



THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON PUBLIC POLICY: A CASE STUDY OF THE RUMAH BAKAU JAYAPURA

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ABSTRACT

Rumah Bakau Jayapura is a community working in the environmental sector. This community represents a new social movement that practices the principles of environmentalism. The strategic goal of social movements is to influence public policy. The aim of this research is to examine the influence of the Rumah Bakau social movement on government policies. This descriptive research uses documentation and observation techniques. The researcher uses the Galego analysis model to describe the relationship and influence of social movements on politics. Results provide information about the goals, strategies and effects of social movements. Rumah Bakau has a utopian goal: to save the environment. The goal of this community is simply to seek recognition of the environment as a new entity that also needs to be included in decision making. Rumah Bakau strategy consists of direct and indirect actions. However, this community failed to influence public policy as there is no political action followed. The application of mobilization and diffusion strategy at most influenced the society rather than the government. This research concludes the importance of choosing a social movement strategy in order to influence the public policy.

ABSTRACT

Rumah Bakau Jayapura merupakan komunitas yang bergerak di bidang lingkungan. Komunitas ini menggambarkan gerakan sosial baru yang menerapkan prinsip-prinsip environmentalisme. Sasaran strategis gerakan sosial yakni untuk mempengaruhi pemerintah dalam menghasilkan kebijakan. Penelitian ini berupaya untuk menelusuri pengaruh gerakan sosial Rumah Bakau Jayapura terhadap kebijakan pemerintah. Penelitian deskriptif ini menggunakan teknik dokumentasi serta observasi. Peneliti menggunakan model analisis Galego untuk menggambarkan pengaruh dari gerakan sosial terhadap kebijakan. Temuan penelitian menyoroti tujuan, strategi serta pengaruh gerakan sosial. Rumah Bakau mengandung tujuan utopis yakni untuk menyelamatkan lingkungan. Tujuan ini menginginkan pengakuan atas lingkungan sebagai sebuah entitas baru yang perlu dilibatkan dalam pengambilan keputusan. Strategi Rumah Bakau terdiri dari aksi langsung dan tidak langsung. Kendatipun demikian, komunitas ini memiliki pengaruh yang rendah terhadap kebijakan. Penelitian ini menyoroti pentingnya pemilihan strategi gerakan sosial agar dapat berhasil optimal.

INTRODUCTION

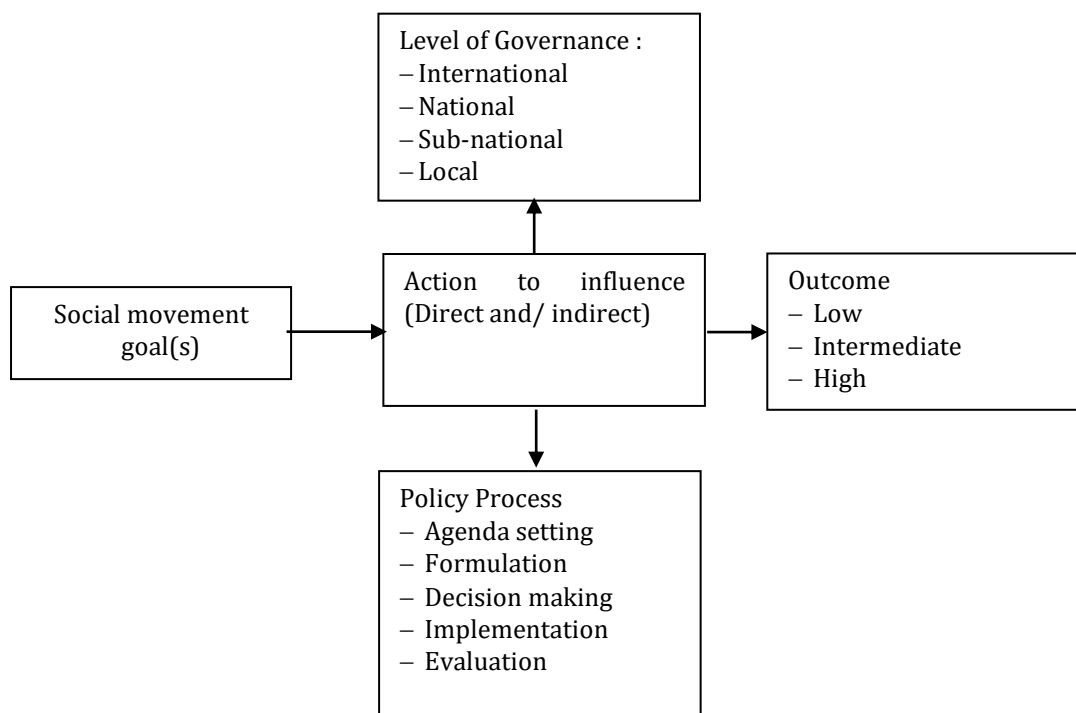
The field of public policy has been enriched by the phenomenon of new social movements since the 1900s. Public policy is defined as the formulation of provisions, regulations, guidelines by the government that function to solve certain problems that have an impact on the entire general public (Pandey & Shukla, 2022). Public policy includes various directed, measurable activities that are consciously taken by the government to achieve certain goals by involving various parties in specific areas of interest (Ramdhani & Ramdhani, 2017). The policy process refers to the arrangement of stages of activities that are passed to produce a policy. Each of these stages has a detailed method that produces benefits and consequences in the process (Abdulah et al., 2022). In the end, public policy is made by the government as a stakeholder in accordance with the principle of public interest (Desrinelti et al., 2021).

Social movements began to develop since the 19th century or around the 1800s. Social movements are planned and organized movements carried out by a group of people with the aim of achieving a specific mission (Haris et al., 2019). The phenomenon of social movements initially took revolutionary, fundamental and massive goals. Vital components in social movements include goals, ideology, programs, organization and leadership (Pais, 2022). The practice of social movements generally takes form of marches, protests, demonstrations, meetings, pickets and even sit-ins (Johnston, 2014:24). Along with the development of society, social movements began to evolve and started to be called new social movements.

It is important to understand that new social movements emerged in the post-materialist era, an era when autonomy and freedom of expression were dominant in society (Yaparak Uymaz, 2016:22). Rather than prioritizing economic redistribution, new social movements emphasize quality of life and lifestyle (Çokluk Cömert, 2019). New social movements are aligned with modern society where conventional social boundaries such as age, gender, class and others are blurred. If the old social movement actors were the working class, the new social movement actors are the middle-class group. The issues in the new movements include contemporary issues such as gender, race, environment, war, even lifestyle.

In political terms, social movements have been shown to influence policy. Regarding old social movements that aim to create fundamental social change, public policy is certainly one of the potential instruments to realize it. Furthermore, during the period of new social movements, autonomy and freedom of expression certainly intersect with political aspirations. Therefore, public policy is seen as a strategic target to accommodate these aspirations. Various writings prove the influence of social movements on policy (Arifin, 2019; Galego, 2018; Jaelani & Nurdin, 2018; Mardiana, 2019; Jamil Bazarah, Ahmad Jubaidi, 2021). Galego later developed an analytical model aim to look at the relationship between social movements and policy as formulated by Galego is :

Chart 1. Relationship between social movements and policies



Source: Galego, 2018

Galego described aspects of social movement consist of the goal of the organization, the level of governance, the policy process and the outcome. The goal of the movement will determine the action taken. A movement may also consider the level of governance and the policy process they wanted to influence. A combination of direct and indirect action is favored in order to achieve a maximum outcome. Galego also identified direct and indirect action patterns of social movements. His writing synthesizes 76 cases of social movements from 17 countries. The following is an identification of social movements through direct and indirect action:

Tabel 1 - 2. Direct and Indirect Action Strategies of Social Movements

No.	Direct Action			
	Legal Strategy	Mobilization Strategy	Empowerment Strategy	Public Engagement Strategy
1.	Litigation	Protest	Participation in the policy process	Discourse framing
2.	Lobby	Demonstration, march	Women empowerment	Negotiation and dialogue with the state
3.	Advocacy	Campaign	Relationship building (country/community)	Letter/email writing
4.	Policy proposal	Occupational	Revision practice (self-awareness)	Problem justification
5.	Petition	Grassroots activism	Community recognition	
6.	Institutional	Institutional activism	Translating medical literature into popular languages	
7.	Political appointments	Mobilization		
8.	Political intermediation	Sit-in, picket (silent action)		
9.	Plebiscite	Congress attendance		
10.	Electoral process	Fight back		

11.	Legislative action	Cultural intervention		
12.		Resistance		
13.		Civil rights		
14.		Fundraising		

No.	Indirect Action				
	Legal Strategy	Mobilization Strategy	Empowerment Strategy	Public Engagement Strategy	Diffusion Strategy
1.	Coalition	Public opinion	Educational opportunities (education for teachers)	Controversial policy criticism	Social media (internet, blogs, hashtags)
2.	<i>Networking</i>	Forum and march	Partnerships with professionals (academics, experts)		Conventional communication (news media, journalism, advertising)
3.	Lobby	Organize meetings with local staff	Public relations		Outreach education program
4.	Fiscal independence	Public plebiscite	Pioneering new leaders		Fusion of successful practices or ideas
5.	International mentoring	Boycott	Training		
6.			Resource gaining		

Source: Galego, 2018.

Some scholars argue that limiting social movements to their success in influencing policy is too superficial. Social movements seek broad and sometimes utopian changes to social systems. Therefore, the success of social movements should be judged based on their mere existence. Two aspects to assess the success of social movements are the emergence of new achievements and the level of public acceptance of the movement's aspirations (Meyer in Arifin, 2019)

The potential for disasters in Indonesia is high due to its location between the world's four tectonic plates. According to the Indonesian Disaster Risk Index book 2022, the most potential disasters in Papua province are floods, flash floods, landslides, extreme weather and waves, abrasion, earthquakes and liquefaction, and tsunamis (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Bencana, 2022). Referring to the book, Jayapura district and city has a high and medium disaster risk, with Jayapura district having a Disaster Risk index of 203.20 and Jayapura city having an index of 114.40. Meanwhile, waste management in Jayapura city has encountered a number of problems. In 2023, the head of the Jayapura City Environment and Sanitary Office's stated that in 2022, 17.39% of waste was not managed (Reski Kurniawan, 2023). It seems like one of the reasons why Jayapura has a medium to high risk of flood is because of the waste not being managed well

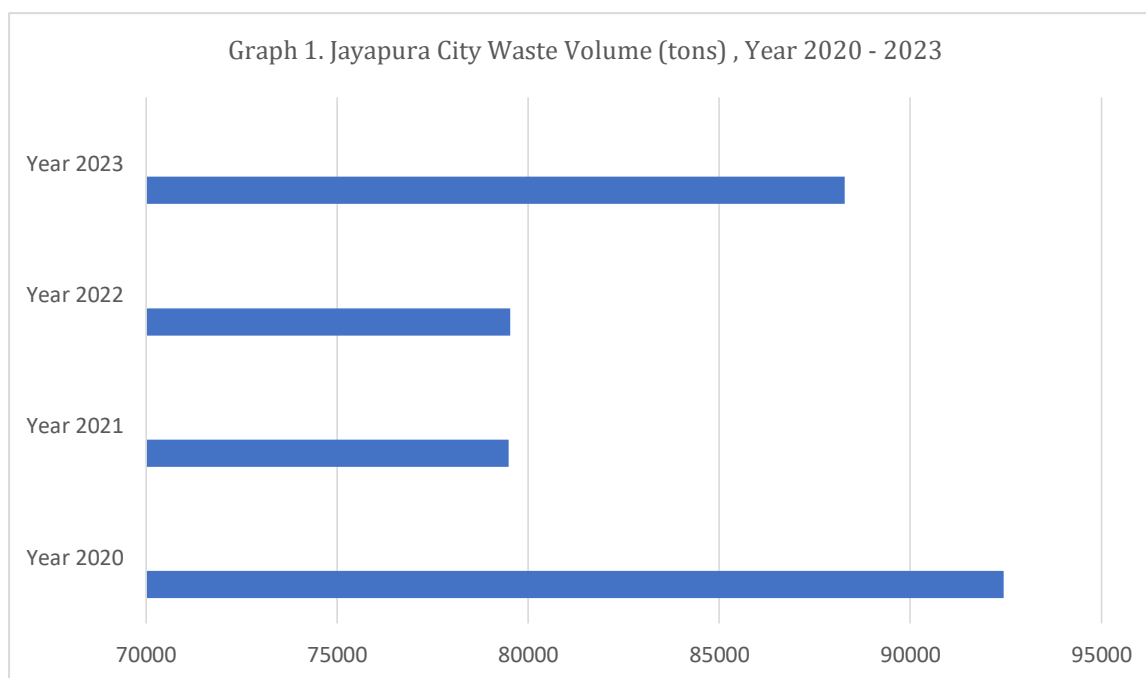


Table 3. Annual Waste Generation of Papua

No.	City/County	Annual Waste Generation (tons)			
		2020	2021	2022	2023
1.	Biak Numfor	21.308,99	21.323,59	21.434,55	21.434,55
2.	Keerom	9.305,16	9.536,28	9.619,50	9.694,55
3.	Jayapura City	92.442,31	79.496,56	79.528,32	88.282,84
4.	Manokwari	57.182,95	58.405,66	59.627,83	65.849,34
5.	Asmat	16.075,33	16.298,27	16.574,50	16.965,20
6.	South Sorong	7.929,55	8.167,39	-	-
7.	Raja Ampat	12.090,99	-	-	9.893,40
8.	Mimika	-	-	57.742,09	57.125,42

Source : (Ministry of Environment and Forestry, 2023)

Waste problems have an impact on the environment such as land pollution in Humboldt Bay area, pollution of Sentani Lake and Jayapura Sea, flooding in Acai River, etc. (Fabio Maria Lopes Costa, 2021; Jubi, 2023; Liza, 2019; Ratumakin, 2021). The community factor is the dominant factor causing waste problems in Jayapura. Littering behavior, high consumption levels and the unpopular recycle lifestyle indicate the community factor. Considering the above data, Jayapura contributes the highest volume of waste compared to another county.

The community of Rumah Bakau Jayapura initiated by numerous environmentalists over the flooding and waste problems in Jayapura at 2018. This community also seeks to accommodate various other environmental communities in order to create effective environmental movement. The founder of Rumah Bakau, Gamel Naser stated, Rumah Bakau is involved as a traditional *honai* or big house for all environmentalists or communities (Alfian Rumagit, 2020). This community involved in various local government activities. Some of the awards received by Rumah Bakau Jayapura include the Kapolda Award in March 2018 and 2019 and a certificate of appreciation from the mayor of Jayapura in August 2022. (Raharjo, 2022). This research aims to investigate Rumah Bakau community using new social movements approach. Furthermore, this research will explain the influence of Rumah Bakau's practices on public policy.

METHODS

This research takes the form of a descriptive qualitative design using observation and documentation techniques. The subject of this research is the Rumah Bakau community. Researcher had the opportunity to follow Grebek Sampah and public discussion events of Rumah Bakau on January 2024. Documentation was taken from various news media sources and Rumah Bakau's instagram *@rumahbakaujayapura*.

As this research uses the Galelo analysis model, researchers need to categorize Rumah Bakau's activities based on the strategies used in its actions. The collected activities were also summed up to determine the frequency of this community's activeness. Afterwards, the data was analyzed inductively and presented through narratives, tables and pictures.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Strategies of Rumah Bakau

1. Grebek Sampah

Grebek Sampah is a prominent program of Rumah Bakau aimed to clean up the environment by collecting, sorting and taking garbage to the landfill. This action has been organized since the community was established. It is so popular that lot of similar communities in Jayapura had done this activity. Grebek Sampah is open to public whether its members, partisans, as well as other parties who wished to cooperate or hosted by Rumah Bakau (for example on June 29th 2024, Rumah Bakau hosted Grebek Sampah for Astra Motor Papua or July 19th 2022 for Jayapura Deaf Community). Grebek Sampah is routinely held with a frequency of several times in the span of 1 month to sometimes not being practiced at all. The following table explained Grebek Sampah actions throughout 2019 - 2024:

Table 4. Frequency of Grebek Sampah in 2019-2024

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Au g	Sep	Oct	No v	Dec
2019	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	0	2
2020	3	1	1	1	0	3	0	1	1	2	2	1
2021	5	2	1	2	0	3	1	0	1	1	0	0
2022	1	1	2	1	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	0
2023	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
2024	0	2	0	1	1	1	0					

Source: Findings, 2024.

Picture 1- 6. Grebek Sampah, Year 2019 – 2024



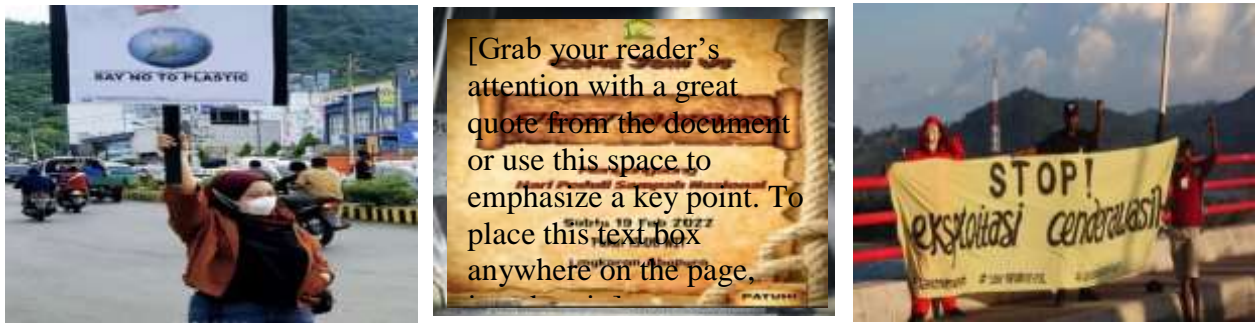
Source: Findings, 2024.

Grebek Sampah is carried out in various locations in Jayapura, generally in the city centre such as Anafre river and Mandiri park, tourist sites for example Cibery, Holtekamp, and Hamadi beach, as well as populated areas like Dok 9. On specific occasion, the waste collected will be grouped based on the brand then weighed. Grebek Sampah is carried out incidentally or at specific times particularly during monumental days (January 1st every year, world clean-up day, or Jayapura city anniversary). Finally, the waste collected will be transported to the landfill by Rumah Bakau's garbage vehicles or borrowed garbage vehicles owned by local government.

2. Campaign

The campaign organized by Rumah Bakau raised various issues ranging from global to local issues. Such as the use of plastic, climate change, Cenderawasih and Tonotwiyat (women's traditional forest - protected forest) rescue and protection. The campaign applies street campaign model, which is a campaign that makes the society or public as the target. Street campaigns generally take place on public roads, city monuments for example the Jayapura city monument, Youtefa bridge even in front of the Province People's Representative Council / DPRD office. However, Rumah Bakau's campaign in front of the DPRD office was not designed to appeal for hearing, only chosen for the purpose of exposure because the location is located opposite the Jayapura city monument.

Picture 7 – 10. Rumah Bakau Campaigns



Source: Findings, 2024.

Similar to grebek sampah, the campaign action involves public. Through its social media, @rumahbakaujayapura, Rumah Bakau shared invitations to participate in their campaign activities. Their social media also used as a medium for campaign regarding various local issues such as the preservation of Cenderawasih, and the protection of Papuan forests. Nevertheless, Rumah Bakau's activities are frequently published in the local media like Cenderawasih Pos.

3. Mangrove Planting

Rumah Bakau's office is located near Tonotwiyat area surrounded by range of mangrove plants. Rumah Bakau observes the direct environmental impact when waste piles up during high tide in mangrove area. The mangrove forest ecosystem becomes damaged and polluted because of the waste. This problem underlies Rumah Bakau's program especially Grebek Sampah. The planting of mangrove is held around Tonotwiyat area.

Picture 11 – 12. Mangrove Planting



Source: Findings, 2024.

This action aims to preserve the mangrove forests found along Numbay village coastal areas. Allied with Rumah Bakau other programs, this action is open to the public. Planting mangrove is similar to Grebek Sampah where the community receives offers from external parties who want to be hosted on planting mangroves. Rumah Bakau has facilitated Cenderawasih University, Papua Kasih elementary school and more. Generally, the activity started by collecting seedling around mangrove plants. Afterwards they begin to educate people on mangrove plants and how to plant them. At other time this action is solely held to find mangrove seedlings to store for future plantings.

4. Public Discussion

This program is open to the public designed to educate people on various environmental issues. Some of the discussion topics include Papua forest, forest fires in Jayapura, disasters, and so on. During discussion, Rumah Bakau plays a role as a presenter as well as a facilitator. The

discussion often held on Rumah Bakau's office which has strategic location, facilities, equipment and a structured atmosphere.

Picture 13 – 14. Public Discussion



Source: Findings, 2024.

The discussions could take an offline or online form. On several occasions, Rumah Bakau was invited to be the speaker such as a discussion held by Radio Republik Indonesia Papua, Earth Hour Papua and so on. Speakers from Rumah Bakau usually the chairman and senior members. Discussions are generally informal with a talk show model, light talks, there is no barrier between speakers and participants.

5. Rumah Bakau Movement Strategy

The objective of Rumah Bakau is to save the environment. The objective describes a single issue, with the main target explicitly being the environment. Rumah Bakau activities are in line with the principles of environmentalism. Environmentalism focuses on degradation to environmental damage such as water and air pollution including ozone layer depletion, animal and plant extinction, the impact of industrialization, chemical engineering on food products, population density, etc (Lestari, 2016). Environmentalism promotes the practice of protecting and utilizing resources wisely in order to ensure the sustainability of life (Begum et al., 2022). By examining every action of Rumah Bakau such as Grebek Sampah, mangrove seedling planting, campaigns and public discussions, it can be concluded that this community focuses on the goal of environmental improvement and protection. More specifically, the public discussions seem to be intended to educate the public on various environmental issues at the local level.

Rumah Bakau addresses its target subjects broadly, mainly the public. So far, Rumah Bakau has involved the public more in its various activities than the government, private sector or other groups. For example, Grebek Sampah and public discussions programs required participants every public to bring a *tumblr*. They also create various creative works such as transparent display containing piles of plastic waste, information boards containing types of waste and decomposition time and many more. On their instagram, Rumah Bakau urges people to reduce plastic consumption, preserve animals and the environment.

Pictures 15 - 16. Rumah Bakau Creative Works



Sources: Findings, 2024.

Looking at Rumah Bakau's various actions, this paper seeks to identify the movement's strategy. Below is an identification of Rumah Bakau's strategy according to Galego's model:

Table 5: Identification of Rumah Bakau Strategies

Program	Action	Strategy	Direct/Indirect Action
Grebek Sampah	Grassroots activism, self-awareness	Mobilization, empowerment	Direct
Campaign	Campaign	Mobilization	Direct
Mangrove Planting	Education outreach	Diffusion	Indirect
Public Discussion	Forum	Mobilization	Indirect

Source: Findings, 2024.

Direct action means that the social movement does not require an external intermediary while indirect action means the opposite. Grebek sampah and campaigns are identified as direct actions while mangrove planting and public discussions are identified as indirect actions. Grebek sampah and campaigns contain messages for the public to help protect and restore the environment. Both actions contain warnings and appeals to the public. While the practice of categorizing waste by brand led to protests against the company but it was only done few times. The majority of grebek sampah and Rumah Bakau campaigns do not address specific subjects. The same finding can also be seen on their social media. Indirect actions described in mangrove planting and public discussions. Both take the form of education and public forums. The purpose of the action tends to have long-term goal, it is to contribute to knowledge.

All actions of Rumah Bakau seek public involvement for the most. Public participation is excessive even though their programs are incidental and voluntary. More than that, seeing the activities of Rumah Bakau, many external parties want to be hosted for programs like grebek sampah and mangrove planting. Namely they are Astra Motor Papua, State Electricity Company / PLN Jayapura, SD Papua Kasih, SDAT Nurul Haq, and so on. On the other hand, since 2019, Rumah Bakau has been actively recruiting volunteers. Each they held a recruitment for volunteers. This year, 2024, they succeeded to register 23 volunteers.

The organization's objectives align with its choice of strategies. Each action of Rumah Bakau carries a variety of objectives which include:

Table 6. Objectives of Rumah Bakau Programs

Program	Destination
Grebek Sampah	1.Support waste management 2.Appeal to environmental friendly lifestyles 3.Protect the environment
Campaign	1.Appeal on local flora and fauna issues

	2. Appeal to environmental friendly lifestyles 3. Protect the environment
Seedling Planting	1. Educate public 2. Protect and restore the environment
Public Discussion	Educate public

Source: Findings, 2024.

According to the table, it can be concluded that the community and the environment are still the main targets of Rumah Bakau actions. To date, Rumah Bakau still seeks to assist the environment in gaining recognition as an independent entity. Therefore, for the purpose of sustainability, the society or so-called humans are simply seen as tools. The government and other external parties are rarely targeted by this community. Rumah Bakau emphasizes society as agents of change.

The policy outcomes produced by Rumah Bakau are low or even non-existent. Regarding grebek sampah, it is carried out incidentally, the selection of places is random then evaporate (the activity is carried out and then completed). Rumah Bakau literally helps the government through cleaning and categorizing waste. The same applies to Rumah Bakau campaign. There is no political continuation of their actions alike lobbying, policy / performance reviews or others. In essence, these two activities describe a form of direct action that intersects directly with government therefore it can be looked as a political media. But in reality, there is still no political action taken by Rumah Bakau.

Galego explains that the combined direct and indirect actions of social movements will result in policy change. In reality, this did not happen in Rumah Bakau's practice. The goal of Rumah Bakau reflected in its various actions, is simply to gain recognition for environment. Currently, the environment is still seen as an object, particularly considering the development in the city of Jayapura. According to Rumah Bakau, humans and the environment should be able to coexist without harming each other. This principle is in line with the action of planting mangrove and public discussions which not only want to protect the environment but also educate the society,

CONCLUSION

Environmental social movements have become popular in the late 20th century. In Jayapura, many environmental social movements have emerged since the 2019 floods. Rumah Bakau is a community that is independently driven by local environmentalists in Jayapura. Their goal is to protect the environment amidst increasing development. However, Rumah Bakau's mainly target the public. Their actions focus on changing people's lifestyles and behaviours. This community uses mobilization and diffusion strategy which confirm the goal to develop network or alliance with the whole society. They rather address the society as self-conscious or else self-regulate being. Its vision is that people can coexist with the environment without harming each other.

The utopian goal is difficult to realize, especially in the absence of regulating policies. This community chooses a soft approach represented by their whole programs. The ideal of recognizing the environment as an independent entity is only to be built through education and appeals. They see government nor as an enemy or ally, that explains why they don't implicate with the government. Rumah Bakau accepted the government structure as it is, they think it is their job to work through the structure. They perceived policy as less effective compared to the society. Until this day they haven't held any political actions directed to the government.

Galego's formula stated that the combination of direct and indirect action of social movement will result in policy change. This research proved contrary. It is believed that the environmentalist principle affects the goal of Rumah Bakau which has no political motives. Researcher suggests further studies specifically about environmental movement, their goals and strategies additionally how this movement succeed to change policy.

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