Social Media in the Anticorruption Movement: Social Network Analysis on the Refusal of the “Koruptor Boleh Nyaleg” Decision on Twitter

Chairun Nisa Zempi & Rahayu

**Abstract**

This article aims to reveal the social network of an anticorruption movement via social media by showing the key actors, exchange of messages, and dynamics of the inter-temporal communication network. The anticorruption movement seems to be developing in line with increasing public awareness and the support of information and communications technology. By applying social network analysis on Twitter with the hashtag #koruptorkonnyaleg, study results indicated that a social network was formed in order to facilitate public voices pertaining to the issue of corruption. Actors possessing a track record in fighting against corruption in Indonesia became pioneers in establishing a social network. The research findings also indicated that the social network structure was dynamic. Although the social network seems to facilitate the spread of the anticorruption movement, it has limitations in altering political decisions relating to cases of corruption.

**Keywords:**
Antikorupsi, analisis jaringan sosial, Twitter, Pemilihan Umum, media sosial

Anticorruption, social network analysis, Twitter, general election, social media

**Introduction**

One of the corruption issues that rather expansively became the talk of the public, during the period leading up to the 2019 Indonesian general election, was the refusal of the ruling made by the Supreme Court (Mahkamah Agung - MA) concerning former convicts running as legislative candidates. The problem gained prominence following the MA’s decision to revoke a number of paragraphs in the General Election Commission’s (Komisi Pemilihan Umum – KPU) regulation concerning the candidacy of legislative members who were involved in cases of corruption. MA’s ruling began with KPU’s plan to...
prohibit former convicts of corruption to run as a legislative candidate (calon legislatif – caleg) in April 2018. The issuance of MA’s ruling had driven the Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi – KPK), anti-corruption NGOs, and a part of the Indonesian population who agreed with KPU’s plan to garner support for refusing MA’s ruling, of which one of their actions was conducted via the social media Twitter.

The issue of corruption in Indonesia is a constant public attention as the loss it incurs on the state is quite substantial (ICW, 2019; Alamsyah, Abid & Sunaryanto, 2018). The public’s attention is also glued to the numerous corruption cases in Indonesia involving members of the legislative branch.

The anticorruption movement in this country has actually taken place for a long period of time, and it has become more progressively intense following the fall of Soeharto’s regime in May 1998 (Astuti, 2013). Civil society organizations became the pioneers of corruption eradication through the use of varying models of movement, from protesting on the streets to political lobbying to influence policies. The anticorruption movement holds an essential role in Indonesia’s corruption eradication efforts, particularly in encouraging the advent of new regulations and the founding of a corruption eradication institution (Sulistyo & Azmawati, 2016).

In line with advancements in information and communications technology (ICT), the anticorruption movement has also become more widespread and it not only involves civil society organizations but also individual members of the community. The anticorruption movement through social media has unified the consciousness of individuals into a collective consciousness pertaining to losses, oppression, and betrayal brought about by corruption that were mostly perpetrated by those who wield power or authority (Sulistyo & Azmawati, 2016). Factors relating to social media openness, freedom, and comfort have facilitated in realizing the anticorruption social movement of the online community in Indonesia (Sulistyo & Azmawati, 2016).

Some studies have examined the correlation between social media and the anticorruption movement, yet these studies tended to focus on the role of social media in forming the anticorruption community (i.e., Sulistyo & Azmawati, 2016), content analysis about corruption on social media (i.e., Frolova I., Antonova I., Khamitova L., Zakirova L., 2017), and social media openness in exposing issues of corruption (i.e., Starkke & Naab, 2016). Such studies were inclined to consider social media as an instrument within a social movement rather than seeing it as a form of social network. As a result, explanations concerning the network structure and dynamics taking place within a social movement, such as the anticorruption movement on social media, remain limited. Such limitation had also driven this study to be conducted in order to explain existing gaps in the knowledge, particularly about the actors playing their roles, the messages, and the communication patterns found within a social network of anticorruption movement.

Several prior studies also considered social media as the most potential platform for establishing a virtual network. Through social media, social network has significantly increased, hence allowing anyone to transmit and distribute information and opinions rapidly on a massive scale (Talpau, 2014). Social media also enables a two-way information channel so that the public is able to participate in voicing their opinions about the anticorruption movement (Jha & Sarangi, 2014). The social media Twitter, which is a micro-blogging platform, provides room for its users to express their opinions in a short and concise manner. Hashtag functions as one of Twitter’s features allowing everyone to be interconnected despite not knowing one another. Hashtags also facilitate Twitter users to map out what the most popular topics (trending topics) are on a daily basis. Unfortunately, our knowledge on how such virtual network structure, like Twitter, facilitates the anticorruption movement remains to be limited.

Based on the limitations above, this article aims to describe the social network of an anticorruption movement via the social media Twitter. The article selected Indonesia as its case of study due to the fact that it faces grave problems relating to corruption and movement via social media has the potential to gain public attention and support given the intense use of social media by the public. In addition, there have not been many studies analyzing the use of social media in the anticorruption movement in Indonesia. Studies that discussed about corruption and anticorruption movements did not focus on the use of social media and the social network inherent within.

By selecting the Indonesian case, namely the
refusal of allowing former corruptors to rerun as legislative candidates, through the use of the hashtag #KoruptorKokNyaleg (why are corruptors running as legislative candidates), this article elaborates the movement’s network structure by showing the main actors holding the roles and the messages exchanged. The article also explains the capacity of social network in facilitating public interest and the dynamics occurring within the network.

Literature Review
Anticorruption Movement through Social Media

Research on the use of information and communications technology in establishing social movement and collective participation has started since the early 1990s when the internet was initially introduced (Myers, 1994). Research on this matter has developed in line with the development of social media. Through social media the public has a broader opportunity to engage in politics (Holt, Shehata, Strömbäck, & Ljungberg, 2013). This is due to the ease and comfort provided by social media (Gazali, 2014; Holt, Shehata, Strömbäck, & Ljungberg, 2013; Loader, 2008). Social media is an interactive web-based media platform that offers the opportunity for individuals to be mutually connected and share opinions, experiences, views, and knowledge (Burford, 2012).

Similar to movements in the real world, movements on social media also form participation networks (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). These networks are established through the features provided on social media, such as hashtag and reply. The established networks are no longer restricted by time and space, they are global in nature and are accessible by anyone. Lim (2013) stated that political participation network through social media had the potential for mobilizing mass support, although there were indications of activism on social media, most of the activities revolved around amusement and profit seeking that were social or economic in nature. Studies conducted by some scholars indicated the effectiveness of new media in promoting corruption eradication movements (Frolova I., Antonova I., Khamitova L., Zakirova L., 2017; Jha & Sarangi, 2014). Similarly, a study by Starke and Naab (2016) demonstrated the effectiveness of social media in attracting the public’s interest to participate in online anticorruption movements.

Some previous studies have also discussed the role of social media as an instrument to voice corruption eradication movements (Simarmata, 2017; Bertot, Jaeger, & Grimes, 2010; Jha & Sarangi, 2014). The interactions produced from the use of social media may evoke feelings of public empathy and realize anticorruption culture to anyone (Simarmata, 2017). Additionally, social media also opens opportunities for the public to access information concerning acts of corruption perpetrated by the government that were previously often concealed (Simarmata, 2017). The advent of social media has made the government incapable of repressing anticorruption networks and demands for information disclosure of corruption cases (Jha & Sarangi, 2014).

There are three main functions of new media in relation to anticorruption movements (Starke & Naab, 2016). First, information on new media is more difficult to censor than traditional media. Additionally, new media also facilitates investigative journalists to publish corruption cases anonymously, which may reduce potential physical harm and risks on reporters. Second, social media has the potential to reveal corruptions even when traditional media fails to do so. The use of social media enables the public to play their role as citizen journalists thereby creating transparency. Third, new media may possibly be more independent since it has no gatekeeper as conventional media do, making it more reliable. In addition to the three things above, new media can be considered as a generator of public political awareness on account of its features that facilitate interactivity, closeness, and ease of access for the public.

Twitter is one of the social media platforms with the concept of microblogging. Microblogging is a simplified form of blogging that enables the user to compose a brief message or tweets with a maximum of 140 words. When interacting, Twitter users can utilize the various features available on Twitter, such as reply (@) for replying to tweets, retweet (RT) for displaying a friend’s tweet on their front page, and hashtag (#) which is used to write down more specific tweet words, so that it facilitates dialog among various users. The features provided by Twitter allow its users to create a large network, including anticorruption networks.

Although there is growing optimism of social network supporting corruption eradication, Castells (2007) has warned of its limitations. Castells (2007) stated that by using communications network technology, the public did not entirely have the power to control political elites. This is because the state possesses fundamental powers that cannot be easily altered by political elites or the public. Fundamental power such as the constitution cannot be easily amended through mere public pressure via social networks. Castells had doubts about the power of social networks in relation to changes concerning political matters.

Social Network Theory

Social network theory is a concept formulated by Jan Van Dijk (2006). Network society is a social structure that emerged in the late 20th century, and it was formed by communications of various digital networks. Starting with the development of computers followed by the internet, the global community became interconnected. Castells (2007) stated that society was currently forging a new type of social structure called network society. According to Castells, technology was one of the factors which shaped network society, among
the other factors were the development of global economy and the like. This research adopted more of Van Dijk’s thoughts on network society rather than Castells’ because this study places social media contribution as one of the factors in shaping network society.

To put it simply, networks are relations that are created as a result of intercommunications among several actors. Network analysis emphasizes on the presence and the role of the actors as well as the relational patterns and communication patterns among the actors (Wasserman & Faust, 1999).

Within a network, actors have their respective role to play, this depends on the intensity of the individual in providing and receiving information (Harris & Nelson, 2008). The actors’ roles can be identified through a network assessment. There are four components in this assessment that can be used by researchers to describe the roles of actors (Eriyanto, 2014). Firstly, there is degree centrality in complete network. Degree centrality shows the popularity of actors within the social network. The centrality can be observed from the number of links to and from the actors. Second is closeness centrality, which describes closeness among nodes or between one actor and another. In observing closeness, the path – whether an actor is contacting or is contacted by other actors – serves as a reference. Third is betweenness centrality, which is the component that measures the position of an actor as a network mediator. This centrality is also useful to determine the communication control point an actor holds. Fourth is eigenvector centrality, which can illustrate the importance of an individual on account of his or her involvement in several network groups. Not only individual actors become the focus of attention in social network analysis, but groups or a collection of actors are given due attention as well. At this group level, network analysis may indicate (Eriyanto, 2014), among others the presence of clicks. Clicks are a collection of nodes or actors within a network. Within a group network, all forms of relations among actors who interact between one another are included in a click.

In social network analysis, understanding the pattern of communication network is essential. Communication network pattern is the structural form of the entire occurring communication process (Djamarah, 2004). Communication network patterns come in various shapes and forms in line with the occurring communication channel. Every pattern illustrates the process of sending and receiving messages up to the process of gaining feedbacks. Devito is one of the scholars who paid specific interest on models or forms of communication network patterns (Devito, 2011).

Mediated communication network patterns, like communications via Twitter, have a layered characteristic. According to Weller, Bruns, Burgess, Mahrt, and Puschmann (2014) there were three layers of communications on Twitter, namely: meso, macro, and micro layers. The meso layer shows existing relations among the accounts and their followers. One of the features on Twitter enables its users to follow one another’s account. The purpose of following an account is to facilitate users to see the tweets of other users they follow. Following is not necessarily reciprocal – a user may follow any other user without requiring the other user to reply to their tweets.

While the meso layer merely covers followers, the macro layer is the most extensive network level within Twitter’s communication structure. The scope of the macro network may reach thousands to hundred thousand of Twitter users all over the world. Hashtags may function as a marker of a topic, an issue, or an event. The use of the hashtag symbol “#” on a tweet will allow the composed tweet to be visible to anyone searching or using that particular hashtag, hence expanding the scope of the tweet exponentially. When a person uses a hashtag, it indicates a wish of the Twitter user to take part in the wider communicative process. Additionally, the use of hashtags enables Twitter users to easily search and seek the desired topic.

The micro layer is the smallest form of network in Twitter’s communication structure. The use of mentions “@” indicates that a tweet is addressed to certain Twitter users. The use of mentions “@” signals that an account attempts to strike a conversation with certain accounts. The accounts mentioned may reciprocate by clicking the reply button readily available on Twitter. Even so, using mention “@” does not necessarily mean that the tweet will not be seen by other accounts. Other accounts are still able to view it and even reply to it. However, the focus of the communication and the conversation is on the mentioned “@” accounts.

A social network is dynamic, and the network structure will continue to change in line with the conditions of the network. Changes in the network structure may be caused by several things from change in time to change of issues (Reda, Tantipathananandh, Johnson, Leigh & Berger-Wolf, 2011; Van Dijk, 2006).

**Research Methodology**

This research employed social network analysis (SNA), which helps to analyze relational structures and patterns among individuals within a network. The initial stage of data collection was conducted via Twitter. Data collection from Twitter accounts was mapped out via tweets that contain the hashtag “#KoruptorKokNyaleg”. In addition to limiting the data through the use of keywords, the time scope of the tweets analyzed was also determined.

The researcher divided the timeline into two separately analyzed units. First, the time before MA’s ruling, namely tweets from April 1 to September 12, 2018. Second, the time following MA’s ruling, namely tweets from September 13, 2018 to January 31, 2019. These dates were de-
terminated based on crucial dates surrounding the issue. April 1 was decided since it was the first time that the hashtag "#KoruptorKokNyalag" was used, while September 12 was the court day of the MA trial concerning the permission for ex-corruptors to run in legislative election. Meanwhile, September 13 until January 31 was decided as the period to observe the reactions from the network until the release of the names of legislative candidates who are ex-corruption convicts.

There were two stages undertaken to analyze the anticorruption communication network in tweets. Firstly, data extraction of tweets from Twitter containing certain keywords and hashtags was conducted. In the data crawling process, software R was used to extract hashtag data using the keyword #koruptorkoknyaleg. This resulted in obtaining 3,309 tweets that contain the hashtag #koruptorkoknyaleg from April 1, 2018 to January 30, 2019 with 1,586 participating accounts. In the second step, the extracted tweets were examined and two varying tables were produced: one by labelling all the essential words found in the corpus and the second table contains the correlation between every word pair. Once the two measures were employed, two network analysis software programs were used, namely NodeXL and Gephi. The study used complete network to observe the communication network structure as a whole with two levels of analysis, which are analysis on actors’ network and group network, in order to describe the network structure and its dynamics (Eriyanto, 2014).

To answer questions concerning the key actors in the network, degree centrality and closeness centrality were calculated using Gephi. The degree centrality score determines which actor is the most popular or has the most contact with other actors. The closeness centrality score determines which actor is close with other actors. In addition to the two elements, betweenness centrality and eigenvector centrality were also determined. The score of betweenness centrality shows which actors play a mediating role between one actor and others. The eigenvector centrality score shows the most essential actor within a network. To understand the messages exchanged within the network, the “twitter search network top item” was used with the assistance of NodeXL. By using this tool, the main messages that appeared and flowed within the network could be identified.

This study has its limitation in terms of data completeness since not all tweets were included in the data crawling process. R software was utilized in the data crawling process, and we only managed to obtain mention and tweet data, while the data of accounts that retweeted was inaccessible by the software on account of Twitter’s policy, as a result the retweet data were gathered manually. Since data collection was conducted manually, only data displayed by Twitter were collected, and there were some retweets that were left unobtainable.

Results

Research results showed 3,308 tweets including tweets, mentions, and retweets) using the hashtag #koruptorkoknyaleg from the 1st of April 2018 until the 30th of January 2019 from as many as 1,586 accounts. The number of tweets varied every month. In April and May of 2018, which were the early stages in the development of the anticorruption movement, the amount of tweets was still insignificant, at merely 668 tweets. This is perhaps due to the fact that the public’s attention to the issue of former corruptors running for the legislative election remained insubstantial at the time. The number of tweets had even decreased in June and July of 2018, which was most likely caused by the lack of tweets from accounts with a huge following (like the Twitter accounts of ICW (Indonesia Corruption Watch) and KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi – Corruption Eradication Commission) in raising the issue, and the public consequently lacked awareness about the issue of approval for ex-corruptors to run in the legislative election. An increase in the number of tweets occurred in August and September 2018 during MA’s court proceeding. The trial attracted the public’s attention and anticorruption movement activities on Twitter had increased. The amount of tweets came back down in the months between October and December, which was possibly because of the fact that the final ruling of the MA was no longer amendable.

A surge in tweets occurred in the month of January 2019 when ICW released a list of former corruption convicts planning to run as candidates in the 2019 legislative election. As observed in the fluctuating amount of tweets, the number of retweets also fluctuated between those months. A greater amount of retweets than tweets indicated that network members tended to react when a stimulant or an actor had initiated it.

In network analysis, tweets indicate the edges while accounts are the nodes. Edge refers to the number of networks formed from the interactions performed by the nodes. Nodes here refer to the accounts, both organization-based and private Twitter accounts, which were gathered in the anticorruption network concerning the issue of rejecting corruptors to run as legislative candidates. Research findings indicated that the network had greater amount of edges than nodes. This implied that there were numerous accounts associated with more than one account in a single tweet. This association resulted in the formation of network with branches of particular accounts.

Actors in the Anticorruption Movement Network

Based on the data analysis results using Gephi, namely relating to the in-degree calculation, the study identified five accounts that were the most active accounts in the anticorruption movement. Twitter provides a different feature for its users to post messages. The post can be tweets, mentions, or retweets. Tweets are original posts of users, while retweets are posts made by other accounts that are reposted on the original account.

Chairun Nisa Zempi, Rahayu, Social Media in the Anticorruption Movement

96
mentioned the most in using the hashtag #koruptorkoknyaleg, in the following sequential order: @ChangeOrg_ID, @KPU_ID, @antikorupsi, @bawaslu_RI (215), and @Almasjafrina (128). The account @ChangeOrg_ID has the highest in-degree score, possibly because it is an online petition maker account concerning the refusal of allowing corruptors to run in the legislative election as candidate. Thus, it is natural that a lot of other Twitter accounts mentioned it. The accounts @KPU_ID and @bawaslu_RI were also mentioned because the online petition was closely associated with the stance of the General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum – KPU) and the Election Supervisory Board (Badan Pengawas Pemilu – Bawaslu) in relation to former corruptors running as legislative candidates. Meanwhile, @antikorupsi and @Almasjafrina were two accounts that provided the most information about issues of corruption, so a lot of their posts were being retweeted or mentioned by other network members or accounts.

Subsequently, based on the out-degree calculation, five accounts were identified to often create tweets using the hashtag #koruptorkoknyaleg, in the following sequential order: @antikorupsi, @Almasjafrina, @Chasdiansa10, @DennyNasution1, @mamat1411. Out of the five accounts, only @antikorupsi is an organization account, and it is owned by Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW). Whereas @Almasjafrina, @Chasdiansa10, @DennyNasution1, and @mamat1411 are personal accounts. @Almasjafrina is an account with high scores in both in-degree and out-degree calculations. The owner of this account is identified to be researchers and activists of anticorruption movement of ICW. This is the reason why this account has a high degree of centrality.

Based on the results of the degree centrality score calculation, the study findings showed that there were 10 popular accounts in the network, namely @ChangeOrg_ID, @KPU_ID, @Antikorupsi, @bawaslu_RI, @Almasjafrina, @Aktivisual, @BungHattaAward, @Franzcartoon, @sahabatICW, and @NasDem. Nine of the accounts are organization accounts and only one is a personal account. @ChangeOrg_ID is the official account of Change.org Indonesia. @KPU_ID and @bawaslu_RI are official accounts of KPU and Bawaslu respectively. @Antikorupsi is the official Twitter account of Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW). @sahabatICW is an extension of the @Antikorupsi account, which involves the public in fighting corruption. @Almasjafrina is the only central account that is owned by an individual, namely Almas Ghaliya Putri Sjafrina. @Aktivisual is an account that focuses on anticorruption campaign on Twitter. @BungHattaAward is an association of BHACA (Bung Hatta Anti-Corruption Award) that focuses on anticorruption campaigns and awarding anticorruption champions. @Franzcartoon is an account that provides information relating to issues of politics in Indonesia. Lastly, @NasDem is the account of Nasdem the political party. The finding is shown in table 1.

The presence of these popular accounts indicated that they were the key actors in the network. These actors held various positions, in which some acted as sources of reference, conversation materials, and as a pioneer or initiator of network formation and distributor of anticorruption messages. Among these key actors, based on the eigenvector centrality score calculation, @ChangeOrg_ID has the highest score within the network of hashtag #koruptorkoknyaleg (i.e. 1.0). This indicated that @ChangeOrg_ID was the most essential actor in the network. The position of this account was inseparable from its active role in drafting online petitions saying no to corruptors running as legislative candidates.

The presence of the main actors mentioned above was also confirmed by the closeness centrality score that indicates the closeness be-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twitter Account</th>
<th>Degree Centrality</th>
<th>Closeness Centrality</th>
<th>Betweenness Centrality</th>
<th>Eigenvector Centrality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>@ChangeOrg_ID</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>0.560</td>
<td>27086.10</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@KPU_ID</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
<td>0.656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@Antikorupsi</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>0.787</td>
<td>24160.45</td>
<td>0.566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@bawaslu_RI</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>0.341</td>
<td>638.25</td>
<td>0.488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@Almasjafrina</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>0.698</td>
<td>20578.65</td>
<td>0.385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@Aktivisual</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>0.346</td>
<td>2664.39</td>
<td>0.392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@BungHattaAward</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0.423</td>
<td>13.49.20</td>
<td>0.169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@Franzcartoon</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0.478</td>
<td>2297.70</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@sahabatICW</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.379</td>
<td>1414.95</td>
<td>0.176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@NasDem</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>61.0</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


between one actor and the other actors within the network (Golbeck, 2013). The research findings showed that the following accounts maintained a high closeness centrality score, namely: @ChangeOrg_ID, @antikorupsi, and @Almasjafrina. The closeness score implied that the presence of these actors was broadly known by other actors in the network. These actors also have substantial influence in communication on account of their capacity to disseminate information directly and rapidly without requiring any mediating third party.

The research findings also indicated that there were actors who played the role as mediators. Within a network, communications may not take place directly, but through certain accounts that function as communication mediators between one account and another. The research findings showed that @ChangeOrg_ID, @antikorupsi, @Almasjafrina, @Aktivisual, and @netgrit were mediator accounts. These accounts mediated information to member accounts in the network. The anticorruption movement on Twitter concerning the case of former corruptors running as legislative candidates was a movement with a relative large number of accounts involved, so not all accounts were able to communicate directly. The presence of these mediator accounts facilitated in the rapid development and smooth flow of information.

Based on the findings, it seems that the key actors observed within the network are actors who have been actively involved in the corruption eradication movement in Indonesia. In other words, the actors who are active online in anticorruption movements are also actors who are active offline. These findings showed that the social movement found on social media was an extension of social movement in the real world (offline).

**Analysis of Message Content in the Anticorruption Movement Network**

The second analysis this study focused on within the communication network analysis is the message contents being exchanged within the network. In social networks, the distribution of messages can be calculated from the amount of edges or networks formed. The more edges emerge from a network, the broader the distribution of messages is in that network. The expanse of message distribution also indicates the extent of interaction created among the actors.

Message distribution within a network may occur either directly or indirectly. In the study, direct distribution was observed from direct communications between network members and central actors of the network. As an example, the research findings showed that when the account @antikorupsi, which was a central actor distributing the most number of messages within the network, disseminated messages there were other actors that repeated the message distribution, which included commenting the messages posted by @antikorupsi. Indirect message distribution (as mediated by other accounts) was also observed from the findings. Both directly and indirectly distributed messages tended to have a similar tone, i.e. objecting former corruptors to run as legislative candidates.

Since the study examined social network on Twitter, message distribution is inseparable from the hashtag feature. This feature has proven to facilitate network members or actors to gain a more expansive scope of interaction. A tweet made by a user will not only be visible to their followers, but it will also be visible to any readers or information seekers who use the same hashtag.

The hashtag koruptor kok nyaleg (koruptorkoknyaleg), meaning ‘why are corruptors running as legislative candidates’, was initially coined by the account @BungHattaAward on the 17th of April 2018. @BungHattaAward is one of the accounts on Twitter that focuses on anticorruption movements on social media. This account accommodates various perspectives and give out awards to anticorruption champions. @BungHattaAward made the hashtag #koruptorkoknyaleg to call upon Twitter users to sign a petition on Change.org relating to their objection titled “Reject Bawaslu’s Efforts Allowing Corruptors to Run as Legislative Candidates”.

The tweet gained quite a lot of attention from other Twitter users. Once the hashtag appeared, some significant accounts with substantial amounts of followers such as @infojakarta, @Citazionesia, @aktivisvisual began using the hashtag as well. This had reached its peak on the 28th of May 2018 when the official Twitter account of ICW, i.e. @antikorupsi, for the first time used the hashtag, thereby resulting in the increase of that hashtag use.

In order to understand message analysis within the network, the researcher considered the presence of clicks. The study found that the key actors became the center of every click. There were quite a lot of clicks found within the network, yet we only focused on 7 substantial clicks with a rather large number of nodes, i.e. more than 35, which illustrates a rather high level of interaction.

The research findings indicated variance of different messages among the clicks. Click 1 and 4 put emphasis on messages about the online petition demanding to object allowing corruptors to run as legislative candidates. For example, in click 1, there was a tendency of using the words “dukung” (support), “KPU”, “Changeorg_id”, “petisi” (petition), “tandatangan” (signature), which indicated that the messages were oriented towards the signing of the online petition. As for clicks referring to the grouping of nodes or actors, so clicks may also be defined as ‘groups’ made within the network. The grouping of these accounts is useful for the researcher to map out what messages or issues are developing in the center of the network.

---

Chairun Nisa Zempi, Rahayu, Social Media in the Anticorruption Movement

---
click 2, click 3, click 5, and click 6, they focused more on the provision of information about and reaction towards former corruptors running as legislative candidates. Meanwhile, click 7 put more emphasis on the refusal of permit for ex-corruptors to run as a legislative candidate again.

The key actors had control over the exchange of messages in the respective clicks. For instance, click 2, click 3, click 5, and click 6 were dominated by central accounts that are active in anti-corruption campaigns (namely @antikorupsi, @Almasjafrina, @Aktivisual, @BungHattaAward, @franzcartoon, @sahabatICW). These clicks paid attention to the provision of information about corruption. In click 7, the main actor is @Nasdem. The Nasdem Party is committed to refuse ex-corruptors running as legislative candidates, as observed in the majority of the words that were used in the click, such as “nasdem”, “partai” (party), “nasdementimahar” (nasdem anti political dowry), and “politiktanpamahar” (dowry free politics)6.

Despite of the variety of messages exchanged within the network, all the messages fall under the same tone, which is to refuse the permit for legislative candidates caught in a corruption case. Such similar tone indicates a homogenous perspective shared among the actors within the anticorruption movement social network.

**Dynamics within the Network Structure: Before and After the Supreme Court Ruling**

In the study the network structure was analyzed by comparing two different periods of time. The first period refers to the time when the decision relating to the permit for corruptors to run as legislative candidates had not been made by the Supreme Court (Mahkamah Agung – MA), which was from the month of April until September 2018. The second period refers to the time from when the MA had decided to give permission to corruptors running as legislative candidates until the time when the name list of the legislative candidates was officially announced, which was from the month of September 2018 until January 2019. The division of this time period is of utmost importance to be able to see the dynamics of the network pattern.

The research findings indicated that, prior to the ruling made by MA allowing corruptors to rerun as legislative candidates in the 2019 general election, the flow of the communication in the network was found to be centralized in and expanded from two central accounts, namely @changeOrg_ID and @KPU_ID. The flow of communication shows the substantial support given by the network members to @KPU_ID that prohibits ex-corruptors to run as legislative candidates again. Significant support from network members was also observed to be given to @changeOrg_ID. Aside from the two accounts, there was also the Twitter account of ICW (@antikorupsi) which held a central position, although its role was relatively smaller than the two other accounts.

Following MA's decision, there was a change in the flow of communication. The centrality of the accounts developed, and it was not only focused on the two accounts of @KPU_ID and @changeOrg_ID, as a number of other accounts began to emerge. As an example, ICW's account (@antikorupsi) that was not as prominent before became more obvious within the network. This indicated that there was an increase in tweet intensity made by @antikorupsi. Aside from @antikorupsi, other accounts also became central accounts in the time period following MA's ruling, namely @aktivisual, @almasjafrina, @bawaslu_RI, @nasdem, and @BungHattaAward.

The comparison of network patterns before and after MA's ruling is shown in Figure 1 and 2.

---

6 Although in reality there were four parties, namely NasDem, PKB, PSI, and PPP, that did not allow former convicted corruptors to run as legislative candidates, but only the Nasdem Party was identified as being relatively more active in disseminating its commitment via social media.
The difference of anticorruption movement network pattern before and after MA's ruling is shown in Table 2.

Before the ruling made by MA, the tweets that dominated using the hashtag #koruptorkoknya-leg were posts that supported KPU. During this period, the movement in the network was still inclined towards efforts in collecting mass support to participate in signing the petition to refuse MA's decision allowing ex-corruptors to run as legislative candidates. An example of this movement is shown in Figure 3.

The striking relationship between @ChangeOrg_ID and @KPU_ID before the ruling closely correlates with the appeal to sign the online petition and the support given to KPU. @KPU_ID was also the most mentioned account by the network members. Whereas the pronounced relationship between @ChangeOrg_ID and @bawaslu_RI after the ruling closely correlates with the demand for Bawaslu not to allow corruptors to run as legislative candidates.

Subsequently, the conversation pattern or model represented with the color purple (Figure 2 after the ruling) shows quite a prominent relational pattern with @KPU_ID after the ruling closely correlates with the demand for Bawaslu not to allow corruptors to run as legislative candidates.

Following the ruling of MA, the conversations on Twitter were split into two models of communication network. This is visible from the differing colors of the edges, namely purple and blue, in Figure 2. The difference in color shows differing relational directions among the nodes or among the accounts. The conversation pattern or model represented by the blue colored edges (Figure 2) shows @ChangeOrg_ID and @bawaslu_RI dominating the conversation. In this case, the account @ChangeOrg_ID remained to be the central account in the network. The difference between before and after MA's decision is that before the ruling @ChangeOrg_ID had a rather strong and direct relationship with @KPU_ID, but in the period after the ruling, a more prominent relationship was observed between @ChangeOrg_ID and @bawaslu_RI.

The research findings showed how Change.org as an online petition platform turned into a concrete form of movement or an actualization of the objection movement. Meanwhile, Twitter functioned as a forum for conveying and disseminating aspirations about the refusal as well as garnering support to sign the online petition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Network Structure</th>
<th>Before MA's ruling</th>
<th>After MA's ruling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Degree</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>1445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graph Density</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diameter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connected Components</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research findings also indicated differences in the messages or tweets addressed to KPU and Bawaslu. Both institutions regulate or manage general elections, yet the conversations within the network regarding the two seem to differ. KPU took the side of those prohibiting former corruptors to rerun as legislative candidates, while Bawaslu along with the House of Representatives (DPR) allowed ex-corruptors to rerun as legislative candidates under the condition that their incarceration period was under five years. Based on their differing stances, the conversations observed on Twitter also reflected the distinction between the two.

Tweets directed at KPU were mostly in the form of public support for the courageous step. KPU took by refusing corruptors permission to run as legislative candidates. Whereas the tweets addressed to Bawaslu were largely in the form of public objection and disappointment. There was even a #Ripbawaslu hashtag which appeared on Twitter as one of the hashtags the public posted to express their disappointment.

The research findings showed that the network pattern was not static, but dynamic. Certain cases, such as the ruling of MA, may be a causal factor in the network structure’s alteration. Based on the conducted time comparison analysis, namely before and after MA’s decision, the study showed that a change in the network structure had occurred.

Discussion

The study has shown the social network of an anticorruption movement on a social media platform, Twitter. The movement originated from a controversy on the perspective of whether former corruptors should be allowed to become legislative candidates. The social network form observed in the study serves as proof that information and communications technology has mediated current human interactions. The anticorruption movement social network is an actual form of virtual public participation and human interconnection. The social network not only represents relations, but it is also a form of power with the potential for inducing changes (Castells, 2011).

Although the anticorruption movement social network exists in virtual space, its presence is an extension of the anticorruption movement that has been developing “offline”. This can be observed from the presence of the central accounts in the network of which most of them were made by anticorruption activists in Indonesia. This finding supports McLuhan’s opinion stating that the purpose of technological advances is to expand or extend the scope of human life (McLuhan, 1994).

As an extension of “offline” movement actions, the anticorruption movement social network on Twitter developed rather quickly with thousands of network members who actively participated in the exchange of information. This indicates Twitter, as one of the forms of social media that functions to disseminate information to the wider public, serves as an alternative for mobilizing collective initiatives or actions, mediating dialog or interactions, and establishing communities of like-minded individuals. (Stein, 2009). Twitter also allows open public participation of political discussions without fear as the participants can use anonymous or pseudonymous identities. This is something that is unheard of in the offline realm where the identities of the participants are identified (Kang, Brown, Kiesler, 2013). Online platforms, like Twitter, allows users to express things that may be uncomfortable when conveyed through direct interactions (Bargh, McKenna, Fitzsimons, 2002; Hacker & Van Dijk, 2000).

Although the social network is an extension of ‘offline’ movement activities, the roles of the actors are very different. In the social network, an actor no longer holds a single function, such as a mere transmitter of messages. In the anticorruption movement social network, the accounts bear multiple functions, both as a transmitter and recipient of messages, thereby resulting in a more complex pattern of communication within the network (Natachia, 2017). In conventional networks, the central actor generally functions as the transmitter of messages into the network. This actor determines the relation, message, and pattern of communication. Whereas in social networks, there is an abundance of actors and they may hold a position as transmitters, recipients, or mediators among actors, hence the messages circulating within the network do not necessarily come from the central actor. The communication pattern and relation are also dependent on the activities of the network members or actors.

The research findings showed that the main actors in the anticorruption movement social network were mostly organizations (organization accounts) rather than individuals (personal accounts). This is perhaps due to organizations or a collection of individuals have more strategic capacity and power in fighting against corruption in Indonesia. Most corruption cases in Indonesia involve ‘rulers’ or people who possess or wield power and authority. Acts of corruption in Indonesia also tend to be structural rather than individual, which is why many members of the legislative branch, the government administration, and the private sector are involved (Amelia, Purbolaksono & Syahayani, 2017). The fact that there are similar key actors in anticorruption movement both online and offline indicates the commitment and consistency these actors uphold in order to eradicate corruption in Indonesia. Additionally, it also shows that the anticorruption movement on social media in Indonesia is still pioneered and initiated by actors who actively participate in the movement in the actual world (offline). No ‘new’ actors have, as of current, been seen leading an anticorruption movement on social media.

The anticorruption messages circulating with-
in the social network were directed at refusing the court’s decision, i.e., allowing former corruptors to run as legislative candidates, and these messages appeared in the form of tweets, retweets, or mentions. This indicates the common perspective that the network members share concerning the issue at hand. Unfortunately, the social network activism did not manage to change MA’s decision. Castell (2011) stated that the power of messages within a network would depend on the power of the accounts coveting social change. Power can also be generated when most of the public are engaged in a network and interconnected (Van Dijk, 2006). It seems that the power of the accounts in this case was rather limited, this is observed from the monthly fluctuations of the amount of postings. Consistency is a vital element in order for a social movement to achieve its goal. In the case of the Bali reclamation refusal, the movement which was through social media operated in tandem with the movement carried out via conventional media. This combination became a source of great power to cancel the reclamation plan on the 838 hectares of land in Benoa Bay (Galuh, 2016).

The inconsistency of the movement is one of the weaknesses of movement on social media. Lim (2013) stated that the conversations and information dominating social media reflected the interest, option, and preference of the users. Hence the rules and bonds within a network established in social media activism is extremely loose. Twitter users are free to decide if they want to participate in the movement. Limited coordination is also another causal factor. Despite having 10 central accounts that function as the center of information within the anticorruption movement network, these accounts are not under any obligation whatsoever to coordinate the movement and they also do not have any bonds with the other members.

MA’s final decision was that former corruptors are still allowed to run as legislative candidates based on the consideration that this is in line with the regulation stipulated in the law. This indicates that power remains to be established by a more fundamental structure than political and economic powers. The social network seems to have power, but the power that the network wields may not necessarily be strong enough to defeat the fundamental power of the state (Castell, 2011).

Although the social network was unable to achieve its main goal in stopping the decision that allows ex-corruptors to run as legislative candidates, it does not mean that the movement failed entirely in the process. According to Van Dijk (2006), a network should be evaluated as a whole, starting from its formation, role of actors, relations, communication patterns, and generated interactions. The anticorruption social movement on social media seems to have been able to raise public awareness and disseminate voices of the public regarding the issue of former corruptors running as legislative candidates.

**Conclusion**

The anticorruption movement is one of the results of the development of network society. The latitude and ease provided by new media have led to an increase of participation in online movements. Such new form of participation also provides new color in the anticorruption movement, which has now penetrated in a new form on social media.

The study has shown the main actors’ roles in the network, the distribution of messages, and the patterns of communication network. The network structure’s dynamic nature has been shown through the changes of the key actors, the focus of the exchanged messages, and the patterns of the communication network. The changes were observed within two time periods, namely before the ruling made by MA in court and after the ruling. Although message variance in the network was observed, the messages remained in line with the context of the network’s issue, i.e. refusing former corruption convicts to run as legislative candidates. Variance in the focus of the messages was also observed in a number of clicks, although their main messages had a similar tone. This indicated that the anticorruption movement social network had been consistently refusing ex-corruptors to run as legislative candidates.

The study results also show that the anticorruption movement network on social media has a similar basic model with the conventional anticorruption movement network, wherein the members of the movement create an issue-based network in order to express their views, ideas, and reactions. The difference lies in the network complexity among the accounts (actors) as a result of dissimilar communication patterns.

Social Network Analysis is a new research method in communication studies, and it is highly interesting to continue developing it on various other social settings and phenomena. The findings elaborated in this study merely examined the patterns and relations among the actors within a hashtag network on Twitter alone. While in fact, movement on social media has increasingly developed in terms of its usages and platforms. Accordingly, future research may be developed by exploring the social network of an anticorruption movement through other social media platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, and Facebook.
### Bibliography


Burford, A. (2012). Social Media and Political Participation: the Case of the Muslim Council of Britain. Retrieved from http://digitool.library.colostate.edu/exlibris/dtl/d3_1/apache_media/L2V4bGl0cmliL2R0bC9Cf25XlwYWNoZV9zZWN1c3RhbWUpYS9vQDV2OTE=


