

## ABSTRACT

*In response to Israeli occupation, the Palestinians have repeatedly waged their struggle using various nonviolent repertoires. Although local organising and the use of boycotts in opposing Israel has undeniably historic roots, the scale and level of success obtained by the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) Movement is unprecedented. The BDS movement—that of a decentralised, grassroots, network-based border-crossing social movement centred on political tactics of BDS—is unique in the history of Palestinian struggle since it has successfully scaled up and transitioned its repertoire of contentions from national to a transnational level. In this new form of transnational movement, Israel’s power is confronted across the globe in various venues by a range of individuals with various backgrounds (retirees, students, faith-based activist, etc) (Hallward 2013).*

*Using frameworks laid out by McAdam et al. (2001) in Dynamics of Contention, this thesis analyses how the BDS Movement manages to emerge while shifting its scale of contentious politics from national contention to nonviolent transnational movement. The main discussion in this thesis is to answer what are the processes and mechanisms that facilitate the emergence of BDS Movement. It concluded two processes with each one consisting of its own set of mechanisms: Actor Constitution (social appropriation, diffusion, and brokerage) and Scale-Shift (localized actions, diffusion, and emulation).*

*Keywords: Palestinian BDS Movement, contentious politics, nonviolent resistance, transnational movement*

## INTISARI

Dalam rangka merespon okupasi Israel, masyarakat Palestina telah berulang kali melakukan perlawanan menggunakan berbagai metode nirkekerasan. Meskipun Gerakan *Boycott, Divestment*, dan *Sanctions* (BDS) Palestina dapat dipandang sebagai kelanjutan upaya perlawanan nirkekerasan sebelumnya, skala dan level kesuksesan yang berhasil dicapai oleh BDS tergolong baru. Gerakan BDS Palestina unik dalam sejarah perlawanan masyarakat Palestina karena ia berhasil mengalami proses *scale-up* dan mengubah skala repertoar pertikaianya dari nasional menjadi transnasional. Dalam bentuk barunya sebagai gerakan nirkekerasan transnasional. Gerakan BDS mampu melawan pemerintah Israel melalui berbagai *venues* oleh individu-individu di berbagai belahan dunia dengan bermacam latar belakang (Hallward 2013).

Dengan menggunakan kerangka yang dikemukakan McAdam dkk. (2001) dalam bukunya *Dynamics of Contentions*, penulis menganalisis bagaimana Gerakan BDS muncul dan mengubah skala politik pertikaian mereka dari gerakan nasional menjadi gerakan nirkekerasan transnasional. Skripsi ini menjawab proses dan mekanisme apa saja yang mendorong kemunculan Gerakan BDS. Penulis menemukan bahwa proses kemunculan Gerakan BDS Palestina dapat dibagi kedalam dua proses besar yaitu konstitusi aktor dan pergeseran skala (*scale shift*). Proses pertama, yaitu konstitusi aktor terdiri dari mekanisme apropriasi sosial, difusi, dan *brokerage*. Sementara proses kedua, yaitu pergeseran skala pertikaian terdiri dari mekanisme *localized actions*, difusi, dan emulasi.

Kata kunci: Gerakan BDS Palestina, politik pertikaian, perlawanan nirkekerasan, gerakan transnasional