

The 3rd “*Kongres Sungai Indonesia*” as Hybrid Social Movements: The New Combination between Classic Social Movements and New Social Movements

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Abstract—Social movements studies has always divided with classic and new social movement concept. In the classic social movement has always affiliated with political and economic issues especially about social class for labor struggle. But in new social has more complex and plural issues which from grass root and civil society. New social movement has fundamental character to not affiliate with political formal model when classic social movement has emphasized it. New social movements show that the community should be independent from political formal to upholding and struggling for their own issue as universal goals. Based on fundamental character of two social movements perspectives this research wants to show that there is combination between two concepts of social movements which create a concept of hybrid social movements. There is dependency relation between community and state to create collaborative actors and achieve the universal goals. Environment issues is not only the community matters but also the government authority to protect them. In Indonesia, especially in some of region like Kalimantan and Sumatra are the center of value and human life. Rivers management and protection become a crucial problem in Indonesia because the water pollution has been dangerously increased to threat the ecology and aquatic ecosystems. The 3rd “Kongres Sungai Indonesia” was one of the environment movements which seriously giving attention to the rivers in Indonesia. The 3rd “Kongres Sungai Indonesia” was held in Banjarmasin city at 2017 that brings environment issues used combination tactic and openly structure by collaborative actors. The role of state is important for to be an effective strategy in social Mobilization to protect the environment. This study is a qualitative research which use a case study method. This study does not only limit to a single source of evidence but uses many sources of evidence to provide opportunities for researchers to orient themselves to historical issues, attitudes, and wider observation. Primary data collection technique through in-depth interview, with the key informants in this research were Syaiful Adhar, S.E., M.E. as chief of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* and also as representatives from private company. The second key informant is Ibnu Sina as a mayor in Banjarmasin city which be pioneer of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia*. Secondary data collecting through written documents as well as information and news from mass media, final report from committee and another written documents from the stakeholder of the actors in the 3rd Kongres Sungai Indonesia. The research location is located in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan as the venue of the 3rd Kongres Sungai Indonesia.

Keywords— Kongres Sungai Indonesia; hybrid social movement; environment

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia as the largest archipelagic country in the world with 70% consisting of waters in its territory. Water as the main part that intertwines every island to be a single entity of the country. Indonesia History has great empire such as Sriwijaya, Majapahit, Gowa, Bonne, Ternate-Tidore, Banten, and many others which has a great historical attachment with rivers and waters, agricultural activities, livestock, fisheries, people's processed industries, trade, transportation and settlements, and others ensure the linkages. In the pas water become the front face of social life, especially for the river has strong linkage with Indonesian people life. From the river, civilization has begun, and it used for various purposes for human life and nature. The river is important for daily life and continuity of society life such as for household needs, the source of water, the environment stabilization, watery agriculture, tourism, industry, sports, defense, fisheries, electricity generation, transportation, and others.

River as the center of civilization for the survival and prosperity, but has so many problem and pollution. People has so many lacks of care to the river and environment. Degradation and threats to rivers are a threat to ecology and water ecosystems which, in essence, manifest as threats to survival and mutual welfare. Based on the report issued by the Directorate General of Environmental Pollution and Damage Control of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (Direktorat Jenderal Pengendalian Pencemaran dan Kerusakan Lingkungan Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan or KLHK), in 2015 almost 68 percent or the majority of river water quality in 33 provinces in Indonesia was heavily polluted. The assessment of the status of river water quality is based on the Class II Water Quality Criteria (Kriteria Mutu Air or KMA) contained in the annex of the

Government Regulation concerning Management of Water Quality and Water Pollution Control or PP 82/2001. Based on these criteria around 24 percent of the river is in moderate polluted status, 6 percent is lightly polluted, and only around 2 percent still meet water quality standards (Lingkungan, 2015).

Even though the river categorized as heavily polluted has decreased, the percentage is still very high. This is particularly the case for rivers located in the regional regions of Sumatra (68 percent), Java (68 percent), Kalimantan (65 percent) and Bali Nusa Tenggara (64 percent). Meanwhile, the percentage of heavily polluted rivers in the eastern region of Indonesia, namely in Sulawesi and Papua is relatively smaller, namely 51 percent.



Figure 1. Trend of River Water Quality Status in Indonesia (Litbang Kompas - Dirjen Pengendalian Pencemaran dan Kerusakan Lingkungan, 2016)

The data above shows that river water quality in all locations in the country is mostly in heavily polluted conditions. This is very worrying, considering that river water is currently the main source of clean water consumed by the majority of the population in Indonesia. Water sources that are of poor quality will threaten the health conditions of the community and other living things that consume the water. Therefore the need for sanctions against violations of river governance, river restoration and also support from various parties including river users.

Kongres Sungai Indonesia emerged as a new form of social movement, and a joint movement in realizing concrete actions to preserve the river, participants of the *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* are observers, a number of environmental organizations and communities that support environmental conditions, including the existence of rivers in Indonesia. In this *Kongres Sungai Indonesia*, new innovations and strategies were developed in the river culture with all kinds of approaches which led to the harmony of life between citizens and rivers. The implementation of the *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* was intended to meet the parties to discuss reality, consolidate the mind and formulate a strategic design for joint work to realize the river as a center of civilization for survival and mutual prosperity.

The First *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* (KSI I) was held in Purbalingga, Central Java in 2015, which resulted in the Serayu Declaration which contained an invitation to revolutionize the river management and the watershed area. This announcement contains awareness about the condition of polluted rivers in Indonesia, floods, extreme droughts, and the loss of biodiversity. The Second *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* (KSI II) was held in Selerejo, Ngantang, East Java which produced a grounded formula and was oriented towards community dynamics, not just the orientation of inter and inter-regulator projects which ultimately led to "integrated" completion and resulted in conservation programs water resources, rivers and areas that are implementative and rational.

In 2017, Banjarmasin was appointed as the center for the implementation of the third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* (KSI III). The activity was held from 1 November until 4 November 2017 and was attended by around 1,000 participants from representatives throughout Indonesia. In the implementation of its activities, *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* III in Banjarmasin raised the theme "River as the center of civilization," which made and returned the river in Banjarmasin as the center of civilization and restored the function of the river as it should.

In the third congress, five edicts were made, called the "Maklumat Banjarmasin" formulated together of bringing the river in Indonesia to a better future. The five statements of the declaration that are produced are:

- 1) Considering that water resources, in the Indonesian archipelago have been very critical due to policy problems, human behavior, companies and development patterns that do not pay attention to the characteristics of water resources and the environment, these problems need to be addressed by cultural, legal, policy improvement, basic education systems information that can be reached by the community, innovative technology that is environmentally friendly.

- 2) To ensure the sustainability of water resources in watersheds and their ecosystems, it is necessary to reduce the rate of deforestation by arranging policies, controlling permits and controlling forest use.
- 3) Ensuring the river is the lifeblood of maritime development that is built through policies, education, culture and developing strategies for realizing populist-based ecological, economic and socio-cultural spaces.
- 4) Mainstreaming local wisdom in strengthening river interface through community initiatives by strengthening river custom as a mother of life, increasing benefits of action research related to conservation of local benefits.
- 5) Urge the establishment of river authority bodies or river ministries, establish networks of river community movements and involve the role of business and industry in order to accelerate the process of restoring quality, quantity, managing rivers and water resources that are environmentally friendly.

Kongres Sungai Indonesia was basically conceived and designed within the framework of meeting with the main stakeholders and was intended to formulate a joint work at the base level, intellectual level and level of regulation. *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* was held to affirm the existence of the State of Indonesia as a State of the Sea, the State of the Archipelago as the State of Water, Human in Indonesia as a Water Man, and the Indonesian nation as a Maritime Nation. This assertion ensures the spirituality of the people, nation, and state of Indonesia, as well as positioning the river as the center of civilization for survival and mutual prosperity. The river problem is a local, regional, national, and even global problem.

The achievement that embodied the actors of KSI III is the creation of One River One Management. This concept is an integrated river management system from source to estuary by forming a special agency is fully responsible for handling big issues as well as the potential of the river.

The spirit of *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* is the unification of its vision and themes, and also the variety of ways how reaching the approaches and policies to achieve them should be triggered so that the concept of planning and management of water resources, rivers and regions can be properly managed. Water resources, watersheds, and regions can also be interpreted as areas of sculturation of stakeholders, meaning that key stakeholders including users, managers, supervisors, observers, scientific reviewers, and conservationists must be one understanding to contribute to the governance of water resources, rivers and region. Community base must be the spearhead of the governance of water resources, rivers, and regions in Indonesia.

The process of making changes in an environment with new things is not easy. Many stages that must be passed by a group so that the idea can be integrated with people's lives, starting from the flow of bureaucracy to the response of citizens about the suitability of ideas to the prevailing values in a social system (Barker, 2001).

Revealed by Rogers and Shoemaker explained that "In the diffusion of innovations there is a stage where a person begins to assess the new idea as it relates to the current and future life situations of the community and also the community will determine whether to try or not, then where someone applies the idea on a small scale to determine whether it matches the situation itself, then the last is the acceptance stage or adopting new ideas where someone has used the idea on a wide scale" (Rogers, 1995).

KSI III selected as the object of this research because of three of the rationality. First, it was the largest Indonesia River III which focuses on the problems and the organizing river in Indonesia. Second, KSI III became one of the access of the persons in the field of the environment, politics, Government, as well as spatial policies in contributing to the River in Indonesia. The last is KSI III in Indonesia set up a River in Banjarmasin Town famous for "the city of a thousand rivers" as well as the main focus in line with the policy of the city perfect for embodies Banjarmasin as the cities of rivers.

The purpose of this research is to explain that KSI III as Hybrid Social Movements: The New Combination between Classic Social Movements and New Social Movements. This study also sought to develop new concepts of social movements from the KSI III phenomenon. The new concept developed was called a hybrid social movement, because, social movements were found that had a combination of the characters of classical social movements with new social movements.

II. METHOD

This study is a qualitative research which use a case study method. This study does not only limit to a single source of evidence but uses many sources of evidence to provide opportunities for researchers to orient themselves to historical issues, attitudes, and wider observation. Data collection methods are triangulated, namely the multiplicity and diversity of data sources and ways to collect data and organize information. The data collection technique is using snowball interview technique, the informants have already been managed based on their authority in the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia*. At the other hand, the informant also got from recommendation by key informants for the secondary data. The key informants in this research were Syaiful Adhar, S.E., M.E. as chief of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* and also as representatives from private company. Syaiful Adhar, S.E., M.E. is a chief executive of Ambapeers company which concern in river governance and also as sponsored of KSI III. The second key informant is Ibnu Sina as a mayor in Banjarmasin city which be pioneer of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia*. Another informant is Harris Makkie as leader of Steering committee and secretary regional of south Kalimantan province., Gusti Muhammad Hatta professor in forestry faculty, Joko Pitoyo as bureaucracy in local government of Banjarmasin city, Taufik Arbain as lecturer in University Lambung Mangkurat, Budi Prayitno as an academics, Maulana

Khalid Riefani as researcher and academics in Lambung Mangkurat University, Zulfaisal Putera as an artist and humanist, Novri Gitayanti as bureaucracy in local government of Banjarmasin City, and Amalia Rezeki as an academics and also the leader of proboscis monkey community.

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

A. *The Third Kongres Sungai Indonesia (KSI III) in South Kalimantan as a hybrid combination between classic social movements and New Social Movement*

In sociology studies, the experts agreed that the beginning of the Social Movement began with the phenomenon of the French Revolution and the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, then the social movement continued to develop with the existence of the labor movement and socialist movement in the 19th century. (Macionis, 1999)

In the mid-1960s, in developed countries such as the United States and countries in western Europe, which at that time had entered the post-industrial economy a phenomenon of social movements emerged that had different colors. This movement is no longer driven by the spirit of conflict between classes, but it is far more complex by involving issues that are far more varied. (Stockpol, 1979. 43-48) Civil rights / human rights movements, peace movements, feminism movements, environmental movements and so on have brought the face of social movements into the stage of the New Social Movement. (Barker, 2001)

The hybrid combination is seen as a type of social movement that has a non-material and unique character, which is very different from the classical (old) social movement based on class opposition which has economic-material objectives, as is done by the workers. (Suharko, 2006)

Pichardo (Pichardo, 1997) explains that the fundamental difference in characteristics of the new social Movement and the Old Social Movement lies in:

- a) *The goals and ideals*
- b) *Tactics*
- c) *Structure*
- d) *Participants.*

TABLE I. CLASSICAL AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT

	Classical Social Movement	New Social Movement
Ideology & Purpose	Materialistic orientation, anti-capitalism, class revolution and class struggle (Marxian assumption)	Emphasis on specific issues (environment, feminism, human rights, peace, etc.) and non-materialistic and cross-class. New Social Movements are more concerned with resistance to the domination of the State and the market.
Tactics and Organizing	Prefer formal political channels. Elitist political model. Target national issues, such as the economy and the state.	Prefer informal political channels. Grass-root political model. Target civil society issues and accommodate local issues.
Structure	The movement structure is more rigid, bureaucratic, permanent and tends towards the oligarchy.	Creating a movement structure that is more responsive to individual needs, open, decentralized and non-hierarchical.
Participants & Actors	It tends to be divided into marginalized and alienated social groups (proletarians, workers, farmers, fishermen). Participants come from productive economic sectors (manufacturing & corporate industries)	participants across social categories (gender, education, occupation, & class, ethnicity, age, etc.). Many participants came from the new middle class who did not depend on the corporation to support their lives (academia, artists, etc.).
New Social Movement: Faced with pluralism, going through many paths, aspiring to various goals, voicing various interests. The action area crosses the region's borders: from local to international levels, it can even cross national boundaries and society.		

Source: Pichardo (1997)

This concept can be used as an analysis to explain why the River III Congress in Banjarmasin meets the criteria as a hybrid combination.

1) *Purpose and Ideology*

New Social Movement comes with a different ideology that emphasizes attention to quality and lifestyle, by upholding the values of autonomy and distinctive identity within them. Besides that, the other unique characteristics of New social Movement are the ideology that grows from self-reflective characters, so that participants and supporters of New social Movement have the ability to question the meaning of what they are doing in a movement. Therefore, New social Movement participants always have a consideration of the conscious choices about the structure and action of New Social Movement. the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* as hybrid social Movement also grew from self-reflection on the importance of the role of the river in the centre of civilization for survival and mutual prosperity. Individuals who participated in supporting the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* were fully aware of encouraging the formation of the National River Restoration Agency and initiating the formation of the Barito River Authority model.

KSI III as a hybrid social movement certainly has ideology that is different from the classic social movement. This movement has the ideology-driven environment that places emphasis on specific issues, among others:

"the conservation of water resources": the challenge confronting the water crisis in the era of global warming; "sustainability of water resources upstream-downstream along the ecosystem"; "the River as a centre of maritime civilizations"; "local wisdom in supporting River civilization"; and "the institutional capacity in the management and restoration of the river".

Based on the results of findings known of holding KSI III based on the vision of "Kerja Bersama Untuk Konservasi Sumber Daya Air Sebagai Beranda Depan Kejayaan Maritim Indonesia". The Goal of KSI III are:

- to map and document the practical work experience in the base rate, conception, and this regulation in an online database that contains concrete action sharing of existing regulation.
- Synchronizes the authority and responsibilities of the parties in the national level, province, City/County/the village.
- strengthens the network of community work Indonesia and river systems support.
- Consolidating practical work experience in the base rate, conception, and this regulation.
- Arouse public awareness on the importance of developing era of river landscape in both academics as well as practical theorists (by working with community leaders, youth, religious figures, and artists/poets).

2) *Tactics and Organizing*

As a new social movement, KSI III has been used classic social movement strategy combine with new social movement strategy which prefers to the formal political channel, elitist model, target national issues, and also combining with the informal political channel, grassroots political models and targeted civil society issues. Civil society issues as mainstream organizing in rallying the support of participants and attracting the attention of authorities. Even the movement of KSI III active to accommodate local issues such as:

- a) Orientation of development that has suppress the elements of the great non-economic life such as culture, ecology and politics
- b) Undermine local wisdom and ecological perspectives in utilizing the River, more emphasis on cost-benefit considerations in benefit of the river.
- c) River is terminating the marine ecosystem of the mountain with so that all three into a single unity of the maritime ecosystems/Islands are intact.
- d) the policy/political management and utilization of conservation River and the area of river flow which is still top down.
- e) reflection of disaster in Banjarmasin, DAS Serayu proposed as models of "one River, one of planning" and a "Manager with rural area as a unit of the means of development.

The complexity of local issues over the more affirming the parties to consolidate the mind and put together a strategic plan work together to manifest the river as central to the survival of civilization and prosperity together (Jary, 1991). Empirically, the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* turned out to have a unique way of carrying out movement tactics which made it different from the tactics commonly used. A deeper discussion will be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

3) *Structure*

The reasons why KSI III categorized as a hybrid social movement has a very open structure of the Organization and not monopolized by certain backgrounds only. This can be evidenced from the involvement of participant who has a background as government organizations, academics (colleges), a non-governmental organization (NGO), people's organizations, and professional organizations, company and the Association's efforts. Through the multitude of differences of background that

forms the structure of the movement make KSI III becomes more dynamic and responsive in addressing issues of the river. In addition, the role of individuals within the movement became more varied and not monotonous.

The ability to replicate government structures in accordance with their own style is one of the characteristics of hybrid Social Movement. Organizing their movements is very dynamic and non-permanent, with a good rotation of leadership, so as to be able to distance the movement into the trap of oligarchy and bureaucracy. As a hybrid Social Movement, the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* is able to have an organizational structure that replicates a government structure, which is reflected in the membership structure of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* organizing committee. Broadly speaking, the organizational structure of the committee consists of Protector, Steering Committee (SC), Executing Committee (OC), General Chairperson, Treasurer and various committee divisions.

4) *Actors and Participant*

Typical actors from KSI III comes from collaboration among actors who come from the Government, professionals/technocrats, and entrepreneurs. Apart from local government officials, the movement also supported full of experts, such as: environmental experts of DAS management (Hydrology), expert management of watersheds (soil and Water Conservation), ecologist, environmental law experts, experts in formal/non formal education, geologist and morphology, swamps and coastal engineering expert, expert planning areas, Riverside settlement expert (human ecology), disaster experts, expert information geospatial, expert on community empowerment, social historian, expert on ecotourism, a river expert peat, *detoksologi* experts, biochemists, forestry, fishery experts, scholars/religious figures, artists and historians.

In addition to actors, the movement's participants also come from cross-category social (gender, education, occupation, class, age, national origin, tribe, region, etc.). Participants can be inferred from KSI III comes from among the new middle class (the new middle class) which is independent in politics and economy as well as the more enlightened in this field of knowledge.

There are two categorizations of actors in hybrid social movement are formal political actors such as people who tend to work in the State (PNS) such as academics, artists-cultural observers, and humanitarian agencies. They usually have a fairly good educational background / strata. The second actor is the community who are concern to the environment.

Apart from the concepts offered by Pichardo (Pichardo, 1997. vol. 23 Issue 1.) in examining the characteristics of the hybrid Social Movement, the concept of Macionis can also be used as a basis for the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* can be categorized as a New Social Movement. There are three dimensions proposed by Macionis as a unique character from a hybrid Social Movement (Sukamana, 2016) First, the movement that was built was very concerned with ecological issues, feminism, the struggle for individual and animal rights and the opposition to war policy. The Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* in Banjarmasin is also concerned about improving the environment by carrying out the development of values of life that are sourced from the culture of the community in managing water resources, rivers and regions as a pillar supporting the maritime axis to achieve the glory of Indonesia. But classic social movement also focus on structural changes and improvements in the social and physical environment by political formal channel which combine to the issues in the social and political environment.

This prerequisite can also be fulfilled by the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia*, considering the hard efforts of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* to raise public awareness about the importance of river flow both at the theoretical and practical levels (by cooperating with community leaders, youth leaders, religious leaders and cultural / artists). Third, New Social Movement participants were more dominated by the background and support of government and middle class. The data of participants and committees who participated in the success of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* showed that this movement was indeed dominated by government intervention and influence of the middle class such as academics, practitioners, bureaucratic officials, entrepreneurs, and environmental activists. Of the three dimensions, the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* in Banjarmasin was used in analyzing the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* as hybrid Social Movement.

B. *The Third Kongres Sungai Indonesia: Actor's Collaboration*

The implementation of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* in Banjarmasin is the third activity to be carried out. The Indonesian River Congress I was placed in Banjarnegara, Central Java Province in 2015. A year later, the Indonesian River Congress was held again for the second time, located in Selorejo, Malang, East Java. The implementation of the third KSI in Banjarmasin can be realized through the cooperation and support of various parties ranging from the government, business actors, academics, environmental activists, cultural observers and civil society. These various elements in a joint manner actively demonstrate willingness, ability and sincerity to work together to resolve shared responsibilities.

The actors and organizers are trying to make this *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* in Banjarmasin the last river congress in Indonesia. That means that the main goal that was implemented through the first KSI, the second KSI and the third KSI can be realized effectively, so that the next river congress does not need to be implemented. A common goal to fight for the rivers in Indonesia to be able to transform as a centre for procurement for survival and public welfare has been won.

The success of the Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* in carrying out movement tactics cannot be separated from the movement actors who collaborate with each other:

1) *Government*

The actor who came from the government component was the Mayor of Banjarmasin, Ibnu Sina, which is initial idea that river governance in Banjarmasin could be better. The background to the emergence of collaboration schemes in which the government encourages initiation, but does not allow to execute unilaterally without the support of the private sector and civil society. Because the scope of the third KSI as a movement is so broad and its purpose is so strategic. If only relying on the bureaucratic structure it is considered very difficult to do considering the bureaucratic structure is a bit rigid, less elastic and dynamic in mobilizing a social movement. So that the government needs to collaborate with other parties. In addition, the government also realizes that it has limited funding allocations for organizing of the third KSI. Therefore, the Mayor of Banjarmasin requested support from the Provincial Government of South Kalimantan to facilitate the implementation of the third KSI. The wishes of the Banjarmasin City Government were welcomed and received full support by the Governor of South Kalimantan H. Sahbirin Noor. Through the South Kalimantan Provincial Secretary H. Abdul Haris Makkie, the governor delegated the preparation process for organizing the third KSI. Through the South Kalimantan governor's decree number 188.44 / 0448 / KUM / 2017 concerning the committee's formation of the third KSI organizer in Banjarmasin City, South Kalimantan Province. The governor's decree became the basis for the formation of the third KSI organizing committee in 2017 in Banjarmasin City, South Kalimantan Province. As for the protector of the committee, the governor of South Kalimantan, the steering committee (SC) was chaired by the Regional Secretary of the Province of South Kalimantan, the organizing committee (OC) chaired by Syaiful Adhar and the Mayor of Banjarmasin became the protector of the organizing committee (OC).

2) *Private Sector*

The private sector has a large share in the success of organizing the third KSI. Together with the government, the private sector worked together to encourage the issue of one river one management to become a national issue. The private sector also contributed greatly in sponsoring it. JHONLIN Group, PT. AMBAPERS, South Kalimantan Bank, BMPD, Pertamina, Angkasa Pura, PHRI, ASITA, ADARO, Amanah, PDAM, Hasnur Group, Pelindo III Banjarmasin, PT. Bangun Banua, PT. BKW, PT. Arutmin, INSA (Shipping), is a business entity that contributes significantly to the success of the third KSI movement. Even the president director (Director) of PT. AMBAPERS, Syaiful Adhar is willing to take on major responsibilities as general chair of the organizing committee (OC).

3) *Environment Community*

Collaboration between the private sector and the government will not be able to build a social movement without the support and involvement of civil society (in a more specific case the communities). Through the involvement of environment community which oversees various communities concerned with river issues, the third KSI movement is able to mobilize massive support from the people. Judging from the proportion of the third KSI active participants, as many as 42% came from communities (community organizations) which were spread from the Special Province of Aceh to Papua. The number of participants participating in it was 681 people. The high number of community participation in the third KSI is a sign of public enthusiasm for the struggle of its movement. Through this network of communities, grassroots community support can be mobilized.

C. *The Third Kongres Sungai Indonesia's Tactics*

Interesting findings in this study are related to the tactics carried out by the third KSI as a hybrid social movement. In many empirical studies of social movements, the tactics used do not have a distinctive style, preferring to remain outside the formal political (anti-institutional) channels. The tactic is merely disruptive (disruptive tactics) and mobilizes public opinion to gain political influence. Not only that, the New Social Movement also applied an anti-bureaucratic style in implementing struggle tactics. This step was deliberately chosen to avoid the trap of organizing a movement into a very oligarchic bureaucratic hegemony. This anti-institutional tactic is a way of moving out of influence, intervention and co-optation of government power. The third KSI's key tactic that distinguishes the hybrid Social Movement is usually divided into two main focuses:

1) *Through elitist channels*

There are several steps taken. First, campaigning for the concept of one river one management (OROM) to the central government elite. the third KSI actors encouraged the OROM concept which has been echoed in South Kalimantan in general and Banjarmasin City in particular to become a national strategic issue. In accordance with the President's Nawacita about the sea.

The third KSI actors in the pre-congress "went to the palace of Bogor" to conduct a "lobby" to the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Ir. Joko Widodo. Do not stop there, the third KSI actor also scheduled to meet the Minister of State Secretary, Prof. Dr. Pratikno, and also Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan as a Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs. This step was taken so that the central government was really concerned in showing alignments to the issues raised by the third KSI. Even that actors make every effort to bring the Indonesian President to officially open it in Banjarmasin. The actor hopes that, at the opening of the congress, a statement will emerge from the President of Indonesia to support the movement. So that the government is taken seriously to fight for the fate of rivers throughout Indonesia. Another implication of the President's presence is that it can attract the attention of the press and the wider community, especially the South Kalimantan community

towards the existence of the the third KSI movement. Through the news presented by the press, the movement was greatly helped to arouse awareness and expand public support for the third KSI.

The Actor also guerrilla visited the Ministry of Environment office to meet with the Minister of Environment. This is intended to strengthen the support of the Central Government in accommodating the OROM concept in order to form the River/ Ministry of River Authority.

Not only at the central government level, the actors also received support from the provincial government of South Kalimantan. the actor intensely lobbied the governor through the regional secretary of the province of South Kalimantan. This action has a sweet fruit where the provincial government of South Kalimantan fully supports the organization of the third KSI in Banjarmasin. This support can be seen from the assistance of the South Kalimantan provincial government in funding activities etc. The alignment of the provincial government towards the third KSI was also shown by coordinating the regency / city government in South Kalimantan to jointly participate and participate in the success of the third KSI implementation in Banjarmasin.

Another approach is also used, namely fighting for the birth of policies and regulations in the form by Law to change the behavior of the community to better appreciate the existence of the river. Cooperating with the university (Lambung Mangkurat University and Antasari Islamic State University) to participate in voicing similar things. Then ask for support from the leaders in the MUI so that they can issue a fatwa so that the community is more concerned and appreciates the river.

The actor who initiated the third KSI before the congress was held has compiled Banjarmasin's announcement. The contents are as follows. In the process of drafting, the draft Banjarmasin Declaration involves various groups, ranging from the elements of government, academia, the business world, environmental activists, cultural observers and community leaders. Banjarmasin's announcement continues to be escorted to the end of it and ensures that the interests of South Kalimantan and the City of Banjarmasin as the host of the congress organizers. The actor also made a persuasive approach to Islamic religious leaders to incorporate fond doctrines and maintain the river through sermons conducted during Friday prayers.

2) *Populist Channels.*

Populist paths are pursued through invitations and solicitation of cooperation to various parties both in government (ministries, provincial governments, district / city governments and related technical / sectoral institutions) as well as parties concerned with various elements / community groups, academic community / university world high, business actors (BUMN, BUMD and private sectors). In addition, the actors who initiated the third KSI also built intensive communication through various Forums and Community Networks, government and non-government organizations concerned about river issues.

IV. CONCLUSION

The classic of social movements has been born by the class opposition which has economic-material objectives. At, 1960, the movement is no longer driven by the spirit of conflict between classes, but more complex by involving issues likes Civil rights / human rights movements, peace movements, feminism movements, environmental movements and so on have brought the face of social movements into the stage of the New Social Movement. Based on Pichardo, there are different ideology and purpose, tactics and organizing, structure, and participants and actor between the New Social Movement and the Old Social Movement. But in the 3rd *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* has the ideology-driven environment that places emphasis on specific issues, has the structure like a new social movement which has a very open structure of the Organization and not monopolized by certain backgrounds only. But for the tactics the 3rd *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* are combining formal political channels and informal political channel, which targeting elitist political and Grass-root political like civil society and accommodate local issue. Actors and participant in the 3rd *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* also create collaboration among actors who come from the Government, professionals/technocrats, and entrepreneurs, that showed the combination between classic and new social movements actor and participants.

The Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* as the Hybrid of Social Movement actually do cooperation between formal institution like local government, private sectors and environment community. This cooperation is like a circle which support each other and become collaboration model. Government role are needed because environment are public affairs which related for all stakeholder. The problem of the river is a matter of the public, when it comes to the public sphere, the involvement of the government is inevitable. Therefore, the form of tactics to fight for the river in The Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* as a new social movement is also coloured by a state-centric approach.

Those tactics are used precisely to widen the chances of success of The Third *Kongres Sungai Indonesia* in achieving the goals of the movement. This research also becomes evidence that the tactic of collaborating with the government is determinant factor in social movement. The presence of the government as an integral part of movement tactics in the plural issues like new social movements has been given a different coloured for social movement studies.

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