Connective Action in College Student Activism: Case Study of Indonesian College Student Demonstration in September 2019

Rangga Kusumo[1], Aditya Perdana[2]
[1,2]Political Science Study Program, Universitas Indonesia
kusumorangga@gmail.com

Abstract

After the 1998 Reform, the student movement in Indonesia Has more freedom to protest because it is guaranteed by the constitution. The Advances in technology are progressively making student movements appear to be more creative and involve various elements by utilizing social media. In September 2019, there were a series of student demonstrations centered in front of the Indonesian Parliament Building (DPR). The form of demonstrations was not only massively done in the field (offline), but also massively done on social media (online). This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. The research instrument used to obtain data is through interviews and literature studies. Referring to the theory of Bennet and Segerberg (2013) about connective action, this research found that there was a connection between the September 2019 student demonstrations with digital actions in the shape of personal action frames. The Twitter accounts that was identified, they were engaged in conversations on social media and expressed their personal attitudes through various forms, for examples were photos, videos, and posters. All of these accounts were related and created a collective cluster by means of the same hashtag and narrative, namely to reject the Draft Legislation of Criminal Code (RKUHP), revisions to the KPK Law and other Draft legislations those were deemed problematic. The student demonstration in September 2019 is included in the typology of organizationally-enabled action since it did not only occur massively in the field (offline), but also occured in a hybrid way in digital media (online). The formal structure, namely the Indonesian Student Alliance, had the role of coordinating actions in the field, as well as social media which led to open widely of participation from various groups to get involved in the action. Nevertheless, the massive digital action that occurred, was not the part in the design of the student movement, but happened organically and naturally.

I. Introduction

The student movement in Indonesia has always played an important role in various historical events of the nation. The study of Meredith Weiss and Edward Aspinal (2012) explains that the student movement in Indonesia has always determined the future of the nation in several important events, including the Youth Pledge, the Proclamation of Independence, until 1998 students as pioneers of reform. Weiss and Aspinall (2012) explained that the student movement in Indonesia in 1998 emerged as the leader of the protest movement that led to the overthrow of the authoritarian regime. After the 1998 reform, democratic life in Indonesia is getting better. Different from the situation before the reform,

26064

the current student movement is no longer dealing with authoritarian regimes, but is carrying out protest actions against state policies that are considered detrimental to the Indonesian people, such as in the 2000s the student movement rejected liberalization and commercialization of education (Husin, 2014).

Along with advances in technology, the strategies of student movements in various countries have become more diverse and creative, not just demonstrations taking to the streets. There has been a transformation of social movements that were previously only carried out directly in the public space, now in the digital space. Social media has been used as a tool in social movements (Arum, 2017). In various countries in the world, social media has become an instrument in the student movement. In Latin America, a study by Scherman, Valenzuela & Arriagada (2014) describing the student movement in Chile in 2011 which rejected educational liberalization and environmental issues showed that social media played an important role in the coordination and motivation of a person to engage in social movements (Andrés Scherman et al , 2015: 151 -171).

In September 2019, there were a series of student demonstrations in Indonesia. Not only massive in the field directly (offline), digital actions (online) also occur on social media. The student demonstrations in September 2019 rejected several bills that were considered problematic because they harmed the people, including the RKUHP which was considered to have several controversial articles such as the article on insulting the president, abortion and others, the revision of the KPK Law which was considered to weaken the eradication of corruption, environmental issues so that the state investigates and prosecutes elites. elite perpetrators of environmental destruction in Indonesia, the Manpower Bill which is considered not in favor of workers, the Defense Bill which is considered to betray the spirit of agrarian reform (detik.com, 26 September 2019). The peak of the demonstrations occurred on 23-24 September 2019 and succeeded in mobilizing large numbers of people reaching tens of thousands of people (cnnindonesia.com, 24 September 2019).

In addition to massive events taking place on the streets in the form of demonstrations, on social media there are also digital actions. The All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) as a part of the Indonesian Student Alliance optimizes various social media owned to publish content around the #TuntakanReformasi demonstration. Among them are through Instagram (@bem_si), Facebook (BEM throughout Indonesia), and Twitter (@BEMIndonesia). These social media accounts have a relatively large number of followers, for example Instagram alone has 217,000 followers (Data as of June 3, 2022). One of the social media content created by BEM SI is a video publication calling for action from the Central Coordinator of BEM SI to all Indonesian students which has been watched 166,000 times.

Studies on the relationship between the student movement and social media place more emphasis on social media as an instrument that influences a person to engage in political participation. For example, what was done by the KANOPI FEB UI Research Team and the Eka Prasetya UI KSM Research Team (2019) who examined the Twitter social media platform that could influence student behavior patterns and motives in holding demonstrations in 2019 (KANOPI FEB UI Researcher & KSM Eka Prasetya, 2019) . This study will fill that void and try to find a novelty by analyzing the phenomenon of student demonstrations (offline) with digital actions through social media (online) simultaneously in September 2019 . This study aims to analyze why this phenomenon can occur, the form of connection such as what happened between offline and online actions , as well as the position and role of the student movement in the digital action.

II. Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with a case study method. According to Creswell (2009), qualitative research is a method used to explore and understand the meaning that a number of individuals or groups of people ascribe to social or humanitarian problems. This approach was chosen because it is able to explore in depth and detail a certain phenomenon, especially the explanation of the Indonesian Student Demonstration Action in September 2019 as a case study in this research.

This research requires in-depth data from specified specific informants. In qualitative research, Elizabeth Halcomb (2016) explains that data collection techniques that can be used are interviews to obtain data, understand reality, and in-depth understanding of a phenomenon. So this study will use an interview technique by selecting specific informants whose information will be obtained about the demonstrations by Indonesian students in September 2019. These informants include the Chairs of the Student Executive Board (BEM) from the UI, Trisakti, and ITB campuses and the All-Indonesian BEM Alliance. In addition, the author also interviewed several parties, namely representatives from NGOs (LBH Jakarta and ELSAM), Representatives of Extra Campus Organs (KAMMI Chair), and an influencer who is actively involved in social media (Dahnil Anzar and Said Didu). Document studies are also needed in this research, namely the results of Drone Emprit's research on digital actions that occurred during student demonstrations in September 2019.

III. Discussion

3.1 Political Situation Caused Student Demonstration in September 2019

The year 2019 is the end of the reign of Joko Widodo – Jusuf Kalla. During the 2014-2019 period of President Jokowi's leadership, there were many records in the life of democracy in Indonesia. Indonesian democracy is considered by some to have experienced a setback towards returning to the regime. The Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH) identified several signs that appeared including the narrowing of civil liberties space, and freedom of expression and association threatened by the presence of the Perppu Ormas, and the practice of the ITE Law which silenced activists and opposition parties critical of the government (Note End of the Year LBH Jakarta, 2019) . Other criticism also comes from analysts abroad. Ed Aspinal (2018), Tom Powel and Eve Warburton (2018 and 2019) suggest that there has been stagnation and even setbacks in democratic life in Indonesia. President Jokowi has started carrying out non-democratic practices such as disbanding mass organizations without due process and a number of human rights violations (detik.com, August 3, 2019).

This situation has an impact on the student movement which increasingly feels limited in its space of movement. Restrictions on student movement space have reached campuses through a number of regulations regulated by the chancellor. At the time of the incessant student demonstrations in September 2019, the government through the Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Menristekdikti) at that time, Mohamad Nasir asked students not to take to the streets to carry out demonstrations and threatened to impose sanctions for students who violated them. Nasir asked the chancellors on campuses to carry out the ban. In addition to threatening students, the Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education also criticized the actions of lecturers who allowed their students to take part in demonstrations (cnnindonesia.com, September 26, 2019).

The situation full of pressure from the authorities did not discourage students from continuing to strive to ensure that state policies were in line with the will of the people. Student demonstrations continued to voice demands for a number of national problems that

occurred throughout 2019. Prior to a series of massive demonstrations in September 2019, the student movement had appeared to voice various demands. On April 10, 2019, the BEM SI Alliance held a 2-year action against Novel Baswedan at the KPK Building. April 23, 2019, the BEM SI Alliance carried out an Ultimatum action for the Indonesian KPU for a number of frauds that occurred during vote counting in the General Election. May 2, 2019 BEM SI held a demonstration in front of the Kemendikbud and Kemenristekdikti offices in commemoration of National Education Day (Instagram BEM SI @bem_si).

On the other hand, the performance of the executive and legislature shows poor performance according to the student movement's view. There have been a number of bills that the student movement considers detrimental to the people. There are at least two main issues highlighted by the student movement and the main causes of student demonstrations in September 2019, namely the revision of the KPK Law and the Draft Criminal Code. Students highlighted that the weakening of the KPK occurred systematically, starting from the selection of KPK Leadership Candidates (Capim) who were problematic in terms of procedures and candidates, to the revision of the KPK Law. A number of points on the revision of the KPK Law that have been ratified and are considered by the public to weaken the KPK, include the issue of the status of KPK employees being changed to State Civil Apparatus/ASN, the wiretapping process which must obtain permission from the Supervisory Board, Establishment of a Supervisory Board whose members are proposed by the President and elected by the DPR and others (cnbcindonesia.com, 17 September 2019).

3.2 Connective Action Occurs in September 2019 Student Demonstration

Before the peak of the student demonstrations were held on 23-24 September 2019, a preliminary action was held on 19 September 2019 at the Indonesian Parliament building. Thousands of demonstrators came to demand the rejection of the revisions to the KPK Law and the RKUHP. This action triggered the massive conversation and involvement of many parties on social media. Data processed by Drone Emprit shows that on September 19, 2019 when students held a demonstration in front of the Indonesian Parliament building, the trend of conversations about the Criminal Code Bill on social media soared to reach 113,674 mentions on Twitter. Previously, during the period 12-18 September 2019, the highest total mentions regarding the Draft Criminal Code was only 13,618 (droneemprit.id, 20 September 2019).
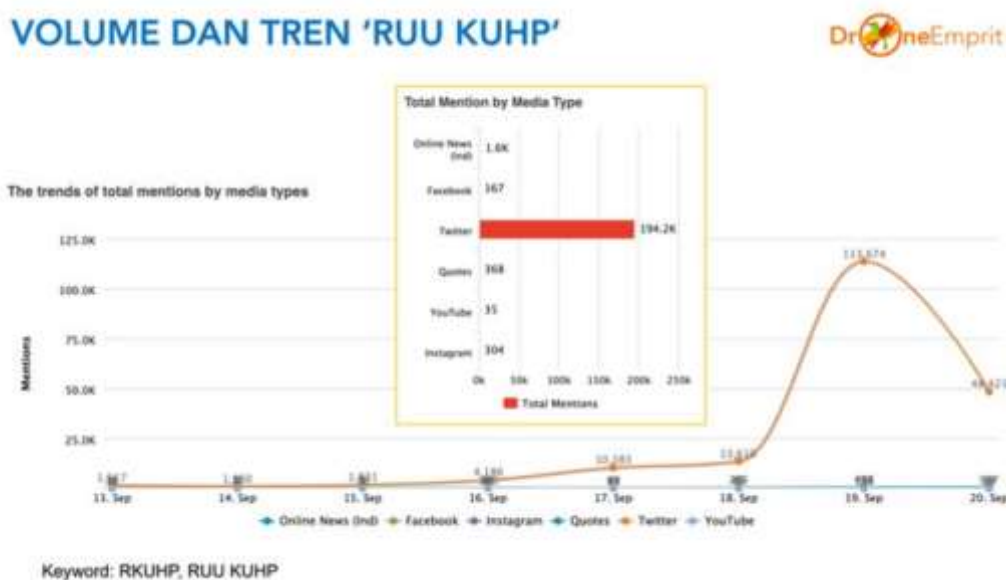

Figure 1. *SNA Drone Emprit Data on the Draft Criminal Code: All United to Reject*

In conversations on social media, Drone Emprit captured the essence of messages from accounts that spoke about the Draft Criminal Code which was summarized in several hashtags, namely #All BisaKena, #RKUHPNgawur, #tundademiall, #TolakRKUHP, #ReformasiDikorupsi, #TundaRKUHP and the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak as the viral point. . These hashtags are aimed at rejecting the planned revision of the RKUHP (droneemprit.id, 20 September 2019).

There are interesting findings from the Drone Emprit data when identifying the accounts with the dominant voice against the Criminal Code Bill on social media. In social media, individuals and groups interact with each other online through the internet network (Indriyani, 2020). These accounts are not anonymous accounts, but accounts that have a clear identity. The level of interaction between one account and another in a post is very high. In one tweet, there were 7.63 interactions (retweets, replies) that were obtained, indicating that conversations about the Draft Criminal Code tend to be natural or organic. The accounts that dominantly voiced his interest were also voiced by those who have been supporters of Pak Jokowi such as the accounts of Alitt Susanto (@shitlicious) and Ernest Prakasa (@ernesrprakasa). Based on Drone Emprit data, the @shitlicious account received retweets or replies on Twitter as many as 27,787 engagements and account @ernestprakasa got 17,585 engagements (droneemprit.id, 20 September 2019). The other dominant group that voiced disapproval were accounts that had been known as the government opposition. Drone Emprit identified these accounts led by Rocky Gerung (@rockygerung), Dahnil Anzar (@Dahnilanzar), and Said Didu (@saididu). The @rockygerung account got 4,620 engagements, the @Dahnilanzar account got 488 engagements. Meanwhile, among NGOs, the dominant accounts voiced were ELSAM (@elsamnews) with 348 engagements and KontraS (@KontraS) with 384 engagements (droneemprit.id, 20 September 2019).

From the data that has been shown, it appears that the dominant accounts voicing the rejection of the Criminal Code Bill consist of various groups. There are those who have been pro-Jokowi's government, there are also those who are known as the opposition, as well as from NGOs. The broad involvement of various groups on Twitter to voice the same demands as students, namely rejecting the revision of the Criminal Code is part of the moral resources of the student movement as a social movement in the form of solidarity and sympathetic support from the public, as stated by Bob Edwards and Patrick F. Gillham (2013).

Political participation in digital media carried out by Ernest Prakasa, Alitt Santoso, Rocky Gerung, Dahnil Anzar, Said Didu, ELSAM, and KontraS is a form of connective action as defined by Bennet and Segerberg (2013), an individual can participate in political activities in digital media without having to first become a member or commit to a particular group. All of them are not part of the student movement membership which is the driving force for holding student demonstrations on the streets. In the logic of connecting action, ties are built on the basis of shared personal preferences, shared concern for certain issues. In this context, rejection of the RKUHP is a form of personal preference and shared concern that is formed. Based on the Social Network Analysis (SNA) of the Draft Criminal Code from Drone Emprit, it appears that there is no polarization, all social media accounts caught in the system form one cluster.

3.3 Personal Action Frame in Student Demonstration September 2019

Still in Bennet and Segerberg's (2013) idea of connective action , there is the term personal action frame, which is a different meaning from one individual to another on an issue. Their personal attitude in the digital world towards an issue can be expressed through various forms of action, such as tweeting, making videos, memes and so on. They are united by a hashtag (hashtag) or the same narrative so that they can be connected into a large number of joint actions.

Based on data from Drone Emprit, the accounts identified as dominant voices each express their political attitudes in the form of postings on various social media. For example, Ernest Prakasa through his Twitter account @ernesprakasa expressed his political attitude towards the RKUHP by sending a message to the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, that the RKUHP was a serious problem. In addition, Ernest, with the relaxed language typical of young people, invites his followers on Twitter to continue voicing. Ernest made a tweet with the sentence "RKUHP & RUU-PKS, we have to keep fussing, geys" and included a news link about the dangers of the RKUHP from BBC News Indonesia. Expressions or expressions of someone who are flexible based on their respective lifestyles or profiles such as what Ernest did in casual language are also part of the personal action frame.

Meanwhile, Alitt Santoso through his personal Twitter account @shitlcious expressed his rejection of the RKUHP by criticizing the contents of the RKUHP which made it easier for people to be imprisoned on charges of adultery, abortion, sex education, and criticizing the government. Twitter Rocky Gerung @rockygerung with his trademark joke rated RKUH as "dumb". Rocky commented on a news entitled "RKUHP, Makar Against the President Threatened with Death Penalty" with the sentence "The stupidest law, Ndro :)". Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak expresses a personal action frame in the form of a video post showing Muhammadiyah students who are rejecting the revision of the KPK Law and RKHP in Yogyakarta. This post was in line with Dahnil's position at that time as Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Youth Center. Dahnil also in another post on his Twitter account said that the RKUHP was designed to sharpen the law for the little people and dull the law for the elite. Meanwhile, Said Didu, as well as Alitt Susanto, expressed his opinion on the RKUHP by attaching a change.org link accompanied by the hashtag #All BisaKena. Said also asked President Joko Widodo not to approve the RKUHP in the DPR Plenary Session.

From the NGO community, ELSAM through its Twitter account @elsamnews uploaded a poster containing a call to save democracy on its Twitter account as a form of personal action frame being carried out. There is a hashtag #TundaRKUHP #TundaDemiAll #BahasLagi #RKUHPjanganLanggarPrivasi as part of the feature that ELSAM posts are a form of personal action frame that will be connected to other posts and accounts in the algorithm on Twitter. Furthermore, KontraS, as another NGO identified by Drone Emprit, has a dominant voice in expressing its rejection of the RKUHP by holding a Public Discussion with the theme "Examining Articles on Western Human Rights Violations and the Crime of Torture in the RKUHP". Through the Twitter account @KontaS posted a public discussion poster and called on the public to attend. KontraS also criticized the government and the DPR for ignoring the aspirations of the public and academics through their tweets . KontraS highlighted the existence of articles on Western Human Rights and the Crime of Torture which are still problematic.

In addition to analyzing conversations about the RKUHP in the media for the period 13-20 September 2019, Drone Emprit also provided analytical data on conversations about issues on social media during the period 23-24 September 2019 as the peak of student demonstrations. It was found that the Twitter accounts involved in the conversation were divided into 4 clusters, namely Pro Regime and Give Away, GenZ/K-Poppers, Activists, and Opposition. Based on the Social Network Analysis (SNA) from Drone Emprit, in the GenZ/K-Poppers cluster with the hashtag being called #DiperkosaNegara, the dominant accounts are @awkarin and @BEAUTIFULYOONGO. The Activist Cluster with the hashtag #ReformasiDikorupsi has dominant accounts from activists and artists such as @ernestprakasa, @Arie_Kriting, and @Dandhy_Laksono. Meanwhile for the Pro Regime cluster, the top influencers are @EveryHariGA @permadiaktivis (droneemprit.id, 25 September 2019).

These accounts carry out personal action frames in various forms as part of their political expression on issues that are currently being discussed. They made tweets ranging from photos, narrations, videos, posters and so on and put them together through hashtags so as to form pro-regime clusters or criticize the regime. From the GenZ/K-Poppers cluster, the two dominant accounts, namely @awkarin and @BEAUTIFULYOONGO, position themselves as supporters of students who are holding demonstrations. The @awkarin account posted a message of support to students who were judged to have dared to take to the streets to fight for the rights of oppressed citizens accompanied by the hashtag #DiperkosaNegara. Meanwhile, the @BEAUTIFULYOONGO account shows a picture of a student at a demonstration, explaining that the picture is not a K-pop concert, but students who are protesting against the government which has made a number of regulations that are annoying and make the country look like a circus show. Don't forget, at the end of the post from @BEAUTIFULYOONGO it is also accompanied by the hashtag #DiperkosaNegara (droneemprit.id, 25 September 2019).

From the Drone Emprit data, the interesting side to observe is that student institution or student personal accounts are not accounts that are identified as the dominant voices. In fact, students are the ones who initiate massive demonstrations offline. However, the role of the student movement in online digital action seems insignificant. However, the massive student movement in the field has succeeded in getting various groups involved in digital action.

However, the student element is actually still involved in discussions on social media. Some of the posts uploaded by student institutions and personal accounts still include hashtags that are being discussed, such as #ReformasiDikorupsi. During the grand consolidation of 22 September 2019, the student movement agreed on a hashtag that was purely initiated by them, namely #TuntakanReformasi. However, these hashtags were not identified as viral or dominant voices based on Drone Emprit's findings. The student movement continues to do personal action frames in various types of posts on Twitter.

Based on the results of interviews with students, the authors did not find a structured and integrated digital action management strategy. Each student institution has a different digital strategy. The Indonesian Student Alliance as an alliance that was agreed to as a common umbrella did not have a detailed digital strategy and became the common grip of all BEMs, except for only agreeing on the hashtag #TuntasReformasi as the shared hashtag to be used (interview M. Abdul Basit, 22 October 2021).

The hashtag #CompleteReformasi was decided during the student consolidation on September 22, 2019 at Trisakti University. While before that it had gone viral and dominated conversations on social media with a number of hashtags, including #ReformasiDikorupsi and #MahasiswaBergerak. These hashtags are not hashtags created by the student movement, but by the civil society movement. Arif Maulana, Director of LBH Jakarta as a part of civil society elements in an interview stated that the hashtag #ReformasiDikorupsi was born from the LBH Building in joint consolidation carried out by elements of civil society (interview Arif Maulana, 15 March 2022). The hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak did not come from students either. Based on an analysis from Drone Emprit, the hashtag became a viral point of discussion on social media on September 19, 2019. The hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak is an expression of social media users referring to the demonstration carried out by students on September 19, 2019 in front of the Indonesian Parliament Building. However, students emphasized that the hashtag #MahasiswaBergerak was not a student alliance decision (interview with M. Abdul Basit, 22 October 2021).

The author also had the opportunity to confirm to two interview informants who were identified as dominant voices on social media, namely Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak and Said Didu about their reasons for being involved in the digital action to voice their rejection of a number of bills, in particular the revision of the KPK Law and the RKUHP. Dahnil Anzar

Simanjuntak explained that his involvement in digital conversations was a commitment from the beginning to eradicate corruption. When asked whether there was communication and coordination with students, Dahnil answered that there was no communication with student elements, all moving organically (Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak interview, 30 March 2022). It is the same with Said Didu who has his own reasons why he wants to be involved in discussions on social media to reject the problematic bill, namely because since childhood he has never liked deviations. Said Didu never had any contact with students because he was afraid that the student movement would be accused of being manipulated (Said Didu Interview, March 16, 2022).

From the data and description above, it can be concluded that the occurrence of massive digital actions on social media is not part of the design or design of the student movement. The student element is not the most dominant actor coloring conversations on social media, especially Twitter. However, student demonstrations in the field directly became a key factor in the lively discussion on social media. Without massive student demonstrations, the discussion on social media will not be big and widespread. At least this is evidenced by the findings of Drone Emprit, which identified student demonstrations on 19 September 2019 as a viral point for conversations on social media to reach more than 114,000 accounts (droneemprit.id, 20 September 2019). The dominant accounts involved in digital actions are almost all related to student demonstrations, both the similarities in the demands being fought for (mostly around the RKUHP and the revision of the KPK Law), as well as hashtags that appear in every tweet uploaded. That is, there is a connection between digital actions and demonstrations carried out by the student movement directly

3.4 Organizationally-Enabled Action in September 2019 Student Demonstration

In addition to personal action frames, Bennett and Segerberg (2013) also mention that there are several typologies of action based on the resulting network and organizational form, one of which is the organizationally-enabled action typology. In the organizationally-enabled action typology , the action logic used is hybrid logic , which combines collective action (direct offline collective participation). and connective action (online participation in digital media) walk side by side. A formal structure or an organizational body still plays a role in coordinating action. Digital media is used to widely open the participation of individuals to engage in action through various published campaigns. An individual can participate both offline and online.

At demonstrations throughout September 2019, the Indonesian Student Alliance, which consists of a collection of the Student Executive Board Alliance, is a formal structure that has a role to coordinate the action. The Action Coordinator (Korlap) from BEM SI, M. Abdul Basit who is also the Chair of the UNJ BEM has the task of coordinating the technical actions and communicating it to campuses, the media, between BEM alliances, and the KPK forum (interview with M. Abdul Basit , October 22, 2021). The head of BEM UI, Manik Marganamahendra, has the task of coordinating his institution to conduct studies, as well as coordinating with other campuses and civil society. In addition, as Chairman of the BEM, Manik also plays a role in public relations and coordinating with journalists, making propaganda, and mobilizing UI masses to come to the action. (interview with Manik Marganamahendra, 29 January 2022). The role of mass mobilization for the action was also carried out by KM ITB which succeeded in bringing a mass of about 200 people from Bandung to Jakarta. KM ITB held an internal study to communication to the heads of the Student Association in order to get acceptance from the campus, so that a lot of mass action was involved (interview with Royyan A. Dzakiy, 8 November 2021). Similar to ITB, the Student Presidency of Trisakti University also coordinates the Heads of Associations to be able to mobilize the masses. (interview with Dinno Ardiansyah, 29 March 2022).

In addition to the existence of a formal structure or an organizational body that continues to play a role in coordinating action, another element of the typology of organizationally-enabled action is broad participation to engage in action through various types of campaigns published through digital spaces. In this context, the demonstrations of Indonesian students in September 2019 were massively discussed on social media and received responses from various groups. Even those who participated in voicing the demands that the students were fighting for or simply expressed support for the student demonstrations. They participate only online , but also those who participate offline and online. Based on Drone Emprit data, Twitter accounts that became the top influencers also voiced demands along with the student movement some are from automotive enthusiasts as well as writers (Alitt Santoso @shitlicious), a film actor, as well as a comedian (Ernest Prakasa @ernestprakasa), film director (M. Irfan Ramli @ipankdewe), a feminist activist who is currently active in Jakarta Feminist (Naila Rizki Zakiah @nailacoplacha), mass media accounts (@asumsico, @BBCIndonesia), film and comedian (Pandji Pragiwaksono @pandji), journalist and founder of Watchdog (Dandhy Laksono @Dandhy_Laksono), and opposition figure (Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak @Dahnilanzar and Said Didu @saididu). There is even an account from K-Pop fans whose followers are dominated by Generation Z, namely the @BEAUTIFULYOONGO account . From the celebgram circles, he was also involved, namely the @awkarin account which has millions of followers on Twitter, he gave support to students who were considered brave to take to the streets fighting for the rights of Indonesian citizens and even took part directly in student demonstrations and distributed rice boxes (kompas.com, 24 September 2019).

All the data and analyzes that have been described show that demonstrations by Indonesian students in September 2019 are included in the organizationally-enabled action typology as proposed by Bennet and Segerberg (2013). Demonstrations are not only lively in the field (collective action) , but also digital (connective action) hybrid actions occur massively on social media. The Indonesian Student Alliance, which consists of a collection of Student Executive Boards (BEM) from various campuses, is the formal structure that coordinates the action. Social media has made public participation to engage in action widespread online . The public participated in enlivening social media through their Twitter accounts, even though they were not directly involved in the action. All of them express their respective attitudes through uploads on Twitter and are connected to each other, connected to student demonstrations through the similarity of rejected issues and hashtags written in their tweets .

IV. Conclusion

Demonstrations of Indonesian students throughout September 2019 as a form of direct offline participation (collective action) occurred massively simultaneously with digital actions on social media (connective action). Digital actions on social media can be seen in the personal action frames carried out by various groups, both students and non-students. Personal action frames are shown in the form of writing, posters, videos and so on. Posts are interconnected and united by hashtags such as #ReformasiDikorupsi, #MahasiswaBergerak, #TuntakanReformasi, and #GejayanMecall as well as the same narrative as demanded by the student movement, namely rejecting a number of problematic bills such as revisions to the KPK Law and the RKUHP. All of the accounts identified as dominant voices on Twitter were connected to student demonstrations through narratives delivered in relation to a number of bills that were criticized, in particular the revisions to the KPK Law and the RKUHP.

The demonstration by Indonesian students in September 2019 was included in the typology of organizationally-enabled action as proposed by Bennet and Segerberg (2013).

Demonstrations are not only lively in the field (collective action), but also digital (connective action) hybrid actions occur massively on social media. The Indonesian Student Alliance, which consists of a collection of Student Executive Boards (BEM) from various campuses, is the formal structure that coordinates the action. Each BEM has its own duties and roles. Social media has made public participation to engage in action widespread.

Although student demonstrations are connected with digital actions, the author does not find the massiveness of the digital movement as part of the strategy designed by the student movement. The student element is not the most dominant actor coloring conversations on social media, especially Twitter. The hashtag created by students, namely #TuntasReformasi, was not identified by Drone Emprit's findings as a viral and dominant hashtag in digital action. The hashtag #FinishReformasi is less viral than the hashtag #ReformasiDikorupsi which was created by elements of civil society. However, student demonstrations have indeed become a key factor in the lively discussion on social media. Without massive student demonstrations, the discussion on social media will not be big and widespread.

References

Bennett, W. Lance and Alexandra Segerberg. (2013). The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics. Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, J. (2009). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.

Edwards, Bob and Patrick F. Gillham. (2013). Resource Mobilization Theory, in David A. Snow (eds.), The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Fahmi, Ismail. (2019). Fix All Rejecting the Draft Criminal Code. (https://pers.droneemprit.id/fix-all-menolak-ruu-kuhp/ accessed 27 May 2022).

Fahmi, Ismail. (2019). GenZ/K-Poppers, Students, Activists and the Opposition All Have a Voice: Analysis of Criticism and Support Hashtags. (https://pers.droneemprit.id/untitled-8/ , accessed 31 May 2022).

Hasanah, Arum Nur. (2007). The Transformation of Social Movements in the Digital Space. Journal of Sociology Education. (http://journal.student.uny.ac.id/ojs/index.php/societas/article/viewFile/9126/8797 accessed 15 June 2021).

Husin, Lutfi Hamzah. (2014). Student Movement as a Pressure Group: A Case Study of UGM Student Families from the Old Order Period to Post-Reformation. Yogyakarta: PolGov Publisher.

Idhom, Addi M. (2019). The Cause of Today's Student Demo and Jokowi's Response to the Criminal Code Bill. (https://tirto.id/pengebab-demo-mahasiswa-hari-ini-dan-respons-jokowi-salah-ruu-kuhp-eiAV accessed 17 May 2022).

Indriyani, and Dewanti, P. (2021). Analysis of the Effect of Social Media on the Marketing Process in a Store or Business Entity "Social Media Store". Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal) Vol 4 (4): 9804-9814.

Interview with Muhammad Busyro Fuad (ELSAM Advocacy Manager) on 17 March 2022.

Interview with M. Abdul Basit (Field Action Coordinator/Chairman of BEM UNJ 2019) on October 22, 2021.

Interview with Arif Maulana (Director of LBH Jakarta) on March 15, 2022.

Interview with Manik Marganamahendra (Chairman of BEM UI) on January 29, 2022.

Interview with Dinno Ardiansyah (President of Trisakti Students 2019-2020) on March 29, 2022.

Interview with Royyan Abdullah Dzakiy (President of KM ITB 2019) on November 8, 2021.

Interview with Ghozi Basyir Amirullah (BEM SI Media Coordinator) on 22 October 2021.

Interview with Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak on March 30, 2022.

Interview with Said Didu on March 16, 2022.

KANOPI FEB UI Research Team and KSM Eka Prasetya UI. (2019). Behind the Student Demonstration Action: The Effect of Social Media on Political Behavior. Journal of KSM Eka Prasetya UI Volume 1, No. 1.

Khan, Zareen T. (2020). Toolkit for a Successful Movement: Digital Tools in Taiwan's Sunflower Movement. The SAIS Review of International Affairs. (https://saisreview.sais.jhu.edu/toolkit-for-a-successful-movement-digital-tools-in-taiwans-sunflower-movement/ accessed 28 March 2021).

LBH Jakarta. (2019). Year End Notes 2019: Reforms Corrupted, Democracy in Repression. Jakarta: LBH Jakarta.

Lokataru Foundation. (2020). Battered on the Campus Own. (https://lokataru.id/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/modul-sejarah-DO-2.pdf accessed June 14, 2022).

Muflihah, Nadiatul. et al. (2019). Line Group Effectiveness in Encouraging Political Literacy Student Movement. Journal of Communication and Information Technology (Community), Vol 11, No.2 September 2019.

Nursahid, Wijayanto and Fajar. (2019). The Problems of Our Democracy Today. (https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-4650749/problems-problem-democracy-kita-hari-ini accessed June 14, 2022).

Robert, Robert. (2020). Civil Society after #ReformasiCorruption. (https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/civil-society-after-reformasidikorupsi/ accessed March 16, 2021).

Setiawan, Tri Susanto. (2019). Awkarin's Action Falls into the Middle of Student Demonstration. (https://www.kompas.com/hype/read/2019/09/24/195015466/aksi-awkarin-terjun-ke-tengah-demo-mahasiswa-di-gedung-dpr?page=all accessed 31 May 2022).

Scherman, Andrés. et al. (2014). Student and Environmental Protest in Chile: The Role of Social Media. Political Studies Association. Volume 35, Issue.2.

Wasisto, Aryo and Prayudi. (2019). Student Movement and Efforts to Unravel Polemic Demands. Domestic Government Sector DPR RI. A Brief Study of Actual and Strategic Issues, Vol. XI. No. 19/I/Pulsit.

(2019). These are the Points Considered Weakening in the Revised KPK Law. (https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190917122059-4-99992/ini-poin-poin-yang-dinilai-melemahan-dalam-revisi-uu-kpk accessed 13 May).

(2019). Menristekdikti Asks Rector to Prevent Students from Going Down to the Street, (https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190926132947-20-434266/menristekdikti-minta-rector-sepsi-mahasiswa-turun-ke-jalan accessed on June 14, 2022).