Comparing the Effectiveness of Hashtags in Digital Social Movements: A Case Study of #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Hashtags are used in digital social movements to mobilize netizens and create social change. This study aims to fill in gaps from previous studies by comparing the hashtags #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur, which emerged on Twitter as social movements in response to the rape of three children under ten in East Luwu, South Sulawesi. The study incorporates framing analysis and focuses on the frame alignment process to see the efforts of the hashtags #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur on mobilizing social media users. This study uses Social Network Analysis (SNA) to analyze the network structure formed from #PercumaLaporPolisi vs. #PolriSesuaiProsedur hashtags and determine the values of reciprocity, centralization, diameter, density, and modularity. The researcher also uses framing alignment analysis to analyze the tweets collected using Python from October 6-17, 2021, and Netlytic software as a tool. This text compares the effectiveness of two Twitter hashtags, #PercumaLaporPolisi, and #PolriSesuaiProsedur, in mobilizing supporters during a campaign about police policies in Indonesia. Network analysis found that #PolriSesuaiProsedur had a more extensive network, higher density, and more robust framing than #PercumaLaporPolisi, which resulted in a more effective mobilization of supporters. The text emphasizes the importance of precise messaging and framing in *hashtag activism*. This study compared the success of two hashtags, #PercumaLaporPolisi, and #PolriSesuaiProsedur, and found that #PolriSesuaiProsedur was more successful due to its clear framing. This research highlights the significance of precise framing in hashtags for mobilizing supporters in digital social movements. Future studies could investigate the impact of various hashtags on mobilization.

INTRODUCTION

Technology development has transformed social movements into digital media, called digital activism or digital social movement. The movement's activists use the internet to distribute information because it instantly reaches broad audiences across borders. One of the ways to get people involved in the movements is by using hashtags. Hashtag (#) is a unique feature in Twitter to gather talk from social media users regarding an issue. Twitter users can participate in the conversation without having to follow each other.

Several researchers have explored hashtags as a part of the digital social movement. Bonilla & Rosa (2015) examined #Ferguson on social media as a response to the death of Michael Brown on August 9, 20. He was shot by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. Bonilla & Rosa (2015) found out how social media spread information about Brown's death within the first week of his death. Millions of tweets with the hashtag #Ferguson appeared on Twitter. This rapid dissemination of information would not be possible without using social media, especially hashtags. Similarly, Yang (2016) examined #BlackLivesMatter as a protest movement on social media in response to George Zimmer's acquittal in July 2013 of the shooting death of African-American teenager Trayvon Martin. Netizens who criticized the injustice

protested on Twitter using #BlackLivesMatter. A study conducted by Clark (2016) exploring #WhyIStayed showed how feminist activists use hashtags so that netizens can actively participate in the issues raised. Barisone & Ceron (2017) explored the success of #RefugeesWelcome in mobilizing netizens. The refugee explosion crisis in Europe flooded this hashtag with netizens' support for their countries to welcome refugees.

Research exploring digital social movements in Indonesia has been conducted by Lim (2013). Two social movement cases emerged and successfully mobilized netizens in Indonesia through social media, namely #KoinUntukPrita and #CicakVSBuaya. #KoinUntukPrita refers to the action on social media that supported Prita Mulyasari in proving the truth about herself. Netizens showed their anger by posting comments on Twitter with the hashtag #KoinUntukPrita and assisting Prita in paying court fines. Meanwhile, #CicakVSBuaya is a social movement used to support representatives of the KPK. KPK, which is analogous to a lizard, against the police, which is analogous to a crocodile.

These studies found how hashtags play a role in digital social movements. Yang (2016) called it *hashtag activism*. *Hashtag activism* exists when many posts appear on social media with hashtagged sentences, phrases, or words related to social or political issues (Yang, 2016). Barisione & Ceron (2017), in their research, explained that the success of #RefugeesWelcome in mobilizing netizens is because the hashtag has a precise framing by defining the problem, identifying causes, and recommending solutions to problems. A precise framing will make it easier for netizens to engage with the problem (Barisione, Michailidou, & Airoldi, 2017). However, because previous studies only investigated one hashtag, it cannot explain how framing formed from two different hashtags affects different mobilization of social media users.

This study compares two hashtags, #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur, which emerged on Twitter in response to the rape of three children in East Luwu, South Sulawesi. #PercumaLaporPolisi expresses disappointment towards the police for not following up on the rape case, while #PolriSesuaiProsedur was presented as the police's answer to #PercumaLaporPolisi. The study uses framing analysis to focus on how these hashtags tried to mobilize social media users. This study fills in gaps from previous studies on this topic.

This study addresses two main questions: (1) How is the social network formed from #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur? (2) What frame alignment strategies are used in these hashtags? This research is significant because it examines how social media users challenge mainstream narratives by protesting through social media to raise awareness and challenge the image of the police. Similar problems have been observed in other countries, such as the #HongkongPoliceBrutality movement in Hong Kong and the #BlackLivesMatter movement in the United States. Therefore, this study provides valuable insights into how social media users can use Twitter strategically to gain support.

Researchers who study social movements state that the structure of traditional social movements has shifted towards cyber activism. Social media has expanded through public activities to convey opinions (Nurhajati et al., 2022). Users share and exchange information, ideas, and insights through social media and interact, feel, and socialize (McQuail, 2010; van Dijk, 2013; Khan, 2017; Jones et al., 2019; Mayangsari & Salim, 2021). Every year, social media users have increased. In 2021 there will be 170 million active users, and in 2022 it will grow to 191.4 million (Hootsuite, 2021, 2022). Social media can reflect and expand the everyday social world (Boyd, 2007).

Sener (2015) in his article defines digital social movement or cyberactivism as organizing a particular goal by using digital media such as blogs, podcasts, or social media to reach a broad audience. *Hashtag activism* has been an exciting development in the digital social movement in recent years (Jackson et al., 2020; Yang, 2016). *Hashtag activism* usually emerges on Twitter, a social media extensively used digitally (Sandi et al., 2022). Social media users can create new narratives and counter-narratives through *hashtag activism* to attract allies (Jackson et al., 2020). In addition, *hashtag activism* is also a space that allows individuals to discuss issues that have so far been in the private sphere (Pratiwi, 2021). For example, on the issue of sexual violence, victims share stories related to cases they experience in digital space, which the public can consume.

Since the emergence of digital social movements until now, there are still two opposing views from scholars. The first opinion focuses on skepticism about public participation. A digital social movement is considered unable to make a difference and is just a banal activity. It is because in participating in a movement, social media users only need to 'share,' 'like,' or 'use the same hashtag.' Instead of viewing this as the ease of participating in a digital social movement, Lim (2013) sees it as a critique and calls it slacktivism, clicktivism, armchair activism, and keyboard activism because activists do not go out into the streets and make "real" movements.

Meanwhile, the second opinion focuses on the optimistic attitude of scholars that the digital social movement will generate new forms of participation that can encourage new ideas to reform the political system. Howard et al. (2016) stated that there are indeed some researchers with the slacktivism hypothesis about a digital social movement. However, most attempts to answer this question involve public opinion data from the United States, so testing it further in other parts of the country is necessary. Howard et al. (2016) examined elections in Mexico where an independent candidate used social media to campaign and avoided traditional media. He won the election, defeating the conventional party's candidate. It proves how effective social media is as a tool to mobilize voters to support grassroots campaigns because,

as Clark (2016) found in his research on the #WhyIStayed movement, one hundred thousand voices resounding on the streets will be very powerful. However, they would be less potent in the social media era if they thundered through the Twittersphere. The ability of hashtags to create mobilization in a digital social movement is explained by Bruns and Burgess (2015) in their article that hashtags can create communities that allow Twitter users to communicate about the same issues without the need to follow each other. In addition, hashtags also allow users who do not have a Twitter account to follow the flow of discussion in these hashtags.

Frame alignment has become the dominant perspective on mobilizing people into social movements (de Vydt & Ketelaars, 2021). Snow et al. (1986) state that frame alignment is needed in a social movement, including (1) determining who is to blame, (2) proposing alternative steps; and (3) encouraging people to change. These three things are the most crucial roles of framing: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Diagnostic framing addresses the problem of mobilizing consensus by diagnosing the problem and solving it. Framing is successful if it can simplify complicated things. Prognostic framing is a solution to the problem. This prognostic framing depends on the diagnostic framing. If there is no clarity about the problem and its causes, then solutions and strategies cannot be determined to mobilize the masses to move. Motivational framing is needed to mobilize the masses, which is an effort to move social media users to be involved in digital opinion movements by providing motivation. What is included in motivational framing is creating jargon or words to motivate (Benford & Snow, 2000).

METHOD

This study uses the constructivism paradigm. The method used is Social Network Analysis (SNA). SNA is a research method used to represent and analyze data about relationships. It describes the network structure formed from #PercumaLaporPolisi vs. #PolriSesuaiProsedur. A hashtag successfully mobilizes netizens if it has better network structure characteristics by looking at the values of reciprocity, centralization, diameter, density, and modularity.

Reciprocity is used to measure whether the conversation is reciprocal or unidirectional. Reciprocity is calculated by looking at the proportion of how many social media accounts in the conversation on social media that take place reciprocally compared to the total number of conversations. Reciprocity value, if it is close to 1, then the communication that occurs is reciprocal. Meanwhile, if the value is close to 0 (zero), the communication is unidirectional.

The centrality value shows the size of the average degree of all nodes in a network. The centralization value is high if a network has a centrality close to 1. This centrality figure explains that several central social media accounts dominate the network's information flow. Meanwhile, if the centrality value is close to 0 (zero), the centralization value is low, and information flows freely between social media accounts.

The diameter is identified to see the number of steps separating nodes that are further apart. The lower the diameter, the easier it is for an actor to be reached by another actor.

Density describes the proximity of actors in a network. A network with a high density is a network whose members interact. Meanwhile, low-density networks are characterized by little interaction between members in the network. If the density number is close to 1, it indicates that the community or conversation is getting closer, which indicates that actors talk to many other actors in the network. If the density value is close to 0 (zero), it indicates that almost nothing is connected to the network.

Modularity is a value that can be used to help provide information and determine whether the groups found represent communities in different networks. Modularity estimates whether the network consists of a coherent group of participants engaged in the same conversation and looking out for one another. Modularity analysis is essential because of the tendency of individuals to form groups with other individuals with the same characteristics, such as emotions, opinions, and attitudes, along with others. The closer to 0 (zero), the more coherent and involved in the same conversation. While the modularity value is close to 1, the conversations in the network overlap.

Then, in analyzing the text, the researcher uses framing alignment analysis. The object of research is tweeted with #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur. In collecting data, the first step is crawling data on Twitter related to #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur. Data was collected using Python from October 6-17, 2021. The reason for taking tweets on that date was because #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur appeared and became trending topics. The number of tweets obtained from #PercumaLaporPolisi is 8,887, and #PolriSesuaiProsedur has 2001 tweets. The tweets are then analyzed to see the networks formed and the frames used on #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur. Because the object of this research is big data, the researcher uses Netlytic software as a tool.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
A. Hashtag Activism *#PercumaLaporPolisi* vs. *#PolriSesuaiProsedur*

#PercumaLaporPolisi is the reaction of netizens who condemn their father's rape of three children under ten. This story was first published by projectmultatuli.org on October 6, 2021. The chronology of the case began when a mother

reported to the police that her three daughters were raped by their father. The process of investigating the case is full of manipulation. Two months after the mother filed a complaint, the police closed the investigation. Also, the mother was attacked as a person with a mental disorder. Public anger grew when the police stated that the news of the rape was a hoax through their official Instagram account. Two hours after the news of the rape was published, the online media projectmultatuli.org could not be opened due to a Ddos (Denial-of-service) attack. The cyberattack sparked a massive solidarity movement from other online media who decided to republish the report. On October 7, 2021, the Instagram @projectm_org content about the rape case disappeared due to reports from other Instagram users. It is considered inappropriate because the content does not violate Instagram's provisions. Public anger at the police's policy towards this case makes social media users, especially Twitter, use #PercumaLaporPolisi as a form of protest against the police. In the two days after #PercumaLaporPolisi was echoed, around 32.4 thousand tweets from Twitter users were using the hashtag (Kompasiana.com, 2021). The hashtag has also become a trending topic on Twitter.

In response, on October 11, 2021, a counter hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur appeared. Even though the National Police denied that the hashtag was meant to fight against the #PercumaLaporPolisi narrative, several police social media accounts use the #PolriSesuaiProsedur. Data from detik.com (2021) #PolriSesuaiProsedur received much attention and was used by 14.7 thousand tweets in one day since the hashtag appeared, so it occupied the position of trending topic in Indonesia.

B. The Result of Social Network Analysis

This research analyzes tweets using #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur taken from Twitter from 6-17 October 2021. These tweets are stored in the form of a dataset. Based on the data obtained by the researcher, 8,887 tweets were recorded with the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi and 2001 tweets with the hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur. The dataset is stored in Ms. Excel and is analyzed with Netlytic. Netlytic is a cloud-based social media analysis and data collection tool that analyzes various online conversations.

The researcher first discusses the network analysis of #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur. Then, it is followed by a comparison of the two hashtags.

1. Social Network Analysis of #PercumaLaporPolisi
The following figure shows the result of the social network analysis of *#PercumaLaporPolisi* created from Netlytic.
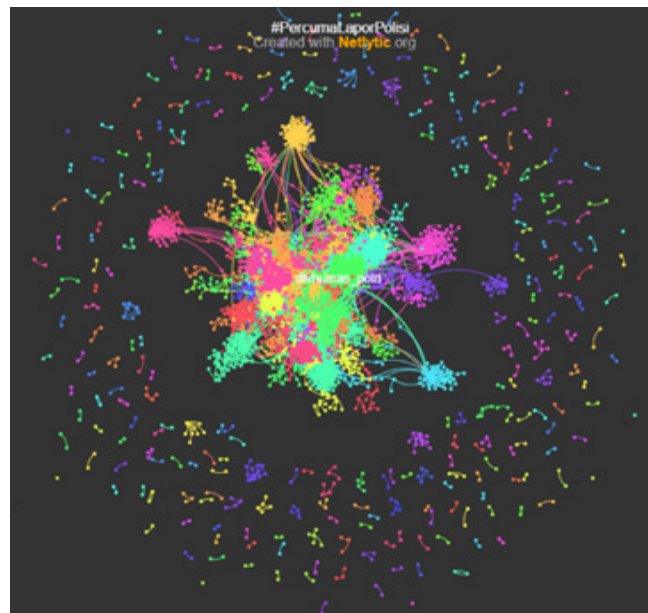
Fig 1. *Network visualization of #PolriSesuaiProsedur (source: netlytic.org)*

Figure 1 shows the communication network for distributing the tweet #PercumaLaporPolisi. Meanwhile, the network structure of #PercumaLaporPolisi can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The network structure of #*PercumaLaporPolisi*

Analysis	Data
Diameter	12
Density	0.000356
Reciprocity	0.005064
Centralization	0.032290
Modularity	0.796200

Source: netlytic.org

Table 1 illustrates the network structure of #PercumaLaporPolisi. The diameter is the distance between an actor (social media account) and other network actors (Eriyanto, 2014). The smaller the diameter number in the network, the shorter the distance, making it easier for actors to communicate. The network structure above shows a diameter of 12. It shows that posts spread from one user to another (social media accounts) in 12 stages.

Density shows the strength of the communicating network nodes. The higher the value, the closer the interaction in the network. *Reciprocity* is the interaction between actors in either one or two directions. Density and reciprocity in #PercumaLaporPolisi show a low value close to 0. Density shows a value of 0.000356, while reciprocity values 0.005064. The low density of #PercumaLaporPolisi reflects low user interaction (number of social media accounts). Posts are not two-way and are characterized by low reciprocity.

Next is centralization. The spread of the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi has a relatively low centralization value of 0.032290. Low centralization indicates that no dominant actor manages the content of conversations on Twitter. The following network structure is modularity. The size of the modularity value affects the clarity of the groups formed. In the #PercumaLaporPolisi network, the low modularity value of 0.796200 indicates the number of clusters displayed concerning the conversation. Conversations are spread out and form small clusters so that the dominant actor does not dominate them. Figure 1 shows several clusters formed from social media conversations with the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi. It can be seen that the extensive network of users using #PercumaLaporPolisi is divided into several smaller groups. This type of network structure suggests that conversations using hashtags are relatively distributed.

From the data of network structure, it can be seen that #PercumaLaporPolisi has provided an opportunity for social media users to participate in expressing their opinions in showing their anger towards the police's attitude regarding the rape case in Luwu Timur, South Sulawesi, and spreading this information to other users. From the visualization of the #PercumaLaporPolice network, it is known that ten actors have different levels of influence. Each actor's influence level can be observed through the total degree, in-degree and out-degree. The in-degree value indicates how many other accounts mention an account in tweets #PercumaLaporPolisi. Meanwhile, the out-degree value shows how often the account mentions another account. The total degree score is the sum of the in-degree and out-degree scores. The account is the most substantial actor in the activism network if the total level is high. The actors in #PercumaLaporPolisi activism are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2. Actors in #*PercumaLaporPolisi* movement.**

user_id	Cluster	Total Degree	In-Degree	Out-Degree
DivHumas_Polri	1	228	228	0
projectm_org	3	177	176	1
m1_nusaputra	3	159	159	0
Cnnindonesia	5	139	137	2
Tvonenews	6	118	118	0
Jontuamanik	1	53	0	53
er_haryadi	1	36	0	36
Imbangimedia	2	37	1	36
Agahogok	6	30	0	30
tony_harto	6	29	0	29

Source: netlytic.org

Table 2 shows that the actor in the #PercumaLaporPolisi movement with a sizeable in-degree value is @DivHumas_Polri, with a total degree of 228. Meanwhile, an account with a high out-degree value is @jontuamanik, which has a total degree of 53.

2. Social Network Analysis of *#PolriSesuaiProsedur*

The following figure shows the communication network of #PolriSesuaiProsedur, which is analyzed using Netlytic.
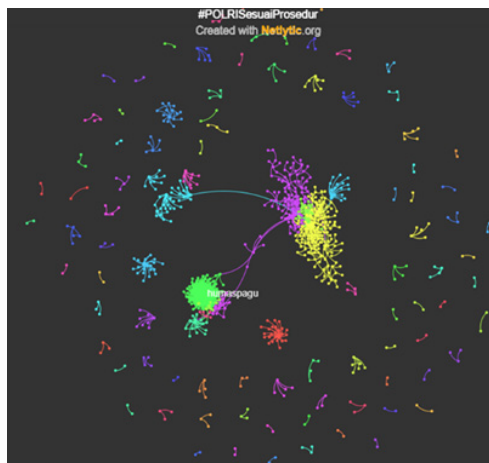
Fig 2. *Network visualization of #PolriSesuaiProsedur (source: netlytic.org)*

Figure 2 is the visualization of the communication network of #PolriSesuaiProsedur. The hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur has become a trending topic on Twitter as a form of defense and clarification from the police for the allegations made through #PercumaLaporPolisi. The following network structure illustrates the mobilization level under the #PolriSesuaiProsedur.

Table 3. The network structure of *#PolriSesuaiProsedur*

Analysis	Data
Diameter	69
Density	0.001604
Reciprocity	0.036070
Centralization	0.070170
Modularity	0.859400

Source: netylic.org

#PolriSesuaiProsedur is used by social media users to fight back against negative views of the police. It emphasizes that the police stopped cases following procedures. The diameter of #PolriSesuaiProsedur shows a value of 69, which means that posts spread from one user to another in 69 stages. For density and reciprocity, it is similar to #PercumaLaporPolisi, which has a low density and reciprocity value. The density value is 0.001604, and the reciprocity value is 0.036070. The interaction between users is relatively small and one-way. The distribution of the hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur has a relatively low centralization value of 0.070170. Low centralization indicates that no dominant actor is directing the contents of the conversation on Twitter. The modularity value is 0.859400, meaning the homogeneity is quite strong. Conversations using this hashtag needed to spread more to many users.

From the visualization of the #PolriSesuaiProsedur network, it is known that ten actors have different levels of influence based on in-degree, out-degree, and total degree values. The actors in #PolriSesuaiProsedur movements are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Actors in *#PolriSesuaiProsedur* movement.

user_id	Cluster	Total Degree	In-Degree	Out-Degree
DivHumas_Polri	1	42	42	0
m1_nusaputra	3	34	34	0
Jeparapolres	6	24	24	0
Fullmoonfolks	5	23	23	0
Detikcom	1	23	23	0
Humaspagu	2	119	9	110
annas_cim	2	48	5	43
Yayuafiatin	2	49	7	42
azizdadun_	2	35	2	33
20_foxtrot	2	29	2	27

Source: netlytic.org

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Table 4 shows that the actor of #PolriSesuaiProsedur activism with a considerable in-degree value is @DivHumasPolri, totaling 42 degrees. Meanwhile, the actor with a high out-degree score is @humaspagu, totaling 119 degrees.

3. The Comparison of Network Structure of *#PercumaLaporPolisi* vs. *#PolriSesuaiProsedur*

After analyzing the network structure of each *hashtag activism*, the researcher compared the network structure of the two hashtags to find out the differences in the mobilization of the two activism hashtags.

Table 5. The comparison of network structure

Analysis	*#PercumaLaporPolisi*	*#PolriSesuaiProsedur*
Diameter	12	69:
Density	0.000356	0.001604.
Reciprocity	0.005064	0.036070
Centralization	0.32290	0.070170:
Modularity	0.796200	0.859400

Source: netlytic.org

Table 5 compares #PercumaLaporPolisi vs. #PolriSesuaiProsedur. Comparing the value in four aspects of the analysis (diameter, density, reciprocity, centralization, and modularity) shows that #PolriSesuaiProsedur is more successful than the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi.

C. Framing Alignment Analysis

After comparing the mobilization of #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur from the value of network structures, the researcher investigated how actors frame hashtag activism to mobilize the masses. The framing theory used in analyzing it is the framing alignment proposed by Snow and Benford.

Based on the visualization of the communication network on #PercumaLaporPolisi, it can be seen that the actor with a high out-degree score on #PercumaLaporPolisi activism is @jontuamanik. It shows that the @jontuamanik account mentions other accounts the most (53 times). Based on the analysis results, the @jontuamanik account wrote twelve tweets. In each of his tweets, the @jontuamanik account mentions many other accounts, including @DivHumas_Polri, @jokowi, @poldabengkulu, @Dennysiregar7, and many more. @jontuamanik's also included the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi in his tweets. However, all of @jontuamanik's tweets did not discuss the rape case in Luwu Timur, which triggered the birth of the #PercumaLaporPolisi movement. The @jontuamanik account conveys its grievances to the government and the National Police regarding the land mafia problem and the dilapidation of education in Bengkulu. The following tweets are taken from @jontuamanik's tweets.

> @DivHumas_Polri #PercumaLaporPolisi It's been five years, and until now, the land mafia has just taken it easy. #PercumaLaporPolisi
> (@DivHumas_Polri #PercumaLaporPolisi Sdh 5 tahun yg lalu sampai skrg mafia tanah santai aja.#PercumaLaporPolisi https://t.co/0LHw7qqKPl)
>
> Education in Bengkulu is so dilapidated.
> (Bobrok bangat pendidikan di Bengkulu.#PercumaLaporPolisiSekolah Pungut Biaya Jasa Keamanan Atas Nama Komite https://t.co/bEXJiE39gg)

It shows that the actor of #PercumaLaporPolisi does not carry out one of the prominent roles of framing, namely diagnostic framing. The actors @jontuamanik, @mbangimedia, and @er_haryadi, who have high out-degree scores on Twitter, did not talk about finding a solution to the rape case in Luwu Timur. The @mbangimedia account uses the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi to discuss the case of Tes Wawasan Kebangsaan conducted by the KPK and some personal opinions regarding the arbitrariness of the Police. The following tweets are taken from @mbangimedia's tweets.

> Corruptors must be happy if the 57 @KPK_RI employees who don't pass TWK are made ASNs for this model agency. Can 86 and boss Crickets all the time! Unload Bang @nazaqistsha on the Brother channel! Cc @bpkri @sahabat_ICW @tempodotco @tribunnews @kumparan #PercumaLaporPolisi #PercumaLaporPolisi
> (Koruptor pasti girang kalau ke-57 pegawai @KPK_RI yg gak lulus TWK dijadikan ASN instansi model begini. Bisa 86 dan Jangkrik bos terus! Bongkar Bang @nazaqistsha di channel Abang ! Cc @bpkri @sahabat_ICW @tempodotco @tribunnews @kumparan #PercumaLaporPolisi #PercumaLaporPolisi https://t.co/Fqqp5E9xyN)

#It's useless to report the police. This is like an iceberg phenomenon. No money, reports ignored. Especially if the reported person is close to the authorities. Then what's the difference with Orba? It's useless for this nation to bleed into the era of reform in 1998. Cc @DPR_RI @KPK_RI @bpkri @BEM_SI @BEMUI_Official

(#PercumaLaporPolisi Ini spt fenomena gunung es. Tak ada uang, laporan diabaikan. Apalagi kalau yg dilaporkan dekat dgn penguasa. Lalu apa bedanya dgn orba? Percuma jg bangsa ini berdarah2 masuk era reformasi di thn 98. Cc @DPR_RI @KPK_RI @bpkri @BEM_SI @BEMUI_Official https://t.co/ICfNywSkS)

On the other hand, the @er_haryadi account, which has the same out-degree score as @tandingimedia, shared accurate information about child rape cases in Luwu Timur. However, simply tweeting about it was insufficient to provide a comprehensive explanation and engage Twitter users to support the #PercumaLaporPolisi movement. @eR_Haryadi tweeted six times, but all the tweets had the same content.

My Three Children Was Raped #PercumaLaporPolice Mother Labeled Crazy | Legal https://t.co/yUKnqBLrrZ @Malili_Lutim @diskominfolutim @kantahkablutim @LT_Community.

(Tiga Anak Saya Diperkosa #PercumaLaporPolisi Ibu Dicap Gila | Hukum https://t.co/yUKnqBLrrZ @Malili_Lutim @diskominfolutim @kantahkablutim @LT_Community.)

The actor with a high in-degree score in #PercumaLaporPolisi activism is @DivHumas_Polri. This account is the most often mentioned by other accounts (228 times). Many tweets discuss cases of child rape in Luwu Timur by mentioning the @DivHumas_Polri account. However, most of the discussion is about the polemic over the police case, not the rape case in Luwu Timur, as shown in the example tweet below:

@projectm_org It hurts to read the suffering of children and their mothers who have mentally ill fathers/ husbands like this. Please, Mr. Police @DivHumas_Polri, solve this case immediately. Enforce the law & justice, don't let many people feel it's useless to report the police □□♀

(@projectm_org Sakit hati baca penderitaan anak2 dan ibunya yg punya bapak/suami sakit jiwa seperti ini. Please Pak Polisi @DivHumas_Polri segera dituntaskan kasus ini. Tegakan hukum & keadilan, jangan sampai banyak orang merasa #PercumaLaporPolisi □□♀)

I just got caught in a fraud case, reporting to the police was made complicated for various reasons.. in the end, I just let it go... Eh, then I saw the trending #It's useless to report police Hahaha, I'm so happy... You feel like the police @DivHumas_Polri.

(Gw baru aja kena kasus penipuan, lapor polisi dibuat ribet dengan berbagai alasan.. akhirnya ya udah lah relain aja... Eh trus liat trending #PercumaLaporPolisi Hahaha seneng banget... Rasain lu polisi @DivHumas_Polri.)

After diagnosing the problem, the next step is to determine a prognosis. The prognosis depends on the diagnosis, which involves creating clear solutions and strategies to address the problem and its causes. In the case of the #PercumaLaporPolisi movement, the actors did not properly diagnose the problem, so the prognosis and motivation were ineffective. It has led to the need for more mobilization of the #PercumaLaporPolisi movement.

On the other hand, the actor in #PolriSesuaiProsedur activism with the highest out-degree score is @humaspagu, with a score of 110. The @humaspagu account does not defend the police much regarding accusations that police have committed injustice. However, @humaspagu emphatically replied that the police would ensure the handling of Luwu Timur. Through this tweet, @humaspagu has positively framed a complicated problem without much explanation but with firm sentences. This process is a framing process carried out by @humaspagu.

Fig 3. *One of the tweets using #PolriSesuaiProsedur (Source: twitter.com).*

The majority of accounts that used #PolriSesuaiProsedur in their tweets explained the issues from the perspective of the police.

> *The case of alleged rape of a child by a biological father in South Sulawesi was stopped because there was not enough evidence, but if there is new evidence, the investigation will continue #PolriAccording to Procedure Ensure Handling of East Luwu*
>
> *(Kasus dugaan pemerkosaan anak oleh ayah kandung di Sulawesi Selatan dihentikan karena belum cukup bukti namun apabila ada bukti baru penyelidikan akan dilanjutkan #PolriSesuaiProsedur Pastikan Penanganan Luwu Timur https://t.co/eEH8Dx3FXb)*

> *According to procedure. #PolriAccording to Procedures #PoliceAccording to Procedures #PolriTegasHumanis #PolisiTegasHumanis https://t.co/q4ybzgdtoC*
>
> *(Sesuai prosedur. #PolriSesuaiProsedur #PolisiSesuaiProsedur*
> *#PolriTegasHumanis #PolisiTegasHumanis https://t.co/q4ybzgdtoC)*

The #PolriSesuaiProsedur movement uses framing alignment to gain public support, as seen from the tweets above. They used diagnostic framing to explain that the examination of the rape case in Luwu Timur was stopped due to insufficient evidence. In contrast, prognostic framing was used to assure the public that the police would handle the case. They also used motivational framing by creating a motivating hashtag, #polritegashumanis.

D. Discussion

Hashtags have an important position in the digital social movement. Barisone et al. (2017) stated that hashtags are an anchor that can attract social media users to express their opinions. Disapproval of Twitter users regarding police policies in investigating child rape cases in East Luwu, South Sulawesi, was conveyed via tweets accompanied by the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi. Through this hashtag, Twitter users express their anger and disappointment. On the other hand, Twitter users who support the police use the hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur to counter the negative ratings given by Twitter users.

According to the research findings, #PolriSesuaiProsedur was more effective in mobilizing netizens compared to #PercumaLaporPolisi, as seen in the network structure formed. The study used social network analysis to compare four aspects of the analysis: diameter, density, reciprocity, centralization, and modularity, which demonstrated that #PolriSesuaiProsedur was more successful than #PercumaLaporPolisi.

This success is further analyzed in terms of what makes the hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur able to mobilize many supporters. From the framing analysis of #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur, the researcher finds that #PolriSesuaiProsedur has more evident framing than #PercumaLaporPolisi. It proves that precise framing will mobilize

supporters of *hashtag activism*. It follows the research conducted by Barisione & Ceron (2017). There is no precise framing in the hashtag #PercumaLaporPolisi, where the actors use various kinds of framing so that social media users do not focus on one problem. Meanwhile, the #PolriSesuaiProsedur activism uses a precise framing: justice and according to procedures.

Framing theory is used to analyze this study conducted by Snow et al. (1986). Framing identified three main task frameworks: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Diagnostic framing addresses the problem of mobilizing consensus by diagnosing some event or aspect of social life or responsibility. Prognostic framing primarily addresses the previously mentioned problem of mobilizing action by establishing specific solutions or solutions and general means or tactics to achieve these goals. The framing of motivation requires the construction of a motive vocabulary. #PolriSesuaiProsedur movement uses framing alignment to get public support. Diagnostic framing was explained with a tweet that stated that the reason for stopping the examination of the rape case in Luwu Timur was because of enough evidence.

Meanwhile, the prognostic framing was conveyed by saying that the police would ensure the handling of the case. Motivational framing is the emergence of motivating jargon such as #polritegashumanis. Meanwhile, the actors of the #PercumaLaporPolisi movement could not implement diagnostic framing properly, so prognostic framing and motivational framing could not work. It has triggered a need for more mobilization of #PercumaLaporPolisi activism.

CONCLUSION

Several researchers have explored hashtags in the digital social movement. However, because previous studies only investigated one hashtag, it cannot explain how framing formed from two different hashtags affects different mobilization of social media users. This study aims to fill in gaps from previous studies by comparing the hashtags #PercumaLaporPolisi and #PolriSesuaiProsedur.

This research shows the importance of a hashtag in the digital social movement. The hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur was more successful in mobilizing netizens than #PercumaLaporPolisi. This mobilization is measured from the network structure formed. The hashtag #PolriSesuaiProsedur lies in the success of the actors in providing a clear frame regarding problems, solutions, and motivation. It follows the research conducted by Barisione & Ceron (2017). Their research explained that the success of *hashtag activism* in mobilizing netizens is because the hashtag has a precise framing by defining the problem, identifying causes, and recommending solutions to problems. A precise framing will make it easier for netizens to engage with the problem.

Moreover, as stated by Snow et al. (1986), frame alignment is one of the factors that most influence the success or failure of a movement. Therefore, this research offers important insights for movement activists on utilizing Twitter to strategically gain social media users' support. However, this research has a limitation. The researcher only focused on the hashtags #PercumaLaporPolisi vs. #PolriSesuaiProsedur and ignored similar hashtags that depicted the image of the police, such as #PolriTegasHumanis and #1Hari1Oknum. Future research can analyze digital social movements on social media with various hashtags to examine how hashtag use affects the growth of the movements. Will more hashtags embedded in a tweet be able to mobilize supporters more?

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