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DAFTAR ISI (TABLE OF CONTENT)

Social Movement on Social Media: #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine the social movements in social media in #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDkorupsi. The two hashtags are trending on social media in the discourse of denying the ratification of the RKUHP. The research method uses qualitative analysis using Computer Assigned Qualitative Data Software (CAQDS) Nvivo 12plus. The research data is then visualized through crosstab analysis and word cloud analysis. The results showed that #TolakPengesahanRKUHP has the highest intensity in society with an anti-criticism democratic narrative and a series of articles that interfere with citizens' privacy. The two action groups promoted by YLBHI, Direct Action, PBHI, and FRI with guidance, do not have legal certainty and perpetuate corruption. There was no response at all from the government element to the discourse. The second hashtag, #ReformasiDikorupsi the highest intensity in the community with the tagline "Motion of No Confidence" over the government and the House. The action group represented by YLBHI, LBH Surabaya, and the student community expressed criticism of the silencing of democracy for the people. In addition to the rejection of the RKUHP, several other regulations were also reviewed, such as the KPK Law, the Criminal Code Bill, the Revision of the Manpower Law, the Water Resources Law, and others. Then from the government element based on #ReformasiDikorupsi, there are no responses to this discussion, only shared by orderly demonstrations without disturbing public order.

Keywords: RKUHP, social movement, #TolakPengesahanRKUHP, #ReformasiDikorupsi

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui *social movement* dalam social media pada #TolakPengesahanRKUHP dan #ReformasiDkorupsi. Dua hastag tersebut trending dalam sosial media dalam diskursus penolakan pengesahan RKUHP. Metode penelitian menggunakan kualitatif dengan analisis menggunakan Computer Assigned Qualitative Data Software (CAQDS) Nvivo 12plus. Data penelitian kemudian divisualisaikan dalam bentuk crosstab analysis dan words cloud analysis. Hasil penelitian menunjukan #TolakPengesahanRKUHP memiliki intensitas tertinggi pada masyarakat dengan narasi demokrasi anti kritik dan sederet pasal yang menganggu privasi warga negara. Kedua kelompok aksi yang dipelapori oleh YLBHI, Aksi Langsung, PBHI, dan FRI dengan tuntunan tidak memiliki kepastian hukum serta melanggengkan korupsi. Kemudian dari elemen pemerintah, tidak ada sama sekali respon atau tanggapan atas diskursus tersebut. Hastag kedua #ReformasiDikorupsi dengan intensitas tertinggi pada masyarakat dengan tagline "Mosi Tidak Percaya" atas pemerintah dan DPR. Kelompok aksi yang diwakili oleh YLBHI, LBH Surabaya, dan komunitas mahasiswa menyampaikan kritik pada pembungkaman demokrasi bagi rakyat. Selain penolakan RKUHP beberapa regulasi lainya juga dikaji seperti UU KPK, RUU KUHP, Revisi UU Ketenagakerjaan, UU Sumber Daya Air, dan lainnya.

Kata Kunci: RKUHP, social movement, #TolakPengesahanRKUHP, #ReformasiDikorupsi

INTRODUCTION

The government and the House of Representatives (DPR), since May 2020, have discussed the revision of the Criminal Code (RKUHP), which has been stagnant for three years (Kompas, 2022). Mahfud MD (Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs) said that changes to the Criminal Code were motivated by the community's needs and abolished the Dutch colonial spectrum (CNN, 2022). 59 Years of the Criminal Code in Indonesia has been discussed by a team that has been discussed one after another and subsequently received directions from the seven presidents so that until now, only the RKUHP can be addressed. Then, the ratification process and plan of the RKUHP will be projected to hammer in December 2022 due to the need for political and legal acceleration(Yahya, 2022). However, on the sidelines of the public discussion process, it was judged that there was controversy in a series of articles contained in the RKUHP. There are four points of disagreement, namely: 1) contempt of the government, 2) incitement against the ruler, 3) assault on the honor of the president, and 4) contempt of general power and state institutions (Kompas, 2022).

In the field reality, rejection actions regarding the ratification of the RKUHP also occurred in several places in Indonesia, especially those driven by various elements of society. In Aceh, the Independent Journalists Association (AJI) took action to reject the ratification of the RKUHP, which was considered to have the potential to curb journalistic work and criminalize journalists (CNN, 2022). Similar activities were also carried out in Bali and Denpasar through a coalition of civil society of the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute (LBH), the Student Movement of the People's Struggle Democratic Front (Frontier) Bali, the Environmental Advocacy Working Committee, and the Indonesian Environment Agency (Walhi) which stated that the RKUHP being discussed had a threat to freedom of expression and opinion in public, no less than civil society, among students who are members of the active community from ITB, Trisakti, Tarumanegara University, UPI, STMT, Trisaksi, Paramadina University, Unindra, and UI (Mustianda, 2019). Students who were members of the action group were disappointed at the bill's ratification, which was considered problematic in its articles. In addition, the report stated in the criminal code is also believed to have injured democracy and corruption, so the motion of no confidence in the state is used as a narrative of rejection of the action period.

Then in the various rejections among the public, the lack of public participation in discussing the RKUHP was also a point. Researcher of the Indonesian Parliamentary Care Society Forum (Formappi) Albert Purwa said that one of the things that caused controversy over several RKUHP articles was the lack of public participation (Aditya, 2023). The Chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), Asfinawati, also said that public participation in RKUP tends to be low and meaningless (Wibowo, 2022). Therefore, it can be concluded

that the public policymaking discussion of the RKUHP is authoritarian without involving other stakeholders (Yanovitzky & Weber, 2019).

The upheaval of various massive RKUHP rejections was also caused by policymaking that did not go well. Howlett (2019), in his research, explained that public policymaking starts with determining agenda setting, discussing issues or falsifications, and then ratification is carried out transparently with the participation of all stakeholders. Then also, the involvement of government and non-government actors (Non-Governmental Organizations) in the audience has an interest in advocacy from determining policies to ratification (Noone, 2019). Therefore, in rejecting ratification by various parties in the RKHUP, it must be interpreted as a community aspiration, such as a study from Leipold (2019)that the emergence of social movements such as this should be addressed as a worthy or unworthy boundary of the policy product.

Apart from the various rejections in several areas, the intensity of rejection of the ratification of the RKUHP is also massive in the virtual space. The emergence of #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakPengesahanRKUHP in social media is a social movement in cyberspace (Guritno, 2022). Some studies on social movement in social media have produced the value of rapid diffusion of information and awareness of a problem to encourage public discussion (Brünker et al., 2020). Social media is considered to have an intuitive and straightforward role in mobilizing the masses because of its nature as a public space that creates opportunities for participation (Mundt et al., 2018). Social media plays an important role in facilitating this mobilization by providing a platform for coordination, organizing, and recruiting. Through social media, individuals can feel more involved and connected to social movements, even without physical presence. In Chowdhury's research (2019), it is stated that social media has a catalyst role in a broad scope because of the extensive access to information and is supported by the opportunity for all online to work in it. Social movements have evolved with social media and have a market for conveying constituent ideas, protests, and social movements (Caren et al., 2020). Therefore, social media can also function as a medium for shaping public opinion and grassroots organizations to negotiate social issues.

Social media and social movements in the current era have become a medium for mass mobilization and arenas of conflict (van Haperen et al., 2022). Social media allows individuals to actively participate in social discussions and actions, without physical barriers or strong hierarchies. This allows social movements to develop and grow quickly, as individuals can easily connect and interact with each other. The hall of conflict contains supporters and challengers of social movements by utilizing social media platforms. Merrill & Copsey (2022) in their study also explained that social movements framed in social media are driven by

solidarity and expression of each movement. A platform of rapid coordination, mobilization, and exchange of information as well as technological support, will significantly help the development of social movements facilitated by offline movements (Linvill et al., 2021)—greetings about the political personalization of a person or group (Teo & Fu, 2021). The social media platform activists use to frame the social movement is an online logistic movement and can also build a movement offline (Linvill et al., 2021).

The use of hashtags or hashtags in campaigning for organizing on social media is the idea of a social movement that democratizes issues and potentials regarding critical social (Storer & Rodriguez, 2020). The implication is that mass mobilization is massive and all national elements move and participate with a common goal (Shafi & Ran, 2021). The messages conveyed in a social movement are presented on the platform provided by social media; narrative content, photos, and videos are things that can be massed to form a space for movements and protests (McGarry et al., 2019). The formation of public opinion is a narrative of the movement that is then developed to achieve a prominent voice and mass (Dam & Ahmed Turzo, 2021).

In its use as a space for movement from social movements, Twitter social media is the most powerful platform as a medium for social change (Talbot et al., 2020). Twitter is adopted as a media platform that greatly influences information readers (Ruz et al., 2020). This is because Twitter media has a real-time information network for all members of the social media network, with an average of 271 million users every month (Nisar & Yeung, 2018). In Indonesia, the study of social media and social movements is also widely studied to see the social reality of society, such as studies; of urban framing (Bo'do, 2019), omnibus law protests (Arrisy Jorgi Sutan, Achmad Nurmandi, Dyah Mutiarin, 2021), Jakarta Bay Reclamation (Anam et al., 2020), #TolakPLTUBatang (Zahra et al., 2020), #savekpk (Rahutomo et al., 2020), #BersatuLawanCovid (Anam et al., 2020; Wiiava & Handoko, 2021).

Issue framing is then identified as an implicit force in determining the mapping of specific issues, which are placed in the hashtag feature with a single social movement goal (Xiong et al., 2019). Framing also delegates a social movement with several agendas of criticism or protest, debate, and inclusion of the media domain to advocate for the campaign to form a new public perspective (Kilgo & Harlow, 2019) so that the result is the growth of interpretations and thoughts that encourage political and social movements that are oriented towards concern for social issues that are happening (Wittmayer et al., 2019).

The intensity of rejection and the high number of social media users have influenced political roots and new social changes, as McKeon & Gitomer (2019) summarized in new political theories. In the discourse of the social movement, the rejection of the RKUHP with the hashtags #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakPengesahanRKUHP has a critical series on the role of social activists in generating this social movement. In addition, this social movement has also become an issue discussed in the latest national political headlines and massively carried out by the public.

Therefore, the main issue in the second study was the social movement in rejecting the ratification of the bill initiated by social media activists. For this reason, this study will answer two questions: Q1: Who are the actors involved in the movement to reject the bill's ratification? These actors can come from the people, government, and political actors or NGOs Q2: What narrative content on social media on the denial of ratification of the bill? Social media narratives are used to see what discussions are frequently used and adopted by its users

RESEARCH METHOD

This study used qualitative with descriptive analysis of social media networks. Data was obtained from #RejectEnforcementRKHUP and #ReformDicorruption by carrying out NCapture via Twitter social media. Then the data is entered into the Nvivo12plus platform for analysis. The author then coded the data by looking at actors from government, society, and NGOs to see which actors had the highest activity. For the narrative of the two hashtags, automatic coding was carried out to see the social movement narrative that was built. Nvivo 12plus is used because it has a complete platform for conducting comprehensive social media data processing. Apart from that, Nvivo 12plus is also the main analytical tool used in processing social media data, especially Twitter.Data analysis using Computer Assigned Qualitative Data Software (CAQDS), Nvivo 12plus (Sukarno, Mohamad, 2022). Data was obtained from #RejectEnforcementRKHUP and #ReformDicorruption by carrying out NCapture via Twitter social media. Then the data is entered into the Nvivo12plus platform for analysis. The author then coded the data by looking at actors from government, society, and NGOs to see which actors had the highest activity. For the narrative of the two hashtags, automatic coding was carried out to see the social movement narrative that was built. Data was obtained from social media #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi when two hashtags are trending (January-December 2022). In this study, #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi are seen from the actors involved (government, action groups, and

communities) and the narrative built within the social movement framework. Then, data visualization is presented as crosstab analysis and word cloud analysis. In processing data, the author uses 4 phases: 1) NCapture in social media #ReformasiDikorupsi and #TolakPengesahanRKUHP, 2) coding data on Nvivo 12plus software, 3) data visualization, and 4) data analysis, such as the following cycle:

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┌─────────────┐      ┌─────────────┐      ┌─────────────┐
│  NCapture   │─────▶│   Coding    │─────▶│    Data     │
│Social Media │      │  Process    │      │Visualization│
└─────────────┘      └─────────────┘      └─────────────┘
                                                 │  │
                              ┌──────────────────┘  └──────┐
                              ▼                            ▼
                     ┌─────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────┐
                     │  Crosstab   │          │  Word Cloud Analysis │
                     │  Analysis   │          │                      │
                     └─────────────┘          └──────────────────────┘
```
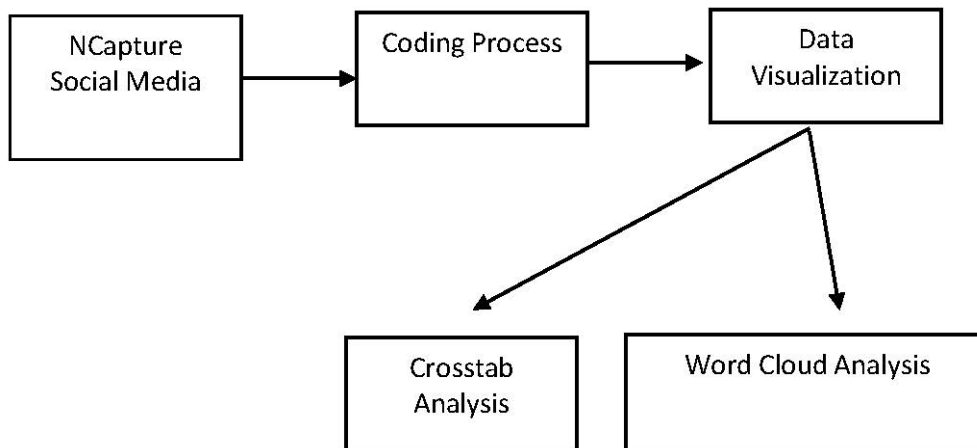
Figure 1. Analysis Process

DISCUSSION

Social Media Topic and Actors About RKUHP Rejection

The ratification of the RKUHP was rejected by various social elements, including students and civil society engaged in a social movement (Syafuddin, 2019). All aspects of society move in the grassroots space to reject the RKUHP using the same tagline, namely #TolakPengesahan RKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi. Then in the virtual area of social media, the use of hashtags was adopted as an attempt to reject the various narratives in it. The following authors present the results of the Nvivo 12plus analysis of the public narrative:

Figure 2. Social Media Topic and Actors About RKUHP Rejection
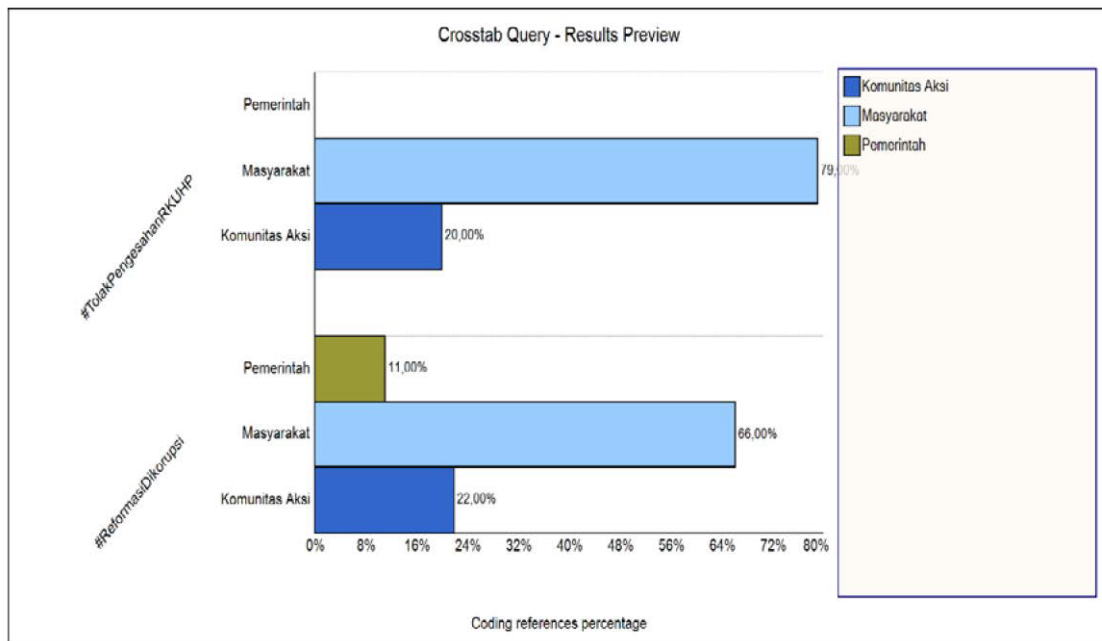**Source: by Author use Nvivo 12plus**

The data above shows two hashtags used as taglines to validate the RKUHP #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi. In #TolakPengesahanRKUHP, the most incredible intensity was 79.99 percent in the community, 20 percent in the active community, and 0 percent from the government. This intensity is obtained from the coding results of a predetermined period. The coding results from Nvivo provide an overview of the percentage of indicators which have the highest intensity. The narrative built by the community in the #TolakPengesahanRKUHP states that the Criminal Code that the Joint Government will pass with the DPR RI has the potential to curb freedom and democracy. All can be hit, all can be coveted, including journalists. In addition, while discussing the RKUHP, the public also considered that the bill was made recklessly regardless of democratic values.

Astiningrum's research (2020) also expresses the same thing that public sentiment in the social media space states that the RKUHP process has hurt democratic values. Then, the assessment also impacts the challenge of democracy that has been running until now, and instead, the House, together with the government will pass the bill. Public involvement in social movements refers to the way in which these movements involve the wider community in their goals, activities, and efforts. It involves a variety of strategies to increase awareness, participation, and support from individuals who may be affected by or interested in the issues championed by the movement (Mohamad, 2022). The disappointment from the

ratification of the bill is also seen from the narrative of the people who want to have a confrontation at the capital because the actions previously carried out did not produce significant results and override the rights of the people.

The second largest intensity is the action community, with a percentage of 20 percent. The narrative built in the social movement is a condemnation of the bill's ratification, which is considered problematic in its various articles. Community groups acted and agreed to take to the streets as a form of advocacy for the makers and initiators of the bill. In the #TolakPengesahanRKUHP, the action group considered that the government was ignorant and tended to commit forgery of the RKUHP for the benefit of the ruler, foreign capital, and landlords. The action group was organized by several groups, namely the Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), Direct Action, Human Rights Defenders and Legal Aid Providers (PBHI), and the Indonesian People's Faction (FRI).

The Chairman of YLBHI, Muhammad Isnur, assessed that ratifying the RKUHP did not involve public participation and needed to be timelier. Then, as stated by the Chairman of YLBHI, the civil society coalitions say that several RKUHP articles are considered anti-democratic, suppress press freedom, hinder academic freedom, perpetrate corruption, and regulate the private space of the community (CNN, 2022). In the narrative of the action group represented by PBHI, it regrets that the RKUHP ratification process does not open a comprehensive discussion and ensure meaningful participation in the community (Saputra, 2020).

Meanwhile, in the #TolakPengesahanRKUHP title, the government should have provided more information or responses to various RKUHP rejections. The absence of the government in the RKHUP discourse indicates a conflict of interest due to differences in attractions, such as the policy conflict theory proposed by Soetopo (Irwandi, 2017). The difference in policy conflicts is caused by the absence of a functional approach that places society as a social system related to each other. Talcott Parson called it a political system that is described as money in economics because of the absence of social functions between power and society (Andriyani et al., 2021)

In the second hashtag, the #ReformasiDikorupsi the most incredible intensity was among the people at 66 percent. The narrative of rejecting the ratification of the RKUHP was made to deny the RKUHP and conduct mass protests against the DPR and the Jokowi Government. The creation of the "Motion of No Confidence" against the government is a narrative developed to make demands on the bill's drafting (Sangrawati et al., 2022). Public distrust of the bill is interpreted as silencing democracy, the distrust of the president and vice president, the

suppression of press freedom, and articles that interfere with the private sphere. In addition to the RKUHP, several related regulations, such as the Job Creation Law, and the KPK Law, are also narrated in the expression "Motion of No Confidence" for discussing the law.

Furthermore, the second largest intensity is the action community, with a percentage of 22 percent. The masses of action used #ReformasiDikorupsi to ratify the bill by uniting the determination and purpose to free the republic from conflicts of interest. In addition to narrating it through #ReformasiDikorupsi, the action groups also carried out spacious actions directly to channel their aspirations in front of the DPR Building (Nursyamsi et al., 2020). Then the narrative built by one of the tweets read "Cancel the KPK Law, the Criminal Code Bill, the Revision of the Manpower Law, the Water Resources Law, the Land Bill, the Mineral and Coal Mining Bill, the MD3 Law and pass the PKS Bill, the Communities and Customary Bill, and the Personal Data Protection Bill". In addition to the ratification of the RKUHP, #ReformasiDikorupsi also correlated with several other rejections, especially on the product of the Law made by the DPR together with the government.

The Action Group itself consists of several members such as LBH Surabaya, YLBHI, Universitas Indonesia, Institute Teknologi Bandung, Universitas Paramadina, Universitas Trisakti, Universitas Veteran Pembangunan Nasional, Universitas Indraprasta PGRI (Unindra), and various other universities. In #ReformasiDikorupsi the action groups judged that the also DPR seemed to turn a deaf ear to the demands for a delay in the bill's ratification (Hantoro, 2019). The action groups, therefore, unite voices in the name of popular sovereignty as the foundation of the constructed narrative. Then the action group also criticized and criticized that the RKUHP had dared to enter the realm of the personal, threatening human rights that are universal-absolute (Adhari, 2021).

The following narrative comes from the government with an intensity of 11 percent with content that does not respond to the headline #ReformasiDikorupsi that is being discussed by the public. Instead, the government only conveyed ethics about demonstrations that did not cause commotion and security stability. The government stated that the discussion of the RKUHP was carried out in a timely manner in the hope that the public could access the draft RKUHP (Tempo.co, 2022). However, this was later denied by the masses, who opposed the bill's ratification and questioned that the crucial thing to be studied was a series of articles that were problematic and not accepted by the public.

Word Cloud Analysis

In addition, the results of the words cloud analysis on the discussion of #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi resulted in the highest counts in the RKUHP, Rakyat, Indonesia, article, problems, and other words adopted in the social movement narrative on social media. The rejection of the RKHUP ratification, carried out by various public elements, occurred due to unrest from multiple articles that were considered problematic. Criticism of the bill, especially those that lead to contempt of the president and vice president, is considered multi-interpretation, legal uncertainty, and contrary to the constitutional code (Ramdan, 2020).

Figure 3. Word Cloud Analysis
Source: by Author use Nvivo 12plus

The RKUHP, or Draft Criminal Code, is at the center of intense debate in Indonesia. This proposed revision or reform of the criminal law has attracted widespread attention from the public and politicians because of its various controversial provisions. Several articles in the RKUHP are considered controversial because they are considered to threaten freedom of opinion, human rights and individual independence. Some of the hotly discussed issues include insulting the government, criticism of religion, and the criminalization of social behavior such as infidelity. Amidst concerns about discriminatory law enforcement and the potential for abuse of power, opinions have also emerged that support the need to change the criminal law to maintain social order and traditional values. In this context, the active participation of the people in the discussion of the RKUHP is crucial to ensure that the law reflects democratic values and respects human rights (Nurmandi, 2023). Although the main aim of the RKUHP is to maintain justice and public security, the challenges faced in drafting

a law that covers this diverse spectrum of values continue to be the focus of heated debate in Indonesia.

The problem with the president's contempt is also indirectly regarded as anti-criticism of the government against the aspirations expressed by the people. Similarly, it is explained in Rimandita's study (2022). that the bill that regulates the constitutional contempt of the president has violated the state (presidential) system and returned to a monopolistic state of law (giving rise to authoritarian leadership). In addition to criticism of state institutions or the president, it also considers that press freedom and journalism that interferes with the democratic rights of the people have also been investigated, which is contained in the bill.

Furthermore, the public also considers that the people in retaliation of RKHUP are not carried out transparently and without involving public aspirations. This is reflected in the Government and the House of Representatives, which have never explained considerations related to public input (Paat, 2022). Therefore, the public demanded a series of articles that were considered subversive and anti-democratic. In other cases, the RKUHP also has contradictions in the Constitutional Court (MK) Decision, especially in the contempt of State Institutions, which was previously clearly regulated in the Constitutional Court Regulations.

CONCLUSION

The narrative built on the social movement in the hashtags #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi left some discussion points. #TolakPengesahanRKUHP, who has the most significant percentage of people who have the message that the ratification of the bill will trigger the emergence of an unhealthy democracy or anti-criticism, causing an unhealthy state life. The period of action groups consisting of YLBHI, Direct Action, PBHI, and FRI with the RKUHP narrative has no legal certainty, triggers an oligarchy of state power over people's lives, perpetuates corruption, and regulates personal privacy. In the context of #TolakPengesahan the RKUHP elements were present and addressed in discussion with the slightest response and response.

In the second hashtag #ReformasiDikorupsi the giant narrative also comes from the general public by adopting the tagline "Motion of No Confidence". The public considers that the bill's discussion has caused too many controversial articles, such as presidential insults, restrictions on press freedom, and reports that interfere with the private sphere. Then the action groups promoted by YLBHI, LBH Surabaya, and the student community who considered the RKUHP had threatened the private realm and silenced democracy (anti-criticism). In #ReformasiDikorupsi in addition to the masses rejecting the RKUHP, they also criticized and

dismissed several other discussions, such as. The KPK Law, the Criminal Code Bill, the Revision of the Manpower Law, the Water Resources Law, the Land Bill, the Mineral and Coal Mining Bill, the MD3 Law and passed the PKS Bill, the Community and Customary Bill, and the Personal Data Protection Bill. In addition, the government element responded to #ReformasiDikorupsi by simply arranging the rally to be orderly and not to undermine public order so that the consensual response to the #ReformasiDikorupsi narrative did not substantiate.

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