Social movement as a form of online political participation in social media

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Article Info	ABSTRACT
	Exists the development of technology and communication 4.0 in Indonesia, were there has been a shift in the form of aspirations in the community from a conventional movement to a digital movement that is easily and very quickly disseminated and brings more support from many people. The purpose of this study is to analyze the role of social media activists in mobilizing public participation with social movements and how the digital instrument Twitter can enhance democratic activities in Indonesia. Method used in this paper is literature review. The results indicate that the relationship between the role of digital technology and social movements can be seen from the power of the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak which activists use to disseminate into an activity called a social movement which occupies the second trending peak. The use of the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak is a symbol of the message contained in the hashtag. Users who are involved in liking, commenting, sharing, and retweeting using the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak is a slactivism practice where only by carrying out these digital activities they have shown participation even though they do not have an impact on real change. Social media can become an alternative media in raising social issues to the surface.

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Introduction

The development of the modern industrial revolution or industry 4.0 is a form of information and communication technology (ICT) transformation. The reach of ICT penetrates all aspects of industrial and manufacturing systems and accelerates the generation of large amounts of industrial data (Raptis et al., 2019). The presence of industry 4.0 is proven by the presence of the " *Internet of Things* (IoT) ", it is defined (Fuchs, 2018)that industry 4.0 is a concept that combines the *Internet of Things* (IoT), big data, social media, *cloud computing*, artificial intelligence (*artificial intelligence).*and the implementation of these in the forms of production and distribution and use. Industry 4.0 is embodied in the dynamics of human life and is reshaping the way people work, learn, lead, manage, recruit, and interact with one another (da Silva et al., 2022). In addition, industry 4.0 also affects changes in interaction and communication patterns in obtaining information digitally through *new media*. *New media*, especially social media has become an important platform for the public to discuss social issues and facilitate the development of social issues (Xiong et al., 2019).

Social media has been able to change the way people think and communicate to interact with each other without boundaries (Anderson, 2017). Communication globally with internet access gives people all over the

world the ability to express their opinions and interact with others (O'Regan & Choe, 2022), and string together conversations, people, and movements. This is used by many social media activists in carrying out *activism*. *Activism* is an activity carried out by social media activists to spread their message and can influence many people (Maher & Earl, 2019). The form of the activist movement on social media produces a wider social movement (Lim, 2018b).

Demonstrators no longer need to take to the streets carrying banners in front of the Palace or DPR building to convey criticism and aspirations to the government, but the existence of social media as a result of industry 4.0 has changed the way young people think (Boulianne et al., 2020). They prefer to convey their aspirations through social media, one of which is Twitter. Based on the Statista report on databooks.katadata.co.id, Indonesia is the country with the 5th most Twitter users in the world with 18.45 million users as of January 2022 (Annur, March 2022). Twitter as one of the social media platforms is a public space for expressing opinions and aspirations where users can disseminate information, discuss the latest issues and be part of the issue by participating in enlivening certain hashtags (Nasrullah, 2015). Recently the *trending topic* is the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak as a form of support for the student demonstration on April 11, 2022. The hashtag has started to appear and trend since April 9, 2022, starting with #MahasiswaBergerak, as of April 11, 2022, it is in the #2 top trending twitter with 84.9K tweets.The hashtag can be regarded as a form of social movement. The existence of digitalization has changed the way society plays politics and carries out social movements in mobilizing partisans substantially. This literature review focuses on the role of social media activists in mobilizing public political participation with social movements, and on how the digital Twitter instrument can increase democratic activity in Indonesia.

Method

This study uses the Literature Review method to analyze social movements on the internet such as activism, slactivism, and alternative narratives. Literature review is a systematic and explicit method for identifying related topics to be studied in order to answer practical questions with an understanding of what has been produced by previous research (Okoli&Schabram, 2010).Furthermore, research was conducted with a qualitative approach. Qualitative research aims to answer questions related to developing an understanding of the meaning and dimensions of human life experience and the social world (Fossey et al, 2002). The essence of good qualitative research is whether the subjective meaning, action, and social context of the research object can be understood and explained.

Conceptual Basis
Industrial Technology 4.0
The term Industry 4.0 originated in 2011 at the Hanover Fair, Germany as a strategy to mitigate the level of competition from abroad, and to differentiate German and European Union industries from others in the international market (Kominfo, 2019). The development of the modern industrial revolution or industry 4.0 is a form of information and communication technology (ICT) transformation that reaches all aspects of industrial and manufacturing systems and accelerates the creation of large amounts of industrial data (Raptis et al., 2019). The presence of industry 4.0 is proven through the emergence of*the " Internet of Things* (IoT) ", it is defined (Fuchs, 2018)that industry 4.0 is industry 4.0 as a concept that combines the *Internet of Things* (IoT), big data, social media, *cloud computing*, artificial intelligence (*artificial intelligence).*and the implementation of these in the form of production and distribution and use. The embodiment of this industry into the dynamics of human life can reshape the way people work, learn, lead, manage, recruit, and interact with one another (da Silva et al., 2022). According to (Morrar et al., 2017), "The industrial revolution 4.0 is a digital era that has major implications for people's lives, this is reflected in the state of changing lifestyles and behavioral patterns of individuals or organizations now". In addition, industry 4.0 also affects changes in interaction and communication patterns in obtaining information digitally through *new media*. *New media*, especially social media has become an important platform for the public to discuss social issues and facilitate the development of social issues (Xiong et al., 2019).

Social movement
A social movement is how collective interaction is based on a group of people with the same identity and point of view to resolve political or cultural conflicts (Pratama et al., 2022). A social movement produces social action (e.g., political campaign, protest, demonstration, petition) where the ultimate goal of the action taken in a social direction is to "promote or oppose social change at either a systemic or non-systemic level" (Li et al., 2021a). The social movement that occurs on Twitter is a digital-mediated communication interaction process (Lim, 2018a)that allows everyone from all over the world to be connected. Social media also makes it easier for users to process their content or *user-generated content*(Anderson, 2017).The #MahasiswaBergerak social movement started as a form of student support from all regions of Indonesia to support the demonstration held

on April 11, 2022. Many tweets on social media Twitter using the hashtag emerged on April 9, 2022 (2 days before the demonstration was held) on a large scale throughout areas of Indonesia.The phenomenon of social movements on Twitter social media is growing rapidly, after becoming a *trending topic* being in the top two trending sequences in Indonesia (Fahmi, in Drone Emprit, 2022).

Social movements by many users on social media are like real movements in the real world, as it is said (Anderson, 2017)that in social media, individuals create social networks with other people who may not know them in real life, and share information and seek other people's opinions on certain issues. . Everyone is connected to talk about the latest issues that are currently being discussed. The *trending topic* on Twitter before the demonstration which will be held on April 11, 2022, invites various *tweets* and *retweets* from various users to give a spirit of concern to students who will take part in the road demo. This form of social movement shows the high solidarity (Rauschnabel et al., 2019)of the Indonesian people regarding this issue.

Twitter social media
Real-time social media with easy access and search for publicly available information (Arifin, 2012). Twitter provides a space for people to publicly express their ideas and viewpoints on social issues (Nguyen et al., 2019). The existence of Twitter as a social media platform has become a channel for public participation, especially among young people (Andersen et al., 2020)in expressing their opinions and aspirations. Unlike other online social networking sites like Instagram and Facebook which can control sharing of information only with approved friends, public Twitter posts allow dialogue to be instantly visible to anyone. Because of Twitter's large user base, open access, and relative ease of tweeting, information shared on Twitter by certain *opinion leaders*, including some prestigious science writers, can quickly reach large audiences (Weeks et al., 2017).According to (Nasrullah, 2015), " Twitter users can network and connect with other users, disseminate information, exchange opinions, and discuss current issues by tweeting using certain hashtags ".

The Power of Hashtags
Hashtags *are* used to group messages on social media to make it easier for someone to find information about current issues, plus the order of trending topics by order (#). The use of hashtags is used by social media activists so that messages are conveyed faster and reach a wider reach to gather the masses. Hashtags can be simple symbols that are easily embedded in people's minds, in this case, the use of hashtags to spread information and as an initial form of action, through this kind of digital activism (Xiong et al., 2019). One hashtag can reflect many meanings, and a hashtag becomes an object that is associated with many meanings contained in it (Giacomozzi, 2022). The *hashtag* #More April 2022.

Social Movements Forms of Political Participation
The social movements that have occurred on Twitter in particular have reshaped the political structure of Indonesia, where netizens are using social media applications for political participation and the expression of their political opinions (Saud & Margono, 2021). Support or against the government? #MahasiswaBergerak which has been tweeted by tens of thousands is a message that can be voiced as public opinion/aspiration that is pro or contra against the government. The spread of messages has the social characteristics of the expression of groups and societies, their power relations, interests, and conflicts (Lim, 2018b). The use of the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak could be a form of public disappointment with the power of state leaders who enable social change.

Social Movement Activist (Activism)
A message can be quickly disseminated to the public making many social media activists carry out and support new civic activities among marginalized youth, encouraging transformational resistance, and the creation of a digital counter-story which is often called "activism" (Tiera, 2019). The goals of social movement activists are for the common good, such as humanitarianism, government crises, and socio-economics triggered by violations of political power (Saud & Margono, 2021)**.** Activists now no longer rely solely on outside media coverage but can broadcast their messages, which can directly influence audience awareness, emotional resonance, and behavioral intentions towards solutions (Maher & Earl, 2019). In this case, the activists for the #MahasiswaBergerak social movement include, @mBah_tugaran, @Kanseulier, @Mayasar64009002, @korudipriyant2, @Sunset_17.

The role of social media activists in mobilizing community politics with social movements on social media includes the dissemination of the #MahasiswaBergerak message, which with the strength of the number of followers invites many other users to join in using the same hashtag. Management of interactions and networks to further engage with the movement and the ability of activists to manage sustained audience engagement (Karpf, 2018). Activists in this case also play the role of influencers, who are conversation starters regarding issues, spread them to their followers, and create many conversation groups, with different common goals (Bahri&Widhyharto, 2021).
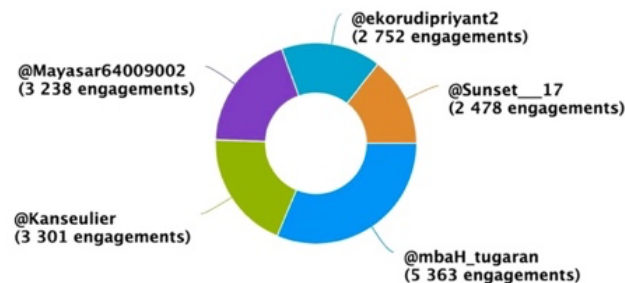
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TOP 5 INFLUENCERS

#MahasiswaBergerak

Figure 1. Top 5 Influencers of #MahasiswaBergerak
Source: https://pers.droneemprit.id/adu-tagar-mahasiswabergerak-vs-sayabersamajokowi/

The hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak can also be a message that is directed to be a form of support and hope (Rauschnabel et al., 2019)for the demo participants who take to the streets. This is illustrated by the data below.

EMOTION ANALYSIS

#MahasiswaBergerak
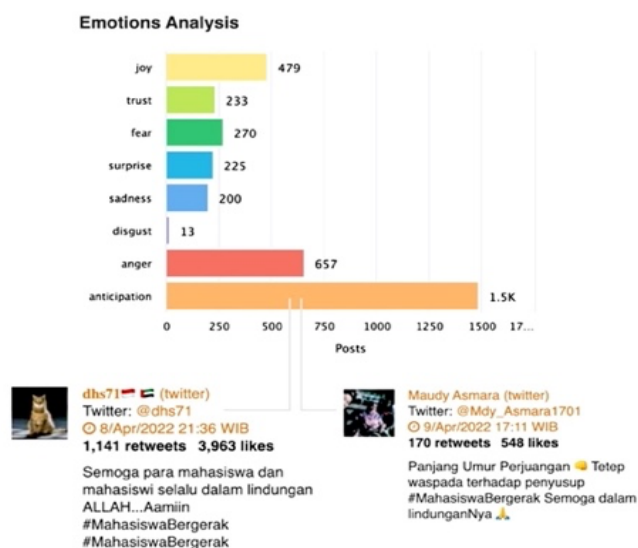
Figure 2. Emotion Analysis
(Source: https://pers.droneemprit.id/adu-tagar-mahasiswabergerak-vs-sayabersamajokowi/)

The emotions displayed by the public include joy at 479, trust at 223, fear at 270, surprise at 225, sadness at 200, disgust at 13, anger at 657, and the highest anticipation/hope at 1500. This means that the message that the public wants to convey through the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak is a lot of hope for the demonstration movement carried out, this attitude is also a form of mutual support. To echo those hashtags, social media activists are leveraging Twitter's medium for a larger mass than they would have to gather in the real world. The following is the number of followers of the activist's account.

Figure 3. Top 15 Influencers by Number of Followers and Retweets
(Source: https://pers.droneemprit.id/adu-tagar-mahasiswabergerak-vs-sayabersamajokowi/)

Some activists can gather large numbers of people into a social movement as an organized informal social entity that shares common interests with a clear opponent, and the movement itself is oriented towards a single collective goal. The goals of the social movement itself can be aimed at certain government policies or even cultural and social changes (Bahri&Widhyharto, 2021). Communication interactions are carried out on Twitter social media such as likes, comments, shares, and retweets. Along with *activism*, the term *slacktivism emerged*. According to *the United Nations, "* slacktivism *"*is a movement to support a particular issue or goal by taking small actions (while not really) being involved or devoting oneself to making change (Lodewijckx, 2020) " . Slacktivism _known as" *slacktivis*m ", activists only participate in *commenting*, distributing or creating content that is about criticism of support, orexpress their concern about an issue, but it is not accompanied by action in the real world.

Alternative Narrative
Alternative narratives that do not appear in the mass media can be an option to be raised in alternative media such as Twitter(Harywanto et al., 2022)Social media is a shortcut for organizing an action, and finding people with the same interest in an issue. Alternative media such as social media have become a medium of resistance to the domination of mainstream media which has been commodified by political economy forces (Fuchs, 2018). Besides thatsocial media also provides space for activism from a variety of causes, including those representing marginalized communities (Lim, 2018b).

Results and Discussions

One of the hashtags that became the peak trending topic in April 2022 released by Twitter Indonesia was the hashtag #Mahasiswa Bergerak. The use of #MahasiswaBergerak is rapidly expanding as evidenced within 2 days (9-10 April) the number of tweets using the hashtag is 84.9 K (Fahmi in Drone Emprit, 2022). The communication function of the hashtag is intended to address the 4 main demands of the demonstration that took place on April 11, 2022, including rejecting the discourse on postponing the election, rejecting the president for 3 terms, arresting the cooking oil mafia, and lowering fuel and basic food prices (Ningrum, 2022). The main purpose of using the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak is to voice the aspirations of the community towards the government. A lot of support came from netizens flocking to retweet. Users with many followers become social media activists who can create digital social movements with a large number of total retweets from these accounts. As done by @mBah_tugaran with a total of 3,506 followers and 3,415 retweets,

@Kanseulier with 3,687 followers and 755 retweets, @Mayasar64009002 with 112 followers and 970 retweets, @korudipriyant2 with 111 followers and 796 retweets, and @sunset_1764 with 7,517 followers and 1,564. From a large number of followers and the number of retweets, it can be seen that the five accounts mentioned above have become activists on social media who can influence other users through social networks (O'brien et al., 2018).

The Twitter media platform allows digital media users to act as producers as well as consumers, also called prosumers (Keltie, 2017) where social media activists consider themselves as opinion leaders, which then increases efforts to try and change the political attitudes and behavior of others (Weeks et al., 2017). Users actively share content in the form of text and images containing the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak. This social movement is considered quite successful in mobilizing the masses online and spreading social issues or campaigns ahead of the demonstration. This phenomenon is caused by a sense of alienation that gives rise to social movements that a change arises from social action that jointly creates meaning to produce social change (Xiong et al., 2019). Those who took part in the retweet of #MahasiswaBergerak hope that there will be a change in government policy which was previously explained about the purpose of the demonstration. Social movement activists and Twitter social media users create content, disseminate information,mobilize support, and build networks to generate digital social movements.

The Influence of Social Media on a Movement. Digital communication channels have changed traditional mechanisms, providing a platform for young people to voice concerns about a change, asking others to join their efforts, and gaining the power to influence government and policy (Boulianne et al., 2020). High levels of social media use among young people to voice their concerns about current issues around them and their future (Belotti et al., 2022). The form of young people's concern for an issue in their country also occurs in Indonesia (Saud & Margono, 2021), many activists have mobilized protests in all regions in Indonesia to demand government action by using social media platforms to communicate and broadcast messages (Anderson, 2017). They are actively involved in social media Twitter to become social media activists together to carry out social movements starting on April 9, 2022, starting from several social activists with content creation using #MahasiswaBergerak to attract attention and bring the masses into their movement. Today, new media technology gives many young people increased access to information and the ability to disseminate it more widely (Andersen et al., 2020), youth activists such as (the 5 influencers) are leading and using social media as a source of their strategies and tactics (Karpf, 2018)in spreading the social movement.

The main communication tool used by activists is Twitter, a social media platform centered on the ability of users to share visual content with accompanying text (#MahasiswaBergerak). These influencers have quite many followers, including @mBah_tugaran with a total of 3,506 followers, @Kanseulier with 3,687 followers, @Mayasar64009002 with 112 followers, @korudipriyant2 with 111 followers, and @sunset_17 with 7,517. In the social context of the #MahasiswaBergerak hashtag, these activists have a big role in influencing other netizens to participate in retweeting or uploading any content related to the hashtag, such as their following tweet.

Image 4: *Most Retweeted #MahasiswaBergerak*
(Source: https://pers.droneemprit.id/adu-tagar-mahasiswabergerak-vs-sayabersamajokowi/)

@mbaH_tugaran, @korudipriyant2, and @sunset_17 as digital activists in a social context can produce the effectiveness of activism activities, it can be seen from the responses of netizens' comments reaching thousands of accounts commenting on each image using the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak. The *social engagement* of these activist accounts can also be seen;
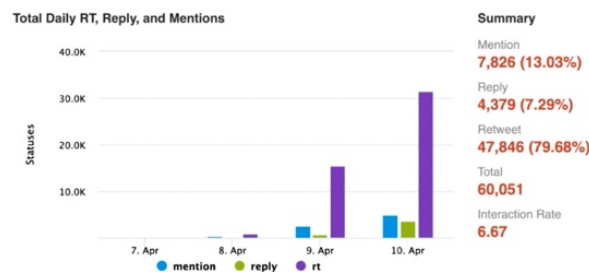
ENGAGEMENT TYPES

#MahasiswaBergerak

Figure 5: Engagement Types
(Source: https://pers.droneemprit.id/adu-tagar-mahasiswabergerak-vs-sayabersamajokowi/)

The number of mentions is 13.03%, replies are 7.29%, retweets are 79.68%, and the total number of high interaction rates is around 6.67%. This shows that social media plays a role in mobilizing community politics with social movement actions resulting in digital political implications (Rauschnabel et al., 2019). Digital instruments can promote democratic development, and the level of the political sensitivity of the people in Indonesia (Pratama et al., 2022)can be seen in the #MahasiswaBergerak social movement, a movement from the community initially through social media as a form of digital democratic aspirations. Twitter social media is a strategy used in building social movement narratives. #MahasiswaBergerak can be used by everyone in every region in Indonesia without having to take to the streets as the Alliance " All Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) " will visit the DPR/MPR Building (Fauzi, 2022). Digital mobilization strategy by maximizing the function of media used by digital activists because it can move many people. It isa new form of political participation in the form of socio-political support to convey aspirations, either in the form of social protests or political movements (Saud & Margono, 2021). The power of the #MahasiswaBergerak hashtag which is a trending topic on Twitter can encourage active participation from other netizens, as can be seen from the number of users who retweet the hashtag. This is evidence that the development of social media technology already has a large enough scale to influence the community to the political system (Weeks et al., 2017). The large number of hashtags shared by netizens on social media Twitter shows that public protest in the digital age is a moment of togetherness, accelerated by social media, which dramatically increases the personalization process in collective action (Hatuka, 2022).

In this situation, "hashtag activists" have the effect of increasing togetherness among fellow users, starting from activists and spreading to many people together to support each other (Rauschnabel et al., 2019)even though users of the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak do not take part in the demonstration on the streets. The activities carried out by these activists are called *activism*, in certain situations *activism* leads to "slacktivism" (Cabrera et al., 2017). Wherethis *slacktivism* became _ an activity of " *online activism* ", *Slacktivists* support certain issues in the interpretation of digital activism as little involvement or low effort (Ralston, 2022) whereas *slactivism*ignores the real form of action or has no real impact. Wargames only join in supporting a certain issue but do not produce real social influence, or political participation, for example participating in sharing content, liking posts, or *retweeting tweets* using #MahasiswaBergerak but there is no further action in the real world. This form of social movement is very inclined towards the narrative of *slacktivism* (Ralston, 2022).

Can Slacktivism Making Changes?
Starting from *activism*, the social movement then developed into a down-to-the-road movement that involves many people and is well-organized (if that person voluntarily wants to participate in showing their actions in the real world). The end of *Slacktivism* can have a positive impact, the movement that started with the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak on Twitter has succeeded in growing solidarity among all users to jointly support student demonstrations. This success shows that a*ctivism* can provide positive support for others in a short

period. Such behavior creates the asymmetrical forces necessary to influence social structures and persuade public opinion (Weeks et al., 2017). Social media is not only a part of popular culture that may be out of tune with socio-political situations, but users who use the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak can express their involvement by simply clicking, tweeting and republishing, or representing concern for social issues (Buell Hirsch, 2014). In addition, netizens can effectively voice their aspirations or narratives that may not be known by many people. An alternative narrative that is not widely discussed in the mass media, but is trending on Twitter social media (Harywanto et al., 2022). Social media is an alternative media that provides space for activists representing marginalized communities (Fuchs, 2018; Lim, 2018a)Social media is an alternative means to convey issues that are often not reported by the main media. Social movements that occur with the help of hashtags can help raise issues in the Twitter mass media after the issue is viral or a trending topic, whereas alternative media can influence mainstream media (Li et al., 2021b).

The power of hashtags, and the influence of activists as disseminators
Hashtags on Twitter facilitate the perception of hashtags as cultural objects that activate the goals contained in the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak as a simple (new language) message (M. Mahfouz, 2020). This paper results that the hashtag can be seen as an object that activates political participation in social media or can be said to be a digital social movement (Weeks et al., 2017). Public aspirations of dissatisfaction with the government shared by a large number of people starting from social media activists quickly grew and surfaced due to the sophistication of digital platforms that help social movements, as it is said (Belotti et al., 2022)that social media is a digital environment where young people are most able to express civic engagement. and their politics, "We are young, we act on social media".

Content on social media Becomes a Place for Alternative Narratives
The findings in this paper are that all people or Twitter social media users who participate in using #MahasiswaBergerak, whether they are activists as movers or other netizens are included in #slactivism activities. This digital activist movement can only lead to public opinion against the government but does not produce a real change. From this article, it can be seen that the *slacktivism process* that occurs in the #MahasiswaBergerak hashtag retweet which is carried out in groups on the Twitter media platform is a form of digital social movement. *Slacktivism* forms a person as if he has contributed to doing a lot only through digital participation. In this social movement, the number of accounts that retweet using #MahasiswaBergerak is as many as 84.9K are people who feel concerned about these issues and problems and then feel they have contributed to doing something after participating in likes, shares, and retweets.

The use of hashtags either alone or in combination with others can have various effects, as (Eriksson Krutrök& Lindgren, 2018)is saying that hashtags can operate as reflexive meta comments to express the context around a given message. The hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak can reflect many messages and meanings in it. As it says (Giacomozzi, 2022)how a hashtag becomes real (objectification) and how it is associated with one or more meanings (holding) in a tweet post. One hashtag can reflect many meanings. The existence of alternative media is a place where alternative narratives are conveyed. "There is ample evidence that each generation is reinventing social activism to meet the needs and channels of communication of its time"(Buell Hirsch, 2014).

Conclusions

So it can be concluded that due to the development of industrial technology 4.0 which is all digital, there has been a shift in the form of aspirations in the community, from a conventional movement to a digital movement that is easily and very quickly disseminated and brings more support from many people. Through an interconnected network system (*Internet of Things*), the production and distribution of content on an issue becomes a form of social movement on a large scale to reach the social and political participation of the community digitally. Social media activists can participate by taking an active role in disseminating a tweet so that it can become a *trending topic*. Even though *activism* actions can be a form of *slactivism practice* where protests are not proven to bring change, at least social media activists can raise issues to the surface and don't just disappear. Thus, technology can encourage and increase the effectiveness of social movements.

This study has several limitations. Even though it is limited in terms of research results, the researchers hope that this paper can contribute to enriching knowledge about social movements, activism, slactivism, and alternative narratives. Recommendations for future researchers and practitioners can take part in the importance of examining whether this form of a social movement can influence government policy-making and bring about change.Future studies could specifically investigate when and under what circumstances did the individual decide to become actively involved in a socio-political movement, focusing on social media activists who actively post content, both positive and negative.

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