Framing, friction, and the continuity of social movements : the case of the ambonese peace movement in Indonesia

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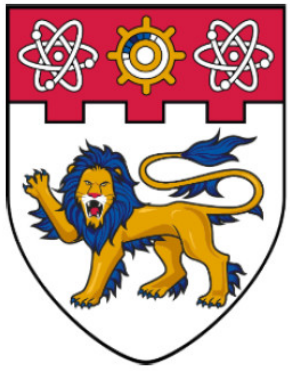

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FRAMING, FRICTION, AND THE CONTINUITY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THE CASE OF THE AMBONESE PEACE MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

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Doctor of Philosophy

2019

Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research, is free of plagiarised materials, and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

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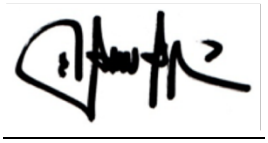

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ABSTRACT

Social movements have brought change to various aspects of the society across the globe. Previous studies have focused on their rise and fall but not their continuity and change. This study investigates through the lens of the framing approach why and how a movement manages to continue. It is based on extensive interviews from 2015 to 2017 with 54 peace movement actors in Ambon, Indonesia, in which civil religious battles had left a community divided. Textual and social media data were also studied. The study found that the social movements' actors' ability to construct a new frame and reconcile friction among themselves was pivotal to reduce conflict, bring peace and sustain the movement. The finding suggests that framing is critical to continue a movement after it achieves its immediate goal and when political opportunities and resources are limited. This finding thus extends existing theory, first in proposing that frames may be dynamic not merely static and second in going beyond studies that have situated frames only when movements rise and peak to look at how frames operate to enable movements to continue.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Social movements in modern society have been important in effecting change. Major movements such as the Occupy Wall Street and Arab Spring have triggered transnational movements. Their rise has captured the attention of online and offline news outlets and influenced movements in other countries. A major reason for their rise is that information and communication technology has afforded social movements to mobilise relatively easily (Shirky, 2011). Globally, from 2010 to 2012 there were, at least, 426 digital movements in over 100 countries, in which popular social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter were among the platforms used to organise the movements and mobilise support (Edwards, Howard, & Joyce, 2013). A common feature behind the emergence of social movements across the continents is the existence of grievances that crystallised into collective goals and networked actions to bring change to societies (Tilly, 2004).

Structures, causes, and the outcomes that social movements achieved have been extensively studied. The escalation of social, political, cultural, and economic grievances often become a start of a movement. Those deprived by policies, acts, and norms imposed by those in power demand for change as the taste of injustice and inequality linger (Castells, 2015). Anger, indignation, hope, and other forms of emotions embedded in the grievances invoke the actors to network, create opportunities, and share resources necessary for the attaining the movements' goals (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2002). These aspects of social movements have become a beacon of studies because of their

attractive and tangible appearance, downplaying the fact that the movements continue, change, or discontinue (Koopmans, 2006; Meyer & Whittier, 1994; Whittier, 2004).

Why some social movements succeed and others do not have become a subject of political opportunity and resource mobilisation approaches. For a movement to continue, movement actors must be able to create political opportunities and mobilise resources. For example, the US peace movement actors worked closely with the polity after the Cold war ended, enabling continued support to the movement despite doubt regarding its future relevance (Edwards & Marullo, 1995); government tolerance and sufficient support from adherents allowed the Occupy Hong Kong to persist for 80 days (Cai, 2017). Both cases demonstrate that movements are likely to persist if the political structures embedded in the governing system and regime types allow. Thus, in a democratic system, social movements are pervasive in part because the constitution guarantees the freedom of expression and assembly of the citizens. Conversely, in a non-democratic system, where such freedom is often curtailed, social movements are few (Goldstone, 2004). Simply, the availability of political opportunities allows the actors to mobilise the resources necessary for sustaining the movements.

Such a line of thinking is, however, only partially accurate. The white nationalist movement in the USA persisted over time despite limited political support and resources (Futrell & Simi, 2004). The movement has even gone global despite strong social and cultural pressures (Parrot, 2017) because the actors are able to maintain their comradeship and ideology through mundane

activities such as routinising group dinners, providing social support to members, and internalising the ideology into music (Futrell, Simi, & Gottschalk, 2006). In a similar vein, a Venezuelan human rights movement and an Indonesian political violence survivor movement have survived for decades (BBC, 2017; Clave & Fuller, 2017). These cases strongly suggest that the lens of political opportunity structure and resource mobilisation do not sufficiently explain the continuity of movements.

This dissertation presents evidence that the framing approach addresses the deficiency. It suggests that the ability of the movement actors to construct a certain meaning of social realities that is accessible to adherents is critical to sustain the movement (Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). The agency that the actors exercise to overcome the challenges that arise from limited political opportunity and resources matters. Hence, aligning the goal of the movement with the adherents' beliefs and values is necessary to mobilise support and create opportunities.

The framing approach has been widely used to investigate movements in various contexts. Singaporean protesters framed the government's immigration policy as unfavourable to the interest of local talents (Goh & Pang, 2016); Spanish protesters framed the cause of the economic crisis as the government's failure in curbing corruption (Asara, 2016). Islamic State actors masked the use of violence with a purpose to build a caliphate and war against infidelity in order to attract new recruits (Westphal, 2017); white nationalists conveyed the message that white Caucasian is the strongest race to keep the members loyal (Hughey, 2009). Environmental movements framed genetic

engineering as dangerous (Tucker, 2013) whereas the low-carbon lifestyle is easy to practised daily (Büchs, Saunders, Wallbridge, Smith, & Bardsley, 2015). In documenting the use of frames and framing strategies when the movements rise and peak, these studies have neglected processes that the actors go through to construct frames and given little attention to the continuity and change of the frames after the movements achieve their immediate goals.

Thus, this study poses three research questions:

a. how do social movement frames change over time and to what extent do such changes help sustain the movement?
b. what are platforms that enable social movement actors to construct the frames?
c. how does interacting in the platforms affect the relationships of the actors with others?

Investigating movements that have gone through their ascendant, peak, and descendant episodes is necessary to answer those questions. It allows understanding change and continuity of the frames that the movements employed in different episodes and unravelling the agencies that the actors exercise when the movements ebb and flow. The Ambonese peace movement, Indonesia, fits those conditions. The movement has successfully defused violence, built peace through quotidian interactions, and advocated a wide array of societal issues that affected post-conflict Ambon. The next chapter will elaborate.

Summary of the Chapters

This dissertation consists of nine chapters. Chapter 2 elaborates on why Ambon was chosen and provides the context for the study. Chapter 3 surveys literature that inform the direction of the study. Chapter 4 details the data collection methods, procedures, and analysis. Chapter 5, 6, and 7 discusses the research findings. Chapter 8 and 9, respectively, further discusses the findings, summarises and synthesise them and suggests implications and directions for future research.

Chapter 2 Context

The Ambon conflict ran in sequels. The major modern conflict erupted in 1999 and ended in 2001, resulting in thousands of casualties and internally displaced Christians and Muslims. In 2002, a peace accord reduced violence markedly but still violence broke out sporadically. The two religious communities avoided going to each other's area, so-called no-go zones, for safety reasons. However, violence recurred in 2011 to 2012, making the Ambonese realise that the peace was fragile (ICG, 2012). Thus, a collective goal, to prevent the conflict from returning, emerged. This goal preceded later movements that intended to address the issues that emerged in the post-conflict Ambon such as religious segregation, struggling internally displaced people, and poor infrastructure (The Habibie Center, 2014).

The origin of the Ambon conflict may be traced to history, politics, migration and to religion. The conflict was historically inseparable from the Dutch colonialism era in the 16th century. Christianity and Islam came to the island with the spice merchants from Europe and Middle Eastern (de Graaf, 1977). Both religions influenced local practices, such as the use of dowry in matrimony and conversion from local faith to either religion (Bartels, 2003a, 2003b). The Dutch's agenda to monopolise the regional spice trade complicated the relationship of the Ambonese among themselves. Using the well-worn strategy of divide and conquer, the Dutch politicised tribe and religion to promote fragmentation among the local leaders and break the Ambonese's

social cohesion (Leirissa, 1973). As suspicion and distrust in each other grew, the Dutch found it easy to subjugate the Ambonese in both trade agreements and wars (Vitchek, 2012).

Segregation started when the Dutch administration privileged Christians to serve in the public offices. Thus, Muslims were outcasts during the colonial era (Sholeh, 2008). Christians had the opportunity to join the army and civil service while Muslims lived in poverty. As the spice trade weakened, the Dutch imposed a tax to increase revenues by replacing the tradition of cohabitation based on kinships and communality with a village system. The Muslims aimed at counteracting the long-standing view that Ambon was a Christian land by infiltrating Islam to the public administration in the mid-60s (Braithwaite, Braithwaite, Cookson, & Dunn, 2010). They viewed Christians as having run the city for a long time and neglected their interests. This, however, led to the perception among Christians that Muslims wanted to convert Ambon to an Islamic land (Arifianto, 2009).

The conflict was also political (ICG, 2000). In the late '90s Indonesia's political turmoil had brought an economic crisis, resulting in the fall of the New Order Era (1966–1999). Violent conflicts broke out in several cities across the country, including Ambon (Maluku province), Poso (Sulawesi province), and Papua (West Papua province) (CHD, 2011). Analysts and pundits speculated that the conflicts in these cities was a game played by the elite to defuse political chaos in Jakarta (Sueady, 2014). The military and the authority's negligence in managing violence supported such a speculation (van Klinken, 2007). A shift to decentralised governance occurred in 2000, authorising the

provinces to police local governance and resources without fully consulting the national government. The shift triggered local politicians to demand for new districts and provinces to be formed. Thus, political adversary in the local elections were intense and often violence featured in winning (Brauchler, 2015; van Klinken, 2001).

Economic inequality between the Ambonese and immigrants from Bugis, Butonese, and Makasar contributed to escalate the conflict. The Ambonese *putra daerah* (Son of the soils) accused immigrants of stealing jobs and widening the economic disparity (van Klinken, 2001, 2007). Before the conflict, most immigrants worked in the informal sectors, such as local market merchants, motor bike taxi or trishaw drivers; while most Ambonese wanted to become public servants. Such a different occupational constellation stemmed from the colonial experience discussed earlier. After the conflict, the two groups competed for job opportunities (Mawdsley, Tanuhandaru, & Holman, 2002). Besides these, land disputes involving immigrants and native Ambon had spread violence to villages and the surrounding islands (Adam, 2010a, 2010b).

Religion, one of the means used during the divide-and-conquer era in colonialism, was another cause for the Ambon conflict (Qurtuby, 2015b, 2016). Leaders cited religious scriptures to agitate fight as if it was in the holy war (Qurtuby, 2015b, 2015a). Muslims viewed it as *Perang Sabil* (a war in the God's path) whereas Christians saw it as *Perang Salib* (the Crusades). They perceived each other as infidels that must be ejected from Ambon. Purging the city from previous sins and misconducts became the holy war cry. Child

soldiers, so-called *Anak Gas* for the Christians and *Anak Linggis* for the Muslims, were seen as a manifestation of self-sacrifice for defending God. Christian villages had the *Laskar Kristus* (Army of Christ) or *Laskar Kristen* (Christian militias), while the Muslims had *Laskar Jihad* or *Laskar Mujahiddin* (Jihad Forces). Between 1999 and 2002, each religious army had nearly 5,000 members (Schulze, 2002).

Rumours and the Media in the Ambon conflict

Rumours exacerbated the Ambon conflict. For example, a rumour surrounding Darfin Saimin's death, a Muslim motorbike taxi driver, ignited the 2011 conflict. The authorities said it was an accident, but the family believed that he was murdered. Short text messages that he was tortured to death invited hundreds of mourners to his funeral. Violence erupted as the messages agitated the crowd, leaving three deaths and 100 burned houses. A violent incident erupted around a church after 50 Christians' houses were set on fire. Darfin's death left competing speculations. Muslims believed in the accident speculation while Christians believed in the murder speculation. Others believed it was a planned accident to inflict a bigger violent conflict (ICG, 2011).

Mobile devices and the Internet aggravated the conflict. As with the death of Darvin, a Short Message Service (SMS) rumour about child-killing and Muslim house burning in Waringin; a group of people had damaged the Al-Mukhlisun Mosque and the Silo church; a massive violence had broken out in the downtown when Christians at the suburb were about going to the city. None of these events happened, but the rumours went viral (ICG, 2012). In 1999 to 2004, the two religious communities used websites to promote agitating

information to followers and draw national and international attention (Brauchler, 2003). Of the Muslim sites were Laskar Jihad (www.laskarjihad.or.id), the Karomah site (www.karomah.cjb.net), Suara Ambon Online (www.come.to/suaraambon), Come and Save Muslims (www.connect.to/maluku) and Gema Khadijah (www.gemakhadijah.cjb.net). The Christian sites were Voice from Maluku (www.geocities.com/chosye), Maluku 2000 (www.maluku2000.org), Ambon Berdarah Online (www.geocities.com/alifuru67), and Lawamena Victoria site (www.geocities.com/jembong_710). Such websites played key roles in propagating religious sentiments during the 1999 conflict (ISAI, 2004).

Mass media also played a role in exacerbating the Ambon conflict. Newspaper and radio split based on their religious supporters. Of the Christian newspapers were Bela Reformasi, Dhara Pos, Masnait, Seram Pos, Suara Maluku, Siwalima, Tragedi Maluku, and Tual Pos. On the Muslim side was Ambon Express. Three outlets claimed to be neutral: Metro, Info Baru, and Dewa. Radio stations swaying to the Christian voice were Bhara, DMS, Gelora Merpati Ambon, Manusela, RRI, Sangkakala, and Yournex. The Muslim media were Kabaresi, Naviri, SPMM, and Suara Pelangi (ISAI, 2004).

TVRI (*Televisi Republik Indonesia*, the state-owned TV company) aired a Public Service Announcement (PSA) intending to advertise peace between the two religious communities. instead, it created a backlash as Muslims and Christians used the term Acang and Obet, respectively representing Muslim and Christian names, as a slang term to delineate each other (Spyer, 2002). Simply

put, incorrect and imbalanced mass media's reporting were frequent, increasing tension between the two religious communities (Tunny, 2010).

Peace Movements in the Ambon conflict

Peace movements in the Ambon conflict have occurred in many levels (Murphy, 2013; Watholy, 2013). A wide range of individuals, groups, and institutions have worked in motion to keep the city peace, providing a complete picture of the movement is therefore difficult. This section points out several notable movements emerged during and after the conflict. The movement rose from 1999 to 2002 and from 2011 to 2012. During these two periods, as major violence occurred in Ambon city and its neighbouring islands, efforts at building peace and mediating the adversaries were critical (Barron, Jaffrey, & Varshney, 2016). More than 5,000 people died (BBC, 2011) and at least 10,000 people were internally displaced and still struggling economically and socially (IDMC, 2011).

Grassroots peace movements emerged along with the rise of violence in 1999. Baku Bae movement, consisted of 20 religious leaders and village heads, aimed to maintain peace in the Wayame area, a village near the airport that had not suffered any conflict, even as violence in the downtown Ambon intensified. The local government, police officials, and religious councils ratified a pact to prevent violence starting with a ban on alcohol consumption and weapon use. The pact was successful to keep Wayame safe, although many believed that violence was absent because the state oil company and military base were located in it (Qurtuby, 2013).

Two movements marked the contribution of women in peacebuilding (Braithwaite et al., 2010; Qurtuby, 2014). *Gerakan Perempuan Peduli* (Concerned Women Movement) used non-violent strategies to teach policy makers how to handle the conflict. The women marched and recruited leaders from both religious communities to organise interfaith dialog as well as engaging with the authorities to initiate a peace accord in 2002. At home, these women pledged to prevent their children and husbands from going to fights (Qurtuby, 2014). While *Gerakan Perempuan Peduli* was motored by senior religious leaders, a group of young women, namely Young Ambassadors for Peace, focused on post-conflict reconciliation and trauma healing for children and ex-combatants (Qurtuby, 2015b).

Journalists initiated Maluku Media Center (MMC) (ISAI, 2004; Tunny, 2010) to facilitate the provision of accurate news and contribute to peacebuilding. As mentioned earlier, most local media leaned toward their religious basis, agitating the two communities' religious sentiment. Many could not operate and had difficulty obtaining primary sources. Therefore, news relied on unconfirmed sources and was speculative. In addition, the national media, mostly Jakarta-based, reported the conflict provocatively and often contradicted the real conflict incidents. As disseminating correct information to the public was essential to enable peace, journalists viewed providing a centre for media workers to share information as crucial.

The Peace Provocateur movement emerged when the conflict recurred in January 2011 (ICG, 2011; Qurtuby, 2013). A priest, a Muslim scholar, and a journalist collaborated with local youngsters to prevent violence from

escalating by using Facebook, Twitter, and mobile phones to confirm or deny rumours (ABC Radio Australia, 2012). A secret Facebook group, Filterinfo, was the platform used for sharing information when major conflict incidents occurred in January 2011 and May 2012. When a rumour claimed that there was an attack on Sino church, the Filterinfo group deployed members to check, take pictures, and then relay the findings via Facebook and Twitter. Thus, it prevented the rumour from misleading the Ambonese to fight (ICG, 2012). The Kopi Badati movement followed the creation of Filterinfo group. It intended to reknit the two religious communities' relationship as well as collecting contacts from people living at the borders for information sources when violence occurred.

Ambon after the Conflict

After two major violence episodes in January 2011 and May 2012, the conflict deescalated from 2013 (Barron et al., 2016). Religious segregation has been more obvious than before. Residences were associative to either Muslims or Christians while mixed villages diminished. For example, Batu Merah used to be a village where the two religious communities were coexistent. After the conflict, it became a Muslim village as Muslims relocated in and the Christian residents moved to other villages. Across the city, residences became more divided than before the conflict (The Habibie Center, 2014).

In the face of the pervasive segregation, movements to bridge the relationship of the two communities sprang up. Traditional values such as *pela* and *gandong* were revitalised to weave back the torn social fabric (Brauchler, 2015; Duncan, 2009). *Pela* referred to unwritten pacts the ancestor ratified for

providing mutual help and avoiding harming each other during the tribal wars. *Gandong*, which literally means womb, inherited a view that the Ambonese was from the same mother (Watholy, 2013). Such values were revisited to guide post-conflict everyday interactions.

Along with that, sporadic grass-root peace movements emerged to create opportunities for youths to engage in inter-faith interactions. A group of youths organised a weekly English class for children living in the border and refuge. The organisers wanted to create opportunities for interactions as within diversity helped eliminate mutual prejudice because of lingering conflict experience. They introduced the experience of living within religious diversity through playing and learning. Music and arts were the means to develop a sense of togetherness as the Ambonese. Through hip hop, theatre, and poetry, the youths learned to seek commonalities regardless of their religion and ethnicity (Meinema, 2012).

One grassroots movement that voiced such an interest was Ambon Bergerak (AB). Most of its key personnel were involved in the 2011 peace movement. Its official start date is uncertain but its prototype had existed before the 2011 conflict. It was a spirit to build Ambon and the eastern Indonesia that emerged because of a concern over underdeveloped young talent caused by slow conflict recoveries (Almascatie, 2015). AB aimed to promote collaboration among youths in post-conflict Ambon, synergise creativity and intellectuality, defuse lamentation about living in Ambon, and motivate the young to contribute to bettering Ambon. It had five foci: education, art, information and communication technology, multimedia use, and tourism and

three goals: a) to create a collective awareness among the youth to move forward together through online and offline movements; b) to demonstrate youths' creativities; c) to create a collective pledge and confidence to move forward despite the barriers ahead (Ambon Bergerak, 2010).

In January 2015, AB received support from ICT Watch Indonesia to use a house, that it called *Paparisa Ambon Bergerak*, as a place for youth and community groups to meet and share ideas to better Ambon. The Minister of Telecommunication and Information of Indonesian Republic inaugurated the house (Berita Maluku, 2015). Paparisa was equipped with Wi-Fi, mini recording studio, library, and a meeting room where the youth could have meetings while organising community events (Almascatie, 2015). It won national awards for excellent use of social media for activism, disseminating information to, and fostering creativity among the young (Tribun Maluku, 2015).

This chapter overviews the social and political contexts of the Ambon conflict, the rise of peace movements during the conflict and the movements that followed the end of the conflict. At time of writing, Ambon has entered a post-conflict phase. With this context of study in mind, Chapter 3 surveys relevant literature, discusses the framing approach, and poses three propositions.

Chapter 3 Literature

Defining Social Movement

Social movement, as a broad term, appeared in multiple German publications in the early 19th century to describe a political consciousness of unbalanced power relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Later in the century, political analysts popularised social movement not only in politics, but also in other disputations among farmers, women, and labours (Tilly, 2004). Social movements were equated with mobs and crowds; thus, participating in such forms of collective actions was an irrational decision driven by anger, fear, and among other emotions (Opp, 2009). This view was discarded as research in the area developed (Reisman, 1990). Since then, scholars have interchangeably used protest, activism, and collective action to point to social movements, making social movement as a sponge for studies investigating diverse forms of social and political contentions (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). For example, the term collective action was equated with social movement (Diani, 2011; Milan, 2013), while others used protest (W. A. Gamson, 2004; Jasper, 2014) and activism (Ford, 2013; Valocchi, 2010) to refer to forms of political and social movements. The common thread running through the debates of the conceptual definitions, is the collective intent to bring change to societies through various contentious activities, events, and repertoires (McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2004; Tarrow, 2011).

The rise of social movements in America and Europe led to the rise of social movement studies. In the US, the civil rights movement spurred

investigations into the triggers and origins of the movement. The Montgomery bus boycott marked the insurgence of movements fighting for equality between black and white in the mid-20th century (McAdam, 1982). In the same period, unemployed and industrial workers organised protests over high inflation and long working hours. The poor took to the streets to articulate their discontents arising from the economic depression (Piven & Cloward, 1979). Meanwhile, in Western Europe, the growth of women's, student, farmer, and environmental movements fostered investigations into the processes behind the movement (della Porta & Diani, 2006). Discontent of the powerless with the powerholders was a common theme of social movements in both continents. The different foci of analysis of American and European scholars resulted in differing definitions of social movements (Opp, 2009).

~~A~~merican scholars tend to focus on the question of "how" and are inclined to investigate social movements empirically. In contrast, European scholars are more interested in understanding their philosophical and ideological aspects and so tend to focus on the "why" (Buechler, 2011; Melucci, 1980). The two groups of scholars suggested that which focus is dominant depends on whether the strategy or actor's identity is thought to be more critical in shaping social movements. Fundamentally, the American approach leads to a generic explanation while the European to a more idiosyncratic answer.

The divide is well illustrated in two key texts: Dynamics of Contention (McAdam et al., 2004) and Passionate Politics (Goodwin et al., 2002). These texts respectively represent political opportunity structure and cultural

approaches to study social movements. Advocates for political opportunity structure (e.g., McCarthy and Zald (1977); Tarrow (2011); Tilly (2004); Zald and Ash (1966)) focus on macro factors affecting the rise, peak, and decline of social movements. Its scholarly development arises from studies of the US social movements in the 1960s. Political, economic, and organisational factors and their impact are the primary areas of attention to analyse structures, networks, and the means to balance the relationship between citizens and state. Micro factors tend to be neglected (Martin, 2015).

Into this lacuna steps the cultural approach in social movement research. The cultural approach perceives social movement actors (SMAs) and their agencies as the backbone of social movements. The actors navigate constraints and opportunities embedded in political and social structures while seeking momentum to advance the movement (Jasper, 2014). A dialectical relationship between agent, agency, and structure is key within the cultural approach. A constraining structure can be moulded to an opportunity as the agents share a collective intent to make change (Giddens, 1984). The agents seek out the resources embedded in the structure to alter the undesirable situations. Their agencies are a byproduct of a constant assessment of existent resources and the probable outcomes resulted from using the resources to change the situations. The insurgence of social movements therefore is not always about the availability of resources nor political opportunities (McAdam, 1982, 1994). Rather, a construction of shared meanings among the actors is pivotal during the movement's lifespan. The shared meaning emerges as the actors first articulate their individual discontents and then, assemble the discontent

together into a solidarity to alter unfavourable situations they face (Buechler, 1995; Melucci, 1980).

Reconciling the differing definitions of social movement would lead to a clearer conception of social movement and help researchers avoid losing theoretical specificity and clarity. Further, both structural and cultural factors contribute to shaping the dynamic and the passion of the movement. Analysing the views of Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, Charles Tilly, Alain Touraine, and Alberto Melucci, a collection of key scholars in America and Europe, Diani (1992) conceptualised social movement as "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (p. 12). In this definition, a social movement comprises individuals, informal institutions, organisations, or a combination of both. It is not only related to political opportunities and processes, but also cultures and ideologies that attract such entities to participate. The definition bridges the macro-level attention of the political structure approach (e.g. political structures and opportunities, resource mobilisations, and a universal reason for explaining social movements) and the micro-level attention of the cultural approach (e.g. ideology, identity, frame, and agency).

This study adopts Diani's (1992) conceptualisation for the reasons following. Understanding social movements as a connected informal interaction provides a flexibility to move around individual actors and their affiliated groups and organisations. As an actor can be affiliated with multiple groups/organisations, Diani's (1992) definition attends to the participation of

both individual actors and their affiliations, making it a robust definition applicable to grassroots movements. It is accommodative of both political structure and cultural approaches. Hence, it better facilitates understanding social movements with a strong grassroots-base.

The different foci between the political opportunity structure and cultural approaches also mark studies on the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in contemporary social movements. Technology, an embodiment of structures, is a tool for decreasing the cost of resource mobilisation (Buechler, 2011), more efficient coordination (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015), and reaching a wider audience (Castells, 2015; Rainie & Wellman, 2012). Technology creates affordable ways to mobilise resources needed to bring the movement to a victory (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011) and enables activists a space to share information and coordinate the movement (Castells, 2010). The most tangible contribution of the technology is facilitating a message broadcast to gain public attention and attract participation. ICT use personalises the engagement of movement actors in facilitating coordination and organisation, making it easy to create platforms that are perceived relevant and effective for achieving collective goals. At the same time, technology grants flexibility for individuals to decide which movement, how, when, where, and with whom to affiliate and participate (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013).

The use of ICT in social movements has been critiqued as technologically deterministic and neglecting offline interactions among the actors. Pundits and scholars have called Arab Spring a Facebook or Twitter

revolution because social media and other ICT platforms use seemed to be capable of triggering the revolution (Shirky, 2011). In fact, technology did not create a revolution. Rather, the people do (Gerbaudo, 2012). Analyses arguing the Arab Spring is a social media, Twitter or Facebook revolution underestimate the strong political contention before social media use to coordinate and raise awareness among the international community. Political nuances of movements precede technological use (Wolfsfeld, Segev, & Sheafer, 2013). The activists used face-to-face interactions at coffee houses and streets as a space for coordinating the movement and sharing political contentions (Lim, 2012). The use of ICT, in the context of Arab Spring, was of social media, emerging as the authorities cracked down opportunities to engage in offline interactions (Gerbaudo, 2012; Morozov, 2011). Tarrow (2014), commenting on Bennett and Segerberg's (2013) work, asserts there is nothing really new from the use of ICT. Its introduction to contemporary social movements is indifferent from the early use of radio and flyers in the past. Technology has only partially substituted the role of traditional media and face-to-face interactions (Tarrow, 2011).

Social Movement Sustainability

Both the dynamic and passion of social movements have attracted scholars from sociology, political science, social psychology, anthropology, and history (Klandermans & Roggeband, 2010). However, compared with the attention given to the insurgency of social movements, the sustainability of the movements has received much less attention (Gongaware, 2011; Tarrow, 1991).

Sustainability distinguishes social movements from other forms of collective actions. A social movement does not stand alone, but is often accompanied by mobs, protest, boycotts, and demonstration. It sustains so long as SMAs can articulate contention and grievance, and seek gratification from being part of change-making (Jasper, 2014). Hence, sustainability reflects the actors' ability to navigate barriers and enablers to achieve the movement's goal over time. Identifying problems, attributing blames, offering solutions, promising the benefit of change, and calling for actions are activities the actors perform when the movement rises, peaks, wanes, suspends, and resurfaces. That means, a social movement is linked to its predecessor. It is a continuation of the past to the present that depicts evolving concerns, strategies, and repertoires (Gongaware, 2011). Such a characteristic differentiates it from, for example, crowds and demonstrations, which often discontinue after achieving their immediate goals. A social movement, in comparison, sustains and can give effect to next movements or others (Whittier, 2004) as a foundation to collaborate for achieving new common goals establishes (Diani, Lindsay, & Purdue, 2010; Staggenborg, 2015).

Sustainability is a continuation of social movements from one episode to the next (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015). A movement ascends, peaks, and descends. It ascends as the actors share grievances and assemble them into a voice articulating a collective need for change. It peaks as the voice materialises into protest, demonstration, boycotts, and festivals. Then, it descends after achieving immediate goals, because the actors burn out, or the authority crackdowns its activities (Tarrow, 1995, 2011). Such episodes illustrate that social movements

are dynamic and not an isolated occurrence that disappears without leaving traces nor impacts (Koopmans, 2006). Each episode is linked as the previous gives a legacy to the later and captures moments when a social movement shifts from one episode to another.

Recent studies have tended to focus on ascending and peak episodes of social movements, such as the Hong Kong Occupy Movement (Cai, 2017). The researcher Cai argued that the movement sustained for 80 days because of government tolerance and participant persistence. That the movement attracted thousands of participants and drew the government's attention during its peak is true. But, that moment only captures when the contention between the movement's adherents and challengers heightens and information regarding the movement diffuses and attracts more adherents to join (Tarrow, 1991, 1995). A narrow focus on the peak episodes neglects further occurrences that followed the decline of the movement. What happens after the period of 80 days is ignored in that study. Thus, what constitutes social movement sustainability remains obscure.

The US women's movement is illustrative of how a social movement sustains over time. After the ratification of women's suffrage in 1920 and then the ruling of right to vote for women of colours in 1965, the movement was seen as dying out. Many believed its heyday had passed because of disunity among the activists regarding feminist ideologies and a dissipating relevance to the society; as a result, its activism and supports from across social classes declined (Epstein, 2001). Scholars, however, refused to believe it had died down. Instead, it was in abeyance, awaiting fresh opportunities to rise up (V.

Taylor, 1986). Those opportunities arose to give voice to anti-child abuse and pro-choice issues (Whittier, 1995, 2009) and to the anti-nuclear proliferation and peace movements (Meyer & Whittier, 1994). These evidenced that the women's movement sustained over time. It may have slowed after achieving major successes, but that was far from a demise. Its focus evolved to stay relevant with issues affecting a wide spectrum of women's rights. The actors navigated challenges, allied with other movements, sought and created opportunities throughout different political administrations, and recruited new supporters to keep the movement going. These days, the movement has resurfaced, advocating various issues such as equal pay and a safe workplace for women.

The divided literature on defining social movement as noted earlier had resulted in debates over why a social movement sustains. The political opportunity structure approach attributed the sustainability to political regimes, the availability of resources (such as funding), participants, technological platforms, and, organisational factors such as leadership, strength, and institutionalisation (Ford, 2013; Valocchi, 2010). As argued by Cai (2017), the government's tolerance and participants' persistence helped sustain the Hong Kong Occupy Movement. The two reasons can be salient for explaining the insurgence and continuity of social movements in a wide spectrum of democratic countries (O'Neill, 2017; Valiente, 2015). However, such reasons reinforce the existing critique of the political structure approach as overly mechanistic and deterministic. An overemphasis on external factors

surrounding the movement masks the attention on what the actors can do (McAdam, 1982),

The cultural approach points out identity, ideology, and frame as essential sustenance for social movements. It attends to the dynamics within SMAs, rather than external factors, as the driver for social movement sustainability. Resources and opportunities may decrease, but a movement can still sustain if the actors hold on to their collective belief, ideology, and identity. Such an argument is evident, for example, in the case of Central American religious social movement organisations operating in the U.S. Losing political opportunities in the congressional hearings in the '90s, its impact on policy change and support from the polity fell. Despite that, the movement sustained because the actors continued to believe in the importance of promoting peace in Central America and extended the movement's frame to reach out to bystanders and secular groups (Keogh, 2013).

Frames and Framing Analysis

The cultural approach pays attention to frame and framing of social movements. It originates from the constructs of frame and framing Erving Goffman coined in the analysis of everyday talks (1974). Since appearing in his book "Frame Analysis", the approach has inspired scholars from many disciplines to analyse social phenomena. Frames are schemata allowing individuals to "locate, perceive, identify, and label … provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human being" (Goffman, 1974, pp. 21–22). They guide interactions and indicate abilities to act on, and to

manage situations. Human agencies, such as the decision to share or withhold information and continue or discontinue the interaction, are a result of interpreting what is perceived appropriate to the people, place, and time.

Frames are a cognition used to construct meanings emerging from mundane interactions. To frame is to present a slice of reality through formulating messages that are likely to result in audience choosing actions expected by the sender (Entman, 1993). Hence, they are related to rhetorical texts and discourses persuading audience to believe in what the sender conveyed to them (Kuypers, 2010; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Humans react and act to social situations based on regular apperceptions. Few can fully explain why they act in certain ways because the frame has driven their actions. Other sociologists, following up Goffman's observation, call such a phenomenon habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) and reflective monitoring (Giddens, 1984). Both concepts describe the role of a mental frame in allowing individuals to act without a deep thinking because the action has become routine and part of the everyday life. The robustness and transferability of Goffman's frame analysis have enabled scholars to apply it in other areas of inquiry, such as political science, media studies, management and organisational studies, and social movements.

In political science, framing is a strategy to win favourable public opinions. The acceptance of a policy by citizens may depend on how it is framed. Governments across the globe frame policies to be resonant with the citizens' knowledge and needs. Politicians frame their agenda through rhetorical speeches aligned with the constituents. Framing in this sense is a way

to invoke preferable actions to the framers (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). In management and organisational studies, framing is pivotal in decision-making. A classic example is that patients are likely to agree to go through a surgery procedure when hear 95 out of 100 patients survived in contrast to being told that five out of 100 died from it. This suggests that decision-making is a function of different frames used to convey the risk of taking an action (Kahneman & Tversky, 1984). In media studies, framing analysis has flourished for understanding the preferred message mass media and sources deliver and its effect to audience (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010).

Cross-disciplinary applications of frame analysis have produced different labels, such as concept, theory, approach, perspective, paradigm, analytical technique or method. The difference in labelling is rooted in the fact that the frame is a construct borrowed from sociology (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). For clarity, this research follows the common use of frame analysis in social movement studies as an approach to look at how social movement actors deliberately use certain ideas to mobilise supporters, demobilise contenders, and strategise for attaining the movement's goal (Lindekilde, 2014). Framing is a perspective on social movements focusing on the actors' interpretations toward social phenomena and the ability to package the interpretation with an appealing message to attract adherents and counter contenders (Snow, 2016). It is open to both quantitative and qualitative research methods and by delivering messages that are resonant with public interests, helps social movements succeed and thus bridges the relationship between scholars and activists (Snow, Benford, McCammon, Hewitt, & Fitzgerald, 2014).

Snow and his collaborators (1986) imported Goffman's frame analysis to social movement studies, counterbalancing research driven by the political opportunity structure approach (McAdam, 1982, 1996). Despite an extensive use for studying social movements since (Olesen, 2015; Snow, 2016), it remains as an amorphous concept (Opp, 2009) with an abstract process that is difficult to pin down (Johnston, 2015). Borrowing a metaphor from linguistics, a frame serves a general code that guides punctuations and framing–as a verb–indicates an active effort of SMAs to contend, share grievance, and mobilise participation (Snow & Benford, 1992). It inspires repertoire, tactic, strategy, and platform suitable to mobilise supports for bringing change to societies (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Framing and Social Movement Sustainability

Social movements sustain in part because of the actors' ability to convey resonant messages to both adherents and bystanders. Framing messages in such a way is critical to maintain support over time. Therefore, a strategy to keep the adherents loyal to the movement while attracting bystanders to join in the cause the movement articulates (Snow & Benford, 1992). In that endeavour, there is a process of exposing the problems, perpetrators, solutions, and invitations to become part of collective actions to bring change to the society. Framing projects the agency of SMAs to problematise a situation and give attributions to it, what remedies are necessary, and a call for actions. Framing processes encapsulate a set of diagnosis, prognosis, and motivation to partake in social movements. These three are interrelated core tasks of framing that the movement actors consistently align with adherents (Snow & Benford, 1988).

Diagnostic framing identifies problems, causes, and attributions. It exposes who or what SMAs deem to be accountable for causing the problems (Snow & Benford, 1988). For example, the post-Cold War peace movement organisations blamed bilateral agreements for enabling nuclear weapon proliferation. The agreement only served the political interests of certain countries and their allies, putting aside the importance of ratifying multilateral agreements to keep the world free from nuclear weapons (Marullo, Pagnucco, & Smith, 1996). Recent examples of diagnostic framing have appeared in the context of immigration policy in Singapore (Goh & Pang, 2016) and economic crisis in Spain (Asara, 2016). The Singaporean protesters problematised the immigration policy by juxtaposing the interests of locals and foreigners, representing victims and troublemakers respectively. The Spanish activists contended that the corrupt government had failed, causing citizens to suffer from economic and political deprivation. SMAs of both cases featured poor governing systems as the cause of the problems they faced.

Prognostic framing demonstrates solutions and the strategies and tactics for addressing the problems. It manifests in the decision to choose a certain focus of change (Snow & Benford, 1988). Using the above examples, the post-Cold War peace movement organisations emphasised strengthening organisations with international working scopes to advocate the ratification of anti-nuclear weapon proliferation and pushed political entities to sign multilateral agreements on preventing nuclear wars was deemed to be crucial (Marullo et al., 1996). As for the latter cases, Singaporean SMAs suggested replacing the incumbent government and demanded redress for problems

caused by job losses to opportunistic foreigners (Goh & Pang, 2016). Spanish SMAs asserted increasing citizen participation for better political representation as a remedy for the country's failed system (Asara, 2016). Voting out the incumbent in the election that followed and improving education attainment of ordinary citizens for equal representatives were solutions for problems in the respective country.

Motivational framing displays a reason to partake in and convey a "call to arms" for different entities to attain a collective goal (Snow & Benford, 1988). Identifying problems and offering solutions and tactics are insufficient without a convincing reason to attract adherents to participate (W. A. Gamson & Meyer, 1996). A motivational framing translates grievances and strategic ideas to an argument propelling social movement participation. The peace movement organisation used moral dilemma as a reason for gaining supports on anti-nuclear proliferation. Contesting moral responsibility and ignorance was a reason disseminated to mobilise participation of various institutions, individuals with a similar concern but no institutional affiliation, and bystanders (Marullo et al., 1996). In the two recent cases, injustice was a "call to arms." It projected unequal opportunities between Singaporeans and foreigners and between the elite and ordinary Spanish. In both cases, it promoted a sense of togetherness among the actors to make their voices heard (Asara, 2016; Goh & Pang, 2016).

Diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing have been used to study social movements in diverse contexts (Snow, 2016; Valocchi, 2010). Environmental movement actors framed the use of Bisphenol-A in the US and genetic engineering in New Zealand as hazardous (Lubitow, 2013; Tucker,

2013); while low carbon lifestyle in the UK as easy to practise in everyday life (Büchs et al., 2015). In European and Asian countries, inequality and injustice were frames used for challenging poor labour and immigration policies (Bloemraad, Silva, & Voss, 2016; Goh & Pang, 2016; Mesic, 2016) and for protesting economic policies imposed by the government and international monetary organisation (Asara, 2016; Chesters & Welsh, 2004). In the Arab world, framing was one tactic the militant Lebanese group Hezbollah, women, and peace movements used to align their agenda with adherents and gain public support (Al-Rawi, 2014; Granzow, 2015; Karagiannis, 2009).

The above studies share a common feature of the need to construct a frame that is aligned with the views of its adherents for a social movement to achieve its goal. Frame alignment is a basic requirement to link both supporters with or without organisational affiliations to the movement (Snow et al., 1986). That is, individual, community groups, and social movement organisations with a similar inclination act together, creating a network of actors united by a collective goal, value, and belief (Diani, 2015). Social media-based movements rely on frame alignment to mobilise unconnected individuals. In the case of the Occupy Wall Street movement, the notion of inequality between the 99% and 1% attracted millions of online supporters. It united individuals to articulate grievance and suffering due to a deep economic disparity between the rich, the middle-class, and the poor of the poorest (Gaby & Caren, 2012; Juris, 2012). Aligning frames opens the opportunity to unify individual concerns into a collective action. In it, different entities act together as they share a goal to

solve collective problems, balance the state and citizen's relationship, and bring justice to the people.

Framing is related to persuasion. The actors articulate the movement's aim using text, story, and discourse to promote change to the public (Steinberg, 1998). It was, for example, apparent in the use of narratives of discrimination and family in the legalisation of same sex marriage movement. The discrimination narrative stressed damning incidents due to unequal legal protections and policies that disadvantaged the gay community. The family narrative told stories that same-sex couples could have similar difficulties as heterosexual families. It became a personalised story that most people could relate regardless of their stance toward the legalisation. Both narratives intended to convey that same-sex marriage was fit into the common standard of normalcy the society adhered (Olsen, 2014). Using a narrative to frame a movement as such projects on the importance of delivering a relatable message to the public (Bloemraad et al., 2016).

Frame alignment embodies in the form of internalising cultural values embedded in the location of social movements. Local norms and traditions connect diverse actors by offering a common root to embrace. To sustain support for organic farming in Bali, social movement actors, comprising individuals, farmers, and pro-sustainable food consumption organisations, aligned it with Hinduism, the main religion on the island. Such a frame helped supporters and bystanders see the connection between farming and keeping nature in balance as part of Hinduism. An awareness of the importance of having a sustainable food production disseminated in the public then (N.

Edwards, 2013). Aligning a frame in this manner benefits grass-root movements, where the relationship among the actors can be fluid and informal, with chances to mobilise supports through garnering local solidarity (McDonald, 2002). A frame constructed from that can facilitate the actors' collective identity to grow as reflected by the emergence of common belief and value among them (Zald, 1996).

Social movements endure because of consistent framing. In the case of the Islamic state movement, a consistent frame has played a significant role in sustaining the movement amid extensive efforts to combat it (Westphal, 2017). A purpose to defend Islam provided a reason for new recruits to commit suicide bombing and to justify terrorism as a *jihad* for sending a message to the infidels and western democracies (Rogan, 2010). The jihadists framed the act of terror and violence as purging their world from problems the Western society created. Killing those deemed to be sinful and complicit such as Americans and British, representing members of the Western society, was therefore conveyed as a path leading to a house in the *Jannah* (heaven) (Snow & Byrd, 2007).

Frame alignment is also a strategy for the US white supremacy movements to sustain. To protect and purify America was a collective purpose shared through meetings and music festivals over generations (Futrell & Simi, 2004; Futrell et al., 2006). Hate-speech toward other races was common to express what the movement deemed true. Groups such as Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi group, Nationalist Socialist Movement, Council of Conservative Citizens, and American Freedom Party shared protecting the western civilisation as a goal (Feagin, 2013). Rhetoric denigrating others is an instrument to celebrate

white identity as a supreme race. Despite resistance to their existence, the movement has continued to grow as more adherents join, making a comeback and even going global (Parrot, 2017).

The above discussion suggests that the fate of social movements depends on the actors' ability to align frames with adherents. A frame can help bridge disconnected individuals with the same idea as one the movement articulates and attract bystanders by amplifying it to issues they can resonate. Framing in this sense is about connecting what is important to the movement to one that supporters and bystanders perceive important for themselves and societies. Maintaining the existent supporters and recruiting new ones is feasible as the frame provides platforms to both groups of adherents to channel grievances and directed blames to a common object which later gives a reason to participate in the movement. Frame alignment reflects the actors' ability to exercise agencies to sustain the movement by triggering public participation, offering problem solutions, and a unified reason to act together for pursuing a collective goal.

A body of literature indicates that frames change throughout social movement episodes. One frame replaces the other as the actors' concerns and grievances evolve, introducing the movement to a new direction (J. Gamson, 1995; Valocchi, 2005). Frame changes arise from a continuous assessment of the already existed frame and recent developments of the movement's environment. Is the frame aligned to the targeted groups? Does it resonate to the existing adherents? Is it extendable to reach out to bystanders and can it create a tipping point for public participation? Answering such probable questions

allows SMAs to decide whether changing the movement frame is needful. As in a conversational interaction, where a monotone topic is likely to discontinue and shifting from one topic to another will help continue the conversational interaction (Schutz, 1967), shifting frames provides a language for the actors to work around concerns and issues throughout social movement episodes. Hence, it keeps the movement relevant to the emerging problems the society faces (Carroll & Ratner, 1996).

The above argument alludes that social movements extend their frames in order to sustain themselves over time. Framing of the legalisation of abortion changed from the notion that women were incapable to be capable of making moral and theological decisions to exercise their right to abortion in the early 70s and 80s. Such a shift aimed to gain support from wider, liberal supporters (Evans, 1997). From 1993 to 2008, an Indian palliative care movement framed medical problem at first as a medical problem and social isolation, marginalisation, human rights and then collective governance. A frame extension as such smoothened the movement to affect health policies in the country (Vijay & Kulkarni, 2012). Religious-based peace movement organisations extend their movement frames to secular groups for gaining new supports from larger adherents (Keogh, 2013). As the Cold War receded, the US peace movement shifted from mitigating war potentials to work closely with policy makers. It intended to affect foreign policies and support multinational cooperation that mitigated risks of nuclear weapon proliferation. Most peace organisations that initially challenged the policy makers soon radically shifted their movement frames to become more moderate, leaving the

peace organisations that stuck to the old frame to suffer from the lack of resources; those organisations that extended their framing strategies to work closely with the polity thrived (B. Edwards & Marullo, 1995). These examples say that organisational, social, economic, and political environment changes drive social movement actors to extend the frames to resonate the movement's goal to both the adherents and public (Johnston, 2009, 2015).

The purpose of extending frames is to keep the movement relevant. During the ascending and peak episodes, a frame may aim to fight against common enemies (tyranny, injustice, inequality, violence), forming a collective identity among the actors (Al-Rawi, 2014; Yangzom, 2016). After achieving its goals, a movement can move in three directions: it can head downwards in a descending episode or levelling off to an abeyance. It can also be discontinued because the actors retreat or the authority suppresses the movement. The actors then look for new concerns and grievances as a strategy to reframe the movement. A movement frame is therefore malleable, indicating the actors' agency to respond to changes both within and outside the movement. Frame extension conveys a redefinition of problems, potential solutions and tactics, and reasons to participate in social movements (Snow et al., 1986). A frame relevant at one time can be irrelevant at another. Framing a peace movement as a fight against a war would be irrelevant after the war stopped. The actors therefore constructed a new frame to keep the movement relevant to the post-war era. In other words, reframing appears as a situation pivots toward a new direction while retaining the original intent to interact (Goffman, 1974). The movement actors may revisit, reuse, or discard old frames to sustain the

movement. A new frame thus can be a modified version or fully independent of the old one. With this in mind, Proposition 1 is offered:

> Proposition 1 (P1) Social movement actors extend diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing to sustain the movement.

SMAs construct frames through common interactions such as gatherings and campaigns (Benford & Snow, 2000). Gatherings are activities in which they, for example, help lift each other's burden over dinners and casual meetings (Futrell & Simi, 2004), exchange political and economic grievances at coffeehouses and on streets (Lim, 2012), and mutually give and obtain information on a secret Facebook group (Hensby, 2016). In comparison, campaigns comprise the actors' participation in recruiting new members (Wimberley, 2009), using social media to gain wider supports (Gaby & Caren, 2012), and going off to the street to protest the establishment (Poell, 2013; Vicari, 2015). A campaign is a planned and time-bounded activity (Tilly, 2004), differentiating it from gatherings that can be spontaneous and fluid. Within both, the efficacy of a frame to mobilise resources and achieve goals is examined based on what it can result, its congruence with goals and strategies, and alignment with the movement's adherents and bystanders. Thus, both become a platform for SMAs to interact throughout the social movement episodes (Bosco, 2001; Cresswell, 1996).

Centring on SMAs and their interaction is imperative to avoid misconstruing frames as static and lacking human agencies (Benford, 1997;

Benford & Snow, 2000). SMAs exchange discourses, connect grievances and problems to the available opportunities to make change, and then formulate them altogether into a call for action. They may revisit frames employed by previous movements and then consider ideas to adapt or fully transform them while interacting in common events (Mooney & Hunt, 1996). Frames emerge as the actors agree onto what extent the old and new considerations can complement, counteract, and constrain the movement (Klandermans & Goslinga, 1996).

The US LGBTQ movement can be an example of that. In 1969 to 1973, it framed gay community as good, about sexual liberation, but prone to sexism and oppression (Valocchi, 2005). Such frames underlined the urgency of creating a boundary between gay and straight during the rise of the movement. In the late '90s, the diversity frame replaced that. The initiators contended in various events that the movement had excluded lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer communities, although they all experienced the same societal oppressions as the gay men had. LGBTQ then became a new umbrella of the movement after the inclusion. The diversity frame was effective for reaching out to the heterosexual community to support marriage equality. That says the boundary between gay and straight promoted in the early episode of the movement had loosened (Ghaziani, 2011; Ghaziani, Taylor, & Stone, 2016). Such dynamics in the frame construction show the tenacity of SMAs to discourse emerging issues matter to the movement.

Common interactions are platforms for frame construction. SMAs discuss opportunities, resources, constraints, align them with adherents, and

unify voices to counteract challengers through interacting with each other. Thus, frames are not solely an *ad hoc* strategy for attaining the movement's immediate goal, but also an embodiment of SMAs' ability to exercise agencies for sustaining the movement (McCammon, 2012). Lobbying the policy makers, influencing adherents, and angling for favourable media coverage exemplify agencies to defend the movement. SMAs extend frames to a broader political and cultural spectrum to create opportunities and seek resources necessary to survive over time.

Common interactions form a dynamic meaning within the actors themselves, the movement, and the counter-movements (Esacove, 2004). The interaction may lead to self-transformation of the actors. Participating in social movements had transformed the actors from anxious to mindful people and from a group of white nationalists into advocates of peaceful society (Snow et al., 1986). The interaction facilitates a discovery of new meanings within the actors' lives. It inspires the use of personal transformation for influencing policies and introducing change to the public. The emergence of global injustice symbols such as Pakistani schoolgirl Malala Yousafzi, Tunisian street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi, and South African President Nelson Mandela stems from personal incidents that then extrapolate to the bigger causes triggering social and political changes internationally (Valocchi, 2010). Put simply, what happens to individuals can be framed as matters to the greater members of the society. Change begins from individual level then scales up.

Frames reflect the construction of new meanings within social movements. A frame develops when a movement rises, achieves its immediate

goal, and then enters a declining or dormant episode (V. Taylor, 1986). Dealing with new concerns, constraints, and opponents, SMAs ensure the frame resonates to the interest of adherents and can attract bystanders and potential groups to partake in the movement (Roos & Oikonomakis, 2014; Snow & Benford, 1988). Ellingson's (1995), studying the 1835 riot and public debates in the antebellum Cincinnati, found meetings and street protests were catalysts for new voices to get involved, for some groups to mobilise, and for some others to withdraw. Both facilitated discourse exchanges, from which the actors shaped the meaning of the movement as well as the urgency of creating an equal society.

The presence of counter-movements can also affect the construction of frames. The interaction between pro-life and pro-choice movements is illustrative of that. The abortion conflict has been about a constant tension of moral and theological reason vs. health and women liberation reason (Trumpy, 2015). The opponents and proponents of each has contested their frames continuously even after abortion was legalised in 1973. The pro-choice movement framed abortion as about women's liberation to decide what was right to their bodies. The proponents, mostly progressive individuals and organisations such as Planned Parenthood and Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, constructed the liberation frame to mobilise supports for the idea that women could make health and rational decisions to abortion. On the contrary, the pro-life movements, supported by the conservatives such as Family Research Council and National Congress of Catholic Bishops, framed anti-abortion as violating religious values. Religious scripts and guilt were a

buttress to mobilise adherents and challenge the liberation frame (Esacove, 2004). The two competing frames have coloured the US history of reproductive rights' movements as reflected in the constant rebuttal to each other's frames. Both persist in making adherents faithful to the respective cause; hence, abortion remains divisive in the public eye and political debates (Staggenborg, 1991).

In sum, framing is a dynamic process rooted in the actor's interaction such as gatherings and campaigns. In both, SMAs deliberate what change is necessary for creating a better society and share grievances and solutions for problems they face. They internalise the meaning of their participation in the movement. It may lead to personal transformation that can be extrapolated to the larger public. Hence, a bottom-up change occurs. The interaction also shapes the dynamic of the movement as the actors share contentions and collective goals, resulting in stronger solidarity, withdrawals of the dissenters, and arrivals of new supporters. Further, engaging in gatherings and campaigns allows SMAs to construct frames for counteracting the movement's challengers. Frames are not only a strategy for sustaining the movement, but also denote the depth and breadth of the actors' relationship.

While scholars have pointed out the role of gatherings and campaigns as a platform for framing social movements, both may be unattractive to adherents. Gathering interactions can be draggy as the topics exchanged in the conversation is too loose. Conversely, campaign interactions can be requiring a serious time commitment and have some political ramifications to the adherents' professional lives, families, and among others. Alternatively,

adherents wanting to avoid such downsides may turn to other platforms such as community events. They can harness simultaneously the benefit that gatherings and campaigns offer such as making friends and expanding organisational networks without dealing with the downsides. In particular, community events can attract those uninterested in boycotts, protests, and demonstrations but inclined to support the movement.

Community events as a platform for framing social movement have appeared in a various context of studies. For example, a Canadian creative group used festivals as a platform to push the government to reduce the use of fossil fuels in public transportations. The group were uninterested in the political aspect of the protest but shared a common mission in encouraging individuals for reducing pollution and diesel use in vehicles (J. Taylor, 2015). In the 80s, peace festivals were a means to halt the decision for NATO-sponsored nuclear deployment in Europe. The religious groups and youths participated in the festival voicing out the significance of integrating peace as a life principle in the society (Balz, 2015). In South Korea, protests toward the government's decision to import beefs from the US in 2008 manifested as creative events involving popular singers, dancers, and performers. A combination of parody, metaphor, and humour with acts of protest affected the political spectrum, scaling up the movement from a small group of people to hundreds of supporters (Han, 2014). In the UK, community events and festivals were platforms used for localising transnational issues such as multiculturalism, environmental justice and global inequality. Both platforms helped translate the

issues to local levels, triggering diverse collective actions at the grassroots movements (Diani, 2005).

Music is an element found in the use of events for framing social movements. It played a crucial part in promoting acceptance toward LGBTQ communities by offering a degree of sameness between gay and straight people. Music was a universal means for bringing diverse groups of people from both sexual identities together (Ghaziani et al., 2016). In the context of Rastafarian movements, music festivals served as a ritual for enduring the movement and were a vehicle for conveying resistance to the mainstream culture. The actors used the dread-talk, a Rastafarian way of speaking for counteracting the pervasiveness use of standard English in Jamaica dated back in the 1930s, in the lyrics for preserving the movement (Kebede, Shriver, & Knottnerus, 2000). A similar phenomenon was also observable in racial related social movements. The white supremacist movement actors reinforced the idea that they were destined to be the most powerful race through music festivals and lyrics (Futrell et al., 2006). In another context, music was a means to raise critiques towards racial inequality during the civil rights movement. Lyrics conveyed social and economic deprivation that the black had experienced due to slavery and white privilege. Music was a non-violent means to frame the movement and reduced the risk of oppressions from those in power (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998).

Alike gatherings and campaigns, community events are where frames emerge, be revisited, or replaced. They allow the actors to mesh their existing networks with the new ones, hence the effect of the movement expands to a wider group or other movements (Staggenborg, 1998). Community events

however uniquely offer the opportunity to grow camaraderie for succeeding the movement while supporting each other's interests, making the movement comprise actors from different backgrounds who interact casually in the event (McDonald, 2002). Event participation opens the opportunity for the actors to share discourses and concerns. Spontaneous actions, plans, and strategies to resolve societal problems come up, brewing ideas for attributing blames and calling for participation. Both old and new networks are intertwined, while the actors deliberate what messages need to convey to the public, their efficacy to attract adherents and bystanders, and whether framing the movement in such a way will stay relevant over time. Considering the role of community events, along with campaigns and gatherings, in facilitating the actors to frame the movement, Proposition 2 is posed:

> Proposition 2 (P2) Common interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events facilitate social movement actors in constructing frames.

Common interactions in both gathering and campaign have the potential to sustain social movements by strengthening the actors' relationship. The relationship stems from continuous interactions at gatherings, campaigns, and community events. Some actors may have prior relationships with others such as high school or universities friends and growing up in the same neighbourhood or city. Participating in a movement strengthens their existent relationship and allows to expand their network of friends by providing the opportunity to reunite with old friends and to meet with new actors (Jasper, 2014). The actors seek out common interests and share resources to attain the

movement's immediate goal. Their relationship evolves as they become familiar with one another. Even, it continues after the movement ends (Whalen & Flacks, 1989). Such persistent relationship smoothens coordination, resource mobilisation, and information sharing when the need to organise subsequent movements arises. Some actors hold formal positions in community groups and others are influential figures, have a strong online appearance, and are well connected with an array of social networks (Diani, 2015). The actors galvanise their networks to crowdsource information, contacts, and the resources necessary for the movement to proceed, thus allowing the movement to reach out to a wider audience.

Starting from exchanging discourses, the relationship then evolves from acquaintances to friendships (Stoddart & Tindall, 2010). An environment to share information related to both movement and personal lives emerges, resulting a collective memory that keeps alive over time (Bosco, 2006). Places to meet, converse, and coordinate are all nostalgic and some events are worth commemorating. The Lincoln Memorial, Tahrir Square, and Zuccotti Park exemplify places where social movement memories attach and old and new friends march together articulating a collective cause (Sewell, 2001). The friendship and shared memory are a sustenance for sustainability as both become a reason for SMAs to stay in touch after the movement descends (Courtheyn, 2016).

A continuous encounter in gatherings and campaigns produces a sense of familiarity, where then mutual interests and views are shared as the interaction becomes routine (Clark & Brennan, 1991). Gatherings and

campaigns are venues to meet with people SMAs have known for maintaining networks or with others from different backgrounds to develop new ones (Dunham & Bengtson, 1994). SMAs are often, but not always, affiliated to multiple movements and organisations, indicating a flexibility to move around from one movement/organisation to another (McDonald, 2002). Such flexibility provides a safe space to challenge each other while offering ideas, pointing out concerns, and sharing grievances. SMAs can interpret responses mutually as becoming familiar with each other's work and background. Hence, minimising differences for succeeding the movement is feasible (Giddens, 1984).

Attending coffee house and food place gatherings is an example of routine interactions. When structural and cultural constraints are in place, dinners, meetings, and social events are routines used for reinforcing ideologies (Futrell & Simi, 2004). It gradually becomes a habit SMAs find gratifying. Such habit cultivates a sense of belonging to the movement, the people, and the place (Collins, 2005). A gathering offers a platform to vent grievances as well as to cope with them as SMAs mutually give and receive supports and problem solutions (Oldenburg, 1989). A gathering can turn into a safe space to discourse what is enabling and constraining to the movement while helping the actors' relationship become more meaningful (Roth, 2005).

Engaging in gatherings and campaigns helps trigger comradeship, from which a desire to change grows as SMAs mutually learn about a common deprivation caused by unequal relationships between those in the position of powers and the powerless (Putnam, 2001). A collective belief to create a better society and necessary actions to achieve it are more important than the existing

differences among the actors (Cohen, 1985; Fominaya, 2010). They share expertise to alter value, behaviour, and relationship that suffer societies from being better off (Lubitow, 2013). The camaraderie of the US women activists materialised in putting aside different feminist ideologies to fight for gender equality and collective view that women must stand up for each other to eradicate male dominance and gender inequality. Such a common ground helped the movement successfully advocate women's reproductive rights and worked together for organising other social movements (Whittier, 1995).

Starting from interactions in gatherings and campaigns, SMAs collaborate and coalesce. Collaboration can manifest as sharing resources and personnel, expertise, or attending each other events to show supports. Joint marches and mobilising personnel in campaigns were forms of collaboration among actors involved in the women's movement and peace movement (Meyer & Whittier, 1994). Such collaboration depicts an informal relationship eases the deployment of personnel, equipment, and other necessary resources for delivering the movement. It is feasible because the actors already interacted in previous movements, producing a prior experience that determines feasibility for future collaboration.

SMAs coalesce to achieve a common goal. Fighting against a common enemy, such as ignorance to climate change, repressive system, and inequality become a commonality uniting them together. Although a coalescence involves collaboration, the existence of a common goal is imperative. The response of SMAs to a situation is contextual, receding after a goal has been achieved, resurfacing when a new goal emerges (Diani & Bison, 2004). This tendency

differentiates it from collaboration, in which SMAs can still collaborate without necessarily having a common goal. Despite such a difference, both collaboration and coalescence can create opportunities to establish a common ground among diverse SMAs and learn about each other. A sense of togetherness grows as their relationship matures over time (Staggenborg, 2013).

To recap, common interactions not only can facilitate frame construction but also help strengthen the actors' relationship. Frame construction does not occur in a vacuum but through interactions where SMAs converse what matters the most to the movement and examine its resonance with the movement's adherents. They collectively deliberate the perceived benefit and risk of the frame and its consequences to the movement. From such a dynamic process evolves the actors' relationship from acquaintances to friendships and collaborators. Meaningful relationships have the potential to grow into a bond that binds the actors together over time, serving as sustenance for social movement sustainability.

While the above discussion suggests that common interactions can help strengthen the actor's relationship with others, a body of literature also suggests to the contrary, that the interactions can also weaken the relationship instead of strengthening it by triggering friction among the actors. Differences in viewing ways the movement needs to take for achieving its goal can become a source of friction. Engaging in campaigns, gatherings, and community events allows the actors to share about competing views on movement strategies and ways for calling the public to participate in the movement. Such events foster cliques to emerge as one perceives that the other's view is less applicable to the

movement (Burnett & Jaeger, 2008; Chatman, 2000). The emergence of cliques has the potential to corrode the actors' collectiveness as the intent to participate in the movement plummets while a tendency to dissociate from each other rises. Frictions indicate struggles of the actors to compromise with other views, as each sees the other from an antagonistic point of view (Salehi et al., 2015). Put simply, common interactions can both facilitate frictions and strengthen the actors' relationship with others, engendering ways to regulate frictions and maintain the relationship for sustaining the movement.

Responses to frictions can be different among actors. Some are capable of articulating differences frankly, while others use silence and withdrawal to express disagreements (Hofstede, 1983). Withdrawing from the movement indicates that a common ground has failed to be established. Walking out from meetings, avoiding working together, and distancing from others are expressions of dissents. In comparison, keeping silent can be an expression of fear for being seen as disrupting the relationship. In this sense, it is to maintain friendship and camaraderie amid different views on what matters to the movement and manifests in limiting interactions and sharing information with other actors (Chatman, 1996). Regardless of which response the actors exercise, the arrival of frictions impedes social movement sustainability by weakening the actors' relationships with others.

Frictions may easily spark internal conflicts. The actors contest different views and ideas in which common grounds can be successful or failed to be establish for reconciling the friction. Failure may lead to social movement discontinuity as the actors withdraw from the movement and the movement

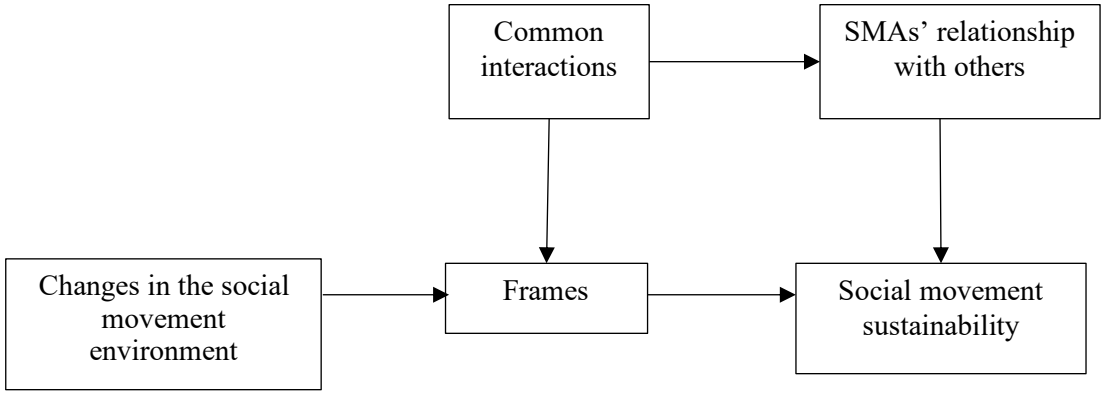
loses its direction. Such is apparent in the case of 1967–1987 Israeli peace movements. Internal conflicts among the peace movement actors stemmed from different interpretations of Zionism, creating tension between the proponent of the idea of universal and localised Zionism. The idea affected the movement's stance in supporting border negotiations with Palestine and strategies in promoting grassroots peace. The peace actors failed to establish a common ground to resolve the friction, hampering the movement's advancement. Many withdrew and then organised small movement organisations across the region (Hall-Cathala, 1990). This case indicates that common interactions can not only become a springboard for a strong relationship, but also engender frictions among them as one sees the other's views as less plausible. Inability to reconcile frictions increases the potential to discount the movement's chance to sustain (Epstein, 2001). Against this backdrop, Proposition 3 is offered:

> Proposition 3 (P3) Common interactions in gatherings and campaigns, facilitating the construction of frames, not only can help strengthen the SMAs' relationship with others but also engender frictions among them.

Research Framework

A framework drawn on the literature discussed above is presented in Figure 3.1. Arrows visualise directions this research endeavours and do not imply any causal relations. Changes within the actors' lives, the movement, and counter-movement drive SMAs to keep the movement aligned with adherents. They define problems, identify causes and who/what to blame (diagnostic frame), offer solutions and tactics (prognostic frame), and call for actions

(motivational frame). Frame construction indicates the actors' ability to manage the movement's trajectory and meaning to themselves and the society. Considering that, common interactions are key for understanding frame constructions. Gatherings and campaigns are platforms to contest discourses, share contentions, and exchange views on the emerging problems and causes, who/what to blame, and mobilising actions. Such practices create opportunities to reflect a new angle to locate, identify, perceive, and label what matters the most to the movement. Common interactions in both gatherings and campaigns facilitate a tie binding the actors together as manifested in friendships, collaboration, and coalescence. Their emergence indicates the actors' relationship mature, which potential to help sustain the movement.



→ directions of relationship between concepts, does not imply causality

Figure 3.1. Research framework

Chapter 4 Methodology

In investigating social phenomena, the research process must also investigate the understanding of change and continuity, of who did what in events, activities, where, and with whom (van de Ven & Huber, 1990). For the purposes of this research, it was essential for the researcher to embed himself with the subjects in order to better unravel the complexity of change and continuity in the life of people living in a post-conflict society. As researchers plunged themselves in the research site and interacted with the people, data collection in a context as such not only needed to be sensitive with the research subjects' conflict experience but also the repercussion of the research findings to them (Adetown, 2005). With such considerations in mind, a series of fieldwork visits were conducted to collect interview and observation data. Along with these were data collected from other sources such as social media, website, and texts. Figure 4.1 illustrates the steps in data collection. To build rapport and trust, I established a one-year informal interaction with two informants before Fieldwork 1 began in February to March 2015. Both informants were key figures in community groups, well-connected with other informants, and had been involved in the 2011 peace movement.

Fieldwork visit #1 yielded interviews with leaders of local social movement organisations focusing on women and children rights (2), peace and conflict reconciliation (3), and political participation (2); youth community groups (4), and ordinary citizens (4). Eleven interviews were in-depth, lasting

from 1 to 2.5 hours, four interviews were conversational, conducted at coffee houses, streets, and community events (Patton, 2002).

During the fieldwork, I also immersed myself in events and local community groups. As suggested by the key informants, I started to interact with those active in Paparisa Ambon Bergerak, a movement where many former conflict prevention movement actors were involved. I attended one meeting, in which I introduced myself and got to know the actors and their activities. Later, I went for a street-dinner with six of Paparisa's key actors. I used such occasions to conduct conversational interviews. Such meetings yielded insights related to the context of the Ambon conflict, in its social, economy, and political spectra. The actors I conversed informally over the dinner shared their network by connecting me to more informants for later fieldworks.

Fieldwork visit #2 was from July to August 2016. A total of 41 informants participated in in-depth interviews (34) and conversational interviews (7). Four group interviews were conducted as group members wanted to be interviewed together. Two groups consisted of four Filterinfo members residing in Ambon; one group consisted of returning and residing actors affiliated with Ambon Bergerak (AB), and one group consisted of three actors residing in Central Java and Yogyakarta (two cities in the Java island). The longest in-depth interview was three hours and the shortest was one hour. Key informants (i.e. two members of AB) participated in multiple interviews when I was interacting with them intensively. I also took part in various events at Paparisa AB, coffeehouses, actors' houses and workplaces.

Fieldwork visit #3, December 2016 to January 2017, asked for feedback from informants regarding the initial findings and the research process (Heller, 1969). The same two key informants from AB provided feedback that the initial findings reflected on the evolution of the movement and one informant provided further insights regarding the works of community groups in Ambon. In this round, I also interviewed a senior and prominent peace movement actor and participated in a book launch organised by AB, Christmas carol and house visits, and a trip to the Ambon Bay with three actors.

Interviews

This research was intended to investigate change and continuity and therefore, required data reflecting past and present events (Langley, 1999). The challenge in collecting such data was with the informants' ability to recall past events. Their inability to recall could be a natural occurrence as time lapsed or intentional as they deemed the events needed forgetting because of traumatic, sensitive to others, or irrelevant. Critical incident interview technique (Flanagan, 1954; Urquhart et al., 2003) was useful for navigating data collection in such a circumstance. It allowed the researcher to get the informants recalling events experienced in 2011, hence learning how the peace movement occurred and evolved over time. The technique, for example, manifested in the question: could you recall how the movement started? Could you share about your involvement in the movement? If the informants were unable to recollect past events, supplying some specifics such as names of places and other informants involved in the events helped trigger their recollection.

Another challenge while conducting interviews was managing interactions with informants (Spradley, 1979). It could stem from the informants' tendency to disremember bad experiences as seeing them irrelevant to present days and to conceal personal information because of little trust in the researcher, resulting in awkward moments and disinclination to continue participating in interviews. To navigate such undesirable situations, the researcher needed to provide the informants with a safe environment to talk. Neutral question interview technique (Dervin & Dewdney, 1986) served for that purpose. It gave the informants sufficient room to express feelings and ways to tell their experience upon seeing that there was freedom to decide what was shareable, when, and how. More importantly, it helped prevent leading questions from emerging and forcing the researcher's point of views because of failing to get the informants talking. The technique suggested to construct open ended questions such as "with whom do you like to talk about personal lives?" instead of closed questions such as "do you prefer to talk about your personal life with X or Y." See Appendix 1 for interview question examples.

The interview was in the Indonesian language with a substantial influence of Malay-Ambon. Indonesian is the country's official language, while Malay-Ambon is widely spoken. Although I am competent in both languages, I clarified meanings of dialectal expressions to the informants to ensure that the contexts were not lost when translated to English. For example, the words "*danke*" and "*terima kasih*" shared the same meaning "thank you". But, they were colloquially different. The phrase *terima kasih* was associated with Muslims whereas *danke* was associated with Christians. The difference was

rooted in the influence of Muslim-Malay and Dutch traditions, respectively. A similar occurrence was on the terms used to address young men and women from the respective religion, e.g. *Bang* and *Caca* (Muslim), and *Bung* and *Usi* (Christian).

The interview was audio-recorded with the informants' consent. Several informants reported to be uncomfortable with being recorded; I took notes to record the insights. If the informants were difficult to recall details and experiences, I probed names and incidents the other informants mentioned. I paused the recorder to give time for thinking. Another strategy was asking for comments on a graph I drew for discussing my interpretations. These strategies were useful to help the informants recollect because the conflict happened five years ago.

Participant observation

Overt participant observation supplemented the interviews (Spradley, 1980). I disclosed, if asked, that I am a graduate student, Javanese, and was born to a Muslim family. I participated in 15 events spread across Fieldwork visits #1, #2, and #3. The events were categorised into:

a. Cultural events consisting of seasonal events, such as the 'Eid and Christmas. Fieldwork #2 and #3 fell within the 'Eid and Christmas weeks, respectively. The social movement actors had a tradition to use the two religious festivals as an opportunity to gather the returning and residing actors. During the 'Eid gathering, a key informant introduced me to the attendants. I engaged in their jokes and listened to their recent life stories. They also took the gathering as a moment to share ideas, for

example, to organise a music event and coordinate community works. During the Christmas week, I participated in house visits with most actors I had met in the previous fieldworks.

b. Community group events comprised events several community groups or respected figures organised, such as workshops and art performances. For example, at the launch of a local musician's album I was assigned to wrap the compact disks (CDs) so that the visitors could purchase the album on the spot and get autographed. I also participated in an acting workshop and was partnered with a participant to deliver a short art performance.

c. Group meetings refer to meetings where community groups helped in event preparations. I attended meetings for the preparation of music performance, music and movie production, and art and children event. I observed the meetings but did not participate. The meeting participants were aware of my presence without feeling intruded. The meetings occurred at Paparisa AB, food places, and two coffeehouses in which they and I were regulars.

d. Social events included activities/events intended to maintain interpersonal relations, such as birthday surprise, trip, baby born party, and eating out.

I listened carefully when observing the events. As recording an event could be obtrusive, I composed the fieldnotes in the morning or right after observation. The notes consisted of three main points: a) what I observed; b) possible analysis; and c) follow-ups. See Appendix 2 for examples.

Informant recruitment

A key informant helped enlist 10 contacts and their affiliations before Fieldwork #1 commenced. Four out of 10 contacts were available for interviews and then referred to other informants (Patton, 2002). I also used Filterinfo group member list as a roster to draw more informants. I contacted them via Facebook messenger and WhatsApp. Those unreachable through these platforms were contacted using phone calls and Short Message Services (SMS). Two AB's key figures connected me with the community groups and more informants interviewed in Fieldwork #2 and #3. When participant observation took place, I also conveniently recruited the informants (Patton, 2002). In total, 54 informants were interviewed, consisted of 46 males, 34 Christians, 16 Muslims, and 4 Catholics. The average age was 34 years old. Among them, 29 and 14 of them were university and high school graduates, respectively, had master degrees, and two had doctorates. Their occupations were teachers/lecturers (7), students (11), self-employee (16), employee (9), public servant (5), journalist (2), and NGO staff (4).

The Filterinfo group admin (Al) added me to the group in January 25, 2015 after a two-month interaction through Facebook Messenger, WhatsApp, and Skype. A Christian member added seven of his Facebook friends on September 24, 2011 to create the group, followed by adding 10 more friends on September 25. The last member joined the group on December 10 of that year. These initial members then added their friends and a couple of social movement organisations to the group. As at November 1, 2016, the group had 22 members. There were 22 post messages and 39 comments on September 2011

and 7 posts and 92 comments in May 2012. Within these two months, major conflict incidents occurred. Netvizz was utilised for collecting both posts and comments. Since Netvizz disallowed group members from collecting secret Facebook group data, the group administrator assisted with data collection.

Online data collection

Multiple data collections were necessary for ensuring validity in qualitative research. It stemmed from the trustworthiness of data the informants shared and their credibility to share such data (Glasser & Strauss, 1971). Online data comprising social media posts and website articles, therefore were collected to supplement interview and observation data. This allowed crosschecking whether situations, facts, insights, and experience shared in interviews were aligned with that collected using other methods and vice versa (Clarke, 2005). For example, Facebook notes the informants published in 2011 were used to corroborate details of events mentioned in interviews while aggregately echoed experiences the informants shared with one another online. The notes, where applicable, were also a medium to trigger recollection of past events as well as to ask for reflections of the events to the present days. If there was discrepancy, clarification was sought from relevant sources such as authors of the notes/articles and key informants.

Besides post and comments on the Filterinfo group discussed above, post and comments on Peace Provocateurs Facebook page were included. The creator of these two platforms were the same person (Wes). As of October 12, 2017, the page had 23 comments, 45 posts, and was liked by 1009 and followed by 1005 accounts. The language used was a mixed of Malay-Ambon,

Indonesian, and English. Netvizz was for gathering the posts and comments. Also, I am befriended with the social movement actors on Facebook, allowing observing their online interaction with one another and status updates (Kozinets, 2002; Murthy, 2008). After becoming friends on Facebook or meeting in person, several informants pointed to Facebook notes they authored (27).

A total of 23 articles were collected from the Peace provocateur movement‘s website, http://ambon.provokatordamai.org/, and two peace movement actors’ blogs, http://almascatie.id/ and https://wesllyjohannes.wordpress.com/. Reposted articles from other websites and news portals were excluded. Only articles the actors authored directly or indirectly in the movement were included. Articles from blogs were selected based on whether their contents were related to the movement. For example, articles about arts and tourism attractions were excluded if they were not connected to the movements organised during or after the conflict. Articles appeared on multiple platforms such as Facebook note, blog, and online forum were counted as one article.

Textual data collection

Along with that, stories published in book and periodical were also sources of data. A story compilation appeared on the book of ‘Carita Orang Basudara,’ published in 2014, and the journal of Kanjoli October–December 2011 special edition. The peace movement actors authored most articles. After scrapping articles published across platforms or written by non-social

movement actors such as researchers and social commentators, 26 and 15 articles were collected from the book and periodical, respectively.

Table 4.1 details the above types of data collected and the period of collection.

Source	Type	Time of collection
Interviews	Interview with 54 informants spread across three series of fieldwork	Fieldwork 1 Feb to March 2015 Fieldwork 2 July to August 2016 Fieldwork 3 December 2016 to January 2017
Observation	Field notes taken from attending 15 events during fieldworks	Fieldwork 1 (2 events), Fieldwork 2 (10 events), Fieldwork 3 (3 events)
Facebook note	27 notes authored by 10 actors	September to October 2017
Facebook page	45 posts and 23 comments https://www.facebook.com/Peace-Provocateurs-102530499863186/	As of October 10, 2017
Secret Facebook group	Filterinfo Facebook group 22 posts and 39 comments in September 2011 7 posts and 92 comments in May 2012	As of November 1, 2016
Website and Blog	13 stories collected from http://ambon.provokatordamai.org/, 2 stories from http://almascatie.id/, and 2 stories from https://wesllyjohannes.wordpress.com/	September to October 2017
Book	Carita Orang Basudara, 26 stories	October 2017
Periodical	Kanjoli, October – December 2011, 15 stories	October 2017

Table 4.1. Types of data and the period of collection.

Data analysis

Transcribing the interviews started data analysis. Multiple readings of the transcripts and other types of data as mentioned above were performed to better understand the informants' experience while I introspected the field notes

(Stake, 2010). The aim was to ensure that the interviews' contexts remained intact throughout the transcribing and reading process (Clarke, 2005). Diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing discussed in Chapter 2 informed data analysis (Boyatziz, 1998; Creswell, 2007). The propositions guided the coding process; hence, the results addressed the research questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Several themes such as reconciling frictions and everyday peace frame emerged after the data was grouped into diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. NVivo 10 was used for data analysis.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the use of data in the analysis. Both online and print data were used to identify diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing in 2011 to 2013. Posts, comments, stories, and notes the actors authored were materials to understand how the peace movement was framed at that time. In this stage, the diagnosis and prognosis for problems faced during the conflict were first identified and then the reason for mobilising social movement participation. This procedure was also applied to understand framing processes after the conflict ceded. Both online and print data then were used to corroborate data collected from interviews and participant observation. As the conflict occurred seven years prior, this step filled the gap between the time when the movement rose and its later development. What the actors wrote during the peak of violence was useful to validate what they said in interviews conducted five years after the violence subsided. Field notes complemented this way of data corroboration. Insights gleaned in the interviews and observation were crosschecked against notes as well as the author's field experience and theoretical sensitivity (Glaser, 1978). For example, when informants pointed

out a gathering place, a note about the place and what they discussed in it was made after observation.

Further, interviews and field notes were utilised to identify change in framing the peace movement (Spradley, 1979). In this stage, in-retrospect interpretations of the actors toward the past events were useful for understanding what differentiated the peace movement frames during and after the conflict. Along with the interpretation was the actors' new concerns emerged in the post-conflict Ambon. The actors' views on the present and future development of the movement and Ambon helped revealed current grievances, resulting in insights on why change in framing the movement was necessary. Put simply, data drawn on interview and observation were substantial to give an understanding about the sustainability of the movement and to report framing processes and frames the movement employed over time.

Data analysis was iterative. Literature, informants, and data were consulted back and forth while reporting the research findings. This step intended to harness findings coherent with the research questions and could be extrapolated to a wider context (Glasser & Strauss, 1971). During the iterative analysis, if clarification regarding certain aspects of the data was necessary, the key informants were contacted using WhatsApp or phone calls to help understand. Hence, the iterative analysis in this research involved an intensive interaction between the researcher, informants, data, and literature. Not only could that help ensure the credibility of this research (discussed further below), but also made the findings resonant with the informants' experience and the existing literature (Charmaz, 2006).

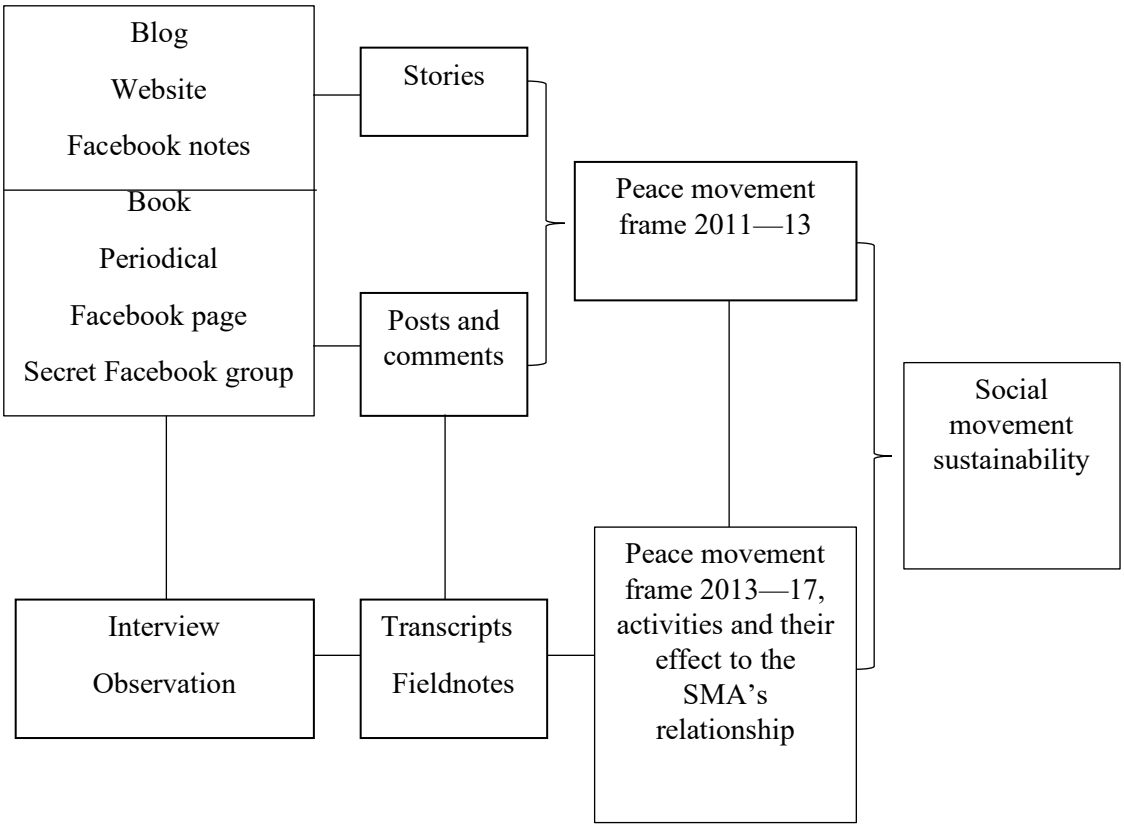


Figure 4.1 The use of data in analysis.

Exit strategy and ethics

Exit strategies were pertinent to qualitative research employing participation observation. Researchers and informants could develop a deeper relationship in a prolonged qualitative research like the present study. Although researchers could revisit or maintain interpersonal communication with informants after the study, it could be difficult to leave the site as the study ended (Musante & DeWalt, 2010). This research used two exit strategies. First, I asked for feedback from key informants. While doing this in Fieldwork 3, I debriefed what I had collected and done throughout the span of data collection. This strategy led to two-way conversations with the informants and some clarifications on my preliminary understandings. At the end of Fieldwork 3, I

thanked them for being very insightful and cooperative. Second, the informants would receive a copy of the final report of this research and I remained in communication with most of them via Facebook, WhatsApp, and Facebook messenger.

This research was conducted with the approval of the Nanyang Technological University Institutional Review Board. Before participating in interviews, the informants read the research's information sheet, or I read it for them. If they agreed to participate, they signed a consent form, which also stated their right to withdraw from participating and privacy protection. The informant's personal information was kept confidential, their names were abbreviated; however, they knew that other informants in the same circumstance as told in the interviews could identify their comments. The same privacy policy was also applied to the Filterinfo group members. At the end of interviews, I asked if the informants had questions or feedback. If had neither, I explained the goal of the study to ensure they were aware about what the research was. See Appendix 3 for Information sheet and informed consent.

Ensuring research quality

Evaluating quality in qualitative research can be challenging. Because of its idiosyncratic character, it is problematic to use the notion of reliability and validity applicable to assess quantitative research (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). Therefore, the evaluation criteria in the qualitative research should rest on the researcher (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This research adopts Charmaz' (2006) four interrelated criteria for evaluating qualitative research: credibility, originality, resonance, and usefulness.

The credibility criterion was two-fold. First, it depended on the researcher's familiarity with the research topic, participants and site. I developed an informal relationship with the research participants for one year prior to Fieldwork 1 and then engaged with relevant literature, informants and data for almost four years. Second, this research was built on data collected from multiple sources, such as interviews, observation, social media, and print materials. Such a combination of data sources was to capture insights emerged throughout a series of fieldwork. For example, an insight that emerged from observation was corroborated through a follow up interview and vice versa. A prolonged interaction with the topic, the informants, and the use of multiple data collection instruments indicated an ecological credibility in qualitative research (Creswell, 2007).

Inter-coder reliability was also performed to ensure research credibility. Three coders (including the author) coded 50 excerpts that were randomly selected from the corpus for inter-reliability test. Two inter-coders were native Indonesian, hold master degrees in social sciences, and had an adequate exposure to the context of the Ambon conflict. After training, each coded the excerpts independently then reconvened in the following day. Fleiss Kappa value was .95, indicating good agreement (Fleiss, Levin, & Paik, 2003).

The originality criterion referred to the ability of research to contribute to a body of literature. As discussed in the literature section, the present research intended to redress a gap in the research on social movement sustainability. The present findings and discussion, reported in the proceeding chapters, were believed could illustrate change in social movement frames over

time. As for the resonance criterion, the findings reflected on the research participants' life experience. Sharing initial findings and asking for feedback attempted to make this present study resonate to the informants' experience. Not only did it refine the interpretation, the feedback also generated more insights. The informants furthered out opinions shared in the previous interview and then reported that the initial findings reflected the peace movement's dynamics (Heller, 1969).

The usefulness criteria indicated the research findings could be used for discussing peace movements in other contexts. Were findings derived from scrutinising a peace movement in Ambon useful to explain, for example, frame transformation of other social movements? The usefulness criterion did not refer to the idea of generalisability adhered by quantitative works, but the reported findings could inspire other researchers to investigate different contexts other than Ambon, Indonesia or peace movements. It also referred to practical contributions. For example, how could social movement scholars and activists learn from each other (Valocchi, 2010) regarding social movement sustainability?

This chapter has elaborated the processes carried out in data collection and the attempts taken to capture the insights that the informants shared throughout data collection periods and to yield findings that have the potential to be extrapolated to wider contexts. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 report the findings.

Chapter 5 Finding 1

Proposition 1 (P1) Social movement actors extend diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing to sustain the movement.

The everyday peace frame was used and extended by the Ambonese social movement actors to prevent violence during the conflict (Phase 1, 2011–12) and to curb segregation after the conflict (Phase 2, 2013–14). In Phase 1, local values, public place meetings, collaboration, and arts were instruments for framing peace in mundane interactions. The frame counteracted the conflict narratives spread by the mass media and rumours circulated by conflict provocateurs. In Phase 2, the frame was used to eliminate religious segregation that had emerged after the violence subsided. Narrowing the segregation by delivering messages derived from mundane activities was key to prevent violence from recurring. In Phase 3 (2015–17), the movement changed direction as a social change frame emerged. The new frame gradually displaced the everyday peace frame as more pressing issues appeared in the post-conflict Ambon. The emergence of the social change frame was inseparable from the everyday peace frame as the actors use the networks established in Phase 1 and 2. Within the three phases, diagnostic and prognostic frames evolved, and motivational frame was consistently used throughout the three phases.

Phase 1: Preventing violence (2011-12)

Diagnostic framing blamed provocateurs as the conflict perpetrators and pointed to the mass media as complicit in the escalation of the 2011 violence. The provocateurs were a hidden force instigating violence among Christians and Muslims for economic and political advantages. They spread rumours on Facebook and via Short Message Services (SMS) and Blackberry Messenger (BBM). The rumours then became conversation topics on the streets, shuttle buses, and at the local markets, worship places, and neighborhoods. The rumours triggered panic and violence between the two religious communities. An actor wrote:

> Conflict provocation on the media and SMS was massive. It seemed to be convincing that the violence had widened and burned the whole city. On September 11, 2011, a mass concentration at Talake, the Annur mosque, and the Silo church was heating up. A stone war[1] occurred between Christian and Muslim groups. At the Waringin area, crowds burned houses of people different from their groups while around the church another crowd had set off a van. Violent provocations went around from one place to another. There were people, we called them provocateurs, whose main duty was to instigate violence in Ambon. (FB18)

[1] The actor referred to this term to describe the use of stones as a weapon in group fights. During the conflict period, a stone war tended to escalate to a bigger fight that involved residents of multiple villages and the usage of other weapons in the fight such as petrol bombs, blades, spears, and arrows.

The note blamed conflict provocateurs for causing violence in various areas. The provocation spread rapidly, literally from the sea to the mountain. The Muslims, who lived by the bay, and the Christians, who lived on a mountain, panicked, becoming cautious about leaving their home. The whole city was in chaos as tension between both religious communities increased. Crowds were at the main streets holding long knives and petrol bombs. Burning and fights surged around the border areas such as Talake and Waringin. Stone wars and riots broke out as unverified rumours spread. The provocateurs galvanised both the religious sentiment the Ambonese had inherited from colonial times and the 1999 conflict experience to trigger the 2011 violence. They (the provocateurs) spread rumours as a strategy to continue the chaos to gain socio-economic and political advantage.

The spread of rumours and hate through mobile phones and social media complicated the conflict. Mobile messaging services accelerated the spread of rumours of street blockades, village fights, and mass concentration. Most Ambonese were unaware of the sources of the messages but forwarded them anyway to relatives and friends out of concern and to alert them to the situation. News links and graphic pictures populated BBM Display Profiles (DPs). Facebook status updates; timelines were full of posts denigrating the other religious community. Although the number of users then was low, perhaps because these early adopters of the new messaging platforms were opinion leaders, the platforms helped propagate hatred among the adversaries.

The actors deemed the provocateurs responsible for causing the conflict. The provocateurs deliberately distorted reports of street crimes and accidents by

linking them to religion. For example, the death of a Muslim motorbike taxi driver in an accident at a Christian area turned into a rumour that he was tortured to death. The rumour went viral via SMS and word-of-mouth communication, angering both religious communities, and led to a riot after the funeral. The provocateurs had been intentionally imported to Ambon to leverage violence happening in Jakarta or as part of smear campaigns during local elections. It was unclear who was behind the provocation, but many Ambonese speculated that the military and national intelligence agencies were involved because they appeared to adopt a lackadaisical attitude in handling the violence. When a riot happened, the military personnel arrived late at the scene and seemed to be outnumbered. Although the speculation was rife in daily conversation, there has been little concrete evidence to support it.

Besides provocateurs, the mass media was also said by the actors to have contributed to escalating the conflict. Both local and national media were complicit in creating and then maintaining the narrative that the violence was rooted in religion. As noted earlier in chapter 2, the local media was divided based on the religion of its subscribers, which made the news biased, leaning towards one community and away from the other. The national media, mostly headquartered in Jakarta, had a wider reach but broadcasted inaccurate information. Two private TV stations, MetroTV and TVOne, narrated the 2011 violence using headlines such as “conflict returns in Ambon” or “Ambon is under siege” and supplemented them with footage taken from the 1999 conflict. Such inaccurate but provocative information misled both the people inside and

outside Ambon and so elicited panic and violence. Rev (32) commented on why he held the media complicit in exacerbating violence:

> Back then, people in and outside Ambon were poisoned with news the mainstream media in Jakarta broadcasted … They didn't go to the locations, but only cared about ratings. Their reports didn't match with what happened. Too many mistakes and inaccuracies. We were very angry back then …. The media exacerbated the conflict by twisting facts …. During the conflict, a small footstep was exaggerated as meters. Adding and eliminating facts in the news happened. That was why we sought valid news and counteracted things that were incorrect. We fought against [conflict] provocation with [peace] provocation. (Rev, 32, interview)

Rev's comment blamed inaccurate news reports during the time of violence. Many media workers were pressured to deliver immediate reports, leaving them with little time to collect sufficient sources and information. Competition to be the first in reporting an incident made them ignore the repercussion of delivering inaccurate information to both the people involved in the accident and the audience. The media misreported a small crowd around the Trikora monument as a mass concentration and mistook a safe street for a fight location. A quarrel between a spouse or a land dispute between neighbors was recounted as a religious conflict. A conflict situated in Seram was broadcasted as happening in Ambon and associated with religion. In fact, Seram and Ambon are separated by a sea and the conflict was related to a land dispute between locals. The media was negligent in collecting and delivering facts accurately.

It can therefore be understood why the actors felt that the media was complicit. It created violent narratives when the movement actors aimed to promote peace through building trust and dialogue among the adversaries. The narrative elicited violence and hatred among the Ambonese. The actors, who were angered, even equated the news with conflict provocations. Rather than helping promote peace, the media disseminated provocative information that misled the people to fight. The media repeated it for days, making the audience believe that the violence was linked to religion. The presence of such news sharpened the Ambonese's religious sentiments and made them wary of each other, upending the actors' intention to build peace in the time of violence.

Rev's comment also pointed to the prognosis for problems faced during the conflict. First, debunking rumours was critical for isolating violence. The peace actors confined rumours and unverified information within the location or among themselves. When a rumour spread, they checked the location and verified it with available information sources in the location such as witnesses, priests, imams, or village heads. Pictures, testimonies, and details collected from the location were materials for debunking rumours through social media or bulletins distributed on the main streets. Word-of-mouth communication helped educate relatives and neighbors on the importance of verifying rumours before forwarding. The use of multiple communication platforms as such were tactics for discrediting rumours and thereby defusing violence.

The peace movement actors also developed contacts at the borders, particularly through the *Kopi Badati* Movement. Phone numbers and addresses of key figures across the communities became information sources useful for

verifying rumours. When a rumour spread about a fight in Galala, a Christian area, some contacts living there reported to the Muslim villages that it was untrue. In return, when a rumour said that Galunggung, a Muslim area, was planning to attack Kudamati, a Christian area, the Muslim contacts checked the accuracy of the rumour and then reported the finding to their Christian contacts. Such tactics for debunking rumours emerged as the actors saw for themselves the damage rumours could bring to both religious communities.

Second, counteracting the media's incorrect information was key to calm Ambon. Twitter was the platform used for demanding that Jakarta-based mass media revise reports on Ambon and adhere to ethics in reporting the conflict. Both MetroTV and TVOne reported repetitively that an extensive violence occurred in 2011 and accompanied the reports with pictures taken from the 1999 conflict. These reports motivated the peace movement actors to challenge the media, demanding that they replace the word "conflict" with "riot" to reduce the media's tendency to sensationalise violence. The media spun quarrels or small fights among ordinary individuals into massive violence or religious conflict. Twitter was also a means to correct and complete facts the media reported. The peace movement actors provided details of conflict locations and causes for preventing the media from delivering false and incomplete information. Doing so kept the public from panic and reduced the potential for conflict.

Counteracting conflict provocations with "peace provocations" was the prognosis for dismantling rumours and the mass media's violent narratives. Counterbalancing the narrative helped reduce the sensitivity to offence and defence for justifying the act of violence. The peace provocation addressed

concerns regarding the ramification of rumours and mass media's narrative in escalating violence between Christians and Muslims. It was intended to mitigate risks from false information spread across communication platforms. The actors believed that "provoking peace" could alleviate the repercussions of rumours and conflict narratives.

Table 5.1 summarises the problems, causes, solutions, and strategies comprising diagnostic and prognostic framing in Phase 1. Rumours and conflict narratives triggered violence and mass panic. The conflict provocateurs and the mass media, respectively, were deemed accountable by the Ambonese actors for causing such problems. Debunking the rumours and counteracting the narrative were the problem solutions. Peace provocations were a remedy for the repercussion of both rumours and the media's conflict narrative. In other words, conflict provocations led to the emergence of peace provocations. The peace movement counterbalanced conflict provocations to defuse potential violence.

Preventing violence		
Diagnosis	Notion of problems	Religious violence and conflict
	Cause of problems	Conflict provocation, rumours, and mass media conflict narratives as exacerbating violence
Prognosis	Problem solutions and strategy	Debunking the rumours Counteracting the media's conflict narratives

Table 5.1 Phase 1 diagnostic and prognostic framing.

Phase 2: Curbing segregation (2013-14)

Religious segregation was a core problem that needed addressing after the conflict. Although existent from the colonial era, it became more vivid in the everyday after the major violence subsided in 2013. Many Ambonese felt that their society had never been as divided as after the conflict. Interreligious

marriage, co-existence of mosques and churches, and mixing of Muslims and Christians in villages were evident before the conflict; these dissipated after the conflict as the followers of each religion were inclined to reside within their group. Mixed villages turned into either a Christian or Muslim village. While Christians moved to Kudamati, Muslims fled to Batu Merah. The downtown and bay areas turned Islam while the higher altitude areas became Christian. The people's religions therefore were identifiable based on residence. Such a difference was tangible as an actor wrote:

> Segregation has become stronger since the conflict. People's religion can be known by asking where they live. If I said I lived in Kudamati, then people would think quickly that I was a Christian. The same applies to those living in Batu Merah; they were all Muslims. People build a wall in their mind because of unable to widen their meeting space and fearing of others who are different. (COB7)

The extract described the repercussion of more than a decade of living with religious violence to the Ambonese. Not only did it shape the way they see each other, but also where they lived after the conflict. Living with those from the same group offered a sense of security should the conflict return. A Muslim family living in a Christian village created a wariness of why it was there. That suspicion was rooted in the time of conflict where the in-group feeling was pivotal for protection from the out-group.

The segregation fostered fear in differences. The conflict inherited a deep prejudice toward each other, resulting in the decision to live separately. The opportunity to meet the other religious community was scarce as the

neighborhood became homogeneous. Even, some public places such as coffee houses were identified with the religions of the visitors. The Joas café was associated with Christians while the Lela café was with Muslims. Crossing boundaries to visit places situated within the other group's location was precarious. A strong in-group feeling was obvious as observed by the researcher of the life within the villages. Visitors were often asked about their religion and residence even in friendly conversation. This was to identify conversation topics to avoid, such as losing relatives during the conflict and witnessing atrocities perpetrated by the other group.

The segregation went deep into the quotidian colloquial. Since the conflict subsided, a tendency to show religious identities through decorations and dictions had become apparent. Abi (44) said:

> Girls in the Muslim areas were addressed with *Caca* whereas in the Christian were with *Usi*. Among Muslims, there has been a trend to use *Abi* (Arabic) rather than *Bapak* or Ayah (Indonesian) to address fathers. Young Christians call each other with Bung while the Muslims use Bang. In many Christian areas, shalom is widely used and cross is a vivid decoration. It has been like a competition for both Christians and Muslims to decorate their areas using religious symbols. This (segregation) is a problem that needs fixing. (Abi, 44, interview)

Decorations and dictions associated with religion were more apparent in the post-conflict Ambon. The Muslims borrowed words from Arabic, perceived associated to Islam, to replace some Indonesian or Malay words used before the conflict. The use of *assalamualaikum* and *shalom* differentiated Muslims from

Christians in the use of *terima kasih* and *danke*. Jesus and Virgin Mary paintings colored the wall of Christian neighborhoods while crosses ornamented their street corners. Heroic tales of residents who died defending the village from attacks or who succeeded in killing members of the other groups were told to the children growing up after the conflict. These stories were a reminder of the importance of trusting in the group and being wary of the other.

As the society had become deeply divided, curbing religious segregation was deemed essential. Table 5.2 summarises the perception of the post-conflict problem and its cause and enlisted interrelated strategies to overcome it.

Curbing segregation		
Diagnosis	Perceived problems	Religious segregation in the post-conflict Ambon
	Cause of problems	Conflict experience
Prognosis	Problem solutions and strategy	Revitalising local values
		Creating meeting opportunities in public places
		Promoting collaborative works
		Using arts for peacebuilding

Table 5.2 Phase 2 diagnostic and prognostic frames.

Revitalising local values

To curb segregation, the peace movement actors revitalised values embedded in the Ambonese tradition such as *pela*, *gandong*, and *basudara*. *Pela* refers to the ancestor's old agreements to help and not to harm each other during the tribal wars. *Gandong* taught that the Ambonese shared the same bloodline because they came from one motherland. Therefore, no difference should lead to harming each other and, if it did, such connections could offer reconciliation. Both values appeared in folklores relating Ambonese history.

Fra (32) said:

> We should act like Moluccans who are respectful and not easy to be provoked. We are a peaceful society, but little is known about it. Back in the old time, Pata Siwa and Pata Lima fought for a long time, but they reunited. Nowadays is pretty much like that. Frictions always exist but we can't lose our identity. We need to go back to our root and reunite. From this, peace can start. (Fra, 32, interview)

Fra's comment illustrates that violent conflicts had been part of the Ambonese history, but that history also included values and wisdom for reconciliation. Two competing forces fought for a long time. Both had different traits and traditions but reunited as a shared family blood reconciled their differences. Such reconciliation offered a reference for solving their problems. Looking at past violent conflicts inspired ways to discredit the segregation as corroding the togetherness the Ambonese had. Fra and those similarly like-minded believed that if everyone recalled that they all came from one root, then peace could begin. Revisiting stories as such guided the Ambonese to reinvent their foundation as one society.

Besides *pela* and *gandong* was the principle of *basudara*, which means siblings in the Malay-Ambon language, a term for a tie that used to be commonly practised by the Ambonese before the conflict. Like *pela* and *gandong*, *basudara* represented both biological and sociological ties connecting the Ambonese as one society. The biological tie appeared in family names. In comparison, the sociological tie was subtler but amplified during special occasions such as weddings and funerals where those bound by the same tie

would assist with organising the ceremony. During the conflict, both ties were sources of protection and reasons not to attack. The notion of *basudara* encouraged social harmony. An actor wrote:

> I grew up within a strong social relation built on the habit of *singgah dolo* (stopping by) and *bacarita* (telling stories). Both ingrained in the everyday interaction … sometimes, angers loosened up within a frame of *basudara*. The habit brought a cultural responsibility to stay together. In the frame of siblings, differences could not become a reason for conflicts. Breaking it would bring calamities to the future generation. That was how our parents understood the notion of siblings. (COB23)

The notion of *basudara* was embedded in daily routines and so revisiting such routines helped to curb segregation. The excerpt provided two examples of such practices. Making time to engage in small talk and visits was linked to the Ambonese's strong oral tradition and so was key to maintaining social harmony. Spending hours talking at coffeehouses and houses was a way to become close with others. Before the conflict, such practices occurred between those of different religions. After the conflict, however, they took place only among those with the same religion. Restoring the practice could help alleviate the segregation. Direct contacts with different groups would relax fear of others and ease anger and friction. An actor emphasized:

> The children have been confined within a very narrow social reality. They play, hang out, and go to school with those from the same religion. Perhaps, they thought they only needed to interact within the same religion, did not need to interact with others, even saw others as

> enemies. Through *bakumpul* (meeting-up), such misconceptions can be minimised gradually. Prejudice, suspicion, and vengeance can slowly disappear. (COB10)

The excerpt showed that creating meeting opportunities could help alleviate prejudice in the segregated society. Children born after the year 2000 tended to grow up in homogeneous areas. They attended majority Christian or Muslim schools, befriended only people who were like them, and were wary of outsiders. Such tendencies bred prejudice and suspicion towards outsiders, perpetuating religious segregation. Organising events and meet-ups was a strategy to promote inter-group interactions and check the tendency to live homogenously.

Coffeehouses as meeting places had been mushrooming since the conflict. (See Table 5.3) During the conflict, coffeehouses at the border areas were places where Muslim and Christian rested from going to fights and then continued to become a meeting place after the conflict. Abi explained:

> Coffeehouses can become a platform for creating meeting opportunities. Although they have been segregated, recently people from both religions have started to cross over. This coffeehouse is associated with Christians but lately many Muslims began to visit, too. Going to coffee houses is one of the ways for young people especially to show their Ambonese. (Abi, 44, interview)

Meet-ups in such locales were a potential to curb segregation. People tended to visit coffeehouses situated within neighborhoods they religiously

associated; Lela and Joas, for example, were associated with Muslim and Christian visitors, respectively. Gradually, both members of the religious communities crossed over after perceiving the situation to be safer. More than that, they missed the old times of going to coffeehouses to meet friends and take breaks from routines. Such casual meetings turned coffeehouses from places merely offering coffee and snacks, into places to start meaningful connections with others.

Coffeehouses were a venue for sharing hobbies and local trends among the youngsters. Many found good friends as well as work- and hobby-related information from such meetings. Starting from looking for people with common interests, activities outside coffeehouses followed such as photo-hunt, music collaboration, and event organisation. The owner of Pasir Putih café gathered 30 youngsters from both Muslim and Christian villages to organise a music event after the 1999 conflict. Its goal was not financial profit but to provide an opportunity for the youngsters to experience working within diversity, and to learn to move on from their previous conflict experience. The hope was that over time, engaging in such a mundane interaction will help the society reintegrate as the lesson diffused in their social circles.

Coffeehouse	Description	Location	Main visitors
Lela (old and new)	Muslims were common visitors. Regulars perceived the old Lela had more political ambience. Politicians and government officers visited it to stay connected with constituents.	Muslim neighborhood	Males, 30 to 50 years old
Mai Nusu	Men with women companions or groups. Located by a traditional market. Visitors came to sing on an open stage with a band.	Mixed neighborhood	Males, 40 to 60 years old
Pasir Putih	The pioneer of modern coffeehouses with Wi-Fi connection serving both local and western cuisines Visitors came to meet others or talked with the owner about entrepreneurships. The owner was involved in promoting music events as a meeting opportunity for youngsters.	Moved multiple times because of its location in conflict-affected areas.	Males, 30 to 40 years old
Sibu-sibu	It promoted Ambonese culture through traditional cuisines and music. It endorsed Ambonese-descendant public figures such as soccer players, singers, models, and politicians.	Christian neighborhood	Males, 30 to 50 years old Tourists
The Street	A modern coffeehouse, with AC and Wi-Fi, served fusion foods and played Western songs. One of the places where social movement actors met.	Mixed neighborhood	Males and females, teenagers and young adults
Joas (old and new)	Joas is like Lela but attracted Christian visitors. The new Joas had more modern design than the old one and equipped with Wi-Fi.	Border area in the 1999 violent conflict	Males, 30 to 50 years old

Table 5.3 Coffee houses during the period of observation (2015–2017).

Promoting collaborative works

The peace movement actors used stories about collaborative works between the two religious communities to inspire the Ambonese to put aside differences. A Muslim family helped a Christian one while a group of youngsters from both religious communities interacted in various events. During Christmas and Eid, house visits demonstrated forgiveness and maintained relationships with others. On the 2012 Christmas eve, a Muslim woman sang a Christmas carol with her Christian counterpart, demonstrating that the two communities could co-exist. Protecting one another became a theme across social media and daily conversation then. An actor reported that in that 2012 Christmas Eve:

> Ten youngsters in Muslim shirts and hat (*kopiah*) secured the front and back doors of the Maranatha church (Pattimura Street), Silo church (A.M. Sangaji Street), Hok Kim Tong and Philadelphia church (both at the Anthony Reebok street). Not only that, they also managed the traffic of the prayers' vehicles …. This is unique considering Ambon had experienced conflict from 1999 to 2004, and then a series of violence, fight, and bomb terrors to those churches dated back on September 11, 2011. (FBN20)

That a group of Muslim youngsters helped manage traffic to ensure that the celebrations and prayers were conducted safely during the Christmas season, when bombing rumours often circulated, illustrates how one community protected the other in post-conflict Ambon. Sharing such moments online and

offline rekindled their commonality as the Ambonese, thus mitigating the risk of future violence.

Collaboration in addressing common problems engendered continuing efforts to curb segregation. Chal (25) said:

> We raised money then distributed clothes and foods to the children in Batu Merah. We did it for three years in a row since 2012. The people from both religions participated so did the members of community groups such as Mor and Rev, whom I met for the first time …. I felt it was a good activity. The tension between the two religions was very high and the segregation was vivid. But, there were young people who put efforts to make peace and promote humanity. (Chal, 25, interview)

Humanitarian work was an entry for promoting collaboration in the divided Ambon. Helping victims of natural disasters allowed youngsters from both communities to interact. Youngsters, both individuals and their affiliated groups, raised donations for flood-hit Batu Merah, a village at the border, from 2012 to 2015. Such fund raising gave the youngsters the opportunity to interact and also fostered a sense of togetherness as Ambonese. Despite lingering conflict experience, they collaborated to relieve deprivations suffered by Batu Merah residents. The collaboration pictured a solidarity that then manifested in a collective work for helping disaster victims regardless of religion. The actors believed that promoting such a collaborative moment could inspire the society to participate in curbing segregation.

Telling stories of collaboration in mundane activities conveyed a message on curbing segregation. As one actor wrote:

> Although the conflict has left a real mark, seeds of peace were sown in this area. Baku bae (mutual respect) at the market is a form of grassroots reconciliation that emerged without being engineered. Along the road of Pantai Mardika, both Muslims and Christians blended in an economic activity … the segregation was almost invisible. The need from each other became a basic reason uniting them regardless of ethnicity and religion. In the market, the merchants were Muslims whereas most buyers were Christians. There was no doubt between the two while transacting. (COB8)

Unlike the earlier examples showing seasonal collaboration, the excerpt pointed to mundane interactions between merchants and buyers in the market. Economic needs formed the basis for such interactions. Most merchants, Muslims with Bugis and Makasary descendants, supplied daily needs such as vegetables and seafood to the buyers, who were mostly Christians. Marketplace transactions were free from religion as both parties needed each other. Although seemingly mundane, the transactions bridged the two religious communities. During the conflict, both merchants and buyers often crossed the borders to exchange daily needs. They continued interacting in the local markets after the conflict. The interaction went deeper as a merchant, for example, invited buyers to wedding parties or visited each other. Like the coffeehouses, marketplaces enabled an environment for mundane interactions to become a deeper relationship.

Seasonal and mundane collaborations were materials to promote interreligious interactions in the divided Ambon. Both epitomised unity among

the Ambonese amid the conflict experience and reflected moments when the members of the two religions crossed over social and geographical boundaries. The actors saw such practices were worth scaling up. Initiating collaboration and then conveying the story to the public inspired members of the society to see that reintegration was feasible by putting aside differences and seeking commonalities. Both types of collaboration put upfront humanitarian work to curb segregation.

Using arts for peacebuilding

The arts, and music in particular, were a medium to convey messages to remedy the two religious communities' broken relations after the conflict. Music connected both because it served a universal language the Ambonese understood. Mark (26), a pioneer of a hip-hop group, said:

> We encouraged everyone to be honest through hip-hop …. We composed songs about the conflict, interreligious interactions, and hopes …. We viewed that was important as we have lived in segregation since the conflict ended. If I asked where you lived, I would know what religion you followed. Religious segregation has been more obvious [than before the conflict], but music is a universal language that can cross over the boundaries. (Mark, 26, interview)

Music delivered messages on the repercussion of the conflict, the need to reintegrate after being torn apart by the conflict and hopes for a better society. Proverbs derived from ancient literature (*Kapata*) were used as a reminder that peace was part of the life of the ancestors during the protracted tribal wars. The history had taught about conflict reconciliation and a way to

move forward. Music was a medium to reunite the opposing tribes; the lyrics told the story of war and peacebuilding, reminding the communities of their common root. In modern day Ambon, such legacies were revisited to revive the value of *pela, gandong*, and *basudara*, which music traversed across borders without creating suspicion.

Music offered a meeting point for differences among the youngsters. It facilitated the spread of peace messages across the city. Although they thought that music could serve as a conveyer of peace, the actors masked the intention of making peace through music. Ros (52) explained:

> We know what hobbies the youngsters here are into. Ambon is the city of music; my friends and I encouraged the municipal government to make it happen. We have to create music everywhere. It makes peace …. I know 60 bands in town. We then organised a music event. Although we intended to build peace, we did not use it as a theme. The most important thing was they had a chance to meet first. (Ros, 52, interview)

Ros pointed out that peace was a positive externality of attending events, rather than the main message conveyed to the public. Although the event had intended to promote peace, putting peace as the theme would be unproductive; it would be a turnoff because the Ambonese had tired of receiving similar messages. Instead, the event was framed as a platform to develop friendships and a sense of community while entertaining the public. TrotoArt, arts on the sidewalk, was one of the music events organised in 2012 to 2014. The initiator, Vic, emphasized that peacebuilding was not on his mind

when he came up with the idea to organise the event. Rather, he wanted to create opportunities for the local artists to meet, collaborate, and entertain the Ambonese while recovering from the conflict. After in a two-year vacuum (2015–6), TrotoArt made a comeback in January 2017. The organisers, who had been involved in previous peacebuilding works such as peace provocateurs, Filterinfo, and Kopi badati, underlined that TrotoArt was unrelated to peace. Instead, it was about building friendship and community. Its repertoire said: "arts are a good friendship and a good friendship is arts." The local artists met, shared the sidewalk as a stage, and collaborated while the Ambonese enjoyed their performances.

Everyday peace frame

The actors framed peace within everyday practices (hereby, everyday peace frame) in Phase 1 and 2 of the movement. Activities and stories derived from daily interactions and already existed resources were materials for conveying peace to the public. They were packaged to first counteract rumours and the media's conflict narratives, and then to curb segregation. The actors sent out peace messages using media that the Ambonese could grasp easily such as songs and folklores. Peace was a concept that the Ambonese already practised before the conflict, embedded in the tradition and mundane activities that had been practised for a long time. It was neither introduced by outsiders nor remote from the Ambonese origin. The conflict provocateurs destroyed that understanding by spreading rumours and then the media exacerbated the conflict by conveying inaccurate narratives. The everyday peace frame served to remind the Ambonese that peace was integral to their lives.

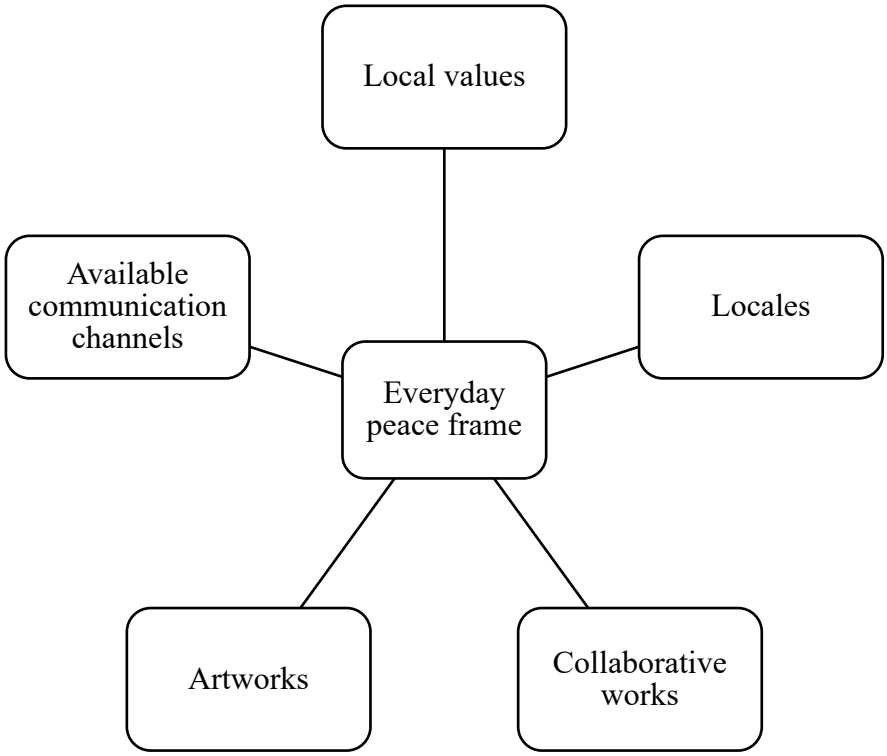


Figure 5.1 Everyday peace frame

Local values, locales, collaborative works, artworks, and the already available communication channels depicted existing resources the movement actors utilised to construct everyday peace frame. See figure 5.1. The actors contextualised peace within everyday interactions where every member of the society could partake in building it. During the conflict, the actors used online platforms such as Facebook and Twitter and offline channels such as individual communication networks and bulletins for debunking rumours and counteracting the mass media's conflict narratives.

After the conflict, the intention to build peace was embedded in activities that stemmed from traditional values, in stories of collaboration, in artworks the youngsters from the two religious communities produced, and at

locales situated within both Christian and Muslim communities. Such ways of framing peacebuilding provided both adversaries with a commonality that they could cultivate to become more meaningful relationships. It manifested in events in which the peacebuilding intention was clear; on other occasions, the intention was subtle. Interfaith forums and peacebuilding workshops were organised to intentionally internalise the importance of living with peace regardless of religion. Collaboration in art production, which at first glance seems unrelated to peacebuilding, can create an environment where members of the two religious communities could find a common ground although they may not have set out deliberately intending to build peace. Whether the intention was clear or subtle, the events aimed at allowing the two adversaries to meet and engage in common activities. The everyday peace frame echoed bottom-up peacebuilding efforts. Drawing on localities and mundaneness, it differentiated the peace movement from top-down peacebuilding efforts public officials and peacekeepers initiated. Framing peace within everyday practices hastened the recovery from the conflict recovery. Wes (36) put it:

> Although the conflict has fundamentally destroyed us and a long process to heal is needed, we need to talk about healing by not talking about it as it is. We can talk about it through small narratives that touch our everyday life. For example, the photographers captured the everyday pulse of the city. My point is we need to have new variants in the movement through photos, hip-hops, or poems. So, we'd better not be stuck on the old romanticism [of the conflict] but bring up the actual issues. This shows that we are progressing. (Wes, 36, interview)

Using examples of artworks, Wes intended to convey peace through small narratives of the daily life of the Ambonese. Peace laid in mundane occurrences the Ambonese encountered daily. The pulse of the local market, the dynamic of the street, and the colorful habits of ordinary people painted a portrait of Ambon that was peaceful. Anyone taking a shuttle bus from Galunggung (Muslim area) through Kudamati, Talake, or Waringin should not fear the Ambonese as they perceived that their everyday life was routine. Stories capturing everyday activities helped alter the existing conflict experience without explicitly making peacebuilding as the goal. The conflict would always be part of the story of Ambon, but not the whole story because peace was also a natural state in Ambon.

The everyday peace frame depicted a grassroot movement that had arisen to prevent violence and curb segregation. It comprised practices that both the movement's actors and adherents were already familiar. Framing peace as embedded in mundane activities indicated that peace was not a foreign concept but could be practised unobtrusively as public routines. As peace was attached to mundane activities, it was projected as easy to be practised. Utilising existent resources, the movement amplified peace as not only part of the everyday life of the Ambonese, but also a state everyone could partake in achieving. The everyday peace frame was a result of extrapolating practices and experiences the adherents already had to a larger context. Hence, the bottom-up peace movement spread across the city.

Phase 3: Advocating social change (2015-2017)

The actors believed that the focus on the conflict and peacebuilding needed to be shifted to advocating policies that directly impacted the future of Ambon. The peace movement achieved its immediate goal in late 2012, after over a decade of putting efforts to defuse violence and mediating intergroup interactions. Thus, the movement needed to shift to aim for a new goal. In Phase 1 and 2, most creative works were utilised for building peace and overcoming religious segregation. In this new focus, Phase 3, creative works were used to convey policy changes. Empowering the youths from both religious communities to become agents of social control was the new chapter that the movement intended to pursue after successfully creating an environment for the youths to engage in interreligious interactions. Wes (36) reported:

> To connect the youngsters living in segregation was the earlier stage. We already had a creative space for that. Now, we need to create a condition that enables them to be aware of public policies directly impacting on Ambon. Talking about connecting Muslim and Christian youths is still relevant, but we have done that. We need to move forward to policy changing .... They (the youngsters) need to become a social control. Anyone who does not do the job well should be criticised …. This is a way to give a new goal. If we hang everyday but have no goal to discuss about, what can we expect? We need to direct the creative works to enable policy changes. This is a must. Many are trapped in the old-time romanticism by talking about peace. I didn't mean that is

unimportant, but would it possible to frame that through a public policy lens? We should not stop talking about peace only but tie it with a grand concept. (Wes, 36, interview)

Wes' comment illustrated the urge to extend the everyday peace frame to a social change frame. The extension would help Ambon to address pressing issues that emerged after the conflict such as accessible public spaces, water, care for the environment, and government accountability. Raising public awareness and government commitment were crucial to mitigate probable deprivations of ignoring such issues. Table 5.4 summarises the diagnoses and prognoses of the social change frame in the post-conflict Ambon.

Social Change Frame		
Diagnosis	Notion of problems	Accessible public space Water scarcity and environmental destruction Accountability for implementing the "Ambon the city of music" slogan
	Object of blame	The government
Prognosis	Problem solutions and strategy	Empowering the youths to become a force for change

Table 5.4 Diagnoses and prognoses of social change frame.

Creating accessible public spaces was important to engage members of the public to rebuild post-conflict Ambon. A tangled web of narrow lanes cramped the downtown. During the days of Dutch colonialism, it was designed to limit assembly areas for public protests. In the present days, residences, street-food stalls, and squatters packed the lanes. This enabled crowds and random gatherings that could lead to riots when the people, especially the youths, started drinking liquor. The increase of street motor races and gangs led to vandalism, street crimes, and gang fights. Accessible public spaces could

minimise such social misconduct. Libraries and state parks could offer a space for the youngsters to channel their interests, and hence reduce the inclination to join gangs or crowds. In the long run, it would facilitate public deliberation and participation in the Ambon development.

The environment too had deteriorated during the conflict. When it subsided, many people moved to the mountainous area. Areas around natural water catchments turned into settlements as the people chose to reside there. But opening new hamlets led to deforestation. As houses replaced the tropical trees, water supply dropped during the dry season. In 2015, drought affected the people living in both the upper and lower areas of the city. Conversely, during the monsoon, landslides and flood threatened roads connecting both areas. Taking the back-mountain route was unnerving as the cliff was crumbly during and after rainfalls. Because of fewer catchments in the upper area, the water overwhelmed the rivers and then swamped some of the city's lower areas. Trash-stuffed drainage made the flood slow to subside. The worst was in 2013 when eight people died because of landslide and massive flood. Such a repercussion of the conflict to the environment had received little attention from the government as the recovery had focused on the economy and infrastructures.

Another issue advocated in the post-conflict Ambon was the government's commitment to seriously implement the "Ambon the city of music" slogan. Claimed as a brand differentiating Ambon from other cities in the Eastern Indonesia such as Makasar and Papua, the slogan had not come close to being implemented. Local musicians and artists complained about the

lack of infrastructure for music concerts. Even, music schools were few despite Ambon being well-recognised across the country as the producer of high quality singers. Organising music concerts was complicated because of red tape in getting permits and the high cost of equipment. Thus, big music concerts were rare. Such realities contradicted the slogan and so holding the government to account for it was deemed necessary.

With the above issues in mind, policy advocacy became the movement's new direction. It gave the movement actors a new goal. Aligned to Wes' comment, Ir (28) said:

> It has been more than a decade since the conflict. And, they still wanted to talk about reconciliation. They did not really ask what next after that, their main interest was in the reconciliation, but they did not really bring what next questions up in the conversation. (Ir, 28, interview)

Bringing the conversation forward to policy advocacy and youth empowerment was the next endeavour of the movement. Thus, shifting the focus from the conflict and its repercussion. The movement advocated policies that could accelerate the development of post-conflict Ambon. Most Ambonese were aware that engaging in violent conflicts did not serve their betterment, but few knew how to push the government to be more accountable. The movement needed to focus on this issue by enabling the youths to articulate their concerns and aspirations. This could be started by utilising the existent community groups as platforms for introducing the youths to activism and to use their interests and capabilities to make a difference.

Empowering the youths was an integral part of rebuilding Ambon after the conflict. Vic (30) said:

> TrotoArt wanted to partake in building Ambon …. I meant, why not doing what you are good at and play your role as good as you can. That is also a way to build Ambon. If the youths are less developed, then you'd need to fix it. If you have a concern, speak up, not only whining about it. We need to regain the spirit we had before. (Vic, 30, interview)

Vic pointed to the crucial need of empowering youths through directing them to works that helped see the importance of collective efforts for overcoming challenges. TrotoArt, a sidewalk music and art event he initiated, illustrated that. Local artists showcased talents and collaborated with others, performing their best work to show that Ambon was not all about violence, but also creativity. They gathered individual capabilities to overcome challenges and organise a series of TrotoArt. Whining about difficult permit approvals and expensive equipment would neither give solutions nor advance TrotoArt. But, a motivation to work harder and togetherness would. Such a spirit was introduced to the youths involved in 2017 TrotoArt, encouraging them not to surrender to challenges when doing good for Ambon. Therefore, TrotoArt epitomised a self-reliant collective action. It rose without relying on government funding nor commercial sponsors. Instead the actors relied on existing resources and their camaraderie to overcome bureaucracy and limited resources.

A collective effort to empower the youths to become agents of change was yet another way to advance Ambon after the conflict. Amid religious differences, the priority to improve the quality of youths and make them feel

equal with those in the Western Indonesia should hold. In 2016, Maluku was among the poorest provinces in Indonesia. Education facilities were minimal in rural areas. Many indigenous groups were illiterate because of the lack of access to education. Some could not even speak the official language Bahasa Indonesia. Such tardiness widened the development gap between the eastern and western Indonesia. Addressing that was a collective responsibility as Rus (32) said:

> I love Maluku. I don't want it to be left behind. Although I am from Central Maluku and Ukalahin is in the Boru District, I am Muslim and 95% of the Ukalahin residents were Catholic, we were united and did not see those differences. I'd like to see the children of Maluku become smart and are not left behind. We are part of Indonesia and they are the future. This becomes our collective responsibility. (Rus, 32, interview)

Rus' comment pointed to the fact that access to education was pivotal to empowered youths for being able to defend their citizen rights and be vigilant of those in power. A lack of education led to illiteracy and inability to access information, leaving the society susceptible to violence, tardiness, and poverty. Limited access to correct information left the Ambonese susceptible to rumours during the conflict. Equipping the youths with better education would shield them from falling to future conflict provocations. The more educated they were, the more difficult it would be for conflict provocateurs to manipulate information to trigger chaos in Ambon and Maluku. The social movement actors' job was to push the government to provide the educational infrastructures and to make the youths aware of their right to education.

In sum, social change frame was a spin-off of everyday peace frame. Pressing issues and the government's unaccountability in the post-conflict Ambon deserved focus. The social change frame advocated provision of accessible public spaces, pushed the government to pay attention to the repercussion of the conflict on the environment, and be accountable to realise the city slogan. The frame intended to bring change to Ambon by extending the attention from peacebuilding to policy advocacy. Youth empowerment was the prognosis the social change frame offered. Equipping the future generation with a better education helped create an informed society, protecting Ambon from conflict provocations, poverty, and tardiness.

Motivational frame

Although the goals of the frames changed from everyday peace to social change, both movement frames shared a common motivational framing. The call for action manifested in collective and individual agencies to prevent violence, curb segregation, and advocate policies. Collective agencies emphasized the need to move together; change would not happen without a collective effort as one society. Individual agencies stressed extrapolating personal experience and individual capabilities to promote change. Both complemented each other and shared a goal to create a safer and better Ambon. Table 5.5 describes repertoires the movement used to call for actions.

Collective agencies within the everyday peace frame materialised in the use of repertoires pointing out togetherness. *Kitorang Basudara* appeared the most in everyday discourses, public service announcements, and street banners. It reflected a collectiveness to mitigate the repercussion of the past conflict and

prevent future conflicts. Doing it together was better than doing it alone for fixing the broken relationship between the adversaries. Messages about brotherhood and sisterhood were a call for public participation in preventing violence and curbing segregation. In phases 1 and 2, to embrace commonalities and celebrate differences were reasons to build peace and mitigate conflict potentials. *Kitorang Basudara*, stemmed from the local values, was attachable to mundane activities, and hence, every Ambonese could act together to create a safe and better Ambon for current and future generations.

Frame	Repertoires	Remark
Everyday peace	*Kitorang Basudara*	We are siblings
	Katong seng tako, katong ingin hidop lebe bae	We are not afraid, we want to live better
	We are all human	
	Baku sayang	Mutual compassion
	Maju terus pantang mundur untuk perdamaian	Keep moving forward and no retreat for peace
	Ale rasa beta rasa	You feel I feel
	Satu untuk semua. Semua untuk satu	One for all. All for one
	Jika dulu kita rela mati melawan Kristen dan Islam, sekarang kita rela mati untuk membangun perdamaian	If we were willing to die fighting against Christians and Muslims in the past, then today we are willing to die for building peace
Social change	*Dari timur Indonesia, Ambon Bergerak*	From eastern Indonesia, Ambon moves forward
	Bakudapa dan berbagi	Meeting-ups and sharing
	Jangan diam, saatnya bergerak	Don't be silent, time to move
	Polloo beta, beta polloo bale	Follow me, I follow you back
	Community is all about friendship	
	Seni adalah pertemanan dan pertemanan adalah seni	Arts are a good friendship and a good friendship is arts

Table 5.5 Repertoires used in motivational framing
Source: interviews, posters, and texts.

Motivational framing contained affection and resilience. Camaraderie and sympathy were affective reasons for calling actions to fight against conflict provocation and religious segregation. Both problems were identified as a common enemy that required putting aside differences while aiming at building a sense of community to move forward. Sympathy for each other's feelings complemented the comradeship. The notion of offence and defence, the legacy of years living in violence that divided the society, was portrayed as replaceable with forgiveness and mutual helps. Forgiving was a cure for the broken social weave while giving a hand to each other indicated an ability to live in harmony.

Motivational framing sent out messages that encouraged the Ambonese to be resilient by exercising their agencies to fight for change. In the 2011 conflict, the actors contrasted the courage to fight with the courage to build peace. The actors paired the courage to challenge the conflict narrative and provocation with a desire to live better. Fear would only satisfy those wanting Ambon in conflict while resistance against them indicated that Ambon was strong. Engaging in the past violent conflict was a regression, holding back the city from moving forward. Both affection and resilience moved the members of the society together to solve problems shackling Ambon.

In Phase 3, collective agencies coalesced and they used the sense of community to alleviate the socio-economic challenges Ambon faced after the conflict. The low quality of human resources was the main cause of concern. Stan (32) said:

> We try to understand economic and educational depressions in Moluccas. The conflict, along with poverty and starvation, was

> inevitable because of the low quality of human resources. We are very susceptible to tardiness, poverty, and friction because of that …. We commit [to change those] and confide that the people of Moluccas can contribute to both the nation and the region. (Stan, 32, interview)

The comment pointed to togetherness as a message conveyed for fighting against conflict, poverty, and starvation. The citizenry as the Ambonese was a common denominator for a sense of community. The low quality of human resources constrained Ambon and made it a collective problem to solve. This intention reflected a resilience not only to build Ambon, but also to contribute to the regional and national interests. Being part of something big was a call for participating in change-making. Fixing local problems was a start to impacting the national policy intended to advance the eastern Indonesia. Togetherness and resilience were messages to shift the view that Ambon was a nest of violence and poverty.

A sense of community was the impetus for resolving complex issues emerging from post-conflict Ambon. To be part of the community was a reason to participate in the movement. The actors used the repertoire that "Arts are a good friendship and a good friendship is arts" to engage both adherents and bystanders in the movement. Friendships were the base for community building. Arts and other common interests were a start for friendships and then community. Making social change was depicted as a way to advance together rather than to benefit one group or another. Keeping the beach clean, helping the poorest of the poor, and those in need were conveyed using communitarian causes. Joining the movement meant to contribute to bettering the community.

With this view in mind, as with Phase 1 and Phase 2's motivational frame, sympathy and resilience were practised throughout the span of change-making in Phase 3.

The motivational frame called for the Ambonese to exercise their individual agencies. The call manifested in the forms of encouragements to extrapolate the personal experience that the Ambonese gained during the conflict and their capability of promoting peace to a larger context. In Phase 1, the experience of losing valuables and relatives was used to amplify the importance of peacebuilding. An actor wrote:

> I need you all *basudara* (brothers) to seek a way out. I am a direct victim of this chaos, but if we all understand it from a larger context, we all are victim. It is not about me and my burned house, but about Ambon and our life in Moluccas. After my house was burned, my courage to embrace others has become stronger. (FBN21)

The above excerpt, extracted from a Facebook Note that an actor published in 2011, illustrated an extrapolation of a personal experience of being a conflict victim to a wider spectrum. The complexity of the conflict made it difficult to unravel by focusing only on sufferings individuals must go through. However, tying them to a larger context would help put peacebuilding into perspective. The conflict benefitted no one, but the provocateurs. It had brought multilayer losses, resulting in trauma, grief, and rage everyone must overcome to move on. Most Ambonese could share a story of losing relatives and valuables to violence, indicating there was a collective suffering. On the other hand, many Ambonese were also complicit in the conflict. In a similar vein,

peace could only be attained together as a collective; peace was unachievable alone.

The excerpt also indicated the use of self-transformation to inspire social movement participation. Experiencing losses strengthened the intent to live within diversity and to do good for the society. Although anger and grief from losses lingered, the decision to forgive and move on motivated the desire to spread peace. As the conflict receded, the intent to do good crystallised in a focus on educating the children of Moluccas. Such a self-transformation inspired others with a similar experience to recast grief and anger into a positive force for bettering the society. The transformation was personal, but many members of both religious communities could emphatise with it. Grief and anger were practically universal in Ambon, inspiring the people to transform them into positivity helped the society recover from the conflict.

Other actors also shared self-transformative stories. Mae, for example, grew up witnessing a group of Muslims attack his village, losing relatives, and having to flee to other provinces. Such an experience enraged him against all Muslims. One day at his high school in the new province, he assaulted a Muslim girl on the way home because he held all Muslims responsible for his family's suffering. Returning to Ambon for college, he started interacting with more Muslims and other ethnicities, resulting in a gradual change in his view. His rage disappeared as he learned that the conflict had wounded followers of both religions. He saw the importance of promoting peace between both and joined in peace movement. Other actors such as Apri, Al, Ip, and Shu also shared a personal journey like Mae's. They shared the stories on Facebook and

in events at the church, coffeehouses, or workshops to inspire the audience to follow the movement.

In Phase 2, individual agencies emphasized that everyone could help heal the divided society by practising interreligious interactions in everyday life. A small act of kindness of a Christian family to a Muslim one could blossom into a consequential altruism to the rest of the society. Regardless of roles and positions in the social hierarchy, one could participate in peacebuilding by simply being kind to the neighbours or giving a hand to one another. Hel (33) posted an act of kindness she witnessed of the Peace Provocateur Facebook page:

> THIS is worth sharing! …. A Muslim actively involved in many events organised in his neighboring Christian village. He is a true Muslim– never lost his identity; and, able to embark on incredible and humble interfaith relations …. [When being asked the reason, he answered] I simply want to live together peacefully with my Christian brothers …. Rather than finding flaws in our [religious] differences, he builds bridges and creates peace and harmony.

The post inspired bridging commonalities rather than sharpening differences between the two communities. A devoted Muslim man helped a group of priests organise an annual meeting and participated in Christian-dominated neighborhood events. His act echoed a message that engaging in interfaith relations would not make someone lose faith. Although being respectful to other religious followers was part of Islamic teachings, there was a misconception that engaging in such a relation would compromise one's faith.

The man proved that wrong. His relationship with his Christian neighbors had been ruined because of the conflict but now he wanted to live peacefully with them.

Such a story was disseminated to create an impetus for starting interreligious interactions from the smallest circle an individual was in. The segregation was embedded in the life of the Ambonese and will always be, but an act like the above could inspire the public to help narrow the segregation. A little kindness of a Christian to a Muslim could become a tipping point for a collective kindness. Individual agencies reflected a collective effort to bridge the two communities. What one could do for the community embodied a contribution to the betterment of the society. Building bridges started from the smallest social circle; the desire to live peacefully was a desire most people shared.

In Phase 3, individual agencies crafted messages calling on all Ambonese to play a role in social change. Those interested in education, tourism, blogging, entrepreneurship, and arts could use their individual expertise to advocate for social change. Such different interests were possible to be orchestrated in order to help the movements that had emerged in the post-conflict Ambon attain their immediate goals. Participation in the movements thus actualised individual interests, which then turned into a collective force for seeking change. Rev (32) said:

> Through poetry people could express themselves, advocate all kind of issues and concerns. We have been talking about environment protection, local identity, and love. I wrote about advocating against the

> mining industry in Aru. Put it on Facebook or walls around the downtown …. Everyone is a messenger, and should part take in sending messages about what you can do [to better the society]. (Rev, 32, interview)

Rev's comment emphasized the essential role of individuals in using their platforms to promote change. The Save Aru movement, led by the peace movement actors in 2013, used such a message to mobilise support for cancelling palm oil companies to operate on the Aru Island. Rev and Mor used poetry as a platform to articulate environmental deprivations threatening the island if the licence was approved. The hip-hop groups gained solidarity using music, Shu and Pi actively engaged in offline campaigns at coffeehouses and streets while Al and Yul helped disseminate the campaign online. An online petition on change.org was circulated to seek national and international support. Individual agencies were about motivating both adherents and bystanders to weigh in the fate of the indigenous people and tropical forests of Aru. One could give voice to the movement's goal using resources and platforms they already had. The individual agency therefore echoed a personalised social movement participation.

The story of individual agencies exercised in the Phase 1 was still intact, which then the actors recapitalised to achieve a new goal (e.g. to save the Aru island). Not only did the movement succeed in cancelling the operating licence, it also reconnected individuals involved in the conflict prevention movement. During the conflict, using broken laptop and poor internet connection, the peace movement actors fought against the media conflict narrative while promoting

everyday peace. Despite differences, unhealed conflict experiences, and limited resources, every actor became a messenger for change at that time. Such a story of resilience was passed on to the new joiners to show that a strong intention to effect change could overcome limited resources. The actors reactivated the comradeship sown in Phase 1 and then scaled it up to new joiners and bystanders. To bring change, individuals needed to exercise their agencies in all forms and sizes.

Motivational framing consisted of messages to extrapolate personal experience, self-transformation, and individual capabilities. These forms of collective and individual agencies were a call to arms. To be a part of change was a message to attract adherents and bystanders to participate in social movements over time. What mattered to individuals was framed as what mattered to the public while a call for action was packaged as one way to seek a collective betterment. The two agencies were thus not mutually exclusive but instead intertwined with a common goal to bring change to the society. Although situated within different diagnosis and prognosis, both agencies were deployed to call for participation in the movement across the phases. The notion of comradeship and resilience was apparent to mobilise adherents and bystanders during and after the conflict. Individual experiences and interests were galvanised, accumulating into a force for solving problems in each phase.

Table 5.6 recaps the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing in the three phases discussed above. The peace movement actors aligned problems, solutions, and motivation to sustain its adherents and bystanders. They linked the movement with mundane interactions the Ambonese could

easily practise in everyday life. Preventing violence and curbing segregation were tied to localities, collaboration, and arts. Peace was framed as an act already embedded in the life of ordinary Ambonese. But, the conflict provocateurs and media narratives conflated the Ambonese with religious issues to escalate the conflict. The frames were constructed through interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events, affording the actors to interconnect their networks and share new grievances relevant to the post-conflict Ambon.

	Everyday peace		**Social change**
Frame	Phase 1 (2011–12) Preventing violence	Phase 2 (2013–14) Curbing segregation	Phase 3 (2015–17) Advocating policy
Diagnostic	Conflict provocateurs The media	Religious segregation Conflict experience	Lacking accessible public spaces Water scarcity and environmental destruction Government unaccountability for implementing the "Ambon the city of music" slogan
Prognostic	Debunking rumours Counteracting the media conflict narratives	Revitalising local values Creating meeting opportunities in public places Promoting collaborative works Using arts for peacebuilding	Empowering youths to become a force for change
Motivational	Collective and individual agencies		

Table 5.6 Everyday peace and social change frames

Chapter 6 Finding 2

Proposition 2 (P2) Interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events facilitate social movement actors in constructing frames.

Community events facilitated social movement actors in constructing frames along with gatherings and campaigns. The actors interacted with each other in all of these outlets and interconnected both their pre-existing and new networks. The interactions opened the opportunity to meet with old friends and make new ones with similar interests and their affiliated groups. In the networks, the actors shared grievances of the repercussions of the conflict on the Ambonese and concerns regarding its impact on the post-conflict Ambon. While sharing them, the actors identified probable strategies to bring change and mobilise support. In this sense, they shared the diagnosis and prognosis of the problems and motivations to attract individuals in the networks as well as members of the public to become part of the movement. The community events, along with gatherings and campaigns, thus not only became a place to advance the community groups' works but also facilitated the actors in framing the movement. Figure 6.1 summarises the findings of this chapter.

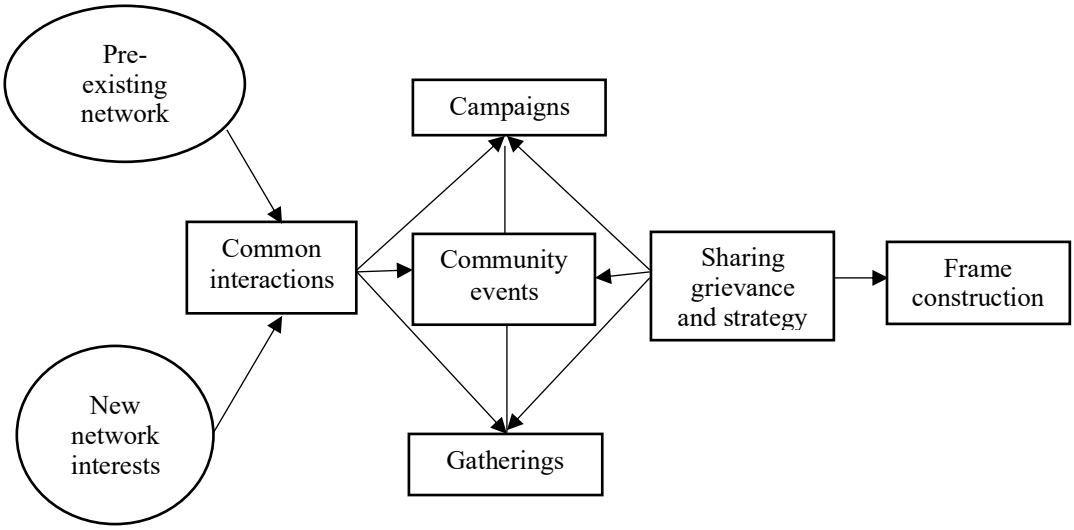


Figure 6.1. Roles of campaigns, community events in constructing social movement frame.
N.B. Arrows indicate direction of influence or impact.

Gatherings vs. campaigns vs. community events

Both campaigns and gatherings served as an outlet to share grievances, concerns, and strategies. Campaigns involve planning and performing tasks to attain a collective goal whereas gatherings are casual and spontaneous meetings. Both, however, are related. A campaign could start from an informal discussion at a coffeehouse; or a plan to gather could develop in the course of organising a campaign. Thus, the actors' interactions in both outlets are fluid. Rules were loose, expectations and obligations were subtle, but the common goal to improve the situation in Ambon was clear. Yul (32) explained how campaigns and gatherings became an outlet for constructing frames:

> We are very grateful as we have met people who like coffee and shared the same goal. Although we have different interests, we shared the same aim to prevent Ambon from experiencing future conflicts. Coffeehouses enabled us to meet during the conflict and were also a place where we

> discussed and planned things. [They] (e)ven, became a neutral place when riots happened. In terms of peace, I wear hijab and delivered aid such as foods, money and clothes to the Christians to show that regardless of our differences we still could help each other out. We were not enemy, but sisters and brothers. This helped people see that the conflict was not about religion, but an act of violence organised by irresponsible people. We'd like to construct this kind of discourse as witnessing people live in a compartmentalised society after the conflict. (Yul, 32, interview)

Yul's comment described the role of coffeehouse gatherings and campaigns as an outlet for constructing frames. Gatherings were informal interactions allowing the actors to maintain and develop more meaningful interpersonal relations. Coffeehouses became gathering places during and after the conflict. During the conflict, gatherings in public places were intended to demonstrate that the situation was relatively safe amid rumours and media conflict narratives to the contrary. After the conflict, gatherings offered an environment for sharing new concerns. In both periods, coffeehouses became places where the actors relaxed. The conversations were casual, unplanned, and flowed from one topic to another. Hobbies, mutual interests, jokes, love lives, and family matters were among topics they shared. They got to know each other and developed interpersonal relations.

Campaigns, in comparison, were more structured. Yul's comment referred to the organisation of the *Kopi Badati* movement in October 2011 to January 2012. The actors mapped out which borders were susceptible to

violence and collected contacts from there, resulting in a list of information sources to verify rumours. They raised funds, for such expenses as coffee and snacks to be distributed to the borders' night guards and recruited volunteers from public and private university students. Both fundraising and recruitment were conducted before organising trips and deploying personnel to the borders. Some actors met at a basecamp at the Maranatha church to plan what to do while others gathered at a restaurant discussing which borders needed primary attention. Almost every night, they went to both Muslim and Christian villages and the borders to inform the residents that the conflict was unrelated to religion but engineered by conflict provocateurs. The actors wore religious symbols such as crosses and veils while distributing coffee and snacks, as live demonstrations that the two religious communities could work together to resolve the conflict.

Besides gatherings and campaigns, this research also found that community group events were an outlet facilitating the actors in constructing frames. Some actors such as Tir, Rif, and Yes became leaders of community groups that emerged after the *Badati* movement, respectively, Penyala, Baledoc, and Pardidoe. Participating in the movement helped them develop a collective consciousness of damage the conflict provocateurs brought; they also developed interpersonal relations, and a commitment to bring change to post-conflict Ambon. Table 6.1 summarises the growth of community groups and social movements before and after the 2011 conflict.

Year	Community Group	Social Movement
2007–08	Performa	
	Ambon Band	
	Bengkel Seni Embun	
2009–10	Maluku Photo Club	
	Blogger Maluku	
	Maluku Hip Hop	
	Gunung Mimpi	
2010–11	Kalesang Mardika	
	Komunitas Manis Pait	
	Bengkel Sastra Maluku	
	Kalesang Maluku	
2011–12	Maluku Baronda	Peace Provocateur
	Rumah Beta	Filterinfo
	Akademi Berbagi	Badati
		TrotoArt Gerakan Damai dari Timur
		Peduli Gamalama
		Ramadan Berbagi
2012–15	Penyala Ambon	Kalesang Pombo
	Film community	#AyoKeMaluku
	Other community	Kalesang Teluk Ambon
	groups	Peduli Rokatenda
		Peduli Banjir Ambon
		Save Aru
2015–16	Paparisa Ambon	Save Ema
	Bergerak	

Table 6.1 Community groups in Ambon 2007–2016.
Source: interviews

Interest in arts and performance such as photography, blogging, music, and theatre dominated the pre-2011 community groups. Before the 2011 conflict, most groups worked by themselves. Key figures such as Al and Wes who led Blogger Maluku and Gunung Mimpi community, respectively were acquainted with each other. Ambon Band was the prototype of TrotoArt, where Vic, Bur, and some members of local bands discussed the need to organise an event showcasing talents of the youth. Mor, Rev, and Ramly were in the Maluku Hip Hop community, pioneering the use of music for social critiques.

Some of these actors were college friends. Many started knowing each other from attending community events.

During this period, pursuing group interest was more attractive and there seemed little need to work together with other community groups although their interests and goals overlapped. But this perception changed when the violence erupted in 2011. They started to see the need to collaborate. Influential figures involved in the 1999 peace movement connected the community groups' key figures. Two days after the first eruption, September 13, 2011, John gathered key figures and other individuals with the same concern at a restaurant at AY Patty street, a border between Muslim and Christian area. The meeting marked the beginning of the peace provocateur movement, Filterinfo group, and *Kopi Badati*. Following these movements were several humanitarian actions. For example, *Ramadan Berbagi* (Sharing Ramadan), an annual campaign to help the needy during the month of Ramadan, started from late 2011 to 2017. Fundraising and distributing daily needs and clothes to the poor and orphaned were organised to highlight altruism regardless of religious differences. Besides *Ramadan Berbagi*, the community groups worked together in a wide array of societal issues.

After 2011, the interest of community groups diverged. Although art and performance were still dominant, interest in the issues of environmentalism, education, and humanitarianism grew. Actions to clean up the beach, remote island, and city were on the rise as the actors saw that the conflict had degraded the environment. The government neglected this issue because the recovery was focused on the infrastructure and economy. Natural disasters such as flood and

landslides resulted in hundreds of casualties and economic loss. The actors called for action to aid the victims by organising donation and volunteers. While focusing on environmental and humanitarian causes, concern about access to education for children in the rural areas grew. Since the conflict, children education had lagged because of the shortage of teachers and facilities and particularly in the rural areas.

From 2015 to 2016, Paparisa Ambon Bergerak, where several peace provocateur movement actors were involved, organised a wide variety of events to cater to the needs of diverse community groups that were emerging in post-conflict Ambon. Table 6.2 lists the events and selected community groups—the selection was based on their interests and capabilities in organising the events. The topics, ranging from arts, education, technology, and tourism, were broken down into various activities such as trainings and workshops. The selected community groups were charged with specific tasks such as organising different types of activities, selecting the speakers, and recruiting participants. Although the events were meant to discuss specific topics, a mixture of community groups attended. For example, when the hip-hop groups conducted a training session on beat and lyric compositions, other community groups participated to support and explore collaboration opportunities. Similarly, when groups interested in education campaigned on the importance of reading and literacy, many other community groups participated regardless of their core interests.

Topics	Events	Community groups
Art and performance	Music making workshop	Cidade de Amboina
	Mini studio acquisition	Moluccas Hip-hop Community
	Painting workshop	Bengkel Sastra Maluku
	Theatre workshop	Kanvas Alifuru Bengkel Seni Embun
Information communication technology	Technology use in education training	Blogger Maluku
	Citizen journalism training	
	Graphic design training	Design Community Maluku
Education	Library	Penyala Ambon
	Public speaking and English literacy workshop	LastE Community
Tourism	Tourism campaign workshop	Moluccas Guide Tourism
	Kalesang Ambon	Maluku Baronda
Multimedia	Photography, videography, movie and radio production workshops	Maluku Photography Club, Ambon Photo Club, Pardiedoe Baileo Doc Amboina Radio

Table 6.2. Community group events.
Source: Paparisa Ambon Begerak

The community groups shared problems and solutions when meeting at events. Those interested in advancing tourism after the conflict shared that online searches often suggested pictures and news of the conflict, resulting in fear among outsiders to visit Ambon although the conflict had ended. Hence, a collective effort to minimise the appearance of such pictures and news online was necessary. To achieve that goal, blogging and photography community groups collaborated with National Geographic to upload photos of tourist attractions and updated news. That Ambon had been safe was conveyed through stories and photos telling the beauty of the island and the hospitality of its people. This strategy was successful to recast the misconception that Ambon

was a nest of conflict. Instead of pictures of the conflict, searches of Ambon showed scenic beaches and other tourist attractions. A previously lesser known beach, Ora, became one of the most visited. Gradually, the number of tourists increased as more people were better informed about Ambon's latest situation and tourist destinations. This example showed how community events brought together movement actors to discuss issues affecting Ambon.

Constructing frames in community events

The construction of frames in community events could be spontaneous or intentional. The idea to package diverse works of the community groups to promote peace was serendipitous. As the actors witnessed the damage the conflict brought to Ambon and attended community events and gatherings, the idea emerged to frame loss and the community works for peacebuilding. Such spontaneity was inseparable from a collective awareness of the repercussion of the conflict to the society. Coping with loss and sharing support with others were recounted as part of peacebuilding. Community group works embodied a collective goal to make Ambon safe. Wes (36) said:

> We started from our spontaneous consciousness after we learned that Apri's house had been burned. I wrote a story that he was a victim of the conflict. But, still we wanted to do interreligious works. We wrote each other's stories including SMS exchanges between him and Al. Then, the movement emerged by itself. [We engaged in] many activities because of different passions. Some wanted to build Ambon, some were more to develop hobbies. We needed to frame them all together as a work for peace. (Wes, 36, interview)

Both unintentionality and pragmatic intents marked the existence of community groups. As Wes mentioned, both intents were intertwined and used together for framing peace. Pressing issues related to arts and music were discussed while critiquing the government's commitment to support the development of creative industry. Both reasons were an impetus for seeking change as the actors, regardless of their reasons for joining the community groups, shared their grievance with the government's lack of support for the industry. Their personal interests would advance if policies regarding the future of creative industry in Ambon changed and change was more likely to succeed if the demand came collectively instead of individually. Thus, the actors believed that it was imperative to choreograph the works of the community groups in order to sustain the state of the current peace because Ambon could not be a centre of creative industry in eastern Indonesia if there was no peace.

Wes' comment highlighted the unintentional use of community events as an outlet to frame the 2011 peace movement. The idea appeared serendipitously, the movement rising organically. At that time, because preventing violence was a priority, participation in the movement was a natural response to become part of change, was altruistic and stemmed from a collective consciousness that peace was the only option they had to advance the city. The recurrence of the violence awakened the consciousness of the actors that a state of peace could be temporary; therefore, they used what they could in their power to sustain it. Initially, music, poetries, blogs, and photographs contained expressions of grievance of the recurrence of the violence. Later, they

became tools to promote peace as musicians, poets, bloggers, and photographers met and collaborated in community events.

Pragmatic intents were a start to engage in community events, growing a sense of community among the actors. The intent manifested itself in the form of sharing information about job opportunities and talent recruitment for commercial performances at cafes and malls. Because members of the community knew each other, they side-stepped complications in hiring or talent-scouting and so organising arts and performance events was easy. The musicians intended to meet with others while the poets wanted to appreciate each other's work. They shared information useful for improving the quality of their works or keeping up with trends. A wide array of interests meshed as each found a commonality with the other, resulting in collaborative works such as jointly composed songs and musicals. Such short-term perks first motivated them to join in the events. Then an intent to uplift each other developed, from which a sense of community arose.

Not only could it be unintentional or from pragmatic intent, framing could also be intentional. It was a strategic use of ideas to prevent violence and other movements that followed. John's (52) comment illustrates:

> All raw information was analysed in my office. Then, we forwarded it to Em who was responsible to frame it before sending to the media .... We exposed evidence. Not only about the violence, but also meet-ups and other activities (involving Christians and Muslims). We clarified, counteracted, and then bridged our need and the media's. We also

> uploaded pictures of evidence and meet-ups to clarify and counteract news. That was how we managed issues during tense moments ….
>
> [After the conflict] we try to organise reading groups for strengthening the young movement actors. So that they will not create empty artworks but can internalise values in them. Creating a space to reflect is necessary to help conceptualise what we will do. If we don't do that, how can we frame what we have done? We create something that we can offer from there. (John, 52, interview)

During the conflict, framing was a strategy to counteract the mass media's conflict narrative. The peace movement actors intended to spin the conflict narrative using peace narratives derived from everyday life. Raw information consisting of ground evidence was processed in John's office at the Maranatha church. Information about villagers "interacting normally" was sent to the media for balancing the narrative that the conflict had escalated across the city. Stories about harmonious interactions of residents in the area and accurate facts were disseminated to discredit reports of a riot in Mahardika as a bloody conflict between the two religions. Provision of details regarding the riot satisfied the media's need to broadcast the news; in return, the actors expected them to report it fairly.

Therefore, framing during the conflict was to balance the presence of conflict and peace narratives in the media. Managing the narrative was imperative, the actors filtered out what could be shared with the media and the public. No (31) mentioned that if an incident contained 60% of bad news and 40% of good news, the actors sent out the good news to reduce the volume of

bad news coverage. When the discovery of a bomb in front of the Maranatha church dominated the news, the actors shared a photo of a Muslim woman helping a Christian cross the street in front of the church. By providing the Ambonese with evidence that kindness still existed in the time of violence, the actors minimised the potential repercussions of such news. The actors believed that the large volume of bad news easily aggravated the groups' adversarial relationships; sharing a fair amount of good news therefore could reduce tension between the two religious groups. Stories about peace were disseminated through bulletins, Facebook notes, and blogs to provide another perspective and offer hope when the media bombarded the public with conflict narratives. They also reached out to the media's Twitter accounts demanding accountability in reporting violence. Reporting the conflict accurately was critical to "isolate" the violence and prevent mass panic. The peace movement actors encouraged the media to build peace rather than exacerbate violence.

Framing in the post-conflict Ambon was an unintentional act to wrap the idea of change with artworks. Music, painting, and poetry were the means to deliver messages about peace to the public. They were part of the effort to sustain peace and to remind the Ambonese of the repercussion of the conflict and the benefit of long-term peace. The artwork should be capable of attracting supporters and bring change to post-conflict Ambon, making it as a messenger for new goals and concerns. It was a strategy to articulate new concerns and goals following the success of the movement in preventing violence. The synergy the peace actors had achieved in 2011 now needed internalising by the new generation in order to sustain peace and better Ambon.

Community events were feasible to become an outlet for frame construction because they enabled the actors' pre-existing and new networks to intertwine, opening opportunities to meet people from a wide array of backgrounds. Ron (30) said:

> It began from ordinary things. Some community groups had existed before the conflict. Mor was with hip hop and his social critique groups. We had blended before the 2011 conflict and were friends and supported each other. Al and Wes introduced Yes and then Ip joined in. Wes and Apri were in Amahusu while myself and other Muslim friends had known each other. When the 2011 conflict occurred, we were shocked. We organised ourselves to seek information and mapped out people based on their locations for checking rumours. Wes created Filterinfo group, functioning as the means to clarify information. We clarified information and wrote stories about us. Then, John with his philosophical thought came up with the idea of counteracting conflict with everyday peace. (Ron, 30, interview)

A pre-existing network enabled common interactions to become an outlet for framing. The actors' friendships and involvement in mutual community groups made that possible. Wes was with the Gunung Mimpi community and had been friends with Ron and Apri since college. Al was involved in Arumbai blog and Mor was with Moluccas hip-hop community. They had interacted at both gatherings and community events, from which their friendships began. Such a pre-existing network at first enabled sharing grievances and then turned them into a collective action for addressing

undesirable situations. Ron said they were shocked when violence recurred in 2011. Ambon had just started recovering from the 1999 conflict within the last five years previous. He regretted the fragility of the state of peace and how the people seemed not to have learned from the past conflict. Such a grievance, shared within his pre-existing network, became a start for the peace provocateur movement, *Filterinfo*, and *Kopi Badati* movement.

Sharing grievances and strategies within the pre-existing network was critical during the rise of the movement. Within this episode, emotions sometimes flared. Anger, regret, and shock coloured the sharing. The actors were angered at how the conflict provocateurs targeted Ambon again and regretted that many Ambonese still could be lured to violence. The recurrence of the violence was shocking particularly because the city seemed to be recovering from the previous conflict. The actors expressed such emotions when meeting in gatherings and community events and decided to organise a collection action for preventing violence. When invited to meet to discuss the action, many were eager to attend, suggest solutions, and take part. The Muslims shared the detrimental effect of the arrival of paramilitary groups in Ambon and identified several spots susceptible to violence and provocations. The Christian expressed the willingness to provide the necessary resources such as an office space and church networks spread across the island.

The pre-existing network opened discussion on probable options to overcome problems. An actor wrote:

> I contacted Em, who then opened a door for discussion. What could we gain from an unconducive moment like this? What would we have when

> divide and conquer strategy was still powerful to be used on us? Then, who would become the messenger of peace? I raised these questions to everyone who felt that living based on brotherhood and humanity was the most logical option. (K8)

The pre-existing network afforded sharing of grievances. The actors regretted that the strategy used by the Dutch colonialists to divide Ambon could still be used. The conflict provocateurs knew that the conflict was inseparable from the history, and so galvanised the religious sentiment and prejudice inherited from the colonial times to ignite the conflict. Unfortunately, many Ambonese were unaware of that and hence fell easy prey to the conflict provocations. Sharing such grievances with other actors stimulated a collective understanding that the conflict was engineered rather than organic. The source of the conflict was not religion but external provocations, a common enemy that needed defeating. To do that, reminding the Ambonese of their commonalities was essential. Reviving the notion of brotherhood and humanity was one option for peacebuilding. The network reinforced what the actors thought was concerning and needed overcoming. Starting from sharing grievance, strategies for mobilising resources and supports were identified. In the above excerpt concerning Em, a sense of humanity was a cause used to invite participation in promoting peace, which was deemed a universal value both religious communities could accept.

The pre-existing network spread as new people joined, giving rise to new networks. After *Badati*, the actors organised community events listed in Table 6.2. Both old friends and contacts interacted with new individuals with

similar concerns or ones affiliated with other community groups. For example, in a workshop on beat and song making, more than 200 individuals from 30 hip-hop groups attended, with both pre-existing and new groups interacting. Besides resulting in music collaboration, some of the groups involved in Moluccan Rap in Chain connected hip-hop groups in the region with Moluccan musicians in Jakarta. Tahuri hip-hop intended to build comradeship among hip-hop groups in Ambon and aimed to reduce the influence of Western culture on Ambonese hip-hop by pleading for not using profanity in song lyrics. These examples indicated that not only did attending community events enable a new network to emerge, they also facilitated the emergence of a collective mission for advancing both Ambon and community groups.

The actors' pre-existing and new networks intertwined, enabling a collective identity to form. During the conflict, it manifested in defining the group as people intending to provoke peace amid pervasive violence. An actor wrote:

> They are youngsters and some adults who have been interacting with many communities in this city. Maybe, what they did back then looked very simple. But, they realised there was a small and intangible room, where they interacted over time, that tied them together, namely "peace" for humanity. They were us, the "peace provocateurs." (K9)

The actors were proud of being associated with the peace provocateur movement. They created room for nurturing comradeship by searching for moments to learn about each other and develop emotional bonds. Hence both the existing and new networks merged into one collective identity. The identity

developed gradually throughout the movement as well as solidarity and sympathy to each other's sufferings and losses. Thus, it also represented a shared grievance and hope for peace. Being part of the movement was bigger than their differences, serving as common ground to move forward from being victims of the conflict and to use whatever was within their power to defy the conflict provocateurs and better Ambon.

After the conflict subsided, community events became a place to share grievances and tactics to overcome issues emerging in post-conflict Ambon. Attending an event was part of supporting others' works. For example, in a poetry night held every Thursday, the actors expressed concern over the effect of rapid modernisation in Ambon. The construction of buildings in the urban area ignored the environmental effects that it might cause long term and was counterproductive to the government's plan to increase the number of public spaces. The city became more disorganised, crowded, and susceptible to flood. Interacting in the poetry night was a start for using arts to articulate such ramifications of poorly planned development. The poets articulated the deprivation the modernity brought to the society and the ignorance of members of the society to it. An editor of a local newspaper, a key figure in the event, gave space to publish poetry in his paper. The authors read them during poetry night in the cafes, and other actors pasted them on walls in strategic spots, raising the awareness of the public. Such community events were also outlets for the actors to assemble grievances and to identify agencies they could exercise to seek change.

To sum up, this research found that interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events facilitated the actors in constructing the frames employed in the movements organised during and after the conflict. Although having different characteristics, the three outlets afforded the actors to develop interpersonal relationships and common interests and interconnected their existent and new networks. Hence, giving rise to the growth of community groups in the post-conflict Ambon. The construction of frames could be intentional or spontaneous as the actors shared new grievances and the action necessary to make change. The actors' interactions in the outlets had the potential to enhance comradeship. However, friction that emerged out of the interactions could shattered the comradeship.

Chapter 7 Finding 3

Proposition 3 (P3) Common interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events not only can help strengthen the SMAs' relationship with others but also engender frictions among them.

This research found that interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events facilitated the actors to coalesce (Diani, 2015; Diani & Bison, 2004; Diani et al., 2010), collaborate (McDonald, 2002; Staggenborg, 2013, 2015), and befriend other actors (Bosco, 2001; Stoddart & Tindall, 2010). A coalition formed when both individual actors and community groups pool resources and expertise to achieve a collective goal. Collaboration among the actors manifested in various forms such as sharing information and connections, event participation, and performing together. The actors' friendship became stronger and new friendships emerged as their interactions matured. However, frictions also emerged from engaging in such interactions. Sources of friction were betrayal, generational gap, dissents on movement strategies, and individual differences. To ease frictions, the actors galvanised trust initially developed in past movements, established new goals and searched for common grounds.

Coalition, collaboration, and friendship

Coalition as a consequence of the actors' interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events was evident when a common concern to bring change to the post-conflict Ambon emerged. The case of the *Ema*

Bergerak (Ema movement), which had the collective goal to improve access to the Ema village and its educational quality, illustrates. Rus (32), one of the initiators of the movement, said:

> Ema is a village at the upper hill where DR Leimena[2] was born but was neglected by the government. In 2005, 100% of the students failed in the [national] exam because there was no teacher who wanted to teach there. Bengkel Sastra Maluku, and several community groups met at Paparisa Ambon Bergerak discussing what could be done for Ema. We went up there and talked to the head of the village. He was crying when meeting us. The people wanted to return the red and white flag (Indonesian flag) since they were so sick of the government's neglect. So, the community groups mobilised solidarity for Ema. Each shared expertise. The groups that were concerned about education taught the children at school; the photography clubs showed the kids on how to use cameras. The hip-hop groups showed how to make music and Kanvas Alifuru taught to paint. (Rus, 32, interview)

Saving Ema would suppress the idea of separatism.[3] The government had neglected the village's infrastructure for more than a decade, resulting in the understandable perception there was no benefit from being part of Indonesia. Such a view triggered the actors to collectively fix Ema's situation. A few actors from Bengkel Sastra Maluku and hip-hop groups met at Paparisa

[2] DR Leimena was a national hero, former minister of health and deputy prime minister of the Republic of Indonesia during the old order era/President Soekarno's administration (1946-66).
[3] This was inseparable from the separatist group called Republic Maluku Selatan (Republic of South Moluccas) that remained active since in the beginning of the New Order era under Soeharto's administration.

Ambon Bergerak to share concerns and information on what the people of Ema needed. The meeting drew up a plan to go to the village to assess the need. The actors then drew up an inventory of what community groups could contribute to the movement and how. Figure 7.1 diagrams the coalition network of community groups participating in the Ema Bergerak.

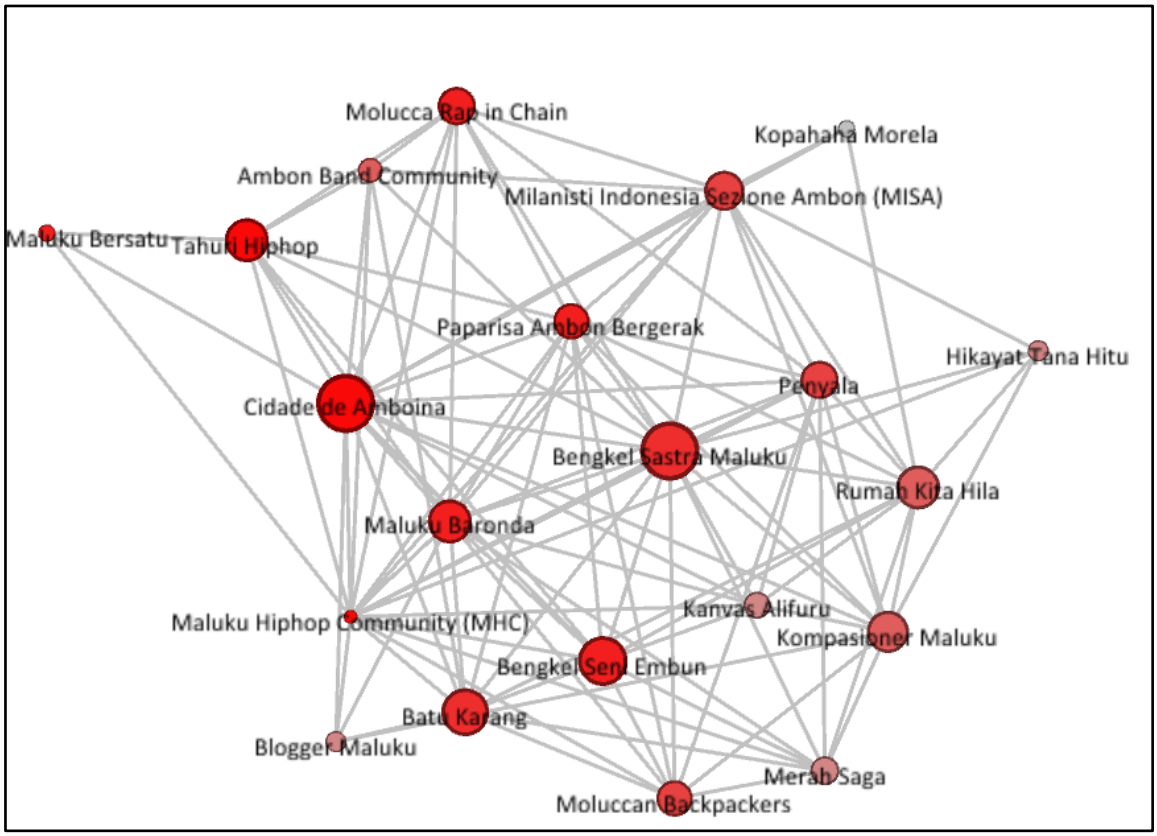


Figure 7.1. Coalition network for Ema Bergerak.
Source: Interviews

Figure 7.1 illustrates the role of community groups in the organization of Ema Bergerak. A literature community group, Bengkel Sastra Maluku (BSM), and a hip-hop group, Cidade de Amboina (CDA), seemed to be central in the network. The edge indicated with which community they had collaborated or shared information (See Table 7.1 for examples of forms of

collaboration). BSM was one of the pioneers of community groups in Ambon, which had grown since 2009. CDA, formed in 2011, was a rising music group at the time of fieldwork was conducted. It had collaborated with most groups in the network, as well as having a large fan base. Both BSM and CDA leaders encouraged their members and followers to amplify the activities necessary to make the voice of the people of Ema heard by public. The key members of BSM used their connections with local newspapers and in the governor office and house representatives to help the movement attain its immediate goal to increase access to education and health for the people of Ema. Other community groups mobilized their members and shared their diverse expertise and resources to succeed the movement. Some groups seemed to be at the periphery of the network such as Hikayat Tanah Hitu, Kopahaha Morela, and Maluku Bersatu. They were newly formed groups, hence seemed to be less connected to others. Besides, arduous routes from their locations to the city centre was mentioned to be one of the constraints to engage with the events organized by other community groups, where the opportunity to collaborate could be found. These new groups performed together with Bengkel Seni Embun, one of the oldest theatre groups in Ambon, and BSM in a solidarity night for Ema.

The coalition consisted of key community groups that could be classified into:

a) tourism and travelling groups (Maluku Baronda and Moluccan Backpackers),

b) education and writing groups (Penyala Ambon and Kompasioner Ambon),

c) art and performance groups, e.g., hip-hop group (Moluccan Hip-hop Community, Cidade de Amboina, Molucca Rap in Chain) and theatre and literature groups (Batu Karang, Bengkel Sastra Maluku, Bengkel Seni Embun, Rumah Kita Hila), and

d) MISA, a soccer fan club with a thousand members in Ambon.[4]

Among these key groups, Moluccan Hip-hop Community, Cidade de Amboina, and Kompasioner Ambon played a substantial role in connecting members of the coalition with each other. The groups, as part of the coalition, shared expertise, mobilised the necessary resources, and accomplished tasks collaboratively without compromising their core interests nor ideologies as they established a common goal to bring change to Ema, with the village becoming the focal point for the coalition.

The coalition delivered three main actions. The first was a solidarity event for Ema. Community groups and individual supporters from across Ambon went up to the hill where Ema was located. Despite a trek made arduous because of the broken road and poor street lighting, they managed to organise the event and share their expertise. For example, community groups on education issues such as Penyala Ambon provided additional school lessons to the children; the hip-hop and photography community groups taught the

[4] Soccer is a popular sport in Ambon. MISA was one of the clubs with the largest followers and regular activities.

children how to capture their everyday life through song writing and camera, and art and performance groups organised an entertainment program for the residents. While doing these activities, community group leaders discussed with the village head what could be conveyed to the public and policy makers for improving the village.

Second, the coalition raised public awareness of the movement by using #EmaBergerak and #SaveEma on Twitter and Facebook to campaign for the movement online. It reached out to national celebrities concerned about Ambon (see Figure 7.2) as well as Ambonese diasporas living in other cities and overseas. Rus asked her Twitter followers and Facebook friends in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Hong Kong, and Germany to share the hashtags. In particular, because of their historical links, the Ambonese descendants living in the Netherland helped scale up the online campaigns. Meanwhile, the blogging and writing community groups wrote the history of Ema as the birth place of a national hero, of the diversity of its tourism attractions and of local traditions to provide the public with reasons to support the movement. The online campaign attracted attention from local and national media and exposed the government's neglect of the village.

Third, the coalition organised a meeting with the policy makers and government officials at the governor's office. The governor was aware that the case had gone public and that ignoring it would paint a bad image of his administration. The actors used such moments to pressure the governor to take serious steps to better the village. A visitation of several members of the house

of representatives and gubernatorial officials followed the meeting. Not long after, the broken road was repaired, and ramshackle school buildings renovated.

Figure 7.2 News anchor, Indonesian idol runner-up, and Save Ema poster (clockwise)
Source: Twitter

Community groups collaborated in many forms, ranging from event participation to sharing relevant information to each other's works. Table 7.1 shows the forms of the collaboration. The simplest collaboration was attending events to show support for each other's works. Art and performance groups commonly collaborate by sharing their stages. For example, a painting group, Kanvas Alifuru, collaborated with poetry and hip-hop community in musicals

and poetry visualisations. Sharing contacts, connections, and information linked members or community groups with relevant sources. Members of hip-hop, film, and theatre community groups collaborated to produce a music video, *Siwa Lima*, derived from the Ambonese folklore to convey a message about brotherhoods. Sharing resources, skills, and expertise were ways to overcome limited equipment and resources for managing community projects.

Forms of collaboration	Examples
Participating in events	Attending each other's events to show support
Performing together	Collaborative performance in TrotoArt music event Poetry musical Songs and music making
Sharing contacts and connections	Contacting a source person for a documentary making Linking individuals and community groups for music video production
Sharing information	Sharing information related to events, festivals, and competitions Sharing data on numbers of internally displaced people and human rights violation victims
Sharing resources	Common use of music studio, equipment, editing laptop, and speakers Donating money Volunteering in community events such Ramadan Berbagi
Sharing skills and expertise	Sharing knowledge on film production, blogging, and social media use for social change Giving helps in designing logo, flyers, and charts

Table 7.1. Forms of collaboration.
Source: Interviews and observations.

> Tir (28) explained the reason such forms of collaboration were feasible: We shared information with each other and the leader of community groups were those involved in Badati, like myself. Its impact on today's situation was that it made it easy for us to share information across the community groups as well as to collaborate with them. It was like only a

> call away as we have known each other very well. For example, when I, from Penyala, was about to organise an event and Kanvas Alifuru could help, I just needed to call Pi, who was in Badati, too. (Tir, 28, interview)

Tir's comment points to how participation in the Kopi Badati movement laid the foundation for the emergence of community groups in the post-conflict Ambon. Sharing information about new trends and interests, policies related to education and creative works, competitions and festivals were part of informal collaboration that occurred among the community groups. When Tir, who was affiliated to Penyala Ambon, was organising a book donation event for children living in remote areas, she asked Pi to design the flyers and spread the information to other community groups. Their interaction was very casual as they had known each other through multiple community events and movements such as Kopi Badati, Ema Bergerak, and Paparisa Ambon Bergerak. Kopi Badati was where Tir had met Pi and other community group leaders. It opened an opportunity to network with people from different religions and interests and share the passion to make Ambon safe and better. Since then they had collaborated for various events the community groups organised collectively.

The actors' pre-existing friendships strengthened while the opportunity to make new ones emerged. Prior friendships from the college, high school, childhood, and church reenergised as the actors took part in the Kopi Badati movement and Filterinfo group. Chances to make new friends developed as they went through the borders together distributing coffee and snacks amid inter-village fights and bombing rumours. Such experience bonded them together although both the movement and violence had ceded. Rev (32)

explained how his old and new friendships grew through participating in the movement:

> Our network had established since 2007, long before September 2011 and Filterinfo. Some of them were my college friends. Mor and I were in Moluccan Hip-hop Community (MHC). Then, I met Pi and Rif in September 2011 through Badati. We coincidentally walked and hung out together. We sat down and did things in group, and then we became good friends. Badati was a start of friendships during the escalation of the conflict. Our friendship won't end. We worked based on it and it won't be gone as long as we maintain it. (Rev, 32, interview)

Friendships grew organically as the actors engaged in the Filterinfo group and Kopi Badati. Existent friendships rejuvenated as the actors related their prior interactions with each other. Meanwhile, new friendships emerged as they shared a collective goal to prevent violence from happening and counteracting rumours and the mass media's incorrect information. Going through the borders, hanging out, and sharing information with others in both Badati and Filteinfo not only gave rise to the actors' friendships but also laid a foundation for post-conflict coalition and collaboration.

Being available to relieve each other's everyday burdens marked the actors' friendship. A similar generosity also appeared after the conflict. Some who had difficulty finishing college in 2012 because of the lack of finance received help in the form of housing and daily meals. When some actors could not pay for their school tuition fees, others loaned them money or connected them to resources. Sharing personal matters also marked the actors' friendship.

During the conflict, the friendship was a cathartic platform for sharing experiences living in refuge and fleeing from their home islands to Ambon. After the conflict, personal problems and tips and tricks about fathering and baby nutrition were shared among those starting new families.

Source of friction

Besides facilitating coalition, collaboration, and friendship, this research also found that interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events both eased as well as raised tensions among the actors. The impact of the interaction was twofold as Shu (27) pointed out:

> We have different concepts, so we need to coordinate one with another for understanding their thoughts and combine them. We foresee change by accommodating the two different forces. Making friends from different groups is needed and has developed stronger, but they may also clash with each other. (Shu, 27, interview)

On the one hand, the actors' emotional bond became stronger than before while the opportunity to make new friends sprang up in such platforms. These bonds smoothed post-conflict coalition and collaboration. On the other hand, the interaction also led to some friction from disagreements on movement strategies, generation gap, betrayal, and individual differences (see Figure 7.3). Such sources of friction encapsulated personal and group reasons in the decay

of the actors' relationship with others.

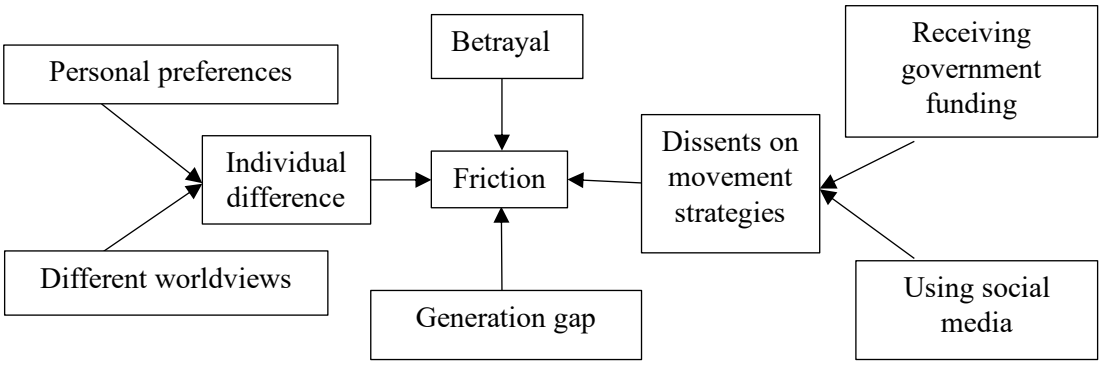


Figure 7.3. Sources of friction.
Source: interviews.
N. B. Arrows indicate direction of influence or impact.

Betrayal

Violation of trust and uncredited roles in the collective work created frictions among the actors. Ron's (30) experience illustrates. He had gone to Jakarta to attend a fundraising event organised by a couple of senior actors. Although he was one of the key actors in the organisation of the Badati movement, and even some photos he had taken were used as presentation materials in the event, he was barred from entering the venue by some senior actors. They said he would not like to be in the venue and the event would bore him. Ron refused to believe such an absurd reason, leaving with anger and speculation that the goal of the event had been hijacked for personal gains. Until that incident, it had never crossed in his mind that the people he respected could betray his trust. When returned to Ambon, he shared this eventful experience with other actors.

Following the Jakarta fundraising event, distrust and disappointment developed because a series of betrayals occurred when the Badati movement

was in progress. The actors became wary of engaging or collaborating with senior actors. Some actors withdrew from the Kopi Badati movement, limited sharing information, and avoided working with the senior actors and their associates. One of these actors who withdrew, Ron (30), said,

> Those joining in Badati came with the same consciousness and had no reason other than wanting to do good. Then, it was turned by some people into a commodity. That hurt us. Our consciousness to promote peace was used to make profits …. They had their own agenda when making peace. They were not sincere anymore. I felt that our good works had been sold and abused. I left because I could not bear to see some people took advantage of those who were suffering. We went to the borders and tried to connect the two religious communities while at the same time we took risks of checking bomb locations. If the bomb exploded, we could have been dead. And then, we learned that our works were manipulated, and we were not being acknowledged. (Ron, 30, Interview)

Ron's comment points to the ramification of betrayal to the actors' relationship with others. Badati was a collective action to promote peace among people at the borders. Although the movement itself did promote peace at the borders, the betrayals were felt when the actors' comradeship fractured. The actors, driven by a common goal to bridge the relationship of the two religious communities, participated in the Badati voluntarily to reduce the potential for conflict. Overcoming their different religious backgrounds, they learned to trust in each other through peacebuilding works, self-financed the Badati movement,

and put time and energy to attaining the goal. Back then, they thought it could imbue the future generation with camaraderie for building peace without relying on external helps. Unfortunately, a group of people twisted such intentions to attract donations, instead of building peace. Badati was no longer focused on peacebuilding but on monetary gain. As this view circulated among the actors, suspicion that the donations were misused grew. A lack of transparency became a focus of debates along with extensive allegations on each other's personal lives.

Suspicion ruined the Badati actors' relationship. The senior actors used Badati as a vehicle to build their political profiles. They proclaimed themselves founders although it was in fact a spontaneous and collective action driven by the need to prevent violence. They became famous because of Badati; the actors who staked their lives on the ground to keep violence from recurring perceived that it was unfair. Ron, Wes, Apri, Pi, Ip, and Al, who joined Badati from the beginning, withdrew and dissociated themselves from the senior actors. When one of them sought support to run in the 2016 city mayoral election from grassroots communities, the former Badati actors declined because of their prior interactions in Badati, where the candidate had shown a lack of transparency and a tendency to seek personal gains.

Generation gap

A "generation gap" developed between newer generation and those who participated in the 2011–2012 conflict prevention Filterinfo group and Kopi Badati movement. The older generation looked at the younger as less militant

and united. Yes (30) compared how his and the current generation were different:

> We were from different community groups back then, but we moved together as one community. We were together almost every midnight at Pattimura Park with a broken laptop. It was the only laptop we had, the screen was broken, we used a brick to keep it standing, to search for a spot with better GPRS signals (for counteracting rumours and mass media incorrect information). That was our struggle. Today's kids do not have that kind of experience. That differentiates them from us, who grew up on the road. These days, there are many community groups, too, but they work alone, sporadically. Some feel that they are superior than another and do not want to work together. It feels like some think that they are greater, others are smaller, and compete for personal gains. (Yes, 30, interview)

The comment reflects a resentment among the older generation to work with the new one. The sentiment among the older generation was that the current generation was unable to perform works and had a low motivation to engage. Several actors described the current generation as "lacking ability to be part of social controls," "spoilt," "lazy," and "poor self-management." Some traced such tendencies of the newer generation to the patron-client culture in Ambon; others viewed them as lacking leadership. Put simply, the current generation was perceived as having a follower mentality: they would only do works if they are led by a leader. This researcher's observation at Paparisa Ambon Bergerak would appear to confirm that. Most initiatives related to the

organisation of community events such as workshop and training came from the older generation. The newer generation seemed to need a lot of encouragement, reinforcing the "patron-client" relationship between the two generations.

The current generation were also said to lack the ability to set aside personal and group interests over a common goal to better Ambon. This contrasted with the older generation's tenacity to keep peace in 2011 to 2012. Rather than sharpening commonalities as Ambonese, today's generation engaged in an unhealthy competition. Hip-hop, rap and photography community groups were examples of that. Slandering each other's work, misunderstandings, and broken interpersonal relationships often followed behind losses in competitions. Several actors said that hip-hop competitions should be banished because its impact was to worsen the relationship of community groups. Today's generation needed to understand the importance of putting aside personal and group interests to maintain their unity. Otherwise, social movements in Ambon, which had been instrumental in reducing conflict, bringing peace, resolving other community issues could wither.

Dissent on movement strategies

The use of social media and government funding in the movement were sources for frictions. Social media use led to superficial activism and government funding could jeopardise the movement' independencies. They resulted in withdrawals and broken interpersonal relationship among the actors.

Social media helped amplify the post-conflict social movements. In the case of Save Aru movement in 2013, the actors used Twitter, Facebook, and online petition on Change.org to pressure the national government to stop

companies operating on Aru island. Public figures, celebrities, national and international non-governmental organisations weighed in, increasing the visibility of the movement. Consequently, the government cancelled the license to operate of the palm companies. Despite its success, the movement left a bitter experience for some of its actors.

> Social media use was sharpening the (Save Aru) movement, but we did not really understand what we did. If you'd like to jump in, you'd better do it fully. Do not only become a tourist. Don't only make people sign an online petition but ask them whether they know what they signed. We did not really know why they signed. I don't feel like joining that kind of sensational movements. I'd like to work at the grassroots. It is good to see many activities posted on the Internet, but I'd like to work on the ground, staying away from the spotlight. (Mor, 32, interview)

Although acknowledging the role of social media in helping the Save Aru movement's success, Mor doubted the benefit of social media use in the movement. He felt that activists should work on the ground listening to the voice of the indigenous Aru. But, many supporters only stayed in Ambon, passing up the opportunity to observe the grassroots reality. Many of those signing the online petition and gave social media supports were unaware of what happened in Aru. Only a few had prior knowledge on the deforestation and threats to the ecosystem and local customs if the operating license was approved. Mor said, "After the government cancelled the palm company's operating license, those supporters moved on and forgot that the deforestation continued."

Social media use also eroded the meaning of activism. Mor was disappointed by the fact that his artwork was used for supporting a superficial movement. He felt that social media was unnecessary in activism. Online supporters misused social media for personal gains. They played tourists while in Aru, taking pictures to share them online, but forgetting the main purpose of doing works on the ground. Such an attitude was counterproductive to the spirit of bringing justice to the people of Aru, resulting in withdrawals by the dissenters of social media use in the movement. His relationship with some other actors who remained in the movement was frozen for almost a year. He distanced himself from them because he felt that what they did was incompatible with what he believed was meaningful to the movement.

Another source of friction was the use of government funds for financing the movement. Some actors viewed government funds as necessary to defray expenses in organising post-conflict social movements whereas others saw it as threatening the direction of the movement. The actors looked in retrospect at how using external funding had led to disarray in the Kopi Badati movement. Initially, costs incurred from connecting people at the borders were shared. But later some actors allowed external funding to be used in the movement. Such funding while ostensibly beneficial, however, steered the movement into profit making. Along with that experience was a view that the government was complicit due to their negligence in handling the conflict. Therefore, receiving funding from the government could derail the movement from its original purpose. Apri (31) shared such concerns:

> It [the movement] has been shifting away from where it began. Government funding has come in. That may be important to sustain the community works but it is also important not to lose the essence of why we started. Things have changed. I witnessed the growth of social movements in Ambon from dancing and ice-skating community groups to social activism. The activism developed rapidly since the 2011 conflict. Some have good ideas for the movement but, I say, they had leaned toward the government from time to time. I understand that they can't live without money. But, I am just worried that receiving it from the government will derail the movement's original goal .... (Apri, 31, interview)

Apri said that a shift of social activism in Ambon had fractured the actors' relationship. The activism began independently from the 2011 conflict, starting first with community groups interested arts, sports, and environmental to actions advocating collective goals. Initially, the groups relied on crowdfunding and individual donation for their activities and kept their activism independent from the government. They, however, then tended to work with the government because of various reasons such as funding, access to regional resources, and convenience. Working with the government, however, led to a perception that they had traded the independence of the movement for money.

The actors felt that both using social media and government funding indicated that there was a shift in focus from the grassroots to the middle-class. Apri (31) continued:

> We used to work at the grassroots level to grow and maintain trust since there is still strong distrust beneath the current peace. These days, many of them [the activists] do not do that. They play with the elite, middle class, well-educated or public figures. They might be able to spread peace, but its impact on the grassroots deserves questions. (Apri, 31, interview)

The use of social media and government funding had played a role in shifting the original goal of the movement to the grassroots peacebuilding. The history of conflict in Ambon had shown that peacebuilding from the grassroots was more effective to keep the city safe than government officials and religious leaders' agreements, peace workshops and seminars, or building peace monument and museum. Grassroots works were critical, considering that peace in Ambon had been only at the surface level as the ordinary citizens still harboured distrust and prejudice of each other. Rather than addressing this matter, many movements were organised to draw public attention and funding. The arrival of social media and government funding in the movement conferred the actors with the advantage of being able to work with the elite and middle-class but it eroded the actors' agility to perform bottom-up works.

Individual differences

Individual differences as a source of friction comprised different worldviews and personal preferences of the actors. Incompatible ways of viewing what was best to the community groups became a constraint in collaborations. Some actors may have had the personal intent to work with

others but were affiliated to groups with more stoic worldviews. Hence, friction often occurred within and without the community groups. Ir (28) explained:

> These people often work together, but they do not work intimately because of their different worldviews. For example, between the environment and theatre community groups. The first is likely to think that our household problem is our problem and we can solve it alone. On the other hand, the latter think more openly; if you have something I can help. I'll help. If you don't want us to help, it is O. K. So, there is a friction because of that. (Ir, 28, interview)

The environmental and theatre groups were illustrative of that. The theatre group was more open to mutual interactions with other community groups while the environmental group seemed to be only accepting of similar groups. Such a difference in world views created a boundary, preventing their relationships from becoming more meaningful. Their interactions were task-oriented as the expectation to develop friendships was only from one side. Once the tasks were accomplished, they returned to their groups, limiting the opportunity to develop more meaningful relationships.

Personal preferences were a consideration in the actors' decision whether to continue interacting with others. Vic (30) reflected such a view:

> Many people have been avoiding going to Paparisa because many of its regulars get drunk in there. They do it constantly, making them unproductive as reflected on the decrease of community events that Paparisa organises …. I've been so sick of them and moved on. They said [they] wanted to build Ambon, but they neither know how to

> manage themselves, time, nor [were] capable of doing things professionally. (Vic, 30, interview).

The actors based their preferences to work with others on prior interactions. Some actors were in a frozen relationship because they lacked the ability to receive and convey critiques constructively. Others withdrew from collaborative works because of different work standards. Those who tended to drink alcohol excessively were shunned because of their unproductive contribution to the collaboration. Some Muslim women actors in particular, because of religious values, deliberately avoided interacting with these drinkers. Some actors dissociated themselves from those who involved in politics. Some perceived that political involvement could bring change to the society widely; yet others believed that having more people doing non-political works at the grassroots was more critical. The actors who were involved in the political arena had a track record of being manipulative, pretentious, lacking work ethics, inconsistent to what they say in public and practice in private, and using their connection to double-cross other groups. Therefore, many felt that such actors deserved to be avoided.

Reconciling friction: pre-existing trust, new goal, and common ground

The aforementioned sources of friction could lead to social movement discontinuity if unreconciled. The actors' cohesiveness shattered when they failed to find common ground. Learning that a friction could threaten the movement's sustainability, the actors sought ways for reconciliation. Galvanising the pre-existing trust, establishing new goals, and searching for common grounds were related ways the actors tried to eliminate frictions.

Pre-existing trust was key for addressing friction. The actors' trust had been stronger since the use of Filterinfo group for information sharing in the 2011 conflict. They confronted their prejudice and distrust because they had to work together to prevent violence. The actors' relationship with others evolved from acquaintances to good friends as they entrusted their safety to each other while checking bomb locations and preventing violence at the borders. Such common experience strengthened their camaraderie and also reminded them to stick together even when frictions occurred. Jim (32) said:

> Filterinfo was an initiative that developed trust. Without knowing it, we learned to trust each other through interacting in it. That becomes a real benefit for me. Unconsciously, we met, trusted each other, and learned about our Muslim friends' traits to mutually earn trust from each other …. It (trust) had grown for a long time and remained strong since. They are more than brothers or friends to me. This bond is stronger than family ties. We have built it up and it had been tested out. There is no reason not to talk with nor distrust them. Even, if other people think they are wrong, we will be the keeper of each other. (Jim, 32, interview)

Jim's comment pointed to strong trust as a legacy of Filterinfo group. The actors' interaction in the group had formed a cohesiveness based on mutual trust. Remembering how they learned to trust in each other during the conflict helped to reconcile frictions. Such memory drove Jim to maintain his connection with other actors even though some of them saw him differently after he decided to start a business. Their differences in viewing social movements as incompatible with business distanced them from each other. But,

a mutual trust that developed during the initial conflict prevention movement served as social support when doubt about each other's intention grew during times of friction. One would convince another that the friction was unnecessary while others provided alternatives to mediate the incompatibility. The actors' pre-existing trust was galvanised to reconcile frictions among them. Recalling that they had risked their life together and relied on information from each other in order to survive was useful to resolve frictions.

Relying on trust only, however, was inadequate to reconcile frictions without establishing a collective goal. Wes (36) explained:

> We need a common ground that can unite us. For example, we are all here talking and trust each other but have different goals. As time lapses and life becomes rough, we no longer move forward together. If we are talking about social movements in Ambon, we need to talk about a collective action with a common goal, not only trust in each other .... Trust and moving together are important but I believe that our goal unites and separates us. (Wes, 36, interview)

Wes' comment indicates that a collective goal together with trust was essential to reconcile friction. The goal united actors with a common purpose and so would sustain the movement. The actors' life pattern changed over time, scattering in different fields and locations for pursuing personal goals and priorities. They started businesses, became employees and public servants, and started their own families. Simply, their goals and priorities had differed from when still active in the peace movement. Establishing a new goal could keep the glow of the movement alive and give a reason to persist their participation

in later movements. Friction was a natural occurrence as they interacted, the existence of a collective goal prevented it from fully breaking their comradeship. Amid different views on social movement strategies, of betrayal, generational friction, and individual differences, the dream to sustain peace and better Ambon after the conflict was a shared goal that kept the actors united amid friction.

Besides trust and collective goal, Wes' comment also pointed out the need for a common ground in order to reconcile frictions among the actors, such as a shared experience as conflict victims and the citizenry of the Ambonese. The memory of living with violence, losing relatives and valuables, slow economic recovery, and witnessing relationship among friends and families ruined were some of experiences the actors shared as conflict survivors. The direction of social movements in Ambon could change over time but the fact that they were conflict victims lingered. Such a collective memory was useful to find a common ground and helped reconcile their frictions.

Their citizenship as Ambonese was also a common ground the actors used to reconcile frictions. A conception that they were siblings from one family fostered a feeling that they should put the greater good over their personal and group interests. Many of them began to participate in the peace movement because they viewed themselves as Ambonese, who should partake in bringing change to the society. Their togetherness was the main reason for defusing the violence and staying relevant to address future problems. Apri (31) summarised the importance of having collective goal and common ground to the unity of social movement actors:

> I believe that together is better than alone. Despite our differences, tensions, and frictions, we have done things together. We remain connected to fix our weaknesses and then grow together to face new problems in future. We dream to make Ambon better. Many Ambonese have seen that Ambon has been peaceful but, I believe, it has not. It is still easy to create conflicts in Ambon these days. (Apri, 31, interview)

The dream to make Ambon safe reflected both the notion of common citizenry as the Ambonese and collective goal to rebuild the city after the conflict as well as to prevent future conflicts. Their togetherness, amid frictions, had survived them during the time of conflict and could become a strength to address future problems. The shared concern of the city's fragile state of peace became a collective awareness and was useful for reconciling frictions among the actors. Putting Ambon as a common ground among them not only reminded the actors to their root, but also became an impetus for staying together in bringing change to the post-conflict Ambon.

Chapter 8 Discussion

Drawing on the findings discussed in Chapter 5 to 7, three extrapolations are offered:

a) Social movement sustainability appears to be related to the actor's ability to extend the movement's frame;

b) community event interactions have the potential to sustain social movements by offering the opportunity to mesh the actors' pre-existing and new networks; and

c) actor's interaction can strengthen their relationship with others and also give rise to friction, hence, resolving the friction can help sustain the movement.

Social movement sustainability appears to be related to the actors' ability to extend frames and reconcile friction. Community events, along with gathering and campaigns, are platforms allowing the actors to develop a new frame as their both existent and new network mesh. Interactions in such platforms can both strength their relationship as reflected on the emergence of friendship, coalescence, and collaboration; and, weaken the relationship as friction arises. Thus, frame extension and friction resolution may allow any movements to sustain over time.

The actors' ability to extend frames has the potential to sustain movements. Extending the frame to a wider context keeps the movement relevant to the adherents and current issues. Such extension echoes resilience and goal shift as the actors respond to change within and outside the movement.

They tap on resources within reach and use their network to overcome challenges such as limited financial resource and government support. Frames shift from conveying a specific issue to issues that matter to the greater members of the society. Hence, the movement captures the current grievances the actors and adherents articulate and then assemble them into a force for change.

Community events, along with gatherings and campaigns, serve as a platform for constructing frames. The events are unique compared with the other two platforms. They can bridge casual and structured interactions that, respectively, characterize gatherings and campaigns. Interacting in the events provides the actors with opportunities to seek social support while developing networks for attaining individual, group, and collective goals. They allow the sharing grievances with one another. Such interaction can be a start for constructing a new frame as the actors identify collective problems, preluding the rise of new movements.

Interactions in the above-mentioned platforms mesh the actors' existent and new networks, resulting in friendship, collaboration, and coalescence. Such positive externalities pave the way to mobilise expertise, information, skills, and other resources useful for organising later movements. However, friction can also emerge from the interaction. Betrayal, incompatible preference, disagreement on strategies, and generation gap are sources of friction. If unresolved, they can shatter the actors' comradeship. To mitigate such a risk, the actors galvanise trust that had been established in previous movements, set up new goals, and sought common grounds. Their ability to resolve friction

affects the fate of movement.

The following elaborates each extrapolation.

a. Social movement sustainability is a function of the actor's ability to extend the movement's frame

Social movement actors extend a frame to a larger context in order to sustain the movement. The peace movement actors extended everyday peace frame employed during the time of conflict to a social change frame in the post-conflict Ambon. The actors established the latter frame on the peacebuilding activism they organised previously. After the conflict receded, they linked the peace movement to pressing issues affecting the post-conflict Ambon, establishing a new goal to the adherents. By so extending the frame, they were able to help the movement endure over time. Such finding shows that extending frames from specific to generic illuminates the importance of linking a frame to a new context as the relevance of the old context fades. Frame extension is a continuation of one previous frame to the one following. Linking a frame to issues affecting wider societies is needful for making it resonant with the adherents (Vijay & Kulkarni, 2012).

Extending frames is a strategy to ensure social movements continue when they become less active. As the conflict receded, the peace movement declined but kept on fighting against the repercussion of living with communal violence in the post-conflict Ambon and did not disappear. Bringing Ambon society together was therefore critical to recover from the religious segregation and deep prejudice that had widened the social cleavage. Later, the peace movement actors saw a need to expand the peacebuilding work to policy

advocacies. Besides segregating the society, the conflict had hampered the development of the city and deteriorated the environment. Directing the movement to advocating policies impacting the Ambon's future was crucial. The movement called on everyone to become agents of change in any capacity. The peacebuilding work was declining, but the force to influence policies and promote social change was on the rise.

This finding shows that extending a frame is related to goal shifting. Establishing a new goal is necessary for sustaining social movements as the attainment of an immediate goal can lead them to a decline or abeyance (V. Taylor, 1986; Zald & Ash, 1966). The new goal is essential to maintain participation and helps the actors discover new concerns. Therefore, the movements resurface. The new goal reflects new grievances, providing a sense of purpose to the actors for staying on the movement. When one goal wanes, a new one is needed to persist a reason for participation that is conveyed to adherents. Despite its ebb and flow, extending frames enables a social movement to continue so long as the actors are capable of evolving its goal over time.

The existent resources can be a source for extending a movement frame, indicating the actors' tenacity to endure the movement. In the time when financial resources and political supports are lacking, accessing resources available within the actors' inner circle is a strategy to survive the movement. In the case of Ambonese peace movement, the actors capitalised on local values, to convey peace messages within everyday activities, facilitating every Ambonese to participate in the movement through performing small acts of

kindness within the family, neighbourhood, and public places. This finding reflects that a frame extension is an embodiment of the actors' resilience in navigating challenges by utilising resources within their reach. The actors maximise what is available around them to survive when the chance to search for external resources is limited or potentially detrimental to the movement.

Relying on existing resources to frame social movements has two advantages. First, it exposes both the adherents and public with messages they are familiar with. Framing the movement's goal with content they know helps both adherents and public to echo the goal easily (Kuypers, 2010; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). This research found framing the peace movement with everyday activities provided the opportunity for the public to participate in the movement without interrupting their routines. In other words, peacebuilding was integral within the routine, practicing it in mundane activities was therefore easy. The notion of peace materialised in activities the Ambonese performed daily and was part of the local wisdom. The decision to frame peace within everyday life shows that sending a message that is aligned with the adherents' point of references can generate participation in the movement. Internalising the movement's goal to local practices eases both adherents and public to participate in attaining it while performing the activity (N. Edwards, 2013).

Telling self-transformative stories is a way to frame social movements with contents the adherents and public familiar. It manifests in sharing personal stories and testimonies on the importance of change is to mobilise participation and public supports for the movement. In the case of Ambonese peace movement actors, stories about loss were used to invoke solidarity for

preventing violence and overcoming its repercussions. The actors recast their grief of losing relatives and valuables to articulate the critical need for transforming together the conflict into peace. These finding echoes that what matters to an individual can be framed as matters to the public. An incident can trigger a movement as its story is linked to a bigger cause and placed in the public discourses (Olesen, 2015).

Second, relying on the existent resource has the potential to secure a movement from external influences. It prevents outsiders from intervening in both trajectory and goal of the movement. The Ambonese peace movement actors utilised their interpersonal networks to mobilise donation, equipment, and expertise rather than looking for resources from external networks. The actors deliberately avoided using external resources because they were wary of what outsiders could bring to the movement. This finding echoes Diani's (1992) assertion that a social movement consists of a small network of people with the capability of connecting resources with others. The network strategically frames grievances to call for participation, making them central in the production of information and what is shareable to the adherents. Confining information flow only among themselves, they intentionally limit outsiders' access to their circle in order to prevent unexpected consequences (Chatman, 2000). Such an intent to be secretive manifests, for example, in the use of secret communication channels such as secret Facebook groups, internal mailing list, or closed information-sharing circuit. Since open information-sharing could be risky for the movement, the existing communication channels were selected to secure the distribution of information. In other words, the actors were reliant on

trustworthy resources they were already familiar with to free the movement from outsiders (Burt, 2010).

The above finding enriches extant studies investigating the use of information and communication platforms in social movements. Much of the research have focused on the use of public or open platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, but little is known on the use of private or secret platforms. This research found that when the peace movement rose, a secret Facebook group, Filterinfo, was a platform the actors used for coordination and information sharing along with a closed network the actors created using mobile phones. Such networks imply that mutual trust is a prerequisite to be in the communication loop, impoverishing outsiders' access to inside information (Chatman, 1996). This finding can also be applicable for radical movements such as white supremacists, Islamic states, and Jema'ah Islamiyah. These movements survive despite facing social and political pressures. Closed communication networks are used for maintaining ideology and recruiting new members. Hence, they facilitate the movement's sustainability.

Frame extension is an agency to link the movement to issues impacting the greater members of the society by amplifying what the actors can do. Compared with abundant research on resource mobilisation, in which the actors can seek out external resources and political opportunities, frame extension is a way to look for internal capabilities to survive. It is the actors' agency to leverage what they already have for mobilising resources. When external resources and political opportunities are absent, the movement can still continue because of the actors' resilience in keeping it alive. Familiar resources that are

within reach such as local cultures and friendships are a sustenance for continuing the movement when external support and political opportunities were limited. This research found that the Ambonese peace movement actors lacked government supports and financial resources but still managed to attain the goal to build peace and defuse violence in 2011. Their success suggests that what the actors can do matters, reflecting on their ability to set up an aim and pursue it with the available resources.

Frame extension indicates a resilience in navigating challenges and opportunities for sustaining social movements. The actors identify challenges while deciding to which trajectory the movement was leading. With limited resources to counteract conflict narrative the Jakarta-based mass media broadcasted during the midst of violence, the peace movement actors used accessible communication platforms such as bulletin, social media, mobile phone, and personal network to convey messages that peace could start from "small actions" among individuals, family members, and neighbours. At that time, social media and mobile phones were used to overcome the distance between Ambon and Jakarta. The actors, for example, used hashtags and tagged the media's account asking for corrections and clarifications for inaccurate information broadcasted when violence occurred. A direct reach to the media was afforded despite the distance between Ambon and Jakarta. The media could directly respond to the actors' demand and other social media users could participate in the conversation, making the online interaction public (boyd, 2010). Such use of social media as a platform to overcome challenges a movement faces suggests that extending frames to a larger context not only

about engaging a wider audience to participate in the movement, but also utilising the already available infrastructures to overcome probable challenges hampering the movement from success.

Frame extension echoes social movement actors' ability to create opportunities for advancing the movement. In post-conflict Ambon, pressing environmental and social issues were opportunities to widen the scope of the peace movement. The actors set a new goal and used the networks established during the rise of the peace movement to articulate post-conflict issues. The new goal sustained the movement by giving it a new direction. The everyday peace frame was expanded to social change frame, indicating there were evolving concern and grievance following the end of the conflict. Such finding suggests that a frame extension occurs as the actors shared grievances, assemble them together into a new goal, and use the pre-existing networks to achieve the goal. The actors attend to issues that resonate to both the adherents and public's need, thereby preventing the movement from being disrupted and discontinuous (V. Taylor, 1986). Support is harnessed over time by aligning the movement's goal with the adherents and public's priorities.

Extending the frame, however, is challenging. The peace actors moved elsewhere or decided to pursue different lifepaths after the movement attained its immediate goal. The actors' participation tended to decline as the post-movement's individual commitments arose. Meanwhile, new recruits seemed to prefer personal gains over aiming to move forward collectively. Consequently, their commitment to promoting peace and change was short lived. Such situations made it difficult for the peace movement to reinvent itself

ideologically. In response, the movement organized subsequent movements and framed them in a way that could accommodate both old actors and new recruits. Promoting peace was still relevant but the conflict had ended. The social problems in post-conflict Ambon gave a larger working field for the movement to communicate with its existent supporters as well as with those interested in joining the subsequent movements. Such a strategy helped prevent the peace movement from waning.

b. Community event interactions have the potential to sustain social movements by providing the actors with the opportunity to mesh their pre-existing and new networks.

Interactions in gathering, campaigns, and community events facilitate social movement actors in framing the movement. Community events, however, have a distinct characteristic compared with gatherings and campaigns. They (community events) are more versatile in facilitating the development of the actors' personal and organisational relations. Personal relations develop through gatherings, in which the actors share mutual interests and personal matters such as hobbies, travelling plan, family and love lives. In comparison, organisational relations stem from the actors' interaction in campaigns such as strategising and recruiting volunteers, sharing expertise and information, and connecting to potential sources for helping attain the campaign's goal. Community events bridge the development of the two relations simultaneously. They provide the actors with the opportunity for both improving their personal interests and making friends while together organising the event. They therefore strengthen

relationship with others and accomplish relevant tasks.

Although different, gatherings, campaigns, and community events are platforms where the actors share new concerns and grievances. Both everyday peace and social change frames emerged when the peace movement actors interacted in such platforms. In this sense, community events played the same role as gatherings and campaigns in facilitating the actors to construct diagnostic and prognostic framing. Discontent towards public policies, the government's unaccountability and negligence in addressing societal issues were conversation topics continuously. The emotions that welled up from these conversations triggered the emergence of a common goal, from which a collective action arises (Nasie, Bar-Tal, & Shnaidman, 2014). After deciding that there was a need to organise a movement, the actors conveyed a reason for the adherents to exercise both individual and collective agencies to help attain the movement's goal (Goh & Pang, 2016). This finding suggests that sharing concerns and grievances in platforms is a start to diagnosing problems, offering solutions, and calling for support. The platforms provide the actors with an environment to crystallise their collective grievance and strategies for framing movement.

Interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events enabled social support for each other. The actors shared with others their life burdens such as financial issues, family matters, and losses. Their relationship strengthened when they finding that they can rely on each other for relieving the burdens (Futrell & Simi, 2004). For example, when one peace movement actor needed financial support, other actors solicited help. Some actors helped

others cope with conflict trauma and dealing with losing relatives while others listened to post-break-up stories and family problems (Wellman & Wortley, 1990). This finding suggests that the interaction can prelude a more meaningful relation as the actors share their personal problems and mutually sought solutions. Such interaction grooms their solidarity because one sees the problem of others as a problem of all. Their comradeship endured because of a need for each other.

Community events allowed the actors' pre-existing and new networks to mesh fluidly. The actors encountered prior friends at the event when befriending other attendants with mutual interests. Some actors may have backgrounds in common such as hometown, college, and social movement participation whereas others start to explore mutual interests in activism, arts, and movie production. The presence of such commonalities smoothened the relationship to develop further (Clark & Brennan, 1991). An actor can move around from one network to another, matches their interests with others, and shares problems and solutions with members of the networks. One can engage directly with others having a similar interest or reach out to members of a network with or without intermediaries. Such a fluid interaction shows that there is little hierarchy among the actors. Their relationship is collegial, giving rise to flexible communication between one and another as their networks link organically.

The emergence of mutual interests in the event enabled the actors with a chance to move forward together while seeking supports for social causes they considered affecting the society. This research found that having a similar

interest in photography and travelling, some actors engaged in community events such as photo hunting, island hopping, and travel writing workshops. The common interests inspired the actors to advance the tourism sector in the post-conflict Ambon. Changing the online image from the city of conflict to one that was safe to visit was imperative to attract visitors. That intention came up spontaneously when the actors witnessed unexplored tourism potentials during an island-hopping trip. Collaboration with relevant parties such as the National Geographic magazine, nationwide blogger communities, and local media companies were steps taken for executing the idea. This finding suggests that participating in community events opens the opportunity to assemble what each actor deems to be meaningful. They have a chance to pursue their respective interests while together seeking solutions for their collective problems. That is, the role of the events evolves from a medium for channelling personal interests into a venue to engineer such interests into a force for effecting change.

c. Actors' interactions can strengthen their relationship with others, but can also give rise to friction, which will keep the movement from sustaining if unresolved.

The impact of engaging in gathering, campaign, community event interactions on the actor's relationship with others is twofold. On the one hand, it strengthens the relationship as the opportunity to collaborate, coalesce, and develop friendship emerges (Diani et al., 2010; Staggenborg & Ramos, 2016; Stoddart & Tindall, 2010). The interaction enables actors to both work together to pursue a collective goal and cultivate interpersonal relations. On the other

hand, interactions can give rise to friction, which can erode the actors' sense of togetherness. The friction comes from betrayal accidental or otherwise, differences in personal preferences, different views, and a generation gap. A failure to address the friction will threaten the movement's sustainability. The actors use trust initially developed in previous movements, then go on to establish new goals, and then search for common grounds to address such sources of friction.

Friction stems from matters personal to group, often, however, intertwined. Both may threaten the movement in achieving its goal. Social movements consist of actors from different backgrounds united by a common goal. Although the actors' interaction can be organic, fluid, and spontaneous during the rise of the movement (Killian, 1984; Snow & Moss, 2014), organisational skills such as planning and organising are vital in ensuring that the movement can achieve its goal. Managing a grass-root movement requires, on one side, fluidity because the actors are friends and expect others to allow moving around from one community group and event to another. The fluidity prevents a strict hierarchy from regulating the interaction. On the other side, to ensure that the movement attains its goal, coordination and organisation of personnel and communication chain is necessary, a need for leadership resulting in some degree of hierarchy.

In the case of the peace movement, charismatic leaders emerged as the actors engaged in a series of interactions. For example, John was one charismatic leader who appeared during the time of conflict. His background as a priest provided access to the Christian community and his wide range of

contacts to both Muslim and international community enabled him to assemble a group of youths into peace provocateurs. Under his guidance, youngsters from both religious communities were involved in the movement, laying a groundwork for the growth of post-conflict community groups and social movements. The youths actively engaged in community events, gatherings, and campaigns, gaining access to other community groups and both local and national influential figures. They proactively searched for others with mutual interests and ways to be part of change through organising social movements advocating various societal issues. After the conflict ended, they led community groups to streamline their interests and intention to bring change to Ambon. At this stage, leadership positions became clear as they set internal rules and roles to manage their community groups as well as orchestrate collaborative works with others (Morris & Staggenborg, 2006).

Friction can be resolved organically as social movements actors choose to use informal approaches to resolve them. This research found that the peace movement actors galvanised the trust initially developed from past movements and established a common ground for resolving friction. Although having different views on the use of government funding in the movement, for example, the actors perceived having a good relationship with others was more important. Hence, ways to prevent the difference from deterring the relationship were sought. At this point, the trust developed during the time of violence played a role in reconciling the friction. Reminding each other that they kept each other safe during the conflict time was one way to resolve differences. Although friction is inevitable when organising movements, that there was a

moment when they entrusted their life to each other was a reason for not letting the friction destroy their relationship.

The actors' tendency to resolve friction organically manifested when a need to reactivate the network established in previous movements arose. Despite individual differences, the actors reached out to each other when they needed support and connected with others as their different worldviews was aligned with the new collective goal. This shows that social movements leave traces and can be retraced when necessary, in which the past gives a legacy to the later (McAdam et al., 2004). In the case of peace movement, the actors utilised networks that had developed from participation in the conflict prevention movement to support post-conflict movements such as Ema Bergerak and Save Aru. The actors' differences lingered, but the collective goal to bring change to the people of Ema and Aru reunited them. The network established in the conflict prevention movement remained and resurfaced as the actors shared post-conflict collective goals.

Unresolved friction can threaten the movement sustainability and therefore need to be resolved promptly. Otherwise, the continuation of the actors' comradery is at risk. Unresolved friction can put the movement in abeyance as the actors fail to see what bound them together, such as collective identity, goal, and common experience. Their comradeship loosens, activism declines, the movement suspends, dampens the inclination to coalesce and collaborate, and gives reasons for leaving the movement. For example, some actors involved in the peace movement withdrew from participating in community works because of individual differences such as incompatible

religious values to tolerate alcohol consumption. Muslim women actors, particularly, dissociated themselves from actors with alcohol drinking habit. They avoided being in the same group works or place where those actors were involved. Working together became difficult as events were cancelled and poorly organised. This finding suggests that accommodating individual differences is crucial for maintaining the actors' relationship with others. Good relationship enables collaboration, coalescence, and friendships whereas broken relationship facilitates social movement discontinuity. Efforts to accommodate differences and search for ways for resolving friction were necessary to sustain the movement.

The actors reminded each other to the facts that religion had been twisted into a source of conflicts and that their togetherness as a society helped find unity when their religious values appeared to be constraining to collaboration. The actors managed to work together in checking rumours and promoting peace at times of violence. This common past was used to talk down, for example, ones who enjoy drinking alcohol and the other who consider it unaligned with Islamic values to respect each other. The actors were able to bring their common past to the present for resolving the friction. Religious values, which could potentially impede the continuity of the movement as it turned to be constraining to collaboration in subsequent movements, were negotiated through the effort to search for common ground such as the need to attain the movements' immediate goal and to sustain peace in Ambon. With this in mind, the foundational ideology of the peace movement was transitive. It changed as its environment evolved. It accommodated the actors' differences

while asking the actors to put the common ground above their differences. The religion of the actors was framed as a personal choice whereas the common goal to promote peace and change was a collective action needed exercising to rebuild Ambon after the conflict.

To put the above discussion together, social movement sustainability is a function of the actors' ability to extend frames and reconcile friction while addressing changes within and outside the movement. Figure 8.1 illustrates this argument.

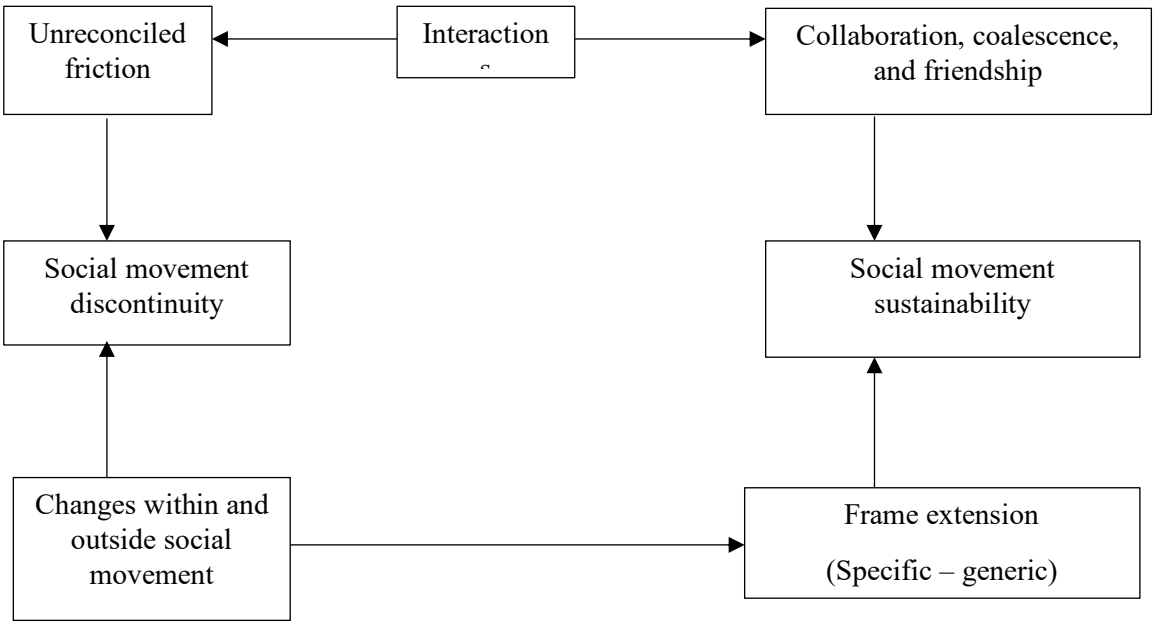


Figure 8.1. Social movement sustainability, actors' interaction, and frame extension

The actors' ability to extend frames is critical for social movement sustainability. A frame extends from specific to generic, such as from everyday peace frame to social change frame. The specific frame is originally used during the first rise of the movement whereas the generic frame is an extension of the

specific frame as new grievances and goals emerge. A failure to extend frames depicts a stage where the movement actors are unable to mobilise supports for the movement, establish a new goal, and neglect the adherents' grievances; hence, brings the movement to abeyance, descending episode, or discontinuity. Linking the movement to a wider issue both the adherents and public care about helps the movement stay relevant amid changes in its surrounding. That said, frame extension is an exercise of the actors' agency to navigate change and enable the movement to thrive over time.

Interactions in gatherings, community events, and campaigns, can both strengthen the actors' relations and produce friction. The actors' camaraderie may persist or plummet as friction emerges. A strong comradeship smooths the emergence of collaboration, coalescence, and friendships; therefore, helps sustain the movement. On the other hand, a weakening comradeship helps the movement enter the abeyance or declining phase. Friction can stem from negative experience from past interactions, generational and individual differences. They are resolvable as the actors utilise the pre-existing trust initially established in the previous movement and find new goal and common ground. Such indicates the actors' active intent to keep their relationship solid, allowing the movement to keep forward. Since interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events can both benefit and detriment the movement, constant efforts to seek ways for preventing its detrimental effects to the actors' relationship with others is essential.

Both extending frames and reconciling friction are forms of social movement actors' agencies to sustain the movement. The actors respond to both

in and outside changes of the movement. Internal friction needs reconciling because it can weaken the actors' comradeship for achieving common goals. Whereas, shifts of issues in the surrounding are sources from where the actors can establish new goals and keep the movement relevant. Both extending frame and reconciling friction are strategies to ensure the longevity of movement by looking inwardly at the dynamics of the movement and outwardly at emerging issues affecting the society. The actors' inability to extend frame and reconcile friction can disrupt the movement as the actors fail to adapt with changes and do not see reason to stay with the movement. Ensuring that there are ways and sources (e.g. pre-existing trust, goals, and common grounds) to reconcile friction and expand the scope of the movement is important to enable the movement to survive. Both extending frames and reconciling friction reflect the actors' capability to navigate constraints to social movement sustainability.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

Political opportunity structure and resource mobilisation approaches have dominated the explanation for why social movements sustain. The main argument is, put simply, if political opportunities and resources are present, social movements are likely to sustain (Cai, 2017; Zald & Ash, 1966). Such a line of thinking is rooted in the heyday of social movement studies dating back in the mid-20th century. Tension between the state and ordinary citizens coloured the rise of movements in the US and Europe, making the availability of political opportunities and resources pertinent for explaining the growth, decay, and sustainability of movements (McAdam, 1982; Poletta & Ho, 2006).

This research based on the Ambonese peace movement found that such an understanding of movement sustainability to be mechanistic and structural. Instead, it found that sustainability stemmed from the actors' ability to extend frames and reconcile frictions within the movement. That said, sustainability is not always a function of political opportunity and resource availability but embedded in the actors' agency to recast undesirable situations affecting the movement.

This study posed three research questions:

a) how do social movement frames change over time and to what extent do such changes help sustain the movement?

b) what are platforms that enable social movement actors to construct the frames?

c) how does interacting in the platforms affect the movement actors' relationship with others?

The following elaborates each finding.

a. Social movement actors extend the frames for sustaining the movement.

The Ambonese peace movement actors extended the everyday peace frame to social change. The everyday peace frame "packaged" quotidian practices among Christians and Muslims for preventing violence (Phase 1) and curbing segregation (Phase 2). The social change frame was for strategically conveying the need to collectively rebuild Ambon after more than a decade of living with violence (Phase 3). Addressing policy issues such as public space lacking, environmental destruction, and government unaccountability gave a new goal for the movement. The social change frame extended the everyday peace frame as the key actors of Phase 1 and 2 were involved in various social movements after the conflict. This finding suggests that a frame extension is a continuation of a frame the actors initially employ to achieve the movement's goal. Linking the goal to a wider context such as policy change helps sustain the movement as its relevance to the current problems remains. Diagnostic and prognostic frames expand from intending to solve a specific problem such as violence and segregation to general issues such as demanding government accountability and advocating environmental policies.

b. Interactions in community events, gatherings and campaigns, facilitate the construction of frame by allowing the actors' pre-existing and new networks to mesh.

In such platforms, the actors share new grievances, concerns, and goals for bettering the society collectively. In Ambon, community groups mushroomed after the 2011 conflict erupted. The key actors perceived collaborating with other groups was needful to prevent violence, curb segregation, and advocate policies. They organised community events catering to the interest of community groups in arts, education, and information technology. The events facilitated individuals and their affiliated groups to interact with others and connect them with new people. Their networks therefore expanded, increasing the opportunities to collaborate to solve problems, strategise further steps, and call for actions. This finding indicates that community events offered the opportunity to engage in both casual and structured interactions such as talking about hobbies and organising collective actions. This is different from gatherings and campaigns which only offer one or another type of interactions. The community event smoothens the formation of new networks as the actors' pre-existing network expands while engaging in mutual interactions with other members of community groups.

c. Interactions in gatherings, campaigns, and community events can strengthen the actors' relationship with others but also trigger friction among them.

A strong relation embodies in the form of friendship, coalescence, and collaboration whereas friction emerges from betrayal, personal preferences,

generation gap, and dissent on strategies. This research found that friction was unavoidable as the peace movement actors dealt with incompatibility in their personal values, betrayal and a lack of transparency from other actors, and disagreement on the use of government funding and social media for succeeding the movement. To resolve the friction, the actors reanimated trust established during the conflict prevention movement, set up a new goal, and sought a common ground. This finding suggests that the effect of interactions in gathering, campaign, and community event to the actors' relationship is twofold. The actors' ability to reconcile friction is needful for sustaining the movement.

Limitation

This research used convenient sampling method to recruit informants. Although not critical in qualitative research as the intention was to find insights transferable to other contexts rather than generalisation, attempts were made to minimise this issue of convenient sampling. Informants' reticence constrained data collection process. It manifested in subtly rejecting the invitation to interviews, avoiding contacts, or doubting my capability of understanding their experience. For example, an informant was reluctant to be interviewed because previous interactions with researchers led to little benefit for the betterment of Ambon. Researchers came and left without sharing their findings nor acknowledging that the findings were a result of interactions with informants. Some developed the perception that all researchers wanted to take advantage of the Ambonese. More than that, the informant was tired of answering repetitive questions since prior researchers had focused on only conflict and peace but

neglected what the actors had done to recover from the conflict. Such experiences became a reference for interacting with the present researcher, making it difficult to gain access to several informants and groups. To address such difficulty, I volunteered in fundraising events the informants organised to demonstrate my immediate and concrete contribution, hence, reducing their inhibition to participate in my research. I also asked them to share thoughts regarding their previous research experience to find out what other researchers have investigated and learn what the informants wanted to share, thus preventing me from repeating the same questions and topics.

The majority of informants is male, resulting in a gender-bias dataset. The extant conception of women's position in the Ambonese society was a fundamental cause for such a skewness. Many still believed that participating in public affairs such as social movements was a male activity. Visitors to coffeehouses, for example, were predominantly by male. Women visited coffeehouses either in a group or with their male counterparts. The informants mentioned that only a few women could be seen at coffeehouses before the conflict. After it ended, more women visited coffeehouses to socialise and attend events. In Indonesia, women's participation in public affairs is low mainly (with the shining example of President Megawati) because of the culture and religious beliefs defining public and domestic roles of women in the country.

Gender, however, was not the primary focus of this study. An adequate understanding on the role of gender in framing and social movement continuity remains obscure. Further research can focus on women-led organisations that

have partaken in peacebuilding in Ambon. In the 1999 conflict, the Women's Care Movement demanded that the government to address the conflict seriously while its supporters pledged to discourage male significant others from going to war. In addition to this movement, peace practices that women fish merchants performed at barter transactions and border markets are another possible research area.

Another caveat in data collection was my personal identity as a Javanese with Muslim name. A misconception that the Javanese has been privileged by the national government seemed to make some informants defensive. They perceived there was unjust development between the West (e.g. Java Island) and East Indonesia (Papua, Ambon, and the surrounding islands). The national government had neglected the East by allocating most tax payers' money and natural resources to build Java rather than distribute them equally across the country. Hence, Java has been well-developed compared with other islands. This notion constrained data collection as the informants were careful when pointing out the development gap between both regions or the role of Javanese paramilitary groups during the conflict.

My Muslim name became a barrier to collect data from the Christian community. Questions regarding religion often came up and became a point of departure for further topics such as ethnicity and residence. For example, when I was in the same car with a group of Christians, after finding that my full name was derived from the Arabic language, several Christians were quiet and avoided discussing their conflict experience. I handled the caveat by revealing my standpoint and religious identity. I assured them that I would give the best

attempt to be impartial in conducting my research and I am a non-believer and was raised by a Christian grandmother. This strategy granted me access to both religious communities.

Implication

The present findings have the potential to enrich extant studies on framing and revive the use of organisational theories to understand social movement continuity.

First, many studies have focused on diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames that movements employed for mobilising support and adherents (for recent examples see Al-Rawi (2014); Asara (2016); Goh & Pang (2016); Westphal (2017)). These studies have been critiqued as neglecting processes in the construction of frames, only identifying the types, and ignoring later developments of frames and hence giving the impression that the use of frames had stagnant (Benford, 1997; Snow et al., 2014). These critiques are rooted in the researchers' decision to focus only on ascending and peak episodes and give inadequate attention to descending episode of the movements.

This research has demonstrated the birth of a new frame after the old one is deemed irrelevant to present societal problems. The finding evidences that peace movement actors extended everyday peace to social change frame as they found new concerns such as the effect of the conflict to the environment, deprivations in economy and education, and the government's accountability. The frame initially intended to address a specific issue such as violence and conflict and then to broader issues such as public policies. The actors needed to

construct a new frame as the peace movement descended, in which social change frame was an extension of everyday peace frame.

Second, this research found that actors' ability to reconcile frictions within movements facilitates movement sustainability. This finding has the potential to revive the application of organisational theories in social movement studies that many scholars have pointed out as dwindling (Davis, McAdam, Scott, & Zald, 2005). Advocates of the functional approach have suggested formal ways such as rules, accommodation, and negotiation for resolving friction within organisations (Pondy, 1967). This research found the opposite. The peace movement actors used informal ways such as galvanising existent trust and seeking common grounds to resolve their friction. Imposing rules for resolving friction could be inappropriate since actors preferred informal approach. Rules, if imposed, could be interpreted as an exercise of power with the potential to elicit a view that the actors' relationship is unequal. Thus, it could impede friction resolution.

In comparison, an informal approach such as seeking common grounds might help the actors rediscover reasons for joining in the movement at first place and allow one another to settle individual preferences while collectively achieving common goals. In that case, managing movements is related to human management. Appreciating differences is pivotal to keep the actors interested in the movement because initiatives and choices guide social movement participation. Some actors join in because of seeking room for articulating their individual values while others stay on the movement because of feeling appreciated. Thus, the finding can practically be a consideration

whether institutionalisation, professionalisation of staffs, bureaucracies, and organisational statutes are needed after, for example, grassroots movements achieve their immediate goals.

Third, the finding contributes to address the structural and cultural divide in social movement theories. It demonstrates the ability of the actors to mobilise the resources necessary to attain immediate goals, especially during the ascendant and peak episodes of a movement. The movement frame is thus a strategy to gain support from both adherents and bystanders. The ability to create a message that resonates with these audiences is a rational decision to create a momentum for change. In this sense, framing is not merely cultural, but also instrumental, used to manage movement continuity. The fact that the actors, in the context of this study, had limited resources and political opportunities makes framing become a viable strategy to do just that.

The actors' common past and shared ideology were the ingredient for persistent participation. These two cultural elements of the movement laid a common ground to continue supporting subsequent movements and to resolve friction that arose from disagreements on the strategy and tactics to attain immediate goals. Some actors moved on with their life after the movement successfully achieved the goals. But, the common past, for example, motivated them to interact with others. Reanimating memories and linking the past to present were some of the reasons to stay on the movement despite changes in situation and post-movement life. The actors' interactions became a ritual that kept the glow of the movement alive over time.

Fourth, the findings have the potential to offer insights to knowledge on peace building in protracted conflicts, especially when the availability of resources and political opportunity to build peace is limited. Framing peace as a collective goal that everyone affected by the conflict can partake in is applicable to other contexts. Violent conflicts in most cases are political in intent. There are parties who gain social and economic benefits from them. The politics makes a small-scale violent event bigger as the politicians and spin machines take advantage of its presence to leverage their positions. This is particularly critical in when identity politics is used to inflict hatred on minorities and to derail political processes in democratising societies. In response, any grassroots peace movement needs to find ways to empower ordinary citizens to understand such complexity. Framing peace as a collective goal in everyday life makes everybody feel the need to make peace in time of violence. When violent conflicts are political, it is the grassroots actors that need to communicate messages to relive the civic spirit. The conflict can potentially corrode the entire society as violent narratives circulate extensively in public. Utilising local wisdoms and practices embedded in mundane activities as a material to frame peace elicits a view that peace is not a foreign idea to the adversaries. Peace is embedded in the society, yet is disrupted by the conflict. Bringing back this form of societal consciousness allows for reconciliation.

While the present findings can contribute to the above line of studies, I also serendipitously observed the role of leaders in sustaining the peace movement. During the conflict, leadership was rooted in the actors' positions in

their communities. Priest, imam, and village head, for example, naturally led peace-building activities and worked together with other leaders and authorities to prevent violence from spreading. Such types of leaders were apparent during the rise of peace provocateur movement, in which Islamic and Christian leaders gathered youths from their respective community to start the movement. These leaders had a close connection with formal bodies such as the government, military, church and mosque associations, and international non-governmental organisations. After the conflict, they had the chance to continue the movement to the high level by incorporating peacebuilding in the school curriculum and local development plan.

Conversely, charismatic leaders emerged after the conflict prevention movement. These leaders had no organisational position but the ability to access diverse community groups; they could mobilise the support and resources needed for post-conflict movements such as Save Aru and Save Ema. These leaders possessed a capability to connect the need of one community to another while introducing them to external sources that could help improve their works. In other words, charismatic leadership was remote from formal organisation nor held certain position in the social hierarchy but stemmed from the ability to identify diverse interests and networked them to each other and relevant sources (Bass, 1999; Bass & Riggio, 2006). The presence of this type of leaders seemed to have a substantial role in sustaining movements in the post-conflict Ambon.

Future research

Therefore, a focus on formal and charismatic leaders would appear to be a promising future research avenue. Political opportunity structure and resource mobilisation scholars have posed leaders as entrepreneurs whose ability to form opportunities and bring resources into movements. Alternatively, proponents of cultural approach view leadership as a form of agencies that actors exercise to alter undesirable situations (Morris & Staggenborg, 2006). The middle ground from these two views is that leaders often work within structures, are affected by, and capable of affecting the structures (della Porta & Diani, 2006). This general understanding of leadership in movements, however, has neglected types of leaders that emerge in different movement episodes, how their leadership ebbs and flows, and what makes them leaders in different episodes. Taking this as a starting point for investigating the continuity and change of charismatic and formal leaders thus is potential to contribute to the current understanding of leadership in social movements.

Further, the role of leaders in framing movements can put forward the present findings. Charismatic or formal, leaders are inseparable from where they are and what shape and reshape their leadership. Their way of life, identity, and ideology are often observable when interacting with followers in gatherings, campaigns, and community events. Scholars have ignored such elements when investigating frames. In fact, a small group with strong leadership qualities is often behind a construction of frames. The group is often linked with higher power holders and capable of making use of it for attaining movement goals. It has the capacity to convey the same problems and solutions

in different ways in order for bringing those in power to partake in movements. Looking at this capacity, embedded in the leader biographies, can better understand the production and efficacy of frames in identifying problems, offering the solutions, and calling for actions.

Context-wise, future research can switch the focus from grassroots movements as this research had conducted to transnational movement actors and their competition and cooperation. Investigating frames that the transnational social movements employed for gaining supports from regional and national adherents will help understand how frames are adjusted to be fit into local contexts. This endeavour will further the present finding where social movement frames broadened after the movement achieved its goal in promoting peace at a local level. Paying attention to transnational Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) may answer whether there is need to localise frames for making them resonant with the adherents. For example, transnational SMOs such as Open Society Foundation employ injustice frame to promote access to information and technology for strengthening democracy in developing countries. Such a broad frame may need adjusting to resonate with the local adherents. The question however how and in what extent the adjustment is necessary. Answering that will better understand conditions enabling social movements to extend or narrow their frames over time.

Investigating cooperation and competition among social movement actors can expand the finding on internal friction the present study has demonstrated. Future research may focus on SMOs or community groups advocating social, political, and economic issues. Answering questions such as

how framing the movement in such a way helps them thrive in the competition of mobilising resources, how the presence of countermovement and restrictions from the authorities affects the construction of frames, and how framing strategies can address a lack of resources and political opportunities. What are conditions enabling social movement actors to cooperate and to what extent competition is necessary for different movements to coalesce? Answering such questions will help identify barriers to cooperation and enablers to competition, which has the potential to unfold the effect of one movement to others and their strategies to sustain.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Example of Interview Questions
(Adapted)

- How did you guys initially get involved in the movement?
- Could you recall what rumors you heard during the 2011 conflict?
- How did you respond to the rumor?
- Could you provide an example of your roles within the conflict prevention movement/Filterinfo?
- How did you guys straighten up misreporting on the conflict in Seram with Ambon?
- Back in 2011, where did you guys collect together? Can you tell what topics do you all often exchange?
- People have moved on with their lives after the conflict ceded. How about you all?
- Why do you still get involved in the movement despite you are all are now living outside Ambon?
- You have focused on your work lately, how do you manage your involvement in the community groups?
- How do you see these changes in life (e.g., marriage, family, work) affecting the sustainability of the movement?
- Why do you still interact with some people you met through the conflict prevention movement?
- What do you think about the current development of social movements in Ambon?

APPENDIX 2 EXAMPLE OF FIELDNOTE

Example of Fieldnote
(Adapted)

Event: Returning Activists and current activists gathering night
Place: The Street Café

Date: July 9, 2016
Time: 05:45 – 08:30 PM

At the Street, waiting for PA and Yul. Gatherings have become a ritual for them. This coffee shop was the place they used to wait until the Paparisa was ready for use back in 2014–2015. After that, this café still becomes a place where they meet, reanimating what they were doing during the conflict prevention movement. Tonight, they were here together, taking advantage of the Id Mubarak holidays. Both PA and Yul still live in Ambon but Bur, another activist, has recently moved to Jakarta. I met him in the previous year fieldwork. The likeliness the three of them could meet has decreased since.

Out of my expectation, the attendees varied. A mixture of actors who have left and remained in Ambon. Fifteen people were there, only three women. Three of them with veils. I found out that this was a moment of gathering and has become an annual event. Something like a small reunion for them. The conversation was very fluid, full of jokes and it seemed no one was interested in talking about anything serious or related to social movements or conflicts.

…

A few people were talking about an idea in the gathering: D, PA, V, YO, and Y. They were discussing and brainstorming on organizing TrotoArt (music on the sidewalk). Some points I could retrieved were:

- Identification of contents, e.g. bands, music and performances.
- Identification of the resources needed, e.g. who can do what, budget, and equipment (i.e. lighting and sound system).
- Selection of venue, e.g. café? Hotel? Sidewalk? Or street junction around the city's library?
- Distribution of people and labors
- Selection of promotion tools

The meeting was very informal and spontaneous as D said will have a gig this month. They shared ideas in a very calm way, no strain or raising voices. They threw some jokes sometimes and came back to the topic. Around 7:19, only three of them left. Yul looked busy with her phone while Yeso was about to leave.

I had a chance to set an interview appointment with Yeso. He is a member of Filterinfo. He seems a little bit hesitant to say yes when I was asking him to participate in the interview. PA helped me convince him. When I asked whether he still recalled his involvement in Filterinfo, his response was: 'It's been a long time ago'. I said, but you are still an activist. 'I have retired… I focus on my work, family and, kid'.

Analysis:

- This example reminds me to the concept of information grounds and social information sharing.
- Yeso's comment shows that the movement has descended as the activists' personal lives evolve i.e. moving, getting married, focusing on jobs and children. Probable questions would be: why they still want to involve in the movement regardless of such shifts?

Further steps:

- Check with M and Yul regarding recent community groups' activities
- Ask PA regarding community group leaders' contacts.
- Check with Yeso regarding why he still involves with Paparisa and other social movement events? Possible to this to PA and YA as well.

APPENDIX 3 INFORMATION SHEET (Indonesian version)

Information Sheet (Indonesian Version)

Informasi Penelitian

IRB-2014-12-032

Judul Penelitian

Berbagi Informasi dalam Konteks Transformasi Konflik

Peneliti Utama

Asst Prof Pang Lee San Natalie, NTU Singapore, School of Communication and Information.

Nomor Telepon Kontak Peneliti

+65 8208 2941

Email Kontak Peneliti

abdulroh001@e.ntu.edu.sg

Hal apa yang perlu saya tahu tentang penelitian ini secara umum?

Anda akan diminta secara sukarela berperan serta dalam penelitian ini. Anda dapat menolak atau mengundurkan diri tanpa denda. Penelitian ini bermaksud untuk menghasilkan pengEtahuan baru tentang berbagi informasi yang dapat membantu masyarakat di masa depan. Anda mungkin tidak menerima keuntungan langsung dari penelitian ini tetapi kesadaran Anda tentang berbagi informasi dalam transformasi konflik dapat meningkat. Tidak ada risiko tersendiri dalam peran serta Anda. Adalah penting untuk memahami lembar informasi ini sehingga Anda dapat mengambil pilihan secara informatif sebelum berperan serta. Anda dapat mengajukan pertanyaan kepada peneliti di atas tentang penelitian ini kapan pun.

Apa tujuan dari penelitian ini?

Kami ingin memahami aktivitas dan pengalaman Anda dalam mentransformasi konflik di Ambon dari sudut pandang perilaku informasi.

Berapa orang akan berperan serta dalam penelitian ini?

Anda akan menjadi salah satu dari 30 orang yang diharapkan dalam penelitian ini jika Anda memutuskan untuk berperan serta.

Berapa lama saya akan diwawancara?

Maksimus 2 jam dan 20 menit telepon tindak lanjut jika perlu.

Apa yang akan terjadi jika saya berperan serta dalam penelitian ini?

Peneliti akan bertanya pengalaman Anda selama terlibat dalam transformasi konflik kekerasan di Ambon. Peneliti akan merekam dan/atau mencatat apa yang Anda katakan. Anda akan diminta secara sukarela menyediakan dokumen terkait (misal:

laporan, gambar, dll). Jika Anda berkenan, Anda akan juga diminta untuk merujuk kontak lain yang berbeda dengan Anda (misal berbeda umur, lokasi, pekerjaan, dll). Anda tidak harus menjawab pertanyaan jika Anda merasa tidak nyaman. Anda memiliki hak penuh untuk tidak membuka diri dengan beragam alasan.

Keuntungan apa yang akan saya peroleh melalui peran serta saya?

Anda secara pribadi tidak akan mendapat keuntungan dari penelitian ini tapi kami senang untuk mengirimkan salinan elektronik dari temuan ketika penelitian selesai.

Kemungkinan risiko apa yang akan saya hadapi?

Pada dasarnya kami meminta pengalaman pribadi sesuai dengan keputusan Anda sehingga sepertinya tidak akan ada risiko.

Bagaimana privasi saya akan dilindungi?

Akan membuat nama samaran untuk Anda, tidak berhubungan dengan identitas, dan menggunakannya di transkripsi. Sebelum wawancara, peneliti akan meminta ijin untuk mengutip tanggapan dan isi dokumen dalam laporan penelitian. Mohon ingat bahwa seseorang dapat saja mengenali Anda dengan membaca tanggapan dan isi dokumen.

Akankah saya menerima sesuatu dari penelitian ini?

Tidak.

Akankah saya mengeluarkan biaya?

Tidak.

Dapatkah saya membagi informasi tentang penelitian ini ke orang lain?

Ya tetapi mohon tidak meneruskan undangan ke orang lain. Jika Anda menerima undangan dari selain kami, mohon mengabaikannya. Anda dapat berbicara secara ringkas tentang penelitian ini tapi tidak datanya.

Bagaimana jika saya punya pertanyaan tentang penelitian ini?

Tanyakan saja! Silahkan hubungi saya atau peneliti utama jika Anda memiliki pertanyaan lebih lanjut.

Saya ingin tahu hak saya sebagai partisipan penelitian, kemana saya harus pergi?

Jika Anda memiliki pertanyaan atau kekhawatiran tentang hak-hak Anda sebagai subjek penelitian silahkan hubungi, secara anonim jika berkenan, NTU IRB di Block N2.1 B4-07 76 Nanyang Drive Singapore 637331 atau (+65-65922495), atau email irb@ntu.edu.sg.

Terima kasih dan kami sangat menghargai peran serta Anda dalam penelitian ini.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (English Version)

My name is Abdul Rohman and I am a doctoral student under the supervision of Asst Prof Pang Lee San Natalie at School of Communication and Information, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. You are invited to participate in a research about information sharing in the context of conflict transformation. I am conducting it to examine the information sharing process to transform violent conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Ambon. We request that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in this study.

If you agree to participate, we will ask you to do the following things:

• Participate in an interview with a maximum duration of 1 hour.

• Participate in a follow-up phone call with a maximum duration of 30 minutes.

There is no penalty if you decide not to participate or choose to withdraw from the study at anytime. The results of this study may be published but your name will not be used. There are no foreseeable risks to participating in this study. While there are no foreseeable direct benefits to participating in this study, your own awareness about information sharing to transform conflict might improve.

Compensation: You will NOT receive payment for participating in this study.

The records of this study (including audio recordings) will be kept private and confidential. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify an individual. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records. Recordings will be retained for 10 years after completion of the dissertation. You may ask any question you have now. If you have a question later, you are encouraged to contact Asst Prof Pang Lee San Natalie at (+65)6790 4881 or nlspang@ntu.edu.sg. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), you are encouraged to contact the NTU IRB at Block N2.1 B4-07 76 Nanyang Drive Singapore 637331 or (+65-65922495), or by email at irb@ntu.edu.sg.

You will be given a copy of this information for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

_____
_____

Signature Date

_____

Signature of Investigator Date

APPENDIX 4 INFORMANT DEMOGRAPHICS and RECRUITMENT CHANNELS

Informant	Age	Religion	Gender	Education	Affiliation	Formal Position	Recruitment Channel
Abi	44	Muslim	M	Doctorate	Public Islamic State Institute	Lecturer	Referral
Al	34	Muslim	M	Bachelor	Blogger Maluku	Leader	Online, mutual contact
Apri	31	Christian	M	Master	Filterinfo	Group member	Referral
Bridgit	60	Catholic	F	Master	Women's Care Movement	Key actor	Referral
Chal	25	Christian	M	High school	Batu Karang	Leader	Referral
Cry	25	Catholic	M	High school	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak	Adherent	Referral
Ebin	34	Christian	F	High school	The Street Café	Server	Referral
Ep	34	Muslim	M	Master	Pasir Putih Café	Owner	Referral
Eros	30	Christian	M	Bachelor	Tahuri Hip Hop	Leader	Referral
For	60	Muslim	M	High school	Lela Café	Regular	Café, in person
Fra	32	Christian	M	High school	Moluccas Rap in Chain	Leader	Referral
Glen	44	Christian	M	High school	Moluccan Backpackers	Leader	Referral
GlenP	50	Christian	F	Bachelor	Joas Café	Regular	Referral
Hel	33	Christian	F	Master	Young Peace Ambassadors	Leader	Referral
Hil	40	Muslim	F	Bachelor	TIFA	Key actor	Referral

Iki	22	Muslim	M	High school	Rumah Kita Hila	Leader	Referral
Ina	33	Christian	F	Bachelor	Yayasan Arika Mahina	Leader	Referral
Indam	30	Muslim	F	Bachelor	Maluku Baronda	Key actor	Referral
IP	30	Muslim	F	Bachelor	ANTARA News	Journalist	Referral
Ir	28	Muslim	M	High school	Bengkel Seni Embun	Key actor	Referral
Ita	30	Christian	F	Master	NA	Café visitor	Café
John	52	Christian	M	Master	Peace Provocateur Movement	Key actor	Referral
Jim	32	Christian	M	Bachelor	Filterinfo	Member	Referral
Joas	55	Christian	M	Middle school	Joas Café	Owner	Café
Jos	45	Catholic	M	Master	University of Pattimura	Lecturer	Referral
Mas	32	Christian	M	Bachelor	Filterinfo	Member	Referral
Mar	30	Christian	M	High school	MISA	Leader	Referral
Mark	26	Christian	M	High school	Maluku Hip Hop Community	Key actor	Community event
Mor	32	Christian	M	Bachelor	Maluku Hip Hop Community	Key actor	Café
Nancy	33	Christian	F	High school	Gong Perdamaian	Staff	Work place, in person
Noel	31	Christian	M	Bachelor	Kompas TV	Journalist	Referral
Pet	25	Christian	F	High school	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak	Adherent	Referral

Pi	34	Christian	M	Bachelor	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak	Key actor	Referral
Rev	32	Christian	M	Bachelor	Bengkel Sastra Maluku	Leader	Referral
Rif	27	Muslim	M	Bachelor	Balaedoc	Leader	Referral
Ron	30	Christian	M	Bachelor	Kopi Badati Movement	Key actor	Referral
Ros	52	Christian	F	Bachelor	Yayasan Pelangi Suara Damai Ambon	Leader	Referral
Rus	32	Muslim	F	Bachelor	Kompasioner Maluku	Leader	Referral
Ryo	30	Christian	M	Bachelor	NA	Musician	Referral
Ryo D	25	Christian	M	High school	Cidade de Amboina	Key actor	Community event
Sali	35	Muslim	F	Bachelor	Maluku Baronda	Key actor	Café
Sem	32	Christian	M	Bachelor	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak	Key actor	Referral
Shu	27	Christian	M	Bachelor	The Maranatha Church	Staff	Referral
Stan	32	Christian	M	Master	Hekaleka	Leader	Referral
Bur	33	Muslim	M	Master	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak	Key actor	Referral
Tir	28	Muslim	F	Bachelor	Penyala Ambon	Leader	Referral
Vic	30	Christian	M	Bachelor	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak	Adherent	Referral
Vin	25	Christian	M	High school	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak	Adherent	Paparisa Ambon Bergerak

Wes	36	Christian	M	Bachelor	Gunung Mimpi Community	Leader	Referral
Wies	31	Christian	F	Master	Urban Planning Office	Staff	Referral
Wir	28	Christian	M	Bachelor	Filterinfo	Member	Referral
Yes	30	Christian	M	Bachelor	Filterinfo	Member	Community event
Yul	32	Muslim	F	Bachelor	Maluku Baronda	Key actor	Referral