



# Political Opportunity, Media Framing and Resource Mobilization: A Study on Social Protest Against Indonesia Regional Election Law Revisions

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## Abstract

This article discusses social movement in the case of regional election law revision that held on 2024. This article use three main theoretical perspectives they are political opportunity structure, media framing, and resource mobilization. The background of the social movement began with public concerns about the House of Representative's decision that contradicted with Constitutional Court's decision regarding the regional election law revision. This is considered to threaten the democracy principles. The House of Representative is considered to perpetuate certain political interests by ignoring the decision which is seen as final and binding. This study uses a qualitative method. Data were obtained through observation and media report. The analysis is carried out by comparing data from various sources to ensure the accuracy of the information. The results of the study show that the social movement conducted is success because it is conditioned by several key factors. In the theory of political opportunity structure, this movement received any supports from several political elites, especially from the Indonesia Democratic Party (PDIP), that rejected the issue of regional election law revision. In the perspective of media framing, this movement succeeded in mobilizing masses with narration of "Emergency Warning" and thashtag of #KawalPutusanMK. Both are massive on social media such as instagram and twitter. And, in the perspective of resource mobilization, social movement took place in many cities are effectively coordinated by student and civil society alliances that contributed to the success of this masive social movement.

**Keywords:** Social movement · Perspective of social movement · Regional election law revisions

## BACKGROUND

Social movement is one of necessary discourse in sociological and political studies. Social movement can be understood as a synonymous with collectivity and resource mobilization. This movement was born due to relative deprivation with efforts to create change or even reject change (Mardianti, 2022). This is in line with the concept of social movements offered by Cohen (in Haris et

al. 2019). According to him, social movements are movements carried out by a number of people who are organized and have purposes to change or to maintaining a state of condition in society.

Social movements are driven by uncertainty that disturbs a group of people in various aspects of their life through a series of stages. It starts from the stage of anxiety, frustration, formalization and institutionalization (Haris et al. 2019). In his essay, Haris cites several arguments from Michener and Delamater (1999) who state as activities that are collective in nature expressing a high level of concern for certain issues. Avci (2024) state that social movement as groups of people gathered to move against and thus make a change against inequality and injustice in the society through noninstitutionalized means. Furthermore, social

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movements are activities and beliefs of people that hope for changes in the aspects of social condition.

A study conducted by Haris et al. (2019) concluded that the speed or the slowness of movement emergence is influenced by the strength, frequency, and intensity of social interactions between individuals in building the movement which will then have a large impact in achieving the targets, goals, and objectives that are accordance with each movement's interests. Therefore, according to sociologists, social movements have several types because of these conditions, such as movements that are regressive, progressive, reformist, alternative, revolutionary, redemptive, autopian, and also immigration social movements, each movement has its own type.

In analyzing the movement, there are three paradigms put forward by McAdam (Pathurrahman, 2022). The three paradigms are political opportunity structure theory, resource mobilization theory, and collective action framing. In the first paradigm, it is intended that social movement can occur depending on the political institution, whether it is closed or open and can provide opportunities for opening the movement or not. The second paradigm, it is intended that the resources become an important aspect in the social movement. It can be mass, energy, thought, or material. The existing of resources have a minimum form of organization and get recognition from both members and other groups. Then, the third paradigm is framing, which focuses on framing the problem in such a way in order the issue can reach to public sphere. Actors in it need to construct conditions as a problem, offer a solution, and then create a resistance. This framing paradigm is strongly related to the role of media especially when it is viewed from modern social movements.

As a democratic country, Indonesia can not escape from kind of social movements that flourish the civil society's lives. Throughout 2024, there are countless demonstrations that have occurred as a form of community control over the government period. One of the main actions that become attention to public is the rejection of regional election law revisions. This revision consider to be full with the interests of political elites and a form of perpetuating president Jokowi's political dynasty. Various movements into the streets and digital activism are born as a form of public anger to the constitution violation effort which is done by interested political elites.

This public unrest comes from the news that the Indonesian House of Representatives refused to accommodate the decision of the Constitutional

Court. The Constitutional Court previously had issued a decision regarding the reduction of threshold for political parties that did not have seats in the parliament to participate in regional election contestation as well as a decision regarding the age limitation for Regional Head candidates. The decision was considered as a chance for a radical democratization, but it is then a tarnish of people by the interests of political elite through attitude of legislation candidate of Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) which ignored the Constitutional Court's decision. Candidates of DPR RI previously took a stance in side with the Supreme Court's decision Number 23 P/HUM/2024 about age limitation for regional head candidates, which contradicted the Supreme Court's decision.

This decision is certainly considered as a worrying for the people. This is because that public perceptions to the DPR RI's defiance on Constitutional Court's decision and siding with the Supreme Court's decision is one of strategies to reinforce Kaesang Pangarep to advance in the contestation of Jakarta Regional election. This public unrest is not a mere political sentiment but a form of vigilance and traumatization of political elite behavior who had previously used a judiciary to reinforce the candidacy of Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who is currently as Vice President of Indonesian Republic. This House of Representatives partisanship clearly undermines the mandate of democracy. Public anger arose when the news spread that exactly a day after Constitutional Court's decision was issued, the DPR RI legislative candidates held a meeting to revise the regional election law, on August 21, 2024. What has been done by DPR RI through their efforts to revise regional election law is a form of legislature disobedience to the constitution. The Constitutional Court's decision is final, binding, and must be obeyed. This is explicitly stated in the constitutional amendment, article 24 C, year of 1945.

The action attempted to revise the regional election law and it is indicated that it does not comply with the Constitutional Court's decision, the people from all classes of civil society, lower-class communities, students, and media simultaneously carried out a social movement with the purpose to guard the Constitutional Court's decision and rejecting the revision of regional election law. This law is considered a path of fraud in the contestation on Jakarta Special Regional election. The peak of the mass action was held in front of DPR RI building in Jakarta on August 22, 2024. This movement was participated by various

stratum of society such as civil society, students, media, celebrities and influencers. This movement was not only carried out in Jakarta but also in many cities such as Surabaya, Bandung, Makassar, Semarang, Malang, and other cities.

The most interesting about this social movement is that the movement is not only carried out through in the street but also utilizes digitalism to carry out digital activism. Various media and public enlivened this movement by sharing the content of “mergency Warning” and #KawalPutusanMK on various social media. This movement certainly had a lot of influence in mobilizing the public to get attention about this issue. And finally, on August 22, 2024, House of Representatives would comply with the Constitutional Court's decision and cancel out the revision of regional election law. Although the statement has been officially issued by the House of Representatives, the people remains an alert to warn KPU Regulation until August 27, 2024. At the same time, social movements are still being echoed in various regions and digital activism still intensively aired to warn KPU regulation.

In the phenomenon of social movement against regional election law revision, there are many important things that can be analyzed through various theories and concepts in social movements perspective. However the success of this social movement supported by a massive and a simultaneous mass action carried out in various regions and supported by digital activism. Under this reason, this article analyze the success of social movement against the regional electin revision issue in the perspective of political opportunities structure, resource mobilization, and media framing.

There are several previous studies that are used to map out and find out about this study gaps. This study gap is intended for the novelty of this article. In this case, the previous studies that become a research reference is research with preferably of last ten years (2014-2024) and is limited to the topic of social movement against the revision of regional election law. This study will be focused on the structure of political opportunities, resource mobilization movement, and the role of media in framing social movements.

Firts, study conducted by Wansyah et al (2021) entitled “the alliance of intellectuals lecturers and students in the civil society movement to reject the revision of the 2019 KPK law.” This research focuses on examining the role of intellectuals in social movements with the demands to reject the revision of KPK Law in 2019. The rejection of the revision of KPK Law is

considered by intellectuals, in this case the alliance between lecturers and students, as a weakening of KPK and a form of betrayal the ideals of reformation. The results of this study show that intellectuals embodied in lecturers and students are the main actors in building the social movement.

Second, research conducted by Ilhamsyah, (2024) under the title “framing analysis of emergency warnings on the television and instagram account. This research is in line with the this research topic and uses the same theoretical analysis namely media framing. The framing theory used in this research is Gamson and Modigliani's with focus of analysis using metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images. This study prioritizes the analysis on published content, analyzed with four framing elements of Gamson and Modigliani's theory, and focusing on discussing the impact on digital activism.

Third, research related to the theory of structure of political opportunities. In this case, research of Pathurrahman et al (2022) under the title “structure of political opportunities of the fishermen's resistance movement, study on the tabanio community, Tanah Laut regency” become next literature. Although the topic in this research is different from the research topic conducted, it is seen that the research can be used to sharpen the analysis of social movement using the theory of structure of political opportunities. The results of this study state that the emergence of social movements is able to influence the mechanism of public policy changing. One of the factors on emergence the movement is indirectly influenced by the opening of a political opportunity structure that gives momentum in social movement. This research assumes that if the structure of political opportunities is closed, the opportunity for the emergence of social movement cannot be formed massively and run effectively (Pathurrahman et. al., 2022).

Through various literatures conducted by the authors, it can be seen that this research specifically discusses the rejection of regional election law revision of the 2024. This issue is almost not exist as far as this literature reviews. For the research that discusses media framing analysis, in the content of “Emergency Warning” will be analyzed using media and communication studies,. However, it does not focus on media framing analysis that gives arise to digital activism movements. There is also no research on resource mobilization and the structure of political opportunities as far as literature reviews that focuses on the rejection movement towards

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regional election law revision as this focus of research objection. Therefore, this article will focus on the discussion by using three perspective, namely resource mobilization theory, media framing analysis theory, and political opportunity structure theory. The existence of this study motivates to present novelty. It is hoped that this article can contribute theoretically and provide a benefit to the wider community, especially observers on social movement issues.

### METHODS

The study used qualitative method. Qualitative research method explains phenomena based on information heard, felt, and made in a narrative statement (Usman, 2017; Waruwu, 2024). The sources of data obtained by the primary data. It is obtained through the process of involvement in the action of social movement in the context of rejection the regional election law revision. Then secondary data. It is obtained through various literature and information in the media as well as journals and books which are relevant to the research topic. The data obtained is then processed by analyzing the information obtained. The first stage after the data is collected, the researcher analyzes and examines carefully, then continues by comparing information with other sources to ensure the accuracy of the information, the final stage is the conclusion of the information obtained and summarized to be used as reference material in the research.

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In analyzing the success of social movement in the context of research conducted, several theories are needed. Some of these theories are political opportunity structure theory, media framing analysis theory, and resource mobilization theory. These three theories will be used to analyze the success of the social movement against regional election law revision that occurred on August 22, 2024.

#### **Structure of political opportunities in the context of rejection action movement against regional election law revision**

The success of a movement is not only judged by how much mass is mobilized to join the movement, but also other external factors such as access to political structures and elites. The main focus of this theory is more on how many political

connections a movement has than its material resources. Experts put forward many versions of this theoretical perspective, as expressed by McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald (in Sukmana, 2016) around this theory, there are at least 3 dimensions of political opportunity structure theory as follows

#### 1. Organization strength

This factor involves the actor of community organization that feels aggrieved. The more organized a certain group, the greater likelihood of social movement become success.

#### 2. Cognitive liberation

This concept emphasizes the chances of social movement success in society. The higher level of public confidence in the success of a certain movement, the more they will try to get involved in it.

#### 3. Political opportunities

The alignment of group with the larger environment. McAdam (in Sukmana, 2016) mentions that there are four aspects of political opportunity that intersect with social systems and movements namely the relative openness or closedness of political system, the stability of relations between powerful groups, the existence or absence of alliances between elites in society, and the capacity and tendency of state to carry out repressive actions.

Those four factors determine the success or failure of social movements. For a social movement to be successful, it must have all four networks. In addition to McAdam (in Sukmana, 2016), there are four experts who are popular in proposing this political opportunity structure theory they are Brockett, Kriesi, Rucht, and Tarrow (2004). Nardini, et al. (2020) argues that there are at least three dimensions that are important factors and influence the success of a movement. These three dimensions are formal institutional structures, procedures in relation to a challenge and power configurations related to the presence of an opposing force. In analyzing this movement, the article will use the theory put forward by Kriesi and adopt several points of theory expressed by McAdam.

If we analyze at the first factor, that is organizational strength, it can see clearly that the people is very disadvantaged by the issue of regional election law revision by the DPR RI. People who are gathered in the organizations then

carry out a social movement. Various student organizations and NGOs (non-government organizations) enlivened this movement. The existence of social movements in various cities and digital activism made people optimistic about the success of this social movement. This indirectly fulfills the cognitive liberation factor.

Beside the two factors, political opportunities are also one of a key factor to review the success of social movement through the theory of structure political opportunities (Mcadam & Tarrow, 2018; Ohayon et al., 2023). The support of the political elite in the form of the opposition in a social movement is one of the keys to the success of the movement. This happened in the mass action movement in May 1998 where student university demands and increasing pressure from the opposition became one of the factors in the collapse of the New Order regime (Kurnianto & Fathoni, 2021). If we analyze the social movement against regional election law revision, more or less the support of political elites is one of the key factors. The existence of understanding between political elites and the people regarding this issue, is based on the elite's own political interests. The political elite that has an understanding with the people in this social movement is come from PDIP Political Party. It similar to the people related parties assume that the Constitutional Court's decision is final and binding. So that, it must be obeyed and cannot be annulled by the law or the Supreme Court's decision.

The understanding factor has certainly reinforce the success of social movement to deny regional election law revisions. In conclusion, the theory of structure of political opportunities can be appropriate perspective in seeing the success of people movement that is marked by regional election law revision being canceled. This is evidenced by the fulfillment of three aspects the theory, begins from organizational strength which is evidenced by the large number of alliances and community organizations that protest to the streets to carry out demonstrations in an organized action, then the fulfillment of the cognitive aspect, which is evidenced by the escalation of a large social movement. It showed not only centered in Jakarta, and the last aspect, that is political opportunity, which is evidenced by the support and understanding of political elites who have an interest in the issue to reject the regional election law revision.

### **Media framing analysis in the social movement towards rejecting regional election law revisions**

In understanding social movement, a framing is needed that can unify people's perceptions and understanding of an issue. Ciurel (2023) states framing in social movements refers to the process of constructing and interpreting meanings to mobilize supporters, appeal to authorities, and counter opponents. This framing analysis theory is also used to see how media frames and responds to a certain phenomenon. Framing analysis can also be interpreted as a collective action that seeks to mobilize the masses to view the reality in the same way (Sumarwan, 2018). In details, Sabada (2021) interpret framing as a collective action that is a set of actions oriented towards providing a belief and meaning that inspires, motivates, and legitimizes the activities and campaigns of social movement organizations.

In the contexts of this study, it also need to know the urgency of using this framing analysis theory. Framing is an important factor in the success or failure of a social movement because it is related to the ability of the masses to diagnose, define, and identify an issue so that it can then be implemented into a strategy.

In the context of rejection movement on regional election law revision, media framing is useful to unite public perceptions and mobilize them to intensively echoed through social media platforms. Through social media, massive digital activism is carried out with contents entitled "Emergency Warning" with the garuda symbol, blue background, and #KawalPutusanMK. This content became a trending topic on various social media such as Instagram and X. This content was first massiveized through Mata Najwa media and "narratives TV" on Instagram which was then massively disseminated by influencers and general public who are active in social media.

This framing intended to unify perceptions and mobilize the masses digitally can be said to have achieved tremendous success. Based on news from media such as Kompas, the content has been uploaded by more than 53,000 Instagram users as of August 21, 2024 and the number continues to grow significantly. Beside instagram, this digital activism movement has also become a trending topic on platform X with a total of more than 31,000 tweets (see picture 1).

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**Picture 1.** The number of like and shared hastag in social media, instagram



Source: Instagram, 2024

The existence of social movement certainly creates a quite heavy pressure on political elites who are interested in release their actions in revising the regional election Law. A massive digital activism movement created through media framing has even been highlighted by foreign media such as *Reuters* (Sorongan, 2024). The phenomenon of digital activism created through this media framing certainly has a great influence because it has succeeded in gathering a large number of people from all social background on social media to put pressure towards political elite to cancel the regional election law revision actions.

### Resource mobilization

In addition to the two theories above, resource mobilization theory also plays an important factor that determines the success or failure of a social movement. This is in line with the argument that there are at least several determinant factors in a movement (Karina, 2017), namely social movement organization, leaders and leadership, resources mobilization, networks and participation, opportunities and community capacity. The argument states that resource mobilization is an important factor in a movement. Basically, resource mobilization theory examines the rationality of movement. In simple terms, this theory discusses how a social movement can mobilize masses to take collective action and get involved in a social movement.

There are several experts who reveal their arguments on the resource mobilization theory. Among the famous ones are McCarthy and Zald (2010) and also what is revealed by Petersen (2020) they suggest that the important factors need to be considered in an effort to mobilize a masses or group are because the group has an established communication network. There are members who have leadership abilities, and there is a traditional

participation from member. Furthermore, they states that a group in mobilization needs to have leaders, members, regular activities and social chains.

In the context of social movement against regional election law revision, mass mobilization was very massive and spread across various cities. Indeed, the peak of masses action was held in front of Jakarta Parliament building on August 22, 2024. However, this action is not only carried out in Jakarta but also in several cities such as Surabaya, Bandung, Makassar, Semarang, Malang, and various other cities. This action was attended by various stratum of society such as civil society, students, students, media, celebrities and influencers. Although it is scattered and carried out in various cities, this action is a organized action and there are leaders who mobilize resources. In Indonesia, the student movement has an alliance, namely BEM SI or Indonesian Student Executive Board). This alliance then organized the student to involve in social movement in Jakarta. The action movements took place in various cities also did not escape from the role of alliances ranging from the center of BEM SI to organize alliances in the community with masses from various stratums. This resource mobilization is certainly an important factor in the success of the social movement in rejection regional election law revision.

### CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, it can conclude that there are several theories used as analysis to analyze the successness of social movement. In this context, this research uses three perspective to analyze the movement in context of rejection on regional election law revision issue which was held on August 22, 2024. The perspective are political opportunity structure, media framing theory, and resource mobilization theory. The results of analysis from this study show that the social movement in the context of regional election law revision rejection fulfills the three success factors. In terms of political opportunity structure, the movement rejecting regional election law revision received any supports from political elite, which is in this case is PDIP party. The PDIP party has an understanding of the people regarding the need to obey and control the Constitutional Court's decision. However, although PDIP's partisanship has a political interest content, this remains a factor that needs to be considered in the success of the social movement conducted. Then, in the terms of

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media framing, this movement also indicates a successness. This can be seen from how media is actively unifying public perception and mobilizing public through social media with the content of "Emergency Warning" and #KawalPustusMK. The mobilization of resources in this movement also achieved extraordinary success because the action was not only centered in Jakarta but was also held in various cities in Indonesia.

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