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# New Social Movement on Jokowi's Impeachment Action in Indonesia

Ahmad Rifki Nurfebriansyah<sup>1</sup>

#### **Abstract**

The elections in Indonesia in 2024 have ended and confirmed the candidate pair Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka as the elected president and vice president to lead Indonesia. One of the controversies in 2024 election that occurred was President Jokowi's abuse of power with the aim of winning certain candidate pairs in the elections. Therefore, some people created a group called Petisi 100 to carry out a social movement, namely the impeachment of Jokowi. This movement can be categorized as New Social Movements (NSMs). This research aims to explore the Jokowi impeachment movement as NSMs which includes what is behind it, who is involved in the pros and cons, how the development process is, what activities mark it, the opportunity structure, mobilization and framing, and what impact it has on political dynamics in Indonesia. The research results show that the movement to impeach Jokowi was carried out due to dissatisfaction with Jokowi who was considered too involved in the 2024 elections. This movement developed through five stages, namely identity formation, escalation, mobilization, polarization, and actor formation. This movement could have an impact on challenges to political parties in channeling their aspirations and the results of the 2024 Election.

#### **Keywords**

New Social Movement; Impeachment; Election; Political Participation; Mobilization

#### **Abstrak**

Pemilu di Indonesia pada 2024 telah usai dan menetapkan pasangan calon Prabowo Subianto dan Gibran Rakabuming Raka sebagai presiden dan wakil presiden terpilih yang memimpin Indonesia selama 5 tahun ke depan. Salah satu kontroversi yang terjadi pada Pemilu 2024 adalah penyalahgunaan kekuasaan presiden Jokowi dengan tujuan memenangkan pasangan calon tertentu dalam Pemilu. Oleh karena itu, sebagian masyarakat membuat kelompok bernama Petisi 100 untuk melakukan gerakan sosial yaitu pemakzulan Jokowi. Gerakan ini dapat dikategorikan sebagai New Social Movements (NSMs). Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi gerakan pemakzulan Jokowi sebagai NSMs yang meliputi apa yang melatarbelakangi, siapa saja yang terlibat dalam pro dan kontra, bagaimana proses perkembangannya, apa kegiatan yang menandainya, struktur peluang, mobilisasi, dan framing, serta apa dampaknya bagi dinamika politik di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa gerakan pemakzulan Jokowi dilakukan karena ketidakpuasan mengenai Jokowi yang dianggap terlalu ikut campur dalam Pemilu 2024. Gerakan ini berkembang melalui lima tahap yaitu pembentukan identitas, ekskalasi, mobilisasi, polarisasi, dan pembentukan aktor. Gerakan ini dapat berdampak pada tantangan kepada partai politik dalam penyaluran aspirasi dan hasil Pemilu 2024.

¹ Departemen Ilmu Politik, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik, Universitas Padjadjaran, Jl. Bukit Dago Utara No. 25, Kota Bandung, Indonesia ⊠ rifkiarn@gmail.com



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#### Kata Kunci

Gerakan Sosial Baru; Pemakzulan; Pemilu; Partisipasi Politik; Mobilisasi

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### Introduction

The 2024 elections in Indonesia have ended, marked by the election of the presidential and vice presidential candidates. The pair Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka won the presidential election contest that year. This determination follows the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) which rejected the lawsuit from the losing candidate pair (Mantalean & Setuningsih, 2024). In the legislative election, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) won the election because it received the most votes. Some legislative candidates are elected to become members of the legislative council at either the central or regional level, while others have to be patient because they were not elected as members of the legislature. The inauguration of the elected president and vice president is planned to take place on October 20 2024.

Like previous elections, this election cannot be separated from controversy and conflict which has heated up political tensions in Indonesia. Every member of society, whether involved in a successful team or just a sympathizer, participates in conflicts in real space and virtual space. They attack political figures they don't like and find out the mistakes of these political figures. In fact, certain groups deliberately spread false news about candidates competing in the election with the aim of making their story worse. The General Election Commission (KPU) is involved in ensuring that the elections run smoothly and reducing these conflicts. Some conflicts even lead to organized social and political movements.

One of the social and political movements that is rumored to occur in the 2024 elections is the movement to impeach Jokowi. The issue of Jokowi's impeachment began with the discourse of figures who were members of the Petisi 100 group, for example Faizal Assegaf, Marwan Batubara, and Lt. Gen. Purn Suharto (CNN Indonesia, 2024). They want the 2024 elections to be held without a president. This discourse has reaped pros and cons in various circles of society. This movement was motivated by dissatisfaction among some people with Jokowi who is considered incompetent in managing the country (Aristama, 2023). Some circles believe that Jokowi intervened in state institutions with the aim of changing election rules to pave the way for one of his family members to contest the election. Some people call this condition "cawe-cawe" which is Javanese for

"meddling" (Yanwardhana, 2023). They think that Jokowi is no longer fit to be President because he abuses his power.

It is not known for certain whether this movement was actually implemented. Some people say this movement is just a political bluff used as a threat. Others said that this movement was initiated by candidate pairs who were not affiliated with Jokowi. News about this movement could also be slanderous to the group of candidate pairs. The campaign teams of the three candidate pairs never initiated this movement and respected the sitting president. Indonesia has indeed experienced impeachment, namely the overthrow of Suharto in 1998 on a large scale, or the impeachment of Abdurrahman Wahid in 2001 which was carried out by the legislative body.

New Social Movements (NSMs) is a theory that was born in the field of Sociology at the end of the 20th century which shifted the paradigm of social movements. Unlike traditional social movements which are only limited to political and economic goals, NSMs have broader goals, for example regarding issues of culture, lifestyle and identity rather than narrowly economic goals (Calhoun, 1993). NSMs emerged as a result of globalization, social change, changing cultural norms, and technological developments. In other words, NSMs also participate in criticizing culture and globalization (Buechler, 1995). They can guard issues such as environmental, peace, feminist, ethnic, anti-racist, and national minority organizing (Weir, 1993). New social movements (NSMs) are organized around gender, race, ethnicity, youth, sexuality, spirituality, countercultures, environmentalism, animal rights, pacifism, and human rights (Buechler, 2022). Behind the institutionalized movements of political elites, there are also independent movements initiated by various groups, for example workers and rural communities, who are involved in strikes and open protests (Pinard, 2020).

The topic of NSMs is still relevant for at least the last 10 years even though this theory grew in the 60s and 70s. Research by Roca & Diaz-Parra (2016) discusses the relationship between the M15 movement and radical labor organizations in Spain. This research shows that the M15 movement must be separated from the labor organization movement because the M15 movement is categorized as NSMs. This article analyzes the steps of the M15's movement as NSMs. The research results show that the M15 movement was initially a conventional anti-political movement, but in the following years they opened cooperation with labor organizations. Their movement is not a systematic political coalition, but rather a group consisting of individuals who are not politicized but are opposed to formal political organizations. There is a gap in this research, namely how the messages conveyed by the M15 movement in each demonstration are carried out.

Research by Atmojo & Safara (2021) explores NSMs carried out during the Kamisan action which has been running for 14 years in Indonesia. This research sought to find out about the background of the Kamisan action, the strategies of the Kamisan action in achieving its goals, as well as strategies for managing the solidarity of the movement. The research results show that the Kamisan action was

carried out as a form of requesting the government to take responsibility for several cases of crimes against humanity in the past. The strategy carried out in the Kamisan action was litigation and non-litigation advocacy as well as a campaign in the form of education to the public. To keep the Kamisan action going and solidarity maintained, they carry out activist cadre formation, plan contextual topics that will be used at each meeting, strengthen the role of Kamisan action leaders, and collaborate with other activist organizations. This research shows a gap, namely the impact of the Kamisan action on political dynamics in Indonesia.

Impeachment is a political mechanism used to remove the president both legally and illegally (Ohnesorge, 2019). Impeachment in a presidential system is a corrective action taken to ensure stability and progress in the government system from disproportionate distribution of power (Fagbadebo, 2020). The impeachment process involves an investigation by a legislative body and is followed by a court declaring whether the official is guilty or innocent. In Indonesia, the impeachment process must first go through a discussion process at the DPR RI. Impeachment can start from internal discussions in the DPR RI itself, such as the impeachment of Abdurrahman Wahid in 2001 or at the pressure of the people, for example the ousting of Suharto. If state officials are proven guilty, they will be removed from office.

The background that has been mentioned makes the author interested in writing a scientific article with the title "New Social Movement on Jokowi's Impeachment Action in Indonesia". This research tries to analyze the Jokowi impeachment movement which was heard during the 2024 elections. The aspects that are the unit of study in this research are why the movement emerged, who are the figures involved in the pro and con camps, how the movement emerged, what activities signaled the emergence of the movement, the opportunity structure, mobilization, and framing of certain groups, and its impact on political conditions in Indonesia.

The main argument in this article is that the movement to impeach Jokowi is a form of the New Social Movement. This study shows differences compared to other studies because it shows that this social movement is related to the 2024 pre-election process. Therefore, the explanation begins with the conditions and political situation in Indonesia that have occurred over the last few years as a background. The discussion continued by explaining an example of the movement that occurred, namely Petisi 100. The discussion continued by explaining the NSMs process that occurred, the sequence of actions that occurred, and their impact on politics.

### Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive type. In other words, this research tries to describe social phenomena in detail and provide an explanation regarding the relationship with the theories used in this research. This

process also means an act of searching for meaning or answers to problems in research. This research uses a literature review method, namely collecting various sources without direct involvement of researchers in the field. This research uses the theory of New Social Movements (NSMs). This research uses primary data sources, namely official statements from the NSMs group who are trying to impeach Jokowi, news articles discussing their movement, or videos discussing their movement. The secondary sources used are other recent studies that discuss NSMs or Jokowi's impeachment. This means that researchers only use data collection techniques, namely documentation. The data that has been collected needs to go through the analysis stage, which can be divided into sub-stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. Data reduction means reducing less important parts of the raw data collected. Data presentation is the process of grouping data that has been reduced into several categories that have been built by the theory used. The process of drawing conclusions is the final stage of data analysis, namely synthesizing data with theory in each category and then concluding each synthesis.

### Discussion

## Background

Every social movement is caused by certain things that make them become more massive. Apart from that, the issue of Jokowi's impeachment is also seen as disappointment with the discourse on extending Jokowi's term to 3 terms (Sucipto, 2024). This discourse on extending the term of office occurred at least four times when Jokowi served in his second term (Farisa, 2022). Jokowi's own statement on this issue initially firmly rejected it but over time it became less consistent. In December 2019, Jokowi thought that the 3-term discourse was a way to make him fall down (Damarjati, 2019). But in 2022, he instead stated a statement that anyone could propose extending the presidential term (Farisa, 2022). In the end, this discourse was rejected by the DPR with PDI-P as one of the parties that rejected this discourse. This is the beginning of the feud between Jokowi and PDI-P ahead of the 2024 elections (Poerwoto, 2023). This rejection is also the emergence of a big scenario for Jokowi who is considered to be interfering in the 2024 elections (Dirty Vote, 2024).

In the end, Jokowi did not run as a presidential candidate in 2024. However, one of the candidate pairs taking part in the election seemed very close to Jokowi and was fully supported by Jokowi. The presidential candidate is Prabowo Subianto, someone who was defeated by Jokowi in the 2014 and 2019 elections and was appointed Minister of Defense in 2019. Since Prabowo became minister, Jokowi and Prabowo are considered to have become closer. In fact, they were caught eating together several times. What is no less surprising is Prabowo's partner, namely Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who is Jokowi's eldest son. Gibran has only served for several years as mayor of Solo, and was appointed by Prabowo as

the person to accompany him in running the government. Some circles consider this decision to be Jokowi's way of committing nepotism by sharing positions with his family. In fact, Jokowi's youngest son, Kaesang Pangarep, was suddenly elected chairman of the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) even though he had just joined the party. This has led some people to think that Jokowi is building a political dynasty consisting of his own family.

President Jokowi is considered to have abused his power to make things easier for his family in the 2024 elections. Several steps that strengthen the suspicion that Jokowi did this are (1) distributing social assistance on a large scale ahead of the elections, (2) Jokowi's relatives who act as Constitutional Court judges play a role in engineering the acceptance of the vice presidential age limit lawsuit, (3) Jokowi is considered to be involved in the appointment of several head positions regional (technical executive) to elect Jokowi's chosen candidate pair (Dirty Vote, 2024).

The Jokowi government is distributing massive social assistance during the 2024 election campaign. The main targets are provinces with high populations, for example Central Java. Uniquely, every time candidate pair 03 campaigns in an area, Jokowi follows the campaign by distributing social assistance the day after. The budget for social assistance has exploded drastically ahead of the 2024 election. In fact, this budget is higher than the social assistance budget distributed during the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, one of Jokowi's ministers, namely the Minister of Trade, Zulkifli Hasan, openly asked the public to thank Jokowi for distributing social assistance. In fact, the distribution of social assistance also violates the bureaucratic level where the Ministry of Social Affairs should be the one interested in distributing social assistance, not President Jokowi himself (Dirty Vote, 2024).

Jokowi is also considered to be involved in the candidacy of his eldest son in the elections. Initially, the existing regulations could not pass Gibran because of the age limit. However, the Constitutional Court (MK) suddenly changed these regulations so that Gibran could pass verification. Lawsuits for changes to regulations regarding age limits have been filed by several parties. During the judges' discussion regarding the lawsuit from the 3 parties, they decided to reject the age limit lawsuit. However, suddenly one of the judges joined the discussion even though he had not been involved in the previous discussion of the parties' lawsuit. The lawsuit of a student named Almas Tsaqibiru was decided to be accepted so that the regulations regarding the age limit changed. Another controversial part is that Almas actually withdrew his lawsuit, but the Constitutional Court judge discussed the lawsuit again and even some of the words in Almas' lawsuit that were discussed were changed from Almas' actual lawsuit(Dirty Vote, 2024).

Jokowi is also seen as being involved in the appointment of several regional heads for his political interests. In general, regional heads should be elected by the people in the regional elections. In recent years, conditions have become different because of plans to hold simultaneous regional elections. Initially, regional

elections in each region had different years. For example, Central Java holds Pilkada every year and the last 2 Pilkada were held in 2013 and 2018. Meanwhile, DKI Jakarta held the last 2 Pilkada in 2012 and 2017. The government plans to hold all Pilkada simultaneously from 2024 with the aim of reducing the Pilkada budget. This causes certain years in certain regions to not have a governor because the governor's term of office expires before the simultaneous regional elections begin. For example, the last Governor of Central Java had a term of office from 2018-2023, so 2023-2024 is the time when Central Java will be without a governor. The government got around this vacancy by appointing a Technical Implementer (Pj). Unfortunately, the Pj is appointed directly by the president so the president is free to place his people in that position. The part that is controversial is that the Pj is prone to encouraging people in his area to vote for certain candidate pairs that Jokowi wants (Dirty Vote, 2024).

## Petisi 100 Group

There is a group that launched a movement to impeach Jokowi, namely the Petisi 100 group. Petisi 100 is a movement representing 100 public figures who are urging the DPR and MPR to immediately impeach Jokowi. A number of figures involved in the 100 Petition include former KASAD General TNI Ret. Tyasno Sudarto, former Chairman of the MPR Amien Rais, UGM Professor Zainal Arifin Mochtar, UNS lecturer M. Taufiq, Chairman of FUI DIY Syukri Fadholi, Chairman of BEM KM UGM Gielbran M. Noor, and Petisi 100 representative Marwan Batubara (Muhid, 2024). NSMs contain people who have been excluded from formal institutions (McCauley, 2017). They see that existing political parties cannot help in achieving their goals. Petisi 100 and GAP are clearly not registered political parties. They are a group that was formed due to certain situations and perhaps their group will disband if their goals have been achieved.

The goal of NSMs is to mobilize civil society, not seize power like politicians (Kumar, 2021). The figures who joined Petisi 100 did not aim to seize Jokowi's power, but rather to provide information to the public that Jokowi had abused his power. This movement does not indicate that academics are hungry for power, but rather that they are concerned about the conditions of the 2024 elections which Jokowi intervened in. In the end, they succeeded in mobilizing civil society, demonstrated by the demonstration held in front of the DPR office.

NSMs cannot achieve their goals as centralized organizations (Kumar, 2021). Therefore, how they move uses movements that run independently. Petisi 100 and GAP are two different groups and there is no one particular figure who unites or commands them. The declaration by the Professor at the University of Indonesia certainly has a different time and place compared to the declaration by the Professor at Gadah Mada University.

New social movements have participants who tend to be loose, professional leadership, and inclusive membership (Simone, 2011). Anyone can join the Jokowi impeachment demonstration movement. Meanwhile, the figures in Petisi 100 are

generally not politicians, but rather professionals from their respective fields. The 100 petition figures consist of lecturers, professors, and people who have held positions but still show concern for the nation.

Those in Jokowi's camp consider that the proposal to impeach Jokowi is the proposal of people who voted for a candidate pair that is opposite to them. They considered the action to be barbaric and feared defeat (Cokro TV, 2024a). The discourse regarding Jokowi's impeachment is also considered to be the source of chaos to divide the nation (Cokro TV, 2024b).

#### **NSMs Process**

In analyzing the process of NSMs, we can use the theory of contentious politics. This theory is a term used to describe political activities that involve conflict and resistance to existing authority. The process of forming contentious politics consists of five keys, namely identity formation, escalation, mobilization, polarization, and actor formation (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015).

The process of identity formation is related to how social movement groups can build their own identities that differentiate them from other groups. This identity can be divided into visible identity and idea identity. The group of figures who signed the Petisi 100 declaration chose a special name, namely Petisi 100, to make their group easier to remember by the public. Petition means a formal request addressed to the government. The number 100 shows that they consist of a large number.

Escalation is related to how to change small movements into large ones, or in other words, increasing the number of people. Activist groups lobbied several organizations in their network to teach them to take part in the movement. The process of forming the 100 Petition was carried out by visiting various groups. Petisi 100 initiator Faisal Assegaf admitted that he received a lot of support from various groups who urged the impeachment of Indonesian President Joko Widodo, both from former military officials, academics and from political parties (Hartono, 2024). The members of Petisi 100, who consist of various groups, show that their movement is growing in size.

The mobilization process is related to mobilizing the masses to take action. The benchmark for successful mobilization is changing sympathizers into active participation. The academics or figures involved were not initially involved in a movement. However, the conditions that occurred caused them to show concern and decide to become active participants in Petisi 100. The resource mobilization process can be carried out in two types, namely consensus mobilization and action mobilization. Consensus mobilization is a method used by action initiators to convince other people. The initiators of Petisi 100 certainly held several events to convince figures to join their movement. Action mobilization is a movement initiator's way of inspiring other people to get involved in social movements. After they joined the group, their enthusiasm was raised as they approached the event held by the Petisi 100 group.

Polarization relates to the division of society into two very opposing camps. This process can occur either intentionally or unintentionally. Especially in the Jokowi impeachment movement, this polarization process was carried out accidentally because the main intention of the movement was to impeach Jokowi, not to divide society. Even so, the condition of society has become divided, especially since this moment coincides with the 2024 elections. This action can make it clear which people support impeachment and which people reject impeachment and are satisfied with Jokowi's government.

Certain people are chosen as actors to lead the NSMs. The formation of actors is related to efforts to make the social movement well-controlled. Petisi 100 has the actors mentioned in the previous section. These actors are able to take responsibility for the movements they command. These actors are of course in the spotlight, especially regarding their political affiliations, so anyone can easily guess what interests these actors are acting on. Actors can also come from outside the movement group. For example, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs Mahfud MD was involved in accepting the aspirations of the Petisi 100 figures (Purnamasari, 2024).

Figure 1. The Petisi 100 Divided the Nation



Source: X account @ibujulid.

Figure 2. Reject and Oppose Petisi 100



Source: X account @pumopumi1.

NSMs nowadays can also use new places, namely social media and can be called "online social movements" (Buechler, 1995). The 100 petition and Jokowi's impeachment demonstration were of course recorded by everyone and they shared it on their social media. This news can spread quickly and cause reactions from netizens. Most of the reactions found on platform X are negative. The reaction that emerged, for example, was that Petisi 100 only added to the chaos. Below is X's post showing reactions to Petisi 100.

There are three factors that can be used to analyze the emergence and development of social movements, namely (1) political opportunity structures, (2) mobilizing structures, and (3) cultural framing (Situmorang, 2013). Political Opportunity Structures (POS) focuses more on political perspectives as an explanation of why a social movement can be successful (Sukmana, 2016). POS can provide a perspective that explains whether Petisi 100 can be successful or not POS provides a systematic description of the political context that is the background of a social movement, including the institutions related to the social movement (Pathurrahman et al., 2022). Some academic institutions can be connected to the Petisi 100 movement because they are composed of academics. This petition is located in Bulaksumur so that it can be directly affiliated with Gadjah Mada University.

The emergence of the Petisi 100 movement was largely determined by political opportunity variables. The political opportunity variables referred to are access to open political institutions, disintegration of political balance and the lack of a new political balance, conflict between political elites, and support from elites for making changes (McAdam & Tarrow, 2001). The proponents of Jokowi's impeachment gained access to the political institution, namely the DPR. This movement could disrupt the political balance because there are sections of Indonesian society divided into pros and cons. One political figure, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, also believes that impeachment could bring the country into chaos because it could thwart the elections and create a power vacuum (Febrinastri & Firmansyah, 2024). Not only among the community, even political elites in Indonesia experience conflict, especially during elections. Some political elites even support this movement.

The mobilization structure variable relates to how social movements can use social movements in a structured manner (Situmorang, 2013) and utilize the social networks they have (Syukri & Herdiansah, 2023). The push to impeach Jokowi was initially not yet structured during the series of demonstrations that took place. However, as the election approached, the social movement became more massive because activists utilized their networks among academic figures or other practitioners. The results of utilizing this network can be seen from the gathering of important figures at Petisi 100. This shows that they have formed high levels of solidarity even though they come from different backgrounds.

The movement framing variable is related to how NSMs bridge ideas or thoughts contained in the ideological center with areas that have the potential to be mobilized (Situmorang, 2013). In other words, the movement framing refers to activists' ways of filtering propaganda messages so that they are more easily accepted by society. The Jokowi impeachment movement has members who are dominated by academics, but they are trying to convey their message to the public more concisely. They tried to convey the essence of their complaint, namely Jokowi's abuse of power, more briefly.

## **Action Sequence**

Each NSMs has certain activities that indicate they are active and known to the wider public. The activities of Jokowi's impeachment movement were marked by two important events, namely a series of demonstrations carried out during Jokowi's reign, especially two demonstrations which occurred close to the 2024 elections as well as statements from professors.

Demonstrations are one of the most common forms of NSMs, as they involve activists protesting against the government (Fuchs, 2006). Some activists are dominated by students who are driven by student organizations on their respective campuses. In the second period of the Jokowi government, there were several large-scale demonstrations with various demands, especially regarding the ratification of the law. Even in the first year of Jokowi's second term of government, demonstrations spread throughout Indonesia (Septalisma, 2020). Massive demonstrations were held because the government enacted laws that were seen as unfair to society. These actions can be categorized as the beginning or trigger of the Jokowi impeachment movement because these actions were born out of dissatisfaction with Jokowi's government.

On September 19 2019, a number of students from various regions. In Jakarta, this demonstration was held in front of the DPR RI building. The students who gathered brought posters rejecting the RKUHP and the Revised KPK Law. They believe that the Corruption Eradication Committee Law does not actually support efforts to eradicate corruption. Apart from that, the articles in the RKUHP are also considered inconsequential. The result of the agreement in the demonstration was that students were allowed to discuss this issue with members of the DPR RI (Mustinda, 2019).

Several other demonstrations also occurred during Jokowi's administration, but the events that became the starting point for the movement to openly impeach Jokowi were the declaration of Petisi 100 and several declarations from professors at various universities. At Gadjah Mada University, this declaration is called the Bulaksumur Petition.

## **Impact for Politics**

NSMs can have a significant impact on political dynamics. NSMs influence political participation, organization, and social closure (Scott, 2023). NSMs can be influential in raising political awareness because they focus on important issues that are not paid attention to by the government. The issue of Jokowi's abuse of power was not taken very seriously by the DPR RI. For example, the DPR RI does not want to act to show the right to interpellate Jokowi's alleged abuse of power in the E-KTP case (Rahayu & Kumalasanti, 2023). This condition forcing non-governmental communities to intervene and disseminate information so that all members of the public who felt they were not yet aware of this issue had the awareness to take part in the action. This social movement encourages people to hold public discussions so that their political participation increases.

The presence of NSMs is a challenge for political parties to widen the channels of their aspirations. In other words, NSMs can maximize their representative function if there is a representative crisis from political parties (Hutter et al., 2018). Some certain aspirations could not be accommodated by the party and were proposed to the DPR RI. Therefore, society needs an aspiration channel that can channel special aspirations that cannot be accommodated by political parties. Most members of the DPR RI stated that the movement to impeach Jokowi was not necessary. In fact, the chairman of the DPR RI, Puan Maharani, also questioned the urgency of this movement (Febriari, 2024). This response is a condition where the DPR RI is absent from conveying aspirations and holding discussions on the issue. Several political parties also seem not to openly accommodate the distribution of this issue. In fact, the political party Golkar opposed Petisi 100 by supporting Jokowi's government (Triyoga, 2024).

### Conclusion

In the end, the movement to impeach Jokowi came as a reaction from several groups of society regarding disappointment with Jokowi's abuse of power ahead of the 2024 elections. Groups who are pro for this movement are figures involved in Petisi 100 and the Impeachment Action Movement. Meanwhile, some people are against this movement, namely people close to Jokowi. The process of forming NSMs goes through several stages, namely identity formation, escalation, mobilization, polarization, and actor formation. Several actions that marked this movement started with the RKUHP demonstration which was the beginning of the movement, while the declaration of Petisi 100 marked that this movement was already open. This movement also creates political opportunities, political mobilization, and political framing. The political impact of this movement is a challenge to existing parties, increased political awareness, and the results of elections. The 100 Petition can contribute to the development of New Social Movement theory because the movement provides an example of how movements initiated by various groups can be carried out together. What this movement has in common with previous NSMs is that it utilizes formal institutional networks. The theoretical implication of New Social Movements for the example of the Jokowi impeachment movement is to provide a perspective on the process of the movement and predictions regarding the impacts that will occur.

# **Authenticity Statement**

I declare that this article is the author's original work, free from plagiarism, and all references are listed in the article. The article has not been published and is not being submitted to another journal.

# **Biography**

Ahmad Rifki Nurfebriansyah is a master's student in Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia. He completed his Bachelor in Political Science (S.IP) at Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia in 2022.

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