Understanding a New Social Movement as a Form of Awareness and Mass Collective Action

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Abstract—In the context of social movements, new media with all its advantages is not only a means of synchronous and asynchronous communication for a social movement but also for mobilization, and another political practice, particularly collective action on social networking sites has not been aimed at changing the social order and power relations in society. However, when viewed through the social movement perspective that there is a possible ideological purpose behind the use of ICT in collective action, and considering that social networking pages have a specific design that allows messages to be created in a certain way to attract public attention. Collective action is the forerunner of a social movement. The question is whether or it is true that ICT contributes to collective awareness and action which is now a new phenomenon in the development of information technology? This qualitative research wants to explore how collective action in New Media works. With the basis of existing literature studies, it can be argued that collective action cannot be the same as social movements, but social movements are contained in collective action itself. Almost all cases of collective action that occur in Indonesia are politically charged and temporary. This allows the collectivity to be dynamic. New media then allegedly became a stimulus as well as a means to create awareness and collective action of the society.

Keywords—social movement; new media; social awareness; collective action

I. INTRODUCTION

The development of new media technology cannot be separated from the development of computers and networks that allow one to connect and surf the world virtually. New discoveries in the field of technological science seem to accidentally change how people use technology and how they interact in the social world. One of these important discoveries is when the discovery of the internet that can connect and unite us with other realities through the help of computers. An important element that resulted from the development of the internet shows the internet as a global communication network that arouses virtual communities in cyberspace. Flew (2005: 61) alludes to this as a starting point for the rise of virtual communities in cyberspace. That is, the community that was originally intertwined in the social world moved into cyberspace, all of which were united by Internet Network. Not only is the virtual community successfully created by the internet, even according to Flew, but virtual culture is also the basis for the continuity of interaction between them who participate in computer-mediated communication (CMC).

Before computer technology was used massively as it is now, our relationships in the social world was so intimated. We can listen to our interlocutors tell stories without interruption caused by cell phones that ring or intermittently glance at social networking media such as Facebook or Twitter. We can also be more sensitive to the situation and circumstances around us, such as paying attention to our mothers who cook while chatting or accompanying grandfather at home while listening to his story about the past. Our relationship with neighbors is not only limited to greetings but building relationships that are family-based as part of a community, for example by holding community service, joint exercises, or even social gathering.

After the use of the internet has spread to various parts of the world, many social networking media connect one person with millions of other people without any geographical barriers. Facebook in 2007 or Twitter in 2009 was not just happening. The change in culture in our society that tends to be spoiled by internet technology makes everything fast, easy, and instant. Although at first social media networks were built to bring even distance-separated people, in reality, the use of social media has hacked into social relationships with people who are nearby.

Over time, a technology that has satisfied the needs of interaction between individuals then expanded to satisfy collective needs. There is more than one individual may even be tens, hundreds, and millions of people gather in cyberspace and then group with their own goals. The phenomenon that happened then, how social networking media that were once used for individuals, is now also used as a means of social movement, for example, the Cicak-Buaya 1,000,000 Facebook movement which was excited and managed to win public opinion. New media then allegedly a stimulus as well as a means to create

awareness and collective action in the community. The question then is it true that ICT contribute to awareness and collective action which is now a new phenomenon in the development of information technology.

A. Awareness and Collective Action

In French, the word conscience has the meaning "consciousness" which is called in English consciousness and "conscience" (English: moral conscience). Collective awareness begins with individual awareness. In the field of psychoanalysis, Freud (Semiun, 2006: 59) calling consciousness is the only level of mental life that is directly available to us.

That awareness is formed from thoughts that come from two different directions. First, the perception that is captured through the five senses if it is not too threatening to enter consciousness. Second, non-threatening thoughts from the realm of pre-consciousness and well-concealed thoughts of unconsciousness.

Other opinions regarding individual and collective awareness were also discussed in the field of sociology. Georg Simmel, a German sociologist, also discussed a little regarding individual / collective consciousness. Simmel calls it creative awareness (Ritzer, 2012: 279). Simmel sees individuals or groups of conscious individuals who interact because of various motives, intentions and interests. Creativity then becomes a form of various interactions that cannot be denied by the actors who create social structures, and also the effects that these structures have on individual creativity (Ritzer, 2012: 280).

A more established definition was then put forward by Emile Durkheim, a sociologist who initially developed the concept of collective consciousness for understanding morality in society. Durkheim argues that collective consciousness is all belief and feeling with most people in a society will form a permanent system that has its own life (Ritzer & Goodman, 2013: 85).

This definition of Durkheim is then elaborated to see the collective consciousness as a whole. First, Durkheim argues that collective consciousness exists within the life of a society. Second, Durkheim understands that collective consciousness as something apart from social facts but also able to create other social facts. Third, new collective awareness can be realized through awareness individual awareness. In other words, collective awareness refers to the general structure understanding, norms, and mutual trust, are open and non-permanent.

Collective action is then defined as written by Flew through Shenton and McNeeley's observations (Flew, 2005: 69) of people who participate in online group discussions that are opportunities for those who marginalized or persecuted by the community to express their opinions in ways that are not possible through mainstream media. Collective action to refers to collective behavior in the social world where collective action refers to the masses as something prepared by human action as the first element in mass formation.

B. Contribution of ICT to Awareness and Collective Action

The internet is a new media which is effective and efficient to use in helping to mobilize public support, at least for the Prita Mulyasari case against the Omni International Hospital, as well as the detention case of the Chair of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) Bibit Samad Riyanto and Chandra Hamzah. The public support turned out to be fruitful. Prita, a consumer who complained about Omni International Hospital services on a mailing list, was denied prosecution for civil charges of defamation by Omni International Hospital while KPK Chair Bibit and Chandra were released from allegations of abuse of power.

Public sympathy for Prita, an employee and mother of two children from this urban middle family, can be seen from the number of Facebook group account members "DUKUNGAN UNTUK IBU PRITA MULYASARI, PENULIS SURAT KELUHAN YANG DIPENJARA"(as known as "Dukung Prita") reached 389,000 by the end 2009. It did not stop there, when the Banten High Court sentenced Rp 204 million, the virtual support turned into a real action "Justice Coins for Prita Mulyasari "(abbreviated as" Justice Coin").

The "Coin for Prita" movement which was originally campaigned by bloggers on the virtual world and finally also reported by the television media managed to raise funds amounting to IDR 615 million at the end of 2009. The civil accusation by Omni International Hospital against Prita Mulyasari was canceled because it was considered as a form of success of online social movements in mobilizing support virtual or real through fundraising.

In early November 2009, more than one million friends on a Facebook group account "1,000,000 Facebookers Movement Support Chandra Hamzah & Bibit Samad Riyanto" (abbreviated "Support Bibit-Chandra") in less than a week since the arrest of Bibit and Chandra. In the end, Bibit and Chandra were only detained for ten days and acquitted of all charges. Some parties considered that the release of Bibit and Chandra showed that the digital social movement had succeeded in shaping public opinion that detention and allegations of corruption against Bibit and Chandra were a form of criminalization of the KPK, therefore freeing Bibit-Chandra was the right strategy to restore corruption eradication on the right track.

The phenomenon of citizen support on a social networking site that produces results on social reality certainly encourages activists and social movement observer. Digital social movements are very possible to continue to be encouraged complement conventional social movements in an effort to change unfair structures in Indonesia. However, instead of making 2009 a "year of Indonesia's online social movement", this phenomenon should remind the public that digital social movements are nothing new

in Indonesia, and not something that cannot be predicted also that digital social movements are a common trend among Indonesian citizens.

Predictable, that is to say, the phenomenon of social solidarity initiated in the social networking medium in Indonesia ultimately gets results that are in line with goals to be achieved, even though which issues later became public discourses Indonesia may appear randomly. However, both movements were born in the context of Indonesia which has become a democratic country so that anyone who is a citizen Indonesia is free to become a follower of a virtual cause that is as agile as it is. Moreover, the growth of Facebook users in Indonesia since 2008 has steadily increased3, especially in November 2009, the same period with the increasingly sensational news of "Cicak Versus Buaya" in the mainstream mass media.

II. METHOD

This research is library research (lib, namely a series of studies relating to library data collection methods, or research whose research objects are explored through various library information books, encyclopedias, scientific journals, newspapers, magazines, and documents). Library research or literature review (research literature) is research who reviews or critically reviews the knowledge, ideas, or findings contained in the body of academic-oriented literature (academic-oriented literature), as well as formulates its theoretical and methodological contributions to certain topics. The focus of library research is to find various theories, laws, propositions, principles, or ideas that are used to analyze and solve the research questions formulated. The nature of this research is descriptive analysis, which is the regular decomposition of data that has been obtained, then given understanding and explanation so that the reader can understand it well.

Data collection method used in this research is the documentation method. Documentation method is a method of collecting data by searching for data from literature related to what is meant in the formulation of the problem. The data that has been obtained from various literature which the website, the facebook. And the other resources that is used to answer the problems that have been formulated.

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Collective Action Case "Dukung Prita" and "Dukung Bibit-Chandra" Instead of explaining at length about digital collective action, we should first recognize social movements and the impact of the Internet on social movements. That way it will be seen whether the actions of "Dukung Prita" and "Dukung Bibit-Chandra" are classified as digital social movements. Social movements are variously defined. According to Mario Diani (1992, in Wright, 2004: 69), social movements are:

"... a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity. "

Based on this definition, theoretically, collective action is called a social movement if it meets four elements: the network of individuals and or organizations, based on collective identity, mobilizing people to support goals and take action, and have social and political goals (Aelst and Walgrave, 2004). Meanwhile, some definitions of social movements emphasize efforts to change the social and political order in a society where the social movement is life rather than simply modifying existing laws or changing political leaders (van de Donk, 2004; Wright 2004). According to Alexander (2006: 69), social movements refer to informal and formal processes consisting of individuals and organizations, where leaders and followers are united to change sanctions and rewards, forms of individual interaction, ideals -complete culture, often in a radical way.

According to Tilly (2004), not all collective action is a social movement. Tilly (2004: 6-7) explains that social movements are often confused with "collective action, organizations and networks that support an action, or as a single unit actor so as to exclude the continuous process of struggle and rearrangement in social movements and interactions among activists, with constituents, targets, authorities, competitors, opponents, audiences, which change the texture of social movements. This misguidance occurs according to him because social movements appear everywhere - especially in relatively democratic countries - so that anything that seems like a social movement is called a "social movement", whereas a new social movement began three centuries ago and has a different history with military coups, civil wars, and revolutions, also political campaigns, patriotic celebrations, or mass grief. Certain political tactics that are interconnected, developed and have historical links with each other; a unique combination of campaign, repertoire, and performance worthiness, unity, numbers, commitment (WUNC).

In terms of methods, digital collective action also uses social movement methods that have been affected by ICT. As an impact of the presence of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), changes in social movements are not only in the variety of communication media that are utilized, but in the structure of the movement itself, namely not only in the form of social movements with physical networks but also social movements with virtual networks and both.

Thus, digital social movements refer to physical and virtual social movements that use ICT, especially the Internet to perform functions communicative such as information dissemination and downloading, recruitment, mobilization, exposure of opinions and polls, discussions, facilitating contacts between supporters, services, and networks with internal and external movements, building coalitions, lobbying, campaigning (Edwards, 2004; van De Donk, 2004); and to conduct live actions in

cyberspace such as cyber-petition, virtual protests, virtual sit-ins, virtual blockades, grip sites, email bombs, web hacks, to computer viruses.

Aelst and Welgrave (2004) proved in their research on 17 anti-globalization social movement web pages. Aelst and Welgrave found that websites were effectively a tool for mobilizing actual citizens, and added an informal network of friends while protests were shown in the form of online petitions, only Protest.net made use of net-striking and Friends of the Earth who sent protest emails to politicians (Aelst and Walgrave, 2004: 99-101).

From the aspect of similar method and tool of action, digital collective action is not necessarily a digital social movement in terms of the digital social movements that have been explained previously. Using the understanding of traditional social movements above, the action "Dukung Prita "or" Dukung Bibit-Chandra can be said " not " a digital social movement.

The problem is not the term of digital, but the meaning of the "social movement". Even though social movements recognize the latent phase, the two actions are indeed actions that temporary or can not take place continuously because the purpose of both is not based on a set of beliefs. to change something that will have a broad impact on the interests of society such as social change (Tilly, 1978: 9-10), but "only" to support Prita and Bibit-Chandra. As soon as all three are free from problems, the action is complete. In addition, these two actions cannot be duplicated to other territories because the objectives of the two actions are limited to a few people in a country. If there are similar collective actions in other countries that support Prita and Bibit-Chandra, the action is more an act of sympathy because the goal of the action is not achieved, it does not providing added value to the survival of local residents.

The two actions also did not show any awareness of social and political factors as the cause of the Prita and Bibit-Chandra cases and therefore did not show the audience or the public what sociopolitical goals they should support or reject, for example to revise law number 18 of 2008 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (ITE); reject the liberalization of health services for the community; and encouraging resistance to corruption, in short, there is no purpose to change the socio-political order that is considered unfair by support groups that. Both actions are nothing more than digital collective action, namely the action of trying to realize common interests (Tilly, 1978: 7), whether carried out together in a group or carried out solely for group interests (through the Internet, which is the purpose of action for something believed to be shared but not always to make social changes or to maintain the existing socio-political order.

In this definition, The events, the activism, the collective action, and the empathy to those in need are evolving unpredicted events that could be considered an „education process‟ to use Prima‟s term, or „coming of age‟ to use Harya and Sondron‟s terminology, through which all the cyber practices to be correct (*nggenah*) and uphold togetherness (*guyub*) are reaffirmed (Seto, 2017:148) However, when viewed through the perspective that there is possible ideological goals behind the use of ICT in a collective action, and given that social networking pages have a specific design that allows messages to be created in certain ways to attract public attention, these two collective actions are the forerunner of a social movement, such as the pro-welfare movement and social justice. The "Support Prita" action in social networks is probably a simpler disclosure for the purpose of creating freedom of information, the Internet and expression; while the "Support Bibit-Chandra" movement in social networks implicitly shows the existence of a resistance movement against corruption. If you use Castells elements (2010: 73-4) about social movements, the enemy of the pro-social welfare movement is also clear, namely taking sides with the owners of capital and corruption.

The identity reflected in the second group of actions can be read as citizens who care about the creation of welfare and social justice, an identity on an individuality network rather than a digital social group or movement do not always campaign directly what is their big goal, and what broad impact will be felt by all citizens, but can take the form of action collective action spreads on networks of individuality (networked individualism) for support or fight something individually, because ICT makes it easy for individuals to form personal relationships that allow people to join more and more diverse political communities than in the material world (Wellman, 2000 in Bennet, 2004: 112). Although the action of digital collective solidarity has not built a more complete awareness of welfare and social justice in the public mind, both actions have methods that are also used in digital social movements.

Collective action "Support Prita" and "Support Bibit Candra" cannot become an example of the success of a social movement, but the success of these two digital collective actions is the same as digital social movements at some point requires traditional media to prioritize their ideas. Because, through the media the mass of social movements is able to target the public and political leaders so that more and more citizens join and create public opinion and pressure political. Especially in digital collective action that has targets and impacts of change more limited, the role of the mass media cannot be left behind to get wider public attention and sympathy. But here the mass media relations, the Internet and social movements will be discussed more deeply.

The internet is seen as an alternative or counterproductive public domain that can facilitate communicative interaction among citizens and provide greater opportunities for the emergence of political participation (Dahlgren, 2004: x-xi). In the context of social movements, the internet with all its advantages compared to traditional media does not only become means of synchronous and asynchronous communication for a social movement, but also for mobilization and other political practices (Dahlgren, 2004: x-xi).

The internet provides an opportunity for anyone to be part of the movement as long as it has the resources, access and capacity to use the Internet (Wilhelm, 2004) Before the advent of the Internet, mass media was important for social movements because social movements needed media as a tool to express protest and help influence the formation of public opinion and policy makers (Rucht, 1994) Communication in social movements is directed to two parties, namely internal parties of movements such as between participants, and external parties to movements such as observers or Opposition, where this communication determines the quality of management and is achieved whether or not the purpose of the social movement (Wright, 2004).

Various forms of communication can be carried out by a movement, either face-to-face communication or mediated communication. The form of communication chosen varies, sometimes related to the target of the communication. If the target of a movement is qualitative mobilization, face-to-face interaction is usually a strategy of a movement to get a big but limited impact (Rucht, 2004: 27).

Meanwhile, not only to show the existence of a movement, if the target of social movements is on quantitative mobilization, mass media is needed for help mobilize as many people as possible because of the greater attention and public support is expected to impress and influence decision makers who use the media as a source of information and communication tools (Rucht, 2004: 27). Social movements will be "present" before the public and rulers through mass media coverage of a repertoire of action that is expected to be of news value to the mass media. Whether broadcast or not, how the media framing of the action will appear in the mass media, whatever media reaction to the action signals the success or failure of a movement that is whether they are accepted or rejected by the public will be seen through mass media (Rucht, 2004: 27).

Traditional media reactions are difficult to ascertain. Good publicity by a digital social movement does not necessarily get positive framing from traditional mass media (Bennet, 2004). In fact, it is still possible that the mass media does not expose the message that the digital social movement wants to convey, but instead emphasizes the sensational aspects of the movement. The presence of new media responds to the uncertainty of traditional media by becoming a new public domain where web pages, video sharing, social networking pages, which can be produced do not have to go through the editing process by editors and can be created with simpler conventions (Harper, 2003: 273) The Internet easily becomes a virtual domain for the growth of media managed by citizens, communities and social organizations. Without building a paid network page, a movement activist can communicate through Weblogs which later become part of activism in the blogosphere.

The current social movements throughout the world are classified as new social movements, a movement that is no longer essentially based on homogeneous groups with bonding relationships that are sticky, must united by common areas and social locations, centralization, formality and strong leadership, but new social movements consisting of heterogeneous constituencies, fluid relations, and not limited to national territory (Van de Donk, et. al., 2004: 3). This new social movement tends to carry the values of diversity, decentralization, informality, and grassroots democracy, so that it can be estimated new social movements comfortably adopt media that is appropriate to ideological and organizational needs (van De Donk, et. al., 2004: 3), in this case the Internet is capable of fulfill it, it is proven that the Internet can facilitate the growth of political participation political action is easier, faster, and universal - anyone can use it to be organized (Aelst and Walgrave, 2004: 87).

According to van de Donk, although political parties also experienced changes due to the use of the Internet, greater benefits were perhaps felt more by the movement socialization initiated by residents (van De Donk, et. al., 2004: 4). According to Edwards, (2004: 166-7), the impact of Internet use on political functions in social movements is: a) frame management function: The internet is a medium to explain frame and definition of problem and as a realm to create shared understanding and identity between members and constituents; b) resource mobilization function: the ability of organizations to network, develop resources, circulate information, recruit and mobilize people; c) the function of maintaining relationships with the environment: increasing the capacity of the organization to maintain networks and for coordinate action.

Collective action "Dukung Prita" and "Dukung Bibit-Chandra" can develops into a social movement by discussing problems more strategically and setting common goals that can impact social change at the same time that can bind as a group identity. Collective Action "Support Prita" showed the existence of support mobilization through collecting coins of hundreds of millions of rupiah, but the success of the mobilization of support was inseparable from the electronic media factors that often broadcast news about the Prita case. Social movements need more support than that which is able to build a broader network of individuals, groups and like-minded organizations.

To reach those outside the two movements, or to create a group of observers, or to attract the attention of the authorities, the media traditionally the most appropriate vehicle for social movements in reporting a social movement action. As newspapers remain in circulation and radio stations are still on the air even though television has been broadcasting, the Internet cannot reduce traditional mass media values. Mass events such as online petitions, online campaigns and Netstrikes are often overlooked by targeted targets, thus exposing them to broader observers relying heavily on mass media (della Porta and Diani, 2006: 173). In addition, new media, however, remain closely integrated with traditional media such as print and broadcast media, discussions taking place in a number of blogs, web pages and mailing lists refer to an attempt to influence the content of other media formats (Waltz, 2005 : 90), so that there was "the flow of information from micro media towards mass media and the formation of a crossing of audiences between the two" (Bennet, 2004).

Thus, although the Internet promises many possibilities for digital social movements, a digital social movement is not always or not fully means to mobilize support digitally, but also in real terms and still take into account the need for mass media factors in the movement. If anything the movement also emphasizes aspects of protest disclosure, the movement requires a form of disclosure to influence decision makers, usually represented by actors who influence and disseminate the mass media (Della Porta and Diani, 2006: 166-7) which traditionally edits events that are considered feasible to broadcast or print so that decision-makers can immediately listen to what is happening out there. The emergence of the reporting of digital social movements in the mainstream media shows that protests through cyberspace are in line with the interests of the media - still taking into account media bias, because the media are interested in a movement that has high emotional value and symbolic issues that create an atmosphere of consensus, emotion, and togetherness (Walgrave and Manssens, 2000 in Della Porta and Diani, 2006: 220).

IV. CONCLUSION

The development of information technology and technology has produced changes in collective community action. The internet, which is part of the development, is now able to be an alternative way to raise public interest. The internet as one of the developments in communication technology is seen as an alternative or rival public domain that can facilitate communicative interaction among citizens and provide greater opportunities for political participation. There is a general assumption that the implementation of information and communication technology is determined to what extent technology can open access to various information services and networks. The more services and information networks available, the more people will implement them the technology itself so from that various forms of consciousness and collective action emerge.

Collective action on social networking sites, for example, has not been aimed at changing the social order and power relations in society. However, when viewed through a perspective that there is a possible ideological goal behind the use of ICT in a collective action, and remembering that social networking pages have a specific design that allows messages to be created in certain ways to attract public attention, both collective actions are the forerunner of a social movement. Collective action cannot be said to be the same as social movements, but social movements are contained in collective action itself. Almost all cases of collective action that occur in Indonesia are politically charged and temporary. This allows the collectivity to be dynamic.

Before the advent of the Internet, mass media was important for social movements because social movements needed media as a tool to express protest and help influence the formation of public opinion and policymakers. Communication in social movements is directed to two parties, namely internal parties of the movement such as between participants, and external parties such as observers and opponents of movements, where this communication determines the quality of management and whether or not the objectives of the social movement are achieved. Various forms of communication can be done by one movement, both face-to-face communication or mediated communication. The form of communication chosen varies, sometimes related to the target of the communication. If the target of a movement is qualitative mobilization, face-to-face interaction is usually a strategy of a movement to get a large but limited impact.

Meanwhile, not only to show the existence of a movement, if the target social movements are on quantitative mobilization, mass media is needed to help mobilize as many people as possible because the greater public attention and support is expected to impress and influence decision makers who use the media as a source of information and communication tools.

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