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Waging Nonviolence:
Understanding the *Gejayan Memanggil* Movement Overcoming Structural Violence in Indonesia

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List of Acronyms

ARB   *Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak* or People Movement Alliance
DPR   *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* or Parliament
FGD   Focus Group Discussion
GM   *Gejayan Memanggil* or Gejayan is Calling
KPK   *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* or Corruption Eradication Commission
MPR   *Majelis Permusyawarakatan Perwakilan* or General Assembly
RKUHP   *Rancangan Kitab Undang Undang Hukum Pidana* or the bill on the Indonesian Criminal Code
RUU PKS   *Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual* or the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence

Abstract

Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak challenged the deteriorating governance quality in Indonesia under the Joko Widodo administration. Using the tagline *Gejayan Memanggil*, they countered structural violence with nonviolent movement in Yogyakarta. It was a pioneer of a nationwide movement #*ReformasiDikorupsi* which began in 2019. Among all the nationwide movements, *Gejayan Memanggil* 1 and 2 were distinctive with their commitment to a sustained peaceful action frame. The central research question is how nonviolent movement can be used to overcoming structural violence using *Gejayan Memanggil* 1 and 2 case. This research studies the rationale of the movement from its historical background and contemporary context as well as how nonviolence as a method framed the movement. Additionally, this study discusses how the movement were waging nonviolence and the challenges that ensued in countering structural violence. The study shows that the nonviolent strategy of the movement was able to respond to direct and cultural violence yet showed a limited impact in countering structural violence within an already deeply engrained system of violence.

Relevance to Development Studies

This study shows civils' agency in development as neoliberal development is heavily criticised for influencing the state to become more oppressive and led people to sacrifice their livelihoods (Nandy, 2010). The findings of this research support the post-development position in the development studies debate by emphasising people's resistance as a form of agency in development knowledge production (Escobar, 2007, p. 21). The people are able to contest the dominant development practice designed by the elites who have the authority in decision making.

The contested nature of development is prone to causing conflict. Throughout history, the Indonesian regimes utilised repressive measures to solve conflicts around development, most notoriously under Soeharto's administration and now under Joko Widodo's. The research on strategic nonviolence is vital to demonstrate that conflict in development could be waged peacefully instead of violently. However, this study finds that nonviolence is not noble in itself and, as a process, is not without its challenges. There exist contradictions within its admitted righteousness. An acknowledgement of nonviolent movement as a challenging yet remarkable process is a beneficial lesson for conflict transformation in a democratic state.

A case study on nonviolent struggle in *Gejayan Memanggil* will be relevant for peace and conflict studies which complement development studies, particularly contributing to the study of conflict transformation in development caused conflicts. The study contributes to the contemporary social movements or collective actions studies. It also presents an insight into the studies of the global trend of contemporary civil resistance tactics (Beer, 2021). The distinct contribution of this research is its critical analysis of the resistance's leverage to structural violence.

Keywords

Nonviolence, Peaceful, Resistance, Student-led Social Movement, Civilian Struggle, Indonesia.

"Jika kita ingin damai, maka kita harus belajar tentang perdamaian – bukan tentang perang."

"If we want peace, we should learn about peace –not about war."
Samsu Rizal Panggabean, Herbert Feith, and Lance Castle, 1997

Chapter 1 Introduction

In the present times, social movements are still stigmatised as uncivilised, barbaric actions. Protesters are usually blamed for taking to the street and not taking legal approach. The media lit the fire by showing chaotic riots and violent actions when reporting on social movements, such as Black Lives Matter and Women's March in the United States of America (Brown, 2020). It is undeniable that there are people who waged violence (Thaler, 2019) or that nonviolent movements have turned violent. This is largely due to the inability of the affected people in handling their deep sense of grievance and the heavy-handed policing they faced (Thomas, 2020). However, it cannot be used as a justification for the current sentiment toward social movements or resistance.

The practice of nonviolence has not gained a major place in the public eye even though nonviolent actions have been practised throughout time. We can see it in Mohandas Gandhi's campaign on civil rights and liberation in South Africa (1906-1914) and India (1919-1948) (Dudouet, 2017, p. 11), the removal of dictators in El Salvador and Guatemala (1944) (Braatz, 2014, p. 7), the mass protest toward President Ferdinand Marcos corruptions in the Philippines (1986) (Braatz, 2014, p. 6), the Bosnian War protests (1992-1995) (Avant, et al., 2019, p. 2), the removal of Indonesian dictator (1998), the Second Liberian Civil War protests (1999-2003) (Avant, et al., 2019, p. 1), and the electoral campaigns in Georgia in 2003, Ukraine (2004-2005), and Kyrgyzstan (2005) (Braatz, 2014, p. 8).

Currently, social movements around the world are practising nonviolent actions. For instance, the annual *Kamisan* protest in Indonesia (Tempo.co, 2020), the Black Lives Matter protests in the US (Buchanan, et al., 2020), the Thailand protests (Sasipornkarn, 2021), the Hong Kong protests (CNN, 2021), as well as the Myanmar protests (Ebbighausen, 2021). This strongly indicates that people choose nonviolent actions and movements to challenge oppressive regimes, urge human rights fulfilment, resist dictatorship and government abuse of power, end wars, and influence political process. They showed alternative ways and perspectives of conflict beyond violence (Demmers, 2017, p. 2) and how conflict can be a constructive process within society.

In the Indonesian context, nonviolent movements have been prominent in recent history. The nonviolent protest led by university students were carried out throughout the nineties and crescendoed in the occupation of the General Assembly and Parliament building in 1998 (Suryadinata, 1999, p. 115). The long struggle has led to numerous clashes between the protesters and the armed forces and/or police which, in many cases, ended in riots. However, the 1998 student-led nonviolent actions have been successful in toppling down Soeharto and stand as the evident that nonviolence worked. It ended the authoritarian regime of the New Order era and transformed Indonesia into the Reformation era.

One of the main agendas in the Reformation era is democratisation. Once the Reformation was carried out, people learn to practice more nonviolence actions to wage conflict due to previous success. Nonviolence is in line with the democratic values which uphold human rights and relational power as well as the democratic conditions with a free flow of contested ideas. Damai Pangkal Damai database (Petz, et. al, 2021, p. 11) showed that the number of nonviolent actions in the Reformation era (1999 until 2020, absence in 2019 recording) is ever increasing. It is important to note that not every civil resistance

movement in that era were carried out non-violently or were committed fully to nonviolence shown by the violence that erupted later on. However, the faith in nonviolence is rising.

This research discusses one of the recent yet most prominent movements in Indonesia's Reformation era which holds nonviolence as their only strategy of resistance against structural problems under Joko Widodo administration. It was a university student-led movement under *Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak* (ARB) or People Movement Alliance which claimed to conduct peaceful actions (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019d). They named the protest *Gejayan Memanggil* (GM), or Gejayan is Calling, which was an homage to a student named Moses Gatotkaca who got shot by the army in Gejayan Street during the 1998's student movement in Yogyakarta. They learned from the past and adjusted it to the current context for their own resistance. Like most movements around the world mentioned earlier, it was led by the youth and utilised creative methods in their struggle to counter violence. A series of peaceful actions were carried out in the first and second protests. The protest was successfully done non-violently amidst the clashes between the police and the protesters in several other actions under the name of *#ReformasiDikorupsi* or #CorruptedReformation done in other areas in Indonesia. These actions were conducted during the same timeframe and voiced similar demands, but GM was successfully carried out with nonviolent method and did not result in any clashes or riots, making it a particularly distinct movement in Indonesia.

The prior studies on GM discussed its communication strategy in the cyberspace (Nofrima, et al., 2020; Fuadi, 2020; S, 2020; Imanuddin, 2020), its dimension of anti-sexual violence struggle (Niko, et al., 2020), the media framing around it (Anatje, et al., 2020), its narrative construction (Widodari, 2020), the political spatiality (Widyapratistha, 2020), and the actor-network around the movement (Selvia, 2020). These studies paid little to no attention to the dimension of nonviolence that GM as a movement offers. Meanwhile, it is important to investigate its nonviolent aspects and dynamics to learn how conflict should be waged constructively without violent results. GM is an excellent case study since it aimed to abolish structural violence in Indonesia which manifested inherently in several problematic bills and laws, the downturn of democracy demonstrated by the consolidation of the oligarchy, and various human rights violation during Joko Widodo's first term (2014-2019).

Considering the different contributions made by previous studies, this research aims to take a fresh empirical look at GM as a nonviolent movement against the corrupted government, as the movement referred, in the Indonesia Reformation era. The study aims to use an empirical case to unravel why a movement utilise nonviolence as their method, the strategy and application of nonviolence in their direct action, and the challenges they face in abolishing structural violence with nonviolence. The study incorporates socio-political context, history, and local background in the analysis due to their significance in completely understanding the movement. Nonviolence and peacebuilding within conflict transformation framework is employed to analyse this case study.

This research focuses on the dynamics, relation among parties, and the context that led the GM movement to choosing nonviolence as their method with a consideration of the broad transformation of the movement. ARB is still going, but the actors, location, emphasised issues, and the nonviolence approach have been transformed since.[1] (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019a). The research focuses on the two direct actions on 23 September

2019 or GM 1 (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019b) and 30 September 2019 or GM 2 (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019c) with the main agenda to resist against the deteriorating governance quality of the Joko Widodo administration.

In this paper, the discussion is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces nonviolence as a research topic and brief information on GM as the case study. Chapter 2 discusses the research's foundation, including background, research objectives and questions, methodology and methods, limitations, and how the field research was conducted to contextualise the research. Chapter 3 reflects the theoretical insights that structure the framework used in the research. Chapter 4 explains why people considered nonviolence approach. Chapter 5 discusses the application of nonviolence and its dynamic in campaigns and direct actions. Finally, Chapter 6 analyses the challenges faced by ARB in practising nonviolence to abolish structural violence as demanded by the movement.

Chapter 2 Contextualising the Research Problem

2.1 Background

GM is a university student-led movement in Yogyakarta which claimed to uphold nonviolent means in their actions (Niko et al., 2020, p. 238). The protesters in this movement were allied within ARB (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019a). The alliance began when several students from Universitas Gadjah Mada initiated a meeting where they invited students from various universities in Yogyakarta and multi-sector activists (Widodari, 2020). The network developed further and ended up reaching not only university students but also high school students, Papuan students, farmers, labour, activists, legal aid providers, and artists. Several research participants indicated that their intention in joining the movement was because of their indignation toward the government's incapability to serve the people (FGD, 2021).

As an alliance of multitude of people, this movement adopted a flat hierarchy (Widyapratistha, 2020, p. 18) and claim no affiliation with a specific body, such as political parties (Widyapratistha, 2020, p. 19). The meetings agreed to create ARB as the main identity of the movement and people within it should leave aside their previous organisation or affiliation. Gendis stated that this movement aimed to be the third axis amidst the rising political polarity of post-election Indonesia where people perceived that everyone automatically resides either in Joko Widodo's side or the opponent's –Prabowo– side.

ARB tried to organise a series of peaceful, yet fun protests aligned with the spirit of their majority youth member. In managing the protests, they divided the team into four main divisions, namely event, public relations and studies, agitation and propaganda, and security (Widyapratistha , 2020, p. 19). Gendis said that the use of the colloquial organisation's term was intended for people who are not familiar with social movement or direct action to easily understand how the movement works. University students are usually familiar with this type of organisation since they usually engaged in a lot of event organising.

Chart 2.1 GM's Timeline

In September 2019, the passing of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Law, which weakened the corruption eradication agenda, ignited public outrage (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019d). They recalled the long list of government misconduct in the Joko Widodo administration, including several ongoing problematic bills at that time. There was an awareness that these structural problems could significantly affect their lives in various

manner, especially for the young generation. The movement decided to do a protest with strategic nonviolence in GM 1 on 23 September 2019 and 2 on 30 September 2019.

The demands of the movement's first protest were as follows:

(1) postpone and re-discuss the problematic articles in the Bill on the Indonesian Criminal Code (RKUHP),

(2) revise the new Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Law and reject all attempts in undermining the corruption eradication in Indonesia,

(3) investigate and prosecute the elites responsible for environmental damage in Indonesia,

(4) reject problematic articles in the Labour Bill that are not in favour of workers,

(5) reject problematic articles in the Land Bill which betray the spirit of agrarian reform,

(6) ratify the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS), and

(7) strengthen Indonesian democracy and stop arresting activists (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019d).

In the second direct action, the demands were shifted into the following:

(1) stop all forms of repression and criminalisation toward people's movements,

(2) withdraw all components of the military, thoroughly investigate human rights violations, open the widest possible democratic space in Papua,

(3) urge the central government to immediately mitigate the disasters and save the victims, arrest and prosecute forest burning businessmen and corporations, as well as revoke the Right of Exploitation (HGU) and stop granting new licenses for large plantation companies,

(4) urge the president to issue a presidential decree related to the KPK Law,

(5) urge the president to issue a presidential decree related to the Law on Sustainable Agricultural Cultivation Systems,

(6) urge the ratification of the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence,

(7) revise the articles deemed problematic in the RKUHP and review these articles by involving various elements of civil society,

(8) reject the Land Bill, Labor Bill, Cyber Security and Resilience Bill, and the Energy and Resources Bill, and

(9) resolve gross human rights and human rights violations and prosecute human rights criminals (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019e).

However, these demands on structural change have not been achieved. For instance, several problematic bills have been passed as laws.

The demands were resulted from a long deliberation during the consolidation events prior to GM 1 and 2. The diverse background of its participants led to the diverse interest that may clash. One prominent dispute was on the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence which for some was deemed too liberal and they disagreed if it was to be included in the movement's demand (Gendis during FGD).

The consolidation event also discussed the most strategic protest location because there were typical places where people took to the street in Yogyakarta. They chose Gejayan over

other options mainly due to the historical aspect in which Moses Gatotkaca, a student, was murdered during the 1998's riot in Yogyakarta, particularly in Gejayan Street. The chosen location reflected the struggle and demands of this movement. This movement wanted to pay homage and drew the energy of the past student-led movement, which demanded reformation against Soeharto authoritarianism in April-May 1998 (Raditya, 2019).

This tragic event in Gejayan has inspired the movement's name, *Gejayan Memanggil*. It means that the calling for action in Gejayan was up. The past student movement in Gejayan resonated with ARB's struggle. Both demanded better governance, but in ARB's context, it is in the post-reform era. Obed said that the history of the bloody struggle in Gejayan had inspired ARB to choose peaceful actions.

Historically, as a student city, the student movement in Yogyakarta has inspired the other student movements in Indonesia. GM has inspired the other student-led movements across Indonesia due to its replicated demands and direct action (Syahdan during FGD), including in the contemporary nationwide action *#ReformasiDikorupsi*. The nationwide movement also adapted the narrative of *#MosiTidakPercaya* or #DistrustMotion. However, while GM was conducted peacefully (Fisipol, 2019), the other movements such as Jakarta ended up in violence (Tirto.id, 2019).

2.2 Research Objectives and Questions

The research aims to analyse the dynamics of nonviolent action, including the framing, strategy, repertoire, participation, and commitment to nonviolence in GM and examine the challenges encountered by nonviolent movement in addressing structural violence in the first term of Joko Widodo's political regime between 2014 until 2019. The findings will contribute to understanding how nonviolent action works and its challenges in addressing cases of structural violence and provide further input to improve nonviolent action strategies, particularly in Indonesia. To address this objective, this research explores how the dynamics of nonviolence in GM, and the extent of challenges the GM as a nonviolent movement faced against structural violence. These questions are divided into sub-questions as follows:

a) Why did ARB frame their method in GM within a peaceful or nonviolent approach in addressing the deteriorating governance quality under the Joko Widodo administration?

b) How did ARB implement nonviolence approach in GM to resist the deteriorating governance quality under the Joko Widodo administration?

c) What were the internal and external challenges faced by ARB as a nonviolent movement in overcoming structural violence?

2.3 Methodology

As qualitative research, this research uses a case study research approach. A qualitative case study puts cases as a configurational context that focus on a few instances (Given, 2008, p. 68). The main advantages of this approach are its in-depth analysis and construction of internal validity even though it cannot draw the bigger picture as large-N studies (Given, 2008, p. 69). The constructivist epistemology accompanies the case study. It incorporates interpretative techniques and emphasises that empirical case and theoretical framework are constitutive (Given, 2008, p. 69). Additionally, it acknowledges the researcher's positionality and generates reflectivity in knowledge construction through qualitative data interpretation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 49). According to Rose (1997, p. 309), the researcher's position

is visible through 'inward' reflection where the researcher's identity can affect the researcher's understanding and 'outward' position which focus on the researcher's external aspect including the relation with the research and broader community.

These aspects are relevant for this research in regards of my position as the researcher. 'Inward' reflexivity leads me to understand that my identity as a young person, student, woman and part of the middle class affect my perception towards an issue and I use these identities it to navigate myself in the research process by performing insider and outsider position[2]. Using 'outward' reflexivity, I am aware that my past involvement with the movement and prior relationship with some of the research participants could affect the research process, whether in data construction or interpretation. I acknowledge a power relation exists in the relations between the researcher and the researched since the researched holds more power during data construction due to their position as an informant. However, the researcher holds power in telling the finding to the public through the writing. Ethics of care plays an important role in gatekeeping this dynamic to ensure that the research process would not be harmful to the researched.

2.4 Methods

This study utilises focus group discussion (FGD) (King, et al., 2019, p. 99) which is applied to acquire the knowledge regarding the movement's collective nature. The FGD is triangulated (King, et al., 2019, p. 94) with qualitative interviews and secondary data discussed later. The participants in the FGD were students' mobilisers and organisers from the movement's divisions, namely event, public relation and study, agitation and propaganda, and security. This FGD gave information on the collective nuance in the movement, including the general overview, the movement's rationale in its peaceful or nonviolence approach, the strategy and implementation of nonviolence in the movement, as well as the challenges faced.

The FGD was followed up by qualitative interviews to gain in-depth exploration of generated data in FGD from more diverse participants. The interviewees were participants who joined GM 1 and GM 2 outside the founders and the FGD participants. The research participants were gathered by snowball method, considering the diverse actors in the movement. This technique helped me reach relevant participants, but this method is prone to bias since people may want to communicate with like-minded people (King et al., 2019, p. 62).

During the FGD and interviews, I practised the traveller approach which treat data as a result of interpretation through reflective process in tune with constructivism (Kvale et al., 2009, p. 48). This approach is important considering my position as an ally who participated in one of the protests. However, while I have friendly contacts with some research participants, I also am an outsider because of my status as a researcher who study them.

Additionally, to triangulate the data sources, I did a literature review of prior research and news pieces on GM which help data construction. I also analyse ARB's Instagram page and an ARB-affiliated blog page called *Suara Rakyat Bergerak* or People Movement Voice to construct the finding. This research only uses the relevant posts that address GM 1 and 2 with permission from the authors.

2.5 Study Limitation

2.5.1 Study Scope

Regarding the research objectives and questions, this research is limited to addressing the internal dynamic with a limited attention to the external dynamic. The research does not specify a particular issue among the long list of the aforementioned demands. The findings do not address the work of nonviolence into a particular issue—instead, it addresses its work on the larger issue of problematic regulation and the downturn of democracy, as mentioned earlier.

The scope of this study is limited according to the timework of the case study. It is only limited to GM 1 and 2 as a series of actions. This study does not analyse GM actions afterwards considering the major shift of the actor and the movement's focus which is a big caveat for researching the entire series of GM.

2.5.2 Methodology and Methods' Limitation

The methodology and methods present several ethical challenges. First, reflection and positionality in constructivist epistemology may lead to over interpretation. To state my positionality, I initiated this research because I participated in GM 2 in which I felt a euphoria because I could finally practise what I have been studying for two years as a research assistant in the Indonesian nonviolent actions baseline project during my undergraduate studies in 2016-2018. However, the passing of several regulations and the demands being unmet led me to be sceptical of the power of nonviolence. This research is my way to 'celebrate' my ambivalent perspective toward nonviolence, the faith and the scepticism. I am aware that this may influence or bring bias in my interpretation. Snowball sampling in FGD and interviews may also lead to sampling bias (Kvale et al., 2009, p. 48). Nevertheless, triangulation and the characteristic of the following proposed sampling can reduce the bias probability (Kvale et al., 2009, p. 48).

Furthermore, the method is not without its limitations. While my position as an insider is beneficial for gathering information, there were several obstacles during the online FGD in which a certain participant left in the middle of the meeting due to bad connection. I was also aware that given the limited time with six participants, I could not really give a fair proportion to each participant for speaking. I failed to inform the participant their time was over as in an in-person meeting. Consequently, there is a probability that I did not gather as much input as possible, or the information may be biased following the narrative of the dominant participant.

Online interactions were not an easy platform to make the connection with the research participants. Whilst conducting the qualitative interviews, my position as an outsider hinders the opportunity to have a deeper conversation. The interviewee tended to give short responses which could hold back data construction processes where the researched and the researcher should be involved in dialogic interaction. The stiff interaction has the possibility to limit the data construction process.

Additionally, the movement was carried out two years ago and the participants in FGD as well as interviews had difficulty recalling the event in detail. They suggested looking in written archives, such as scholarly literature, news, and press releases. However, there was a room of missing detail that may possibly hinder further analysis.

2.6 Fieldwork: Familiarity Guided to Data

FGD and qualitative interviews were conducted within two weeks in July 2021. The FGD and interview were planned to be done in-person but the rising cases of COVID-19 infection in Indonesia led to stricter government regulation which forced me to conduct them online. Six people, four males and two females, attended the FGD at the beginning of July. When GM took place, they were students from Universitas Gadjah Mada who initiated the alliance. They were the movement mobilisers active in their divisions; event, public relations, security, and agitation and propaganda. Five of them have graduated and have an occupation.

Four of the research participants already knew me. We came from the same university and had prior encounters, such as joining the same organisation or movement in the past. The rest of the participants who do not know me were familiar with me because we had prior indirect interaction. This familiarity made them comfortable in sharing with me what had happened during GM, especially when I told them that I had joined GM 2.

They were aware that I was there as a researcher who wanted to learn from them. Despite the familiarity, they tried to explain their experience clearly. Even over the meeting, they sent me materials that would benefit the research. Each participant explained and reflected on what had happened, especially in nonviolence context. They also responded to my insight as a researcher who happened to join one of the direct actions on GM constructively. This process allowed us to have mutual dialogue instead of a one-way discussion.

As the interviews were conducted after the FGD, I received recommendations for potential interviewees from the FGD participants. I decided to interview three people: a labour activist who happened to know the FGD participants because he joined the student movement when he was a student, an art student from the Indonesian Art Institute of Yogyakarta who invited other art students to join the movement, and a high school student who participated in the movement.

The interviews were conducted separately, and we did not have any prior relationship. I was mostly perceived as an outsider but my identity as a researcher was appealing to them. The labour activist and the high school student seemed was awkward to talk to shown by their short answers to my question. In contrast, the art student was open to me even though we did not know each other. He found familiarity in me because I told him that I came from Universitas Gadjah Mada and he has a friend from there. He frequently mentioned names, assuming that I knew them, and we were also the same age.

To address the challenge caused by forgetfulness of the participants, I use other resources, including review of literature, news pieces, and writing on *Suara Rakyat Bergerak* to help me structure the event. Familiarity with the movement helps me to navigate the relevant literature and news piece. I also know the writer in *Suara Rakyat Bergerak* personally and I ask for the authorisation and permission to use it in this research.

Ethical and participant's care also become my concern during the whole research process, including the fieldwork. I am aware that this research might be dangerous for the participants due to the wave of activist criminalisation in Indonesia. Hence, consent and confidentiality are essential in conducting this research. They have already given me the oral consent to put their name and use their statements for this research. This procedure reflects the ethics of care of the research.

Chapter 3 Theorising Nonviolence and Peacebuilding within Conflict Transformation Framework

3.1 Unveiling Nonviolence

Theorising the nexus of nonviolence and peacebuilding will be the key source in analysing this case where we depart from the debate on violence utilisation and its counteractive measures. There is no agreed definition of violence in society but is is believed to be a powerful tactic to force the opponent to enact changes (Butler, 2020, p. 7). However, considering its destructive character (Butler, 2020, p. 16), a moral argument emerged against this belief (Butler, 2020, p. 7), proposing nonviolence as a counteract of violence (Butler, 2020, p. 11).

Judith Butler indicated four ways of understanding nonviolence according to contemporary dynamics, in which nonviolence (1) is not merely a moral position, but a possible action to resist systemic destruction, (2) is not necessarily a pacifist act but instead an indignation that fuels resistance, (3) cannot always be practised due to ambiguities between physical forces and violence considering the earlier unstable meaning of violence, and (4) is an ongoing struggle, instead of an absolute principle (Butler, 2020, pp. 17-19). I tend to agree with this understanding that nonviolence as a method or underlying principle in social movements is not solely taken due to moral causes and should not be seen as a static means as it always changes according to the conflict's dynamics.

Nonviolence theorists regard the utilisation of moral instrument in nonviolence as political *jiu-jitsu*. According to Gene Sharp (1973, p. 110), nonviolence uses political *jiu-jitsu* as a way to balance the power politically amidst the imbalance of power in the asymmetrical conflict. It aims to rebound the position over the opponent by weakening their position (Sharp, 1973, p. 110). In addition, Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephen argue (2011, p. 43) that nonviolence can leverage power by boosting participation from the diverse sector of society, demonstrating how political *jiu-jitsu* works toward the cause. According to Gene Sharp, this method works in three strategies to weaken a ruler (Braatz, 2014, p. 4), namely by subverting the ruler's legitimacy, showing non-cooperation and disobedience, and destabilising the ruler's "pillars of support" (Braatz, 2014, p. 4). There are six pillars of support of the power structure in society, namely local community, bureaucracy, educational system, organised religion, media, and business or commercial institutions (Popovic, et al., 2007, pp. 32-33). Nonviolence action pulls these pillars to the activist's side to end their support and resources to the opponent (Popovic, et al., 2007, p. 34). The effort to attract pillars of support is by inviting them to participate through the nonviolent campaign (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011, p. 10). These strategies aim at changing the opponent's position, in this case the government and the parliament, whether through conversion (Randle, 2002, p. 3-4), accommodation (Randle, 2002, p. 4), coercion (Randle, 2002, p. 4), or disintegration (Randle, 2002, p. 3).

The underlying logic of strategic nonviolent actions is the consent theory of power. According to this theory, the main characteristic of power is heterogenous, relational and that it disperses in the society (Atack, 2006, p. 89). People utilise their power through peaceful resistance to challenge authority's power. However, I find this theory to be too simplifying

when we take into account that the departure point of the struggle is an imbalance of power. Atack (2006, pp. 90-92) states that this theory is limited because (1) it overvalues human agency and ignores structural obstacles that can hinder the agency, (2) consent is not always necessary for the elites since external influence is more significant, and (3) underestimate hard power–coercion and material power–over soft power or consent. These criticisms are valid reflection for for nonviolence practices.

Additionally, Johan Galtung's theory of violence further discusses strategic nonviolence's position to overcome three types of violence which underlie each other, namely direct, cultural, and structural violence (Braatz, 2014, pp. 5-6). Direct violence means that the manifested and expressed violence is physically visible (Demmers, 2017, p. 59). Meanwhile, cultural violence justifies and legitimises direct violence through (Demmers, 2017, p. 63). Simultaneously, it also justifies structural violence, a form of violence that emerged from unjust, exploitative, and repressive social structures, such as capitalism (Demmers, 2017, p. 59). Structural violence hinders the potential of human beings in realising their needs (Demmers, 2017, p. 59).

In order to bring about sustainable peace, the three kinds of violence should be defeated. However, Braatz (2014, p. 5) argues that there is no guarantee that a successful civil resistance will preserve sustainable peace, including social justice, equality, and human rights. He showed the case in El Salvador and Guatemala where dictators were peacefully toppled but the aftermath is poverty. This resistance usually only overcame direct and cultural violence but left the residue of structural violence (Braatz, 2014, p. 6). The movement cannot attract the entire pillars of support and failed to transform the entire violence within the conflict (Braatz, 2014, p. 6). The mechanisms of change cannot sustain the change where even disintegration cannot guarantee an end to structural violence. This point resonates with my scepticism toward nonviolence action in overcoming structural violence, as shown in this case study.

3.2 Nonviolence as A Pillar of Conflict Transformation

Civil resistance —including nonviolent action— and peacebuilding are part of conflict transformation which share the same means and ends toward peace (Dudouet, 2017, p. 10). Peacebuilding alone is not equal to conflict transformation, so does civil resistance. Both need to complement each other to lead to conflict transformation and bring sustainable peace. Yet, various scholars have different mappings of the relation between nonviolence, peacebuilding, and conflict transformation.

For instance, Schirch (2004, p. 10) posits peacebuilding as different activity with a broader process which stands alone as conflict transformation, instead of its subsidiary. Dudouet (2017, p. 4) argued that nonviolence is a part of civil resistance that has different approaches compared to peacebuilding. Peacebuilding is defined as recovery and reconstruction methods to prevent violent conflict strikes back in top-down and bottom-up approaches (Dudouet, 2017, pp. 13-14). Its strategy to address behaviour, attitude, and structure[3] consist of negotiation, dialogue and reconciliation, and reformation and building mechanisms and "infrastructure for peace" (Dudouet, 2017, p. 14). Compared to civil resistance, peacebuilding is impartial, non-contentious, and uses a multi-track approach (Dudouet, 2017, p. 10). Yet,

the multi-track approach is ambiguous because resistance can be regarded as a pillar of peacebuilding at the grassroots level, showing that its demarcation does not stood firm.

Lisa Schirch (2004, p. 29) states that nonviolent conflict is one of the required peacebuilding approaches along with reducing direct violence, transforming relationships, and building capacity. In the peacebuilding map, this approach aims to gain support and serve as a condition to transform relationships through monitoring and advocacy, direct action, and civilian-based defence (Schirch, 2004, p. 29). The circumstances between these approaches can be simultaneous, ongoing, and interdependent (Schirch, 2004, p. 29). This multitude of approaches enable practitioners to work in a specific or multiple approach (Schirch, 2004, p. 29).

In this research, I regard nonviolence as an approach in peacebuilding and part of an effort in conflict transformation. It transforms conflict which resulted from the abuse of power of Joko Widodo's regime and the violent acts this regime has done in handling public criticism. In other words, peacebuilding and conflict transformation are of equal position. Consequently, nonviolence is perceived as an 'incomplete' approach to bring sustainable peace since it requires another pillar or the adoption of certain values of other pillars to reach the goal. Practicing only nonviolent actions would be challenging because the dynamic in peacebuilding or conflict transformation requires more improvisation to bring sustainable peace by overcoming the three forms of violence.

Conflict transformation covers various parts, including immediate action to the current conflict, long-term vision on future relations, and integration of short-term and long-term conflict handling (Lederach, 2003). It places conflict as a constructive process in which changes resulting from conflict, either personal, relational, structural, and cultural should have a development orientation (Lederach, 2017). Consequently, this approach has three major tasks, namely presenting the situation, bringing the horizon of the future, and engineering the change process (Lederach, 2017). According to Lederach, a transformational platform can be a suitable model to address the work of conflict transformation (Lederach, 2017). The stated episode of crisis as well as linear and circular epicentre indicate the change process and platform as a structure of process (Lederach, 2017). Episodes contain the crisis that emerges throughout the conflict, which comes as a turning point or the conflict's stage transition. Epicentre records the pattern of relation and context throughout the episodes whilst platform is a ground to decide a short-term and long-term solution to overcome episodes by developing epicentre materials and considering the past and future.

Chart 3.1 Transformational Platform
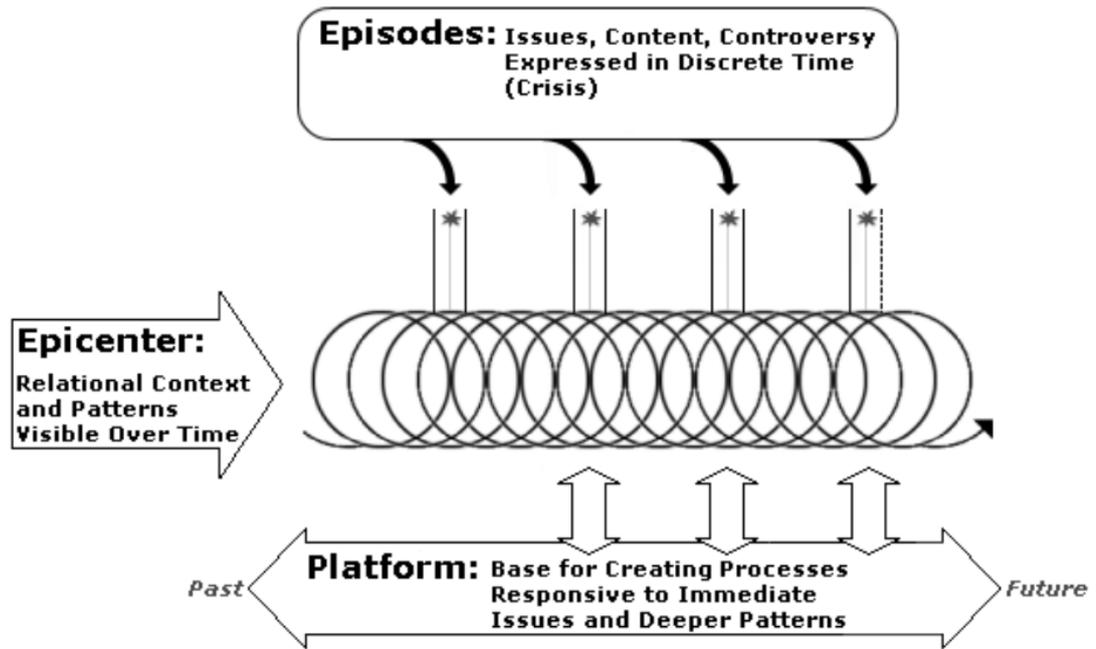
It can be said that peacebuilding is a means to keep the epicentre moving linearly toward the termination of violence amidst the circular change of conflict, which can either move forward and/or backward. Meanwhile, nonviolence acts as a platform in transformation. This model shows that conflict transformation acknowledges the conflict dynamics, including the form of dynamics under certain platform. In this research, the episodes, and the relationships among parties, as shown in epicentre with regard to the spatial and temporal aspects, constitute the dynamics of nonviolence actions.

Chart 3.2 Theorising Nonviolence and Peacebuilding
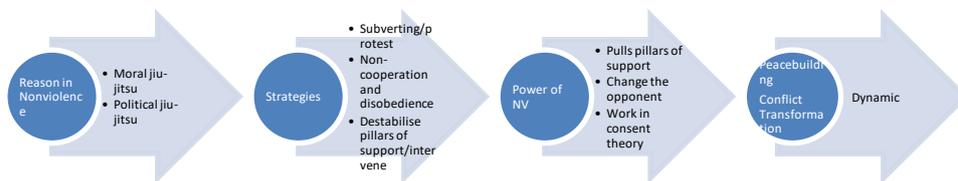
The term peaceful actions is used interchangeably with nonviolent action and resistance without theoretical distinction throughout this paper. However, the nonviolent movement aims to emphasise nonviolence as a principle that underlies the method and movement to show its collectiveness. It is essential to state clearly that ARB's nonviolence in GM was a group action.

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Chapter 4 Nonviolence: Morality and Strategic Instrument for *Gejayan Memanggil*

This chapter discusses ARB's rationale in framing GM as a peaceful or nonviolent movement in addressing the deteriorating governance quality under the Joko Widodo administration. The discussion begins by explaining the internal debates wit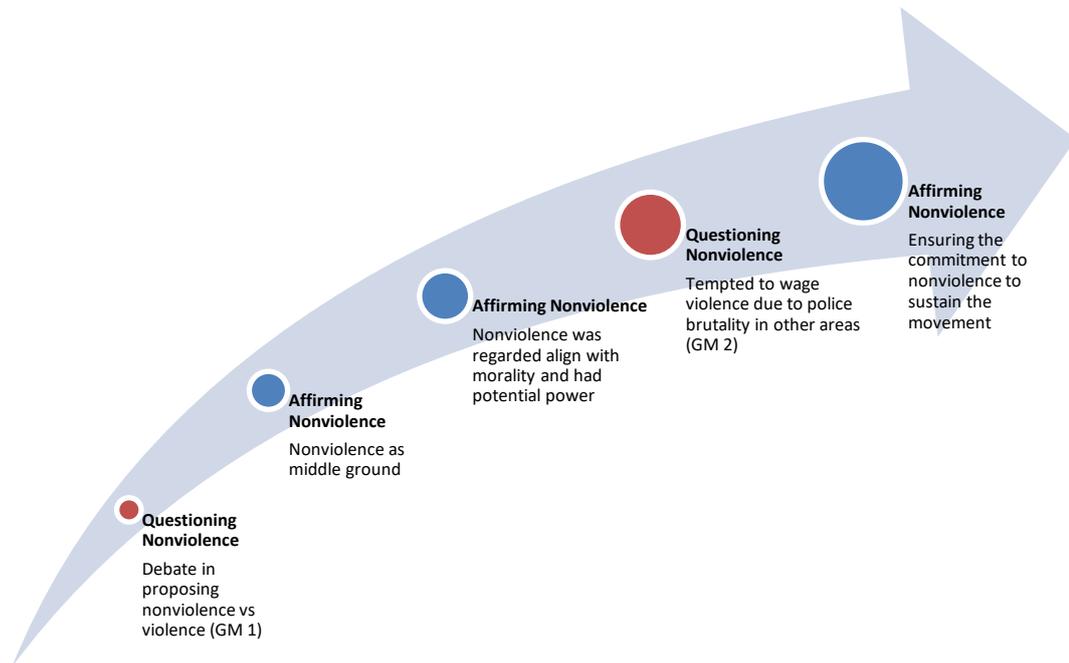hin ARB since the consolidation event as stated in the FGD. Searching for a middle ground, moral position, commitment to democracy, the instrumentalisation of morality, and leveraging power appeared as considerations in their choice of peaceful direct action.

Chart 4.1 Typology of View on Waging Nonviolence

Questioning Nonviolence
Debate in proposing nonviolence vs violence (GM 1)

Affirming Nonviolence
Nonviolence as middle ground

Affirming Nonviolence
Nonviolence was regarded align with morality and had potential power

Questioning Nonviolence
Tempted to wage violence due to police brutality in other areas (GM 2)

Affirming Nonviolence
Ensuring the commitment to nonviolence to sustain the movement

4.1 Middle Ground

GM consists of people from diverse backgrounds, from high school students, university students, Papuan students, labour, to artists. This consequently brought diverse experiences, values, and assumptions which shaped the interests of each ARB's participant. Every decision in the movement had to go through a deliberation process in the consolidation event.

From my observation on social movement in Yogyakarta[4], consolidation is a vital process prior to direct action for activists in Yogyakarta. Protesters used to gather in a place to discuss their values, the significance of the issue, the action's demand, the action's method, and the rules in protest. It is a way to ensure that everyone participating has a good understanding of the issue. It provides a democratic space where people can voice their takes on certain issues and be discussed or even developed as the action's demand list. This also allows people to express their concerns on how the action should be conducted.

In line with the general pattern of social movement in Yogyakarta, the consolidation event was a vital stage for the GM movement. Prior to the direct action in GM 1 and 2, people were invited to participate in the consolidation event. For GM 1, the invitation was spread out by word of mouth, while the invitation for GM 2 added social media to their arsenal. The early discussion during the consolidation event was about the action method which resulted in the formulation of the rules of protest. There was also a debate on the demand

of the movement after the initiators presented their background study on the general issues in Indonesia.

When ARB discussed the action method, they did not necessarily agree on one method. The idea of peaceful action has emerged since GM 1 (Venda during FGD), but the idea of using violence as self-defence also emerged (Interview with Ardy). There was a discussion on the possibility of defeating the police while several participants proposed an idea to bring weapons in the protest to defend from police brutality (Venda during FGD). A similar proposal also emerged during GM 2 consolidation event driven by the grievance toward police brutality in other *#ReformasiDikorupsi* actions in other cities (Interview with Ardy). There was a time when the mobilisers were worried that the anarchist movement, notorious for their previous violent actions in many cities, would join, but they were still allowed to join if they agreed to uphold nonviolent approach (Venda during FGD).

At the end, the alliance redefined their understanding of nonviolence to accommodate all takes. Most ARB members considered violence as something that would harm and bring backlash to the movement (Interview with Ardy). The division member stated that they anticipated violent retaliation from the police, but the protesters should bring no weapons and instead use their phones as defensive tool to record any violence (Venda during FGD). Even though several participants were pro-violence, peaceful action was accepted as the midpoint. Despite the debate on violence approach, the majority of ARB's members hold on to the peaceful values which, at the end, was also accepted by the pro-violence group. Amidst its internal fragmentation, the movement agreed to wage peaceful action and used that frame in the protests. Nonviolence was perceived as a middle ground between naive nonviolence and ineffectual violence. Aligned with Butler's argument, the departure points of the nonviolent method is from the dynamics around the conflict or the context.

4.2 Moral Position

It is interesting to understand how the movement's participants understand nonviolence considering the intense debate on its method. The research participants were asked about their takes on nonviolence and how nonviolence can be used as a framework of a protest. I also used the selected writings from *Suara Rakyat Bergerak* blog to understand how the movement participates understood nonviolence. From the FDG, I admit that the result might be biased since that the research participants were for nonviolence during the consolidation events. For instance, Syahdan stated that he personally preferred nonviolence approach for the movement. Nonviolence was perceived as a moral restriction which consists of a willingness to omit certain acts that may lead to direct, cultural, and structural violence to generate nonviolence with regard to moral values. The explained values are similar to Gandhi's proposal in which nonviolence is a means to defeat injustice by upholding the soul (Gandhi, 2000, p. 263).

Most of the research participants understood nonviolence approach as a way in which protests, or actions do not inflict any harm. They clearly stated that nonviolence prohibits any combat (Venda during FGD) and the use of violence (Interview with Tyo) towards other participants, pillars of support, and the opponent. Any violent disturbance, such as riots and destruction of public facilities, to the local communities should be prevented through peaceful actions (Interview with Ardy). This approach could be seen as a means to transform conflict by avoiding the tendency to destroy other parties in the conflict into managing positive relation through humane treatment. As Lederach stated earlier, relational change with orientation to progress can turn conflict into a constructive process.

In the consolidation events, one of the mobilisers, Syahdan, repeatedly said that he favoured nonviolence because he did not want the protest to cause any fatalities. He felt that he had the moral responsibility to ensure the participants' safety and security. The enthusiasm

from his friends who had never participated in any protest before GM had moved him to keep his friends' trust and enthusiasm. One of ARB's participants also stated that restraining oneself from provoking violent clashes is also a way of implementing nonviolence (Pakpahan, 2019). In the emotional state fueled by indignation, people are prone to be provoked by the opponent or its pillars of support. The resignation from violence is a way to ensure that the people express the grievance accordingly and not merely as an all-out rage (Syahdan during FGD). The restrain from violence were expected to influence the opponent or its pillars of support to act the same.

Additionally, nonviolence is also understood as a means to counter toxic masculinity (Nadya during FGD) that oppresses women. Protest or direct action have been perceived as a masculine action where they are used as arenas of power, including violence (Hutapea, 2019). The intensity of protest and violence created an image that it is unsafe for woman who are stigmatised as weak (Nadya during FGD). Nonviolence in GM was meant to be a counteract of the mainstream masculine practice and aimed to shape the movement to be more nurturing (Nadya during FGD) rather than destructive. They wanted an empowered, nurturing characteristic because nonviolent approach has been stigmatised as feminine and weak by the masculine arena. Nurture can be understood as a constructive approach within a conflict.

Various understandings among the participants of GM put the distinction of nonviolence from other methods, especially violent method. As stated by Butler earlier, people differentiate nonviolence from violence. The major distinction brought by ARB was its alignment with moral values which led to a constructive process within their internal and external parties. The moral values within the alliance i what maintains its internal solidarity. Meanwhile, the avoidance to inflict any harm can be seen as a way to humanise the opponent and reorient the movement from attacking to winning through persuading the opponent as well as its pillars of support.

How the research participants related nonviolence with morality is indispensable from their identities. The mobilisers were university students, especially from social, humanity, and political sciences, who came from the middle-class background exposed by socio-political studies and even movement studies that discuss morality in civilisation. Furthermore, they study in Yogyakarta, a city where manners are prioritised since a Javanese monarch still stands strong there. This morality is also in line with universal value of virtue, allowing it to be accepted by other participants outside of the students. However, this understanding of nonviolence might be resulted from the snowballing method in which more supporter of nonviolence was reached.

4.3 Commitment to Democracy

In addition to morality, commitment to democratic values was a major consideration in the framing of the movement. Nonviolence is seen as a method that implicitly holds democratic values (Gendis during FGD). It minimises antagonistic relationships among the movement's participants with the pillars of support and the opponent. Agonism is the key in the relationship where everyone can speak their idea with all due respect. The absence of violence enables agonism because there is no security cost in contesting the idea. Further explanation below also supports the alignment of nonviolence and democratic values.

The mobilisers agreed to conceptualise nonviolence, particularly in GM, as inclusive, participative, and distributive action that reflects democratic values. These characteristics were used to describe nonviolence, especially by the internal members of the movement. According to them, nonviolence was a method that allowed everyone to be included in the action because the movement provides a safe space (Gendis during FGD). Gendis added that the action was not only for those who were familiar to protesting but also for ordinary

people who wanted to join for the first time. Inclusivity was promoted through the implementation of flat hierarchy, principle of care, and the eradication of toxic masculinity. As an approach in peacebuilding, nonviolence's inclusive character aligns with the partnership ethic required in peacebuilding. The partnership is required to enhance mutuality in satisfying needs and rights (Schirch, 2004, p. 16). It could power the mass action to satisfy the common needs and rights of the people in the movement.

This point on inclusivity is related to the participative character in which nonviolence allows everyone to participate (Obed during FGD) without any requirement, such as mastering self-defence because it did not aim to inflict a riot. The participation should be distributive since this movement was for all who were eager to move, and all could contribute to bringing nonviolent means. The movement also identified nonviolence as a means to safely and soundly voice their concerns (Gendis during FGD) and aspirations (Obed during FGD). Nonviolence reduces the noise so that the message can be delivered clearly and has a minimum risk of backlash compared to violence approach. In contrast, they could employ their creativity and explore popular media to gain traction. The medium used to voice their aspiration was not singular because the language of nonviolence is diverse. For instance, the art student realises that he could utilise his art for the movement rather than orating a speech, the mainstream way of doing peaceful action (Interview with Tilarso). The movement also utilised its creativity in imagining the interaction with the opponent or its pillars of support (Interview with Ardy). In order to move beyond the mainstream antagonistic interaction in violence, they explore their moral imagination[5] to 'fraternise' the opponent and its pillars of support which aligns with agonism in democracy.

4.4 Moral Instrument

The moral position sees nonviolence as a suitable approach which could be utilised as an instrument to 'win' the battle by involving the moralities of the opponent and its pillars of support. Butler's statement on nonviolence as a constant struggle rather than a reserved principle arises in the movement's nonviolence discourse. The idea of nonviolence was not automatically agreed upon and was challenged with other options. However, the nonviolence principle was not merely perceived as a moral principle but also a principle that can attain power in the struggle which, at the end, strengthen nonviolence mission within the movement.

The morality within the nonviolence approach was seen by the research participants as an opportunity for moral *jiu-jitsu*. It is a tool that would allow a healthy discussion between the movement's participant and the opponent or its pillars of support. In line with moral values, the nonviolent approach was intended to persuade the opponent or its pillars of support to change their minds or at least prevent the police as the pillar of support to retaliate in violent manner. Fraternisation over provocation was believed to be a persuading factor because the opponent or its pillars of support are humanised. As a result, the antagonism between the parties in conflict could be dissolved. Schirch did not consider relationship transformation as a nonviolence means, but the finding clearly indicates that it could be an important approach in peacebuilding. It was a step to bring the parties involved in a dialogue towards sustainable solutions.

Nonviolence provides a method that is aligned with ARB's value and the message which was significant for the movement. Violence was rejected with the movement's aim (Nadya during FGD) to demand democratic governance. The implicit value in violence is destruction while the movement wanted a constructive change within the government and the parliament. The movement believed that the demands should be voiced safely and soundly in order to (Venda during FGD) prevent any backlash towards the movement. The commitment to morality greatly benefitted the movement in successfully conducting nonviolent protests.

At the time, the issues had caught public attention due to intense media reporting on the problematic regulations that threatened people's livelihood (Obed during FGD). It was echoed in the public sphere which led the people to be aware of the situation and took sides in the resistance. This was an expected result due to the involvement of the opponent's morality and its pillars of support. ARB is seen as offering collective action that strive for the betterment of all instead of a threat to national security. However, I discover that the instrumentalisation of morality here utilised a zero-sum logic in which one side would win against the other. ARB wanted to 'win' the battle where their demands could be accommodated and pulling the support through morality involvement was part of the battle strategy. They persuade the opponent and its pillar of support using moral narrative to fulfil their demands. At the end, the result is one side winning and the other losing.

4.5 Leveraging Power

Nonviolence is also a prospective method that leverages power. Two of the mobilisers stated that nonviolence is not merely a black and white morality. Instead, it is a tactic or strategy (Syahdan during FGD) that resulted from calculating strength, power, force, and authority (Hikari during FGD). The differing position of nonviolence as moral and political instruments do not oppose each other. Instead, it complements each other to posit nonviolence as a two-edged sword. It aligns with Butler's argument that nonviolence transcends morality and plays a strategic role in a movement.

4.5.1 Support is Power

The projection of nonviolence as political *jiu-jitsu* was also manifested in the research participants' rationale that nonviolence brings power that resulted from the support it gained. The characteristics of the movement mentioned earlier can attract more people, whether as participants or supporters. Gendis stated that their intention to be a third axis should be strengthened by massive participation. They should go big and show the power as the third axis to balance the imbalanced power relation between them and the government and the parliament as the opponent. The inclusivity principle of nonviolence could bring more participants to the movement. This method facilitated the movement's intention to create the third axis amidst political polarity (Gendis during FGD). The mobilisers believed that this intention could be attained as long as they could gather massive supports. Many participants with diverse backgrounds in society would help enhance and enrich the movement and its demands. The inclusivity and participative nature of GM were its power as the third axis of the Indonesian political scene.

The research participants recognised that peaceful actions could gather public sympathy. The choice in nonviolence is an extension of its morality, showing to the opponent and its pillars of support that even though they have been oppressed structurally with the problematic regulations and the disregard of public welfare, they were willing to voice out their aspirations peacefully. This approach could help the movement gain extra power outside of the internal power from the participants, which was in the form of public support, including from the local community in Gejayan or Yogyakarta (Obed during FGD). It could attract the floating mass to be the potential ally (Gendis during FGD).

Beyond attracting a broader support and bringing allies, nonviolence was also identified as a suitable tool to change the stigma around direct actions (Syahdan during FGD). As Syahdan stated, direct action used to be seen as an expression of rage by unemployed people who tend to be destructive. This stigma was built over time due to news publication covering only the riot in direct action. In particular, the media tended to highlight that the student movement ended with the clashes between police and protesters. For instance, the 2016 Papuan students' demonstration in Yogyakarta was reported by medias such as Tribunnews.com and Harianjogja.com as causing riot without proper reporting on its

demands and concerns (Murtadho, 2017, pp. 91-92). The history of bloody direct action in the student movement in 1998 has also left a bitter taste among Yogyakarta's people (Syahdan during FGD). Declaring the peaceful action in this student-led movement was an attempt to deconstruct this stigma, especially toward the local people, to gain support for the movement. It was also a intended to gather support outside of the city, ensuring the parents, guardians, or relatives of the protesters to support their actions.[6]

4.5.2 Contextually Sounds

The context of conflict, including the past background and the present dynamic, drove ARB to embark on nonviolent actions. History, location, Yogyakarta's repertoire, and the insight of significant contemporary movement supported the idea that nonviolence was the best approach since it could bring them power. The chosen location of the protests in Gejayan Street provided a strategic opportunity to wage nonviolent conflict and reclaim the history of student-led movements (Widyapratistha, 2021). Gejayan Street was not the usual choice for a protest location.[7] The selection of an unusual place must be accompanied by a breakthrough method. By successfully conducting a nonviolent protest at the historic location where the bloody student movement happened, ARB could make a significant statement and make new history on peaceful student-led movements. The other consideration for the location was that it was not crucial spot for the economy or governance and the police would not bother to bring any violent retaliation (Obed during FGD). If they did retaliate, there could be a significant public backlash.

The nonviolent actions in GM can bring light to the under-represented peaceful actions repertoire. Protests in Yogyakarta did not always end up in riots or clashes. There were a number of previous nonviolent actions in Yogyakarta led by university students, such as the Annual May 2 protest on the commodification of higher education and the 2019 *#KitaAgni* protest on sexual harassment in university. As mentioned earlier, some of the mobilisers who attended the FGD were also the mobilisers in the aforementioned actions and, thus, they already had a nonviolence repertoire.

External influence also played a role in their decision on using nonviolent approach, most prominently The Hong Kong protest (WhatsApp text with Gendis). In the consolidation events, people cited the youth-led Hong Kong protest as a great example in nonviolence (Gendis during FGD). Gendis said that the lesson from the Hong Kong protest was more about the nonviolence concept than the technicality of the protest method. Not only its concept, but the ARB's symbol was also inspired by the Hong Kong protest. The nonviolence spirit in Hong Kong has clearly spread to Yogyakarta.

4.5.3 Weakening the Opponent

The benefit of nonviolence as a tool to weaken the opponent's power complement its objective in bringing power. The use of nonviolence can demonise a violent opponent. The movement has observed the pattern of the oppressive opponent and pillars of support, such as the many cases of police brutality towards protesters. This understanding led them to conduct a countermeasure to violence in order to bring victory to their side. The contrasting approach will show that public support should be given to the movement that wage nonviolence instead of the oppressor. This method was recognised as beneficial to leverage their power incredibly when the government and the parliament's agenda are conflicting with peoples' interests. Their consideration to frame the movement as peaceful action brings a positive image to the movement. This image attracts support and sympathy for them. Public support is part of the opponent's power structure.

Furthermore, if the opponent and its pillars of support retaliate violently towards this peaceful action, the movement can show to the public that their government is against nonviolence (Syahdan during FGD). This would be a dilemmatic position for the opponent

and can even come at cost, in terms of public trust and the possibility of future re-election. Therefore, Nonviolence brings the political cost for the violent opponent. Nonviolence brought power for the people to contest authority (Hikari during FGD). In the ideal democratic governance, citizens have power because the governance should be centralised in the hand of the *demos* or people. In reality, the governance practice has shown power imbalance between people and government. Structurally, the government and the parliament have the authority to make a decision. They also have the police who can use violence if needed[8]. Meanwhile, people do not have that capacity. People have to reclaim their ability in decision making because it is not given directly, and they do not have the legitimacy of utilising violence.

4.5.4 Sustaining the Aptitude

The preference toward nonviolence was not merely a reactive decision but one with a calculated long-term goal (Venda during FGD). The goal was to create a sustained movement as their objective is tackling structural problems. The movement should maintain the struggle to resonate with the demands of the people. Venda stated that a more extensive consolidation and coordination were necessary for that. Hence, as an initial movement urging #*ReformasiDikorupsi* in Indonesia, GM should use nonviolence as a persuasive tactics. This goal reflected a peacebuilding orientation emphasising the sustainability of the resistance to reach infrastructure of peace where structural violence is absent. With this understanding, nonviolence is positioned as an approach in peacebuilding in line with the Schirchian map of peacebuilding. Any effort of the movement, including consolidation and coordination with the public, is a matter of fuelling the race in their advocacy, direct action, and civilian-based defence trajectories. It increases the possibility of support from potential allies who wanted to join the movement directly or indirectly, whether in Yogyakarta or everywhere in Indonesia. Consolidation and coordination events were seen as the means maintain the pace of the movement sustained which could be understood as a mechanism of nonviolence in calming the conflict to prevent exhaustion of the parties involved in the movement.

The consolidation and coordination are meant to reach internal and external parts of the movement. From the beginning, they have already projected that the movement initiated in Yogyakarta could spread out across Indonesia. A movement, especially student-led movement, in Yogyakarta, has the potential to influence the other student movement in Indonesia due to its position as a melting pot of students from all parts of Indonesia. Since it has historically happened in 1998, they were confident that the movement could be successful in pioneering and bringing a positive image to the movement by waging nonviolent conflict (Venda during FGD) as well as spreading the spirit of resistance and spirit of nonviolence across Indonesia.

In conclusion, I found that ARB considered nonviolence approach because it is a transformational platform which is in line with the context of the history of the movement in Yogyakarta, the present situation, and the calculation of the movement's future. Moreover, ARB recognised the benefit of nonviolence in leveraging power as an extension of morality instrumentalisation and further utilise it in power contestation. Nonviolence also brought public support, threatened the opponent and its pillars of support with political cost, and enabled the movement to sustain its power to the opponent which showed the transcendent quality of its moral argument. Furthermore, their moral position is supported by their belief in democratic values. This finding shows that the rationale behind the choice in nonviolence approach does not merely reflect a moral position but presents a grey area between virtue and pragmatic strategy.

Chapter 5 Waging Nonviolence: Beyond Direct Action

This chapter intended to answer how ARB applied nonviolence in GM to resist the deteriorating governance quality under the Joko Widodo administration. The findings show that ARB applied nonviolence in two ways, namely in the campaigns before and after the action as well as in the method of the direct action. In the beginning, nonviolence was used as a campaign method as the value was reflected in their messages, namely by persuading or engaging with the public to gain support and invite them to join in the movement's direct action and further agenda. The nonviolent campaigns took place in the digital space and in-person interactions. For the latter, the movement waged a protest, non-cooperation, and intervention strategies through various nonviolent actions. The use of nonviolence within the campaign brings a breath of fresh air in the discussion of nonviolent actions which usually merely points out the method in the direct action.

5.1 Nonviolence Campaign to Gain Acceptance and Participation

ARB made plans to prepare the direct action in the consolidation event. A small group from the movement divisions gathered to strategise and execute the direct action and the steps to prepare for the aftermath (Widodari, 2020). To gain public support and participation, they developed nonviolent campaigns before and after the direct action. Campaigning nonviolence was an initial step to approach and attract public participation in the movement. As Nadya stated during FGD:

> "We eventually agreed at the consolidation event that we should not frame this movement based on our universities or our status as students because this is about all people. We should strive, as best as possible, to accommodate and invite all people including those who are skeptical towards this type of movement".

The language of the campaign was emphasised to gain support from all levels of society, not only by the student. It was an attempt to achieve the movement's short-term objective to gain massive participation, leading to sustained resistance as the long-term objective. Publicity was significant to deliver the message to as many people as possible which led them to combine digital and offline approaches.

5.1.1 Digital Approach

In the digital era, using digital media for campaign is necessary for publicity. ARB did their digital campaign for nonviolence led mainly by agitation and propaganda division in collaboration with other divisions, such as public relation division including the strategic studies sub-division. To get public attention, they created various social media content which are mainly posted in GM's official account on Instagram (@gejayanmemanggil). The contents are visual-heavy accompanied with informative yet persuasive captions bringing the messages of peaceful resistance in a grounded way to reach the communicative purpose to the public audience. The contents posted were mainly in the form of infographics which explain the demands, direct invitation to join the consolidation event and the action added with detailed information such as place, time, dress code. They also created posters, meme, and videos. Additionally, they posted the footage of GM 1 as propaganda materials for GM 2. The visual contents were fit with the characteristics of Instagram's users who prefers visual-heavy contents and also allowed rapid spread of information. These contents frame nonviolence as a mandatory practice which the movement held as a moral stance in the direct action.

The contents produced were directed to appeal the audience so that they could gain traction and persuade the public to join the direct action. The movement also shared links to stories and writings that would expose their followers to the movement's narrative –

including the heavy-emphasis on nonviolence. They also reposted memes created by the movement's supporters (Gendis and Obed during FGD). Obed added that the event division also contacted creative media agencies to help produce and distribute the campaign material. This was an effort to reach a broader audience and educated them on the movement's orientation and objectives.

Not only visual-heavy contents, but the movement also saw that texts or copy was important to complement the visual contents (Nadya during FGD). The copy should be communicative so that the message was easy to digest (Noer, 2021). Catchy yet compelling hashtags such as *#GejayanMemanggil #DiperkosaNegara #SemuaBisaKena #KosongkanKampus #TolakRepresifitasAparat #HentikanRepresi #ReformasiDikorupsi #MosiTidakPercaya* were used to boost the message of nonviolence. These hashtags are light, witty, and easy to understand which could ignite further discourse among the people (Gendis during). These hashtags were in line in spirit with *#ReformasiDikorupsi* and *#MosiTidakPercaya* which were the hashtags of the nationwide protest at that time. The copy was fierce, direct, and inviting. One strong example is the use of a quote from Tan Malaka, an Indonesian national hero, for the invitation for students to join the resistance.

> Caption: 23.09.19 *Tan Malaka once said the youth who sit in schools should not regard themselves as too superior and separate themselves from the people who work in rice paddies. Students, let's take to the street!* (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019a)

Nadya said that it was essential for the copy to be as clear as possible in order to avoid any misunderstanding and misleading information. The movement repeatedly posted in Instagram the statement that GM was a peaceful action, and everyone should not be provoked to inflict violence. The message was vital because polarisation in society could lead the statement to be twisted into an attack on certain parties. If the space for caption was insufficient, they put the longer copies as infographics. They also published the abstract and the link of the press release and the studies that the team done as infographics to allow easier access for the public.

Furthermore, the movement utilised the digital platform to counter the narrative that was thrown around which tried to delegitimise the action (Syahdan during FGD). There were WhatsApp messages circulated from one group to another that said that GM was led by a particular anti- Joko Widodo group (CNN Indonesia, 2019) instead of a peaceful action asking for the abolishment of structural violence. A similar accusation appeared in the @gejayanmemanggil comment section. This hoax contradicted the agreement in consolidation that they did not deliver any message to bring down Joko Widodo (Nadya during FGD), and it was not on the demanded list. A post from the news portal also stated that Gejayan was chosen to reiterate the bloody tragedy (Widyapratistha, 2020). This information led to several universities including Yogyakarta State University, Duta Wacana Christian University, Universitas Gadjah Mada to deny any involvement in the movement (Sucahyo, 2019) which impacted the participation withdrawal from the student unions at the respective universities (Widyapratistha, 2021). Succeeding GM 1, they assertively posted that GM was not led or hijacked by the anti-Joko Widodo group (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019f) and they aimed to evaluate the government and the parliament (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019g) by waging peaceful action (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019h). However, these accusations were still thrown left and right until the days leading up to GM 2 (Pakpahan, 2019).

The account has gained thousands of followers and the contents have been shared continuously by personal accounts and other alliances accounts. The participants were welcomed to reshare to make them feel as a part of the peaceful action. Additionally, these contents had transcended the platform since they were also reposted on Twitter, even though they did not have any Twitter account at that time, and the hashtags became trending topic

(Putsanra, 2019). The post from the official account was aimed to create an initial idea about reclaiming Gejayan while the organic circulation of the post gave the space for participants to start the discourse around the initial idea (Gendis during FGD).

The digital approach was used in the nonviolence campaign to distribute technical information about the direct action. The movement published the guidelines of the direct action where it highlighted the restriction of using violence and nonviolent defence procedure prior to GM 1(Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019i) and GM 2 (Aliansi Rakyat Bergerak, 2019j). The guideline was published in the form of a do's and don'ts in line with their agreed notion of nonviolence. The 'do's' emphasised respect toward the surrounding neighbourhood, the fellow participants, and the environment. The 'don'ts' pointed out the restriction to bring dangerous weapon, provoke violent behaviours, and litter the environment. The posts were an effort to make the public aware of the nonviolent actions carried out by ARB.

The movement also translated the nonviolence campaign as nonviolence public education. They tried to produce contents which reflect upon the lesson from GM 1 and 2 through a Medium blog called *Suara Rakyat Bergerak*. This blog contains reflective and analytical writing about the movement. The contributors were mainly the movement participants, but everyone was invited to submit their writings. Several pieces reflected upon the result and aftermath of the nonviolent actions in GM 1 or 2. They bring lessons, critique, and suggestions for.

Digital space is a battlefield of narratives. The movement and the opponent and its pillars of support contest each other's narrative. The platform was used by the movement to gain legitimacy in their nonviolent struggle. On the other hand, the opponent and its pillars of support utilised it to delegitimise the movement by spreading hoaxes. The imbalance of power was real in the contest. The opponent and its pillars of support, such as the university rectorates, had the access to talk to the press to express their disagreement with the direct action and restriction for its students in joining the direct action. Their structural power and influence through media presented a challenge for the movement to counter the restriction and the dubious narrative. However, people-based media such as social media accommodated the movement to reclaim the movement by voicing out their peaceful orientation for defeating structural violence.

5.1.2 Offline Approach

Aside from the digital approach, ARB was aware that direct interaction was still necessary in attracting public support and participation for their nonviolence action. The invitation to join the movement spread from word of mouth in many *burjo*, small kiosks where students hang out and enjoy instant noodles (Nadya during FGD). Agitation and propaganda division printed flyers to inform the participants regarding the demand lists and the action guideline. The flyers were also distributed on the actual day of direct action as a reminder to commit nonviolence. It also provides the necessary information for the participants who did not join the prior preparation.

The mobilisers also went to various surrounding neighbourhood around Gejayan Street to inform them that the protest would be conducted peacefully (Syahdan, Hikari, Venda during FGD). These communications were conducted prior to GM 1 and 2. They expected that the local neighbourhood would accept, support, or even join the action. The movement, especially the security division, told the leaders of the neighbourhood and the street vendors that there would be direct action around their living and working space in Gejayan (Interview with Ardy). They also asked for their permission and blessings, or a *kulanuwun*[9] as the Javanese called it, to do the action in their area and stated that they would not disturb the neighbourhood. There was an explanation that they would try to make the action peaceful and would not end up in riot or destruction and they asked for forgiveness if there were

crowds there. The movement asked the neighbourhood leaders to pray for the movement to ensure that the action would be conducted smoothly.

In addition, the security division made a social-political mapping to approach the community directly and understand the socio-political condition particularly in Gejayan and generally in Yogyakarta (Venda during FGD). They identified the political party and social organisation that had power in that area. This identification was made to prevent any clashes with them. There was communication with these groups to inform how the direct action would be conducted non-violently. The movement also took prior communication with the local apparatus, particularly the police to prevent misunderstanding. In Indonesia, organiser is obligated to notify the police before doing a demonstration[10]. The movement representatives from the security and public relation division sent a notification letter. They directly stated the demonstration plan, including the location and the number of people who would attend to the Bulaksumur district police station and the Yogyakarta Special Regional police station (Hikari during FGD). They asked the police not to bring the paramilitary unit to disperse the direct action because it would be conducted peacefully (Syahdan during FGD). The movement also did public relation campaign to a broader audience, particularly with traditional mass media. They did radio and TV interviews (Syahdan during FGD) in which they emphasised that the action was peaceful. Their effort to convince the public doubt was also conducted clandestinely through person-to-person interaction.

It was notable that locality was significant in conducting digital and offline campaigns. In peacebuilding, locality is important in developing the recipe of conflict transformation because of its contextual nature. The movement explored local values of *kulanuwun* and harmonious way of life upheld in Yogyakarta as an entry point in campaigning to the local neighbourhood. Nadya added that they wanted to uphold the narrative of peace-loving Yogyakarta to demonstrate that direct action is a constructive means to urge public demand. Nonviolence as the method that framed the movement as peaceful could strengthen this narrative without damaging Yogyakarta's image. The respect toward locality would attract people's sympathy and trust because it showed the goodwill of the movement. It displayed an image of the movement as a cooperative party instead of a threat. Respectful manners built a partnership between the local neighbourhood and the movement which plays an important role in peacebuilding. In their digital and offline campaign, the movement always strived to emphasis GM as a nonviolence action in line with Yogyakartan's peaceful spirit.

5.2 Nonviolent Actions: Pulling Support and Creating Dilemma of Action

The campaigns prior to GM have attracted people to participate in the direct peaceful action. The image from the campaign that this peaceful action was inclusive and participative had won public sympathy. It attracted people from diverse backgrounds who took to the street, such as students from various universities, especially but not limited to Yogyakarta, high school students, labour, Papuan students, artists, street artist, musicians, transgender groups, labour, including women labour, activists, including women activists, human rights defender groups, even local neighbourhood people around Gejayan Street. Even more high school students and art students participated in GM 2.

As agreed in the consolidation event, the participants of ARB conducted nonviolent conflict between the people who want regulations that accommodate their interest by abolishing structural violence and the government and the parliament, or as people called it the oligarch, who implemented the structural violence. Similar to the Hong Kong protest as the contemporary youth-led movement which inspired GM, the manifestation of nonviolence varied filled with creative ways with a taste of youth spirit. The creativity in the protest method also came from the movement's repertoire, movement studies, and the rapid

development of art in Yogyakarta.[11] The creativity was reflected in three different yet interrelated nonviolent strategies discussed earlier. Several means showed its aims to express the protest and persuade the public to support or participate. The Indonesian flag was flown along with the demand list to show that this struggle is for a better Indonesia. The protesters sang songs to uplift their spirit. The long line of protesters singing songs of critique and hopes caught public attention. When they arrived at the central meeting point in Gejayan, their spirit was at all times high and they raised the flag higher while singing loudly. It was continued with the public speeches. The stage was given to anyone who wanted to speak their mind about the demanded issues, such as the university students, the high school students, the Papuan students, the activists, and women activists. Public speech is a mainstream way to do protest in the movement's repertoire in Yogyakarta or even Indonesia. Yet not all the participants took the megaphone to give a speech.

Most participants brought posters that express their concerns since it was relatively easy to make. There were printed posters as well as hand-painted posters. The witty and youthful tone of the posters, especially in GM 2, caught public attention in social media. It became a public discourse and media headline. The posters displayed critique towards the governance quality of the regime in playful and funny manners, such as "I don't care if my skincare is expensive! My country is more precious!" (Perwitasari, 2019). The posters also highlight the commitment to nonviolence. For instance, a poster stated, "Do not riot. I can't run because I am fat. " (Perwitasari, 2019). The witty yet assertive messages were also shown in a larger way, such banners and billboards. They hijacked the existing billboard with their protest pieces.

The movement diversified the nonviolent method in a creative way. The art students performed a political play addressing the structural problem demanded by the movement (Interview with Tilarso). They wanted to be heard not by giving a speech but by highlighting the scene of the oligarchs' wrongdoings. This play was their weary concerns of the deteriorating situation. They also mocked the oligarch through this performance. For instance, someone carried a plastic wastebasket, which reads, "Please throw your waste here. We will send it to the parliament". People even expressed their critique on their bodies which showed their grievance and sickness caused by the oligarch, especially the parliament, who proposed the problematic regulations. Singing performance was also conducted to show their hope for a better Indonesia. It is also important to note that the protesters did not only do the nonviolent actions in the street but also in social media, particularly Twitter. There were live tweets from the participants who reported the condition in the street and propagated the action's message. It increased the engagement of the hashtag, which was already high the day prior to the direct action. For instance, on 23 September 2019, there were more than sixty-eight thousand tweets about #*GejayanMemanggil* (Arnani, 2019).

The long march, flags, songs public speeches, posters, performances, and digital activism expressed the protesters' standpoint toward the problematic regulations of the government and the parliament's misbehaviour. It triggered public awareness toward the issue that threatened their life and persuade the public and the broader pillars of support to side with them. The direct action also indirectly demonstrated the attitude of non-cooperation or disobedience. For instance, the university students were disobeying the university authority who restricted them from taking direct action. The restriction of their freedom of expression was opposed nonviolently by noncooperation in following the universities' instruction. It reflects the movement's disobedience toward the opponent and its pillars of support – including university– authority. Furthermore, the nonviolent action had destabilised or intervened the authority's power. The occupying of the street as a public facility demonstrated an intervention to the order. It was claimed that twenty thousand people participated in GM 1 (Sucahyo, 2019). The participants in GM 2 also occupied the whole

Gejayan Intersection[12], but there was no estimate of the number of participants. The seven cars were used to guide the long march, showing the massive participation in GM 2 (Interview with Ardy). The guiding cars aimed to prevent and minimise violence in the direct action.
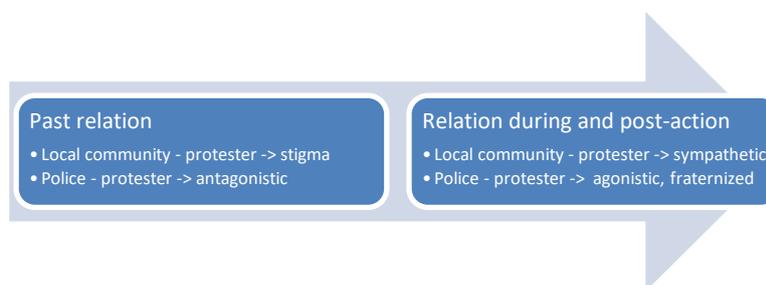
Figure 5.1 GM 1 Occupation

The occupation of Gejayan Street as a public facility was also a means to contest the opponent. They reclaimed the public space to voice out their interests shown in the demand list. The massive participants automatically caught public attention. The public was offered a phenomenal event. The movement slowed the pace of public activity by waging an unusual event at that time. The massive event was aimed to show to the public that the cause is significant as shown by the large number of people occupying the street. The massive participation also showed that the power of the movement and the opponent's pillars of support, particularly the police, should not hurt them for the sake of supporting the government and the parliament as the opponent.

This occupancy destabilised the opponent's pillars of support engagement to weaken the opponent. The massive public pressure created a dilemma of action to the opponent in which ordering the police to repress protesters would be counterproductive and ignoring protester's demand would shake their power in office. The least they could do was to let people protest peacefully and considering their demands.

Chart 5.1 Epicenter Transformation

Past relation	Relation during and post-action
• Local community - protester -> stigma	• Local community - protester -> sympathetic
• Police - protester -> antagonistic	• Police - protester -> agonistic, fraternized

The three strategies of nonviolent actions taken by ARB worked because they could pull the opponent's pillar of support. The relation with the broader part of society was vital since they aimed for massive support and participation. The epicentre of this conflict showed the pattern of hostile interactions between protester and people in general. However, the peaceful actions successfully transformed the stigma of direct action in the public eye and transform the antagonistic relation between police and protester. In the field, people in the neighbourhood gave the protesters foods and drinks as a form of support. They also watched and were entertained by the performance during the direct action (Interview with Tilarso). This transformation aligned with the movement's long-term goal of maintaining resistance by gaining peoples' trust, support, and participation. At the same time, this transformation has eased the cultural violence in the form of stigmatisation towards direct action. The relation transformation was also achieved in the movement's relationship with the police. Previously, Yogyakarta Special regional police received a warning due to their violence in the Papuan student boarding house in 2017 (Hikari during FGD). Since that incident, Yogyakarta Special regional police have tried to apply civil policing to handle demonstrations by letting the protesters conduct their resistance. In GM, the police did not show their equipment to prevent provocation (Syahdan during FGD). The police cooperatively respond to prior notification of the direct action by engineering the traffic (Amali, 2019). The movement's commitment to nonviolence ensured the police and the protesters that they did not threaten each other. It gradually eased direct violence.

The relation improvement can be seen as the outcome of engagement with the opponent's pillars of support. In GM, the pillars were the police, intellectuals, local community, and media. The movement cooperated and fraternised the police to avoid unnecessary clashes. Several lecturers supported the movement even though the rectorate issued restrictions because they deem the direct action as a usual practice in a democracy (Sucahyo, 2019). The neighbourhood communities, including the street vendor, supported the movement and even joined them in the street. Several mainstream media reported the action on a positive light (Anatje, et.al, 2020) to get public sympathy. Attracting pillars of support, especially the public, had been part of the movement's strategy.

In the end, nonviolence is a back-and-forth action. The principle and method of nonviolence were applied in every aspect of the movement and successfully bridges a partnership or builds relation to pull people to side of the movement.

Chapter 6 Strategic Challenges in Overcoming Structural Violence

This chapter aims to unravel the internal and external challenges faced by ARB in overcoming structural violence as shown in the demand list. Nonviolence practice in GM had shown its contribution toward overcoming cultural and direct violence, namely changing the stigma toward direct actions and prevented violent clashes during the direct actions. However, the demand to improve the structural problems is not fulfilled since the government and the parliament continue with their own agenda. The postponed Bill on the Indonesian Criminal Code in 2019 will be continued in 2021 since the ministry asked for ratification (Humas dan Protokol BPHN, 2021). The implementation of the problematic Corruption Eradication Commission Law led to the weakening of Indonesian anti-corruption agenda, such as the remission grant toward corruptors (Purnamasari & Harbowo, 2021) and the massive lay-off of Corruption Eradication Commission Law's officers (Sulistyo, et al., 2021). The rejected Omnibus Law that threatens workers and the environment was eventually ratified (Amali, 2020). The government and the parliament did not pass the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence. The civic space is shrinking, and many activists are arrested (Tirto.id, 2021). Direct and structural violence by the state remains in Papua (Riana, 2021). The National Action Plan for Human Rights does not address gross human rights violation cases (CNN Indonesia, 2021). Reflecting on the unmet demands, the challenges need to be discussed.

6.1 Internal Challenge

6.1.1 The Dispute in Committing Nonviolence

The conflict episodes in which crises emerged was shown by the debate around the method of the movement. In the previous chapter, I have explained that at the consolidation event before GM 1 a group of propose violence method for the movement. They saw that violence would be a suitable method to defend themselves from the police who usually utilise violence as a means to disperse a protest. This debate showed that internal fragment existed since the very beginning of the movement even when they eventually agreed on nonviolence.

After GM 1, the movement found that their peaceful action was insufficient in bringing about structural change. GM 2 was planned to be a response toward police brutality that protesters in the other cities faced. For instance, police brutality was found rampant in the Jakarta direct actions (Bernie, 2019). One of the mobilisers stated that he felt responsible for the victims of police brutality because GM has ignited the nationwide protest (Syahdan during FGD). Additionally, the government only responded to the demand for the postponement of the Bill on the Indonesian Criminal Code among the long list of demands in GM 1 (Safutra, 2019) which only light fire to their grievances. According to KontraS's annual report, the police used violence repeatedly in handling civil society's expression, resulting in the shrinking civic space (KontraS, 2021). The repetition shows that their violent behaviours were not merely due to incidents. Instead, it is institutionalised practice that has become common. Structurally, police are granted the authority to enforce the law and maintain security and public order[13]. Yet, they used coercive approach in handling public demonstration or protest instead of civilian policing as mandated by the law. Civilian policing emphasises the importance of civilian and police cooperation to maintain security and public order and this approach is not popular among the police rank (Riyadi, 2020).

In GM 2, there was a critical moment that tempted people to betray their commitment to nonviolence. The emotional tension between the protesters and the police became heated due to the case of police brutality in the other cities. For instance, several high school students tried to chase a traffic police around the protest location (Interview with Tyo). The security

division stopped it before it turned to be violence (Interview with Ardy). The mobilisers ensured that the direct action remained peaceful and that no one was hurt. Any violent incident could bring backlash to their movement and reduce their power since peaceful action claim was one of their significant power. Maintaining the commitment to practising nonviolence was not easy as tensions grew larger combined with the existing fragmentation within the movement. This challenge showed that the commitment to nonviolence should be cultivated at an individual level as much as at a group level because individual act matters in a collective action. Betraying the collective commitment and agreement to nonviolence could distract the effort to reach the movement's demands.

6.1.2 Inadequate Persistence

GM gained massive participation and public attention only on its first and second direct action. After GM 2, participations number went down. The participants were back to their normal life, such as Tilarso who finished his final project in the art institute. They no longer invested their energy in the movement, and they had no tie to it. This is exactly the downside of a fluid movement. Once the momentum is lost, the movement found a hard time to bounce back to what it was once. Inadequate persistence in maintaining the peaceful movement is not suitable with their goal to abolish structural violence. This goal requires consistent engagement besides a powerful strategy. Living in a state of power imbalance, persistence is one of the keys to bargain power.

6.1.3 Less Compelling Strategy

The other two nonviolence strategies were needed to bring significant change to ensure that the demands are fulfilled. Noncooperation or disobedience and intervention could be waged to leverage the power. The massive support generated from the campaign should be managed to be a pushing power. While noncooperation provides the nexus of massive participants and stronger pressing methods, intervention could be a suitable combination to push the opponent to accommodate the demands and overcome structural violence. However, the movement had the challenge in diversifying their method as noncooperation and intervention strategies. Most of the employed strategy was protest and persuasion, which primarily work on raising public awareness. At the same time, a strategy that directly targeted the opponent by pushing them was vital. There were limited Indonesian noncooperation and intervention strategies that the movement could adapt. The external exposure, such as the Hong Kong protest nonviolent actions, still needed to be translated into the Indonesian context to be built as noncooperation and intervention strategies.

I am not saying that the movement did not employ noncooperation and intervention strategies. For instance, they resisted the university restriction in joining the direct action and decided to take to the street to intervene public agenda that day as they believed that this action was important. However, there were no successful intervention strategy that destabilised the opponent's power. These limited methods worked in the opponent's pillars of support in Yogyakarta, but their subtle manifestation of nonviolence intervention was not adequate enough to be heard by the government and parliament in Jakarta as a strategic opponent.

6.1.4 Neglecting More Powerful Network

The movement' goal in creating a sustained movement only focused on its grassroots participation. They put little attention to reaching allies in the top position. One of the research participants once forwarded their press release to his acquaintance in the parliament (WhatsApp text with Hikari), but there was no follow-up. There was a missing part that the movement failed to target. Based on peacebuilding strategy, negotiation and dialogue with the opponent are significant to building peace infrastructure, yet the movement did not adopt these strategies due to their faith in people power. They did not focus on lobbying the

potential allies in the government or parliament to accommodate their demands. They believed in the bottom-up transformation which could be realised by the pressure of centralised grassroot movements. Unfortunately, the direct action in Yogyakarta failed to push agenda to the opponent in Jakarta.

The government and the parliament had implemented accommodation as nonviolent actions' mechanism of change when they postponed the Bill on the Indonesian Criminal Code. They granted one of the demands from the movement and the nationwide protests because there was a shift of power. The direct action could bring power through public support which could temporarily delegitimise the government and the parliament. They were seen as evil in the public eye and accommodating the protesters' demand was one of their ways of in paying for the political cost for their future agenda. The previous effect of the movement in the opponent's mechanism of change was still in accommodation mode. The change was temporary because it did not come from within the institution nor did the actions work in coercion or even disintegration that could fully corner the opponent to comply with the demand.

6.2 External Challenge

6.2.1 Misperception in Digital Space

To some extent, the movement did influence other actions in other cities. However, the movement could not spread its commitment to nonviolence to the movements in those cities. Various movements in other cities had similar intention to use nonviolence approach, but most failed to commit fully as much as GM. Protests in various cities in Indonesia ended up in violent clashes between the protesters and the police. Yogyakarta is exceptional due to its variety of movement repertoires, even if limited to a certain extent, which was significantly more diverse than other cities with their own situation and context.

As violent clashes happened in other cities, the national movement received public backlash. The demand became lost in the massive backlash and the movement was delegitimised due to the violence. As the backlash was mostly expressed in social media, there were misinformation, rumours, and hoaxes thrown around without verification. The nature of the digital space allowed misinformation to grow larger and larger. The movement was rumoured to be hijacked by a certain anti-Joko Widodo group and planned to start full-blown riots. Every movement in each city was identified as the affiliated with the *#ReformasiDikorupsi* nationwide protest which means the backlash was targeted to all movement, including GM which was waged peacefully. The delegitimisation could shift public support because people doubted ARB commitment to nonviolence and its true aim in its critique to the government.

6.2.2 The 'Bigger' Power

The distrust of the public as the pillars of support towards the government and the parliament did not push them to fulfil the demands to eradicate the structural violence. Contrary to the ideal of a democratic state that perceives people as a vital pillar of support, the government and the parliament disregarded public expression. This indicated that the government and the parliament are against democratic values even though the Indonesian constitution clearly stated that Indonesia is a democratic state which stands in people's sovereignty.

However, this does not mean that the public distrust failed to bring any impact whatsoever. The government and the parliament accommodated one of the demands in a short-term manner. As accommodation can be used a mechanism of change within nonviolence, the government and the parliament accommodated one of the demands simply because of pragmatic reasons in minimising the political cost. This also showed that the opponent's dependency toward the pillars of support was only a temporary condition.

The movement failed to leverage its bargaining power since the government and the parliament depended on the bigger power in the game, namely capital owners. The idealisation of consent theory in nonviolence, as stated in Chapter 3, which believes in people's agency did not fit with the reality that the movement faced. A nonviolent movement that gained support could not shift the imbalance of power overnight. The power did not fully disperse as it is centralised among the elites because the governance practice disregard people's sovereignty values. In line with Atack's critique on consent theory earlier, the people could not affect the imbalance of power because they held less structural power than the opponent who held the authority. The opponent has hard power that would allow them the authority to inflict harm to the protesters whilst it would be illegal for the protesters to use violence. The government and the parliament also hold structural power in the state's decision making whilst the people are not entitled to this authority. Additionally, businessman gave the opponent a more considerable benefit. The promise of economic development and profits have made the opponent to side with business interest (Umam, 2019). This capital owners is considered more powerful than the people and has the ability to support the oligarch in maintaining their power.

In conclusion, the internal and external challenges faced by ARB as a nonviolent movement left the structural violence untouched. Nonviolence could not be waged just because, but good strategies and persistence are needed in order to bring a breakthrough. Since it takes to two to tango, nonviolent movements need the support and accommodation of the communities in order to succeed.

Conclusion

This research departs from the main question on how nonviolent movement overcoming structural violence. This question brings to further analysis of why this method is chosen, how it is implemented, and its challenges in overcoming structural violence. According to this research's findings, theoretically, people choose nonviolence to overcome structural violence because of its alignment to their morality and political consideration even though it has been challenged many times. This method overcome structural violence through (1) increasing public awareness on certain issues with advocacy, (2) mass mobilisation which could enable relation and partnership building with various parties to side with the movement by showcasing the values and benefit that the nonviolence approach brings, and (3) intervention which demonises the actors behind structural violence. This method has its own challenges, particularly in the intervention of the opponent's power. Nonviolent movements might fail to intervene the opponent successfully as they hold structural power and can use it to maintain structural violence. This is a display of power imbalance between the protesters and the opponent. In order to overcome structural violence, nonviolent movements require commitment, persistence, advance strategy, and networks. If these requirements are not met, at least this method has set a path for the future of constructive conflict in the long run.

As shown in the case study, ARB decision to wage peaceful actions showed a varied view to consider nonviolence. Concerns were raised because some members were worried that this method might probably be too passive, but the movement framed nonviolence as an active and powerful method. This view cleared the cloud of doubts within the movement which would eventually lead them to agree on nonviolence as their middle ground. It aligned with the moral values of the majority of the participants in ARB –avoiding harmful actions, holding democracy, and eradicating toxic masculinity– and considered has strategical power by developing the strength using the history and conflict's context at that time.

Their belief in nonviolence was the foundation in how the movement advocated the issue of deteriorating governance quality under the Joko Widodo administration through campaigns and direct actions to feature peaceful, humanising, and fraternising characters. To the public, they offered partnership to move together in a flat hierarchy to advocate collective causes which was freeing themselves from the structural violence of the regime. They invited the public to support or even join them using nonviolent methods. To the police, the movement treated them as a non-threat, and they act peacefully. In the movement's approach, they tried to humanise all the parties and make the action fun in order to reduce the tension. The relation transformation in GM led to a lesson for a lot of people to change their stigma on direct action and convinced the opponent's pillars of support that civil policing was sufficient.

The struggle strived to attain peace by defeating structural violence. The massive support brought by partnership and fraternisation had created a political cost for the opponent which resulted to the opponent's accommodation, even though only for one demand and only temporarily. However small, the movement showed lasting impact of peaceful actions. For the bigger picture, the peaceful action has left a trace in conflict transformation in Indonesia. It taught us that conflict is natural and we do not need to destroy each other to face this situation. This movement demonstrated that deliberation without violent clashes between arguing parties is possible. In democracy, violence is unnecessary because each party can voice their concerns on certain issues and the public decides whether to support or not. The authority should also accommodate the public interest.

However, it is important to note that nonviolence did not automatically bring victory. Internal and external unaddressed challenges faced by ARB means that the objective in defeating structural violence is still far to reach. Nonviolence was perceived as a strategic

method, but it needs to be elevated by strengthening the commitment and persistence of its mobilisers and participants as well as a more compelling nonviolent method and broader networking. As we live in a world where power is imbalance, it is necessary for nonviolence movements to fully commit to the principles and craft excellent strategies, both online and offline, to overcome structural violence and bring impactful, transformational changes.

Appendix

Appendix 1 List of Source Person

No	Method	Name	Pronoun	Status (during GM)
1	Interview (WhatsApp video call)	Ardy Syihab	He	Labour activist, master student, helped in mobilizing people in direct action
2	FGD (Zoom), WhatsApp text	Gendis Widodari	She	Undergraduate student, movement's founder (especially in strategic studies division)
3	FGD (Zoom), WhatsApp text	Hikari Ersada	He	Undergraduate student, movement's founder (especially in event division)
4	FGD (Zoom)	Nadya Noer	She	Undergraduate student, movement's founder (especially in advocacy and propaganda division)
5	FGD (Zoom)	Obed Kresna	He	Undergraduate student, movement's founder (especially in event division)
6	FGD (Zoom)	Syahdan Husein	They	Undergraduate student, movement's founder (especially in public relation division)
7	Interview (WhatsApp video call)	Tilarso	He	Art student, helped in advocacy and propaganda division
8	Interview (WhatsApp call)	Tyo	He	Vocational high school student
9	FGD (Zoom)	Venda Pratama	He	Master student, coordinated security division

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Notes

[1] For instance, the action in Malioboro was ended in a riot due to the police's repression toward the protesters.

[2] See Adu-Ampong and Adams (2020).

[3] The ABC (attitude, behaviour, context or structure) triangle of conflict aligns with the violence triangle (cultural, direct, and structural) in which attitude can lead to cultural violence, behaviour to direct violence, and context to structural violence.

[4] The observation occurred in 2015 until early 2019 when I was a student and a research assistant who joined several movements.

[5] See John Paul Lederach (2005).

[6] Yogyakarta is a melting pot area for people from any region, especially in Indonesia, because it is a student city. People from anywhere used to migrate to Yogyakarta to study or work.

[7] The commonplace to wage direct action in Yogyakarta is Malioboro (a shopping centre area), *Nol Kilometer* (a monumental icon of Yogyakarta), and the regional parliament building.

[8] This clausula stated in Article 10 and 45 Regulation of the Chief of Police of the Republic of Indonesia 8/2009 which regulates the condition of violence is permitted. However, the other regulations also stated that violence should not be executed, such as in Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia.

[9] In Javanese, *kulanuwun* is a form of greetings or an act in which visitors or guests ask for a permission for entering a place to the people who own or hold authority over the place.

[10] It is stated in Article 13 of Law Number 9 of 1998 concerning Freedom of Expressing Opinions in Public.

[11] It is shown in ARB's Instagram documentation.

[12] My observation during my participation in GM 2.

[13] It is stated in Law No. 2 of 2002 concerning the National Police of the Republic of Indonesia.

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