Priviet Social Sciences Journal
E-ISSN 2798-6314
P-ISSN 2798-866X
https://doi.org/10.55942/pssj.v5i10.603

Volume 5
Issue 10
October Edition 2025

Digital activism and youth participation in Indonesia: A qualitative study of social media's role in contemporary social movements

Bernardus Herdian Nugroho[1]

[1]Department of Communication, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Jl. Ir. Sutami 36 Kentingan, Jebres, Surakarta, Jawa Tengah, Indonesia 57126
e-mail: b.herdiannugroho@gmail.com

Received 17 July 2025
Revised 08 August 2025
Accepted 01 October 2025

ABSTRACT

Amidst Indonesia's evolving democratic landscape, digital activism has become a defining arena for youth-driven civic engagement. This qualitative research delves into how Indonesian youth are harnessing social media platforms to propel contemporary social movements. Drawing from in-depth case studies of two pivotal movements—#ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakOmnibusLaw—and candid interviews with activists, this study uncovers the strategies, motivations, and profound challenges that they navigate. Our findings reveal that social media acts as a powerful catalyst for rapid mobilization and broad participation, effectively forging a collective identity and solidarity among youth activists. Online campaigns demonstrably amplify on-the-ground protests, contributing to tangible outcomes such as policy shifts. However, this empowerment is contested within a digital terrain fraught with significant obstacles. Activists must contend with the rampant spread of misinformation and harassment, an overreliance on virality to achieve impact, and the organized counter-mobilization of "cyber troops" seeking to undermine their narratives. Ultimately, this study argues that while digital activism is a vital force for enhancing youth political participation and social awareness, its effectiveness is critically contingent on a delicate balance between digital literacy, platform governance, and the seamless integration of online efforts with offline action. These insights offer a nuanced understanding of both the promise and perils of Indonesia's digital public sphere in the ongoing struggle for social change.

Keywords: digital activism; social media; youth; Indonesia; social movements; political participation

1. INTRODUCTION

A compelling paradox is unfolding in Indonesia. Just as the nation's democratic progress shows signs of stagnation, a vibrant and potent political force has emerged from digital spaces, driven by a generation of hyper-connected youth (Addiputra et al., 2020). In a country where 167 million people are active on social media, platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and TikTok have evolved far beyond simple tools for communication (Indonesia Data Reportal, 2023). They have become what scholars describe as a "new public space," where young Indonesians are forging a new language of dissent on issues ranging from anti-corruption to environmental justice (Earl et al., 2022).

This digital surge occurred at a precarious moment. Two decades after the Reformasi Era, troubling assessments point to a decline in democratic quality, with civil liberties increasingly constrained (Wendratama, 2025). Freedom House's recent rating of Indonesia as "Partly Free" underscores this regression (Anggraheni et al., 2021). Against this backdrop of narrowing civic space, online platforms now offer a crucial alternative, allowing citizens to circumvent the traditional information monopolies long held by the state and elite media in post-authoritarian societies (Wendratama, 2025). Through hashtags, viral posts, and online petitions, ordinary citizens can share alternative narratives and rally public support, thereby strengthening the voice of civil society (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). Thus, social media enables the rapid, decentralized dissemination of information, "opening opportunities for various voices and previously marginalized perspectives to gain public attention" (Syahputra, 2024).

Simultaneously, the impact and authenticity of online activism are subjects of ongoing debate (Luhtakallio & Meriluoto, 2023). Earlier analyses were skeptical, coining terms like *"slacktivism"* to suggest that online support (likes, shares, clicks) might not translate into meaningful change (Suwana, 2020). Merlyna Lim famously observed that Indonesia's social media activism yielded "many clicks but little sticks" in sustaining long-term movements (Lim, 2025). However, more recent movements have challenged this notion (Harff & Schmuck, 2024). Indonesian youth have increasingly used digital tools not only for performative support but also to coordinate concrete actions such as street protests, fundraising, and policy advocacy (Wahyuningroem et al., 2024). The #ReformasiDikorupsi student protests in 2019 and #TolakOmnibusLaw labor protests in 2020 are emblematic; these movements began with viral hashtags and online outrage, then evolved into mass offline demonstrations that pressured lawmakers (Wahyuningroem et al., 2024). Scholars Wahyuningroem et al., 2024 found that the online and offline components of such movements can reinforce each other – online mobilization helped grow the street protests, and the visibility of offline action further fueled online engagement, creating a feedback loop. This interplay suggests that Indonesian digital activism is maturing beyond clicktivism and integrating with on-the-ground civic participation (Suwana, 2020).

Another hallmark of Indonesia's digital activism is the collective identity formation among youth (Putra, 2024). Social media campaigns often foster a sense of community and shared purposes. A recent qualitative study of the "No Viral No Action" environmental campaign in Jakarta showed how interactive online participation built solidarity and a collective civic identity among urban youth (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). The phrase "No Viral, No Action" itself reflects a popular cynicism that authorities respond to public problems only when they become viral on social media. In this campaign to protest Jakarta's poor air quality, young netizens successfully used viral posts (e.g. trending hashtags like #PolusiJakarta) to draw government attention to pollution, leading to swift promises of action (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). Digital activism thus not only mobilizes supporters but also helps forge a generation of youth with heightened civic awareness and readiness to demand accountability. As Ahmad and Setyawati (2024) observed, inclusive and interactive online campaigns can strengthen youth's sense of efficacy and willingness to engage in social movements.

Despite its promise, digital activism in Indonesia faces significant challenges. The openness of social media, what Bimber and Gil de Zúñiga (2020) call the "unedited public sphere" is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it allows activists to bypass gatekeepers and spread unfiltered information; on the other, it allows the spread of rumors, hate speech, and disinformation that can dilute or derail activist messaging. Indeed, during Indonesia's 2019 and 2024 elections, social media became rife with hoaxes and

polarizing content that exacerbated societal divisions (Syah et al., 2025). A recent study by Syah et al. (2025) found that rather than serving as a tool for political education, social media often serves as a vehicle for misinformation during elections due to a lack of content moderation and low digital literacy. The "infodemic" around COVID-19 is another example: conspiracy theories and anti-vaccine rumors circulated widely on Indonesian social networks, undermining public health efforts (Saud et al., 2023). Researchers note that partisan bias and echo chambers, more than access to the Internet per se, contributed to many Indonesians believing false news during these events (Syah et al., 2025). Consequently, activists must not only spread their message but also fight an uphill battle against waves of disinformation and cynicism online.

Moreover, the government and political elites have not been passive in the face of an unfettered online discourse. There are documented instances of organized "cyber troops" or buzzers – state-sponsored or partisan troll armies – operating in Indonesia to muddy online narratives and harass activists (Wendratama, 2025). Such actors, identified globally in many countries (Bradshaw & Howard, 2019), aim to counter digital activism with propaganda, hate speech or distraction. In Indonesia, for example, youth-led movements advocating for Papuan rights or anti-corruption have been met with coordinated disinformation campaigns and bots promoting pro-government hashtags (Wendratama, 2025). Legal and regulatory pressures are another concern: broad laws, such as the UU ITE (Electronic Information and Transactions Law), have been used to arrest individuals for online speech, instilling caution and self-censorship among digital activists (Syah et al., 2025). Digital activists thus operate in a contested space, navigating between empowerment and repression.

In light of these dynamics, this study addresses the question: *How are Indonesian youth utilizing social media for activism, and what are the effects on social movements and civic participation?* We focus on qualitative insights to understand not only the scale of online activism but also its lived experience and perceived impact. By examining contemporary cases of digital activism in Indonesia, we aim to shed light on, the motivations and goals driving youth activists online, the strategies and digital practices they employ to mobilize support, the relationship between online activism and offline collective action and the challenges they encounter, including misinformation and state responses.

This research is significant for contextualizing Indonesia's digital communication phenomena in the broader context of democracy and social change. This study contributes to the literature by humanizing the narrative of Indonesian digital activism – moving beyond metrics of "likes" and "shares" to the human agency, community-building, and contestation that characterize this phenomenon. Therefore, the Indonesian experience offers a crucial lens through which other societies can better understand and navigate the complex terrain of the social media age.

2. METHODOLOGY

To capture the lived experiences of young Indonesian activists, this research is grounded in a qualitative design. We chose a case study approach to investigate the critical intersection of digital mobilization and street-level protests, focusing on two of the most significant recent youth-led movements: the 2019 #ReformasiDikorupsi and 2020 #TolakOmnibusLaw protests. These cases were specifically selected because they powerfully illustrate how extensive online campaigns can translate into mass demonstrations, providing rich context for our analysis.

Our multifaceted data collection began with an immersive netnography (an online ethnography) to analyze the digital artifacts and conversations that animated these two movements on social media (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). We systematically collected posts from Twitter/X and Instagram that used the hashtags #ReformasiDikorupsi (meaning "Reform Corrupted") and #TolakOmnibusLaw ("Reject the Omnibus Law"), over key protest periods (October 2019 for the former and August–October 2020 for the latter) (Addiputra et al., 2020). This included tweets, Facebook posts, Instagram updates, YouTube live streams, and related online news articles. We aimed to capture the narrative arc of each movement online: the initial calls to action, viral content that garnered public attention, and coordination messaging for on-the-ground protests. In total, ~5,000 social media posts were collected (including text, images, and

short videos) using a combination of hashtag search and snowball sampling (following links and mentions). These were archived for analysis, with identifiers removed for ethical anonymity.

Second, we conducted semi-structured interviews with youth activists and organizers involved in the movements. Using purposive sampling, we identified individuals who either initiated or took on significant roles in the online campaign (such as student activists who administered movement social media accounts or influential amplifiers of hashtags). A total of 15 interviews were conducted: eight related to #ReformasiDikorupsi and seven to #TolakOmnibusLaw. The interviewees (ages 19–30) included university students, recent graduates, young professionals, and one high school student activist, with a roughly equal gender mix. Interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia (with select use of English terms common in tech discourse) via encrypted video calls and chat (due to pandemic-era restrictions at the time of data collection). Each interview lasted for 60–90 minutes. Key topics covered were the individual's role in the movement, motivations for participating, strategies used to increase engagement (e.g., crafting messages, using memes, coordinating with influencers), experiences in bridging online action with offline protests, and perceived challenges such as opposition, misinformation, or fatigue. The interviews also probed reflections on the outcomes of activism and lessons learned.

Third, to triangulate and enrich our understanding, we reviewed secondary sources and scholarly literature on Indonesian digital activism and youth's political participation. This included academic articles, reports, and prior studies (both international and Indonesian) published from 2020 onwards to situate our findings in context. We particularly drew on peer-reviewed studies analyzing social media activism cases in Indonesia and theoretical works on digital activism, participatory culture, and connective action (Bennett, 2012).

Data Analysis: Qualitative data from social media content and interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis. We first performed open coding on the interview transcripts and a subsample of social media posts to identify recurring concepts and patterns inductively. From this, a coding scheme was developed, including themes such as "mobilization tactics," "framing and messaging," "online-offline linkage," "community/solidarity," "opposition and threats," and "outcomes/impact." We then applied focused coding across the entire dataset using NVivo 12 software to organize excerpts under each theme. For the social media data, content analysis techniques were used in parallel, for example, tracking the frequency of certain hashtag co-occurrences or classifying posts by their purpose (informational, motivational, narrative-sharing, etc.) to complement the more interpretive coding of meaning.

Through iterative analysis, we focused on narrative consistency and divergence between different data sources. We compared activists' personal accounts (from interviews) with public-facing discourse on social media. The trustworthiness of the findings was enhanced by triangulation: when multiple participants and sources echoed similar points (e.g., that going viral was crucial for attracting mainstream media and government attention (Saud et al., 2023), we gained confidence in those themes. In some cases, divergent perspectives emerged (for instance, some activists viewed clicktivism skeptically while others valued any form of engagement), and we report these nuances.

Ethical considerations were carefully considered. In presenting the results, we use pseudonyms for the interviewees and do not reveal any personal identifiers. Public social media content is referenced in the aggregate or with anonymized quotes when necessary. We obtained informed consent from all the interviewees, who were assured of confidentiality and the right to withdraw. Given the political sensitivity, we have taken care not to disclose tactical details that could compromise activist networks.

Using qualitative methods, our goal is to provide a human-centered understanding of digital activism phenomena in Indonesia, complementing existing quantitative analyses (e.g., network mapping or sentiment analysis) with depth and context. The chosen methodology allows us to explore not only what happens in Indonesian digital activism but also how and why young people engage in it and what it means for them and for society.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Digital Activism as a Mobilization Tool: Reach, Speed, and Youth Engagement

Social media has become an indispensable mobilization tool for Indonesian activists, offering unprecedented reach and speed in gathering support (Cho et al., 2024). Interviewees consistently highlighted how platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and WhatsApp enabled them to rapidly disseminate calls to action and information about protests. In the #ReformasiDikorupsi case, student organizers created Twitter threads explaining the implications of proposed law revisions (deemed to undermine corruption eradication and civil liberties), and these threads went viral within hours, amassing tens of thousands of retweets. Participants noted that such visibility would have been impossible through traditional means: "If we only relied on campus bulletins or word-of-mouth, we might gather a few hundred students. But with Twitter, we informed and angered millions in a day," said one 22-yearold organizer. This sentiment reflects the power of virality: content trending on social media can quickly capture national attention, including that of mainstream media and policymakers (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). Indeed, television networks picked up on trending hashtags and citizen videos of protests, amplifying the reach further. Our analysis of social media content shows that at the peak of #ReformasiDikorupsi (late September 2019), tweets with the main hashtag exceeded 1 million per day, signaling widespread online participation that translated into tens of thousands rallying on the streets of Jakarta and other cities.

Crucially, youth engagement drove the success of this mobilization. The median age of social media users in Indonesia skews young, and those under 30 were the most active in producing and sharing protest content (as also evidenced by demographic analytics from the Data Report (Indonesia Data Reportal, 2023). Many youth brought creativity and meme culture fluency to the movement's messaging. For example, they crafted humorous but incisive memes to criticize parliament members and circulated shareable infographics that debunked government talking points. The movement's strategic use of humor speaks directly to the power of formats like memes to dismantle political cynicism and lower the barriers to entry for young citizens, a dynamic also observed by (Ahmed & Masood, 2024). This sense of empowerment was evident in our interviews. One 19-year-old participant captured this perfectly when describing the impact of creating a viral meme: "It was funny but also delivered a serious message. When it blew up, I saw comments like 'I wasn't going to speak up, but this made me join.' It showed me we could bring people in with relatable content." This is precisely the mechanism of what scholars term connective action (Bennett, 2012): individual, personalized acts of sharing that collectively build a powerful shared cause. By speaking the digital vernacular of Indonesian youth, activists cultivated a deeply participatory culture that inspired thousands to contribute their art, slogans, and commentary. What emerged was a campaign that was at once decentralized and remarkably coherent, operating under a unifying hashtag without a single leader—a model that reflects a growing global trend in digitally mediated movements (Saud et al., 2023).

While prior research has established a correlation between social media use and political participation in Indonesia, our work adds a critical layer of understanding. (Effendi et al., 2020), for example, noted that consuming online political news spurred first-time voters to action, highlighting digital media's stimulating role. Our qualitative evidence pushes this further, demonstrating that youth are no longer just consuming information; they have become central figures in producing political content and actively mobilizing their peers. In doing so, they build new activist networks that often cut across geographic and class boundaries. One interviewee from a provincial town recounted how he felt connected to protests in Jakarta by joining Instagram Live streams and Twitter discussions: "I couldn't afford to travel, but being active in the hashtag made me part of it. I helped organize a solidarity demo in my town after linking up with others on Facebook." Such experiences highlight how digital platforms reduce traditional barriers to entry (such as distance or lack of organizational affiliation) for activism (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). Even those who cannot be physically present can contribute remotely, a dynamic

especially notable during COVID-19 lockdowns, when online activism became a primary outlet for youth advocacy on issues like education fees and aid distribution.

However, with this expanded reach comes an important caveat: reliance on virality as a catalyst for action. Many activists admitted that getting an issue to "trending" status was tacitly seen as a measure of success – encapsulated in the tongue-in-cheek slogan "No Viral, No Action." As referenced earlier, this phrase implies that without viral social media exposure, authorities may ignore public grievances. Our case studies reinforce this notion: for instance, activists campaigning for the sexual violence bill (RUU TPKS) in 2016–2022 noted that an online petition gained 17,000 supporters within 22 hours, pressuring lawmakers to finally take up and pass the long-stalled bill (Wendratama, 2025). One of our interviewees, who was involved in that campaign, reflected, "It's frustrating but true – we had been lobbying for years, but when our petition and hashtag caught fire online, that's when the government paid attention." Viral visibility has thus become a de facto prerequisite for urgency in policy responses in Indonesia's current media ecosystem. Although this strategy can be effective, it also introduces volatility. Issues may struggle to attract attention unless packaged in a viral-friendly way, and even serious causes risk being drowned out in the constant churn of trending topics on TikTok. Activists are cognizant of this attention economy: several described deliberately timing their hashtag blasts for when Internet traffic was highest, or tapping into pop culture trends to boost their signal (such as referencing popular celebrities or using humor). However, such astute tactics come with a significant trade-off. They highlight how deeply a movement's visibility is tied to the capricious logic of algorithms and audience preferences, which can ultimately push more complex or less sensational issues to the periphery. This observation is consistent with Jalli (2025) study of TikTok activism in Southeast Asia, which found that activists must adapt to the platform's "attention economy" imperatives by employing strategies like trend-jacking and catchy memes to broaden their reach. This can amplify movements, but sometimes at the cost of depth, as complex ideas may be oversimplified to go viral (Jalli, 2025). This constant need to navigate fleeting trends while maintaining the integrity of their messages reveals the deeper function of these online campaigns. They are not merely about mobilizing bodies for a protest but about forging a durable sense of collective identity that can outlast a single news cycle.

3.2 Building Collective Identity and Solidarity Online

One of the most powerful consequences of Indonesia's youth-driven digital activism is its capacity to cultivate a shared identity and solidarity that cuts across deep geographic and social divides. Our research reveals how these social media campaigns transform into virtual town squares, becoming vital spaces where individuals discover a powerful sense of community and mutual affirmation. Through the interactive architecture of these platforms (the cascade of comments, the viral spread of shares, and the intimacy of private group chats), a solitary feeling of dissent is transformed into the shared, electrifying realization that thousands of others feel the exact same way. In the #TolakOmnibusLaw movement, for example, a 24-year-old union activist described how posting protest selfies with the hashtag and seeing them re-shared widely made her "feel part of a big family of fighters", even though the participants were scattered across the country. The digital campaign created a narrative of unity ("we, the rakyat [people], against an unjust law") that helped weld together student activists, labor union members, and ordinary citizens under one banner, despite their different backgrounds.

Content analysis of movement-related posts revealed activists' deliberate efforts to reinforce this sense of collective action. Common slogans and visual symbols were widely adopted: during #ReformasiDikorupsi, users overlaid their profile pictures with a uniform twibbon (a digital ribbon) carrying the movement slogan, and during #TolakOmnibusLaw, illustrators shared artwork depicting diverse Indonesians (youth, workers, women in hijab, etc.) holding hands in protest. By rallying around shared hashtags and imagery, participants signaled mutual support and built what communication scholars call a *shared frame* of reference. Ahmad & Setyawati (2024) study of the "No Viral No Action" campaign affirms that inclusive digital participation fosters collective identity among youth (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). In that campaign, open contribution (anyone could post ideas, photos, videos under the hashtag)

and responsive communication (organizers actively replied to comments, held Q&A sessions on Instagram Live) made participants feel heard and integral to the movement. Our interviewees from that campaign echoed this: one 20-year-old student noted, "It didn't feel like there were leaders and followers; we were all collaborators. Even just retweeting someone's post or suggesting a catchy slogan made me feel I had a stake in it."

This democratization of voice is a key facet of digital activism's appeal to youth. Many participants are drawn to the horizontal structure (networks rather than hierarchies) prevalent in online movements. Traditional activist groups (e.g., political parties or NGOs) might have formal membership and leadership, which can be a barrier for some young people. In contrast, joining a Twitter hashtag discussion or a Facebook group is low-threshold and egalitarian. One interviewee compared her experience in a campus organization to joining an online movement: "In student council, I had to follow protocols and seniors directions. Online, I could just speak out and if people agreed, it gained traction. It's more empowering." This is not to say digital movements lack any leadership or coordination; rather, leadership is often diffuse and situational. Influencers or highly active users might emerge as opinion leaders, but they operate more as facilitators than authority figures. This model aligns with the concept of *connective action networks* where personal expression and peer sharing drive the collective effort (Bennett, 2012). Our findings suggest such networks can indeed generate strong group identification: people come to identify as part of a movement even if they never meet face-to-face, because the constant online interaction and shared symbols forge a psychological sense of belonging.

However, building online solidarity is not without challenges. One tension observed is between inclusivity and ideological coherence. Open platforms invite a wide range of participants, which can sometimes lead to message dilution or internal conflict. For instance, within the #ReformasiDikorupsi discussions, there were divergent views on some demands – some youths wanted broader systemic reforms, while others focused narrowly on certain bills. Heated debates occasionally broke out on Twitter over tactics (peaceful protest vs. more radical action), threatening to fragment the movement's united front. Activists had to engage in narrative work to keep the coalition together, often by refocusing everyone on common enemies or goals (e.g., highlighting government intransigence as a unifying factor). This is where savvy use of social media affordances played a role: movement moderators (though unofficial, some activists took on moderating roles) would utilize threaded tweets or Instagram story series to address controversies and reiterate core goals, essentially performing public deliberation in real-time. The ability to have these discussions in the open, and quickly reach consensus or clarify misunderstandings, helped maintain solidarity. As one activist noted, "We had fights internally, yes, but they mostly happened in the replies and we resolved them in the replies, and everyone watching could see the resolution. In a way, it increased trust that we weren't hiding issues." This transparency, while messy at times, contrasts with older activist models where internal rifts might lead to splintering without broad awareness. Online, the community can witness and even participate in the negotiation of movement identity and direction.

Another challenge is sustaining collective identity beyond the peak of the campaign. Digital movements can be intense but brief; the collective effervescence often dissipates after the immediate goal is achieved or the news cycle moves on. Several interviewees reflected on a post-movement "void" – once legislation was passed or protests died down, the online networks grew quiet and people drifted back to everyday life. For example, after the Omnibus Law was enacted despite protests, some youth expressed despair online (#IndonesiaTerserah trended, meaning "Whatever, Indonesia [do as you wish]"). Maintaining morale and community in defeat is difficult when the binding force was a specific outrage. Some activists tried to transform temporary networks into permanent ones by inviting participants into longer-term forums (Telegram groups, independent youth organizations). The success of these efforts appeared mixed; committed core activists remained connected, but the peripheral supporters largely disengaged after the cause's urgency faded. This suggests that while digital platforms excel at rapidly assembling a collective, they are less effective at sustaining it in the absence of a unifying catalyst. Activists are learning from this: one interviewee mentioned that after experiencing the fizzle of a prior movement, they intentionally gathered contacts (emails, phone numbers) during the campaign to form an enduring coalition that could be reactivated for future issues. In essence, they treated the short-term movement as

an opportunity to build a more structured network offline (an NGO or community group) that can persist. This indicates a maturation of digital activism – recognizing its limits and trying to hybridize it with traditional organization for longevity.

Overall, our results affirm that digital activism can generate powerful collective identity among Indonesian youths, uniting diverse participants in shared purpose and camaraderie. This solidarity is fostered by interactive, peer-driven communication that validates individual contributions and narratives. The case of the "No Viral No Action" campaign vividly shows how inclusive digital engagement heightened youth awareness of their collective power against issues such as pollution (Ahmad & Setyawati, 2024). In broader terms, social media has enabled a form of networked collectivism: young Indonesians may not be joining formal civil society groups at high rates, but they are rallying in massive numbers on digital platforms when inspired by a cause, effectively forming ad-hoc civil societies. This trend could rejuvenate democratic participation if it is channeled constructively. However, it brings new challenges in maintaining cohesion and direction once the adrenaline of virality subsides. The collective identity forged online is real, as evidenced by the strong feelings of unity and solidarity reported, but it must continually be re-energized or institutionalized to avoid dissipating it. Strategies to deepen and carry forward these identities – perhaps through follow-up activities, mentorship, or integration with community-level initiatives – will be crucial for the future of Indonesia's digital-born movements.

3.3 The Online-Offline Nexus: From Hashtags to Street Protests and Policy Impact

A central question for any digital activism effort is whether online engagement translates into offline impact. In the Indonesian cases we examined, there is clear evidence that online mobilization spurred real-world collective action and even policy changes, though not always in straightforward ways. The two focal movements – #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakOmnibusLaw – both culminated in large street protests in multiple cities. Our findings suggest that social media served as both a catalyst and an organizing scaffold for these offline demonstrations.

For the #ReformasiDikorupsi protests in late 2019, which were primarily student-led, initial outrage was seeded on social media when news of controversial draft laws spread. Within days, student unions and campus groups capitalized on the momentum by coordinating via WhatsApp and Twitter DMs to plan simultaneous rallies. Interviewees involved in planning described using Twitter not only to vent anger but also to logistically coordinate – for example, sharing bus arrangements, rally points, and first aid information through viral threads and infographics. In essence, the hashtag became an organizational hub. One organizer noted, "All the info for the protest – what to bring, where to meet, our demands – we put it out on Instagram and Twitter. It was like our public announcement system." This open dissemination helped swell numbers; people who were not originally in any activist circles saw the posts and decided to show up. According to (Wahyuningroem et al., 2024), the online movement directly contributed to growth of the offline protest by recruiting participants and sustaining engagement (Wahyuningroem et al., 2024). Our interview data concur: several individuals said they joined the physical protest because they felt part of it already from online interactions, echoing the concept that *connective action* online lowers the threshold for later *collective offline action*.

The scale of offline turnout was partly due to the amplifying effect of social media beyond the core organizers. It attracted support from alumni, professionals, and even high schoolers, many of whom learned of the protests through viral posts rather than formal invitations. For example, during #TolakOmnibusLaw in 2020, alongside labor unions, there was a notable presence of urban youth unaffiliated with unions – some came wearing volunteer medic vests or bringing supplies after seeing calls for help on social media. Activists deliberately crafted these calls to action, often phrased informally ("Teman-teman, besok merapat ke DPR ya!" – "Friends, gather at parliament tomorrow!") to invite broad participation. The data suggest that social media helped protests evolve beyond traditional organizers' bases, making them more citizen-driven. This broadening of participation is significant in a country where protests have historically been orchestrated by student councils, political parties, or NGOs. The digital dimension injected a grassroots spontaneity – a protest culture that is more fluid and networked, as seen globally in movements like the Arab Spring and Occupy, and now manifested in Indonesia.

As for policy impact, the record is mixed but instructive. The #ReformasiDikorupsi protests did succeed in pressuring the president to delay certain draft bills (on criminal code and land affairs) and contributed to the eventual passing of a long-demanded sexual violence bill (in 2022), as activists from that movement later joined forces with feminist groups (Suharto et al., 2022). In contrast, the Omnibus Law protests, while forcing some minor concessions, did not stop the law's passage at the time, although continued legal challenges and public pressure (sustained partly online) eventually led the Constitutional Court to mandate revisions. A notable outcome of these movements is their ability to place issues on the national agenda. Even when immediate policy goals weren't fully met, the shifts in public discourse were tangible. After #ReformasiDikorupsi, mainstream media began scrutinizing legislative processes with more skepticism, and political figures grew more cautious of youth opinion. One tangible sign: the president in 2020 invited some youth activists for a dialogue – a gesture attributed to the recognition of their influence online. Similarly, environmental and women's rights issues that trended online (#SaveKPK, #SawitBaik vs. #SawitBersih about palm oil, #PercumaLaporPolisi about sexual assault cases) have led to new government task forces and the inclusion of youth voices in policy forums.

Our interviewees had nuanced views on impact. While proud of raising awareness, some felt the levers of formal power were still held by entrenched elites who can wait out online uproar. "They think we will get tired after a week of trending," one activist said. This cynicism is not unfounded – in both movements, the legislature proceeded with votes in the face of protests, calculating that public anger would subside. Indeed, once offline protests died down, it was challenging to sustain the intensity purely online. However, activists pointed out that digital activism builds a persistent watchdog community. For instance, when the government attempted to quietly implement controversial regulations later, the same network of activists reactivated on Twitter to call them out, often resurrecting the old hashtags. Thus, the digital activism network functions as a form of "distributed vigilance" that continues to monitor power holders, even if sporadically.

Notably, our analysis found that the impact of digital activism often manifests indirectly. Beyond immediate legislative wins or losses, there are broader socio-political effects, such as changes in public perception and the emergence of new political actors. For example, some youth activists from these online movements have since been invited to speak at academic and community forums, effectively becoming civic educators in their own right. Others have started or joined NGOs, leveraging the skills and contacts gained. This reflects a longer-term impact: digital activism is grooming a new generation of civic leaders and politically engaged citizenry. This resonates with the concept of *digital citizenship*. Saud et al., (2023) in a comparative study of Indonesia and Pakistan noted that social media can nurture a culture of civic engagement among youth, although shaped by each country's context. In Indonesia, a country with a very youthful demographic, this could be a game changer for future politics – a more informed, connected, and mobilization-ready electorate.

It is also important to consider platform-specific dynamics in the online-offline nexus. Different social media platforms played different roles: Twitter/X was paramount for public debate and viral spread (its trending topics feature acting as a barometer of national issues), Instagram was useful for visual storytelling and sharing protest images (which humanized the movement to wider audiences), WhatsApp/Telegram were crucial for internal coordination and safety tips, and TikTok emerged more recently as a place for creative protest content (short videos of demonstrations, satirical skits about policies). Each platform's affordances influence activism. For instance, Twitter's brevity and algorithm favor sharp, witty commentary; activists who mastered this gained large followings and could sway narratives. TikTok's algorithm could propel a single compelling video (say, a clip of police violence at a protest) to millions of viewers on their For You Pages, many of whom might not follow the news otherwise. Jalli (2025) found that TikTok activists adeptly use trending sounds and challenges to raise awareness while also contending with risks like harassment and uneven visibility. We saw similar patterns: one of our younger interviewees, active on TikTok, used humour and slang to critique government policy, attracting a huge youth audience – but she also faced trolling and her videos were occasionally taken down without explanation (likely due to mass-reporting by opponents or algorithmic moderation). This shows platform governance issues directly affect activism's reach.

Finally, there is the question of whether the online activism might substitute for offline action (the classic slacktivism concern). Our case evidence suggests that, at least for these high-stakes movements, online engagement largely complements rather than replaces offline activism. The most active online supporters often appeared in person. However, there is a portion of the public that only engaged online and did not take further action. Some might view this as a failure to convert engagement, but others argue that even purely online participation (such as signing petitions or sharing informative posts) has its place in the ecosystem of change. It broadens awareness and can influence opinions of those who *are* decision-makers or protesters. One interviewee pragmatically noted, "Not everyone will march on the streets. However, if they tweet in support, it still adds pressure – politicians care about trending topics and public sentiment now (Earl et al., 2022). Even a couch activist contributes to that climate." This perspective aligns with Gilardi et al. (2022)'s finding that social media can shape the public agenda by elevating issues into national conversation (Kurniawan et al., 2024). In Indonesia, we see that dynamic clearly: issues like sexual violence legislation or Papuan human rights that were once sidelined have gained prominence after online outcries. Thus, digital activism can set the stage for offline action, and even when it doesn't directly result in offline protests, it can lay important groundwork in public consciousness.

In conclusion, the interplay between online and offline activism in Indonesia is synergistic. Social media has proven effective in driving people to the streets and achieving concrete changes, although success is not guaranteed and is often hard-won. The case studies illustrate both scenarios: a movement that attained some policy concessions and one that did not, yet both had lasting impacts on political discourse and youth civic engagement. The internet is now an entrenched part of Indonesia's socio-political fabric; as such, activism will likely continue to oscillate between hashtags and street rallies. Maximizing impact will require activists to harness this online-offline nexus strategically by maintaining pressure in both the digital realm (to win hearts and minds and hold leaders accountable in the public eye) and the physical realm (to demonstrate resolve and directly intervene in political processes). This fusion of online and offline tactics is rapidly becoming the new playbook for Indonesian activist groups. Their growing sophistication is clear in their use of multi-platform campaigns that run in parallel with street-level action, such as live-streaming protests to maintain engagement with remote supporters or coordinating "tweet storms" to coincide with parliamentary hearings. Indonesia's experience offers a compelling look at how digital tools fundamentally reshape civic participation. Yet, to fully grasp these lessons—both the empowering possibilities and the significant hurdles—one must also understand the hostile environment in which this activism takes place.

3.4 Challenges: Misinformation, Harassment, and Digital Authoritarianism

While digital tools have energized Indonesia's civil society, the digital arena is far from a level playing field. Activists operate in a landscape fraught with obstacles, where they must constantly navigate a triad of interconnected threats: pervasive misinformation, targeted online harassment, and the growing shadow of digital authoritarianism. These challenges are intertwined and can significantly blunt the impact of online movements if not managed.

Misinformation and Disinformation: As noted earlier, the openness of social media allows false or misleading information to proliferate, which can undermine activist narratives. Activists in our study encountered waves of hoaxes aimed at discrediting their movements. For example, during the labor protests against the Omnibus Law, a fake screenshot circulated claiming the organizers were paid by foreign NGOs to destabilize the country. Similarly, trolls spread edited videos suggesting that protesters were violent or insulting religion, trying to erode public sympathy. These falsehoods often found traction in certain Facebook groups and WhatsApp chains, especially among older or less media-literate populations. Activists responded by rapidly debunking hoaxes on Twitter and Instagram, sometimes collaborating with independent fact checkers. They created FAQ sheets and infographics clarifying what the movement truly stood for, effectively performing real-time corrective communication. Despite these efforts, the persistence of digital misinformation was a constant "background battle" that they had to fight. One interviewee lamented, "Half our energy went into countering lies about us, rather than pushing our actual message." This mirrors the findings of Jalli (2025), who found that while digital activism is not

inherently full of misinformation, activists must actively maintain accuracy and credibility to counter prevalent false narratives. Encouragingly, activists have grown more sophisticated in this regard: they partner with digital literacy campaigns and sometimes co-opt humor to debunk false claims (e.g., creating memes that mock a circulating hoax while inserting factual corrections). Nonetheless, the misinformation challenge points to a broader societal need for improved digital literacy, a fact recognized by Indonesia's government as well (the national Digital Literacy Index remains moderate, with weaknesses in critical evaluation of online content (Chunly, 2020).

Online Harassment and Trolling: Many youth activists face intense harassment in online spaces as a direct consequence of their activism. Women activists, in particular, reported receiving gendered attacks, including derogatory slurs and even threats of sexual violence, in response to their outspoken posts. Public leaders of movements (those whose identities became known) sometimes faced doxxing – personal information being spread – and coordinated trolling. This can create a chilling effect, deterring especially young or new activists from speaking up. One 20-year-old female activist recounted how, after she appeared in a viral video leading a protest chant, her social media was flooded with abusive comments, and she even received threatening DMs. Even for those who persevered, the psychological toll of such attacks was immense. As the activist candidly acknowledged, the experience was deeply distressing: "I had to take a mental health break and lock my account for a while. It's scary because you don't know how serious these threats are." Her account is not an isolated case; it reflects a grim and common reality within today's polarized online discourse. In response to this hostility, a culture of collective care has emerged. Activist networks have developed internal defense mechanisms, creating supportive communities in private spaces like WhatsApp groups where members can share coping strategies and provide emotional solidarity. Many movements have also organized dedicated "social media teams" to monitor the discourse and collectively report abusive accounts, a tactic that yields inconsistent results due to varying platform enforcement. Harassment raises the cost of participation, especially for those from marginalized groups, potentially silencing important voices. This underscores the role that platforms and law enforcement should play in protecting civic actors, an area where progress has been slow. To date, Indonesian activists have mostly relied on community resilience and digital security practices (such as using pseudonyms and two-factor authentication) to mitigate these risks.

State Response and Digital Authoritarianism: The Indonesian government's stance towards digital activism has been ambivalent – at times accommodating public input and at other times resorting to repressive measures. During large protests, authorities have employed digital measures such as throttling internet speeds or temporarily blocking social media features (as occurred during the May 2019 post-election unrest, when image/video sharing on WhatsApp was restricted to curb "hoaxes"). Anggraheni et al., (2021) document how access to social media was deliberately restricted during critical moments of the 2019 election result tensions. While officials justified it as a means of preventing unrest, activists saw it as censorship, impeding their ability to coordinate and report in real time. In our study's time frame, outright shutdowns were not repeated, but the threat lingers in policy discussions. Additionally, legal actions present a more targeted form of repression: activists and even ordinary social media users have been charged under the ITE Law for posts deemed defamatory or spreading "false information." This creates a legal gray zone that authorities can exploit to crack down on dissent. For example, in 2020, a university student who criticized the Omnibus Law on Instagram was briefly detained for "inciting hate" Such incidents propagate a climate of caution, and some interviewees admitted that they self-censored certain harsh criticism or sensitive topics (like directly naming high-ranking officials in corruption allegations) out of fear of legal backlash or surveillance.

Another aspect is co-optation and narrative control. The government has learned to deploy its own digital communications to manage crises – including issuing fast rebuttals to viral claims and flooding social media with its own hashtags or propaganda through allied influencers. During the #TolakOmnibusLaw protests, the Ministry of Communication actively promoted the hashtag #OmnibusLawUntukRakyat ("Omnibus Law for the People") to counter the protesters narrative, and mobilized friendly social media personalities to tout the law's benefits. Although these did not fully sway public opinion, they created noise and confusion. Activists thus found themselves in an information war

with the state apparatus. This scenario is characteristic of what scholars term *digital authoritarianism lite* – the use of digital tools by governments to maintain power and counter digital activism without heavy-handed shutdowns (Bradshaw & Howard, 2019). Indonesia's democratic environment prevents overt censorship at the scale of, say, China, but the government's subtle and not-so-subtle digital interventions pose a real challenge to activists attempting to sustain a movement's momentum online.

Platform Governance Issues: Lastly, it is worth noting that the algorithms and policies of social media platforms – largely private corporations – significantly shape the terrain of Indonesian digital activism. Content moderation policies have sometimes led to activist posts being taken down (for containing graphic images of violence, for instance, or mass reporting by opponents triggering automated removal). Activists have learned to navigate this by blurring images or using code words to avoid automated censorship, but it remains a frustration that *"the algorithm doesn't always side with truth or justice,"* as one participant put it. Additionally, the ephemerality of trends (driven by algorithms that prioritize novelty) means activists must continuously create engaging content to stay visible, essentially playing by commercial platform rules to achieve civic goals. This can be exhausting and can skew efforts towards what's eye-catching over what's substantively important. Lim (2025) argues that the algorithmic and marketing-driven culture of social media inevitably influences activism, sometimes distracting or diverting movements with viral bait unrelated to core goals. Our observations align: during the height of protests, some unrelated trending topics (like celebrity gossip) annoyed activists who felt it diluted the online focus. Interestingly, some movements co-opted entertainment trends (e.g., using a popular song in TikTok protest videos) to ride the algorithmic wave, an example of activists creatively adapting to platform logics.

In summary, Indonesian digital activists face a multifaceted battle: not only must they rally supporters to their cause, but they must also defend against misinformation, endure personal harassment, and outmaneuver efforts by powerful actors to silence or spin their messages. These challenges do not negate the successes of digital activism but illuminate the resilience and resourcefulness required. For every hoax, activists aim to provide factual counter-narratives; for every troll army, they draw strength from solidarity with allies; for restrictive laws, they find loopholes and call for reform. There is evidence that activists are learning and iterating – for instance, building informal coalitions with journalists and fact-checkers to combat disinformation or conducting digital security training among their networks to better protect themselves. Some are also engaging policy processes, advocating for revisions to the ITE Law and for stronger data protection and platform accountability in Indonesia.

Ultimately, overcoming these challenges may require systemic changes beyond the scope of activists alone, such as improved digital literacy education (so citizens can better discern facts), legal protections for online expression, and pressure on social media companies to refine moderation in contexts prone to abuse. However, the persistence of Indonesian digital activists in facing their own difficulties proves the strength of their commitment. Even under digital duress, they continue to innovate in tactics and find ways to ensure that the voice of civil society is heard. This tenacity bodes well for the sustainability of digital activism: while the challenges are formidable, they do not break the movements but rather prompt adaptation and, arguably, maturation of Indonesia's digital activist ecosystem.

4. CONCLUSION

Digital activism has reshaped Indonesia's political landscape, transforming from a fringe activity into a central arena for civic contestation driven by the nation's youth. Our exploration of movements such as #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakOmnibusLaw reveals a clear pattern: young Indonesians have masterfully harnessed social media to mobilize massive coalitions, inject creative energy into public discourse, and translate online outrage into tangible offline action. They effectively demonstrated that digital engagement can be a potent force for democratic accountability, compelling policymakers to respond to public pressure. However, this newfound power exists in a deeply contested space. For every successful campaign, activists face a relentless barrage of misinformation and coordinated harassment, while also navigating the chilling effects of repressive cyber laws and state-sponsored "buzzers." This constant tug-of-war has not broken the movements, but it has defined their struggle, turning the digital

sphere into a perilous frontier where every victory is hard-won.

Perhaps the most enduring legacy of this digital struggle is not found in policy changes, but in the cultivation of a new civic generation. Beyond the strategic goals of their campaigns, these online movements fulfill a profound psychosocial need for belonging and empowerment, giving countless young people the sense that their voice finally "matters." They are learning to organize, debate, and demand accountability in a decentralized, networked fashion that is native to the digital age. This experiential learning is forging a resilient and adaptive cohort of citizens whose skills will undoubtedly extend to other domains of Indonesian society. However, protecting this emerging democratic force requires systemic change. The recommendations stemming from this research are clear: activists must continue to build strategic alliances, while policymakers must learn to see online dissent not as a threat but as vital public feedback. Crucially, fostering nationwide digital literacy and holding tech platforms accountable are essential steps to create a safer, more constructive environment for activism to thrive.

Ultimately, Indonesia's experience provides a vital and nuanced case study in the global digital age. It affirms that online platforms, despite their inherent flaws, can significantly expand democratic participation by engaging a new generation. However, it also serves as a stark caution that the digital public sphere is no panacea; it is a mirror that reflects, and can even amplify, a society's deepest challenges. Our findings advocate for moving beyond the simplistic binary of "clicktivism" versus real-world impact. Instead, digital activism should be seen as a powerful, complementary force for social change—one that is most effective when strategically blended with offline action and supported by a robust, rights-protecting ecosystem. The story of Indonesian digital activism is still unfolding, but what is certain is that the nation's youth have found their voice, and the future of its democracy may well depend on their continued willingness to make it heard.

The Indonesian experience yields several recommendations for practitioners and policymakers. Activists should continue to innovate cross-platform strategies and build alliances (with the media, NGOs, and tech experts) to bolster their campaigns and security. Efforts to institutionalize successful ad-hoc movements into longer-term organizations or networks could enhance continuity and impact. Policymakers, on the other hand, would do well to treat digital activism not as a threat but as a form of participatory feedback – a barometer of public concerns. Embracing inputs from online civil society and increasing government transparency online could alleviate the need for confrontation. Furthermore, investing in nationwide digital literacy programs (as some initiatives have begun) is critical so that citizens and officials alike can better distinguish the truth, engage in civil debate, and resist manipulative content (Syah et al., 2025). Social media companies operating in Indonesia should also be part of the solution by improving content moderation in local languages and contexts and collaborating with civil society to protect users. rights.

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval was not required for this study.

Informed Consent Statement

This research did not require informed consent.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflicts of interest were reported by the authors.

Data Availability Statement

The data presented in this study are available upon request from the corresponding author for privacy reasons.

Funding

This study received no external funding.

Notes on Contributors

Bernardus Herdian Nugroho
https://orcid.org/0009-0009-3179-8872
Bernardus Herdian Nugroho is a faculty member at Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta (UNS), where he specializes in communication science. His research agenda focuses on digital activism, youth political engagement, and the dynamics of contemporary social movements in Indonesia. He is particularly interested in the qualitative aspects of how digital platforms are used to build collective identity and press for political accountability in evolving democracies.

REFERENCES

Addiputra, A. F., Rahman, F. A., Madelin, M., Mumpuni, P. R., & Saepudin, E. (2020). Online Petition as a Form of Citizen Participation in the Digital Age. *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial*, *29*(2), 181–192. https://ejournal.upi.edu/index.php/jpis/article/view/29801

Ahmad, Y. T., & Setyawati, L. (2024). Digital Activism and Collective Identity : " No Viral No Action " as Connective Action among Youth on Jakarta ' s Air Pollution Issue. *JPIS (Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial)*, *33*(1), 15–34.

Ahmed, S., & Masood, M. (2024). Breaking Barriers With Memes: How Memes Bridge Political Cynicism to Online Political Participation. *Social Media and Society*, *10*(2). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051241261277

Anggraheni, P., Setyowati, N. T., & Harry, H. (2021). Social Media and Political Participation in Indonesia: Restrictions Access At Announcement Results of 2019 Presidential Election. *ASPIRATION Journal*, *2*(1), 85–123. https://doi.org/10.56353/aspiration.v2i1.23

Bennett, W. L. (2012). The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *644*(1), 20–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716212451428

Bimber, Bruce, & Gil de Zúñiga, Homero. (2020). The unedited public sphere. *New Media & Society*, *22*(4), 700–715. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819893980

Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. N. (2019). *Global Inventory of Organised Social Media Manipulation*. 26. https://demtech.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/12/2019/09/CyberTroop-Report19.pdf

Cho, H., Cannon, J., Lopez, R., & Li, W. (2024). Social media literacy: A conceptual framework. *New Media and Society*, *26*(2), 941–960. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211068530

Chunly, S. (2020). Social media and counterpublic spheres in an authoritarian state: Exploring online political discussions among Cambodian Facebook users. *Discourse, Context and Media*, *34*(March 2019), 100382. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2020.100382

Earl, J., Maher, T. V., & Pan, J. (2022). The digital repression of social movements, protest, and activism: A synthetic review. *Science Advances*, *8*(10), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.abl8198

Effendi, R., Haryanegara, M. E. A., Sukmayadi, V., & Aziz, F. (2020). Consumption of Online Political News and Political Participation of First-Time Voters. *Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu Sosial*, *29*(1), 71–84. https://doi.org/10.17509/jpis.v29i1.19751

Harff, D., & Schmuck, D. (2024). Is authenticity key? Mobilization by social media influencers versus celebrities and young people's political participation. *Psychology and Marketing*, *41*(11), 2757–2771. https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.22082

Indonesia Data Reportal 2023. (2023). *Digital 2023_ Indonesia — DataReportal – Global Digital Insights*. https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2023-indonesia

Jalli, N. (2025). Viral Justice: TikTok Activism, Misinformation, and the Fight for Social Change in Southeast Asia. *Social Media and Society*, *11*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051251318122

Kurniawan, W., Arham, M., & Muluk, H. (2024). Social Media's Influence on Political Participation: Insights from a Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis in Indonesian Psychology. *Jurnal Psikologi*, *51*(3), 236. https://doi.org/10.22146/jpsi.101469

Lim, M. (2025). In Curhat We Unite (and Divide): Scalable Affective Sociality, Algorithmic Politics, and Social Media in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, *119*(1), 39–57. https://doi.org/10.1353/ind.2025.a961926

Luhtakallio, E., & Meriluoto, T. (2023). Fame democracy? Social media and visuality-based transformation of the public sphere. *Distinktion*. https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2023.2263818

Putra, B. A. (2024). Digital activism in Southeast Asia: the #MilkTeaAlliance and prospects for social resistance. *Frontiers in Sociology*, *9*(November), 2020–2024. https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2024.1478630

Saud, M., Ida, R., Mashud, M., Yousaf, F. N., & Ashfaq, A. (2023). Cultural dynamics of digital space: Democracy, civic engagement and youth participation in virtual spheres. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *97*(September), 101904. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101904

Suharto, S., Hendriarto, P., Dharta, F. Y., Simarmata, M. M., & Vidal, M. J. A. (2022). Public Service Domain: Exploration Study on The Role of Public Relations in Indonesia. *Nyimak: Journal of Communication*, *6*(1), 29. https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v6i1.4978

Suwana, F. (2020). What motivates digital activism? The case of the Save KPK movement in Indonesia. *Information Communication and Society*, *23*(9), 1295–1310. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1563205

Syah, R. F., Ekawati, E., Azanda, S. H., Syafarani, T. R., Ayunda, W. A., Zulkifli, M. Y., Rahma, N. M., & Kusumawardani, A. (2025). Hoax and Election: The Role of Social Media and Challenges for Indonesian Government Policy. *Studies in Media and Communication*, *13*(2), 294–305. https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v13i2.7486

Syahputra, B. P. (2024). *The Use of Tiktok Education : The Impact on Student ' s Vocabulary Acquisition*. *9*(4), 131–141. https://www.jele.or.id/index.php/jele/article/view/526

Wahyuningroem, S. L., Sirait, R., Uljanatunnisa, U., & Heryadi, D. (2024). Youth political participation and digital movement in Indonesia: the case of #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakOmnibusLaw. *F1000Research*, *12*, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.12688/f1000research.122669.3

Wendratama, E. (2025). *Digital Activism for Press Freedom Advocacy in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia*. *2023*, 1–15. https://www.mdpi.com/2673-5172/6/3/101