

Makassar City's New Social Movement Based on Literacy (Paradigma Institute Makassar Case Study)

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Abstrak : Gerakan sosial ditandai dengan kolektivitas yang bergerak berdasarkan tujuan bersama. Selama ini gerakan sosial lahir atas respons terhadap situasi yang dianggap tidak ideal. Paradigma Institute Makassar merupakan organisasi semi formal yang mengusung ide-ide perubahan berbasis isu literasi. Melalui kacamata gerakan sosial baru, isu gerakan literasi Paradigma Institute mengupayakan gerakan sosial dengan mengkaji isu-isu perubahan sosial melalui aksi perubahan berupa kelas kajian ilmu sosial, kelas menulis, dan forum bedah buku. Tujuan tulisan ini ingin mengungkap pertama, relasi isu literasi dengan perubahan sosial melalui analisis gerakan sosial, dan model program yang dipakai untuk menyediakan perubahan sosial berdasarkan visi Paradigma Institute sebagai gerakan sosial baru. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif. Analisis data dilakukan melalui tiga tahap yaitu reduksi data, sajian data dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menemukan dua hal pokok, pertama, Paradigma Institute merupakan organisasi semi formal yang bekerja berdasarkan model gerakan sosial baru untuk merealisasi visi misinya di antaranya untuk melahirkan produk masyarakat tercerahkan. Kedua, perubahan yang diupayakan dikonstruksikan melalui aksi perubahan berupa program kelas kajian ilmu sosial, kelas menulis, bedah buku. Di era digital seperti sekarang ini, Paradigma Institute juga berkesempatan dalam rangka memperluas dampaknya melalui penggunaan teknologi informasi, berupa website organisasi, sehingga memungkinkan transformasi sosial yang lebih luas dan berkelanjutan.

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Institute is a semi-formal organization that operates based on a new social movement model to realize its vision and mission, including the aim of producing an enlightened society. Second, the change actions, such as social science study programs, writing classes, and book discussions, concretize the changes the organization pursues. In this digital era, Paradigma Institute also has the opportunity to expand its impact through the use of information technology, in the form of an organizational website, thus enabling broader and more sustainable social transformation.

Kata kunci: *Gerakan Sosial Baru; Paradigma Institute; Literasi*

Abstract : Social movements are characterized by collectivity that acts based on a common goal. Until now, situations deemed less than ideal have sparked the emergence of social movements. The Paradigma Institute Makassar is a semi-formal organization that promotes change based on literacy issues. The literacy movement of the Paradigma Institute, viewed through the lens of new social movements, aims to foster social change by exploring social change issues through transformative actions like social science study classes, writing classes, and book discussion forums. The primary goal of this writing is to examine the connection between literacy issues and social change by analyzing social movements and program models that promote social change, all within the framework of the Paradigma Institute's vision as a new social movement. This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach. We conduct data analysis through three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. The research findings reveal two main points. First, the Paradigma

Keywords : *New Social Movement; Paradigm Institute; Literacy*

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Introduction

The expression on his face showed signs of exhaustion. As it approached nine o'clock in the evening, his voice turned hoarse. At first, this woman passionately led the forum. However, as time passes and the discussion that night continues to be lengthy, the energy begins to wane. Now it's his turn to read his essay aloud, following the same method as the other participants.

Hajrah wrote an essay about Karl Marx's thoughts. Her writing is quite lengthy. Hajrah's writing is unique in that she juxtaposes Karl Marx with the Prophet Muhammad Saw through the concept of an egalitarian society. We recognize these two figures as important characters in the history of social change. Hajrah's writing draws inspiration from a book. Initially he intended to review the book, but he hesitated to do so. That's why this time he focused more on rewriting the important parts of the book he read, of course using his own words.

The activities above are part of the literacy class program of the Paradigma Institute Makassar, which has been running since 2015. Since 1990, the Paradigma Institute Makassar has been a semi-formal community. Various segments of society, particularly students, come together in the Paradigma Institute's literacy class to hone their thinking and writing skills. Like most writing classes, the Paradigma Literacy Class aims to produce young writers with transformative and critical ideas.

As a community, the Paradigma Institute is a social movement that operates collectively to intervene in society. Thus far, the Paradigma Institute's social movement has emphasized a paradigmatic transformation-rooted vision of change, characterized by the transformation of ideas through various efforts such as ongoing or thematic discussion activities.

Since its founding, the Paradigma Institute has been a research and publishing organization that has carried out a variety of activities to promote social change within its purview, including studies, discussions, workshops, book reviews, publishing, and thematic classes.

A key marker of social movements is collective efforts that involve participation from groups of people or organizations, as demonstrated by the Paradigma Institute all this time. In this regard, the Paradigma Institute's social movement includes a number of students, activists, youth, and organizations that share similar interests or concerns about its goals and vision. Through its activities, the Paradigma Institute aims to broaden its audience's understanding of the literacy-related issues it studies. In this context, the Paradigma Institute's social movement's orientation seeks to bring about continuous change by altering perceptions and attitudes and encouraging the emergence of behavioral changes in society.

Three things mark social change: the existence of ideas, the subjects of change, and the role of the simultaneous processes of change itself until it reaches its peak, known as revolution. These three subjects dialectically form social movements. According to many experts, social movements are the primary means to change and reorganize society's social structure.

Blummer (Piotr Sztrompka, 2005) refers to social movements as efforts to establish a new order of life. Meanwhile, Laurer emphasizes an organization's collective efforts to control or change the direction of change. Among the efforts of groups that claim to represent collectivity, the role of citizens who gather in an organizational framework is one significant factor in relation to the emergence of social movements. In today's era, it is important to observe the forms of new social movements that are emerging and solidifying into organizations or community groups.

In the review of new social movements, it is important to examine the changes in orientation, models, and foundations of social movements that underwent transformation in the mid-1960s. New social movements are more flexible, open, and broad compared to old social movements, which placed greater emphasis on class ideology in determining the role of the social movement itself. If the Marxian paradigm largely inspired old social movements, new social movements no longer prioritize a single ideological, institutional, and fragmented mainstream of thought. According (Prasisko, 2016), new social movements after World War II have evolved based on issues related to race, gender, age, employment opportunities, civil rights, equality, the environment, and gender.

The most striking characteristic of new social movements is their plural nature. In other words, this is a consequence of his openness to the involvement of actors and a wider range of social issues. Unlike previous concepts of social movements, as a novelty post-Marxism, the ideological goals of each new social movement arise from a broader range of social segments beyond the category of social class. From a strategy and tactics perspective, new social movements emphasize cutting-edge approaches in addition to mass action activities. Finally, with a more humanistic and cultural aim, every new social movement always adopts a more realistic approach considering where it grows and is born.

Therefore, it will be very interesting to expose the Paradigma Institute through an analysis of new social movements that reconstruct its actions into a cultural approach, especially in overseeing literacy issues. The Paradigma Institute, as a semi-formal organization, does not focus its movement model on parliamentary movements like the old structuralist and organizational social movements. Instead, it adopts a cultural approach that emphasizes a paradigmatic perspective through non-mass action methods, such as scientific forums and the expansion of ideas through written mediums. In this context, the author wants to examine the significance of the new social movement carried out through the Paradigma Institute and what the approach of the movement has been in applying it to real actions of literacy-based social movements.

Method

This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach. We hope to provide a more natural and accurate explanation of literacy-based social movements through a qualitative approach. We obtained primary data for this research by conducting in-depth interviews with

members of the Paradigma Institute who serve as informants. We obtain secondary data by searching documents such as journals, books, and images related to the research focus.

Three stages carry out data analysis: first, the process of data reduction focuses on the selection, simplification, abstraction, and transformation of raw data from field notes. This process selects data relevant to the research focus and excludes data that does not meet the inclusion-exclusion criteria. Data presentation, the second stage, involves organizing information into statements that facilitate the drawing of conclusions.

We present data as narrative text, initially scattering and separating it across various information sources, and then classifying it according to themes and analytical needs. The third stage is drawing conclusions based on data reduction and presentation. The conclusion-drawing process occurs in stages, starting with general conclusions at the data reduction stage, then becoming more specific at the data presentation stage, and even more specific at the actual conclusion-drawing stage. This series of processes demonstrates that qualitative data analysis in this research involves the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing in a repetitive and cyclical manner (Matthew B. Miles, n.d.).

Results and Discussion

a. Theoretical Review of New Social Movements

Before the 1960s, social movements oriented towards change focused their advocacy issues on the working class (Rahayu, 2014). Marxism is the theoretical foundation of almost all the social movements that were emerging at that time (Peace et al., 2006). Generally, this Marxist-oriented social movement sees capitalism as the source of global problems. The dominance of capitalism over the global landscape has given rise to a variety of social inequalities in the form of economic injustice, exploitation of the working class, and extraction in the economic and political spheres of society (Aminuddin, 2009). According to Marxist studies, as a result of this exploitation, certain parties known as the bourgeois class are becoming richer, while the lower society, commonly known as the proletariat, is becoming poorer (Mansur et al., 2024).

According to Marxist theory, social movements are known as old social movements or traditional social movements (Rochadi, 2020). The term "old social movement" refers to its analysis of economic issues, which favors the interests of the community. The monopolistic spirit of capitalism causes the working class to experience significant social pressure in the form of surplus value extraction. (Roem Topatimasang, Toto Rahardjo, 2015) describes the industrial society underpinning the birth of capitalism as a concept that leads to dehumanization and domination, necessitating a class struggle to change the prevailing social and political order.

The presence of a working class-led struggle base is another characteristic of the old social movements (Carles Boix & Susan C. Stokes, 2021). According to Marxism, only a

vanguard party that unites the aspirations of the working class on an international scale can realize the ideas of change (Amin, 2016).

Given the existence of movements such as these, traditional social movements primarily trust and rely on elements of the working class. Old social movements, due to their organizational nature, prioritize a standardized and strict institutionalization of class ideology. In other words, class ideology is a manifestation of the movement from the old social movements. The aspiration of the old social movement is to carry out a social revolution that is universal in scale and radical in nature (Novri Susan, 2014).

Meanwhile, Purboningsih (Dwi et al., 2015) bases the new social movements on a more open interpretation of capitalist society. New social movements are placing greater emphasis on a wider range of issues (Nofrima & Qodir, 2021). If previous social movements based their struggles on economic and political issues, then new social movements are more aspirational towards other issues that represent a broader range of marginalized groups in society.

The new social movement's organizational form is anti-institutional, avoiding the possibility of bureaucratization (Prasisko, 2016). With such characteristics, the goals of the new social movement are more universal than merely fighting for society's liberation from the economic sector. This means that, unlike old social movements, new social movements' actions for change place a greater emphasis on broader aspects of humanism.

To defend communities dominated by the prevailing ideology, new social movements need a new paradigm that is more contextual and comprehensive. In other words, new social movements aim to realize a model of social movement that emphasizes multi-sector collective activities with a broader perspective than the theoretical basis provided by Marxist views.

Singh (Rajendra Singh, 2010) states that new social movements position the state as a direct force that influences the development of civil society. In this case, the state is seen as a manifestation of market expansion that seeks to silence the critical voices of civil society. It is important to note that civil society differs from the struggle concept of old social movements, which narrowly defines the working class as the sole agent of change. Civil society is a manifestation of the diversity of parties that face pressure from state control. Thus, one form of action for change in the new social movement is to strengthen the modal basis of civil society through critical awareness and its autonomous capabilities.

New social movements, through the concept of civil society, seek to reinterpret the terms of class and class conflict in a Marxist manner. The Marxist perspective has long categorized society into two antagonistic roles that experience contradictions with each other, necessitating class struggle to overthrow the bourgeois class.

Meanwhile, the class of new social movements consists of civil society groups that have different problems and do not always experience economic or political pressure. For new social movements, the forms of struggle for civil society are more diverse, such as ecological movements, women's rights, human rights, anti-racism, or literacy (Hidayaturahmi et al., 2023).

With a broader spectrum of movement, new social movements often engage in grassroots areas that initiate multi-sector movement associations. The movement model prioritizes flexibility, operating in an egalitarian manner within both horizontal and vertical communication models to respond to issues that have historically caused interest bias. Compared to focusing solely on the economic domain, new social movements also develop a model of activism that rebalances the unequal relationship between civil society and the state.

New social movements, unlike old social movements, do not define the actors of change and the basis of their struggle in terms of social class issues (Abdul Khobir, 2020). Its participatory model expands the scope of change, aiming to establish an autonomous and democratic civil society, a long-standing aspiration. Therefore, sectarian issues, which divide society into ethnic, religious, and social class ties, do not constrain new social movements (Subono, 2017).

We can conclude that globalization, modernization, and the rapid development of information technology give rise to new social movements. Older social movements often fail to adequately address issues like minority rights, gender equality, environmental rights, and cultural identity issues.

b. Literacy movement

The literacy movement is a response to the low interest in reading and writing in society. Some data shows that, compared to other countries, Indonesia is experiencing a literacy emergency. Indonesia ranks 62nd out of 70 countries surveyed by PISA (Utami, 2021). Other data also shows that the reading ability of Indonesia's younger generation lags far behind that of middle school children in European countries (Wuryanto, 2022). This means that the reading quality of university students, for example, is equivalent to that of middle school children in Europe.

In response to that situation, collective initiatives from various elements of society have emerged over the past decade to improve literacy quality in Indonesia. NGO activists, influencers, student groups, and youth communities enliven this literacy movement by recognizing the need to promote a reading and writing culture in society. This movement prioritizes access to ensure widespread distribution of reading materials, even in remote areas. Najwa Shihab is one of the pioneers who initiated the literacy movement, and she campaigns for the importance of the younger generation connecting with literacy culture.

Equally important to this movement is the figure of Nirwan Ahmad Arsuka, who is working nationally to empower youth groups in villages in order to instill a love for books. Muhiddin M. Dahlan reached West Sulawesi through literary guerrilla efforts. In South Sulawesi, the literacy movement has also emerged in areas such as Mandar, led by Muhammad Ridwan Alimuddin, an activist and journalist who combines boats and books to revive the reading and writing tradition. In Bantaeng, Sulhan Yusuf spearheaded the establishment of a book bank; in Bulukumba, Basmawati Haris pioneered the concept of a

book house; and in Makassar itself, the Inninnawa community, Kedai Buku Jenny, Kata Kerja, Paradigma Institute, Café Dialektika, Café Bunga Tembok, and Kampung Buku are leading the way in implementing the literacy movement.

The literacy movement shares a broader context with new social movements that prioritize cultural change over structural change. Literacy is also part of the effort to empower communities, where literacy skills are considered important for enhancing social and political participation, as well as expanding access to education and information.

Communities engaged in literacy play a key role in new social movements, as they provide a platform for community members to critically engage in discussions and social actions. By enhancing literacy skills, these communities help individuals understand the complexities of social issues and facilitate their participation in broader social movements.

One of the primary functions of new social movement communities is to provide alternative education. Particularly in rural areas or among marginalized communities, the scope and accessibility of formal education often remain limited. Communities that focus on literacy can fill this gap by providing educational programs that are more inclusive and relevant to local needs.

c. Paradigma Institute and the New Social Movement Based on Literacy

Pusat Studi Paradigma Ilmu (PSPI) was the original name of the Paradigma Institute. Sulhan Yusuf founded this institution in the 1990s and later became an active literacy activist in various regions, particularly Makassar and Bantaeng. This institution initially only engaged in discussion activities and occasionally published books based on the thoughts of its members. Later, the focus shifts from PSPI to community development and research studies, leading to its transformation into the Paradigma Institute (interview with Syafinuddin, 08/29/2024).

Over a significant period since the 1990s, the Paradigma Institute has emerged as a leading force for youth groups in Makassar. Through its educational activities, the Paradigma Institute indirectly contributes to the development of student activists in the fields of knowledge and literacy in Makassar (interview with Sabara, 12/09/2024).

At that time, the Paradigma Institute was primarily driven by a transformative Islamic ideology through activities based on the study of thought and the publication of bulletins. This was due to the affiliation of some of its members with HMI MPO, a scholarly institution known for its scholarly tradition rooted in Islamic and social discourse among students (interview with Syafinuddin, 29/08/2024).

The Paradigma Institute, while applying principles of organizational work, is a community that takes on a semi-formal form. New social movements have introduced the anti-institution concept to steer clear of bureaucratization in work. Through its emphasis as a new social movement, the Paradigma Institute is not exclusive in translating social change from a single spectrum of thought as found in old social movements connected to Marxism.

Alto (interview, 10/08/2024) stated that the Paradigma Institute emphasizes the strengthening of intellectual capacity for social activists, particularly students, which is a prerequisite for the birth of a social movement. A comprehensive study covering issues of intellectualism, democracy, inclusivity, philosophy, Islam, Indonesian identity, and the dynamics of social movements is necessary to support this.

Discourse like this is often inclusive, opening up to various civil society groups within the elements of new social movements. In line with the Paradigma Institute's mission, there is a need for a broad range of readings to empower communities facing the state's weakening. In this regard, the Paradigma Institute is also involved in revitalizing the power network between civil society and the state in order to realize a democratic, inclusive, and oppression-free society (interview with Syafinuddin, 29/08/2024).

The new social movement emphasizes the importance of social awareness as a key pillar of change. This awareness actually entails a deep understanding of the social issues currently arising in society. Thus, the awareness that grows through social movements becomes the foundation of motivation for the community to identify issues and their position within the network of state power. Right in this area, literacy communities like the Paradigma Institute play a significant role as a driving force in building the social capital of communities that are experiencing oppression and exploitation by the state.

The Paradigma Institute helps members and social groups identify relevant social issues, understand their root causes, and consider actions to address them through various literacy programs such as writing capacity enhancement, studies, and book discussions. In other words, through the writing class process, for example, it can create a discourse of change to contribute participatively to change through literacy discourse.

The new social movement for change employs diverse approaches beyond mass participation or community empowerment. The Paradigma Institute asserts that literacy discourse, in the form of information and publication mediums, can also bring about social change. The Paradigma Institute launched Kalaliterasi.com, a website for a journalism organization, in 2015.

According to Muhajir (interview 30/09/2024), economic factors do not always determine the contradictions experienced by society. Due to the bourgeois class's dominance, the issue of economic disparity has indeed become a serious problem that makes it difficult for society to progress. Simultaneously with the advancement of information and communication technology, society is grappling with the issue of disinformation, primarily due to the prevalence of false information. In this realm, society will face a crisis of truth and trust due to information that lacks validity and reliability. By relying on the publication website Kalaliterasi.com, the Paradigma Institute not only makes efforts to strengthen community engagement but also expands its social action territory within the realm of digital information.

In other words, the Paradigma Institute's new literacy-based social movement aims to build communication, organize, and advocate for social change, while simultaneously broadening social reach by creating a virtual space for discussion and social action.

Conclusion

Through the discourse of literacy, the Paradigma Institute plays a significant role, especially in the context of new social movements. We can say that the Paradigma Institute nurtures change activists through alternative education, serves as a platform for collaboration, and drives social awareness through writing classes, social thought studies, and book discussions.

Indirectly, through its anti-institutional work system, the Paradigma Institute has contributed to shaping a more democratic and inclusive societal order. In this digital era, Paradigma Institute also has the opportunity to expand its impact through the use of information technology, in the form of an organizational website, thus enabling broader and more sustainable social transformation.

By playing these roles, the Paradigma Institute not only contributes to the empowerment of individuals and groups but also to the creation of a more just, equal, and sustainable social order. As part of a new social movement, the Paradigma Institute plays a crucial role in shaping a better future for society as a whole.

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