarian issues. However, the main humanitarian issue being fought for is the resolution of gross human rights violations which are part of human rights enforcement. Meanwhile, the concept of human rights was born from the womb of a liberal ideology, where this ideology demands respect for human rights that are the property of every individual which cannot be contested. In this context, Aksi Kamisan is indirectly involved in the implementation of liberal ideology—although most activists may not come to realize it.

In terms of tactics and organization, Aksi Kamisan chooses one that could attract public attention with silent protest using all-black attributes. In terms of structure, it is a very fluid and flowing action without any organizational structure in the movement that makes it a common property. There is no structural leader; only the JSKK presidium acts as an advisor.

The last characteristic is actor and participant. Aksi Kamisan is driven by various groups of people from different backgrounds. The victims and their families struggle together with the help of young people and several NGOs. However, in fact, new social movements are not only carried out by actors and participants across groups. This is because some examples of new social movements actually come from uniform classes, such as the new social movement carried out by the Kendeng Mountains farmers association.

Kamisan then becomes a beacon for the victims and their families in their dark path to the hope of justice. It comes up a means for them to fight for their demands. Kamisan is an important space to urge and sue the state as the party responsible for resolving cases of past gross human rights violations. When the human rights of its citizens are violated, especially fall into the category of severe human rights violations,

the state is obliged to complete the settlement of these violations.

The journey of Aksi Kamisan until now has created various dynamics, including its objectives. This silent protest has now become a public space for the general people to express their aspirations regarding the issues of injustice experienced.

The Movement Strategy of Aksi Kamisan

The movement strategy used by Aksi Kamisan is advocacy. Mukharrom (2004) explains that in general, advocacy can be defined as a series of systemic and organized movements carried out consciously to encourage social change within the framework of the existing system. The center of advocacy is the values of justice, truth, accountability, transparency, and other noble values.

Suharko (2006) continues that advocacy strategy is the main strategy used by NGOs, both in developed and developing countries. In light of Aksi Kamisan, the advocates are JSKK, KontraS, LBH Jakarta, Amnesty Indonesia, and other NGOs. The advocated parties are victims and their families of gross human rights violations.

Unfortunately, litigation or judicial steps could not be performed because this far, the state has not been willing to hold trials regarding cases of past gross human rights violations. The results of the investigation carried out by Komnas HAM related to cases of gross human rights violations which became the basis for investigations until the trial ended in the Attorney General of Indonesia. The Kamisan continued to urge the trial to be carried out immediately.

This silent protest also carries out non-litigation efforts such as sending letters to the president regularly every Thursday, hearings, and lobbying in related institutions, both government and non-government institutions. In addition,

hearings and lobbying are conducted for community and religious leaders. This aims to influence the state to take more concrete action in resolving human rights cases.

Besides, other efforts that have been made are campaigns and education for the public. This effort takes the form of socialization in several areas, campuses, and campaigns through social media. This step is expected to be able to maintain the collective memory of the public that in the past, there were still many cases of gross human rights abuses that had not been resolved. Another method used to support Aksi Kamisan strategy is to attract attention to foster sympathy and public opinion so that they are willing to be involved in voicing justice. Pichardo (1997) explains that new social movements prefer to stay outside normal political channels, use disruptive tactics, and mobilize public opinion to gain political influence. This method is done by choosing distinctive and identical attributes to make it easier for the public to pay attention and recognize. Tarrow states that new social movements tend to use dramatic and planned forms of demonstration with representations of symbols and costumes.

The Strategy of Aksi Kamisan in Maintaining Solidarity

The age of Aksi Kamisan, which has been running for more than 14 years, is an extraordinary phenomenon within the scope of new social movements. This long life is also an advantage for it in managing its internal dynamics. One important element in the success of a movement is unity and solidarity. The solidarity of Aksi Kamisan was formed on the commitment of the activists and their members. Solidarity and commitment there are proved to be so high that it is able to last 14 years—although when it comes to results, the achievement of this protest is still not satisfactory.

However, this phenomenon is a kind of rejection or antithesis of Lofland's idea (2003), stating that social movements tend to be short-lived, between five to eight years. If a social movement exceeds that age, it will weaken.

Solidarity is one of the most prominent things for the continuity of the Kamisan. It is directly related to the willingness of each member to stay afloat to fight together. Blumer provides a view of solidarity through the terminology of *esprit de corps*, namely feelings of devotion and enthusiasm for a group that is shared by its members. This solidarity is also related to what Festinger, Schachter and Back (1950) calls cohesion. Cohesion refers to the factors that cause a group member to remain in the group.

A strong commitment is shown by the activists of Aksi Kamisan. Maria Sumarsih, Suciwati, and Yati Andriyani provide examples of a very tough commitment to continue to fight with the victims and their families to demand justice from the state. This attitude has become a real inspiration for other Kamisan activists, especially young people.

According to Kanter (1972), commitment is a self-willingness to qualify for a social relationship. For Kanter, commitment refers to a person's willingness to achieve the conditions for social action. Commitment can be viewed as individual identification with the collectivity that leads to instrumental, affective, and moral complements for the investment activity of the movement.

However, several things affect the dynamics of the solidarity movement, including some activists who are getting tired and fed up with the struggle that never reach satisfactory results, victims and their families who are getting old and died, weak economic conditions, the intensity of actions

that are routine but not effective, the busyness of each individual, and the diverse backgrounds of Aksi Kamisan activists which sometimes cause small frictions. Klandermans (2005) argues that disappointment, stressful experiences, feelings of worthlessness, more attractive alternatives, changing life stages, or simply a loss of motivation, can be causes of resignation.

In response to the dynamics in solidarity, it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity movement. These efforts include raising the issue of injustice that is contextual to those that come from far away. This is intended as a form of sympathy and empathy for those who accept injustice, as well as to show that Kamisan has high solidarity with issues of injustice in the realm of humanity. This issue is usually raised as a theme for action. In addition, it is also used as material for reflection as part of a series of activities. Reflection is usually done in the last 30 minutes of Aksi Kamisan. It intends to build a sense of belonging so that it affects the strengthening of the solidarity of the movement.

Another way to strengthen the solidarity of the movement is to invite groups other than activists, usually artists. The purpose of inviting this group is to attract people's attention—besides as a means of refreshment for the Kamisan activists from routines that can have an impact on the spirit and movement solidarity level. Activities such as retreats are also a place to share complaints, suggestions, input, criticism, and find solutions to problems whose purpose is to restore the enthusiasm of the Kamisan activists to continue to fight together.

In an effort to strengthen solidarity, the role of the leader cannot be ruled out. Although Aksi Kamisan does not have a structural leader, it has elder figures who indirectly have great influence like a leader.

In this case, Maria Sumarsih can be said to be an elder and influential figure there. She made efforts in the form of controlling the division of labor and its execution to reduce the occurrence of errors, for example, in the preparation of letters, the timeliness of actions, the completeness of attributes, and others. Morris and Staggenborg (2004) state that leaders are very important in social movements; they inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and understand opportunities, strategize, frame demands, and influence outcomes.

Another important step is movement regeneration. Currently, the regeneration of Aksi Kamisan has been running by starting to involve young people in the protest. They will continue to fight for it until the state is willing to settle cases of severe human rights violations.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research results, several conclusions can be drawn as follows:

- a. Aksi Kamisan is a new social movement phenomenon in the form of protest against the government. It emerged as a response to the government's neglect of the settlement of severe human rights violations cases in the country. The struggle of the victim and their families in demanding the settlement various cases did not yield any results. Over time, they met to form a community, namely the Victim Solidarity Network for Justice (JSKK). It was this regular JSKK meeting that eventually gave birth to a silent protest which was finally called Aksi Kamisan. Exactly on January 18, 2007, the first Aksi Kamisan was carried out until it reached more than 500 Thursdays, and it is still running so far. This action was agreed to be carried out every Thursday afternoon at 16.00-17.00 PM in front of the Jakarta State Palace.

The protesters just quietly stand with black clothes and umbrellas.

- b. The movement strategy used by Aksi Kamisan is advocacy in the form of litigation, non-litigation which is then complemented by campaigns, and public education to attract public attention. These steps are carried out to achieve the expected goals.
- c. With the dynamics of solidarity that exists, Aksi Kamisan needs to seek an antidote solution so that it does not result in the death of the movement. These efforts include raising contextual issues or issues from afar to be the theme of the certain series of Kamisan and its reflection, inviting groups outside activists to get involved in helping Aksi Kamisan, retreats, the role of leaders, public involvement, and activists' regeneration.

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