



## Digital social movement: Using social media to reject Indonesia's draft criminal code (RUU KUHP)

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><b>Keywords:</b> social media Indonesia's draft criminal code social media activism social media movement</p>	<p>This research tries to explore the use of social media as part of the digital social movement to reject the draft Indonesian Penal Code (RUU KUHP). In this case, social media were used in different social movements. This research uses a qualitative approach to know what kind of value of the phenomena. This research uses analysis Q-DAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software), which uses social media data, and the tool is Nvivo 12 Plus. This research finds: First, the dominant social media theme is relevant to the legal theme area and aspect. In addition, the social media themes themselves have been made from the content used in social media as a reaction of netizens about the rejection of the Indonesian draft criminal code. Second, the narrative is dominated by the use of hashtags, but some of them use accounts and topics of law. Third, the hashtags have a relationship with other hashtags that tend to be strong, indicating that there are using the hashtag as a marker and possibly using more than 2 hashtags in one post with the same goal to reject the Indonesia Draft Criminal Code.</p>

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## Introduction

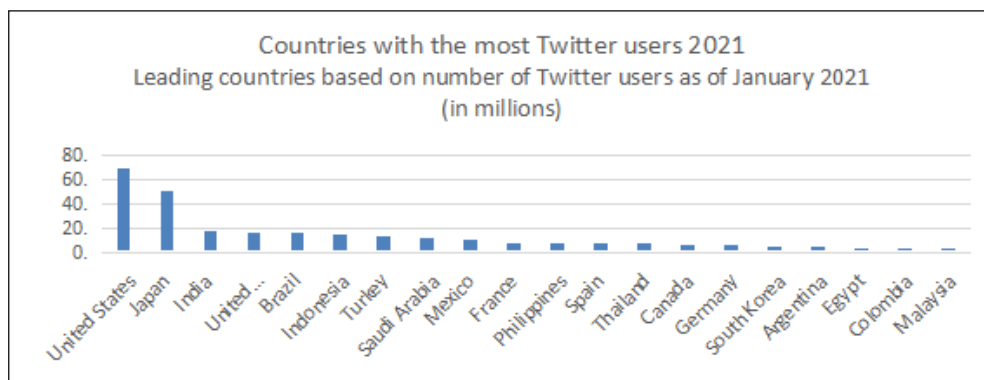
This research attempts to explore the use of social media as part of the digital social movement to reject the Indonesian draft penal code (RUU KUHP). Social media is becoming the preferred tools to interact with others without face-to-face meetings, social media allows individuals to create relevant content with freedom of expression (Yu et al., 2018). Social brings a new dimension to the way people interact; the use of social media can allow the netizen to participate and give ideas or a rising voice to the social problem (Checker, 2017). In the case of social media and campaigns and movements, there are some cases in the past such as the Umbrella Movement, Arab Spring movements and that happened in the last 2020 in Indonesia which shows the huge social movements

using social media to reject the Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill (Sutan et al., 2021).

Social media has become a central place to spread the influence and narrative to respond to the social problem and coordinate the mass to take action (Ince et al., 2017). On the other hand, social media can be an alternative to shear the narration cheaper than other media. Social media has played a central role in several movements and campaigns in the past, such as the Arab Spring in Egypt, the protest using social media as a platform, and the government forcing the Internet access (Coban, 2016).

It is so different social media platforms that used to share the content of the movement. One of the social media platforms is Twitter. According to the data from [statista.com](https://www.statista.com), there is user access to social media Twitter, the explanation in Figure 1 and Table 1.

**Figure 1. Twitter User Access by Country**



**Table 1. Top 10 Twitter User Access by Country**

No	Country	Count (Millions)
1	USA	69,3
2	Japan	50,9
3	India	17,5
4	UK	16,45
5	Brazil	16,2
6	Indonesia	14,05
7	Turkey	13,6
8	Saudi Arabia	12,45
9	Mexico	11
10	France	8

Source: [statista.com](https://www.statista.com) (2021)

Based on Figure 1, and Table 1 shows that Indonesia will become the number 6 rank of massive user in the world with 16.2 million Twitter in 2021. It shows that Indonesia has a massive number of social media users and the potential to use social media as a tool to give aspiration and a rising voice (Fernandez-Wulff & Yap, 2020; Park & Rim, 2020). With the massive number of users and the potential to use social media as a tool of protest, bringing social media activism or digital social movements became the new alternative way of rising grassroots protests (Shi, 2021).

Social media gives the social movement or campaign rising voice and opportunity to share the narrative in case of social movement (Burrows, 2016; Fernandez-Wulff & Yap, 2020; Tsatsou, 2018). In addition, social media provide the freedom of speech and interaction in the digital dimension; in the case of the social-political problem on social media, the conversations may not automatically give results to solve it, but with the voice, social media protest and social media narration spread, it can attract public attention and political engagement in social media as a public space (Burke & Şen, 2018; Soares, 2018; Sorell, 2015). Social media provided an opportunity for netizens to promote the social movement and campaign to initiate action in response to the social problem (Yildiz, 2022).

Social media provides freedom of speech; in this case, everyone freely gives a voice and a statement (Brown et al., 2017). Using social media is the right choice for society to argue, interact, and discuss the social problem (Ozturkcan et al., 2017) to reject all the different discrimination; the campaign can influence social media platforms. Society can afford and attract new participants to join the movement (Zheng & Yu, 2016).

Movement studies often point out the various positions of tracking, imagery, or advocacy that social media plays. While

social media can't save or kill the world, what it will do is pave the way, albeit temporarily, for additional activist actors (Brunner, 2017). Unlike the social movement founders of previous decades, some of whom were influential in the mass media, leading actors in social media protest communication (Poell et al., 2016). For the most part, they don't become celebrities. The relationship between social movements and mass media turns leaders into celebrities, as Gitlin (1980) noted three decades ago (Poell et al., 2016). Activists have long been critical of this mainstream media dynamic, which tends to focus attention on the personality and dramatic aspects of demonstrations rather than on the specific issues of protest. The emergence of the Internet is seen by many as an opportunity to build new communication networks that allow protesters to interact directly with a wider audience, bypassing the mass media. In this light, it is important to look at the construction of alternative online news sources and the appropriation of social media channels for protest communication (Poell et al., 2016).

According to Sajatmiko, when discussing a concept such as social movement, it is necessary to start with the clarity of the concept so that the boundaries and corridors referred to by the concept can be obtained (Khusnul & Mohd. Helmi, 2017). As Macionis (1999:607) says, social movements are the most important type of collective behavior (Leasa, 2019). Some sociologists refer to social movements as a form of collective action rather than a form of collective behavior. They argue that social movements are different from collective forms of behavior, while some group social movements as a form of collective behavior (Setyoko & Satria, 2021). Meanwhile, according to Crossley, collective behavior is one of the dimensions of the study of the development of social movements (Arofah, 2020).

Collective behavior is defined as any action aimed at improving the status, power, or influence of an entire group, not for one person or some peoples (Hasna, 2022). Referring to Olson's concept, the essence of the concept of collective action is the existence of a public interest or common interest that is carried between groups. According to Weber, an action is said to occur when the individual attaches a subjective meaning to his action. Such conditions do not exist in the context of collective action (Begeny et al., 2022).

The Criminal Code (KUHP) is a legal system that regulates substantive crimes in Indonesia. The Criminal Code (KUHP) was passed into law at the plenary session of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia on Tuesday, December 6, 2022. Despite being passed, the Criminal Code Bill is still controversial and opposed by various circles of society because there are problematic articles that need to be revised so as not to endanger human rights (Irawatu, 2019). The Criminal Code Bill has two books, namely Book 1 on general provisions and Book II on criminal acts, while the articles that are in general discussion include the issue of presidential/vice presidential contempt, adultery, abortion, contraceptives, cohabitation, marital rape, witchcraft, and wandering birds (Suparji, 2021). The discussion on the Penal Code Bill continues as it has received criticism from the community (Ginting, 2020). This is due to the fact that the last draft of the Penal Code Bill was not well presented to the public (Cahyani et al., 2022). The government needs to take a firm stance in dealing with it so that the creation of a national criminal law that is oriented towards corrective, restorative and rehabilitative justice with a modern paradigm and not based on retributive justice (Syahrul Jiwandono & Oktavianti, 2020).

Based on the previous research, there is a research gap that just tends to talk about the use of social in social movements in local cases in Indonesia such as the rejection of the draft penal code (RUUKUHP) in 2022. The previous research just talks about the position of social media in social movements, and talks about the social movement as an action. Meanwhile, the previous research cannot be defined into 3 categories as examples: first, the use of social media in social movements. second, social movements as a collective behavior. Third, social media activism. This research tries to answer three research questions as examples:

1. What kind of social media theme and content dichotomy assisted the social movement to reject the Indonesia Draft Criminal Code In (RUU KUHP) In social media Twitter?
2. What kind of social media narration in case of rejection of Indonesia Draft Criminal Code In (RUU KUHP)?
3. What kind of social media hashtags relation in case of rejection Indonesia Draft Criminal Code In (RUU KUHP)?

## Method

This research uses a qualitative approach to know what kind of value of the phenomena. This research uses analysis Q-DAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software), which uses social media data, and the toll is Nvivo 12Plus (Dalkin et al., 2021). In this research, the analysis toll on Nvivo 12Plus is in three analyses: crosstab analysis, cluster analysis, and word cloud analysis (Onwuaroh, 2021). To deliver the value and result using the figure and descriptive way. In this article, 6 hashtags related to the campaign of rejection of Indonesia's draft criminal code in the social media Twitter are used. The description of hashtags in Table 2 follows.

**Table 2. Hashtags Description**

Hashtags	Description
#SemuaBisaKena	Show that everyone can't get the negative impact of the New Indonesia Criminal Code
#tibatibadipenjara	Refers to that everyone can get be jailed caused not a reasonable charge
#TolakRKUHP	Show the rejection of Indonesia's draft criminal code
#TolakRUUKUHP	Show the rejection of Indonesia's draft criminal code
#KUHP	Illustrate the Indonesia Criminal Code
#RUUKUHP	Illustrate the Draft of Indonesia Criminal Code

Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software

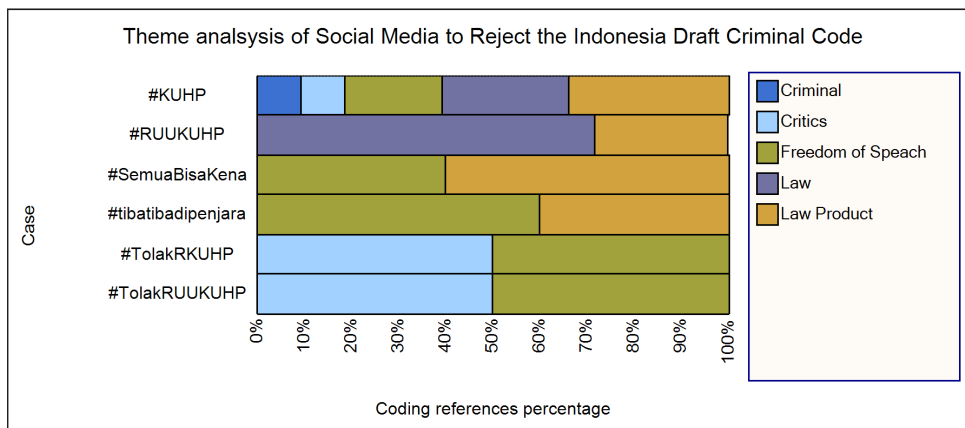
## Results and Discussion

This analysis parts there 4 analyses that have been used in this research there are: First, analysis of theme and content dichotomy on social media to reject the Indonesia Draft Criminal Code. Second, social media narrative rejected the Indonesia draft criminal code. Third, the hashtags related to the case of rejection Indonesia Draft Criminal Code. The analysis as examples:

*Analysis of theme and content dichotomy on social media to reject the Indonesia's draft criminal code*

These analysis parts try to know the social media themes and social media content dichotomy to reject the Indonesia Draft Criminal Code, this analysis uses Crosstab Query analysis in Nvivo 12Plus. The analysis of the theme of social media rejection is explained in Table 3 and Figure 2.

**Figure 2 Social Media Theme Analysis**



Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software

**Table 3 Social Media Theme Analysis**

Hashtags	Criminal	Critics	Freedom of Speech	Law	Law Product	Total
#KUHP	9,77%	9,77%	20,3%	26,32%	33,83%	100%
#RUUKUHP	0%	0%	0%	71,43%	28,57%	100%
#SemuaBisaKena	0%	0%	40%	0%	60%	100%
#tibatibadipenjara	0%	0%	60%	0%	40%	100%
#TolakRKUHP	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%
#TolakRUUKUHP	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%
Total	8,18%	9,43%	22,64%	25,16%	34,59%	100%

Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software

Based on Figure 2 and Table 3 shows that the social media topic is defined into 5 major topics: Criminals, Critics, Freedom of Speech, Law, and Law Product. From the theme of Criminals, there is only one hashtag concentrated there #KUHP with a score is 9.77%. On the theme of Critics, there are two hashtags with a large proportion there is #TolakRKUHP & #TolakRUUKUHP with the same score there is; 50%. The theme of freedom of speech there is #tibatibadipenjara has the highest score with 60%. The theme of Law with the highest proportion is #RUUKUHP with 71.43%. The theme Law Product has the biggest score on #semuabisakena with 60%. In total, the biggest theme used is Law Product with a proportion score of 34.59%.

The analysis shows that the social media themes refer to specific themes and use unique terms (Gogul, 2020; Kampf, 2018; McCabe & Harris, 2020). It shows that the social media themes refer to the legal aspect as we can see with 5 major themes such as Criminal, Critics, Freedom of Speech, Law and Legal Product, this is as evidence that social media activism tries to show any content with the legal correlation and aspect (Hill & Guthrie, 2018; Woods, 2016).

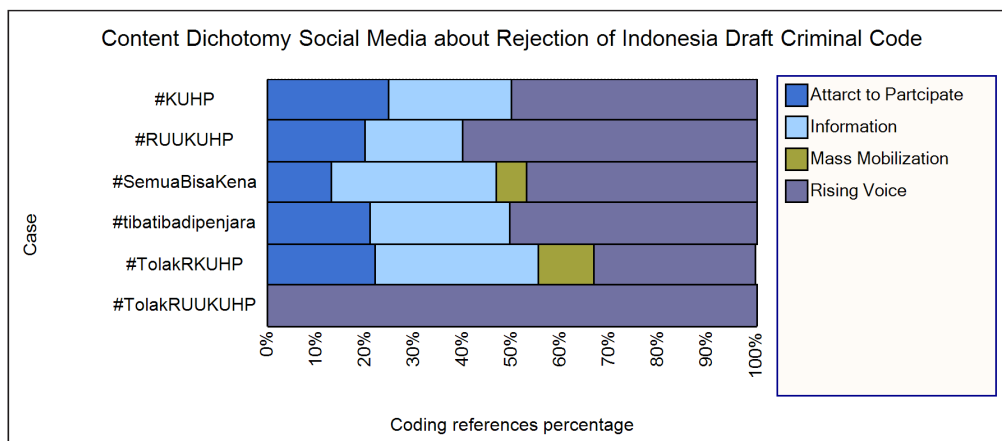
From the analysis of themes, we can see that social media created the themes based on the content used on specific hashtags, in addition to the fact that social media activism

or digital social movements use the theme as a sign of the content they have used (Sow, 2016; Sutan & Nurmandi, Achmad, Mutiarin, Dyah, 2021). On the other hand, this result is relevant to the previous literature that said that social media is becoming strategic and plays a significant role in social movements (Sinatora, 2019; Soares, 2018).

From the theme analysis, we can see that the social media theme in the case of the rejection of the Indonesian draft criminal code refers to the law aspect, as we can see with 5 major themes Criminal, Critics, Freedom of Speech, Law and Law Product, this is as evidence that social media activism tries to show every content with the law correlation and aspect, besides that the social media theme were originally from every content about the rejection of the Indonesian draft criminal code. In this case, we can see that social media plays a significant role and is strategic to make the theme of social media.

Another analysis is the content dichotomy analysis used in the rejection of the Indonesian draft criminal code. This analysis uses 4 terms of content terms as an example: Information, Mass Mobilization, Rising Voices, and Attack to Participate. This social media content dichotomy is used to know what kind of content has been used in specific terms. The parts of the analysis are shown in Figure 3 and Table 4.

**Figure 3 Social Media Content Dichotomy Analysis**



*Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software*

**Table 4 Social Media Content Dichotomy Analysis**

Hashtags	Attarct to Participate	Information	Mass Mobilization	Rising Voice	Total
#KUHHP	25%	25%	0%	50%	100%
#RUUKUHP	20%	20%	0%	60%	100%
#SemuaBisaKena	13,33%	33,33%	6,67%	46,67%	100%
#tibatibadipenjara	21,43%	28,57%	0%	50%	100%
#TolakRKUHP	22,22%	33,33%	11,11%	33,33%	100%
#TolakRUUKUHP	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,37%</b>	<b>28,57%</b>	<b>4,08%</b>	<b>48,98%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software

Table 4 and Figure 3 show that the dichotomy of social media content is defined in 4 ways: Information, Mass Mobilization, Rising Voice, and Attack to Participate. From the content dichotomy of Attracting to Participate the largest score is #KUHHP with 25%. In the other content dichotomy like Information there are 2 hashtags with the same score there are #semuabisakena and 3TolakRKUHP worth 33.33%. In the mass mobilization content dichotomy, the highest score is #TolakRKUHP with 11.11%. In the content dichotomy of Rising Voice, the highest score is #TolakRUUKUHP with 100%. In total, the largest content dichotomy is Rising Voice with a total of 48.98%.

This analysis from the content dichotomy analysis shows that in the case of the rejection of the Indonesian draft criminal code, social media content is more used to raise the voice of the rejection of the draft criminal code (Checker, 2017; Fischer, 2016). In this case, social media was used as a platform for the rising voice of rejection of the draft criminal code, it became massive rather than used for mass mobilization, it caused to get attention and give the public space to react and show the voice of rejection of the draft criminal code (Calderón et al., 2018; Latour et al., 2018). In this case, we can see that social media plays a platform for netizens to react and support the rejection of the draft criminal code of Indonesia (Earl et al., 2022). Furthermore, this analysis shows that social media topics

are related to social media content used in hashtags (Calderón et al., 2018).

From the theme and content dichotomy analysis, the point is, the social media theme dominant is relevant to the law theme area and aspect. In addition, social media themes have been made sales on the content that is used in social media as the reaction of netizens about a rejection of Indonesia draft criminal code. In the case of content dichotomy, social media content is more tends to show rising voice rather than mass mobilization, it shows that social media plays as a platform for everyone to raise their voice about Indonesia Draft Criminal Code.

*Analysis of the social media narrative on the rejection of the draft criminal code of Indonesia*

This analysis uses word cloud analysis in Nvivo 12Plus. This analysis tries to know the narration that is dominant in social media about Rejection Indonesia Draft Criminal Code. This analysis is limited to 30 top words in social media. The analysis is explained in Figure 4 and Table 5.

Table 5 and Figure 4 shows that the largest social media narration in the case of rejection of the Indonesian draft penal code refers to the single word with most of them using hashtags based as can be seen on the #kuhp with 248 counts, another hashtag also found such as #semuabisakena, #tibatibadipenjara, #socialmedia, #rkuhp, #hukum, Its shows

**Figure 4. Social Media Narration Analysis**



**Table 5. Social Media Narration Analysis**

Word	Count
#kuhp	284
kuhp	209
#rkuhp	111
hukum	86
indonesia	84
#semuabisakena	79
dan	72
#kemenkumham	67
#kemenkumhamri	67
@bhp	66
@kemenkumham	66
semarang	66
#kumham	64
rkuhp	60
pasal	45
#hukum	41
produk	39
#twitter	37
pengesahan	36
#kuhpreformasihukum	34
#indonesia	31
pidana	22
#hukumdankeadilan	20
#restorativejustice	20
#socialmedia	19
#tibatibadipenjara	19
kritik	19

Bersambung...

Lanjutan...

Word	Count
#ruukuhp	18
kita	18
@changeorg	17

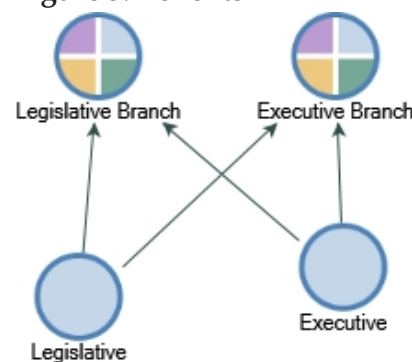
Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software

that the narration in the social media content dominance with the use of hashtags (Earl et al., 2022; Fominaya, 2020). It shows that using hashtags becomes the biggest narration to promote the movements and is also used as part of the unifier of the social movement.

In addition to the use of hashtags, there also appear accounts that have been tagged, such as @changeorg, @bhp, and @kemenkumham. Another case shows that the narration refers to the law filed or topics like hukum (law), Produk (product), kuhp, and others. This analysis shows that the social media narration is related to the content and topic used in each post, the hashtags have been used as a mark to show the position of the content or post (Cammaerts, 2021; Carty, 2018).

In addition, the benefits also appear in the executive and legislative branches. Both branches have the benefits caused by the new Indonesian draft criminal code, which gives some specialty to these branches to have immunity from criticizing the institution. With the use of articles related to insulting state institutions. In this case, shown in Figure 5.

**Figure 5. Benefits**



Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software

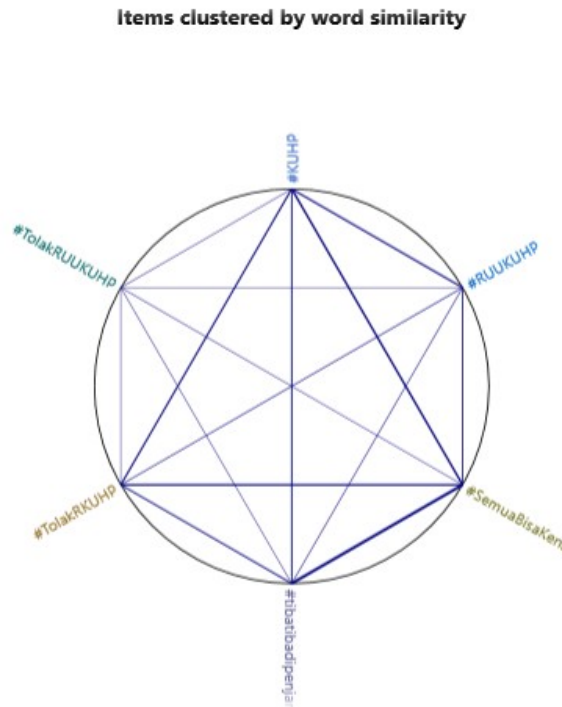


*Social media hashtags relation analysis*

This analysis is used to know what kind of relationship the hashtags have been used, whether it is strong or weak on each hashtag

related to other hashtags. This analysis uses the cluster analysis tool with a lower limit of 0 points and an upper limit of 1 point. The analysis is explained in Figure 6 and Table 6.

**Figure 6. Social Media Hashtags Analysis Relation**



**Table 6. Social Media Hashtags Analysis Relation**

Hashtags A	Hashtags B	Pearson correlation coefficient
#tibatibadipenjara	#SemuaBisaKena	0,686585
#SemuaBisaKena	#KUHP	0,491337
#TolakRKUHP	#SemuaBisaKena	0,46191
#TolakRKUHP	#KUHP	0,400979
#RUUKUHP	#KUHP	0,398906
#tibatibadipenjara	#KUHP	0,359395
#TolakRKUHP	#tibatibadipenjara	0,340348
#SemuaBisaKena	#RUUKUHP	0,296737
#TolakRKUHP	#RUUKUHP	0,240741
#tibatibadipenjara	#RUUKUHP	0,196225
#TolakRUUKUHP	#tibatibadipenjara	0,095809
#TolakRUUKUHP	#KUHP	0,078415
#TolakRUUKUHP	#SemuaBisaKena	0,075625
#TolakRUUKUHP	#TolakRKUHP	0,047545
#TolakRUUKUHP	#RUUKUHP	0,017249

Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 plus software

Based on Table 6 and Figure 5 shows that the relationship between one hashtag with another hashtag tends to be strong because some appear on the above 0 scores lower limit for example #tibatibadipenjara and #SemuaBisaKena with the result 0.686585 and the highest. The lowest is #TolakRUUKUHP and #RUUKUHP with the result 0.017249. It shows that hashtags have a relationship with other hashtags. In this case, each hashtag has a relation with another hashtag and the values are positive (Leverston, 2021; Pierre, 2019).

In the values, positive indicates that the hashtags were used with another hashtag in the same post. It is also hoped that the hashtags are used as a mark, not just one hashtag, it is possible for a post to use more than 2 hashtags as a mark with the same goal to reject the Indonesian draft penal code (Badr, 2018). The social media used hashtags as a mark but also used other hashtags to show the position of the netizen, in this case to reject the Indonesia Draft of Criminal Code. These relationships show that the social media provide the hashtags to be used on these movements, besides that the social movements use a variety of hashtags but have a similar purpose to reject the Indonesian draft criminal code.

## Conclusion

This research finds that the social media theme dominant is relevant to the law theme area and aspect. Moreover, social media themes have been made its self from the content used in social media as the reaction of netizens to the rejection of the Indonesian draft criminal code. In the case of content dichotomy, social media content tends to show a rising voice rather than mass mobilization, it is shown that social media plays as a platform for everyone to

raise their voice about the Indonesia Draft Criminal Code. Besides, the narration is dominant with the hashtags and using hashtags there also appear accounts that have been tagged such as @changeorg, @bph, and @kemenkumham. Another case shows that the narration refers to the law filed or topics like hukum (law), produk (product), KUHP, and others. This analysis shows that the social media narration is relevant to the content and topic that is used in each post, the hashtags have been used as a mark to show the position of the content or post. Hashtags also have a relationship with other hashtags and tend to strongly indicate that each hashtag has a relationship with other hashtags and the values are positive.

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## Declaration of Ownership

This article is our original work.

## Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

## Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by the institution.

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