

UNDERSTANDING THE ONLINE MOVEMENT FOR #HARIPRABANGSANASIONAL

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ABSTRACT

Hari Prabangsa Nasional with hashtag (#) symbol had took over twitter during early February 2019. This trending topic was popularized by AJI Indonesia to protest against the government's policy that has the possibility of threatening the press freedom. Prabangsa is the name of a journalist that was murdered by I Nyoman Susrama. This movement arised because of the policy to grant remission to the murderer. Hari Prabangsa Nasional or shortened as HPN has the similar abbreviation to Hari Pers Nasional (HPN). The aim of this research is to understand how Twitter as social media is employed as the new form of the press freedom protest. This research will be analyzed by The Logic of Connective Action Theory by Bennett and Segerberg . The Logic of Connective Action Theory argues for a more expansive path to concerted actions through the selfmotivated sharing of personalized content on social media. This research uses the Critical Discourse Analysis Method. This method will analyze the phenomenon from three different levels, such as the producer of social movement, the twitter text and the consumer of the social movement. The merit of this research is to add depiction that social media is effective way for conducting a social movement. The finding shows that to employ the Twitter for such movement, offline and online combination are still needed.

Keywords: Prabangsa; AJI; Twitter; HPN; Press

ABSTRAK

Hari Prabangsa Nasional dengan menggunakan simbol tagar (#) telah menguasai lini masa Twitter selama bulan Februari 2019. Trending Topic ini digagas oleh AJI Indonesia dan dipopulerkan dalam rangka melawan kebijakan pemerintah yang mengancam kebebasan pers di Indonesia. Prabangsa adalah seorang jurnalis Bali yang dibunuh oleh I Nyoman Susrama. Gerakan ini muncul karena kebijakan pemerintah untuk memberikan remisi bagi sang pembunuh. Hari Prabangsa Nasional disingkat menjadi HPN yang sama dengan singkatan Hari Pers Nasional yang selama ini dianggap problematik oleh AJI. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk memahami bagaimana Twitter sebagai media sosial digunakan sebagai bentuk baru dalam memperjuangkan kebebasan pers. Penelitian ini akan dianalisa menggunakan teori The Logic of Connective Action oleh Bennett dan Segerberg. Teori ini merupakan bentuk yang lebih konkrit dari sebuah aksi karena mendasarkan pada motivasi diri dari setiap penggunaanya. Penelitian ini menggunakan Metode Analisis Wacana Kritis. Metode ini akan menganalisa dengan menggunakan tiga level antara lain level produksi, level teks, dan level konsumsi. Manfaat dari penelitian ini adalah menambahkan gambaran tentang keefektifan sosial media sebagai penggerak gerakan sosial.

Kata kunci: Hari Prabangsa Nasional, The Logic of Connective Action, Gerakan Sosial Media

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INTRODUCTION

Press freedom is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. It was recorded that since 1965, Indonesian widely popular presses had suffered for suppression and forbidden to be published. The eradication of press freedom were conducted by aggressive attack towards the license, intimidation during briefing, intimidation to the journalists, black list was given and economic intimidation. During 1965 to 1977, 28 writers and journalists were recorded to be caught without any clear situation and trial for the case (For The Record, 1978: 61-63).

This condition had been continued, the biggest evening newspaper in Jakarta – Sinar Harapan also suffered during the Soeharto regime. Violence towards press became common. Even though Indonesia stated the press freedom on its law, but it only becomes the ideal condition rather than practical norm. Censorship was camouflaged by hiding under the “protection of nation from the dangerous ideas and information that would turned down Soeharto regime” statement (Schumaker, 1973: 103).

In 1998, right after the fall of Soeharto regime, the press freedom started to get better. It did not happen in Indonesia only. There were more Asian region countries that breaking through the press freedom. Nevertheless, the attack towards press freedom transformed into new form. Military aggression, jail and vandalism were not options anymore. This time, the suppression was done by economic pressure by erasing the advertisement. This was known as silence suppression introduced by Joseph Estrada from The Philippines towards their biggest

Philippines Daily Inquirer. ASEAN also started to be known as press freedom alert after their independence in 1998 (William, 2013: 12).

Violence against journalists do not stop in the past, up to now when the freedom of pers has been part of common knowledge, violence and harrasement do not stop just like that in Indonesia. Aliansi Jurnalis Indonesia (AJI) recorded that there are eleven violence events happened towards the journalists during mass protest last September 2019 in Jakarta and Sulawesi. The variety of violence happened to journalists are variegated such as tools destruction to physical harmness. The seven cases of Jakarta and Makassar are advocated by AJI and LBH pers. It then being reported to police. But there is no clarity to all of them, including the case of Tirto.id’s journalist that was reported since October 2019

(<https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/kasus-kasus-kekerasan-terhadap-jurnalis-mangkrak-di-polri/5280415.html>).

One of the cause in contributing the high number of violence against the journalist and the low level of legal protection is because of the lack of deep understanding about this job’s legal protection. Moreover, there are regulatory laws for this job such as Law Number 40 year of 1999 about Pers. The main verse is law number 18 Pers that stated putting in jail as the punishment for people who hinder the journalism works for 2 years as the longest period and paying fine maximum Rp 500.000.000,00v(<https://dewanpers.or.id/asset/s/documents/uu/UU-No.-40-Tahun-1999-tentang-Pers.pdf>).

Table 1 The Amount and Form of Journalist’s Violence 2017

Nu	Violence Form	Amount
1	Terror	2
2	Journalism Tools Desctruction (camera, recorder)	2
3	Verbal Intimidation	3
4	Verbal Intimidation by government officer	3
5	Journalism Data Destruction (file, video)	7
6	Threat of violence	9
7	Publishing prohibition	17
8	Physical Abuse	35
	Total	78

Source: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen Indonesia (2017)

The perpetrator of violence against the journalist during 2019 were recorded by AJI mostly conducted by the police. There were 30 cases, then as the second rank was by citizen about 7 times, by Non Governmental Organization about 6 times, by unknown about 5 times. Meanwhile each hold 1 times for army, executive, member of the party, main government worker, and academician (<https://kumparan.com/banjarhits/aji-ada-53-kasus-kekerasan-jurnalis-sepanjang-2019-1sVSAd4gRmD>).

Meanwhile the detail of those violences were physical violence about 20 cases, journalism tools destruction about 14 times, threat of violence/terror about 6 cases, criminalize about 5 cases, publishing prohibition 4 cases, sensoring about 3 cases and verbal intimidation about 1 case (AJI Indonesia, 2019).

Comparing to 2017, the highest number of violence form is the same, physical abuse/violence. It is increasing about 3 cases. In 2017 it was 17 cases and increased becomes 20 cases in 2019.

The death case cannot be avoided for this job. It was recorded that since 1996, at the very least there have been 9 cases of journalist's death during working hour. There are 6 unresolved death or classified as mysterious dead. One of them is the case of Fuah Muhammad Syafruddin as the journalist of *Harian Bernas* in August 1996, Naimullah Jamaludin RCTI 2003, Ersas Siregar RCTI 2003, Muhammad Jamaludin RCTI 2003, Herliyanto *Tabloid Delta Pos Sidoarjo* 2006, dan Alfred Mirulewan *Tabloid Pelangi* 2010 (<https://www.turc.or.id/30-jurnalis-terbunuh-setiap-tahun/>).

The complexity in solving the mysterious death of journalist has caused many cases remains unsolved. Although there

is special case that succeed to be revealed. But even though the murderer are sentenced to certain period of prison time, there is still power abuse possibility to get him out of jail.

The trending topic #HariPrabangsaNasional in Indonesia was happened during the protest towards president's policy. The movements was the journalist's counter attack to local government. It was organized to protest the government's policy that was about giving remission for Nyoman Susrama. He is the murder of the Bali journalist AA Prabangsa. In the previous president's era, Susrama had received remission of life sentence to 20 years of prison. #HariPrabangsaNasional is the form of National Press day innuendo (<http://jambi.tribunnews.com/tag/aji-kota-jambi> downloaded in 02 Maret 2019 at 09.10 am).

The murder case of AA Prabangsa happened in 2009. Prabangsa was an editor in *Jawa Pos Group's* newspaper. Prabangsa was part of *Radar Bali* since 2003 and known as a bright and kind persona. In February 11th Prabangsa was killed and found float on the sea. Before his death, Prabangsa looked glum and reserved. Prabangsa afraid of something. He afraid of an opened window as his friend said. Couraged by the curiosity, AJI Denpasar organized advocate team to investigate the case of Prabangsa. They found three problematic news written by Prabangsa. It could triggered conflict to the news sources. *Radar Bali* published those news each titled "Supervisors was Formed After The Project is in Progress" (December 3rd 2008), "Sharing Project PL Dinas Pendidikan Bali" (December 8th 2008), and "Legal Provision of Kadis is Invalid Rated" (December 9th 2008). All of those related to the deviation of some development projects in *Bangli Regency*.

Image 1. Prabangsa the journalist



Source: Kabar24.bisnis.com

These findings triggered the Police to form a new team called Lima Team. It was combination of Reskrim, Labfor, IT, Intelkam, and Densus 88 Anti terror Polda Balo. Apparently, the Police found short messages and phone conversations traces of Prabangsa with some people then appointed them as suspects. The main message was they forbid Prabangsa to write about corruption cases in Bangli.

The Police found difficulties in interrogating Susrama because of his tight schedule as legislative in DPRD Bangli from PDI Perjuangan for Election 2009. However, in early May, Susrama and Anak Agung Ngurah Samba finally can be interrogated. He was suspected try to banish the evidence by holding the Meceru ceremony (cleansing house ceremony) at Banjar Petak village. The Police searched Susrama's house and found dry blood stains behind the house and car carpet.

Susrama's red Toyota Kijang Rover that used to be parked beside the house was nowhere to be found. That car was hidden at Susrama's family in Yogyakarta. Even the car license was changed. After the car was found, the Police searched and found six dry blood stains and the hairpieces in the car's seats.

On May 25th 2009, police announced nine suspected of Prabangsa's murderer. The main actor of the murder is Susrama. The

other eight are executors, they are Komang Gede Wardana alias Mangde and Nyoman Suryadyana or known as Rencana (executor and corpse bearer), Komang Gede (Pick up Prabangsa), Dewa Sumbawa (driver).

Endi Mashuri and Darianto were the driver and the employee of drinking water 'Sita' owned by Susrama. The two suspects in location were Ida Bagus Made Adnyana Narbawa and Nyoman Suwecita. During the trial, it was found that Susrama asked his executors to kill Prabangsa on February 11th, 2009. Prabangsa was kidnapped and his hands were tight behind. The executors brought him to Susrama's house in Banjar Petak. Prabangsa was hit, and a wooden block hit his head. He got unconscious. Then he was killed then thrown away into the sea.

Susrama sentenced the life time prisoned. Meanwhile the executors were jailed 20 years, 8 years and 5 years. Endi and Darianto were jailed for 9 months.

The shocking news then came from the President, Joko Widodo. He gave remission for Susrama, from life sentence into 20 years jailed. This decision was protested by AJI and journalists. Jokowi was asked to undo the remission for Susrama.

The protest happened through two mediums, the online and offline. The online protest started since the early of February started by AJI and spread throughout country.

Image 2. I Nyoman Susrama, the murderer of Prabangsa



Source: pojoksatu.id

Image 3. One of online protest image



Source: Jatimplus.id

The remission of Prabangsa's murderer was annulled by the President, Joko Widodo, right in the moment of National Press Day. The annulled remission triggered the journalist's protest the whole country. The remission news spread during January 2009. This news was announced to Prabangsa's family in Bali and journalists.

It revealed the old press wound. The murder case of Prabangsa was one of the saddest moments for the press. Ten years went by and the news came out from the ministry of law. Susrama's sentence was changed from a life sentence into 20 years of prison. The reason is that Susrama has good conduct and behavior for 10 years. The press world held various actions both online and offline. They also collaborated with experts. In the end, Joko Widodo annulled his decision.

According to other data, there are 78 acts of violence committed to the journalist in various forms in a year. The physical abuse towards journalists is the most amount about

35 times, followed by the publishing prohibition about 17 times and the threat of violence is 9 times. Those data shows that Indonesia is not free for press freedom yet.

In the World Press Freedom in 2018, Indonesia is on the highest peak especially for the ASEAN rank countries. Indonesia gets the 124th rank. Indonesia's score was decreased from 39,93 to 39,68 in 2017 (World Press Freedom Index, 2018).

Self-censorship, restrictions on media access, and outdated and oppressive laws are among the reasons Southeast Asia lags their global counterparts in the World Press Freedom Index – with half the countries in the region falling one spot in the 180-country index. This year's edition of the annual index compiled by France's Reporters Without Borders (RSF) and published on Thursday shows that for the most part, press freedom in Southeast Asia has either worsened or remained unchanged since last year (<https://theaseanpost.com/article/asean-journalists-danger>).

Image 4. The protest riot for justice



Source: CNNIndonesia

Image 5. ASEAN Press Freedom Rankings



Source: <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>

The image above shows the spread of ASEAN countries' rankings for press freedom. It depicts the change in rank from 2018 to 2019. Based on the above picture, Indonesia is in number 124th and there is no change for the ranking in 2019. Meanwhile, compared to other ASEAN countries, Indonesia was best for its press freedom in 2018. However, in 2019 Indonesia was lost to Malaysia. It won as the best among ASEAN countries as the number 123rd. Malaysia has drastically climbed up from 145th. Vietnam holds the worst country for its press freedom as it is only in 175th rank during 2018 and has fallen short to 176 in 2019.

The journalist who does not join a particular professional organization are

susceptible to receive such violence compares to those who join the journalist professional organization. It is possible because the media company where they work usually does not provide any legal certainty for the journalist's security in the working field. However, security and protection are their right and not a privilege. It means that their working environment should assure those two.

What happened in real life to journalists seems like there is no protection from the country or government. Thus, when they report a dangerous issue, journalists feel unsafe. The research conducted by Gilang Parahita as a lecturer for Communication Science in Gadjah Mada University (UGM) concluded that sometimes violence is not

limited to physical when the journalist reporting a dangerous issue. Journalists often get doxing even their personal data are being spread in the online world.

According to the analysis, the Prabangsa case became an anomaly in the journalist cases since it was solved successfully. Besides, when a crisis hits because of government's unfair policy, the Prabangsa case has won for once again by gaining people's voice. The pinpoint from this case is that the protests were conducted online and offline. The online protests became extraordinarily strong and succeeded in gaining voices to fail down the unfair policy.

Recent years have witnessed a large-scale protest in many national and transnational contexts, from long-running actions focused on economic justice and climate change politics to large-scale political uprisings in Iceland, the Middle East, Europe, and North America. Reactions to the sudden waves of protest brought massive crowds into public squares, streets, and parks framed the discussion in stark and polarizing terms. Some observers implied that social media caused these political upheavals or that they erupted spontaneously; others insisted that technology was as good as irrelevant in these contexts (194).

During The Floyd's movement, an American journalist takes a note that Twitter is real life. His argument was not that what happens on that social media website is broadly representative of popular opinion but

that what happens on Twitter is a good barometer of enthusiasm around movement-building and fandoms. Moreover, elites tend to undervalue or dismiss what happens on the platform, suggesting that those loud voices making them uncomfortable aren't accurate indicators of lived experiences (<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/10/opinion/sunday/twitter-protest-politics.html>).

The image above shows the growth number of twitter user in the world. Twitter has 330 million monthly active users and 145 million daily active users. This number show the linkage power of information that twitter holds. This kind of linkage can be a remarkably effective tools to gain voices for certain issues.

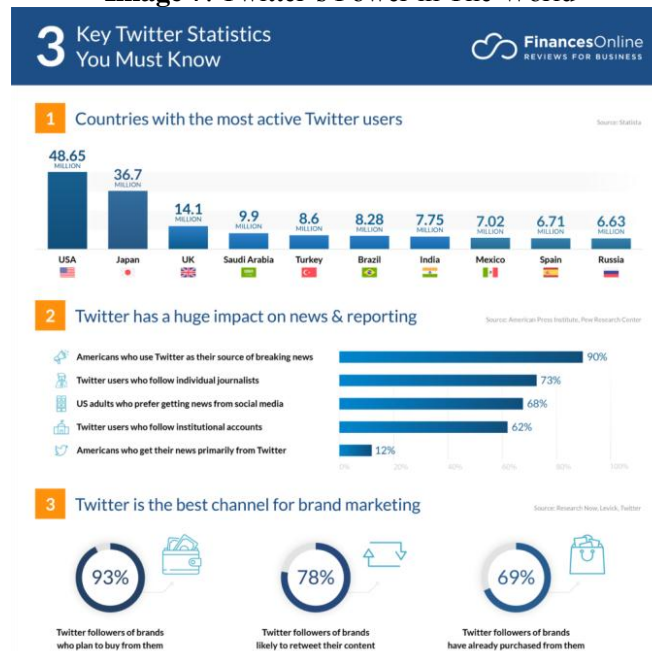
The image below illustrates how Twitter influences the country. Some countries are most active in using Twitter. It has a massive impact on news and reporting. Americans using Twitter as their breaking news sources are 90%. Twitter users who follow individual journalists are 73%, US adults who prefer getting news from social media holds about 68%. Twitter users who follow institutional accounts are 62% and Americans who get their news primarily from twitter are 12%. Those are the USA condition, but it can be a big picture for Indonesia as one of the countries' social media avid users. Twitter holds incredibly significant power in people and it can be the new "clean, honest and raw" news compares to the mainstream media offers.

Image 6. Twitter User Statistic



Source: <https://www.oberlo.com/blog/twitter-statistics>

Image 7. Twitter's Power in The World



Source: <https://financesonline.com/twitter-statistics/>

By understanding the journalist's violence phenomenon, The Prabangsa case and the power of Twitter in society, this study tries to fill the gap by investigating how the journalists in Indonesia counter the press freedom threats by doing the Twitter movement.

Theoretical Framework

One of theory that is used to understand the case is Public Sphere Theory. This theory is founded and developed by Habermas. It stated that if something is labeled as public, it means that it serves all (Habermas, 1991:1).

Public Sphere theory lets the society engage in a critical public debate (Habermas, 1991:52). For the initial, Habermas has described the public sphere as the concept of a sole space. It is not considering the grassroots level of public sphere. However, the later revision by Habermas stated that new concept of plural public sphere by understanding it by more complex and contemporary modern society (Habermas, 1996:360).

In this research, Twitter is a public sphere that can facilitate people's efforts to fight for press freedom. It fits the counter public sphere concept (Fraser, 1990: 63-70) known as the subaltern counter-public.

It is built by subordinate groups – in this study is the journalist – that counter the dominant power that is the government. Meanwhile, Lee et.al (2017) stated that the subaltern counter-public spheres were formed in response to the exclusions of the dominant public sphere (Fraser: 1990).

Counter-Public Sphere can be both as place for escape from dominant group but also can be the based for counter-dominant activities to combat the mainstream discourses. In Priyadharma (2017:182), Gerhards and Neidhardt defined that public sphere as an arena for contesting people's thought and interests. Also, in Priyadharma (2017:182), it is mentioned that currently the ICTs advancement has let people to use the internet as an alternative media. It gives them the chance to build a "virtual counter public sphere". Twitter is identified as a media channel that can be classified as a virtual counter-public sphere.

Democracy and press freedom

Since the 17th century, mass media's role has been recognized as the Fourth Estate. Media is an essential aspect of a country that will support the philosophy of democracy, equality, and liberty (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007: 6-7). As a democratic country, the citizen is required to be active citizens, in

which media is crucial as the role is to support the citizen's political roles.

However, the ideal condition of media's role in the democratization process is far to reach most of the time. Obstacles are everywhere, such as the media hegemony, owned by only particular persons, the stringent laws, government's control, and threats, starting the very insignificant to a deadly threat. Those factors can decrease the quality of press freedom practice in a democratic country.

This research views that those theories are relevant to Indonesia's current issue regarding mass media aspects. Press freedom by the Freedom House (2017) can be achieved by employing at least three indicators such as; legal, political, and economic environments.

Repercussions and threats are often given to the media by the government. Those can capture the variety of pressure and repercussion. Specifically, this study identifies that press freedom in Indonesia was conducted by the government's policies and rules.

Williams (2013) stated that the democracy in Asian countries, in this case, including ASEAN countries - are different. However, all countries apply minimalist criteria of democratization value, such as free elections and different degrees of press freedom. In the context of the ASEAN nation, the old regime's fall in 1998, most press freedom in this region found a way to resurface, although it is still weak. It is still challenged with some sensitive issues of 'Asian values' such as the rationalization of autocratic rule and political repression.

The social movement is the joint action in pursuit of common ends by more than one person. The achievement of the goal will benefit the greater society (e.g., Sandler 1992, in Agarwal, Nitin, Merlyna Lim & Rolf T. Wigand, 2012). Nevertheless, the Social Movement can be classified into several more specific studies. One of the classifications is the New Social Movement as the counter of the labor industry's classic movement. This movement refers to social fights, humanity, and the environment. Social movement involves a prolonged contestation of authority with interactions between the challengers and powerholders (Tarrow, 1998; Tilly, 1978).

The Logic of Connective Action

The Logic of Connective Action will be the primary theory used to break down how Twitter is employed as the media to protest the President's problematic policy.

Connective Action's logic is rooted in self-motivated sharing and what Benkler (2006) termed "peer production." Such connective networks grow to the extent that people can engage in content themes that are amenable to personalization, appropriation, and collaboration through the sharing of ideas and multimedia content and access to technologies that enable such sharing. The rich and varied troves of individually produced content found in the cases analyzed throughout this book were not just the result of individuals hitting the send key with blog posts or images attached. The palpable sharing, linking, commenting, and celebration of individual creativity became the meshwork connecting often-disparate people to a set of common activities. Personal action frames that support this personalized sharing travel more easily across network barriers than more exclusive collective action frames that require more cultural production work to get people to adopt, or at least acknowledge, a collective identity. It means that digital media might well be found in all kinds of action networks but have differing roles in differing contexts. It also suggests that media in the context of organization logics makes a difference in how the discourse around the action is a frame (Bennet, 2012:194).

RESEARCH METHOD

Critical paradigm is used as the foundation for understanding this research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln and Guba, 2000; 2005). By using this paradigm, this research ontology reality is influenced by elites' power in society. In this case, press freedom as reality is influenced by the government to regulate a country's press. The government has the power to control and dominate the press to adhere to the regulations and keep the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions stable because the government wants to regulate its people.

Epistemologically, a writer needs to report to develop a close relationship with the

subject. The consequence is the qualitative disclosure with the subject. Besides, the writer has a place for self in the position of subject to defend their interest. It is part of the consequence of the value-laden aspect in this paradigm.

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) used in this research according to Fairclough (1995; Titscher and colleges, 2000), CDA has two stages of analysis: (1) analysis of communicative events; dan (2) analysis of the order of discourse.

In the scope of communicative events, a writer needs to analyze the text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice. Text analysis is essential to be breakdown to understand the social background of the text.

The unit of data analysis consists of the Twitter texts shown during the movement. This movement was analyzed using the big

data analysis machine. Then the spread of the text was found. It also can detect the peak of every tweet movement. For example, the movement's spread can be seen starting from February 7 to 13, and the peak was on February 9. The data also shows the most retweeted account. Those big data analysis becomes the base of this research. Other documents used to examine are the in-depth interview transcript. The writer has interviewed five people for the Twitter movement production scale: the head of the AJI Indonesia, the most influential Twitter account holder as well as a member of AJI Indonesia, the head of AJI Jakarta, the head of LABHI Denpasar (NGO), and representative of AJI Denpasar.

It can project the collecting and developing information processes from the public and private domain to be a text.

Table 2 The CDA Working Table

ANALYSIS LEVEL	PRIMER DATA	SECONDARY DATA
Micro (Text)	Twitter messages from Indonesian Alliance of Independence	Relevant text from media or another document that related with the issue
Meso (Discourse Practice)		
Text Production	Data obtained by conducting <u>indepth</u> interview to AJI Indonesia, AJI Jakarta, AJI Denpasar and LABHI	Another relevant documents
Text Consumption	Message twitter as form of respond for the issue Data will be obtained by a critical linguistic analysis	Another document that relevant with issue
Macro (Socio-Cultural)	Legal Document related with the issue	Another document that relevant with the issue

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This research is part of more extensive research with more than one finding. Every finding can be found by employing the Critical Discourse Analysis Method. This study tries to fill the gap by investigating how the journalists in Indonesia counters the press freedom threats by doing the Twitter movement.

The research findings, applying the critical discourse analysis, discuss beyond the border of the ideology behind a phenomenon. For this research, the authors will discuss how the Twitter movement was organized for press freedom. The finding tries to understand the usage of Twitter as social media to be the primary tool for the fight. In-depth interviews were conducted with five sources: the representative of AJI Jakarta, the representative of AJI Indonesia, the most influential account holder, the Head of NGO in Bali, and the representative of AJI Denpasar.

Analysis was conducted by using the interview transcript and recorded big data analysis during the campaign. The Logic of Connective Action Theory then analyzed those results. This theory is the development of the past theory. The previous theory using collective action is no longer accommodates the situation nowadays, especially when using social media as the context.

The efforts to achieve the common goal by more than one person are known as Collective Action. This achievement should benefit all of society (e.g., Sandler 1992, in Agarwal, Nitin, Merlyna Lim & Rolf T. Wigand, 2012). According to the definition of Collective action, #HariPrabangsaNasional was a collective action because of its goal to hold better democratization for the society.

ICT, especially the internet, has transformed the collective action and social movement (Friedland and Rogerson 2009, p. 2 in Agarwal, Nitin, Merlyna Lim & Rolf T. Wigand, 2012). This research's unit analysis is employing the social media Twitter to communicate the issue nationally and globally. Social Media Activism Theory becomes the main theory to explain the press freedom fight's workflow. Social media activism is the application of ICT – in this case, social media technology – to coordinate and organize offline action using online

media (Melissa, Brown, Rashawn Ray, Ed Summers & Neil Fraistat, 2017). Social media activism shapes how people engage in the political struggle and how they do the social movement (Freelon, McIlwain, and Clark 2016; Ray et al., 2017). This study sees that #HariPrabangsaNasional is one kind of social media activism that supports offline action for protesting dominant power.

Recent studies have noted that social media-enabled movements follow the logic of connective action compared to the conventional and more familiar logic of collective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

In particular, social media has a few defining features that enable users to (1) construct a unique profile, (2) search for digital content, (3) create a list of other users with whom the user shares a relational connection, and (4) view and traverse their connections and those made by others on the social media platforms (Kane et al., 2014, p. 279). These social media features have behavior-structuring effects that warrant a new evaluation of collective behavior (Dolata & Schrape, 2015). In discerning the action dynamics underpinning emergent social media-enabled movements, a notable study is that by Bennett and Segerberg (2012), which proposes a logic of connective action. Connective action refers to a new form of collective engagement whereby multiple actors come together informally based on self-motivated sharing of personalized content on social media, even if they do not equally identify with a common purpose (Vaast et al., 2017).

The logic of connective action argues for a more expansive path to concerted actions through the self-motivated sharing of personalized content on social media. It allows dispersed individuals to come together spontaneously even if they do not all identify and even if membership and organizational resources are not present a priori (Bennet & Segerberg, 2012; Vaast, Safadi, Lapointe & Negoita, 2017).

Connective action networks are 'typically far more individualized and technologically organized sets of processes that result in action without the requirement of collective identity framing or the level of organizational resources required to respond effectively to opportunities (Bennett &

Segerberg, 2012, p.750). In this connective logic, taking public action or contributing to a common good becomes an act of personal expression and recognition or self-validation achieved by sharing ideas and actions in a trusted relationship. This sharing may take place on networked sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Youtube. Action networks

characterized by this logic may scale up rapidly by combining easily spreadable personal action frames and digital technology enabling such communication. This network invites analytical attention to the network as an organizational structure (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, pp. 752-53).

Table 3 The Logic of Connective Action

	Collective Action	Connective Action
Logic of formation	Institutions/organisations to enable action around shared concerns (e.g. political parties)	Networks based around social media and “weak ties” – importance of “personal action frames”
Resource Mobilisation	High – require aggregation of resources to achieve political goals	Low – participants can “piggy back” off digital infrastructure of social media
Decision-making	Formal and membership-based; office holders; elections	Informal: consensus sought through sharing of actions and ideas – allows for rapid “scaling up”
Alignment and identity	Individuals collectively agree to adopt a shared communal identity	Affective publics (Papacharissi) – people choose to have a shared affinity with particular groups

Connective action is the counter of Collective Action. Thus, both can be understood by several aspects above.

This research is conducted by breaking down those four conditions of connective action. How social media usage formed the #HariPrabangsaNasional in actuating social movement can be explained deeply by those four aspects.

According to that theory, the social media movement can be understood by four divisions. The first is the Logic of Formation. It means the networks based around social

media and weak ties or importance of personal action frames. The second is the Resource Mobilisation that counted as low. In this movement, participants can piggyback off the digital infrastructure of social media. The third is the Decision-making, an informal approach: consensus sought through sharing of actions and ideas – allows for rapid ‘scaling up. The fourth is The Alignment and identity, affective publics (Papacharissi), where people choose to have shared affinity with particular groups.

This protest directed to the government movement is initiated by AJI Indonesia that responded by 38 AJI in other cities in Indonesia. This movement was conducted offline and online. The primary demand of this movement is to refuse the remission for journalist murder. This Prabangsa case is a breakthrough since it is the only murder case successfully revealed. The remission is suspected as part of political negotiation. The second message is due to the Hari Pers Nasional because it is more into celebrating the PWI organization anniversary as the new order's product.

Logic of Formation

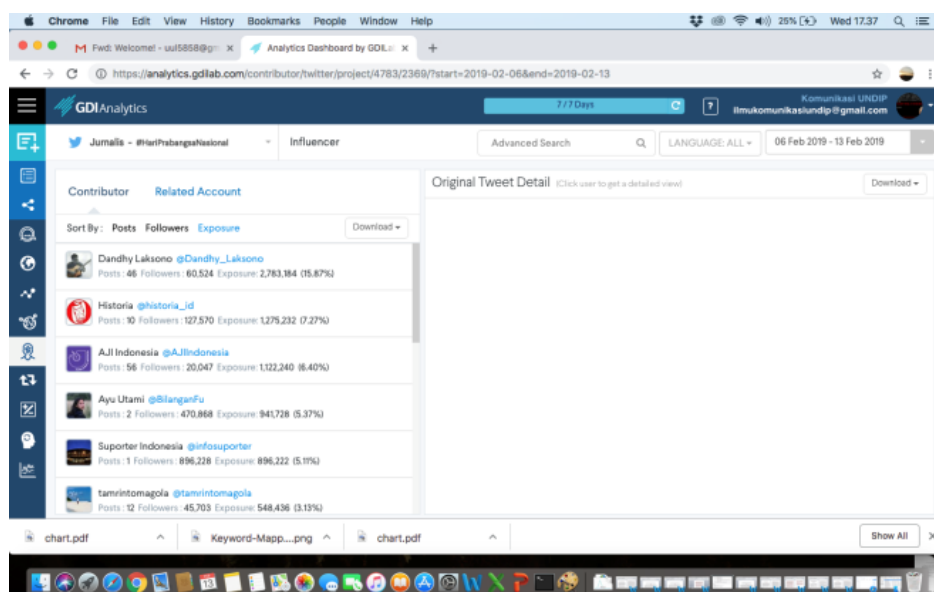
According to the interview with the AJI Indonesia and AJI Jakarta leader, the movement's peak time was the data. It is found that this was an organized movement by AJI Indonesia. In the Logic of Formation, Connective Action bases its action purely on social media with low inter accounts ties. Meanwhile, the contrast is that Collective Action is formed and initiated by an institution or organization. Looking at this HPN phenomenon, HPN is not a pure connective action movement.

AJI Denpasar initiated this movement. AJI Denpasar released a press release one day after the Susrama's remission news broke out into the public. The release

then triggered most of the Indonesian media. The massive response led AJI Denpasar to take action to prevent this policy by the Hari Prabangsa Movement. They were organized through the WhatsApp Group application of AJI lead by what they called "Panglima Angkatan Udara." AJI Indonesia and AJI Denpasar become the person in charge to produce the messages. Tweet and Retweet were produced within the group. The produced materials produced are memes and texts. Those memes were spread to the member with the most amount of followers. One of them is Dandhy Laksono. The hashtag were #cabutremisipembunuhjurnalis and followed by #HariPrabangsaNasional during the Hari Pers Nasional. This movement became a national movement. Some organizations that helped are Walhi Bali, Jurnalis Warga, and Campus's press (university students). The help was online and offline. For the movement in other places than Denpasar, there was no special meeting. Meanwhile, in Denpasar, meetings, and organizing were held to prepare the offline movement.

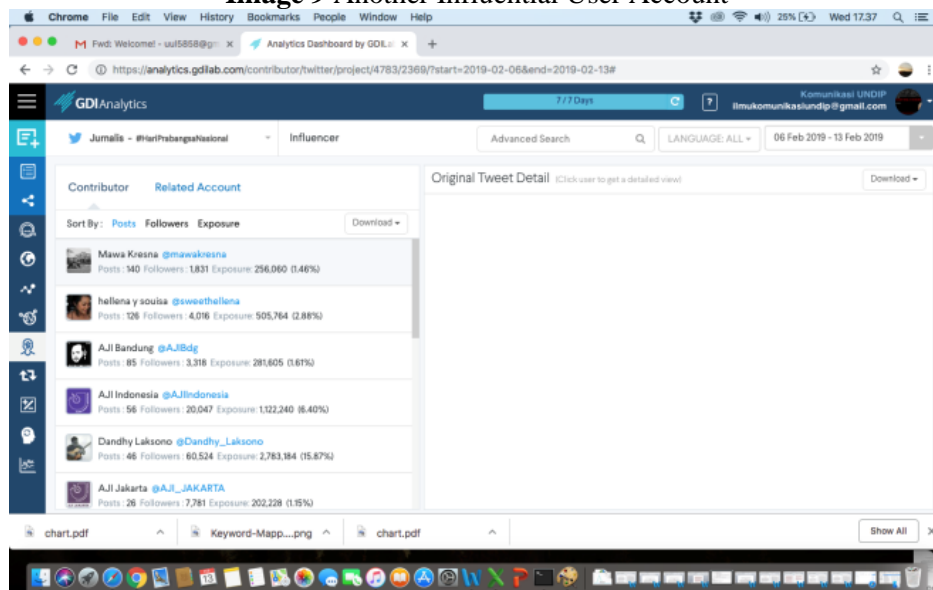
The total contributor for #HariPrabangsaNasional were 3.264 accounts and original posts, approximately 1.575 posts, and total posts about 7.563.

Image 8 Twitter Account Users



Source: GDI Lab

Image 9 Another Influential User Account



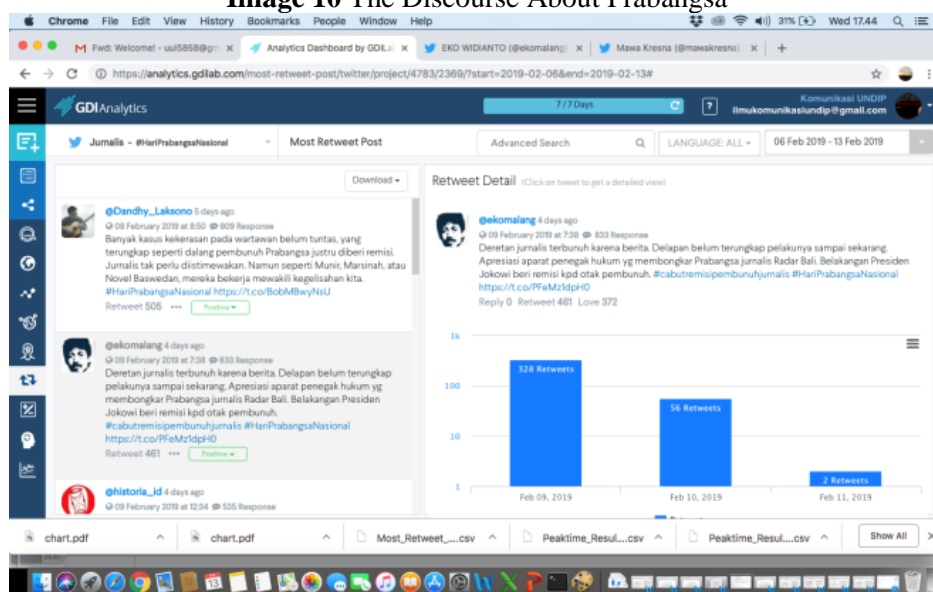
Source: GDilab

The image above shows the actors behind of #HariPrabangsaNasional movement. Dandhy Laksono, by his account @Dandhy_Laksono had shared about 46 posts about this discourse. It was then exposed to 2.783.184 timelines. It then followed by AJI Indonesia by its account @AJIIndonesia by throwing 56 discourses posts and exposed to 1.122.240. Though AJI Indonesia's contents held the highest in number, its total exposure was lower than Dandhy's and Historia by its account @historia_id. Moreover, Mawa Kresna, by

his account @mawakresna, also held the highest post, as much as 140 posts but lower exposure at 256.060. Mawa Kresna is not the main actor like Dandhy. Dandhy was appointed as the leader of this movement. Nevertheless, Mawa Kresna is a journalist and took part as an actor.

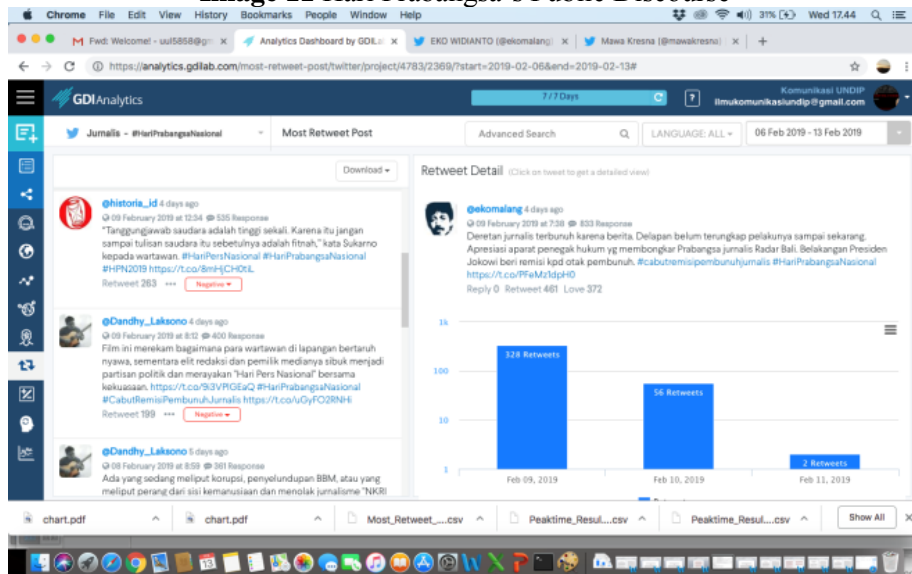
The discourse posted was also created by AJI Indonesia and the team. They gave several discourses to be the main point of overall storytelling about the Prabangsa case.

Image 10 The Discourse About Prabangsa



Source: GDilab

Image 11 Hari Prabangsa's Public Discourse



Source: GDiLab

Above is one of the posting uploaded by Dandhy Laksono. He gave the link of the picture, narration, and the hashtag, got 809 for responses, and retweet by 505 times. Followed by the account @ekomalang, he did the same and received 833 responses and 461 for the retweet.

Resource Mobilization

The main character of the online movement is low participation. Social media infrastructures do everything. For the #HariPrabangsaNasional, Twitter was used maximally by the facilities such as hashtag, tweet, retweet, mention, like, meme, and text.

The message reproduction was produced from February 6th to February 13th, 2019. On February 9th, 2019, the peak was as Hari Pers Nasional's day (National Press Day). Even though relatively productive, the Twitter character is only for raising the awareness of its audiences.

Without offline actions, this kind of effort will only remain as a repetitive movement. Thus, some of AJI Kota did the offline movement. Especially the Bali region's cities. To raise concrete awareness, AJI chose the collecting petition to record how the public disagrees with the remission policy. AJI employed the Change.org petition to raise the voices of society.

Image 12



Source: IDNTimes

Image 13 Change.org Petition



Source: change.org

In Denpasar, this kind of movement was balanced by signing the 10-meter-long banner by offline action. This petition then gave to The President. In conclusion, online was not the only platform they used. It is even strengthened by offline movement.

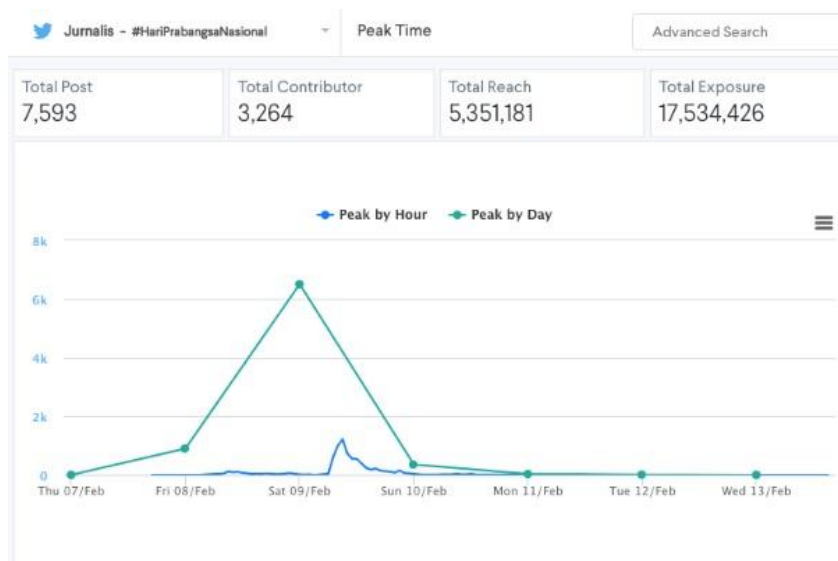
Decision Making

The decision of connective logic is made by formal disclosure in the consensus of various actions and ideas. The decision happens because there is a peak situation. On Twitter, the peak of text production arose on February 9th, 2019.

This is the Hari Pers Nasional in Indonesia. At the same time, AJI, as independent journalist organization turn downs this idea. For the year 2019, this HPN was held in Surabaya. The result of the hashtag was manifested into a petition in change.org. The 42.000 voices were gained to defy the remission.

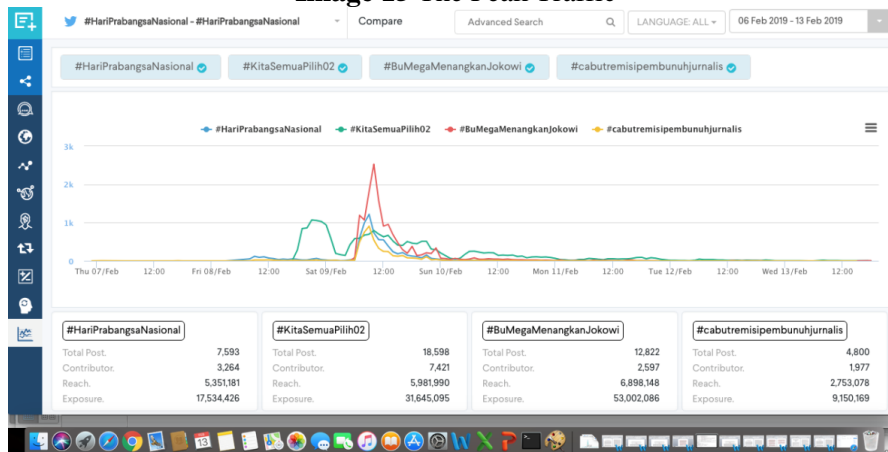
According to the picture below, the total post for #HariPrabangsaNasional are 7.593 posts, with the total contributor that shared, retweeted, tweeted are 3.264 contributors. The total reach of this hashtag is 5.351.181, and the total exposure reaches 17.534.426.

Image 14. The peak of #HariPrabangsaNasional



Source: metadata

Image 15 The Peak Traffic



Source: GDILab

The image below conveys the trending of #HariParabangsaNasional compares to other discourses. The strongest discourse on the same day is #KitaSemuaPilih02, followed by #BuMegaMenangkanJokowi. Meanwhile, another hashtag used to publish this movement is #cabutremisipembunuhjurnalis had a total post of about 4.800, with 1.977 contributors. It reached 2.753.078, and the exposure is 9.150.169 times.

Alignment and Identity

Affective publics can reflexively drive a movement or issue or get entrapped in a loop of sustained affective engagement. The impacts are symbolic, liminal, and semantic. Through semantic means, they seek to define the personal as political and lay claim to the agency. These publics materialize discursively on Twitter and through a variety of digital platforms that support expression and connection (Papacharissi, 2014).

Contrast to collective action in which every person agrees to the majority's voice, the individual in online media usually disagrees to offered value by the majority and chooses to identify themselves to a particular group. In this case, the accounts during the #HariPrabangsaNasional movement classified themselves to AJI's values, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of speech.

CONCLUSION

In those four aspects of Connective Logic Action Theory, it was found that the press freedom movement last February had

not applied the online movement only. The Twitter movement still needs offline movement because the central aspect of logic information and mobilization resource is initiated by an organization and strengthened by field segregation. Even though the offline was not massively held in Indonesia's whole cities, the social movement success is still supported by the offline and cannot purely be based on social media only to change the government policy. This research depicts the collaboration strategy between the official institution as the message maker and Twitter as the awareness raised, also change.org as the manifestation of public voices, and the offline action as the main motor.

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