Understanding Connective Action in the Wadas Village Conflict: Social Network Analysis on the #WadasSuing Hashtag

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Abstract

The conflict that occurred in Wadas Village is a conflict that originated from a grassroots movement, has been going on for several years since 2013, and has not been resolved until now. In addition to conducting movements through offline actions, the community and non-governmental organizations that oppose mining plans also make efforts to spread actions and foster support by using social media. Connective action theory is used in this research, it is important to know the power of the #Wadasmengault hashtag who are the actors, and the network structure formed in this online movement. The method used in this research is Social Network Analysis (SNA). Data collection was carried out using Netlytic software, The results obtained are that the hashtag #Wadas Mengti as an extension of offline action was less successful. Because the Reply, retweet, and mention activities are one-way. The dominant actors in hashtag conversations are NGO accounts and environmental organizations, the delivery of information only spreads among them and does not spread naturally to the wider community

Keywords: Connective action; Digital Activism; Hashtags; Social Media; Social Network Analysis (SNA).


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INTRODUCTION

On November 16, 2022, on Twitter social media, a conversation using the hashtag #WadasSuspicious became one of the hashtags that was widely discussed among users. Wadas is the name of a village in Bener District, Purworejo Regency, Central Java. The increase in conversation using the hashtag #WadasSuing on Twitter social media was based on the ongoing conflict between the residents of Wadas Village and the Government.

This conflict was caused by the rejection of Wadas Village residents regarding the Government’s plan to open andesite mining (quarry). The mining results will be used as material for the construction of the Bener Dam, which is located about 15 km from the village. This dam is expected to function as irrigation and a source of electricity for the Central Java region (Harmoka, 2022). This rejection occurred in 2013 when the first socialization of the andesite mining program took place. Despite receiving resistance from residents, the Government still plans to continue construction of the dam until it is finally included in the National Strategic Project in 2020. The construction of the Bener Dam will be carried out by the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) through the Serayu Opak River Region Center (BBWS – SO) (Harmoka, 2022). Concerns about damage to the ecosystem in Wadas Village are the reason for residents’ rejection of plans for andesite mining (quarries) in the village area. Instead of providing welfare for residents, the project is considered to damage the environment, cause a shortage of clean water supply in the village, as well as loss of livelihood for residents, the majority of whom work as farmers due to the eviction of agricultural land. (Sinuko, 2021). On the other hand, the Government argues that andesite rock mining (quarries) will only be carried out to build dams, after mining is completed reclamation will be carried out again (Harmoka, 2022). Clashes between officers and village residents often occur, it was recorded that in February 2022 the police arrested 23 residents of Wadas Village for carrying sharp weapons when carrying out land clearing actions by the National Land Agency. (CNN Indonesia, 2022). Another clash between police officers and village residents also occurred in April 2021, when residents held a silent demonstration in front of the Wadas Village Hall to block the entry of hundreds of police officers and several parties from the Purworejo National Land Agency (BPN) and the Serayu River Regional Hall. Opak (BBWS – SO) in the socialization plan and land designation for the andesite rock mining project (quarry). The police fired tear gas and arrested residents and legal aid organizations who accompanied the silent demonstration (Walhi Jogia, 2021).

People who reject andesite mining (quarries) join community movements such as the Wadas Village Nature Care Community Movement (GEMPADENWA), Wadon Wadas, Wadas Village Young Leaders (KAMUDEWA) and receive assistance and support from organizations and non-governmental organizations such as the Forum for the Environment. Indonesia (WALHI) National, Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) Yogyakarta, Batuan Hukum Institute (LBH) Yogyakarta, Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), Greenpeace Indonesia, Women’s Solidarity (SP) Kinasih, and Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM) (Walhi Jogia, 2021).

Twitter social media which was enlivened by the hashtag #WadasSuing shows that social media has become a medium for users to convey their opinions and thoughts regarding the Wadas conflict. The expansion of super connectivity, as well as a huge surge in the production and use of digital information, has transformed a wide spectrum of human and organizational settings. Technology has spread throughout the population, generating new types of social interactions and social differences (Graham & Dutton, 2019). The presence of internet networks and digitalization in various fields has also encouraged changes in life patterns in society. If in the past activities to support social movements were limited to marches and protests by forming human barricades, compared to traditional activities such as these, digital activities are now carried out more widely, significantly, and quickly (George & Leidner, 2019). Communities who opposed the andesite-assisted mining plan initially took action to reject it through direct action or demonstrations. With the presence of social media, this action is then continued via the internet network using social media. (DeLuca et al., 2012) said that social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, based on
previous research, provide new conditions for activism that are not available in old media.

Previous studies conducted by (Khalil & Storie, 2021) describe the successful use of social media in the movement for women's driving rights in Arabia. The movement for the right to drive is a long journey for women in Arabia which began in 1990. The protest for the right to drive then showed success after strengthening the movement by utilizing social media. By utilizing posts on YouTube and using the hashtag #Women2Drive, (Khalil & Storie, 2021) as well as continuing to carry out direct demonstrations, finally giving birth to a new policy that allows women in Arabia to be able to drive as well as marking the success of the social movement which was marked by the end of the demonstrations.

Movement organizing, which has evolved to become more fluid and agile in response to digital technology, is now widely acknowledged to be dependent on social media. Such mobility is reflected in ideas (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012) about connective action through digital communication platforms. Social activism via the Internet is now an important component of activism. It is interesting to know how the movement against andesite mining (quarries) in Wadas Village, which has been carried out through direct campaigns, will then be continued through connective action into an online movement using hashtags.

Several social movements that have become successful because of social media include the Arab Spring movement, Occupy Wall Street in America, and Los Indignados in Spain. This study aims to determine the power of social activism via the internet in social movements related to the Wadas Village conflict, by analyzing the main actors, networks, and relationship patterns formed by the hashtag #WadasSuing using Social Network Analysis (SNA).

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Connective Action in the Wadas Village Conflict**

The conflict that occurred in Wadas Village arose due to the rejection of the residents of Wadas Village, in Purworejo regarding andesite mining (quarries) in the village area. Andesite mining (quarry) will be used for the construction of the Bener Dam, which is one of the National Strategic Projects (PSN), this project is handled by the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing.

Actions against andesite mining (quarries) in Wadas Village were initially carried out directly through demonstrations. Apart from the community in Wadas Village, several environmental organizations also participated in supporting this resistance action. Dissemination of information regarding mining objections was also carried out using social media. In the concept of connective action, the formation and coordination of contemporary activist action is very dependent on digital technology, which is related to the public and is very individual. In addition, digital tools, connected with a highly customized public, are essential for organizing and coordinating actions in modern activism (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).
Bennet and Segerberg view the connective action movement as an extension of movements carried out offline. Apart from that, they also describe that the digital world is a medium used by social movement actors to spread their ideas and gain support from their communities. Although everyone involved worked to achieve a common goal, these factors resulted in a reduction in hierarchy-based structures in the movement’s organization and leadership (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

**Digital Activism in the Wadas Hashtag Sues**

In the current digital era, people communicate using media and are connected via the internet network. There is a transformation in society related to media, at this time we can obtain, produce, and share knowledge about the world around us using media as tools, channels, platforms, and strategies through contact and communication (Lindgreen, 2017). Digital social movements are a form of digital activism which is mainly carried out by young people today, modern Indonesian society chooses online social movements as a vehicle for their advocacy (Lindgreen, 2017). It was also stated that people are now voicing their aspirations and opinions no longer through conservative means, social movements are carried out by society through digital activism. In the right circumstances, digital tools and platforms can be used successfully to challenge, provoke, and even overthrow existing power structures. Digital social movements and digital activism are two terms used to categorize topics related to digital social movements. Despite adopting many names, research mainly concentrates on the actions taken by people in the social realm to change an issue or policy through digital media (Kaun & Uldam, 2018).

**The network formed around the hashtag #WadasDeclares**

On November 16, 2022, discussions about the Wadas conflict became one of the trending topics, on that date, there were 2100 conversations on Twitter using the hashtag #WadasDeclares. This trend experienced an increase on November 17, 2022, marked by as many as 2,500 Twitter users using the hashtag #WadasSuing, this trend experienced a sharp decline from November 18 to 20 until finally, the hashtag disappeared. In total, for 5 days (16 to 20 November 2022) 5109 conversations on Twitter used the hashtag #WadasSuing. Based on the results of network analysis observations, the trend in the emergence of the hashtag #WadasSuing coincides with the 48th Muhammadiyah Congress and the activities of the G-20 High-Level Conference (KTT) in Denpasar.

![Visualisation of the #WadasSuing Network](image-source)

Through the hashtag #WadasSuing, social media users provide opinions regarding the ongoing conflict between the government and society. Social media users will connect on the same topic through a hashtag. Hashtag activism has developed as a way to organize and exchange information. Hashtags have evolved into an indexing system that allows users to focus on important messages from a large number of communications and take part in relevant conversations (Khalil & Storie, 2021). In action via social media Twitter, people who protested and rejected Andesite rock mining used the hashtag #WadasDeclare as an extension of the action carried out offline. Actions carried out online aim to gain greater sympathy in line with what is said (Crandall & Cunningham, 2016) that hashtag activism has demonstrated its ability to increase engagement, and awareness, and connect people who wish to protest offline. By sharing messages using hashtags on Twitter, the online movement succeeded in increasing hashtag activity on Twitter by using digital flyers with suggested messages and targets (Parsloe & Holton, 2018).

From the contents of posts on Twitter social media, it can be seen that the majority of social media users show their dissatisfaction with the Government, among other things because of the increase in APBN funds used for IKN development, apart from that the topic of...
environmental damage is also mentioned in posts on Twitter with this hashtag. This shows that the topics discussed do not only discuss the conflict in Wadas Village but also other topics that are still related to the Government.

There is something unique about the posts that use the hashtag #WadasSustainable, in that accounts were found that made #WadasSustainable posts for sales promotion purposes which did not correlate with the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village. Although out of a total of 5109 Twitter posts, only a few were used for sales promotions compared to other posts containing criticism of the Government's performance in various sectors, especially those concerning the resolution of agrarian conflicts in Wadas Village. Below we will present images of the top 30 words found in conversations with the hashtag #WadasSugar.

![Image Source: Netlytic](image_url)

From the results of data crawling (mining) using Netlytic software using the keyword #WadasSuing, a filter was carried out on the 30 words most frequently used in the conversation. Then we obtained the results of #WadasMengkuat as the dominant word that is most often used in conversations with hashtags, this can be seen from the size of the word #Wadas Mengtinggian as the largest when compared to other words. Other words that also appear in the 30 most used words include 470T, 490T, people, loot, Ganjar, IKN, Wadas, and so on.

Criticism of the Government can be seen from the keyword frames that are widely used by social media users in posts using the hashtag #WadasDeclare. In this context, words with negative connotations are found, such as plunder, decide, deceive, change, and strangely. Apart from that, the term Ganjar which refers to the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, is also used in a negative context related to the issue of andesite mining (quarries) which has not been resolved and has received criticism from social media users.

Apart from looking at the overall network structure contained in the hashtag #WadasSuing, this research was also successful in finding additional cluster descriptions in conversations using the hashtag #WadasSugar. Through the results of crawling or data mining, additional clusters are visible that show conversation networks that reflect interaction patterns and information flow.

**Cluster and Network Analysis in conversation with the hashtag #WadasSuing**

In this network analysis, clusters or groupings can be interpreted as groups of social actors or entities that are connected and interact with each other in the context of a conversation with the hashtag #WadasDeclares. They play an important role in expanding the reach of messages, mobilizing supporters, and strengthening the spread of related issues. This cluster is formed based on similar topics, opinions, or relationships between interacting actors.

![Figure 3. Clusters in the #WadasSustainability conversation network](image_url)

From Figure 3, we can see that the large network of users using hashtags is divided into smaller groups. This type of network structure suggests that the relative prevalence of conversations using conversational hashtags is not ranked across multiple social media accounts. Instead, conversations are distributed across multiple accounts and other clusters. Apart from getting an overview of the network structure, from the results of data processing carried out using Netlytic, a network structure table is also obtained in the following table.
Table 1. Conversation Network Structure of #WadasSuing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diameter</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density</td>
<td>0.001101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocity</td>
<td>0.074870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralization</td>
<td>0.117200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modularity</td>
<td>0.495000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on Table 1, the hashtag #WadasSuing is not yet considered a successful hashtag, as marked by its diameter with the number 14. The diameter number in the network shows the furthest distance an actor in a network can reach another actor (social media account). The smaller the diameter number indicates the density of a network because actors can be reached over a relatively short distance. The diameter of the network structure of the hashtag #WadasSuing is 14, indicating that posts spread from one user to another user (social media accounts) in 14 stages. This means that it takes 14 steps between one actor/social media user account and another to reach each other, and this number is large. If the number is small, it will be easier for fellow actors to reach each other and spread information.

Density
Network density shows the intensity of communication between network members. The density number ranges from 0 to 1. Low density indicates low interaction between accounts. The density/density in the network structure of the hashtag #WadasMengaulting is worth 0.001101, this number is close to 0 which means that interaction between social media accounts on the hashtag #WadasMengaulting is low and interaction is only dominated by certain actors, not evenly distributed in the network. The third is reciprocity. The reciprocity figure shows the reciprocal (two-way) relationships that occur between members or actors (nodes) in the network. (Eriyanto, 2021). The reciprocity number ranges from 0 (unidirectional) to 1 (bidirectional). The response rate in the network structure of the hashtag #WadasSustains is 0.074870 which can be interpreted as posts on the hashtag #WadasDeclares not being two-way. Postings tend to be one-way.

The fourth is centralization. Centralization refers to the level of network concentration on certain actors (social media account nodes), the centralization number is indicated by the numbers 0 to 1. The smaller the number, the more decentralized the actors in the network are. Centralization in the network structure of the hashtag #WadasSuing has a value of 0.117200, which means it is close to decentralization, or there is no dominant actor in the conversation. Lastly, modularity shows the grouping of network members (social media accounts) in a network. Modularity in the network structure of the hashtag #WadasSuing has a value of 0.495000, close to 0 meaning that the conversation is not dominated by certain accounts (actors) which is characterized by the emergence of many cluster groups related to the hashtag.

Actors in Conversation with the Hashtag #WadasSues

The hashtag movement #WadasDeclares as an action that started from a grassroots movement has dominant actors both online and offline. To find out the dominant actor in the conversation with the hashtag #WadasSuing, the gephx file obtained from data processing using Netlytic software was then imported into the gephi application. Then we get the name of the dominant actor or social media account, indicated by the number of activities the account carries out in the form of replies, mentions, or retweets with other actors.

Based on data processing using Netlytic, five actors were found to have the highest degree of centrality. Degree centrality shows the popularity of actors in the network. The higher the degree centrality value, the more popular the actor is. This is shown by the highest In-Degree value, meaning that many actors communicate with that actor. The Out-Degree value shows the amount of outgoing communication carried out by an actor. Table 1 shows that the most popular actor in #WadasMengkuat is the Kakang_juaw account with a degree value of 426, an In-Degree value of 426, and an Out-Degree value of 0. This figure shows that this account is relied on/retweeted the most by other accounts. Please note that the conversation in this hashtag tends to be one-way. One of the dominant accounts, namely Wadas_melawan, is a Twitter account from the Wadas Village Nature Care Community.
Movement. The figures also indicate that the conversation did not spread spontaneously to the wider community, and only occurred between fellow community members who were carrying out social movements.

**Connective action**The opinion movement using the hashtag #WadasDeclares did not achieve the expected level of success, because the delivery of information did not spread widely in society. This is different from previous social movements that used connective action, such as the Women's Drive movement in Arabia, which was then continued and spread widely through other social media platforms such as YouTube and Twitter.

Activities such as retweets, replies, and mentions occurred mainly among community members who were already involved in the movement, while broad community participation in this movement did not occur. The trending topic #WadasSuing on 16 and 17 November 2022 occurred at the same time as the G-20 Summit and the 48th Muhammadiyah Congress, not because of spontaneous encouragement from actual events that occurred in Wadas village. This factor could be one of the reasons why the hashtag #WadasDeclares was not successful in achieving its goal.

To be able to influence or change policies carried out by the Government, conversations using hashtags can be an alternative worth considering. However, it is important to be supported by mass strength, as is the case in movements carried out offline. The involvement of important figures in this movement, such as public figures or celebrities, can also be taken into consideration so that more support can be obtained for this movement. Maybe another consideration is to use other hashtags that have greater potential for the online mining resistance movement in Wadas Village.

**CONCLUSION**

This research shows the role of hashtags in online movements that originate from offline movements. By looking at the network analysis contained in the results of data processing analysis, it will be known whether people responded or were involved in movements initiated offline so that further analysis can be carried out so that this movement can be successful in the future. Currently, the dissemination of information regarding the Wadas Village issue only spreads to certain groups that are directly related to the conflict, such as environmental organizations and NGOs. This movement will be more successful if it can mobilize public sympathy more spontaneously.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


