

# Social and Political Factors in Actualizing New Anti-Corruption Movement Through Online Community in Indonesia

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# **Social and Political Factors in Actualizing New Anti-Corruption Movement Through Online Community in Indonesia**

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## **Abstract**

This research aimed to analyze the social and political factors that can realize the anti-corruption movement that utilized new media platform, in this case social media Facebook in Indonesia. This research conducted in-depth interviews with 15 active members including the administrators and five experts. The research found that factors that had realized the anti-corruption movement through online communities on social media Facebook was the emergence of social collective awareness, political system of Indonesia which tend to open, and in terms of culture, the Indonesian people are generally easier to establish a relationship of friendship, the increasing of economic caused people to be able to buy a need to communicate and socialize, political literacy which tend to increase and the psychological condition of Indonesian society in general that have long been disappointed with their leaders who committed with act of corruption and indecisive in dealing with corruption cases.

**Key words:** social movement, online community, social media

## **Introduction**

Nowadays, organizations and social movement's strategies have been re-mapped by the new communication technologies based on internet technology. It also helps to identify that social movement activists have done in response to the mass media which previously have a dominant role in the process of social change (Rheingold, 1994; 2000). The existence of the internet in society has also brought changes to social life. As stated by Slevin (2000), the internet has become a medium for cultural change, this is the core of the concept of 'techno culture'.<sup>2</sup> The emergence of online communities are facilitated by the presence of the internet has brought a change to social life. Various sites have been providing various forms of relationships and the basis for a process of virtual communication. Internet has made it easier for people to exchange thoughts or ideas about the things that interest and their favourite, from the fields of politics, sports, education and shopping. Some social networking sites, or

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<sup>2</sup>Technoculture refers to the interaction between the political, technological and cultural. Manser and Aronowitz (1996) stated that technology, nature and culture are all interrelated, not only in the context of practice, but also ontologically. The subject cannot be simply defined as a human being. Subjects could include natural, cultural, technology, which is referred to as a social technology and all are interrelated. McLuhan (1997) is most famous for the concept of the 'global village.' He stated about how the media's impact on society and culture. Meanwhile, Shaw (2008) emphasized that the place of science and technology in today's culture and explore the power of scientific ideas, its impact on how we understand the natural world and how technological developments have successively affect our attitude to work, art, space, language and the human body.

commonly referred to as social media, allowing each individual can communicate with people in the same time and synchronously. Through social media such as MySpace, Friendster, Wayn, Twitter and Facebook, for example, anyone can communicate even be able to increase the number of friends to communicate from time to time and interact with each other with patterns of an increasingly diverse, as well as in making a social network.

The emergence of new media has also provided opportunities for political communication process in a new form (Moog and Sluyter-Beltrao, 2001: 56). Internet access was spread all over the world and can be accessed by the whole society has brought new opportunities for direct access to political information as well as he can create an interactive discourse for the community itself (Moss, 2000). Including social media also provide a platform for community members to interact and gather the power to create a public view that subsequent discourse by members of the community with the aim to attract attention and influence society.

One movement that can be considered great and got the attention of social media users Facebook is the group called “1,000,000 Facebookers Support Chandra Hamzah and Bibit Samad Riyanto Movement.” Chandra and Bibit were the members of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) of the Republic of Indonesia who had arrested by the police because it was deemed to have abused their power. They often hold press conferences when their status as members of the Commission was deactivated. The police worried that the press conference that they often done can distract public perceptions and can interfere with the investigation into the corruption they were doing.<sup>3</sup> Most of the public viewed that the detention of two members of the Commission as a form of unfair legal treatment. Some people assumed that their detention solely to ‘silence’ so that they did not disclose matters related to the issue of corruption against certain parties.<sup>4</sup> Despite the pressure on the police not only done through social media groups in Facebook, but it was an evident that that particular Facebook group was in great demand by people in Indonesia. From the beginning of the realization of this group on October 29, 2009 until March 5, 2011, members who had joined this group was as many as 1,312,770 people,<sup>5</sup> this caused pressure from the group to the police to release two detained KPK members become stronger. In addition, the pressure also made by various mainstream media, such as newspapers, radio and especially television, as well as through demonstrations performed significantly by groups of anti-corruption movement in a relatively simultaneous.

### Social Movement: Theoretical Approach

Social movement known as the crowds that usually without political power and influence that decide to promote or oppose social change through unconventional means. The individuals involved in social movements to identify problems, determine those responsible for the particular failure, it also causes them to take action themselves. To be effective, participants organized their activities into a social movement organization. Social

<sup>3</sup>Bibit-Chandra Ditahan Akibat Konferensi Pers [Bibit-Chandra Detained Due to the Press Conference] (2009). Retrieved from <http://news.liputan6.com/read/249284/bibit-chandra-ditahan-akibat-konferensi-pers>

<sup>4</sup>Penahanan Bibit-Chandra Menuai Protes [Bibit-Chandra detention Reap the Protes] (2009). Retrieved from <http://infokorupsi.com/id/korupsi.php?ac=3835&l=penahanan-bibitchandra-menuai-protes-citra-kepolisian-tercemar>

<sup>5</sup>Accessed on March 5, 2011 from <http://www.facebook.com>.

movement organizations share their goal and work toward that goal. In addition, social movement is the collective movement that deliberately sought to promote change in direction and in a particular way, including, among others, violence, illegality, revolution or community production of 'utopia' (Wilkinson 1971, 27). Social movements can also be interpreted as a type of group action. They are large informal group, comprising individuals and / or organizations that are focused on social issues and a special political and aims to implement social change. Tarrow (1998) have argued that social movements have emerged to encourage social change, which they refer to as 'protests' when multiple turbulence occurred at a time issue. A wave of protest can be triggered by certain social disorders that provoked by war, economic downturn, political crisis, technological innovation or rapid changes in population.

According to Monnier (2010), social movements are more prevalent in industrialized countries as diverse a population less bound by tradition and the larger community. Movement of the many sub-cultures and conflicts of interest between groups was inevitable because of the conflict arises when there is a desire for change by some groups opposed to other groups that maintain the status quo. Some movements eventually succeed but also sparked a counter-movement called 'conservative revolution' which culminate during the election of Ronald Reagan as US president in 1981. In other words, social movements are organized response to the social, economic and political distress and a feeling of injustice, it is not necessary to own through the use of the channels of power.

Relevant to the context of this social movement, Morrison (1971) formulated a theory about why people join social movements, namely relative deprivation theory. According to Morrison, a person experiencing relative deprivation when she/he felt that she/he did not receive 'justice' that seems to exist. The key to the relative lack of ideas is the notion that expectations of what society think about what it is worth to them and what they want. If expectations are met, people do not experience dissatisfaction or relative shortages. On the other hand, if people compare themselves to their reference group whose condition improved, they will experience a relative shortage. If an individual feel that everyone else seems to be rich or generally seem to have a better life, they will experience a relative shortage.

Morrison (1971) also identified the structural conditions that increase the possibility of the emergence of social movements (Locher, 2002: 256-257):

1. Many people have experienced a loss of relative rights;
2. There is a level of interaction and communication among people who have been deprived.
3. Where an individual's social experience a loss of rights is relatively the same, it is easier for them to be together and create movement;
4. The movement is more likely to form a resilient society stratified due to the difference between the class is obvious. The public has a great sense of voluntary association to attract people feel that the collective activities can make a difference and actually produce beneficial changes, as well as the benefits of the social movements of the organization's leadership association.

The growth of information technology also affects the shapes and the ways of a social movement. The theory of new social movements emerged in the late 1960s to describe changes in the preparation, focus and strategy of some social movements in the Western world (McAdam et. al., 1988; Mellucci, 1989; Larana et. al., 1994; Scott, 1995). New social movement is the answer to the massive social changes brought about by globalization. There are two main assumptions of this theory. First, the rise of post-industrial economy is responsible for a new wave of social movements. Second, these movements are much different from the social movement before the rise of the industrial economy. The main difference is in their purpose, as a new movement that does not focus on issues such as quality materialistic economic welfare, but issues relating to human rights (such as gay rights or the principles of war). New social movements are various but give several focuses to:

1. Social and cultural issues from the economic problems of traditional social movements.
2. Quality of life (environment and peace) and the self-determination rights of women nowadays and the rights of gays. Therefore, based on the high-income countries where there are very few issues of survival, so that members of social movements tend to reject bureaucratic organization and using participation style.
3. Membership which creates more individuals educated middle class who see themselves as having a multiple identity (in the sense of class, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation) that they use and combine to encourage the creation of a new social movement.
4. The doubtfulness against the government, the business community or the scientific community, though they do not aim to overthrow the government or radically replace the social order, this social movement challenging the validity of the institutions of power and encourage their experts or create their independent research institutes.
5. The multiple issues that seen as the problems that are dependent on each other. For example, eco-feminist movement linking environmental issues with patriarchy (Merchant, 1992; Mies and Shiva, 1993).
6. Local and global orientation, as reflected in the slogan 'think globally, act locally' as evidenced by championing the global environment and local recycling rules in their community.
7. The use of new technologies efficiently to establish global networks; such as the global network that coordinates large-scale demonstrations against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Seattle in 1999, against the G8 meeting in Genoa (Italy) in 2002 and the massive protests against the war in Iraq in 2003.

The main strength of this theory is to insert the influence of social factors, namely macro-economic globalization, politics and culture in learning how collective action and strategies of social movements. This theory also cover how macro social changes are reflected into micro social considerations for the participants of social movements. New social movement theory emphasizes the mixing of those different stages.

## **Social Movement and Social Media**

In the context of social movements in the public space, De La Piscina (2007) have done research on it. He studied social movements in the public space as a new form of the communication process. This review was based on concerns about corruption in political and economic fields that happened recently that caused many citizens did not like the institutions in general and in particular the traditional political participation. In his research findings, this movement has found an important cooperation has occurred between new technologies and the internet in an attempt to achieve their goals. The new form of communication emerging every day and these new social actors struggling create a new position in the public sphere. However, they need to be trained as a spokesman and training is a key element of their community activities to drive awareness, revive a person's heart and bring back what has been forgotten. The findings of these studies have shown a link between technology and social activities. The use of technology as well as internet, cannot be separated from the social aspects, such as the view of Aronowitz (1996) which stated that technology, nature and culture are all interrelated, not only in the context of practice, but also ontologically. However, this study just to see how corruption in politics and economics have changed their social activities, which was originally participation in politics is done traditionally, have switched to online participation.

Meanwhile, Humphreys (2010) has conducted research on social networking and social events. He argued that the development and deployment of mobile social networks have the ability to change the way how people come together and interact in public spaces. This service allows information to flow into a new kind of public space and can rearrange the social activities that take place in the virtual world. Dodgeball mobile social networking was used in this case study. Based on qualitative fieldwork for a year, the study was to explore how Dodgeball had been used as a facility of social participation in the public sphere and begin to expand the understanding of the traditional idea involves the interaction of space and social interaction. The review examined how the idea or notion of mobile communications and public spaces were negotiated using mobile social networking on a daily basis. Humphreys (2010) also suggested that Dodgeball allowed the exchange of social information to encourage turn public space into a limited space in the virtual world. This was caused by the internet that had been provided the facility in the form of familiarity and similarity between its members. Dodgeball respondents had exchanged the information among each other, so they can do a comparison of the social map of the network of these relationships. Dodgeball information exchange process through which can be restricted had been used to avoid the location or certain people who do not want them to meet in cyberspace. The complexity of social interaction and spatial practice had been highlighted through the research use of social networks to move every day.

Reviews of political discourse through social media had been carried out by Kushin and Kitchener (2009) which had explored the use of social networking site Facebook for online political discussions. Online political discussion had been criticized because it has been isolated individuals who did not agree to engage in discussions and actions because it can create an atmosphere that was not civilized. However, the results of such research is important because it demonstrates the ability of social networks to provide different perspectives on the ability of people to join and get involved in the political debate. This shows that individuals who find the use of social media

beyond recreational use has been utilizing this technology's ability to engage in political discussions and express their views on issues that become their concern. Even though online political discussions have been there well before the advent of social networking sites, wealth and popularity of this technology together with diminishing costs for internet access, can bring a larger population and new participants into online political discussions. The study also confirmed that social networking sites may encourage civility in the discussion and interaction among the disagree parties. At that time the technology was growing rapidly in the middle of society where social media was also used as political tools. Meanwhile, Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) stated that social media as a set of Internet-based application that is built on the foundations of ideology and Web 2.0 technologies and that allows the creation and exchange of content by its users. Social media can be found on mobile and web-based technologies to create a highly interactive forum where individuals and communities are able to discuss and modify its contents. Social media can also cause changes large and spacious for communication between organizations, communities and individuals (Kietzmann and Hermkens, 2011).

By the existence of social media, people have a more interactive forum for communication and social interactions. It not only can be done from individual to individual, but also in a group of individuals or commonly referred to as a community. Definition of the online community may be different for individuals with other individuals. According to Preece (2000), for some people, it is a group of individuals who are friendly and courteous who chat with each other and help each other. Meanwhile, for some others, it is a picture of a conspiracy, subversive behaviour and criminals as well as the destroyer of privacy. Physical community is a discussion of a group of people of common interests, shared goals, activities and leadership. Groups or individuals who work together to share resources and satisfying the needs of each other in a physical place, such as a village or town. Furthermore, Preece (2000) stated that in order to understand what the online community, you need to know some elements, namely:

1. Individuals who interact socially, which they seek to satisfy their own needs or to join a special role, such as being a leader or being a moderator.
2. The purpose of joint, such as interests, needs, exchange of information or services that can provide a rationale for the activities of the community.
3. The policy, in the form of silent assumptions, rituals, protocols, rules and laws that guide community interaction.
4. The computer system, to support and to center social interaction and facilitate a sense of togetherness.

## Methods

This study used the case study method. Yin (2003: 18) stated that the case study is an empirical study which investigated the phenomenon in the context of real life, where the boundaries between the phenomenon of the context does not seem firmly, and multi sources used. The case study occurred when researchers conducted the exploration of a single entity or phenomenon (the case) that is limited by time, activity and collection of detailed

information by using various data collection procedures during that time (Cresswel, 1994: 11). The data collection was done by conducting interviews. Depth interview is a technique commonly used to collect data on case studies. The purpose of depth interviews is to dig even deeper into the phenomenon being studied. Questions asked by the researcher may be an open question. Researchers can also ask questions unstructured (unstructured interview). Researchers can develop a deeper question to be a topic based on the answers given by the respondents. In this case, the researchers sought to understand the deeper perceptions of respondents would be an idea that researchers need to motivate respondents to express a deeper life experience so that it will be obtained information that many and profound topic. In addition, to foster mutually interwoven relationships of trust with respondents is important in interviews (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Keynote speaker on this research are 15 active members including the administrators of the online group on Facebook, as well as the experts, <sup>37</sup> in the field of social media, an expert in the field of sociology of mass communication and media, an expert in field of political communication and an expert in the study of public opinion.

## Results

Most members of the community acknowledged that among their reasons for engaging in online community of anti-corruption social movement that was solely due to enforce laws in Indonesia, especially in terms of law enforcement in corruption cases. They believed that if the anti-corruption social movement is done together and also with the same intention, then this social movement can create a pressure on the government. In addition, conditions at the time it deemed appropriate and suitable, in which people were considered equally wanted a change to the better in eradicating corruption. It is therefore supported by UY, the founder and administrator of the online community by stating:

*"I feel this is a good time to voice their concerns to reform our legal system. Because there is such a transaction, placing people in legal institutions may have particular interests, then I want to say that this is our opportunity to discuss political and legal system we are together, this is an opportunity that probably will not happen twice, this the time is right."*

Most community members also recognized that they joined the community because of the phenomenon of the growing number of members that so fast and rapidly, so they should also be encouraged to be part of the massive anti-corruption social movement. Social movements through social media Facebook is also considered more efficient because it can involve a lot of people without having to use a long time. It can gather public opinion on a large scale and related to issues of anti-corruption. Community members admit that they just wanted to help Chandra and Bibit, without any other interests. Main purpose of establishment of this movement is to fight corruption, and that was all that could encourage the major powers to eradicating corruption. Protest movement took to the streets have been tried but did not succeed, was more effective through <sup>36</sup> social movements online. This is in line with the statement of one member of the group, SIH:

*“Through online media the persuasion is easier, because a demonstration on the street need to be expensive, we also need time, mass movement, also collided with a variety of interests, when meeting people, people are already thinking of something else, various parties and a variety of movements. In essence, they agree and understand that we want corruption is eradicated and the country is free of corruption. With online media we would have a facility, the results proved to Bibit and Chandra were released.”*

The factor of sensitivity to social issues was also considered as one of the causes of the involvement of the group members in this social movement. The online anti-corruption social movement has been providing a forum for anti-corruption social activists to express their feelings and desires in fighting corruption, DH one of the administrators and was also an active member of the community stated:

*“This group becomes a kind of online activists, or people who have social sensitivity. Although previously there have been groups with social movements, but the group became a kind of trigger for other social movements in social media. But if social movements do not have a contribution significantly, in my opinion it does not mean anything, it's not a movement.”*

Furthermore, through the realization of the anti-corruption community, each individual that wants to play a role in the corruption eradication could involve him or her as well as the subject, not just as an object that just watching the events that occurred. They have hope can express their feelings. In addition, to create awareness of the community to participate in the anti-corruption social movement, people should realize that they are victims of corruption, thus they will be involved in anti-corruption social movement. The members of the group assumed more and more people that were involved in sharing information and views, they were increasingly getting bigger challenge, so they assumed the authorities had been able to feel a threat to their social movement. However, it also recognized the greater of the challenges they face, rather than further weaken even further strengthen the spirit of the group members in conducting anti-corruption social movement, as stated by UY:

*“When it was a big challenge does not mean I resign, on the contrary, I become more enthusiastic. This community is able to break the walls of the palace, the evidence is based on the information we get, the group is controlled directly by the palace, because they can lead to people's power, so the time is clear, a growing issue accordingly, if it is not immediately get the feedback by the President, there would be a big movement.”*

Related to the increase of members in the community, then the dynamics of communication that occurs was increasing rapidly. Even admitted by most of the members that the discussions that took place in each session could be followed by more than 50 members of the community and have served one by one by the administrator who acted as moderator in the discussion. The administrator admitted that the communication that occurred was very

dynamic. This had made them more motivated to convince the public that fighting corruption is a common struggle. Related to the above, UY also stated:

*"Maybe in the first month, I spent all my time on that activity, the rest just to pray and eat. Usually only one hour in a day, but that time could be up to three or even four hours."*

The dynamic of communication of this community has also attracted the attention of politicians. The dynamic of communication and participation of more than one million people been realized by politicians who wanted to take advantage of these groups for their political interests. There was an assumption that they who using social media Facebook and join the anti-corruption group are the individuals who have an understanding of the technology and they are a group of knowledgeable people, so many parties who wanted to exploit them. This was evidenced by so many invitations from politicians for discussion to the group administrator. However, since the movement is independent, not bound by the interests of anyone, but the ultimate goal was to uphold justice, especially in fighting corruption, the persuasion by the politicians was rejected. According to the experts who became one of the respondents in this research, the dynamic of communication that occurred in the group sustained and contained most of the criticism of the authorities or insult even scolding for the corruptors. This is consistent with the statement of ASD, an expert in political communication and public opinion studies:

*"Although there is a change, I think the flow is likely continuing to rise. Because, in my opinion, corruption in Indonesia is severe enough. Now this is what I see, the political elites have no value, because they are always oriented to the money. It makes people angrier."*

When viewed from the social perspective, the act of corruption itself actually cannot be separated with the process of politics. Most individuals who carry out corruption because they have an open position to do so, especially in the sectors of government and its strategic position is mostly also obtained by the political process. Some cases show that the major perpetrators of corruption are those who have such positions, ranging from members of parliament, ministers, political party leader, and head of the district or governor. Thus the phenomenon of corruption is also related to the political system in Indonesia. To occupy certain positions, mostly having to go through the political parties competing in the election, specifically for candidates of parliamentarians must go through a certain political party. To win in this election, each candidate must have an effective strategy and have enough money. As stated by AJ, a political communication analyst:

*"Corruption cases are happening now; it is always linked to politics. Some cases always involving the political elite and they always sheltered under political parties. Facilities in terms of access, designation and also the lobby, is owned by politicians so that they have the opportunity to play a budget."*

Democracy since the 1998 reforms that built up until now has not been stable or steady. It is still limited to the systems that govern the procedure, not the systems that touch on the substantive aspects that can work

independently. It also occurs in the mass media institutions that still controlled by certain parties, it is in line with the statement of ASD:

*“Another factor is related to the triaspolitica running unbalanced, each pillar has the political forces that overlap each other, the parliament (legislative) still have interests with the government (executive), so the element of interest is quite heavy. Legislative supposed to have freedom. Because, usually they which a majority in parliament are the election winner who also ruled (executive), not to mention an alliance in which each party has the interests of each other. This opens the possibility of a conspiracy.”*

Although corruption is potentially involving political parties in which the corrupt originated, but the moral is the deciding factor, whether someone finally decided to engage in corruption or not. No matter how strong the insistence conducted by political party, but if the politician have a good integrity, then they would think repeatedly for corruption, as stated by AJ:

*“Yes, the problem of mental, moral, and also the encouragement of the political party itself. First, because they must have the logistics for the elections. Ahead of the elections, the passion for the greater corruption. But not all due to the political parties, which is caused personal encouragement also occur. So, the anatomy of corruption is both, personally and also the party.”*

The moral case is also confirmed by ASD:

*“Mainly is the moral issue. Actually, the system we have started there, the Commission has started to work, as well as instruments to its legislation, as one of the conditions of democratic development. Although the Commission is there but there is no punishment that gives effect to convict. So, indeed the moral of our politicians that still bad.”*

The above explanation illustrates how corruption is still a big issue in Indonesia. Although the Commission tried to be serious in fighting corruption, but there are still many people that carry out corruption. It is among the causes that make people become very angry, they pay taxes that should be used to develop the country, but distorted by parties who are not responsible. Meanwhile, on the other hand, a democratic system that is freer and guarantee the rights of the people to speak, has been used against these unjust actions. Opportunities for communities to fight corruption became more open. Resistance against the abuse of power is carried out by various circles of society, ranging from students to anti-corruption activists. Starting from the protest action as well as by using media that allows them to communicate freely and frequently. One of the most popular media is the **social media**.

The use of the **social media in** Indonesia, especially Facebook has achieved a significant amount. Indonesia is a country that is included in the category of ten countries with the most Facebook users in the world. Globally, the social media has become part of the media as a whole. It can be used as a tool for various purposes, especially

by grassroots against a despotic power and it also happened in Indonesia. This is consistent with the statement of BB, an expert in sociology of communication and mass media:

*“In Indonesia, the use of the media is not restricted. Facebook and other social media are managed by the state, in Indonesia, the social media is not strongly controlled by the government, so that the movements through the social media was very influential to pressure the government in terms of corruption, for example. Thus, the political situation in Indonesia participated influenced by the power of social media. For example, the case of the Commission, that is use the social media and the people come together to the Commission. It was in Indonesia is likely to occur because the social media is not managed by the state.”*

The existence of social media Facebook in Indonesia were also determined by the policies made by the government. If the government feels that social media will affect the political situation, the government can create a policy that could impede the use of social media. When the government banned the use of social media, the public may not be able to take the fight massively against government policies that are considered unfair. The openness democracy practiced by the Indonesian government at that time has opened up the opportunities for people to participate in controlling the running of the government. The openness of democracy also has an impact to the process of information dissemination carried through the mainstream media. In this context, the mass media may have two functions. First, it acts as a bridge to get other information for people who do not use the internet. Second, as though the mass media also give credibility to the issues that arise in social media, in a sense with issues related to co-publishing in the mass media, it will further strengthen the issue. Thus, social media and mainstream media need each other, the mainstream media using information from social media to see what people were talking about. Meanwhile, the more in-depth discussion on social media, the issue from the mainstream media. Social media expert EN argued about the phenomenon of social media and the mainstream media relations in Indonesia, as follows:

*“Indeed, no aversion to the mass media in Indonesia to take in information from social media. While in certain western countries, with fairly strong journalistic tradition, they are reluctant to even very anti to the web blog at that time, they saw the bloggers are amateurs, people who are not professional. Just then, they finally embrace social media, but it did not happen in Indonesia, just relax login the information to the mass media, there is also a tweet that taken in the mass media, so it is already far more relaxed.”*

Such a phenomenon that it seems to be a trigger that is strong enough for people to use social media to control the running of the government and also oversees the law enforcement process, including the handling of corruption cases. Related with the use of social media in an effort to voice of resistance against corruption, according to experts who were respondents in this research, there are several factors that influence it, among them the political system and democracy that guarantees freedom of expression. If there is no democratic system like this, there would be no such communication dynamics that were present, including the use of social media

communications. Another factor that supporting the existence of social movements through social media is a positive economic development among the Indonesian society. This made the public generally has a financial dumped in order to spend. After purchasing the basic needs, they also bought the tools that can meet the needs of information, communication and even entertainment such as buy a smartphone.

Cultural factor that make some of the unique features of the Indonesian people in using social media, for example in terms of the number of friends on Facebook. For the West, the concept of 'friends' is indeed a friend he or she knew in the real world, so that they do not accept the arbitrary demands of strangers as their friends on social media. However, different cultures in Indonesia altogether, demand to be 'friends' on Facebook is considered to be an honour. They also tend to look at the behaviour of a 'friend' is inside Facebook, if a friend likes a group that is becoming a trend, they also followed him/her. However, in the context of their participation in a group of anti-corruption social movement, it is not appropriate, because those who actively communicate in that group are individuals who have a high awareness of the importance of eradicating corruption.

The consciousness factor was another key factor, especially in the political consciousness. Indonesian people has been aware of the intricacies of politics (political literacy), they have been already beginning to understand how to express the aspirations through the existing channels, particularly regarding their concerns about corruption. The media has provided a forum to voice their aspirations on combating corruption, including the social media. From the perspective of social psychology, Indonesian people have felt very miserable with corruption cases that occurred because some public officer shamelessly flaunt their power in the front of the people, causing resentment among the people. Resentment that already exists in their minds and hearts of the people and it continued to grow over time. Social media presence had been uniting people in the fight against tyranny, in addition, with the emergence the case of detention of two members of the Commission by the police, the time was considered the right time for people to move and against the injustice.

## **Discussion**

The members of anti-corruption social movements were generally disappointed with the authorities that seemed to abide with the conditions. They felt that corruption has undermined social order and corruption has also been closed the opportunities for the society to be developed because of the money that should be spent to build the country had entered into the corruptors. Such conditions already lead to a collective consciousness and has created a social movement on a large scale. Community members admit that their goal to join the anti-corruption social movement is to regain the rights of those who have been stolen by the corruptors. Therefore, members of the group keep motivated to fight for their fate and also people who disagree with them. Anti-corruption social movement community was also thought to contribute to the eradication of corruption and conducted law enforcement fairly. The relative deprivation theory (Morison, 1971) argued that people will experience a loss of relative rights when they feel that they do not receive 'justice' as if there were. If a lot of people who loss of their civil rights, then the next level are the interaction and communication among them. When they all together feel that their civil rights

have been deprived in relative terms, the existence of social movements will be more obvious. The research findings are also consistent with the theory of the political process of McAdam (1982 in Locher, 2002) that focusing on macro-social issues that are considered can trigger a social movement. For MacAdam (1982), economic factors and especially political factors drive the social movements.

The political system in one country may also determine the existence of a social movement, including anti-corruption social movements through social media. The political system that occurred at that time were practicing a democratic basis that is more open, so it had created the conditions in which people were freer to express their opinions and aspirations. This condition is in line with the opinion of McAdam (1982) which stated that cognitive freedom also depends on the political system as a whole. Political relations between the parties with the other party is more important than the material resources and political influence are the main source for the success of social movements, including the anti-corruption social movements through social media. Other aspects related to the political opportunities is the involvement of the social movement allies of anti-corruption in the mainstream politics as well as the mainstream media. McAdam (1982) stated that the greater of the support given by the mainstream media, the greater of the opportunity to success will be achieved. Proved that in the context of opportunities for political, democratic political system and also the support of the mainstream media has created the group's objective of anti-corruption social movement, among which the release of two members of the Commission who were detained by police, also sustainability in revealing the problem of corruption eradication in Indonesia.

## **Conclusion**

Based on data analysis and the discussion above, it can be concluded some points as follows:

1. The realization of social consciousness among members of the group which stated that corruption is a dangerous threat to the development process in Indonesia had triggered the people motivation to join in to the anti-corruption social movement. If more and more people are aware of the dangers of corruption and they get motivated, then the pressure will become more efficient, so that the real purpose of the establishment of this group can be achieved easier.
2. The political and democratic system which tends to open in Indonesia had helped the realization of the new anti-corruption social movement through online community on social media Facebook in Indonesia.
3. In terms of cultural factor, basically Indonesian people is easy for a relationship of friendship, and the concept of 'friends' for them is spacious. In a sense, anyone can be considered a friend and it was thought when they have a lot of friends on Facebook, they will consider themselves part of that particular online community.
4. The increased of economic growth has led people to be able to buy a need to communicate and socialize through social media, namely smart phone or other advanced communication equipment.
5. People with the good political literacy has led to the increasing of their political participation.

6. Social psychology condition of Indonesian people in general who have long been disappointed with their leaders who committed the acts of corruption and indecisive in dealing with cases of corruption, so that had motivated them to join in the anti-corruption online community on Facebook.

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