

Social Media as the *Fifth Estate* of Conflict Resolution in Indonesia: A Netnography Study on Digital Activism #PeringatanDarurat

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Received: 20 December 2024; Reviewed: 25 January 2025; Accepted: 25 February 2025

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Abstract

The Research discusses how digital media can be used as a fifth *estate*. The fifth pillar refers to the function of social media as a supervisor of public policies or issues. This supervision is through netizens' activities to encourage policymakers to act appropriately. Digital media platforms provide a new space for individuals and groups to share information, self-organize, and influence public policy. This form of supervision is through expressions of disappointment and anger over several social and political situations. The Research uses digital media theory as the fifth pillar of William Dutton. The case studied is the #PeringatanDarurat movement. This case is critical because it relates to a violation of the Constitution. The case began with the government's and the DPR's plan to make an Election Bill contrary to the Constitutional Court's (MK) decision. The Research uses the ethnography method. The data analyzed was Twitter (X) social media user posts. Data collection is carried out through 2 forms: immersion and investigation. Immersion was carried out by observing social and medical user X. The investigation collected posts about #PeringatanDarurat. The data was processed using thematic analysis. The study results show four main themes of social media user posts. First, the manipulation of rules and the Constitution. Second, anger against oligarchs. Social media users expressed outrage at the power that no longer represented the people. Third, social media users call for teenagers to be politically literate. Fourth, a collective invitation to take action together. This Research shows the role of social media as the fifth pillar (the *fifth estate*). Social media has become the primary means of spreading political awareness and social mobilization.

Keywords: Social media; Fifth Estate; Digital Activism; #PeringatanDarurat; Netnography

How to Cite: Aristyavani, I., Julianto, E. N., Taryana, A., Anwar, M., & Jamalullail. (2025). Social media as Indonesia's fifth estate of conflict resolution: An ethnography study on digital #PeringatanDarurat activism. *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)*. 7(3): 973-988

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the potential of social media as a fifth pillar of power in conflict resolution in Indonesia. The idea of digital media as the fifth pillar (after the executive, judiciary, legislative, and mass media) was put forward by Dutton c spac (Dutton, 2009) in the last edition (Dutton & Dubois, 2015) and the edition (Dutton, 2023). According to Dutton, digital media can be used to control power. Social media users can raise issues that previously did not receive attention from conventional media. The conversations of social media users can make a case go viral and then become the attention of policymakers.

Among Indonesians, the phrase "No Viral No Justice" has even appeared to describe the power of social media in encouraging the government and policymakers to pay attention to cases in society. For example, the case of the murder of Vina (Bandung), the shooting of Gamma (Semarang), the case of honorary teacher Supriyani (South Konawe), and so on. These cases have similarities, namely that, at first, they did not receive attention from the government. After being buzzing with conversations on social media and then going viral, the case was finally resolved.

Digital media has transformed how people voice political aspirations, especially in the context of digitally mediated social movements (Yoon et al., 2021). This paper will discuss the power of social media through the case of digital activism #PeringatanDarurat. The hashtag #PeringatanDarurat, which emerged in August 2024, is a tangible manifestation of how activism can effectively catalyze social movements. The study (Liu, B., & Zhang, 2012) identified that connective action on social media significantly correlated with participation rates in offline collective action (X. Yang & Meng, 2020).



Figure 1. Action #PeringatanDarurat
Image Source: Drone Emprit (2024)

The #PeringatanDarurat hashtag originated from the decision of the Constitutional Court (MK) regarding two critical cases in the Revision of the 2024 Regional Election Law, namely decisions Number 60/PUU-XXII/2024 and 70/PUU-XXII/2024. In the decision, the Constitutional Court allows political parties without seats in the DPRD to nominate regional heads with a new threshold of 6.5-10%. It sets the minimum age for governor and deputy governor candidates to be 30 at registration. However, the House of Representatives and the government ignored this decision by still imposing the old threshold (20-25%) and setting the candidate's age to 30 at the time of the inauguration (Merdeka.com, 2024). This decision is suspected to be full of political interests, such as smoothing the dominance of the coalition of major parties through the Regional Elections and meeting the requirements for the candidacy of Kaesong Pangarep, Chairman of PSI, as the governor of Central Java (Merdeka.com, 2024). This neglect triggered public anger, where

netizens launched protests on social media using #PeringatanDarurat hashtags and spreading the "Garuda Biru" symbol as a form of criticism of the political situation that was considered a threat to democracy. This incident led to several reactions from influencers, public figures, and media outlets who voiced #PeringatanDarurat's actions on social media platforms.

The Garuda Biru Emergency Warning then went viral after the @BudiBukanIntel upload was forwarded by popular Instagram accounts such as @najwashihab, @matanajwa, and @narasitv. It quickly went viral and triggered several reactions from the public.



Figure 2. The spread of #PeringatanDarurat messages and the fast-moving "Garuda Biru" emergency warning symbol on social media
Image Source: Drone Emprit (2024)

The public reaction to the hashtag #PeringatanDarurat reflects deep dissatisfaction with the Constitutional Court's disregard for the decision by the House of Representatives and the government in the discussion of the Revision of the 2024 Regional Election Law. The hashtag quickly went viral, used more than 500,000 times in 24 hours (Drone Emprit, 2024), demonstrating the power of social media in rallying public opinion. In addition to virality, the "Garuda Biru" symbol accompanying this hashtag serves as a strong visual message, reflecting the political crisis felt by the community. In addition to #PeringatanDarurat hashtags, netizens also made similar hashtags, such as #Indonesiadarurat and #KawalPutusan MK.

This paper will discuss how digital media can be used as a fifth estate and how social media users express disappointment and anger over several social and political situations in Indonesia.

Habermas (Littlejohn et al., 2021) developed the concept of communicative action theory, which emphasized the importance of rational communication in social interactions. He argues that effective communication and freedom from domination are the foundation of a democratic society. In this context, communicative actions become a means to reach agreement and mutual understanding. Habermas introduced the concept of public space, where individuals can gather to discuss and debate important issues. The ideal public space is where everyone has a voice and can participate in decision-making without pressure from external forces.

Habermas conveyed three normative ideals inherent in the concept of public space (Prasetyo, 2012) and does not assume the similarity of status between people because the idea of status in the public space itself is seen as having no significance. In this case, the preference for position is replaced by a value of wisdom equivalent to the value of each person's equation. In the public sphere, it is not status, rank, property, or descent that occupies a higher place than others but a better argument. Second, although everyone has different interests that differences may

influence in status, their interests are also seen as having no significance. The similarity in using a ratio characterized by "disinterested" interest of reason unites people who meet in the public sphere. The justification for arguments arising in the public sphere must be based on the public interest, not the specific interest. Third, public space is inclusive in principle; everyone can use their rationality.

Dutton criticized the concept of the concept of the public sphere. According to Dutton (Dutton, 2009), Jürgen Habermas's concept of public space is too tied to a romantic view of the past and cannot fully capture the emergence of new spheres of influence, such as the fifth pillar. Instead, Dutton (Dutton 2023) introduced the concept of the fifth pillar ((fifth estate). Dutton introduced this concept to explain the emergence of the Internet and social media, which provided a new space for individuals and groups to share information, organize themselves, and even influence public policy.

The fifth pillar (fifth estate) regarding social media continues the previous four pillars of power: the executive, legislative, judiciary, and media. Each pillar (estate) has the function of supervision, control, and influence on society and the government—for example, the media functions to supervise the government and provide information to the public. With the advent of digital technology and the Internet, Dutton (Dutton, 2023) asked whether a new form was emerging. He introduced the term fifth estate as part of a shift in power distribution, which involves digitally connected individuals and groups without relying on formal institutions such as traditional media or government.

Digital platforms such as social media (e.g., Twitter, Facebook, YouTube) and blogs have created a space for individuals to speak and act in politics without the need through traditional media channels. This phenomenon, according to Dutton (Dutton, 2023), indicates a shift in power from centralized control (such as the mainstream media or government) to more decentralized power, where the public can be more directly involved in political dialogue.

Dutton mentioned that, in many cases, social media allows individuals to participate in the political process more directly, fight for civil rights, and voice criticism of governments or corporations (Dutton, 2023). Information can be disseminated through digital platforms without intermediaries, allowing more people to engage in political conversations. However, while social media has positively impacted increasing political engagement, Dutton has also expressed concerns related to the spread of misinformation, disinformation, and increasingly sharp polarization. Information that is not validated or disseminated to manipulate public opinion can damage the integrity of the democratic process.

Dutton (Dutton, 2015) described the Internet as having significantly contributed to the democratization of government in many countries. Internet technology has facilitated faster and more efficient communication, allowing citizens to participate in political discourse without the need for traditional media intermediaries. Dutton (Dutton, 2015) discusses the history of traditional media and its essential role in shaping public opinion and government oversight. Traditional media, such as newspapers, radio, and television, have long been pillars in democratic societies, providing the information the public needs to make informed political decisions. The media functions as a power watchdog and informant who assists the public in participating in the political process. However, the advent of the Internet and social media has shifted traditional media's role. Dutton explained that digital technology has changed the dynamics of the relationship between media and society, giving individuals and groups new power to participate in news creation and information dissemination. Social media and online platforms have created new spaces where people can share their views and influence political discourse without relying on traditional mass media.

According to (Dutton, 2009), social media can be the fifth pillar because it has a new decentralized power structure. Dutton argues that the Internet not only changes how we access information but also gives individuals the ability to produce and distribute that information. One of the key characteristics of the Internet is "Network to Network", where the Internet mediates different types of networks formed by several stakeholders, each of which strengthens or challenges an individual's or organization's interests. These networks provide connections in a

one-to-many pattern like mass media and one-to-one, many-to-one, many-to-many, and so on. (Dutton, 2009) these networks are not controlled by large institutions, such as media companies or governments, thus allowing the public to voice their views and participate in policymaking more freely.

The fifth estate emerged along with the rapid advancement of the Internet and digital communication technologies that created new opportunities for individuals and groups to share information and organize themselves in a more decentralized form. The Internet has changed how people communicate, influence, and act in social and political contexts. Dutton (Dutton & Dubois, 2015) highlighted how social media can drive greater accountability in government and social life. Social media allows the public to interact directly with policymakers and politicians, creating space for greater transparency in the political process. Fifth estates bring significant changes in the way society monitors and assesses government actions. For example, the role of social media in expressing injustice or corruption has substantially impacted several social and political movements. Campaigns such as #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter show how social media serves as a platform to demand accountability from individuals, companies, and governments and fight for civil and social rights.

The fifth estate contributes to pluralism in society (Dutton & Dubois, 2015). Pluralism refers to the diversity of views and voices in the public sphere, which allows for open dialogue on social, political, and economic issues. The Fifth Estate supports this pluralism by allowing several groups to access the media and express their views. Dutton (Dutton, 2015) pointed out that with the advancement of the Internet, there are now several sources of information accessible to the public. This reduces the dominance of the mass media, which sometimes ignores specific perspectives or is more focused on particular interests. Fifth Estate provides a platform for previously marginalized minority voices and groups to speak out and engage in public discourse.

Social media gives individuals the power to spread the news, mobilize opinions, and participate in political debates without relying on mainstream media. Dutton (Dutton, 2023) illustrated political movements that use social media to organize and communicate their ideology. Movements such as the "Arab Spring" or "Black Lives Matter" are examples of how social media can be a very effective tool for organizing protests and voicing discontent against the government. In many cases, these platforms allow activists to speak directly to the public and create awareness about issues that previously did not receive traditional media attention.

The study (Wang & Zhou, 2021) examines how social media user activism functions in social mobilization through social media platforms. This study uses an ethnography approach to analyze digital interactions that occur on social media related to these hashtags. The data used consisted of posts on Twitter, Instagram, and other social media platforms that used #HongKongPoliceBrutality hashtags to voice criticism of police violence in Hong Kong. In addition, the analysis also looked at how the narrative constructed through these hashtags affected individual participation in protests. The hashtag #HongKongPoliceBrutality is used to spread messages related to police violence and human rights abuses that occurred in Hong Kong. These hashtags allow individuals to connect their personal experiences to more significant social movements without being part of a formal organization. As such, it reflects the principle of connective action, in which individuals participate in movements based on personal interest and empathy for the issues raised. These hashtags form a collective narrative that connects individuals with concern for the same problem. #HongKongPoliceBrutality become a symbol for sharing stories, information, and injustice-related experiences. It also allows individuals to voice their dissatisfaction with the repressive measures perpetrated by security forces in Hong Kong.

In addition to voicing anger and protest, digital activism carried out by social media users can also play a role in organizing and expanding the impact of social movements in the real world. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter went viral on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook, allowing individuals and groups from around the world to voice their support for the fight against systemic racism and police violence. Another example is the #MeToo movement started in 2006 by activist Tarana Burke to raise awareness about sexual violence experienced by women, but it went viral in

2017. Hashtags #MeToo on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook are becoming a global phenomenon, with thousands of women around the world sharing their experiences of sexual harassment and gender inequality. Social media gives them a platform to speak openly and support each other, creating a broader sense of togetherness.

How can hashtags in the online world inspire offline social movements? (G. Yang, 2016) Which gives the following explanation. Hashtags in the online world are symbols and practical tools for reinforcing narratives and creating collective awareness. Hashtags allow individuals to connect on a broader network, bringing together people who share experiences and aspirations related to issues. Using hashtags will enable users to shape and propagate their narratives, introducing the concept of narrative agency, which is the ability of individuals or groups to direct narratives and influence public discourse. (G. Yang, 2016) hashtags allow millions of people to engage in social movements without geographical restrictions. Hashtags are a potent tool to gather support and solidarity for the issues raised and expand these social movements' reach. Using hashtags, social movements can form more egalitarian communication. Social media gives anyone the freedom to speak up and express their views.

According to Yang (G. Yang, 2016), hashtags are often accompanied by a call to action, whether to participate in real-world protests, support specific policy campaigns, or disseminate critical information. For example, #BlackLivesMatter invites online discussions and encourages individuals to take to the streets and participate in demonstrations demanding change. These hashtags are central to coordinating collective actions and connecting those involved in the same struggle. Hashtags also reinforce the collective strength of individuals who have had similar experiences. For example, #BlackLivesMatter connects people who have experienced racial discrimination or support social change to share information, debate related issues, and jointly demand change.

Many protest movements started from online movements. One example is the protest movement in Chile in 2019, known as Estallido Social or "Social Eruption." Social media, especially Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and WhatsApp, played a significant role in these protests. Through these platforms, demonstrators quickly disseminate information, organize mass actions, and mobilize support. The study (Scherman & Rivera, 2021) showed a link between social media use and protest participation in Chile. The results showed that Facebook was a social media platform significantly linked to the involvement in protests in Chile in 2019. Users who actively interact and participate in political discussions or spread information about protests through Facebook have a higher chance of participating in real-world demonstrations.

Several studies show a relationship between social movements that occur online and offline social movements. However, it should be noted that the relationship is often not direct but mediated by other variables. First, the platform used. Each social media platform has different features (Ellison & Vitak, 2015). As a result, the relationship between social media and political behavior will differ between platforms. For example, Facebook is characterized by an asymmetrical relationship between users because they must agree to be friends on the platform. Facebook networks tend to produce homogeneous groups, giving some members significant influence over others due to their offline ties. Unlike Facebook, Twitter allows more interaction between unknown people in everyday life, such as politicians, celebrities, or journalists. Social movements formed through Facebook are more vigorous because people with strong bonds form them, while Twitter allows for rapid movements but is weak and easily disconnected (Valenzuela et al., 2018).

Second is the use of social media. Studies (Scherman & Rivera, 2021) show that the purpose of using social media mediates the relationship between social media and offline social movements. Those who engage in political discussions, such as discussing political issues or spreading protest messages, have a greater tendency to participate in offline actions. In contrast, the use of social media for more general purposes, such as seeking information or sharing common interests with others, did not show a significant relationship with participation in protests. This shows that active involvement in political discussions or social-related activities on social media

encourages a person to engage in social action more than just using social media for entertainment or casual social interaction.

Third, the influence of interpersonal communication. Studies (Scherman & Rivera, 2021) show that social media does not directly affect improving interpersonal conversations. Social media has an indirect role in encouraging conversations between individuals. The study results suggest that social media serves as a conduit for enhancing personal discussions about social and political issues, which increases the likelihood of individuals participating in protests. Conversations fueled by content on social media, such as images and videos related to demonstrations, encourage social interaction in the real world, ultimately increasing participation in protests.

In Indonesia, several studies show how social media is used to express dissatisfaction with policymakers. For example, the study (Apriyani, 2021) of the protest movement using the hashtags #AksiBelaIslam #Gejayan Calling, #MosiTidakPercaya, #SurabayaMenggugat, and #BengawanMelawan. Another study was conducted by Opkeh Sitowin & Alfirdaus regarding the use of social media, Instagram, to reject the establishment of a cement factory in Rembang Regency. Another study was conducted on (Sari & Arianto 2023) digital protest movements using #percumalaporpolicies hashtags. Although there are many studies on social movements through social media, these studies have not used the fifth *estate theory*.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses the ethnography method. According to Kozinets (Kozinets, 2020), the lithography method is qualitative Research that seeks to understand cultural experiences that encompass and are reflected in digital footprints, practices, and online footprint systems. Online footprints can be text, graphics, photography, audiovisual, music, commercial advertising, etc. This cultural experience can be gained by how the researcher engages and is then reflected through the three essential elements of netnography: investigation, interaction, and immersion. Studies on online social movements using netnography have been carried out by Dametto (Dametto & Bonet-Marti, 2024).

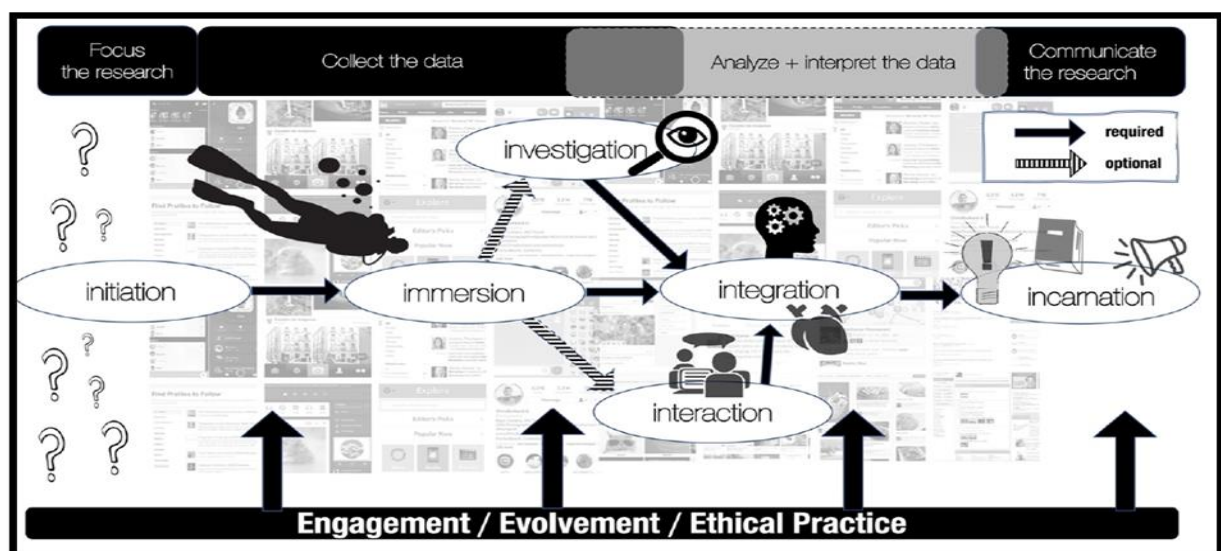


Figure 3. Stages of Netnography Research
Sumber: Kozinets & Gretzel (2023)

The stages of netnography Research follow the stages created by Kozinets & Gretzel (Kozinets & Gretzel, 2023). The first stage focuses on Research. At this stage, researchers choose specific and relevant topics, such as how social media shares protests and concerns about public issues—second, collecting data. At this stage, the researcher collects data, which includes two

activities: immerse and investigate. Immersion is the process by which the researcher is actively involved in the phenomenon being studied, recording experiences and reflections in journals. The investigation consists of searching for and assessing data and digital footprints from several social media platforms and analyzing and interpreting Data. Once the data is collected, the next stage is analysis. Researchers break down the data into more minor elements and provide thematic codes. This process helps researchers find patterns and relationships in the data that has been collected. Interpretation in this stage focuses on finding an integrative whole, comparing parts and wholes, and exploring existing interconnections.

The study only limited conversations on Twitter. The argument for choosing Twitter is based on opinions (Smith, 2014). According to Smith, the Twitter platform (X) is better suited for Research on public opinion studies for two reasons: interaction type. On the Twitter platform (X), interactions are more open and direct in replies, retweets, and likes. Second, the network structure. Twitter is more public, and anyone can follow anyone (without consent) unless the account is private. The Twitter network is like a news channel with swift engagement on a particular topic or issue, allowing content to go viral quickly.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

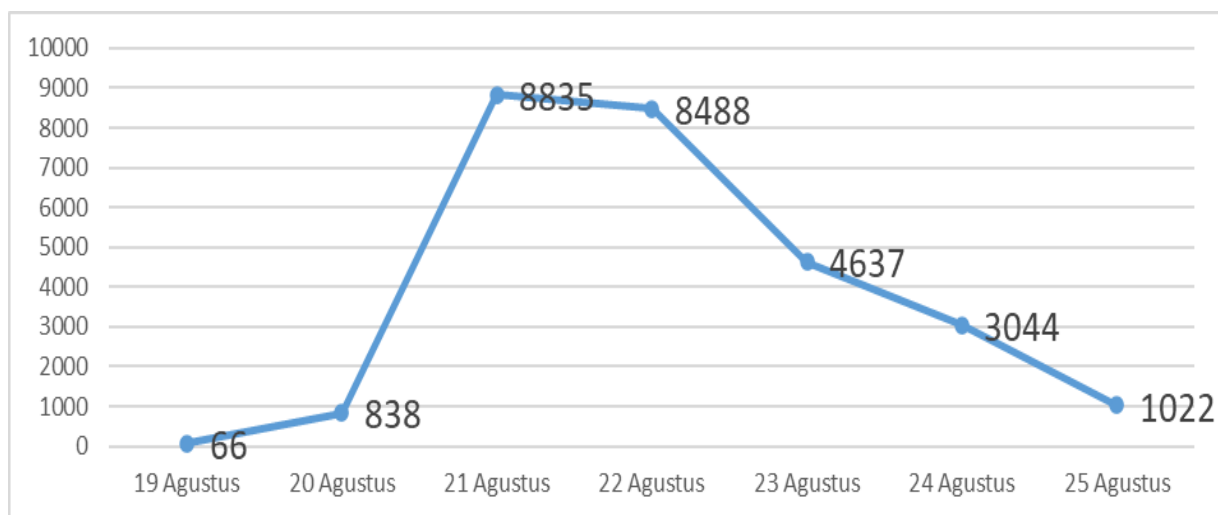


Figure 4. Number of Posts Related to #PeringatanDarurat Movement on Social Media (X, Facebook, YouTube and Tiktok)

Source: Processed from the Brand24 database

In the early stages, researchers observed the number of conversations social media users had about the case. The researcher used three keywords, namely #Peringatandarurat, #Indonesiadarurat, and #KawalkeputusanMK. To find out the number of conversations of social media users on this topic, researchers used a social media monitoring database, Brand24. Figure 4 shows the number of posts from social media users who used the hashtag. The peak of conversations among social media users occurred on August 21 and 22, with nearly 9 thousand posts. Figure 5 shows the number of posts by platform. Based on this image, the platforms with the highest number of posts are Twitter (X) and TikTok.

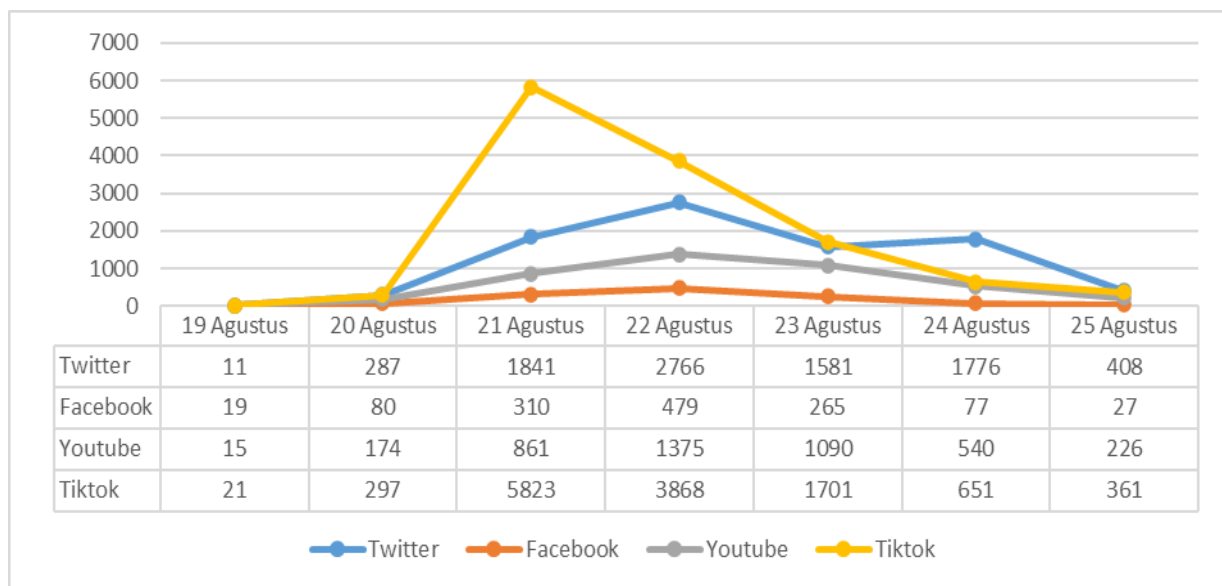


Figure 5. Number of Posts Related to #PeringatanDarurat Movement by Social Media (X, Facebook, YouTube and Tiktok)

Source: Processed from the Brand24 database

According to Brand24's monitoring, Twitter (X) is the "critical" social media platform. Figure 6 shows the sentiment of posts (positive, negative, neutral) from social media platforms. The platform with the most significant proportion of negative sentiment is Twitter (X), compiled by TikTok.

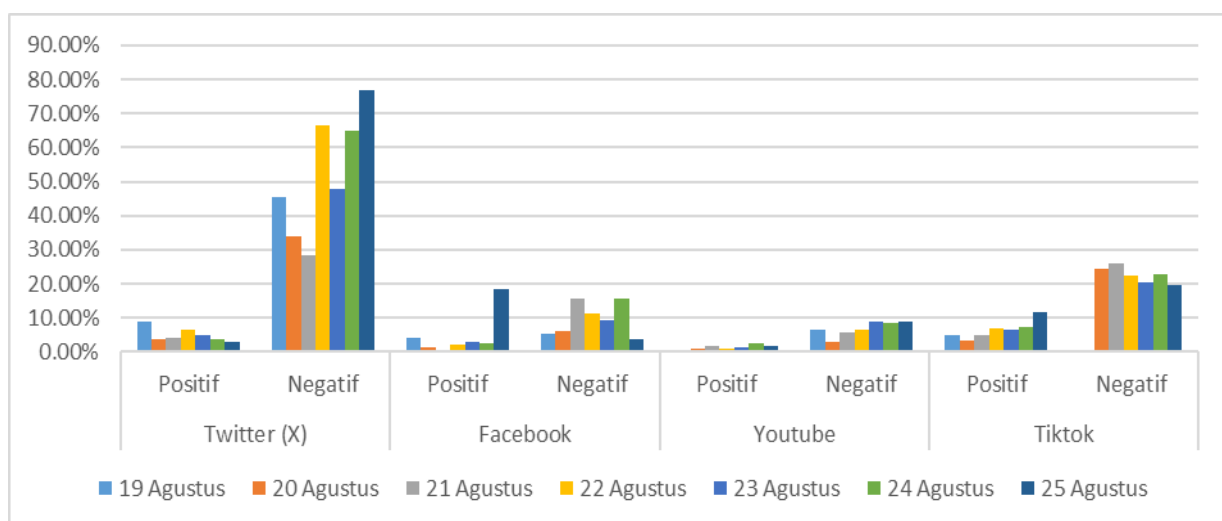


Figure 6. Post Sentiment #PeringatanDarurat According to Social Media (X, Facebook, YouTube and Tiktok)

Source: Processed from the Brand24 database

After the researcher described the distribution description of the social media user's posts, the researcher delved into the posts made. Researchers wanted to understand the anger and disappointment expressed by social media users. The researcher only took posts on the Twitter platform (X). Of the total number of posts, the researcher took 300 posts on X with a high engagement rate (seen from the number of comments, the number of likes, and the number of shares). After conducting investigations and immersion, researchers found that social media users widely raise at least four topics.

Topic 1: Manipulation of Rules and the Constitution

Posts by social media users regarding #PeringatanDarurat raise a lot of manipulation of rules and laws. The Regional Election Bill is considered a step to strengthen the power of certain groups in an untransparent and unfair way. One aspect emphasized is the minimum age requirement of 30 years for candidates for governor and deputy governor "from the inauguration of the selected couple." Many social media users see this provision as a legal manipulation to ensure that specific candidates, such as Kaesang Pangarep, who turns 30 on 25 December, can meet the requirements.

Social media users see this policy as a form of manipulation of existing rules because the provisions regarding age are explicitly made to benefit specific individuals or families, namely President Jokowi's family. They feel that this rule change is not made based on the interests of the people or democratic principles but to secure the position of candidates who are considered to benefit from the rule.

In addition, the posts also criticized the power imbalance between the legislature and the executive, saying that members of the House of Representatives are "willing to be subordinates" to the President's family. This shows that the legislative process related to the Regional Election Bill is influenced by narrow political interests that ignore the principles of justice and democracy. Overall, the narrative that emerges in this post links the manipulation of rules and laws to efforts to strengthen the power of certain groups through rule changes tailored to specific political interests.

Table 1: Posts related to Rules and Constitution Manipulation

| No t | Sample Post | Promise | | |
|---------|--|------------|------|------|
| | | Commentary | Like | For |
| 1 | Minimum age limit: Cagub and Cawagub are 30 YEARS OLD FROM THE INAUGURATION. * Kaesang will be 30 years old on 25 December * Jokowi decides that the governor will be inaugurated in February 2025. What kind of game is this | 1 thousand | 25K | 11k |
| 2 | Only for the sake of these two rotten children, you members of the House of Representatives are willing to become slaves to a family of carpenters from Solo? You guys are indeed bastards!! | 1.5K | 25K | 7.2K |
| 3 | *Look at the sentence "since the inauguration of the chosen couple." *check your age *check the date of the inauguration. THIS REGIME IS CRAZY WKWKWKWKWKWKWKWKWKWKWK | 899 | 36K | 18K |
| 4 | Article 40, APPROVED BY THE BALEG COMMITTEE, is like this. INI. DIFFERENT. WITH. VERDICT. MK. If this article is used, the Constitutional Court threshold is only for political parties that do not have seats in the DPRD. The government agreed. DPD agreed. There was no interruption in the faction. | 286 | 13K | 7.3K |
| 5 | "Minimum age of 30 years u/ Candidate for Governor & Deputy Governor and 25 years old u/ Candidate for Regent & Deputy Regent and Candidate for Mayor & Deputy Mayor — SINCE the inauguration of the selected couple," the bontot is eligible. | 623 | 20K | 12K |

Topic 2: Anger against the Oligarchy

Social media users also expressed anger and disappointment over politics and democracy through their posts. This post shows public outrage at the power that is no longer representative of the people but is controlled by President Jokowi's family. Several posts emphasized that Indonesia, as an independent country, is now only "owned" by particular families. Some posts also mentioned that the government is being "torn apart" for personal gain and power ambitions, particularly from the "Solo family," which refers to the President's family. The call to "BERISIK" or remain vigilant about the evolving political situation shows concern about the potential for political manipulation and diversion of issues that could mask big problems.

In addition, there is a sense of emergency related to the condition of democracy in Indonesia. The post "Emergency of Democracy, Reform Ended" states that Indonesia has lost its direction and dignity by demanding urgent improvements and changes. The narrative that emerges from this post is a strong call against the abuse of power, which is seen as increasingly concentrated in the hands of oligarchs and a threat to democracy. Social media users express dissatisfaction and anger at the political situation, which is perceived as increasingly authoritarian.

Table 2: Posts related to Anger Against Oligarchs

| Not | Sample Post | Promise | | |
|-----|--|------------|------|------|
| | | Commentary | Like | For |
| 1 | The Indonesian people are not independent; only Jokowi and his staff are independent. | 1.7K | 13K | 6.3K |
| 2 | Sir, don't be in power. The country of Indonesia does not belong to your family! @jokowi | 1.1K | 4.9K | 2.7K |
| 3 | IT MUST BE SCARY. The youngest is running again! Don't let your guard down! | 319 | 9.1K | 5.6K |
| 4 | BUILD ALL OUR COUNTRY WANTS TO BE SHUFFLED AGAIN FOR THE SAKE OF THE AMBITIONS OF THE SOLO FAMILY WHO ARE GREEDY FOR POWER. Let's stay focused here first; don't worry about the diversion of other issues, including celebrity chaos. | 382 | 13K | 8.6K |
| 5 | DEMOCRATIC EMERGENCY REFORM ENDED Indonesia has lost its state dignity. Who is not angry to see their country torn apart today? | 293 | 20K | 11K |

Topic 3: Invitation Not to Be Apolitical

Social media users are calling for teenagers to be politically literate. They emphasized that political apathy could jeopardize Indonesia's future and that the current political situation threatens future generations. Some posts explicitly state that the younger generation can no longer be apolitical. For example, in a post that reads, "You MUST know politics. It's not about whom, it's about us," there is an emphasis that every individual, especially the young one, is responsible for understanding and engaging in politics. Social media users assert that no matter their background or interests (such as K-pop or anime fans), the younger generation should use their platforms to respond to this perceived crisis.

Social media users post posts asking teenagers not to be apolitical because if they remain apolitical, they may lose the opportunity to influence policies that determine the country's fate. Social media users arouse collective spirit so that they not only follow trends but also actively voice their aspirations and protests against existing injustices. Overall, this narrative encourages young people to not only engage in casual conversation or mere entertainment but also understand the importance of participating in the political process to ensure a better future for themselves and future generations.

Table 3: Posts related to Calls Not to Be Apolitical

| Not | Sample Post | Promise | | |
|-----|---|------------|------|------|
| | | Commentary | Like | For |
| 1 | This is not a trend. It is for your future, your children, and if you want to have children or other friends of your fandom who are still in their teens or have just turned 20 years old. The future of the country is at stake. Our future is at stake. | 2.1K | 18K | 10K |
| 2 | We must participate now, whether your account is KPOP, StudyTWT, or Anime. Use all social media to call out this critical situation. If not us, who else? | 2.1K | 18K | 10K |
| 3 | One person who usually does not follow politics doesn't care about politics, Gw. Thank you, friends, for posting. I became aware of the importance of understanding and speaking out about this. I'm sure there are many like me. Those who don't understand, let us know. This is our war together | 531 | 47K | 16K |
| 4 | Don't. You are no longer a child who knows politics. You must know politics. It's not about whom; it's about us. Our country is torn apart by greed. Let's put an end to this madness. | 3K | 65K | 36K |
| 5 | This is not about whom, but this is about our country!! Our country is torn apart by greed. Let's put an end to this madness. It's not about who but about us and the future of Indonesia!! WAKE UP!! | 1.9K | 13K | 9.1K |

Topic 4: Invitation to Get Involved in the Movement

Many social media posts also called for a collective call from several groups, especially the fandom fan community (such as K-pop fans), to move together in response to political issues related to the Election Bill. The call to "unite" and "not be divided" reflects a strong solidarity among the younger generation, which has been known to be apolitical. Social media users invite friends to spread information through these calls and actively participate in social movements.

Posts such as "Dear HQFess citizens, take a moment to spread awareness to your social circles" and "KPOPER SINDO LET'S UNITE FOR OUR COUNTRY" show an invitation not only to talk about political issues but also to involve more people in this movement, regardless of their background or interests. There is an emphasis that participation in these social movements is part of the obligation to maintain democracy and ensure justice. The posts also encouraged fandom fans to use social media to spread awareness, such as in the call for "friends, help post this on your social media platforms" and "no matter how small your voice, bring big change to all of us." This shows the importance of individual participation in fighting for change, even if their contribution is only in information dissemination or retweets.

Table 4: Posts related to Calls to Engage in Movement

| Not | Sample Post | Promise | | |
|-----|--|------------|------|------|
| | | Commentary | Like | For |
| 1 | Dear HQFess citizens, please take a moment to spread awareness to your social circles. Let's unite our voices and not be divided; let's guard this democracy together. | 278 | 4.2K | 2.2K |
| 2 | NCT! ZENS, DON'T BE SILENT! To the honorable DPRRI, we ask you to consider the threshold and discuss the Regional Election Bill in this year's regional elections. Thanks. | 2.9K | 9.4K | 4.8K |
| 3 | CALLING ALL FANDOM. To the honorable DPRRI, we ask you to consider the threshold and discussion of the | 1.6K | 5.1K | 2.6K |

| Not | Sample Post | Promise | | |
|-----|---|------------|-------|------|
| | | Commentary | Like | For |
| | Regional Election Bill in this year's regional elections. Thanks. | | | |
| 4 | KPOERS INDO: LET'S UNITE FOR THE SAKE OF OUR COUNTRY | 2.9K | 15K | 9.2K |
| 5 | Friends help post this on your social media platform. Please give us any information on your platform that the masses will be moving on Thursday and Friday! No matter how small your voice is, it will bring significant changes to all of us. | 2.2K | 12K | 9.1K |
| 6 | I don't care who tweeted this picture; I must be RT. It's time for the people to unite against the traitors of the nation and the betrayal of the Constitution | 524 | 10. K | 6.6K |
| 7 | 25K BALANCE GIVEAWAY!! Retweet, like, and reply using the hashtags below. This government has never failed to disappoint (Sorry, I can only contribute this much from the salary of 400k, and Jakarta is far away. | 2.4K | 5.5K | 4.1K |

The results of this study reveal several forms of resistance carried out by social media users against policies that they consider threatening democratic principles, primarily related to the Regional Election Bill. Posts on social media portrayed dissatisfaction with the influence of the President's family in politics, with calls to activate the public's role through digital platforms to counter what they perceive as manipulation of rules and disregard for the people's voice.

This study shows the role of social media as the fifth pillar (the fifth estate) of William Dutton. In this study, social media has become the primary means of spreading political awareness and social mobilization. Posts asking the public not to be "divided" and voicing dissatisfaction with existing political policies illustrate how social media has served as a space where alternative voices can flourish, which may not have previously been heard in conventional media. For example, in some posts, there is an invitation to use social media to "spread awareness" and ensure that all parties stay focused on the central issue without being distracted by other matters. This shows civil society's active role in using social media to fight for the public interest and influence political decisions.

The results of this study illustrate the role of social media as a supervisor or counterweight to political forces that are considered to ignore people's aspirations. Social media users are organizing themselves through online campaigns and collective calls to fight against policies they deem undemocratic. It shows how social media can be a tool to counter political power that does not favor the people, as well as strengthen the capacity of civil society in the decision-making process.

The fifth pillar (fifth estate) emphasizes how social media provides a platform for groups previously unrepresented in the conventional public space to participate in political discourse. One very relevant example in the results of this study is the involvement of the younger generation, especially from K-pop fans and other fandoms. Social media users who may not have cared much about politics initially felt compelled to participate, having seen how important the movement was for their future. With the invitation to use social media to disseminate information and mobilize, they now feel they are responsible for defending democracy and their rights as citizens.

The concept of the fifth pillar also emphasizes how society can harness the power of digital to criticize and challenge unjust power. In the results of this study, several posts strongly criticized the manipulation of political and legal rules, which are seen as an effort to strengthen the power of certain groups, especially those related to the role of President Jokowi's family. Social media serves as a counterweight to practices that undermine democratic principles. By expressing criticism and encouraging protests through online platforms, civil society can challenge policies deemed detrimental to the people's interests.

Social media has become essential in Indonesia's political and social dynamics, as seen in the #PeringatanDarurat movement. This movement reflects how digital platforms are used to voice criticism of political policies, such as the 2024 Regional Election issue, which is considered unfair by many parties. This hashtag has not only gone viral as an expression of dissatisfaction but has also become a collective tool to raise public awareness. Through social media, previously marginalized issues have been successfully raised into mainstream discussions, creating a collective understanding that pressures governments to act more transparently and responsibly. This movement proves that voices delivered digitally can have real power in influencing policymaking.

However, the power of social media as a catalyst for change also presents significant challenges, especially the risk of digital conflicts. Without adequate digital literacy, people are easily provoked by manipulative narratives circulating on these platforms. In the context of prevention, an important step that can be taken is to improve people's digital literacy skills. By understanding how social media algorithms work and recognizing fake news, individuals can be more critical of the information they consume. Content regulation is also needed to prevent the spread of hate speech or provocative content that triggers polarization. In addition, cross-sector collaboration between governments, digital communities, and social media platforms can foster positive campaigns that reinforce narratives of unity and healthy dialogue.

One of the tangible results of the #PeringatanDarurat movement is mass mobilization, both digitally and in real action, such as online petitions and demonstrations. As the leading actor, the younger generation shows that social media is an entertainment space and a platform to fight for democracy. Their participation reflects a growing political solidarity and awareness, where social validation is no longer measured only by the number of "likes" or "followers," but by their contribution to social change. The movement also suggests that social media can be a powerful tool for pressuring policymakers, creating public pressure that forces governments to reconsider controversial policies.

The success of this movement is inseparable from the role of social media as an alternative space for conflict resolution. With the right approach, the digital space can be a place for conflict resolution through organized discussion and mediation. This includes the creation of a moderate online discussion forum and a digital mediation service to resolve disputes amicably. In the long term, the optimization of social media as the fifth pillar must include the development of more effective conflict resolution mechanisms so that the digital space is not only a place of criticism but also a platform to find solutions together. With these steps, the potential of social media as a tool for democratic empowerment can be utilized to the fullest while reducing the risk of exploitation and unconstructive conflicts.

CONCLUSION

This Research confirms that social media has a significant role as a *fifth estate* in supervising and criticizing political power in Indonesia. This concept describes a substantial shift in power from traditional media to more decentralized digital platforms. Through hashtags #PeringatanDarurat, people can voice their dissatisfaction with policies that are considered unfair and threaten democracy. This hashtag symbolizes a collective struggle that integrates several elements of society, such as the younger generation, fan communities (*fandom*), and digital activist groups, to unite in voicing aspirations and protesting government policies that are considered controversial.

Social media is a mobilization space that not only allows the rapid dissemination of information but also gathers solidarity across groups. The younger generation, who previously tended to be apathetic to politics, is moved to be actively involved because digital platforms provide easy and flexible access to express their views. This shows the potential of social media as a tool for community empowerment, where every individual can contribute, either through content uploads, information sharing, or direct participation in social movements.

In addition, this study's findings show that social media is not only a communication tool but also an instrument that strengthens civil society's capacity to influence public policy. With the



ability to voice criticism, organize action, and rally support, social media provides a more inclusive and pluralistic space for democratization. In power supervision, social media acts as a balancing mechanism against policies that are not in the people's favor, putting pressure on policymakers to be more accountable.

Furthermore, social media is expanding the space for political participation by reaching previously complex groups to engage in public discourse. This participation creates a pluralism of voices, where several viewpoints can be expressed without being hindered by geographical or institutional constraints. Thus, social media not only functions as a platform for conveying aspirations but also as a catalyst for social change that can support the creation of a democracy that is more inclusive and responsive to society's needs.

The results of this study reinforce the opinion (Dutton, 2023) that social media allows individuals to participate in the political process more directly, fight for civil rights, and voice criticism of the government or corporations. Information can be disseminated through digital platforms without intermediaries, allowing more people to engage in political conversations. Although it has a positive impact, it also reminds us of the adverse effects of using social media in digital activities, such as spreading misinformation, disinformation, and sharpening polarization. Pros and cons can use social media so that they can sharpen the polarization that exists in society.

Another negative of the use of social media in digital social movements is the possibility of a digital divide. This Research shows that those involved in digital activism are the urban middle class, educated (educated), specifically young people. This can be seen from the language used, which shows that users are young. On the one hand, this condition is encouraging because many young people are involved in political issues. However, the negative impact sharpens digital literacy. Important public issues only circulate among city residents, young people, and highly educated. Meanwhile, uneducated citizens are not sufficiently involved in the debate of public problems.

The results of this study can provide recommendations both theoretically and practically. Theoretically (academically), the results of this study need to be followed up with other studies that are the limitations of this Research. This Research has several limitations. First, this Research is limited to Twitter (X) social media users. The researcher did not examine other social media platforms. The following Research can continue by reviewing topics or discourses on different social media platforms. Second, the study was limited to mapping the issues that social media users were talking about. Further Research can continue this Research by examining the sentiment (support or opposition) of posts on social media. Third, the study is limited to mapping topics social media users widely discuss. Further Research can examine social media posts' effectiveness on social movements through social media.

Meanwhile, the practical recommendation of this study is to be a reflection material for civil society groups and social activists who want to use social media as part of a social movement platform. This Research takes the case of successful social movements, where activism in the online world is followed by activism in the offline world. This could be an example of social movements in the future. For the protest movement to succeed, it is not enough to do it online. Civil society groups need to think about activism or protest in the offline world so that concerns in the online world can then be expressed in the offline world.

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