SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OBSERVATIONS IN VIRTUAL SPACE TOWARDS TAMANSARI RESIDENTS' EVICTION BY THE BANDUNG CITY GOVERNMENT

(Case Study of the Tamansari Melawan Community Account on Instagram)

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Abstract; Land evictions by the government against urban slums (slum areas) have become one of the dilemma problems commonly encountered in big cities. This dilemma occurs when the government tries to beautify urban areas. On the other hand, displaced communities feel their rights are deprived only for the benefit of the government alone. In line with this, some people who do not accept often put-up resistance and manifest it into a social movement. Using the collective action frame theory of Benford and Snow, this paper tries to analyze one of the social movements in the case of land evictions that occurred, namely the Tamansari Melawan Movement, as a form of resistance against the Bandung City Government. Using ethnography studies, the data source referenced is Tamansari Melawan's account on Instagram social media, and analysis was conducted on 995 posts and comments and used scientific literature sources such as books, journals, articles, and other literature that can be accounted for. This paper concludes that the core framing task, namely the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frame, has been found in the content of Tamansari against account uploads such as the attachment of the narrative of injustice carried out by the Bandung City Government, the demands that must be met by the Bandung City Government, to the invitation to join the Tamansari Melawan movement. The reaction and community impact that arises from the framing carried out by Tamansari Melawan also varies, ranging from moral support, space activation, student action, and studies to donation assistance.

Keywords: *Social Movement, RW 11 Tamansari Bandung, Tamansari Melawan, Framing, Social Media.*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, which has a high population, causes the need for space in various cities across Indonesia to increase, where the space is usually used for trade or transactions, entertainment, and even a place to live. Some of the aspects that cause this is the urbanization process, a series of urban development processes that includes the development of urban space, infrastructure, and demography and often ends in population concentration in a city. Urbanization, which is said to be the town's progress, has a significant impact on the people in the city itself, both in terms of politics, socio-culture, and the economy of the city community (Henderson, 2003) . The urbanization process will gradually occur in linear line with technological developments that demand patterns of change in the structure of society. However, when the adaptive abilities of the people cannot accompany changes that are too fast, it will cause residues in the social structure in society, when the process of urbanization that was too fast was only made by and for a few circles. The method of urbanization that is exposed in a city in a third-world country is usually very full of capital interests, where the domination of urban spaces is under the hands of capitalists, who prioritize urban spaces as exchange value or exchange value, rather than use. value or use value. This condition eventually led to the emergence of urban slum areas (slum areas), which later conflicts over the management of slum settlements ended in evictions. According to the Asian Coalitions for Housing Rights in 2013, there has been some speculation regarding evictions in urban slum areas, including high urbanization, large-scale infrastructure projects, market power, efforts to beautify cities, to ineffective government regulations. (Ramadhan, 2020).

Eviction conflicts against slum areas in various cities in Indonesia itself are not a new phenomenon, which we can see from various evictions that have occurred in several cities such as Jakarta, for example in the Kampung Pulo area, Kampung Akuarium, and so on, as if making this conflict an event. A similar phenomenon also occurs in the city of Bandung, especially in the Tamansari RW 11 area, where the Bandung City Government is trying to evict the area considered a slum that

will be replaced with a row house. One building, consisting of 160 types of 30 units, will be rented out to residents whose homes have been demolished. In addition, there is a larger hospital comprising 319 units of type 39, with better facilities, which will be rented out to the upper middle class. (Kharisma, 2020). However, with the concept of a more luxurious rudet, of course, creates conflict among the Tamansari community, where it seems that the government has made the area a place of business.

Some research that discusses the problem of Tamansari evictions includes a journal entitled " *Konflik Kepentingan Lahan Warga Rw 11 Tamansari Dengan Pemerintah Kota Bandung Dalam Kasus Realisasi Program Rumah Deret* " by Ali Ar-ridho and Ishartono and the journal "Analysis of Land Dispute Conflicts in the Tamansari Village area, Bandung City Using the Conflict Tree" by Tella Fahira and Muhammad Ferdyansyah from Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of University of Padjajaran. The research above only focuses on the beginning of the conflict, and the settlements carried out by various actors involved such as NGOs and legal aid in dealing with the eviction cases.

The author of this study tries to focus on the actors involved in the Tamansari social movement against the Bandung City Government. The Tamansari social movement does not only move directly to the field with a hasty process to fight against the Bandung City Government but uses various strategies, one of which is by building movement framing, to invite the public to know the issue of evictions in-depth, to map conflicts between actors, to persuade people to join the social movement. This framing activity will later become the focus of the author's discussion in this study by adopting the concept of collective action frames from Benford and Snow. Previous research that has discussed the concept of collective action frames such as the scientific journal by Debbie Goh and Natalie Pang entitled Protesting Singapore Government: The Role of Collective Action Frame in Social Media Mobilization, was published in 2015. By analyzing 1805 posts and comments on blogs and Facebook, the journal concluded that the posts and comments contained various words representing diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frame aspects, and succeeded in mobilizing thousands of people to join the movement, but could not sustain the movement.

The research that the author will present is undoubtedly different from previous research. This research tries to focus on the framing built by the Instagram

account Tamansari Melawan with the account username @tamansarimelawan as the object of research regarding the eviction process of Tamansari RW 11, Bandung City.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Collective Action Frames

The concept of frames was first stated by Goffman (1974) who called frames a "schema of interpretation" which allows individuals "to find, see, identify, and label" events in their living space and the world in general. Frames help make events or incidents meaningful and thus organize experiences and guide action (Benford & Snow, 2000). From understanding these frames, Benford and Snow try to develop the concept of frames used in social movement studies. These collective action frames are part of the Social Movement Organization (SMO) process that seeks to mobilize community support for movement activities. (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013). Benford and Snow themselves stated that collective action frames are formed and are part of social movements, which contain a shared understanding of some problematic conditions or situations that they feel require a change, make attributions about who or what is to blame, articulate a series of alternative arrangements, and urge others to act together to achieve the change (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Collective action frames are formed by two characteristic features: the first concerns their movement orientation function which Benford and Snow call "core framing tasks", and the second refers to interactive and discursive processes that pay attention to core framing task tasks that can run well. The core framing task used by SMO to build the framing has several aspects, namely the diagnostic frame, the prognostic frame, and the motivational frame. In the diagnostic frame, Gamson (1982) refers to this aspect as an "injustice frame" where SMO tries to build a framing of the injustices received by various parties from policies made and carried out by opponents or perpetrators of injustice. (Benford & Snow, 2000). According to Benford and Snow (2002), a diagnostic frame tries to present actions, social conditions, or aspects of life that are unjust and unbearable because they violate social, political, or religious morality standards. This aspect also tries to identify who is responsible for injustice, and some social movements often use

negative stereotypes against perpetrators of injustice and emphasize the material harm and emotional suffering caused by them. (Goh & Pang, 2015).

In the aspect of the prognostic frame, SMO tries to build a framing that contains a solution to an issue or problem that they carry and identify a strategy to implement it. Diagnostic and prognostic frames are a bounded unit that aims to make SMO gain support from the community. However, this process is, in fact, a contestation, where SMO's opponents will also respond to the framing that has been built and aimed at them where Benford and Snow call this a "counter framing task", and it is the role of the media and public opinion that determines the contestation between both sides (Gahan & Pekarek, 2013).

The last aspect is the motivational frame, in which SMO tries to build framing to persuade people why they should join their movement. Benford and Snow refer to this aspect as a "call to arms", in which this aspect seeks to legitimize action, minimize costs and risks, and emphasize rewards and successful participation. The motivational frame consists of individual and collective agency sub-frames which involve the selection of vocabulary to encourage individuals to become aware of their shared identity and enhance their feelings of both personal and collective power. (Goh & Pang, 2015).

In this study, the limitation of the concept of collective action frames from Benford and Snow is only to the core framing task which the researcher will later use to help explain the framing built by the Tamansari Melawan community movement on Instagram social media against their opponent, the Bandung City Government.

METHOD

This study uses the netnographic method from the internet and ethnography, which is an online-based method, by looking at computer-mediated communication (CMC), as a data source to arrive at ethnographic understanding and representation of cultural or communal phenomena. The use of the term netnography, in this case, tries to see the importance of computer-mediated communication in the cultural life of members of a community, to obtain data using data collection strategies to achieve online cultural understanding, and netnography has a uniquely adapted set of practices and procedures that

distinguish it from research. directly face-to-face (Kozinets, 2010, pp. 60-62). Various kinds of literature have discussed netnographic methods, such as Christine Hine who calls netnography virtual ethnography. Hine said that virtual ethnography can be used to explore mediated interaction relationships. Still, even though netnography is stated as a form of ethnographic adaptation, netnography does not have ethnographic originality which is rooted in direct face-to-face interaction and direct involvement in the field. But according to Kozinets, when netnography is used correctly, it can provide researchers with an overview of objects' natural behavior, such as communal discussions, which can then carry out collaborative participation and member interviews, to increase the understanding of the data findings.

Regarding the netnographic method, Kozinets stated that several steps must be followed in using the netnographic method, including: (i) definitions of research questions, social sites, or topics to investigate; (ii) community identification and selection; (iii) community participant-observation (engagement, immersion) and data collection (ensure ethical standards); (iv) data analysis and iterative interpretation of findings; and the last (v) write, present and report research findings (Kozinets, 2010). Kozinets in the Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods says that netnography is an adaptation of 'participant-observational ethnographic procedures'. The observational approach analyzes interactive conversation data from online communities and treats it as qualitative data or 'content analyzed'. In line with this, Kozinets emphasizes the importance of participation in the netnographic method, because when researchers remove their participatory role from netnography, it also directly eliminates the opportunity to understand the culture in a community. Without in-depth knowledge and experience of cultural contexts, the researcher's interpretation may be compromised because the ethnographer is forced to discuss cultural meanings he does not fully understand. This participatory function distinguishes the netnographic method from mere coding activities (Kozinets, 2010, pp. 74-75).

In using this method, the data source that the author will refer to is the Tamansari Melawan Instagram social media account, with the account username @tamansarimelawan. The data collection method is carried out first by observing the interactions these accounts make on Instagram social media, through the content they have uploaded on their Instagram page. The author tries to see how the Tamansari Melawan account interacts with other movement actors and

followers of their performance in building movement framing. That matter. All data collected through these observations will later go through an analysis process by the author, to answer research questions explained in the discussion section.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Tamansari Framing Against the Bandung City Government on Instagram

The beginning of the conflict started with Presidential Regulation Number 2 of 2015 concerning the 2015-2019 National Medium-Term Development Plan which instructed the development of urban areas through handling the quality of the residential environment, namely improving the quality of slum settlements, preventing the growth of new slum settlements, and sustainable livelihoods. In the RPJN, the most emphasized is reducing urban slum settlements to 0 hectares. (Ramadhan, 2020). In 2017, conflict occurred when the PUPR Ministry issued a letter regarding the City Without Slums (KOTAKU) program, which led to the birth of the Decree of the Head of the PUPR Office for the City of Bandung Number 538.2/1325A/DPKP3/2017 which broadly legitimized the construction of row houses in the Bandung City area, one of the only one is in the Tamansari RW 11 area. The Tamansari area is in the center of Bandung City and is included in the category of strategically located areas. In carrying out the evictions for the row house program in the Tamansari area, there were problems with the land area because the land is still in dispute status so the Bandung city government considers the residents living in the area illegal.
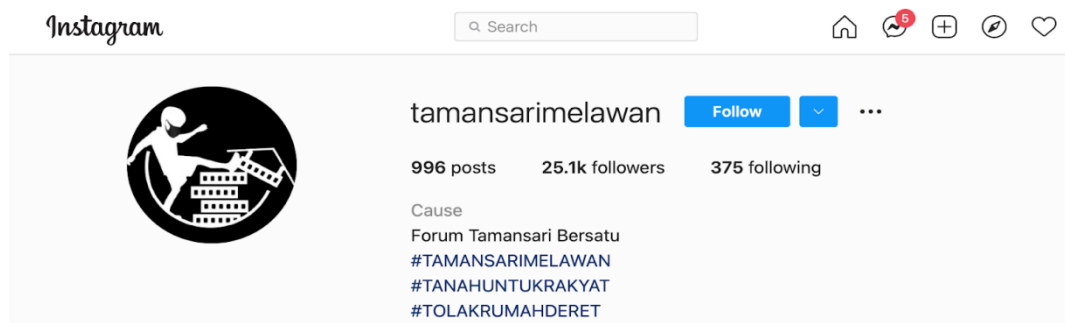
The residents protested the government's general treatment of land with certified status and land whose status had not yet been completed. This is the problem of land disputes between Tamansari residents and the Bandung city government. This resulted in resistance and protests from residents of the Tamansari area to the Bandung city government. In addition to conflicts over land disputes, in fact other conflicts make residents feel awkward because residents of the Tamansari area think that there is a power play by the Bandung City Government, namely in the form of regulations, norms, and resources, to assistance from other parties so that the residents felt that the Bandung municipal government gave a unilateral decision in carrying out a compensation program that the residents considered to

be not commensurate with what the eviction residents received. Residents of the Tamansari area felt that the treatment carried out by the municipal government was in the form of terror and coercion using the police and Public Order Enforcers Police (Satpol PP) which led to violence in carrying out the program. (Fahira & Fedryansyah, 2019). As a result of this incident, it was suspected that there was repressive treatment from the enforcers, namely the Satpol PP, such as chasing and beating Tamansari residents. This condition is the background for the emergence of protests from the residents of the Tamansari area because their rights to live, live, be protected, and determine their future feel violated by the Bandung municipal government.

The Tamansari Bandung resistance movement against the Bandung City Government was initially only mediated by advocacy parties, namely LBH Bandung. Still, over time, the Tamansari land conflict has received the attention of many parties, including the Anti-Eviction People's Alliance (ARAP), which focuses on defending the community's human rights. Tamansari. Later, several other elements such as the student union which became a citizen communicator and media maker for resistance, the Forum for the Environment (Walhi) which focuses on environmental aspects, and various other organizations, also concluded the struggle on behalf of the Forum Juang Tamansari.

Suppose we highlight the resistance media formed by this student union. In that case, we can find it on Instagram social media with the Tamansari Melawan account username where they have 25.1 thousand and the number of content posts is 995.

Picture 1. Instagram account of Tamansari Melawan

It should be noted that social movement organizations often form resistance media to attract public attention to an issue, in line with the statement from Norris

(2000), where the mass media has 3 functions of its own, namely as a citizen forum (civic forum), supervisor of government institutions and public institutions, as well as agents for mobilizing public support for a political position (Valerisha, 2019). In the success of the Tamansari Melawan resistance movement, movement framing was built which was filled with various narratives of the action in their content uploads on Instagram social media. In the success of the Tamansari Melawan resistance movement, movement framing was developed filled with various narratives of the direction in uploading their content on Instagram social media. Using the collective action frame theory as an analytical knife where there is a core framing task that contains diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames. Our research on the Tamansari Melawan Instagram account found several frames built by the Tamansari Melawan community through narration in their uploaded content.

In the diagnostic frame, it is shown by several injustice frames raised by Tamansari's accounts against through some of their content accompanied by narratives of injustice committed by the Bandung City Government to the Tamansari people themselves. The narrative of injustice raised by the Tamansari account includes the following:

1. The Bandung City Government betrayed the people because the heads of families in RW 11 were only 197 families with 90 buildings, while the detention center prepared by the City Government was 500 units.
2. Seize the residents' rights to the land because it refers to UU PA, where land rights become ownership when occupied for at least 20 years, while residents of RW 11 have inhabited it for 50 years.
3. The city of Bandung as a city that is considered friendly to human rights, turns out to be close to evictions, where the KOTAKU (City Without Slums) program is considered by the community as an extension of the IMF (several other evictions such as the Dago Elos area and Kebon Jeruk vs PT. KAI)
4. Out of 90 buildings, only 25 houses were willing to receive 20% spiritual money from the NJOP and compensation money of 26 million. The rest of the residents who refused had to fight against the brutality of the apparatus (Satpol PP, TNI, mass organizations, and so on).
5. Reinforcing the Narratives of Land Grabbing, Expelling Land Demons, Rejecting Row Houses, and the Regime of Evictions.
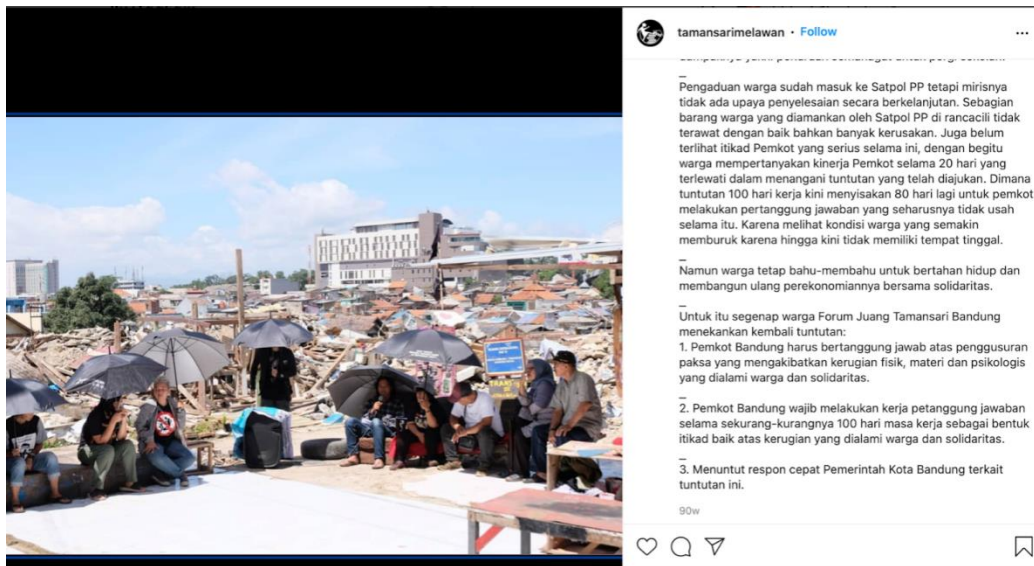
Picture 2. Diagnostic Frame on Tamansari Melawan Uploaded Content on Instagram

In addition to the discovery of uploads containing the condition of Tamansari residents being hit by injustice by the Bandung city government, prognostic frames are found in various uploads containing Tamansari's condition not being in good condition and several things that became the objection point of RW 11 Tamansari Bandung residents to the Bandung city government. Content uploads to the @tamansarimelawan account also demand accountability where the Tamansari Melawan Community has filed demands that the Bandung City Government must meet regarding the eviction phenomenon of RW 11 Tamansari including the following:

1. Rejected Rudet development;
2. Mencabut Perwal No. 1384 year 2016;
3. Dismiss the Head of the DPKP3 Service, Arif Prasetya;
4. Stop all forms of intimidation and terror against citizens;
5. Stop development that is not pro-people;
6. Requesting the Bandung City Government to thoroughly review the residential area planning policy, considering the rights of residents..

Picture 3. The demands filed by the Tamansari Account against the Bandung City Government

In the Motivational frame, there is also a discovery of uploads in the form of an invitation from Tamansari Melawan to the public on Instagram to participate in the social movement of resistance under the collective identity Tamansari Melawan to reclaim the rights of the people of RW 11 Tamansari which the Bandung City Government has taken away. If we do periodization, indeed the framing that is built is quite dynamic according to the conditions that occur in the field. For example, throughout 2017, various content uploaded by the Tamansari Melawan community account contained calls to reject all forms of outreach and the Rumah Serai program from the Bandung City Government by placing banners. Throughout 2018, various framing aimed at escorting the Bandung State Administrative Court trial over the lawsuit by LBH Bandung as the attorney for the resident of Tamansari RW 11 against the Decree of the Department of Housing and Settlement Land and Landscaping Areas (DPKP3) No. 538.2/1375A/ DPKP3/2017 with an invitation to act in front of the Bandung Administrative Court building by the People's Alliance Against Eviction (ARAP). Throughout 2019, in December to be precise, calls for resistance because of forced evictions

have occurred, among others, carried out by Satpol PP, Community Organizations, TNI, and Police.

Picture 4. Tamansari Melwan's Call for Solidarity Against the Evictions Made by the Bandung City Government

Community reaction to framing built on Instagram

The framing built by the Tamansari Melawan community is not just content that is uploaded without a purpose, but in it there are various strategies and continuous uploads so that the framing that is built reaches the attention of the community. Priming and Framing Theory to be used to help understand the intent and content of this research. According to this theory, the mass media can influence society to focus on specific issues raised by the media, above other issues. On the other hand, the media also conducts framing with what is known as a set up which aims to influence the interpretation of readers, viewers and listeners about an issue. (Marijan, 2010, pp. 282). The various framings built by Tamansari Melawan have attracted much attention from netizens and other elements of society such as students, NGOs and other organizations. As an example of the content below, the @tamansarimelawan account builds a framing of mass solidarity in upholding justice in Tamansari even though they have different backgrounds.

Picture 5. Community Support for Tamansari Residents During a Football Match

In addition, before and after the evictions by the Bandung City Government, space activation was also carried out by elements belonging to the Tamansari Melawan community by turning the Tamansari area into a real public space: a political space that encourages direct interaction; a space in which state power and capital interests are restricted. When formal aspirational spaces do not allow them to claim their rights or express opinions, then the people can create their own space to demand socio-political rights. In that room, they will be seen and heard. The City Festival Forum, discussions, collective workshops, music, theatre, poetry, etc show some space activations. This is done not without reason, among others, to strengthen members' sense of solidarity in the collective movement. Several university student organizations also expressed their stance which criticized the Bandung City Government for the Forced Management in RW 11 Tamansari Bandung.
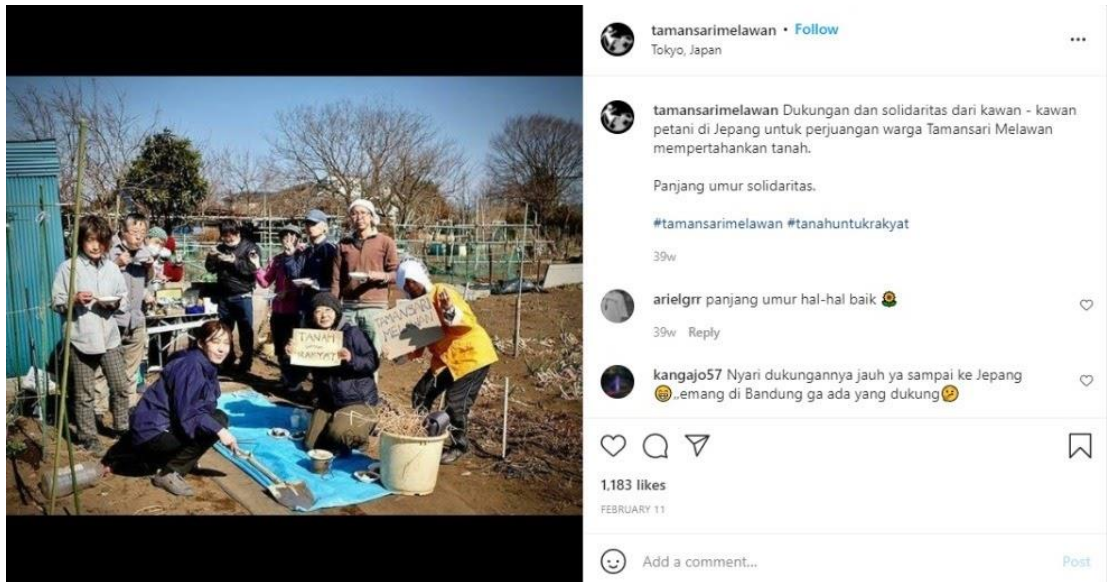
Picture 6. Spatial Activation as a Form Of Defense And Resistance Against Tamansari

The Impact That Arises Over the Framing of Tamansari Against

After the community saw and observed the upload from the @tamansarimelawan account, this had an impact on various levels of society, which resulted from framing the account, the community responded and helped the victims in the form of a statement demanding the Bandung City Government both from the community and from student organizations for the eviction of the park. Sari to assist in the form of donations. The social movements carried out by Tamansari residents since 2017 should have had an impact in the form of postponing evictions. However, in fact, in 2019 the evictions were still being carried out by the Bandung municipal government. This has had an impact on Tamansari residents to find out why the evictions are still being carried out even though human rights violations could occur in them, as well as to examine the linkages regarding issues regarding the IMF and the World Bank as the masterminds of the many evictions that occur, by frequently making joint studies and discussion forums.

Picture 7. Solidarity Support for Tamansari Bandung Residents from Farmers in Japan

In addition, the Tamansari community has become more aware of cases of land grabbing that have occurred in Indonesia by holding joint discussion forums, statements of attitude, and providing hands-on assistance and donations to other areas affected by land evictions such as participating in actions and the Tamansari solidarity stage with the Pancoran forum uniting on eviction of land in the Pancoran area, South Jakarta. The Taman Sari Against Social Movement does not stop at the Instagram account @tamansarimelawan, but the framing of the account is spread and has an impact in the form of encouragement for the community to participate in the movement, one of which is on the Twitter platform where people tweet about the injustices experienced by the Taman Sari community using the hashtag #TamansariMelawan. Using these hashtags, people from Indonesia and other countries provide opinions and invitations to donate to help the Taman Sari community get their rights.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the findings we got from us, we hypothesize the Instagram account @tamansarimelawan that the use of the Instagram social media account was used as a medium to frame a social movement by taking advantage of

Tamansari's situation during the evictions which the process was colored by the conflict between Tamansari residents and the Bandung City Government when eviction and post-eviction. This is intended to get the attention and support of the people of Bandung and outside Bandung as well as organizations to participate in Tamansari's action against rejecting row houses and upholding the human rights of Tamansari residents whom the Bandung City Government has violated.

By utilizing social media accounts for framing matters regarding evictions, and injustices perpetrated by the Bandung City Government so that the solidarity action contains an invitation that encourages the community to take action and provide assistance to the Taman Sari community, with the support provided by the community it is hoped that the amount If there are quite a lot of people who aspire to Taman Sari's voice, the government can listen and can also change the situation of the victims or the Taman Sari community. The evictions in the Tamansari community made the community more aware and learn about the law being enforced by establishing a discussion forum with human rights activists to build solidarity among Tamansari residents with the Forum Fighting Tamansari coalition for the Tamansari action. In addition, Tamansari residents also participated in helping other areas that experienced land eviction in the form of solidarity actions, art stages, statements of attitude, and donations. This was done to express their disappointment as victims of evictions to the government because their human rights to live and live their lives have been violated and demanded justice for the victims of evictions.

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