



## **Transforming Social Movements: Jogja Ora Didol's Use of Information and Communication Technology**

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### **ABSTRACT**

ICT as a communication transmission tool has long been a strong factor in shaping political mobilization in many social movements in various social and political events in the world. This research aims to describe the Jogja Ora Didol (JOD) movement in utilizing Information and Communication Technology (ICT). JOD is a movement resisting the bad impact of Yogyakarta's development policies since 2013. Using the case study and employing secondary data, the investigation was conducted on the JOD's social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, X (Twitter), and YouTube. We analyzed the utilization of social media in JOD's movement from some of the features, contents, strategies, messages, and receivers. We also analyzed its impact on offline movement. As a result, we found several findings. First, JOD exploited the features of social media in developing the attractive movement's strategy. Second, JOD creates a deliberating public space by encouraging anyone to join their movement. Third, the form of participants' support is according to their capacity and capability. Fourth, JOD used social media to connect online and offline movement agendas. As the impact, fifth, the JOD's engagement, agenda, and network become strong. In conclusion, we argue that these findings contribute to the current debates between ICT and social movements.



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## **INTRODUCTION**

A social movement is a collective action organized by groups that aim to create change, resist change, or provide a political voice (Little, M. and R. McGivren 2013). It is usually characterized by a large number of participants, sometimes informal, groupings or individuals or organizations that focus on specific political or social issues (Glasberg & Shannon, 2012) such as, as classified by (Mitlin et al., 2006) into three typologies, namely access to and control of natural resources and distribution of productive assets; the extractive industries or trade liberalization included economic exploitation and unequal access to markets; resist systemic and structural discrimination, prejudice, and social exclusion. Social movements matter because they can press for better governance, help develop a sense of citizenship and self-identity to encourage citizen participation and voice, create 'collective power' through strength in numbers and solidarity, play an important role in nation-building and democracy, provide opportunities to learn about emerging issues that matter to citizens (Bhonagiri, 2016).

Recently, this typology of social movement has widened. Capitalism, industrialization, and modernization resulted in social unrest and environmental problems also emerging

various social movements in the world. Social movements responding to these kinds of issues have emerged in some countries such as the Chipko movement, a social movement of people in Northern India protecting their forest from commercial logging; Ecology Action, a social movement in Berkeley-USA for reducing emissions; the Earth Day movement which opposes the serious impacts of ever-growing industrial development; the Environmental Movement in Australia that aims to influence environmental policy in Australia and elsewhere including climate change and opposing nuclear activities (Greenpeace, 2019); including lately Tolak Reklamasi Bali (Refusing the Bali's Reclamation), a social movement in Bali-Indonesia opposing the reclamation activity that threatening marine sustainability environment. Similarly, social movements to protect the environment from capitalism and modernism also emerge in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Since a decade ago, Yogyakarta has experienced massive urban development. Being blessed as a region with many tourist sites and educational centers in Indonesia has caused Yogyakarta to have a high housing demand. These opportunities attracted many investors several decades ago to develop modern residential areas in



Yogyakarta such as gated communities, hotels, and apartments.

As an illustration, in 2011, there were 1.750 units of houses in a gated community built in Yogyakarta. The number increased in 2012 and amounted to 2,200 units (Bisnis Indonesia, 2013). During four years from 2011 to 2015, the number of hotels in Yogyakarta also increased from 36-star hotels and 415 non-star hotels to 64-star hotels and 561 non-star hotels in 2015 (Dinas Pariwisata Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta., 2015). Recently, in 2023 the Yogyakarta Government reported that the number of hotels built in Yogyakarta has reached 1,696 hotels (Bappeda Provinsi Yogyakarta, 2024). Likewise, the development of luxury apartments also increased significantly in Yogyakarta. As a high-rise building that provides a new type and is different from low-rise buildings commonly owned by local communities, the supply and demand of apartments in Yogyakarta is the highest compared to other cities in Indonesia. The supply of apartment buildings grew 39.83%, while the demand for apartment buildings also grew 34.76%. The total supply of apartments in Yogyakarta as of the end of March 2016 was 7,688 units (Tempo, 2016).

This massive urban development leads to the polemic. Society has objections because modern resident development causes problems, such as the water crisis, traffic congestion, illegal development, and the destruction of community cohesiveness. However, the government has another opinion. Massive urban development has been considered

to have a positive impact on the economic sector when it contributed 20% of Yogyakarta's income. Therefore, the local government continued to grant permits for modern settlement development. Society has objections, yet the Yogyakarta government has continued the massive urban development projects. This polemic created protests.

Protests of the massive development of modern settlements come from various societies; affected communities, interest groups, non-governmental organizations, artists, academics, and students. In 2013, these activists made various objections in many ways, namely protests, discussions in public spaces and campuses, performing satire through theatrical and hip-hop music, and installing billboards of denial and protest in many public spots. These activists merged into one movement called the "Jogja Ora Didol" movement (Jogja not for sale). In the same flag, they did protests and campaigns to build public awareness and mobilize the masses. The most interesting issue of this phenomenon is the JOD's protest has risen along with the penetration of their social movement in Information, Communication and Technology (ICT).

Communication as the process of information transmission in which humans express meanings and participate in society (McQuail, 2010) certainly involves a sender, message, channel, and receiver. The sender sends the message through the channel to the receiver who in turn sends feedback to the sender. Most often, messages are encoded by the

sender and decoded by the receiver (Lasswell, 1948). In decades the transmission of information has grown significantly through various channels from traditional to ICT ways since the increasingly advanced technological development. Moreover, it has become a crucial role in communication nowadays. ICT has been defined as various sets of tools and resources based on technology used to transmit, store, create, share, or exchange information. ICT can exist in the form of computers, the internet (websites, emails, blogs, and social media), live broadcasting (television, radio, and webcasting), recorded broadcasting (podcasting, audio and video players, and storage devices), and telephony (fixed or mobile, satellite, video-conferencing, etc.) (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019).

ICT, mainly social media, has intensively been used by social movements in the world. Nowadays, the persuasion and mobilization undertaken are not only done conventionally (offline) such as demonstrations and open discussions, but also online by utilizing various means of online media. ICT has become the most important tool of social movement to conduct persuasion and mobilization.

ICT has long been a powerful factor in shaping political mobilization (Jones, S. G., 1994) and engagement (Azis et al., 2020). The fax machine was employed by Chinese students during the pro-democracy demonstration in 1989; it was also used to shore up support for Boris Yeltsin's fledgling transitional regime during the attempted Russian

coup of 1991 (Chadwick, 2006). In the presence decades, the Internet as the most crucial invention in ICT has been a network of one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-many, and many-to-one local, national, and global information and communication technologies with relatively open standards and protocols and comparatively low barriers to entry (Chadwick, 2006). The existence of the Internet improves the quality of public participation whatever their role and from whatever their social and economic background in wide and deep ways, low cost, speedy, and convenience (Lusoli, 2006) and (Bonchek, 1995). Moreover, the Internet could recruit new members from sections of the community that are less attracted through traditional media and less likely to join political organizations, such as marginalized people and younger citizens to participate (Gibson et al., 2002; Lupia & Philpot, 2005). It has become a tool to create new public spaces and public opinion through interactive media such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Twitter, then which are called social media.

(Shirky, 2011) and (Lim, 2014) argue that social media provided by the Internet can quickly create mass mobilization. These facts can be seen in the case of Egypt and the Philippines. Social media such as Facebook and Twitter played an important role in overthrowing Mubarak's government in 2011. In these two social media, anti-government groups communicate and garner strength. Facebook account "6th of April Youth Movement" formed by Egyptian activists in 2008 became the

forerunner to trigger the Egyptian revolution. Besides being used to coordinate the movement, the virtual group is used to disseminate evidence of documentation of police physical violence and arrests. Thus, provoking Egyptian netizens' resentment towards the government. The social media group finally succeeded in mobilizing the real protest period on 25 January 2011 and continued to grow until Hosni Mubarak was successfully demoted on February 11, 2011. The same thing happened in the Philippines during the overthrow of Joseph Estrada in 2001. His corruption case caused angry masses of Filipinos to gather at Epifanio de la Santos Avenue, one of Manila's largest street fences. The meeting with the demonstrators was done only through a short message saying "Go 2 EDSA. Wear blk". Through this short message, people who take to the streets continue to grow every day and disrupt the traffic of Manila. In conclusion, from the case of Egypt and the Philippines, it can be concluded that the existence of social media can be utilized to mobilize the masses and turn public issues into political agendas.

The impacts of ICT utilization have been examined by previous researchers. For instance, (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011) the impact of the utilization of ICT on two social movements in London in 2009, namely Put People First (PPF) and G20 Meltdown. They studied commitment, agenda, and network strength. In commitment, they investigated the number of marches and participants in offline protests. They found that the

utilization of ICT strengthened the commitment of movement supporters. The strengthening can also be found in the agenda. They studied the involvement of mainstream media and their news content. They concluded that ICT does not damage the movement's agendas. The mainstream media helps social movements by supporting their issues and demands. The last, the utilization of ICT helped the social movement to connect to the other movements. They showed that the link between PPF and G20 Meltdown in virtual is highly tight.

Simply, this research aims to describe the ICT utilization of social movements and how it impacts social movements by taking JOD 2013-2024 as a case study. Initially, the debates on measuring the political impacts or the successes of movements have looked at whether movements had gained 'acceptance' (as politically legitimate actors or through inclusion in state politics) or had created 'new advantages' such as political opportunities for movement constituents (Gamson, 1990). However, since then, the focus has shifted to looking at how they contribute to the expansion of democratic rights and state processes like disenfranchised groups winning the right to vote or take part in decision-making, or at how they create new forms of political institutions (e.g. political parties) to bring about change the structural level. The change in law and government policies are the examples of impacts of movements (Bhonagiri, 2016). With this advancement in measuring the success of social capital, in this research, we investigate the JOD's

activities employing social media platforms, the message, strategy, and participants, and its impact on the JOD's movement especially in expanding people's democratic rights for delivering their voices.

We organize this manuscript into some parts. The first part is Introduction, which is followed by Methods. The third part is the Results and Discussions. This part describes the utilization of ICT by JOD and its impact on the social movement. We discuss the JOD's social media platforms, message and strategy, participants, and the uniting of the movements. Moreover, we also discuss the findings related to the previous social movement's research and debates. The last part is a conclusion, where we offer the future research agendas in this part.

## METHODOLOGY

We use the case study method and qualitative approach in answering the research question. Secondary data have been collected by investigating the JOD's social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, X (Twitter), and YouTube. We also investigated other platforms to complete the data, such as change.org, a platform that aims to collect public support mainly to demand government policy cancellation. Specifically, we studied the utilization of social media in JOD's movement from some of the features of social media platforms they used, their movement's strategies and messages, and their impacts.

We conducted the collecting data process in January 2024. We used desk study and content analysis by organizing some keywords such as JogjaOraDidol,

JOD, JogjaAsat on Facebook, Instagram, X (Twitter) and Youtube. We chose the posts that have high feedbacks (comments, likes, shares) such as @Arief Kiano Putra Adhitya's post of the music video "Jogja Ora Didol" that was played 3,3 million times or accounts that have high number of followers, such as @sid\_official, the official account of a group band "Superman Is Dead" on Instagram with 541,000 followers and Dandhy Dwi Laksono's Facebook (68,000 followers), X (269,070 followers), and Instagram (136,000 followers).

We did not only study the number of followers, but also the utilizing the features of each social media; and the content of news, videos, and photos shared by JOD. Given that this research investigates the impact of social media utilization, we also collected data on engagement commitment, agenda, and network. Commitment strength here is the number of strikes and participants. Even though there is no accurate data regarding the number of strike participants—since it is impossible to census the strike participants—the prediction of mass media can be a general description of the engagement strength. Moreover, agenda strength means the message of the problem, cause, and solution that has been demanded by the JOD's participants, both online and offline. We also identify the mainstream media reporting the JOD movement and its contents. Here, we investigated mass media namely Kompas and Detik which are the most influential ones in Indonesia. Lastly, we investigated the personnel and organization connected to JOD's movement to learn the network strength. We focused on their cooperation on

online (social media) and offline, location, and resource exchange.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

JOD was initiated by a group of youth at Miliran, Yogyakarta, who criticized the horrible impact of the Fave Hotel development in 2013. The Fave Hotel used the groundwater and caused a water crisis. As the protest progressed, this group also recognized the massive development of modern and exclusive buildings in Yogyakarta. The number of gated communities, hotels, and apartments increased significantly in many places, and the terrible impacts were not only water crises, but also social inequality and cohesiveness, congestion, and the conversion of agricultural land. Therefore, modern and exclusive buildings became a public issue in Yogyakarta.

The youth of Yogyakarta protested. On October 7th, 2013, Muhammad Arif Buana (18 years old) drew a mural on the public wall stating “Jogja Ora Didol” (Jogja Is Not for Sale). His mural attracted public attention; therefore, the Yogyakarta government arrested him. The court found him guilty according to Cleanliness Management regulations. The judge ordered him to pay the penalty of Rp.1,000 (US\$ 0,064) and prohibited him from creating any mural publicly in 14 days. Even though the penalty was extremely light, this case attracted more people's attention to the poor impact of the development in Yogyakarta. Jogja Ora Didol (JOD), a social movement protesting the bad impact of development in Yogyakarta then has risen.

Since 2013, JOD has used many social media platforms. We analyze the platform, content, feature, strategy, and message, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The Social Media of *Jogja Ora Didol* Movement

Platforms	Content	Feature	JOD's Strategy	Message
<b>Facebook</b>	Text, Video, Document	Post, Like, Share, Comment, Page (Group)	1. Creating group (page) 2. Posting the news, video, and movement agendas. 3. Sharing the documents. 4. Encouraging the followers to discuss and post their development problems.	1. Describing the terrible impact of development in Yogyakarta. 2. Describing the public protest. 3. Encouraging the public (netizens) to join the movement
<b>Instagram</b>	Text, Video	Post, Like, Share, Comment, Hashtag (#)	1. Creating an account. 2. Posting the news, video, and the movement agendas. 3. Creating hashtag: #JogjaOraDidol.	
<b>X</b>	Text, Video, Document	Post, Like, Share, Comment, Hashtag (#)	1. Creating an account. 2. Posting the news, video, and movement agendas. 3. Sharing the documents. 4. Creating hashtag: #JogjaOraDidol.	
<b>YouTube</b>	Audio, Video	Post, Comment	The JOD's supporters post music, video, and documentary films.	

Source: Author's Documentation (2024)

Table 1 describes the utilization of social media in the JOD social movement. JOD mainly used four social media platforms: Facebook, Instagram, X (Twitter), and YouTube. We find several important findings. First of all, JOD exploited the features of social media in developing the movement strategy. Facebook operates a feature page that allows the user to create a group, where netizens whose interests are compatible with the group can join and be involved in public discussion. JOD used this feature to create a page: "Jogja Ora Didol". Until January 2024, this group had 3,900 followers. Instagram and X (Twitter) have hashtag features that help the author connect their message to the messages written by others on similar topics and also help readers find the same topics easily. JOD created #JogjaOraDidol on Instagram and Twitter and attracted a lot of netizens. For instance, #JogjaOraDidol on Instagram, on January 24th, 2024, covered 21,300 posts. There are thousands of news, photos, and videos posted by netizens that relate to the JOD's movement agendas. One of the most attractive posts in the current year is on June 3rd, 2022 by the account @jogjainfo, a video showing the former Yogyakarta's Mayor, Haryadi Suyuti, was arrested for a corruption case. Haryadi Suyuti was allegedly to receive the bribe to release permission for the controversial apartment development in Yogyakarta. This post collected 3,507 likes.

The exertion of social media features in developing a movement strategy is also seen on YouTube. This social media focused on music and video. Even though JOD has no account, its supporters actively post music, videos, and documentary films. For instance, the account @Arief Kiano Putra Adhitya posted the music video "Jogja Ora Didol"

in 2012, a piece of music that tells about development issues in Yogyakarta that has been used as the anthem of the JOD movement. As of January 24th, 2024, this video has been played 3,3 million times. It means, there are billions of people who are aware of the issues proposed by JOD's movement. The Watchdog Documentary account posted the documentary film "Belakang Hotel" (Behind the Hotel) in 2015. It tells the bad impact of the Fave Hotel development on the Miliran's local people and the movement of Yogyakarta people against it. On January 24th, 2024, this documentary film was played 2 million times. Millions of people recognized that the development of hotels and exclusive buildings massively in Yogyakarta was a crucial problem in Yogyakarta.

Second, JOD used social media to create a deliberating public space. Social media creates a virtual public space, yet JOD does not own and control the information and discussion. Whoever and wherever can join and be involved in the virtual public discussion. JOD stated on its page,

*"Kepada Yth. para wartawan, jurnalis, peneliti yang ingin bertemu dengan admin page "Jogja Ora Didol" (JOD) ini untuk wawancara penelitian, atau bahan berita, pahami bahwa page JOD beserta gerakan yang dibawanya tidak mempunyai pemilik, tokoh, maupun inisiator. ... Kami hanyalah media penyampaian pesan, tidak lebih. Kami adalah suara siapapun yang merasa ada yang tidak beres dengan berbagai peminggiran dan penindasan di Jogja."*

*("Dear. For reporters, journalists, and researchers who wish to meet the admin of the "Jogja Ora Didol" (JOD) page for research interviews, or news material, ... JOD page and the movement have no owner, figure, or initiator. ... We are just a medium for conveying messages... We are the voice of*



anyone who feels that there is something wrong with various marginalization and oppression in Jogja.”)

They also encourage everyone to join and be involved in the virtual public space. Everyone can post the issues of urban development in Yogyakarta on the page. JOD said,

*“JogjaOraDidol ki opo, mbak dab bro? Jogja Ora Didol adalah media pengumpulan laporan, protes, curhat, seruan jujur ikhlas sukarela ... berupa foto dari penduduk di Daerah Istimewa Yogya atas masalah yang dihadapinya akibat pemerintah DIY yang getol sekali ingin menjual Yogya: menggusur pedagang kecil, mengganti sawah-sawah dengan tambang dan mall, menggusur rumah warga jadi hotel-hotel elit dan sebagainya”.*

*“Siapa pun kamu, silakan fotomu bersama keluhanmu untuk dimuat di sini... atau kamu juga mengirimkan foto kejadian/peristiwa/ masalah sosial yang terjadi akibat terjualnya Yogya...”*

*“What is JogjaOraDidol? Jogja Ora Didol is a medium for collecting reports, protests, complaints, honest and voluntary appeals... in the form of photos from residents in the Yogya Special Region regarding the problems they are facing as a result of the Yogyakarta (eds.) government ...: evicting small traders, replacing rice fields with mines and malls, displacing people's houses into elite hotels and so on.”*

*“Whoever you are, please take your photo along with your complaint to be published here... or you can also send photos of incidents/events/social problems that occurred as a result of the sale Yogya...”*

The deliberating public space is also seen on Instagram. By using #JogjaOraDidol, account @dodok\_jogja posted his theatrical protest in front of the office of the Yogyakarta government on June 4th, 2022. His posts were liked by 899 netizens, and have dozens of

comments that mainly support the JOD movement. The activities on Facebook and Instagram show that JOD does not control the public space, they only provide the public space where everyone can join and show their opinion regarding the development issues in Yogyakarta.

Third, JOD used social media to create a chance for the people and organizations to support the social movement according to their capacity and capability. This can be seen, firstly, on the @dodok\_jogja on Instagram above. This account is owned by Dodok, a youth of Yogyakarta. Since he was the artist, his support for the JOD movement is a theatrical that was uploaded on Instagram. He did two traditional rituals: shaving his hair and breaking the eggs, to show his gratitude for the arresting Haryadi Suyuti and support the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission). These are symbols of the Yogyakarta people's hope, that the arrest of Haryadi Suyuti will end the development issues in Yogyakarta.

Some of JOD's supporters are musicians, and their participation has been articulated by posting music videos on social media. For instance, Superman Is Dead (SID), one of the most well-known punk bands in Indonesia, posted their support for the JOD movement on Instagram, on June 17th, 2022. Account @sid\_official, the official account of SID on Instagram with 541,000 followers, showed the public their dinner with JOD activists a minute before their music performance supporting the JOD movement. Marginal, another most well-known punk band in Indonesia, through its account @tarbi\_marjinal, also virtualized Dodok's protest in front of the Yogyakarta government office in X on January 11th, 2019.

The journalist and film production house supports the JOD

movement also by employing social media. They expressed their support by releasing the film “Belakang Hotel”. As a journalist in development and human rights issues, Dandhy Dwilaksono has vast information, mainly on the development and the movement in Yogyakarta. He supported the JOD movement by sharing information on his personal social media platforms, such as Facebook (68,000 followers), X (269,070 followers), and Instagram (136,000 followers). Meanwhile, Watchdoc, a production house, made the documentary film “Belakang Hotel” which tells the polemic of the Fave Hotel and issues of apartment development in Yogyakarta in 2014.

Supporting JOD was also organized by the ‘common people’. Many accounts posted their picture holding paper written messages supporting the JOD’s movements. In the JOD Facebook group, we found dozens post a person with a paper written, for example ‘Lahan Hijau Makin Hilang’ (Green Land is Increasingly Disappearing), ‘Balekke Banyuku, Balekke Budayaku’ (Give Back My Water, Give Back My Culture), and ‘Suwe-Suwe Ilang Martabate!’ (Over Time It Loses Its Dignity). The ‘ordinary’ person can also express their support for JOD by wearing a black T-shirt written ‘Jogja Ora Didol’, such as the account @irshjoanna on Instagram.

The last supporter of JOD organized a petition against the Yogyakarta government’s policy regarding urban development. Three petitions were organized by netizens in 2014. The first was organized by Wahyudi Wibowo in 2014. He encouraged people to refuse the development of hotels and malls in Yogyakarta and demanded the Yogyakarta government provide city

parks and traditional markets. In 2015, a community of Gadingan arranged the petition to reject the development of the M Icon Apartment. They called for public support to cancel this project due to its terrible impact on local people and also Yogyakarta residents. The third petition was conducted by Nur Kumalasari in 2015. She invited the public to join his movement to ‘stop and control the development of hotels and apartments in Yogyakarta’. These petitions used JOD’s label and were shared by the JOD’s social media platforms.

Fourth, JOD used social media to connect the offline and online movement agendas. We find that many facts show the correlation between offline activism – such as strikes, theatrical, boycotts, and legal prosecution—and online activism, such as posting, reposting, liking, commenting, and sharing posts, music, and videos on social media. In some cases, offline activities become content on social media. Netizen posts, reposts, likes, comments, and shares the moment of strikes and public discussions on social media. In other cases, information and public discussion in social media encourage people to strike, theatrical, boycott, and others.

For instance, on February 16th, 2016, the officer repression the farmer who refused the New Yogyakarta International Airport (NYIA) in Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta. On February 17th, 2016, the Facebook group, @Jogja Ora Didol, released its official statement that tells the chronology in detail and demands the government stop the violence. This post was shared 11 times and attracted 5 comments. On Instagram, @sid\_official, the official account of the punk rock band ‘Superman Is Dead’, encourages the netizens to join the offline activism: public discussion and film screening: “Lemah Udu Duwekmu”

(Land Is Not Yours) conducted on September 20th, 2019. This post has 5,188 likes. These cases show how online activism supports offline activism. Posting, liking, sharing, and commenting on social media strengthens the strike, public discussion, and film screening strategy.

Furthermore, the connection between online and offline has another form in the case of the JOD movement. We find that the activities in social media create offline activism. To illustrate, as explained above, Watchdoc, a production house supporting the JOD movement, released the film "Belakang Hotel" (Behind the Hotel). This film has been played 2 million times. However, its impact was not only online, but also offline. Many communities and organizations arranged the public discussion of the development in Yogyakarta. They used to have two main agendas, playing the film "Belakang Hotel" and discussing the bad impact of hotels and apartments in Yogyakarta. On January 14th, 2015, @Dandhy Dwi Laksono posted the public discussion of the film "Belakang Hotel" in PKKH UGM, Yogyakarta. On November 30th, 2016, the same discussion was held by the Institut Seni Indonesia (Indonesia Institute of the Arts), Yogyakarta. So, online activism encourages offline activism. Producing and releasing documentary films through social media triggers an offline public discussion.

Furthermore, as explained earlier, we use (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011, 2012) approach in describing the impact of ICT utilization on the JOD movement. We find that the utilization of social media empowers the JOD movement in commitment, agenda, and network. We find the commitment of the JOD movement is a strength. To illustrate,

Dodok Putra Bangsa, activist, and artist, did a theatrical action in front of FaveHotel on August 6th, 2014. The development of the Fave Hotel caused a water crisis, hence encouraging him to demand the government of Yogyakarta to close the Fave Hotel. In his strike, he did sandbathe and brushed his teeth with sand. Mainstream media and social media report it, and thousands of local people are aware and support JOD. Five years later, on January 9th, 2019, Dodok conducted another strike in front of the office of the Yogyakarta government. He protested the government policy which terminated the moratorium on hotel and apartment development.

In another movement, the Yogyakarta artists managed "Festival Mencari Haryadi" (Festival Looking for Haryadi). "Haryadi" in here is Haryadi Suyuti, the Mayor of Yogyakarta City. This festival was conducted from October 10th, 2013 to March 6th, 2014. Koran Tempo (September 25th, 2014) reports this festival in detail.

*"Atraksi pada bulan pertama festival akan digelar aksi makan siang bersama di depan rumah dinas Wali Kota. Dalam aksi ini, seniman mengumpulkan sembilan warga yang punya nama depan "Haryadi". "Sembilan Haryadi ini sebagai simbol bahwa selama ini kami kehilangan sosok wali kota, yang jarang menyambangi warga sehingga muncul pertanyaa: "Kowe ki neng endi, har? (Kamu itu di mana, Har?)," kata Agung.*

*("The attraction in the first month of the festival will be a group lunch in front of the mayor's official residence. In this action, the artist gathered nine people whose first name was "Haryadi". "The nine Haryadi are a symbol that so far, we have lost a mayor, who rarely visits the residents, so the question arises: "Kowe ki neng endi, Har? (Where are you, Har?)," said Agung.)*

In the afternoon, hundreds of people gathered in front of the Haryadi's

residence. They sang two songs that satirically demanded that Yogyakarta's Mayor stop the development of hotels and apartments.

The impact of social media utilization is also seen in the agenda strength. The mainstream mass media and television report the JOD movement, in which the content of their news is similar to the JOD's demand. Detik, the most popular digital media, reported Jogja Ora Didol consistently. Detik reported the arrest of Muhammad Arif Buana, for the drawing mural on the public wall, on October 10th, 2013; "Festival Mencari Haryadi" on October 13th, 2013; the arrest of Haryadi on July 26th, 2023, and others. The contents of the news were similar to the JOD's message: bad impact of development and the local people's protest. To illustrate, Detik released the news on June 4th, 2022, "Aktivis Jogja Ora Didol Minta Izin Hotel-Apartemen Dikaji Lagi" (Activist Jogja Ora Didol Requests Hotel-Apartment Permit to be Reviewed) (Detik, 2022),

*Penangkapan eks Wali Kota Jogja Haryadi Suyuti terkait kasus suap izin Apartemen Royal Kedathon menuai respons positif. Aktivis Jogja Ora Didol dan Jogja Kangen KPK berharap perizinan hotel dan apartemen di Kota Jogja dikaji ulang.*

*"Ini bukan menjadi akhir tapi awal. Kalau apartemen itu ada suap berarti 104 hotel ini harus dilihat betul oleh KPK bagaimana izinnya," kata aktivis Jogja Ora Didol, Dodok Putra Bangsa, usai aksi cukur gundul di depan Balai Kota...*

*(The arrest of the former Mayor of Jogja, Haryadi Suyuti, in connection with the bribery case for the Royal Kedathon Apartment permit, has received a positive response. Jogja Ora Didol and Jogja Kangen KPK activists hope that hotel and apartment permits in Jogja City will be reviewed.*

*"This is not the end but the beginning. If there are bribes in the apartments, it means*

*that these 104 hotels have to be properly looked at by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) regarding their permits," said Jogja activist Ora Didol, Dodok Putra Bangsa, after the action of shaving bald in front of City Hall...)*

Detik supported JOD by citing the hope and demands of JOD's movement. This strengthens the JOD since Detik has 4.5 million followers on Instagram, 5.3 million followers, and 21.5 million followers on Twitter.

Another mainstream media, Kompas, has also reported the JOD movement. Kompas runs two companies, mass media and television. Kompas consistently reported the JOD movement, such as the arrest of Muhammad Buana and Haryadi Suyuti in which the content of news supported the JOD movement. Kompas, on June 4th, 2022 released news "Bekas Wali Kota Yogyakarta Ditangkap KPK, Aktivis Gelar Aksi Cukur Gundul" (Former Mayor of Yogyakarta Arrested by KPK, Activists Hold Bald Shaving Action)(Kompas, 2022). The content of Kompas was similar to Detik.

These coverages strengthen the JOD movement because Kompas magazine and Kompas TV have 11 million and 4,6 million followers on Facebook, 8.5 million and 5.2 million followers on Twitter, and 1.9 million and 2 million followers on Instagram.

Lastly, the utilization of social media impacts networking. JOD has been supported by the other popular movements. To illustrate, the movement "Tolak Reklamasi Bali (TRB)" (Refusing Bali's Reclamation) explicitly supports and cooperates with JOD. Superman Is Dead (SID), one of the most well-known punk bands in Indonesia, is from Bali that actively fights for TRB. In September 6th 2014, SID organized music concert in Yogyakarta, and Mongabay documented their personnel statement on the stage,

... *Jerinx selaku penggebuk drum SID juga menyuarkan gerakan tolak reklamasi Bali dan "Jogja Ora Didol" di atas panggung. Ia berpesan kepada warga Yogyakarta untuk menyuarkan dan melawan berbagai bentuk kerakusan dari peimpin daerah yang mengancam kerusakan alam. "Hanya dua kalimat yang ingin saya sampaikan, Bali Tolak Reklamasi dan Jogja Ora Didol", kata Jerinx.*

*(... Jerinx as the SID drummer also voiced the movement against the reclamation of Bali and "Jogja Ora Didol" on stage. He said the residents of Yogyakarta to speak out and fight against various forms of greed from regional leaders that threaten natural destruction. "There are only two sentences I want to convey, Bali Rejects Reclamation and Jogja Ora Didol," said Jerinx.)*

Mongabay and Walhi, two important organizations on environmental and justice issues, have also supported the JOD movement. These support JOD through some activities, such as releasing reports and being involved in public discussion. Likewise, Watchdoc, a production house in Jakarta, supported JOD by releasing the film "Belakang Hotel" on February 6th, 2015. Watchdog collaborated with journalists, activists, and lecturers in the production process.

What we have learned, is that ICT utilization empowers the social movement. In this research, the JOD used ICT to strengthen their movement. First, the JOD movement exploits the features of social media in developing the movement strategies. Second, JOD used social media to create a deliberating virtual public space. Third, the form of participation is based on the person's capacity and capability. Fourth, JOD used social media to connect online and offline movement agendas. As the impact, the utilization of social media empowers the JOD movement, especially in commitment, agenda, and network.

These findings strengthen the previous research that believes the

utilization of ICT empowers social movements. As mentioned above, (Chadwick, 2006) reported that fax machines supported the pro-democracy movement in China and Russia several decades ago. The features of social media platforms are used by JOD in organizing their movement. Moreover, in the past, many scholars identified the new characteristics of the internet that support the social movement. For instance, (Lusoli, 2006) and (Bonchek, 1995) said that the low cost, speed, and internet convenience helped the activists. This finding is similar to this investigation, where the new characteristics of online movement, such as participation based on personal capacity and capability, attract more people to participate. When (Gibson et al., 2002; Lupia & Philpot, 2005) believed that the internet succeeded in encouraging the marginal groups and the younger citizens to participate, our inquiry has a similar finding. Deliberating public space created by JOD attracts the marginal groups, particularly in telling their terrible experience regarding the development in Yogyakarta on social media platforms. The last, (Kim, 2020; Lim, 2014; Shirky, 2011) found that the internet made mass mobilization easier. We have similar findings, when the internet succeeded in connecting online and offline activism, the number of participants increased significantly. Offline activism encourages online public discussion. Whereas, online discussion leads to offline activities. Overall, as (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011) said, the internet makes the social movement more powerful. We find the same situation on JOD.

## CONCLUSION

This research concludes that the ICT's utilization helps the activists to strengthen the social movement. In line with the previous research, the internet has a pivotal role in attracting more people to participate and support the movements. They recognize the public issues, are involved in deliberating public space, and can participate based on their capacity and capability. Simply, ICT (internet) offers many benefits for social movement. It empowers the social movement.

Meanwhile, the crucial questions follow the conclusion above. Should ICT empower the social movement, there must be an explanation for why only a few social movements succeed in achieving their goals. Technically, the response and strategy of the government and capitalists' institutions in the ICT era are important to be investigated. Especially, when several previous researches (see Gemiharto, 2023; Fadillah & Wibowo, 2022) documented the influence of ICT on the government's policies and response to public issues. Not only social movements have used ICT (internet), but the government (executive and legislator) has also exploited it intensively. How the government used ICT to tame the social movement is a crucial topic in future research agendas.

Another important agenda, most South countries have digital divide issues. Many traditional societies in remote areas cannot access ICT. However, their experiences in fighting capitalism and development projects have been exposed massively on the internet. How the activists organize the movement for the traditional society and their effectiveness are important issues. The collaboration, networking, and the utilization of ICT among the traditional

society living in the remote area with the activists living in the urban area are highly interesting to be studied in the future.

## CREDIT AUTHORSHIP

### CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

**Asmarawati Handoyo:** Writing-Conceptual Draft, Methodology, Analysis, Data Curation, Supervision, Reviewing, And Editing. **Yuli Isnadi:** Writing, Methodology, Analysis, Draft Compilation, Data Curation, and Investigation.

### DECLARATION OF COMPETING INTEREST

We certify that there is no conflict of interest with any financial, personal, or other relationships with other people or organizations related to the material discussed in the manuscript.

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