

Urban Anti-Eviction Social Movement: A Case in East Indonesian City

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Abstract

This research aims to explain the phenomenon of the Anti-Eviction Movement in Makassar as a case that represents the formation of civil society in East Indonesian city. Using the case study method, this research focuses on aspects related to the struggle for the right to the city and the right to a safe place to live from the threat of eviction based on primary and secondary data. The primary data comes from interviews with participants of the bara-barayya alliance movement in Makassar City conducted from January 2023 to July 2023. In the interviews, the researcher concentrated on how the bara-barayya alliance movement expressed their struggle to claim the right to the city and a safe home from the threat of eviction. Data analysis was conducted through interview analysis to obtain accurate data and describe and explain the data explicitly. The findings in this study show that the feeling of threat among urban residents who face the threat of eviction creates resistance through the anti-eviction movement to claim their right to shelter and housing and the struggle to reclaim their right to the city. This study argues the crucial and urgent importance of understanding urban anti-eviction social movements in various cities to prevent evictions in Indonesia. Mainly to construct the effectiveness of social activism.

Keywords: Activism, Anti-Eviction, Urban Social Movement, Makassar, Indonesia.



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I. INTRODUCTION

Land disputes have been a source of conflict in Indonesia, and eviction cases are a long-standing problem in various regions, from rural to urban areas. This dramatic side shows how the social fact of capitalistic development is the cause of oppression and land grabbing of the urban poor. Supporting this argument, according to Hadiz and Robison¹, the collapse of the New Order regime marked by the transition to democracy also underlies the rise of capitalism in Indonesia, as there was no consolidation of social and political coalitions to challenge oligarchic power after the collapse of authoritarian rule.² As a result, the shift from the New Order regime to Reform allowed oligarchs to build their political power up to the local level. However, this also presents a potential for change, as seen from the increasing threat of evictions in various regions. This potential for change is a beacon of hope for a better future, inspiring us to work towards a more just society.³

Forced evictions in the name of progress are often understood as a collective imagination among city builders and bourgeois classes who cannot stand the existence of slums and dirty settlements in urban environments.⁴ Therefore, it is appropriate that Michel Vols and Erna Dyah state that evictions in Asia, especially in developing countries such as Indonesia, have the same implications as those in developed countries that can carry out evictions for justifiable reasons. At the same time, the rise of forced evictions supported by economic, political, and legal mechanisms has further strengthened the culture of money politics and thuggery in Indonesia. Thus, it often requires the deployment of disproportionate force, creates violence, and results in the loss of property, housing, and livelihoods. On the one hand, the increasing number of evictions in various regions is accompanied by increased political unrest marked by resistance actions in several urban centers.⁵

The community's resistance to eviction echoes Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city, which emphasizes the community's struggle to determine the engine of historical change located in the city. Given that the city is strongly intertwined with capitalist industrialization, everything, including space itself, is reducible to economic exchange into commodities that can benefit the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is unsurprising that urban space becomes a place of dispossession between public actors and their opponents. Thus, resistance to fighting for the right to the city becomes an alternative for urban residents to claim the right to dispossession in Lefebvre's terms. As Gülçin Erdi Lelandais points out, the struggle to assert the right to dispossession shows that the city is a space and belongs to everyone and the struggle for the right to the city to control the production of the urban space they live in every day.⁶

¹ Vedi Hadiz and Richard Robison, *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets* (Routledge, 2004).

² Hadiz and Robison.

³ Jairo Nunes, 'Sideward Movement', *Linguistic Inquiry - LINGUIST INQ* 32, no. 2 (1 April 2001): 303–44.

⁴ D Asher Ghertner, 'India's Urban Revolution: Geographies of Displacement beyond Gentrification', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 46, no. 7 (1 July 2014): 1554–71.

⁵ Ahmad Izudin and Suyanto, 'Gerakan Sosial Warga Parangkusumo Pada Kasus Penggusuran Lahan Geo Maritim Park', *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 14, no. 1 (8 November 2019): 109–228.

⁶ Gülçin Erdi Lelandais, 'Citizenship, Minorities and the Struggle for a Right to the City in Istanbul', *Citizenship Studies* 17, no. 6–7 (1 October 2013): 817–36; Gülçin Erdi Lelandais, 'Space and Identity in

In the last five years, many studies have examined how previous researchers have responded to anti-displacement resistance through social movements in various parts of Indonesia. For example, studies that examine the vital role played by communities in resisting forced evictions and advocating for the rights of individuals under threat of eviction have shown success in negotiating their rights through the legal system.⁷ In contrast, urban poor communities in Surabaya have attempted to fight evictions through cultural festivals as artistic expressions representing their symbolic resistance to eviction.⁸

In addition, the emergence of the student movement in advocating for traders in Jakarta facing eviction illustrates a broader trend of collective action among various social groups to resist the appropriation of urban space. Interestingly, Lisa Tilley et al. study found that while evictions often adversely affect women by creating economic and psychological hardship, the gender dynamics that result from evictions further sharpen the rationalization of urban space with everyday acts of defiance.⁹ In general, this study shows that anti-eviction social movements in various regions in Indonesia are based on very complex dynamics of urban spatial development.

To understand the phenomenon of anti-eviction social movements in urban areas, insights from the city of Makassar to Bara-barayya Sub-district are essential to explore, given that the land dispute and eviction threat have been ongoing for eight years, starting from 2017 until now and followed by the emergence of grassroots activism that opposes and prevents evictions in their settlement. This has been evident since February 13, 2017, with a letter from Kodam VII Wirabuana to urge residents to leave their homes; the Bara-barayya community tried to defend their land until Nurdin Daeng Nombong and the Kodam filed a lawsuit at the Makassar District Court.

However, in the end, the case was successfully won by the Bara-barayya residents both at the District Court and the Makassar High Court levels. Even so, the land dispute case is still ongoing, and there is no absolute certainty for Bara-barayya residents. Therefore, it is crucial to explore more deeply. As David Harvey stated, "If anti-capitalist movements emerge, then past and current anti-capitalist strategies must be re-evaluated."¹⁰

Understanding what was done, who would do it, and the technicalities fought for and won is essential. Similarly, Lefebvre, cited by Christian, emphasizes the urban aspect as a revolution that requires millions of daily acts of resistance and creation.¹¹ Therefore, this study aims to overcome the limitations of previous research by analyzing the phenomenon of the anti-eviction movement in Makassar City using Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city.

Resistance against Neoliberal Urban Planning in Turkey', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 5 (1 July 2014): 1785–1806.

⁷ Nurfitriyanti Nurfitriyanti and Nico Oktario Adytyas, 'Gerakan Sosial Masyarakat Eks Penghuni Lama Gusuran UIN Raden Fatah Kampus B Jakabaring', *Ampera: A Research Journal on Politics and Islamic Civilization* 3, no. 02 (30 April 2022): 121–29.

⁸ Andri Arianto, 'FESTIVAL JOGOKALI: Resistensi Terhadap Penggusuran Dan Gerakan Sosial-Kebudayaan Masyarakat Urban', *The Sociology of Islam* 1, no. 2 (2011), <https://jurnalfisip.uinsa.ac.id/index.php/JSI/article/view/16>.

⁹ Lisa Tilley, Juanita Elias, and Lena Rethel, 'Urban Evictions, Public Housing, and the Gendered Rationalisation of Kampung Life in Jakarta', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 60, no. 1 (2019): 80–93.

¹⁰ David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (Verso Books, 2012).

¹¹ Christian Schmid, 'Henri Lefebvre, the Right to the City and the New Metropolitan Mainstream', in *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, ed. Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer (Routledge, 2012), 42–62.

In exploring this study in more depth, the researcher will answer two main questions: (1) How does the strategy of the United Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance anti-eviction movement face the threat of eviction? (2) How does the United Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance anti-eviction movement maintain community solidarity and participation in the face of the threat of eviction? This study argues that the anti-eviction movement mobilized by urban residents is not only an initiative to defend their homes but also seeks to reaffirm the right to adequate housing and a just and inclusive urban space. This is based on the argument that civil society struggles and resistance in claiming the right to housing and the right to cities occur due to the lack of affordable housing and the ongoing threat of eviction.

II. URBAN ANTI-EVICTION MOVEMENT: A THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION FOR INDONESIA CONTEXT

The anti-eviction movement has become increasingly prominent in recent decades, especially in the post-reform era marked by the rise of capitalism in Indonesia. Urban space is then managed and produced based on capital gains, which creates several urban slum areas and, ultimately, evictions. Despite claims of equality associated with (neo)liberal democracy, capitalist cities are identified with sharp inequalities in access to land and living space.

Even longer is the list of urban struggles in big cities such as Jakarta, which has particularly encouraged the emergence of social movements in informal slum settlements to resist evictions and environmental destruction and fight for marginalization.¹² This phenomenon is also evident in various cities in Eastern Indonesia, such as Makassar, where the community faced the threat of eviction from residential areas by the Makassar City government in collaboration with private entrepreneurs on the grounds of urban development and spatial planning. The community refused and eventually formed an anti-eviction movement and social protest.¹³

Against this backdrop of different urban struggles, the fundamental question is how urban dialectics can be contextualized. In Manuel Castells' terms, urban social movements often only cover a small segment of urban reality and mainly consider movements oriented towards collective consumption.¹⁴ This conception reflects that the city is only seen as a reproduction of labor power, accompanied by a political perspective on organized forms of protest and ignoring urban residents' spontaneous actions and rebellions.

For Lefebvre, the idea of the city was much more open and radical, which had to start with an ongoing search for new insights into the phenomenon of the city and its relationship with capitalism. Lefebvre's main idea in his work, "Right to the City," which shows his critique of the city itself, is that the contemporary city is a capitalist city and

¹² Aprilia Nurjannatin et al., 'Analysis of the Train Station Vendors Eviction Related To University Students' Social Movement: A Case of Universitas Indonesia's Students Social Movement to The Train Station Vendors Eviction in Universitas Indonesia Station and Pondok Cina Station', *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 2, no. 9 (29 September 2013): 752; Tilley, Elias, and Rethel, 'Urban Evictions, Public Housing, and the Gendered Rationalisation of Kampung Life in Jakarta'.

¹³ S. Nurnafisah, 'Evictions and Social Protest: The Impact of Development on Residential Space on Laelae Island, Makassar City, South Sulawesi', *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development* 11, no. 8 (4 October 2023): e1068.

¹⁴ Manuel Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach* (MIT Press, 1977).

not urban, which is only a manifestation of the poverty of the urban world reduced to economic elements.¹⁵ Therefore, the struggle and resistance that can be contextually understood through the emergence of the anti-eviction movement supports Lefebvre's argumentation about removing alienation from urban space and reconnecting it into a network of social connections. As such, his idea of resistance can be understood through a right to the city that involves residents reclaiming space in the city through participation and political awakening.

The right to the city and a decent home is one of the political struggles that continues to overshadow contemporary life. This is not surprising, given that space has become a commodity for a few people, creating substantial social inequality for the urban poor. Rita Padawangi's research, which shows how grassroots activism in the city of Jakarta fights for the right to the city by transforming from protests to micro-activities such as environmental improvement and socio-economic training, shows that the struggle for the right to a decent home has become one of the most important political struggles in contemporary life.¹⁶

Rita Padawangi's findings emphasize aspects oriented towards alternative development due to the struggle for the right to the city. Apart from this aspect, the phenomenon that Christian Obermayr attempted to frame regarding the right to the city and housing in the Indonesian context found ambiguities in the resettlement practices for the urban poor. This is mainly related to evictions that tend to be facilitated by local governments through military and police forces.¹⁷

How are rights generated, then? According to Lefebvre, rights result from political struggles and collective claiming efforts by mobilized citizens.¹⁸ Therefore, the rights resulting from the struggle will be a further goal of creating new political agitation. Solange Munoz¹⁹ explicitly provides essential insights into how the right to the city and home is critical in the context of struggles for social justice.

For Solange Munoz, access to insecure housing from the threat of eviction is experienced at the home's scale and as a critical space where the right to the city is fought for, resisted, and denied.²⁰ Thus, without access to safe and stable housing, there is no right to the city. Participation in these struggles brings back the right to the city. Urban dwellers experience an awakening, realize their dependence on the city, and finally understand the importance of the struggle against the capitalist city.

This study investigates the phenomenon of the anti-eviction movement in Makassar City, including the struggle and resistance of urban residents involved in land disputes in the Bara-barayya Sub-district. The main objective of this study is to provide an empirical analysis of the anti-eviction movement, which has persisted for eight years. Therefore, we conducted interviews to analyze urban residents' sustainability in facing the eviction threat through an anti-eviction movement named "Aliansi Bara-barayya Bersatu."

¹⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Blackwell, 1996), 35.

¹⁶ Rita Padawangi, 'Reform, Resistance and Empowerment: Constructing the Public City from the Grassroots in Jakarta, Indonesia', *International Development Planning Review* 36, no. 1 (2014): 33–50.

¹⁷ Christian Obermayr, *Housing the Poor: The Right to the City and Policy Arrangements in Urban Indonesia* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023), 273.

¹⁸ Henri Lefebvre, 'From The Production of Space', in *Theatre and Performance Design* (Routledge, 2010), 145.

¹⁹ Solange Muñoz, 'Urban Precarity and Home: There Is No "Right to the City"', *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108, no. 2 (4 March 2018): 370–79.

²⁰ Muñoz.

In addition, this study is based on several fundamental premises. First, the phenomenon of the anti-eviction movement is an essential and unstudied issue that requires in-depth analysis. Secondly, the increasing number of evictions in various regions in Indonesia indicates a problem that needs to be critically understood to reveal the underlying reasons for this. Third, considering that social movements often do not last long due to various difficulties and challenges, the phenomenon of the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance together shows the opposite fact, thus requiring careful study. With these considerations and foundations, this study presents a critical and reflective analysis of the anti-eviction movement in Makassar City.

This research uses a qualitative methodology with a case study approach referring to primary and secondary data. Primary data is data obtained based on observation and in-depth interviews with participants. Primary data collection was conducted between January 2023 and July 2023, marking seven years since the formation of the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance. The period of the events discussed presents both opportunities and challenges. On the positive side, this duration allowed for an in-depth exploration of the evolution of activists' experiences since their involvement with the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance. Secondary data was obtained from online media sources related to the research topic, such as newspapers.

Contact with the organization was made through mutual acquaintance with some members. This made it easy for me to interact and disclose my role as a researcher. Interview informants were selected based on engagement through interaction with them during participant observation involved in the movement. Of the five activists, four were constituents who were not affected by the eviction. The informants consisted of 5 alliance elements (LBH Makassar, BEM FIP Makassar State University, two students of UIN Alauddin Makassar, and one person who was an affected activist. Finally, researchers analyzed data reduction, presentation, and conclusion through three stages. It is intended that this article can make it easier for readers to understand the meaning of the topic under study by paying attention to the rules, patterns, and configuration statements that have been established and the direction of cause and effect that can help in concluding.

III. "ALIANSI BARA-BARAYYA BERSATU": A STRATEGY OF URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance movement began in 2016, when the land dispute case between Bara-Barayya residents and Nurdin Dg. Nombong and Kodam XIV Hasanuddin claimed the residents' land as the occupied land of the TNI-AD dormitory. The military command forced them to vacate the land without judicial process. However, the fact is that Bara-barayya residents are the rightful owners with proof of sale and purchase deeds and official from the government. Then, the allegations related to land occupation cannot be justified.

"This case began when we received information that the Kodim in our neighborhood would be evicted. The residents and I were not bothered by the information because we understood it was their right. However, after a few days of eviction in the Kodim area, we received information from residents that we would be evicted and that our residence was included in the eviction agenda. At that time, as a native of Bara-barayya, I sought further information regarding the eviction issue, and yes, we received a

letter from Kodam VII Wirabuana on February 13, 2017; we thought it was a warning letter containing an appeal to residents to leave the location where we live, that's when we started to feel uneasy and worried that we would be evicted."²¹

Therefore, the community tried to defend its land. There were 67 households with 271 people, including 59 children, 67 women, and 16 older adults, who refused and resisted eviction efforts. So, in 2017, Nurdin Dg. Nombong and Kodam took the court route by filing a lawsuit at the Makassar District Court, with case number 255/Pdt.G/2017/PN MKS. The residents won this case at the District Court and the Makassar High Court levels.

"It is not surprising that we won this case. This is because we have valid and strong certificates proving that Bara-barayya residents are not illegal residents who occupy land to live on."²²

Despite this, the prosecution did not stop processing the case and continued the matter to the next level. Thus, efforts to strengthen mass mobilization by the community were again carried out, marked by a social movement formed by the community, students, and labor groups incorporated in the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance movement in early 2017. Thus, on February 17, 2017, residents held a demonstration in front of the South Sulawesi People's Representative Council or DPRD office and held a hearing with the disputing parties.

"The Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance movement was first formed with residents. We united to fight them by gathering and seeking resistance through movement. After that, fellow students assisted us in organizing important agendas for conducting external and internal strengthening in the alliance so that students could come to the Bara-barayya struggle post one by one, where we discussed it with students."²³

On February 20, 2017, the Bara-barayya Bersatu alliance held another demonstration in front of the BPN office in South Sulawesi due to its statement that the deed of sale owned by the Bara-Barayya community was legally flawed. In line with residents' concerns when they heard the case was still unfinished, a quote from an activist not threatened with eviction sums it up nicely.

"Understanding this case will lead us to know that there is an attempt to seize this land from the residents; we anticipated this long before the BPN South Sulawesi Regional Office declared the certificate that the residents have is legally flawed."²⁴

Mobilization by the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance effectively stopped the eviction attempt. Of course, mobilization is supported by resources and a larger

²¹ Andarias, Personal Communication, 2023.

²² Ian Hidayat, Personal Communication, 2023.

²³ Andarias, Personal Communication.

²⁴ Andarias.

organization with more opportunities to confront and help others in the face of eviction threats. The effects can be contained and even turned into mobilization resources, for example, through the potential impact of the situation in the media.

Several activists then actively conducted meetings in the Bara-barayya post to discuss important agendas for maintaining the rhythm of the community and student movement. On July 23, 2018, they again acted in front of the Makassar Mandala Monument the day before the verdict of case Number 225/Pdt.G/2017PN.MKS was read at the Makassar District Court on July 24, 2018.²⁵ In this case, Bara-barayya residents won through the decision of the Makassar District Court's panel of judges. Responding to the verdict through the media, the Makassar Legal Aid Institute stated that "this is following the proven legal facts that the plaintiff cannot determine the location and boundaries of the land claimed as the object of defense."²⁶

Nevertheless, the United Bara-barayya Alliance continues to actively mobilize the masses through long marches, demonstrations, expression stages, public discussions, and recitations and prayers on the eviction land of concern from the end of 2016 until now. Cyclical patterns in movements are inevitable. The United Bara-barayya Alliance Movement experienced this dynamic of ups and downs. Limited interaction due to the pandemic has affected mobilization and weakened activist participation. Some participants left the movement, and others chose to stay.

"The COVID-19 pandemic is one of our obstacles in guarding this case. So that both the assessment process and advocacy for the community, the social activities that we often carry out are not massive, which also affects the consistency of community and student participation in the movement."²⁷

The Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance has faced challenges in reuniting and reaching out to activists after the pandemic. This is because the transformation of digital media during the COVID-19 pandemic has made students more active in responding to problems through social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook, which are considered more effective. Thus, this problem is a challenge for United Bara-barayya Alliance Movement actors to mobilize the masses to participate in the anti-eviction movement again.

"Students' apathy towards injustice, as well as a bad perception of demonstration activities, is a big possibility for them not participating in this movement. The commitment of activists (participants) in the movement is also decreasing. In 7 years, it is natural that the anti-eviction movement experiences a cyclical pattern: ups and downs."²⁸

²⁵ Makassar Indeks, 'Menolak Digusur, Warga Bara-Baraya Demo Di Monumen Mandala', Kumparan.com, 23 July 2018, <https://kumparan.com/makassar-indeks/menolak-digusur-warga-bara-baraya-demo-di-monumen-mandala-27431110790551499>.

²⁶ Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Makassar, 'Press Release; "Warga Bara-Baraya Berhasil Merebut Keadilan, Setelah Berjuang Bersama Pendamping Selama 17 Bulan"', *Lbhmakassar.Org* (blog), 2018, <https://lbhmakassar.org/press-release/press-release-warga-bara-baraya-berhasil-merebut-keadilan-setelah-berjuang-bersama-pendamping-selama-17-bulan/>.

²⁷ Andarias, Personal Communication.

²⁸ Dirga, Personal Communication, 2023.

Grievances are commonly recognized as a foundational factor for initiating social movements.²⁹ However, it is crucial to acknowledge that grievances can also be linked to elements that hinder the development of solidarity. According to Klandermans, grievances may lead to the generation of avoidant emotions, impeding individuals from effectively interacting with others. Those experiencing avoidant emotions often need to undergo a healing and treatment phase, addressing identity and emotional issues, before actively participating in solidarity activities, as observed in the context of the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance.

Emotional and identity needs may impede participation in the anti-eviction movement. The alienation individuals feel when considering contributing their resources is compounded by discomfort toward new colleagues. Consequently, developing empowerment and solidarity within the movement requires significant time and collective care. This allows members to overcome reservations and contribute resources to safeguard citizens' rights through civil resistance. Considering the persistent efforts of claimants to seize residents' land, there is a pressing need for actors in the movement to continually reinforce alliances and effectively confront the looming threat of eviction.

In 2019, the plaintiffs, together with the Kodam, again sued the residents based on case registration number 239/Pdt.G/2019PN Makassar, and the residents still managed to win the case with solid consideration from the Panel of Judges of the Makassar District Court. There is strong evidence that Bara-barayya residents control the disputed object based on a valid Sale and Purchase Deed (AJB), Grant Deed, and Rincik. However, the plaintiffs and Kodam XIV did not accept the decision of the Makassar District Court and then appealed.

"The plaintiff did not accept our third victory at trial. So, they filed an appeal. However, during the COVID-19 pandemic, all people were required to reduce their activities outside the home. Therefore, during the appeal process, we never received information regarding this case from the Court of Appeal."³⁰

However, ups and downs in a movement are inevitable. The United Bara-barayya Alliance felt this when guarding a relatively long eviction case. In 2019, limited interaction due to the COVID-19 pandemic with Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) in Makassar City hampered the activities of Bara-barayya residents and students in guarding the Bara-barayya case.

During COVID-19, the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance received information that the plaintiffs persisted in this case by filing an appeal. However, while the appeal process was ongoing, the defendant never received a notification letter from the Makassar High Court regarding the receipt of files and case registration. This is a big question for the residents as defendants. The Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance re-consolidated and held a demonstration on August 14, 2020, in front of the Makassar High Court to declare that they would oversee the process of this case so that there would be no judicial mafia practices.³¹

²⁹ Jacquelin Van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans, 'The Social Psychology of Protest', *Current Sociology* 61, no. 5-6 (2013): 886-905.

³⁰ Andarias, Personal Communication.

³¹ Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Makassar, 'Press Release; WASPADA MAFIA PERADILAN!!! "Warga Bara-Baraya Menuntut Keadilan Dan Peradilan Bersih"', *Lbhmakassar.Org* (blog), 2020,

"We are disappointed with the judge's decision. We have strong evidence; this was proven in the previous trial, where we won 3 cases in a row. And now, they canceled the results of the previous trial with unreasonable reasons."³²

Therefore, a challenge often faced by long-standing mass movements is the effect experienced by activists, which is related to their belief in the outcome of their resistance. Psychological effects such as anxiety and fear of failure are inevitably a significant problem in maintaining individual commitment to the movement.³³ This is the reality on the ground. The settlement of the land dispute case in Bara-barayya has yet to be finalized. Residents threatened with eviction have not received peace due to this incident. In addition, if the dispute case does not reach a settlement point shortly, it will create new problems within the Alliance. The old case will impact activists' hopes and beliefs in the future.

Thus, participants' up-and-down conditions in the movement require actors to re-strengthen mobilization with various activities previously stopped due to the pandemic. As such, mobilizing enough actors to carry out protests and institutional actions in large numbers and for a long time to overcome the resistance of the targets is a challenge in this movement. Therefore, winning wider sympathy and support to reach the non-mobilized public is critical to the movement's success.³⁴

IV. HUMANITARIAN SOLIDARITY: HOUSING RIGHTS FOR ALL

On 13 June 2023, the United Bara-barayya Alliance gathered again at the District Court to hear the verdict. However, they suffered another defeat.

"We lost in the District Court today, but we will always endeavor to fight their game at all costs. We must win; this is our land. We didn't steal it; our parents bought this land legally and officially from the government. This is a real injustice, so the Court's decision today will not discourage our struggle against the oligarchs"³⁵

In social movement studies, solidarity is one of the critical aspects in developing collective identity, commitment to the group, and mobilization in general. The availability and involvement of actors to contribute and contribute their personal resources, time, and energy to achieve a common goal.³⁶

<https://lbhmakassar.org/press-release/waspada-mafia-peradilan-warga-bara-baraya-menuntut-keadilan-dan-peradilan-bersih/>.

³² Andi Imran, Personal Communication, 2023.

³³ José J. Pizarro et al., 'Emotional Processes, Collective Behavior, and Social Movements: A Meta-Analytic Review of Collective Effervescence Outcomes during Collective Gatherings and Demonstrations', *Frontiers in Psychology* 13 (31 August 2022).

³⁴ Bert Useem and Jack A. Goldstone, 'The Paradox of Victory: Social Movement Fields, Adverse Outcomes, and Social Movement Success', *Theory and Society* 51, no. 1 (1 January 2022): 1–30.

³⁵ Andarias, Personal Communication.

³⁶ Carlotta Caciagli, 'Generating Solidarity in Diversity: The Case of Housing Struggles in Rome', *Critical Sociology* 47, no. 2 (1 March 2021): 249–63.

The United Bara-barayya Alliance's empathic solidarity motivates them to seek ways to deal with evictions. In other words, borrowing Erich Fromm's term radical humanism seems relevant to understanding how someone who is not harmed contributes to the anti-eviction movement.³⁷ This can be understood based on sympathy and compassion for people who experience oppression and exploitation and criticism indirectly directed at the neoliberalism system that does not consider its consequences on social society.³⁸

In this context, the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Makassar is an organization that actively fights for human rights. The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, based in Jakarta, currently has 18 branch offices in various regions that participate in providing legal assistance to the poor and victims of human rights violations.

"The violation of the rights and living space of the Bara-Barayya community must be protected and fought for; they have the right to live in peace. Communities consisting of children, women, and the elderly will be threatened with eviction from their homes, and indeed, this will have an impact on health, hampering education and the economy of affected residents. Therefore, we will continue to fight for justice for the people of Bara-barayya."³⁹

This shows that emotions generally occur in groups, and group-based sympathy is one of the strong factors in motivating individuals to contribute. In other words, the emotions associated with others who face adverse conditions, suffering, and oppression encourage a person to go beyond sympathy to action as a form of solidarity to care for disadvantaged groups. One of the activists, who was also a resident who was threatened with eviction, conveyed this.

"On 13 June 2023, we lost in the District Court, but we will always try to fight their game at all costs. We must win; this is our land. We didn't steal it; our parents bought this land legally and officially from the government. So, we have the right to fight for what is rightfully ours. This is a real injustice, so the Court's decision today will not discourage our struggle against the oligarchs."⁴⁰

In this context, the response of one of the residents threatened with eviction shows strong resistance and commitment to preventing evictions from happening in their place of residence. Regardless of the legal process passed by the residents in this case, it should be understood that the most critical aspect of a state, as stated in the ESCR economic, social, and cultural rights, is the state's obligation to fulfill the rights, respect, and protect its people as something that is achieved progressively and with the resources owned by the state.⁴¹ In this sense, the state's responsibility in terms of housing means

³⁷ Kieran Durkin, *The Radical Humanism of Erich Fromm* (Springer, 2014).

³⁸ Lawrence Wilde, 'A "Radical Humanist" Approach to the Concept of Solidarity', *Political Studies* 52, no. 1 (1 March 2004): 162–78.

³⁹ Ijan, Personal Communication, 2023.

⁴⁰ Andarias, Personal Communication.

⁴¹ Anne F. Bayefsky, 'Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights', in *The UN Human Rights Treaty System in the 21 Century*, ed. Anne Bayefsky (Brill | Nijhoff, 2000), 451–58; Michel Vols and Erna Kusumawati, 'The International Right to Housing, Evictions and the Obligation to Provide Alternative

that the state must respect the rights of the community by not protecting their lives and homes. This is also related to the state's efforts to protect the community from violations that other parties can commit.

The willingness of the Makassar Legal Aid Institute can be understood as external solidarity, as explained by Hunt and Benford. This reflects the need to interact with disadvantaged groups and the institute's ability to understand and recognize groups before and after joining to achieve the same goal.⁴² In addition, the involvement of LBH Makassar, which acted as the leading sector, along with residents and several civil society organizations, and students who consolidated the movement in the Bara-barayya Alliance, played an important role.

Public maneuvering efforts such as holding press conferences, disseminating information through social media, media visits with residents, and creating online petitions are routinely carried out. On the other hand, LBH Makassar also targeted support from various state institutions. For instance, try to connect with Komnas HAM RI, the Indonesian Human Rights Commission, the Ombudsman RI, the Minister of Defense and Security RI, the Chairman of Commission II DPR RI, the National People's Council, and the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

In this context, the significance of external resources and collective socialization becomes evident in safeguarding citizens facing the imminent threat of eviction. The solidarity and organizational support offered by the network, coupled with the institutional and legal resources at hand, substantiate the authenticity of the struggle and enhance the legitimacy of the involved stakeholders.⁴³ In the Bara-barayya case, success depends not only on the ability to litigate but also on the ability to organize the community and consolidate the entire network, lobby, and campaign. Thus, strategies for reaffirming participants' conviction to fight and reaching out to individuals who have not been mobilized become separate tasks in the anti-eviction movement.

V. URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT STRATEGIES

The application of the ethics of care within the social psychology concept elucidates the distinct moral development observed between women and men. In this context, care transcends an individual act and transforms into a collective endeavor encompassing all actions undertaken to sustain, perpetuate, and enhance the world for optimal human coexistence.⁴⁴ Therefore, the ethics of care inherently involves a holistic interdependence in individual relationships.

"We are always trying to maintain the movement and resistance to the land mafia trying to evict our homes. So, activists and the people of Bara-Barayya will continue to carry out activities aimed at strengthening the beliefs and hopes of participants in the movement, such as holding

Accommodation. A Comparison of Indonesia and the Netherlands', *Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law* 21, no. 2 (11 December 2020): 237–69.

⁴² Scott Hund and Robert Benford, 'Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment', in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 2007, 433–57.

⁴³ David Hollenbach, 'A Relational Understanding of Human Rights: Human Dignity in Social Solidarity', *Emory Law Journal* 71, no. 7 (1 January 2022): 1487.

⁴⁴ Felipe G. Santos, 'Social Movements and the Politics of Care: Empathy, Solidarity and Eviction Blockades', *Social Movement Studies* 19, no. 2 (3 March 2020): 125–43.

discussions, recitations, and joint prayers (dhikr), expression stages, creating a struggle post which is divided into two, namely the ablam post and the kerung-kerung post."⁴⁵

Social relations among individuals mutually strengthen hopes and beliefs within the community. Attachment and solidarity are integral to constructing a collective movement aimed at achieving more democratic social change through mobilization and interactions among alliance participants. This sense of unity is cultivated during collective meetings and activities. Consequently, the significance of social incentives becomes more pronounced with the organization's expansion, increasing the likelihood of individuals participating in mobilization efforts.

"The existence of posts is a form of community and activist effort in accommodating the movement. Therefore, religious activities such as dhikr and prayers and social activities such as expression stages and bar-bar markets made by Bara-barayya residents are strategies in maintaining hope in this anti-eviction movement."⁴⁶

Care in collective action encompasses all efforts to maintain and strengthen individual commitment to improving the world of urban social movement. In this case, the author uses mobilization theory derived from empathic solidarity, with the concept of Tronto, which explains the process of how humans care.⁴⁷ *First*, care. At the root of care-based mobilization is a group's empathy for the needs of another collective. In the context of social movements as beneficiaries. *Second*, caring. After understanding the needs, the next step is to take responsibility for overcoming problems in the movement and *third*, providing care. Collective action that begins with addressing identified care needs. Start a new mobilization and care process. In a sense, specific strategies do not work, so new needs arise. *Fourth* is the acceptance of care. Identifying the responses of people or groups who have received care. Whether they ultimately decide to fight or not.⁴⁸

"The residents are very enthusiastic about the activities carried out. They even welcomed student comrades with food and drinks at every meeting at the struggle post. They have a tremendous spirit in maintaining the movement so that it continues to fight for justice."⁴⁹

This echoes Lefebvre's idea that if urban residents actively participate and mobilize the population at large, civil society will experience a renaissance; self-awareness embedded in a network of social connections encourages solidarity to fight against the capitalist city as a struggle for human life.⁵⁰ Interestingly, it is not only urban residents threatened with eviction who are involved in the anti-eviction movement, but it has encouraged the participation of outside groups. According to Vecchione et al.,

⁴⁵ Andarias, Personal Communication.

⁴⁶ Andi Imran, Personal Communication.

⁴⁷ Joan C. Tronto, *Caring Democracy: Markets, Equality, and Justice* (NYU Press, 2013).

⁴⁸ Larry W. Isaac, Rachel G. McKane, and Anna W. Jacobs, 'Pitting the Working Class against Itself: Solidarity, Strikebreaking, and Strike Outcomes in the Early US Labor Movement', *Social Science History* 46, no. 2 (May 2022): 315–48.

⁴⁹ Andi Imran, Personal Communication.

⁵⁰ Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*.

activists constantly cultivate moral principles that enable them to prioritize advocacy for people's rights.⁵¹

These factors can help explain individuals' motivations to participate and commit to civil resistance. The process of mobilization through movement maintenance can encourage solidarity in the fight for humanity and housing rights for all people. This is reflected in the Bara-barayya Alliance movement.

Political concern and greater attention to the situation of disadvantaged groups of citizens through individual involvement in the movement. This answers the question of what motivates participation in collective behavior, namely deprivation that focuses on brotherhood between groups. From the care perspective, activists and institutions or networks mobilize because they are aware of the situation of those struggling to resist eviction; they empathize and feel responsible for meeting their needs. Cultural and structural factors inevitably influence empathy.

In this process, activists, lawyers, in this case, the Makassar Legal Aid Institute, and other movement organizations develop ideology and great concern for Bara-barayya residents threatened with eviction through various activities such as public discussions, dhikr, and joint prayers, as well as routine activities such as anti-eviction weeks filled with games and music performances by different local musicians in Makassar.

“We routinely organize activities at the Bara-barayya location so that all fellow students, residents, and all elements who care about what we are experiencing can meet in one place to establish interaction and communication and strengthen bonds in opposing evictions. This can not only increase our enthusiasm and hope but also foster empathy and concern for all kinds of oppression that exist in this country. Through social media, we spread the word and invite everyone to join the resistance ranks, pray together, sing, and hope that justice will come soon.”⁵²

Another interesting thing that we found in this context is how religious leaders contribute to encouraging and strengthening faith and hope for people who are threatened with eviction. This is in line with Ruso's view that religion can help alleviate the suffering of others.⁵³ In addition, the deliberate utilization of social media networking features has facilitated involvement in extensive protest campaigns, providing numerous avenues for participation.

This shows that social media has evolved into a public space capable of garnering support and sympathy from individuals. This framework helps differentiate between collective action, digital participation, and personalized action participation, positioning the use of social media as a bridge connecting protest behavior with actual engagement.⁵⁴ Ian Hidayat describes his experience before choosing to participate in the anti-eviction movement:

⁵¹ Michele Vecchione et al., ‘Personal Values and Political Activism: A Cross-National Study’, *British Journal of Psychology* (London, England: 1953) 106, no. 1 (February 2015): 84–106.

⁵² Andarias, Personal Communication.

⁵³ Chandra Russo, *Solidarity in Practice: Moral Protest and the US Security State*, Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁵⁴ Francis Lee, Hsuan-Ting Chen, and Michael Chan, ‘Social Media Use and University Students’ Participation in a Large-Scale Protest Campaign: The Case of Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement’, *Telematics and Informatics* 34, no. 2 (1 August 2016): 457–69.

"Initially, I found information related to the Bara-barayya case through Instagram. So, I was interested in attending the consolidation invitation shared by the @aliansibara-barayyabersatu account and some of the activities carried out by the Bara-barayya Alliance. Therefore, by knowing the problems faced by residents, I was encouraged to participate in the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance"⁵⁵

The activities of Bara-barayya residents and activists are still reported regularly through the @aliansi bara-barayya bersatu Instagram account. With this framing, Aliansi Bara-barayya Bersatu creates a new understanding of the conditions experienced by residents threatened with eviction. On the other hand, inevitably, the influence of media in creating and inviting participation from various elements to join the movement has been proven in multiple countries such as Hong Kong⁵⁶ Invitations to open consolidations for public discussions, art events featuring local musicians, and joint prayer activities, spread through social media, have become one of the activists' strategies to invite participation and support from the wider community.

Urban movements, with their global connections, leverage information technology to communicate their messages to the public effectively. These movements integrate local and trans-local practices, allowing activists to consolidate and share experiences, resources, and knowledge across different geographical areas.⁵⁷ Consequently, the evolution of today's network society presents significant opportunities for individuals from diverse backgrounds to actively participate in addressing the challenges and realities of democracy.

"We are grateful that the media and journalistic friends still have the spirit to write about the Bara-barayya residents' case. Thus, more people will know that the poor will get poorer and will continue to be oppressed by the powerful. Therefore, we must not let them oppress the urban poor any longer, we will continue to fight back"⁵⁸

The power and hope that groups have attached to each other are some of the main aspects in creating wider communication networks with the support of the Internet. Moreover, it is evident that the resistance and perseverance of Bara-barayya residents in safeguarding their housing rights have led to the acquisition of local knowledge, including skills related to construction and legal matters. Consequently, the development of residents' awareness of their legal rights has evolved through a life marked by resistance and continuous learning. This newfound knowledge not only instills confidence but also motivates to persist in the ongoing struggle for justice.

However, the challenge in the context of digital activism is to harness the inconvenience of the internet for effective and concrete action. The theatrical and emotional components showing the resistance of citizens to protect their rooftops, the

⁵⁵ Ian Hidayat, Personal Communication.

⁵⁶ Lee, Chen, and Chan, 'Social Media Use and University Students' Participation in a Large-Scale Protest Campaign: The Case of Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement'.

⁵⁷ Maria José Zapata Campos et al., 'Residents' Collective Strategies of Resistance in Global South Cities' Informal Settlements: Space, Scale and Knowledge', *Cities* 125 (1 June 2022): 103663.

⁵⁸ Andarias, Personal Communication.

children, parents, and middle-aged people involved evoked unusual empathy.⁵⁹ The aim was to evoke compassion and solidarity by illustrating the structurally inherent injustices experienced by residents threatened with eviction.

The Bara-barayya case is just one of many cases that shape the dynamics of the elite aristocracy (oligarchy) that seeks to control the land of the urban poor. The mobilization process has effectively created solidarity and care for residents threatened with eviction. Thus, the anti-eviction movement through emotional care can provide courage, conviction, and commitment to engage in civil disobedience. Participatory care is also vital for members of the Bara-barayya Bersatu Alliance Movement, especially those who have never been involved in activism before, to feel comfortable with their first experience in the resistance movement.

On the flip side, this influence has a significant impact on the roles and aspirations of the members. Trust is a cornerstone within the group, and responsibilities are distributed among them. Some take charge of engaging with the police; others manage the struggle post, some handle the nightly schedule, while others focus on filming and documenting actions to prevent police violence. Additional responsibilities involve creating banners and posters. This strategic division of tasks aims to overcome obstacles that might hinder individuals from contributing their personal resources to the collective cause of the anti-eviction movement.

As time progresses and active involvement in the anti-eviction movement continues, members undergo a transformation in their perspective. They come to comprehend civil resistance not merely as an extraordinary endeavor but as a customary practice and a moral imperative in safeguarding the rights of oppressed individuals. This evolution leads them to perceive collective action as a potent instrument for effecting tangible change in reality, deeming it a legitimate and effective approach to addressing broader social justice struggles.

Finally, through their participation in the anti-eviction movement, they began to understand that civil society resistance is normal and a form of effort to protect the rights of oppressed people. Furthermore, they see collective action as a tool that seeks to change reality and is a legitimate action in other struggles. This resulted in the development of local knowledge of citizens related to legal rights that arose because of the struggle in the anti-eviction movement.

Based on this analysis, it is possible to identify four responses to the anti-eviction movement. Firstly, a sense of threat among those facing the threat of eviction creates collective action. Second, the dynamics within the anti-eviction movement are clearly a common problem faced by most social movements, as a long-lasting movement can undermine citizens' and activists' trust and hope. This is especially true in the post-COVID-19 pandemic transition, which has been a major problem in engaging and regrouping the masses to participate in the anti-eviction movement. Third, the involvement of the Makassar Legal Aid Institute shows a significant contribution to the anti-eviction movement. Hope and belief in achieving the same goal are often the reason why social movements can last long; this can be seen in the behavior and response of residents in their efforts to maintain communication and interaction through various activities in locations threatened with eviction.

Fourthly, student activists, laborers, and non-governmental organizations (LBH Makassar) showed high solidarity with the disadvantaged community. This concern

⁵⁹ Ezequiel Ramon-Pinat, 'The Difficulties in Spreading Housing Rights Discourse in the Face of "Right Now" Pragmatism on Twitter', *Communication & Society*, 1 April 2022, 299–311.

encouraged activists to contribute their time, energy, and personal resources to maintain the movement. Most of the activists who joined the anti-eviction movement were individuals who did not directly benefit from the dispute.

Therefore, it can be understood that concern for the oppressed is an argument that Erich from the Frankfurt School social psychologist also refers to as humanitarian solidarity.⁶⁰ Thus, it shows the spirit of civil resistance in preventing the eviction of their land. It also results in the development of local knowledge of citizens related to legal rights that arise because of the struggle in the anti-eviction movement.

VI. CONCLUSION

Based on this research, the anti-eviction movement in Makassar City has become a collective space that can prevent evictions carried out by claimants. Given that from 2017 to 2024, the Bara-barayya United Alliance movement has consistently advocated and nurtured their resistance by continuing to carry out demonstrations and activities that strengthen the hopes and beliefs of urban residents to keep fighting for the right to a safe home from the threat of eviction. In addition, this research reveals that the dominant discourse fought the right to a safe home from the threat of eviction, and the struggle to claim the right to the city. These findings highlight the importance of collective consciousness in fighting for the right to a home through the anti-eviction movement as well as the maintenance of movement commitment through various activities such as discussions, joint prayers, and other activities aimed at maintaining hope and resistance among activists.

The limitation of this study is that the presentation of data only traces the anti-eviction movement for several months, then this study cannot provide an in-depth explanation. Despite the limitations and weaknesses of this study, it is hoped that this study will provide an initial contribution to future research, especially related to the anti-eviction movement in other cities, given that each social movement has its own uniqueness that can provide insight into helping to understand the challenges and strategies of the anti-eviction movement.

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⁶⁰ Durkin, *The Radical Humanism of Erich Fromm*.

CONFLICTING INTEREST

None

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