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Digital Activism and Collective Identity: "No Viral No Action" as Connective Action among Youth on Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue

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A B S T R A C T

This study examines the role of digital activism in forming collective identity among youth through the "No Viral No Action" campaign, which addresses air pollution in Jakarta. Using a qualitative approach with netnography methods, data was collected via in-depth interviews and social media content analysis on X (Twitter) and Instagram. The study explores how Jakarta's youth use digital platforms to organize social movements and raise environmental awareness. The findings reveal that digital activism fosters collective identity through inclusive and interactive participation. The "No Viral No Action" campaign successfully garnered widespread support with engaging communication strategies tailored to the younger generation. Participation in this campaign not only strengthened solidarity but also heightened awareness of the importance of collective action against air pollution. The campaign's effectiveness is attributed to self-organizing networks and actions facilitated by various entities, including ordinary citizens, communities, and media. The study concludes that the connective action seen in this campaign highlights the significant potential of social media in driving social change. It also underscores the crucial role of digital technology in enabling active youth participation in environmental issues, impacting the dynamics of contemporary social movements.

A R T I C L E I N F O

1. INTRODUCTION

The trend of digital activism is growing massively each day in line with the emergence of social and political issues in various countries, where individuals build relationships and political participation awareness within a digital network. Digital activism aim to convey public statements to the government through digital platforms to prompt governmental action. Through social media, petitions, and online forums, the public can voice opinions, support policies, or oppose specific issues. These media are often used for rapid mobilization, reaching a broad audience, and influencing government decisions by leveraging technology for more inclusive and interactive advocacy (Addiputra et al., 2020; Castillo, E., et al., 2021;) Okafor, J. C., et al., 2024). Online campaigns enhance public participation in the political decision-making process. Some examples of phenomena showing that the internet has great potential to open spaces for political participation for citizens to influence the democratic agenda in Indonesia include: #AksiBelaIslam, the Cicak vs. Buaya case #SaveKPK, the Prita Mulyasari case #CoinsForPrita, #DPRKhianatiRakyat, #RejectOmnibusLaw, as well as the case of volunteers in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election.

From a social science perspective, this phenomenon illustrates how social media facilitates the mobility of social and political networks for individuals to express dissatisfaction with authoritarian governance, mobilize masses, and build collective awareness. Social media enables rapid and widespread dissemination of information, breaking the monopoly of information often controlled by authoritarian governments (Addiputra et al., 2020; Chunly, 2020). This means that digital activism through the internet gradually transforms the personalized character of digital networks, allowing individuals or groups to create their own narratives and content. Indirectly, this digital activism is no longer monopolized by mass media, thereby opening opportunities for various voices and previously marginalized perspectives to gain public attention (Cho et al., 2022). Digital activism also contributes to the creation of new public spaces where political discussions can occur more openly and inclusively. As a result, social movements can form more quickly and have a broader reach, strengthening the position of civil society in their efforts to demand change and social justice.

Social media platforms have the capability to facilitate messages of digital activism from young people that are easily heard and have a strong tendency to influence the public, leading to rapid and unstoppable popularity. One piece of evidence demonstrating the strong influence of young people on social media is the phenomenon of the "No Viral No Action" issue. This phenomenon reflects the firm stance of social media users, indirectly emphasizing the importance of virality in the digital world regarding issues that require public attention. The influence of viral content on social media, organically marked by hashtags, with positive reactions such as likes, comments, and shares, creates a powerful natural impact (Alhabash et al., 2019; Feng et al., 2021). An interesting aspect nowadays is the virality of young people's digital activism discussing the issue of "Poor Air Quality in Jakarta," which has sparked a wave of reactions and greater attention from young people to voice opinions, demands, and exert pressure on the authorities, urging the government to respond more quickly and seriously. This indicates that social media serves as a tool to overcome traditional barriers in conveying their aspirations, allowing them to easily organize themselves, disseminate information, and garner support from fellow individuals who care (Harmoko & Purwaningrum, 2022).

Based on data from the IQAir website, the US Air Quality Index (AQI US) recorded a score of 156 for air quality in the capital city, indicating unhealthy conditions in Jakarta in August 2023. The highest pollutant concentration in the air of Jakarta reached PM 2.5, which is 13 times the World Health Organization's (WHO) annual air quality guidelines. This sparked outrage among netizens, especially young people, and garnered public attention to the extent

that the government reportedly took action. In the period from August 7th to 16th, Netray Analysis found 14.4 thousand tweets related to Jakarta's air quality, with 7 thousand of them expressing negative sentiment. The total impressions reached 30 million reactions, potentially reaching 179.7 million Twitter user accounts. This indicates a serious issue regarding air quality in Jakarta, with the emergence of negative responses indicating that awareness of environmental problems is increasing and the demand for concrete action from the government is becoming more urgent.

Social media platform X (Twitter) has become the primary channel for young people to express concern and share information about pollution levels in Jakarta. Hashtags related to pollution such as #PolusiJakarta, #BebasPolusi, and #JakartaPolusi are frequently used, enabling users to group related content into one stream of information. Discussions about air pollution in Jakarta often begin with one or two tweets from influential accounts (influencers). One such account is Piotr Jakubowski (@piotrj), who is the Co-Founder of PT Nafas Aplikasi Indonesia (an air quality monitoring application in Indonesia known as Nafasid). Through his account on X (Twitter), Piotr Jakubowski provides information about the poor air quality, leading to a surge in posts, comments, and discussions linking pollution to public health. Consequently, the issue gains momentum organically, with most content comprising conversations from other young netizens' accounts.

Table 1. Posts Related to the Case of Air Pollution in Jakarta on Social Media

No	Content Post	Accounts	Posting Date	Response
1	Polusi jakarta yg bertahun2 punya AQI rata2 diatas 170 dan berstatus "berbahaya utk kesehatan" tapi tetap tidak ada yg bahas/gerak. di bbrp negara, capai AQI 150 itu sudah jadi headline berita dgn *warning* heboh jgn keluar rumah, tutup jendela, pakai masker & pasang purifier #BebasPolusi #polusiudarajakarta	Renatta Moeloek @MoeloekRenatta	August 7, 2023	Views: 2M Likes: 17,8K Comments: 353 Share: 6,1K
2	Agak sebel baca berita akhir2 ini soal Polusi Udara Udah mah gaji kita dipotong sepersekian persen buat mereka… kita juga yang disalahin disuruh berkorban gaya hidup katanya… Udah gt digemborin EV terus pula… Terus kalian kerjanya apa #stoppolution #polusiudara	Eza Hazami @ezash	August 17, 2023	Likes: 19K Comments: 500
3	Sementara polusi di jakarta terjadi ketika listrik sedang *oversupply* krn tatakelola energi yg carut marut dan sektor industri yg terus merosot. *Growth* mentok di angka 5% dan *income* per capita cuma bisa naik dgn pelan2. #JakartaPolusi #BebasPolusi	Joel Picard @sociotalker	August 22, 2023	Views: 7,1K Likes: 74 Comments: 8 Share: 16

Source: Primary Data (2023)

The emergence of a social movement pioneered by a pattern where an individual moves based on connectivity in digital social media. This establishes a foundation for shared views and concerns (personal preferences) about specific issues (Bimber & Gil de Zúñiga, 2020). Consequently, it can give rise to a "Participatory Culture" among young people through the use of social media, bringing a new dimension to active participation in Indonesia. In the view of social sciences, a participatory culture can be seen as a crucial milestone in the development of inclusive and responsive democracy (Chilvers & Kearnes, 2020). This participatory culture marks a transition from passive participation models to active ones, where individuals are not only consumers of information but also actors in decision-making processes and social change. Participatory culture emerges with the changing structure of mass communication. In the era of conventional media such as electronic and print media, the audience's status is that of consumers. In contrast, in the era of online media, social media users are not only consumers but also producers of messages, known as prosumers (Sugihartati, 2020; Malodia et al., 2024; Pearce, S. C., & Rodgers, J., 2020).

The role of digitization through social media greatly facilitates the promotion of participatory culture among young people who are interconnected with individuals not centralized within a specific group. On the issue of "Air Pollution in Jakarta," where these interconnected individuals may not know each other, there is no hierarchy, and actions are taken with personal awareness without coercion. The shift in movement patterns with the utilization of digital social media by young people for social and political information purposes, such as environmental issues and criticism of state elite policies leading to significant ecological degradation, is known as the concept of "Connective Action," popularized by Bennett & Segerberg (2012). It depicts a fundamental change in movement dynamics in the digital era, where a digital movement can evolve without formal leaders or rigid organizational structures by enabling individuals to connect, coordinate, and share common goals and values. This means that the concept of Connective Action has distinctive differences from previous forms of action in terms of technology utilization.

Therefore, this research will discuss how young people's digital activism builds connective action to spread the campaign on Jakarta's air pollution issue on social media, which is a contemporary choice today. It is quite capable of mobilizing masses to become viral and pressing the government to care and subsequently exerting pressure for the Jakarta Provincial Government to quickly address this pollution issue. The urgency of discussing this issue is reinforced by the detrimental impacts of air pollution on human health and the environment. Through connective action, they can connect individuals who share the same concerns, expand the reach of their messages, and encourage active participation in campaign dissemination.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Digital Activism

The advent of digital technology has transformed the landscape of activism, with the use of various digital technologies (such as blogs, videos, podcasts, and social media) for activism purposes gaining significant momentum in recent years. Digital technology allows activists to disseminate information quickly to a wider audience through multiple channels for social, political, economic, or environmental purposes (Gutiérrez, 2018; Calibeo, D. L., & Hindmarsh, R. 2022; Earl, J., Maher, T. V., 2022). Many activists utilize network technology not only to create and share information but also to shape public opinion, plan and call for action, protect activists, and mobilize online and offline resources.

Unlike offline activism, which is more organized where most individuals remain passive, digital activism on social media allows individuals to transition from passive participation to self-organized participation (George & Leidner, 2019). Therefore, digital activism becomes more organized and leaderless. At the individual level, social media has enabled people to make decisions based on information about their overall participation, thereby increasing opportunities for participation and facilitating protest coordination (Jost et al., 2018; Khazraee & Novak, 2018). One popular campaign tool that has emerged in digital activism is hashtag activism, involving a large number of posts using a common word or phrase preceded by the # symbol on social media platforms (Earl, J., et al 2022; Zahra, I. M. 2020).

Hashtags have evolved over time and are not only used to categorize content but also designed and created by users for various purposes such as events, branding, breaking news, and advocacy goals. For example, they are associated with social issues, including environmental issues. During natural disasters like the Sinabung eruption, people felt they were contributing by spreading the hashtag #PrayForSinabung. Campaigns like "Tolak Plastik Sekali Pakai" encourage people to reduce single-use plastic consumption to protect the environment and reduce plastic waste impact by spreading the hashtag #DietKantongPlatik.

2.2. Connective Action

Digital media plays a role in today's social movements. The question is, how can digital media shape changes in participation and political activism? To what extent does it differ from traditional organizational patterns? (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013) offer their answer in their book titled "The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics," formulating a new conceptual framework called connective action to understand the dynamics of activism in digital spaces or patterns of individual participation based on digital media connectivity. There are three main points that characterize the logic of connective action according to Bennett & Segerberg (2012), including:

First, participation in the online space operates under a "Connective Action" logic that differs from the collective action logic outlined by Olson (2009). In connective action logic, individuals do not need to commit to a specific group. Second, in digital media, participation resembles more of individual personal expression rather than group action. The circulation of hashtags (#hashtag) allows us to connect, even though the narratives, perspectives, and meanings conveyed can be highly personal, reflecting individual aspirations, hopes, grievances, beliefs, and lifestyles. Third, communication networks become the core of organization in the digital space, replacing the role of hierarchical leadership and membership. In their study, Bennett & Segerberg (2012) identified three typologies of large-scale action networks based on the forms of organization and contemporary networks they produce.
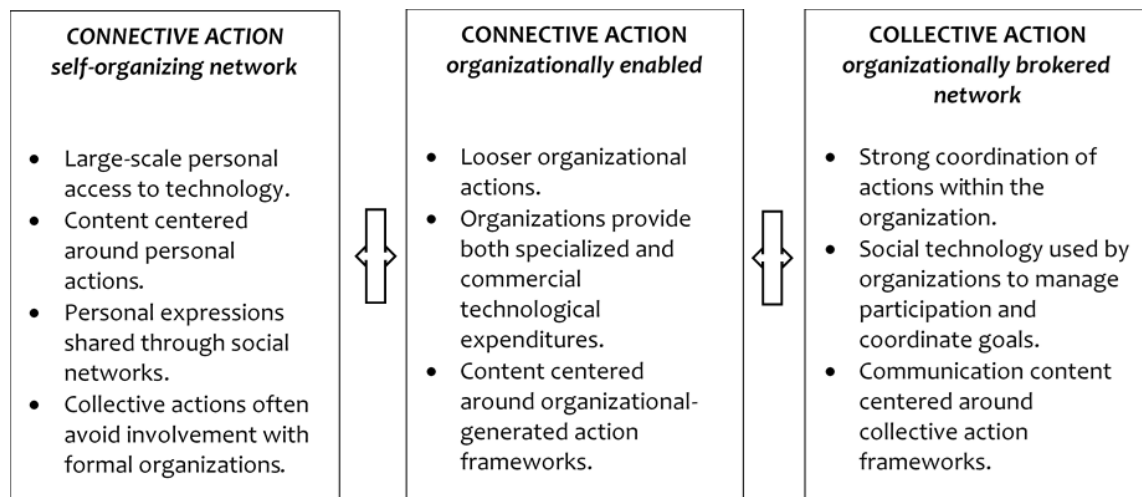
CONNECTIVE ACTION *self-organizing network*	CONNECTIVE ACTION *organizationally enabled*	COLLECTIVE ACTION *organizationally brokered network*
• Large-scale personal access to technology. • Content centered around personal actions. • Personal expressions shared through social networks. • Collective actions often avoid involvement with formal organizations.	• Looser organizational actions. • Organizations provide both specialized and commercial technological expenditures. • Content centered around organizational-generated action frameworks.	• Strong coordination of actions within the organization. • Social technology used by organizations to manage participation and coordinate goals. • Communication content centered around collective action frameworks.

Figure 1. Typologies of Connective and Collective Action Networks
Source: Bennett & Segerberg (2012)

One of the three typologies is organizationally brokered networks characterized by collective action logic. While the other two typologies, self-organizing networks and organizationally enabled action, represent variations in networks characterized by connective action logic. These three typologies can explain the differences between and dynamics within large-scale action networks in political events, such as protests and protest sequences (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). However, Bennett and Segerberg, through their study, have contributed theoretically to explaining how new patterns of activism emerge in social media, but the study has not answered critical questions about, "What needs to be done to ensure the success and civil engagement in digital activism?".

Therefore, to address the second focus of this study, the authors propose a framework to fill this gap with a study conducted by Lim (2013) titled "Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia." The findings in the context of Indonesia can provide rich insights to make us think about narratives as one of the crucial factors determining the effectiveness of digital activism. Social media movement activism can successfully mobilize mass support when it achieves three things: (1) simplified narratives; (2) symbolic representation; and (3) low-risk activism. A simple narrative can become something viral, thus an issue is framed in such a way that it becomes a short, catchy, and sensational headline to attract more public attention. However, the measure of success in mobilizing the masses on social media fails to understand what actors have a significant influence in mobilizing movements on social media.

2.3. Opinion Leader

According to Jungherr (2015), an issue that arises on social media does not emerge on its own, but there are actors or groups that initiate it as a conversation on social media to attract the attention of other users. Attention is the most valuable asset on social media. Users who succeed not only gain attention but also have significant influence over other users to take action or spread an issue more widely (Wolfsfeld, 2022). Therefore, someone who has significant influence on social media is called an opinion leader. (Zhang et al., 2016) in their study titled "Who Creates Trends in Online Social Media: The Crowd or Opinion Leaders?" explain that essentially, opinion leaders in social media have little difference from traditional

opinion leaders. For example, a user's level of education and social status on social media are not issues. However, opinion leaders in social media are more influenced by informal status, which leads them to have stronger connectivity or connections with other users.

An opinion leader in social media can be measured by at least three metrics: 1) indegree (the number of followers an account has); 2) retweets or shares (the number made by users that have been shared by other accounts); and 3) mentions (how many times an account is mentioned by other users) (Zhang et al., 2016). This means that individuals with more connectivity on social media wield greater influence in disseminating information. In this study, the characteristics of opinion leaders are focused on behavior. This stems from their actions in critiquing the dominance of policy discourse developed by power, as critique is a social practice in the form of language. Through critique, hidden ideological interests are exposed with the aim of bringing about change in those policies. The critiques of opinion leaders are also narratives conveyed through mass media or social media. Narrative is a rhetorical act with specific aims from an individual or group of individuals (Herman et al., 2012; Mubarak, A. S., 2021; Roos, M., 2024).

3. METHOD

In this study, the primary research approach used is a qualitative approach with netnography method. The selection of the netnography method was made by the researcher to be aligned and appropriate with the context of the research being examined, which is related to the digital activism of young people building connective action on social media. This research employs a blended design of netnography and ethnography, meaning that the study is not solely designed with netnography but also incorporates ethnography. (Verma, 2023) refers to this as Blended Netnography/Ethnography.
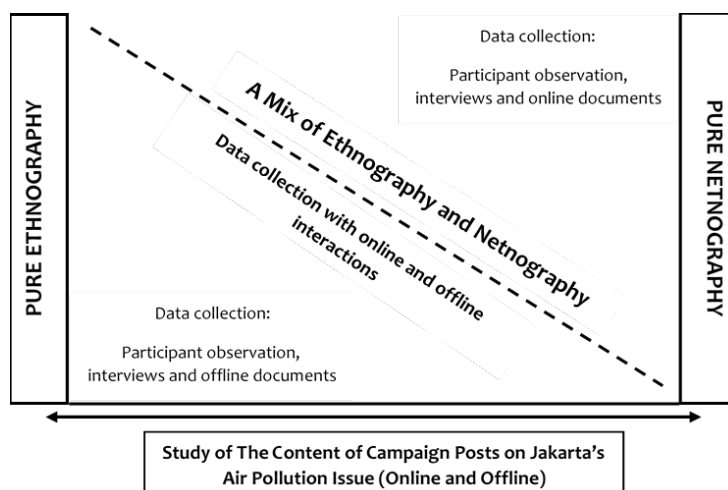

Figure 2. Netnographic Research Design
Source: Adapted from Kozinets (2010)

In the explanation of Figure 2 above, it provides a visual representation of the weighting of online and offline field research leading to blended or pure netnography and ethnography research methods. Thus, the data collection and analysis procedures in the study "No Viral No Action: the campaign on air pollution issue in Jakarta in digital activism among young people becoming viral on social media" refer to a qualitative research approach. Participant selection in the research is also done based on specific objectives through purposive sampling. According to Douglas (2022), the purposive sampling technique relies on the researcher's

judgment to select individuals, ensuring that each chosen informant is an expert. The selection of informants is based on individuals who have influence on the virality of air pollution in Jakarta (opinion leaders) and understand the conditions of the issue being studied. The selection of research informants is also based on the analysis of the research location area, where Jakarta is the area of focus on air pollution issues in Jakarta in mobilizing public discourse on X (Twitter) and Instagram social media platforms.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Social Media as a New Arena for Viralizing the Campaign for Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue

The increasing use of the internet and widespread penetration of smartphones have transformed social media into a platform that facilitates information dissemination within it. This has created a dynamic communication network without time and space constraints, making social media as a digital mediated communication medium facilitate instant communication unlike ever before (Candrasari, 2020). One issue that has garnered public attention on social media is the case of air pollution in Jakarta. Air pollution in Jakarta has become an increasingly pressing and alarming issue, which not only creates direct impacts on public health but also raises awareness of the need for collective action in environmental conservation.

Environmental activists utilize social media as a platform to raise awareness and garner support. One social media platform, X, is particularly popular for instantly viraling campaigns regarding the issue of air pollution in Jakarta. Through the use of relevant hashtags such as #PolusiUdaraJakarta or #JakartaBersih, this campaign can quickly go viral and reach trending topics in Indonesia. Framing or presenting the issue is also crucial in this campaign. The messages conveyed must evoke emotions and motivate action (Nikolinakou & King, 2018). This way, campaign content will resonate more and inspire sympathy as well as the desire to take action. Environmental activists present various content including text, photos, and videos to convey their message in creative ways and influence environmental advocacy (see figure 3). This approach becomes a strategy employed by environmental activists to mobilize networks widely with extensive dissemination. Public opinion built on social media leads to interactions without structural limitations, where each user shares experiences and spreads information about the impact of air pollution.
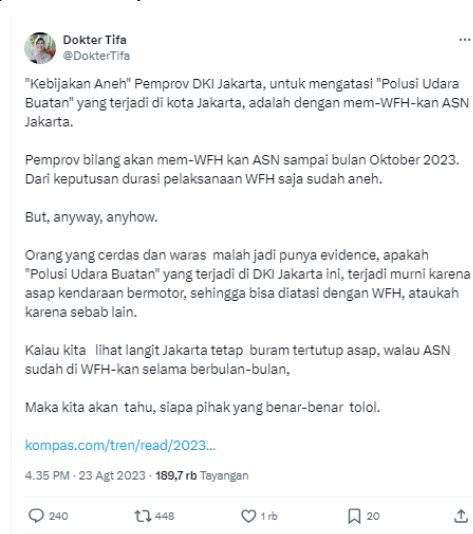

Figure 3. Content of Post X (Twitter) About Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue
Source: @DokterTifa X (Twitter) Account

In Figure 3, it is shown that the issue of air pollution in Jakarta has become a critical platform where public opinion is organically formed through interactions and information exchange on social media. Jürgen Habermas depicts the public sphere as a space where individuals can freely exchange ideas and form opinions independent of political and economic powers (De Angelis, 2021; Emina, 2021). Public opinion can only emerge when there is a public engaging in rational discussion. According to Effendi et al., (2020) social media has now become a new arena for viral campaigns, which extends the reach of information and facilitates more direct and interactive public participation, increasing engagement in a campaign for an issue to be addressed by other users. The issue of air pollution sparks public opinions that prompt users to share their personal experiences, scientific data, and subjective views on the matter. According to an Environmental Activist Informant on the Nafasid Application:

"Because, you see, last year, what drove the pollution issue to escalate were actually those who already had families, right? Because their children got sick, and then it went viral, pediatricians complaining about patients, saying there were so many of them." [February 7, 2024]

Social media increasingly plays a central role in mediating social networks based on the structure of social networks and the communication systems that bind them. Consistent with Friedland's perspective (1996) that, "By treating communities as networks of social capital, not just as discursive communities, we can begin to ground the connecting elements of new information technologies in social life and social structure" (Masullo et al., 2022). Regarding public opinion on the issue of air pollution in Jakarta, this opinion suggests that social media acts as a tool facilitating interactions among various actors within this social network.

Figure 4. Content of Post X (Twitter) About Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue
Source: @laksmideneefe Instagram Account

In Figure 4 above, it represents one form of response to the issue of air pollution in Jakarta, which is no longer confined to lobbying activities and protests on the streets. Instead, the emergence of campaigns on social media has opened the door to garnering broader

support and awareness. Content and narratives disseminated through social media can become viral and have a widespread impact in a short period, accelerating the spread of information about the issue of air pollution and mobilizing collective action. From Fisher (2017) perspective, a narrative is considered crucial because indirectly through effective storytelling, social media users can create narratives that trigger empathy, admiration, or anger, prompting individuals to take action and participate in the promoted movement.

Gladwell (2001) describes "The Stickiness Factor" as a factor influencing the success of a message in adhering to someone's mind and behaviour (Gass & Seiter, 2022). Thus, messages disseminated through social media can serve as effective tools in educating the public about the adverse effects of air pollution and urging the government to take action. According to the Co-founder of Bicara Udara informant:

"In 2023, it indeed went viral to the extent that four task forces were formed, showing a strong initial response. However, it lacked sustainability and measurability. It seemed to lack sufficient data, and the impact was not felt yet." [May 9, 2024]

Based on the interview results above, it is evident that the role of social media is crucial in raising awareness and action regarding air pollution. Although viral campaigns may trigger a quick response from the government, the main challenge lies in maintaining momentum so that it doesn't just become a passing phenomenon. Taking a deeper look, Gladwell (2001) suggests that the use of digital platforms also reflects the principle of "The Power of Context," wherein the environment and situation in which someone is placed play a significant role in shaping behavior. According to the Environmental Activist Informant on the Nafasid Application:

"The virality pressures the government, while on the other hand, the Nafas social media platform also becomes viral and becomes more diligent in creating educational content to enlighten and, at the same time, to sell." [February 7, 2024]

Based on the interview results above, it is evident that with virality as its main tool, content reflecting the aspirations of the community can quickly spread and garner widespread attention. This can create pressure on the government to respond to demands or even reconsider controversial policies. Social media directs efforts to facilitate coordination and mass mobilization for action, thus underpinning policy change efforts. Policy changes resulting from this momentum have become evidence that the collective power of society can bring about significant changes in governance and public policy (de Vries, 2020). Maka dari itu, upaya memviralkan informasi dan pesan-pesan terkait isu polusi udara Therefore, efforts to viralize information and messages related to the issue of air pollution are the initial steps to invite active participation from various parties in public discourse. The virality of content on social media opens the door for diverse groups of people to participate in open and inclusive dialogue.

4.2. Connective Action in the Campaign for Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue on Social Media

Connective action is a concept introduced by Bennett and Segerberg to describe forms of political and social participation that occur through digital networks. The occurrence of air pollution in Jakarta has prompted the community to discuss this issue on various channels, one of which is social media. This campaign not only focuses on raising public awareness about the dangers of air pollution but also encourages collective action to demand more

effective policies from the government. According to the informant who is advocating Jakarta's air pollution issue on social media:

"This is interesting. I am also aware that the authorities are blaming each other for this issue of pollution. Especially on two major factors: Steam Power Plants vs Transportation. Both are accusing each other as the main polluters. However, discussing this pollution issue is not just about Jakarta. Because talking about this must be comprehensive. It should be discussed province-wide, nationwide, and even worldwide. Because air and pollution move. In essence, both Steam Power Plants and Transportation are excessive in this narrow Jakarta. The number of vehicles increases, factories increase, road and building construction increases, but Jakarta remains the same size." [December 7, 2023]

Social media directs individuals towards forms of connective action that link them online to achieve common goals. It not only facilitates the exchange of information and coordination but also enables the formation of strong social networks among individuals who were previously geographically or socially isolated. In line with the context of connective action as proposed by Bennett & Segerberg (2012), this action becomes a form of activism in the digital space or a pattern of participation that allows a movement to have no leader, no clear organizational structure, and individuals involved in the movement can freely join or leave a movement or action. Digital campaigns using connective action leverage digital technology to coordinate collective action without traditional hierarchies. The government, as the authority within the political system, is responsible for certain issues and must make decisions that bind society (Sukarno et al., 2017). In these campaigns, technology enables more flexible individual participation, connecting public views and demands directly to the government to influence policies in a more open and adaptive manner compared to conventional methods. According to an Environmental Activist Informant on the Nafasid Application:

"Digital campaigns regarding Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue on social media have been effective in raising awareness and mobilizing public action. However, there is still room for improvement in terms of engaging policymakers and ensuring sustained efforts to address the root causes of air pollution. While the campaigns have succeeded in capturing public attention and fostering dialogue, more concrete actions and policy changes are needed to make a lasting impact on improving air quality in Jakarta." [May 7, 2024]

From the findings, there are several typologies of connective action underlying the advocacy background of the air pollution campaign in Jakarta, both on a personal and organizational basis. Firstly, there is connective action based on the typology of self-organizing network. This awareness is then articulated through social media, where individuals share personal experiences, information, and critical views regarding government policies related to air pollution. These activities create networks of solidarity and broad support, encouraging more people to join the campaign and express their concerns. Secondly, there is connective action based on the typology of organizationally enabled action, which involves structured community groups, NGOs, mass media, and environmental communities.

Table 2. Matrix of Connected Digital Actors Strengthening Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue Campaign

No	Types of social media	Connective Action Typology	Account name	Professional Profile	Form a Connection to the Jakarta's Air Pollution Issue Campaign
1	Instagram	Self-organizing network	@laksmideneefe Laksmi DeNeefe Suardana	Puteri Indonesia 2022 and Literacy Activist	Criticism of handling air pollution
2	Instagram	Self-organizing network	Astri Puji Lestari @atiit	Influencer and Housewife	Advocacy participates in handling air pollution
3	Instagram	Organizationally enabled action	@bersihkanindonesia Bersihkan Indonesia	NGOs	Criticize the government's attitude of being indifferent to the issue of air pollution
4	X (Twitter)	Self-organizing network	@MoeloekRenatta Renatta Moeloek	Chef	Criticize the government's attitude of being indifferent to the issue of air pollution
5	X (Twitter)	Self-organizing network	@sociotalker Sulfikar Amir	Lecturer at Nanyang Technological University	Criticism of the government's attitude of still using fossil energy
6	X (Twitter)	Organizationally enabled action	@nafasidn Nafasindonesia	NGOs	Advocacy that suggests the public has awareness of the air quality index

Source: Data Processing Results by Researchers (2024)

The combination of these two typologies of connective action creates a strong and diverse advocacy dynamic. Social media serves not only as a communication tool but also as a platform for mobilization and coordination of action. Both the self-organizing network and organizationally enabled action approaches can be seen in how individuals and groups in Jakarta use social media to interact and share information related to air pollution. Communities can form decentralized networks around this issue, supporting each other, and organizing actions without the need for clear formal structures or hierarchies (Gui & MacGill, 2018).

When connected with the context of connective action, these efforts highlight individuals' ability to horizontally connect through digital networks, without relying on hierarchy or formal structures. This enables greater social mobility and empowers collective participation in various issues and movements, where social media serves not only as a communication tool but also as a space where the collective and collaborative strength of individuals can be effectively realized. Aligned with the context of connective action itself, which sees the utilization of technology as the movement's context (technology as context)

(Suk et al., 2021). Thus, social media becomes the primary tool for people to communicate and voice their interests and aspirations. Ultimately, the air pollution campaign in Jakarta driven by connective action through social media reflects new dynamics in modern social movements.

4.3. Connective Action on the Air Pollution Issue Effectively Builds a Participatory Culture Among Young People in Driving Government Policies

The posts of young people on social media responding to the Jakarta's air pollution issue have become a serious topic of discussion for other users, with various comments, criticisms, and support. This has made it viral content and exerted quick pressure on relevant government agencies to promptly respond to the issue. This explains that the connective action of young people through viral posting content related to pollution issues in Jakarta on social media is evidence that it has fostered a new culture, namely participatory culture. A participatory culture fosters online social interaction, connecting with people not centralized in a specific group, where those connected do not know each other, there is no hierarchy, and it is done with personal awareness without coercion (Jenkins, 2018; Kahne & Bowyer, 2018).

The content on Jakarta's air pollution issue disseminated by young people through social media platforms like X (Twitter) and Instagram can shape a participatory culture where debates and discussions underscore the importance for society to understand the issue of Jakarta's air pollution to enhance mutual concern. The utilization of social media in the Jakarta air pollution issue campaign becomes crucial to consider; it no longer merely serves as a tool for public consumption but can be used to foster an effective participatory culture in capturing public attention, acting as a counterbalance, reminder, and supplement to the new movements of young communities regarding environmental issues as an essential study. The significant power of social media has been utilized by young people to form a participatory culture in discussing information on Jakarta's air pollution issue. Similarly, Kruse et al., (2018) states that new media opens up opportunities for democratic participation and communities to be creative, express themselves, and the limitless access to knowledge can support diversity, differences, and healthy debate.

The effectiveness of the participatory culture among young people regarding the virality of conversations/content related to Jakarta's air pollution issue refers to the discourse from May to October 2019 (see Figure 5). The surge in conversations/content on social media, particularly on Twitter and Instagram, began in mid-May 2019 when Jakarta repeatedly ranked as the most polluted city in the world based on data from IQAir and AirVisual. Air quality data from applications like AirVisual and IQAir showed unhealthy air scores in Jakarta, easily accessible via gadgets, leading many social media users to upload air monitoring results to various social media platforms or join trends like #langitjakarta, showcasing photos of Jakarta's sky.
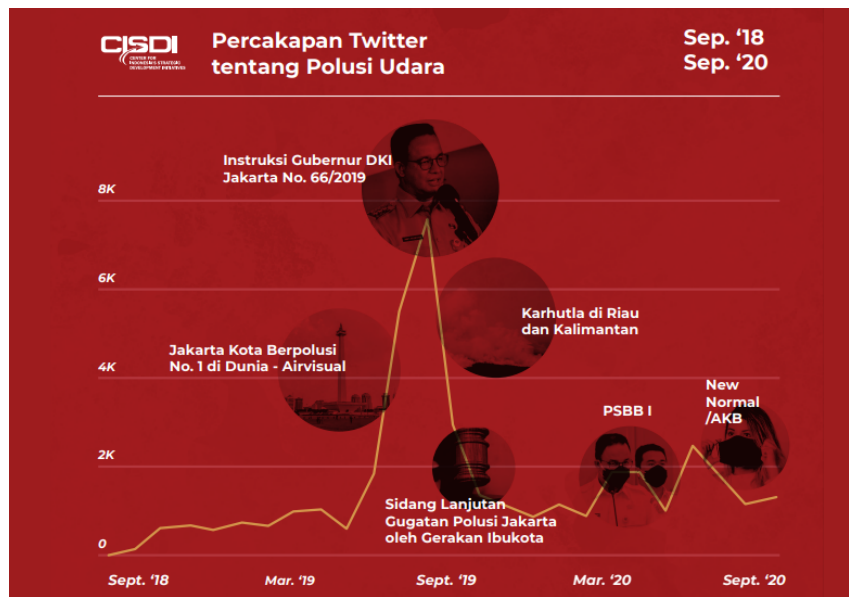
Figure 5. Conversations on X (Twitter) about Air Pollution in Jakarta (September 2018 - 2020)
Source: Center for Indonesia's Strategic Development Initiatives (2021)

The effectiveness of the surge in conversations about Jakarta's air pollution on social media is not only based on the content from social media accounts but also on the escalation of movements by civil society networks, which are part of the Coalition for Inisiatif Bersihkan Udara Kota dan Semesta (IBUKOTA) and the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH Jakarta), together with residents of Jakarta in 2019, as citizens filed a lawsuit against the government regarding air pollution (citizen lawsuit). Their lawsuit against the central government and three regional heads regarding air pollution at the end of 2018 continued with the trial proceedings in mid-2019. The IBUKOTA Advocacy Team has conducted a study on air pollution in the city of Jakarta, and the results have been submitted to the government as input for policy changes. However, the government's response has been negative, doubting the measurement tools used by the IBUKOTA Advocacy Team. According to the informant who is advocating Jakarta's air pollution issue on social media:

> *"The current situation increasingly confirms that the government, both at the central and regional levels, ministries, and relevant agencies, have failed to ensure the rights of citizens to breathe clean air. I am sure that civil society friends have repeatedly held hearings, provided input on air pollution issues, but they were not heard and ignored. Instead, the government comes up with bizarre solutions. The key is to stop denial, apologize for past negligence, and implement court decisions." [December 7, 2023]*

In the end, the virality of the "Jakarta Air Pollution" campaign on Twitter reached its peak in August 2019 when Anies Baswedan, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, issued Governor's Instruction No. 66 of 2019 concerning Air Quality Control. Below, the researcher presents through Table 3 the coverage of the Jakarta Governor's Instruction on Air Quality Control aimed at various stakeholders.

Table 3. The Coverage of Jakarta Governor''s Instruction No. 66 of 2019 on Air Quality Control

Regulations	Rule Coverage	Stakeholders
Governor of DKI Jakarta Instruction No. 66 of 2019 on Air Quality Control	1. Ensuring that public transportation over 10 years old and failing emission tests are not allowed to operate on the streets; 2. Encouraging citizen participation through the expansion of odd-even policies, increased parking fees, and congestion pricing; 3. Strengthening emission testing requirements for all private vehicles; 4. Encouraging a shift to public transportation and improving pedestrian comfort; 5. Tightening control over stationary sources of pollution, especially active industrial chimneys; 6. Optimizing greening in public facilities and infrastructure, adopting green building principles (incentives and disincentives); 7. Pioneering the transition to renewable energy by installing solar panels on all school buildings, government facilities, and healthcare facilities.	1. Governor of DKI Jakarta 2. Jakarta Environmental Agency 3. Jakarta Department of Industry and Energy 4. Jakarta Department of Transportation 5. Jakarta Road Development Agency

Source: Center for Indonesia's Strategic Development Initiatives (2021)

As one of the defendants, Governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan, was the public official who responded most swiftly to public pressure and lawsuits regarding air quality in the DKI Jakarta area and its surroundings. The issuance of the Governor's Instruction also positioned Anies Baswedan as the most mentioned public figure from the government sector on Twitter. Many positive sentiments highlighted Anies's courage in issuing the Governor's Instruction when other defendants chose to avoid the trial. However, negative sentiments often depicted Anies, as the Governor of DKI Jakarta, as the most responsible party for the air pollution issue in Jakarta. Additionally, the increasing trend of viral conversations about Jakarta's air pollution also affected the effectiveness of pressuring government officials' performance. This was reinforced by a statement from one of the Chairpersons of the Environmental Pollution Sub-Division of DKI Jakarta, explaining that:

"Social media has an impact because leaders frequently reprimand whenever there's a viral post. For instance, if Jakarta is mentioned as the most polluted city in a post, the leadership will reprimand, and programs become more prioritized.." [March 27, 2024]

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that the effectiveness of the Jakarta air pollution campaign on social media significantly influences the dissemination of stakeholder

network movements as a complement to IBUKOTA's lawsuit actions, which can quickly become efforts to pressure the government's policy considerations in resolving air pollution issues. Therefore, the development of the "Jakarta air pollution" campaign on social media has become an alternative to report and provide opinions on environmental issues, as expressed by Leong et al., (2019), thus facilitating the dissemination of offline environmental social movement campaigns, as they are considered easily accessible anytime and anywhere. Information readers also tend to trust messages and are willing to take environmental actions if the message aligns with their expectations, whether it is to persuade or inform (de Vries, 2020; Lin & Kant, 2021).

Although many perceive that activism regarding Jakarta's air pollution issue on social media by young people is merely a form of existence tool, slacktivism, considered lazy by its participants. This assumption is based on the fact that many issues come and go on social media, and many discussions seem to vanish without any impact or further development, as if online activists are satisfied only with discussions and do not care about the consequences or progress of the issues. However, in the case of the viral Jakarta air pollution issue, young people also care and advocate for activism in their own creative ways, which have had positive impacts and have been able to gather offline actions (not just click activism). This is evidenced by the perspective of the Co-founder of Bicara Udara:

> *"Indeed, it's true that social media campaigns alone are not enough; they need to be supplemented with community activation such as offline events, discussions, seminars, exciting activities, and children's books. Connective action actually involves finding people who share the same concerns; we meet people who have the same interests. But being active on social media alone is not enough to help; however, if we don't use social media, we won't be heard by many people. So, we need both." [May 9, 2024]*

The viral content on social media isn't just enough by itself; however, it serves as a link in building awareness to taking more complex actions. Therefore, the effectiveness of the Jakarta air pollution issue campaign on social media can be seen from the high level of public attention and concern about air pollution issues, as evidenced by the intensity of conversations on social media, especially Twitter, regarding air pollution, which is always bustling every year. Both urban air pollution and air pollution due to forest and land fires have been widely voiced by mass media, civil society groups, activists, and ordinary citizens. The discourse is dominated by support and encouragement from both individual actors and stakeholder networks in environmental organizations for air quality improvement.

5. CONCLUSION

The campaign efforts regarding the air pollution issue, including the initiative to make information and related messages go viral, represent the initial steps to invite active participation from various parties in public discourse. The virality of content on social media opens the door for various community groups to participate in open and inclusive dialogue. When an issue goes viral on social media, it often sparks public awareness and interest in the problem. In the context of the air pollution campaign in Jakarta, connective action becomes a crucial strategy that utilizes social media to foster awareness and collective action. Air pollution in Jakarta has become an increasingly pressing issue, with pollutant levels often exceeding safe thresholds. In addressing this problem, various actors, from individuals to organizations, are using social media to voice their concerns, disseminate information, and advocate for policy change.

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