
Identifying the Bargaining Values of a Digital Movement

Ja'far Muhammad

Program Studi Ilmu Politik, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik,
Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia

Jalan Raya Bogor, Cisalak, Depok, Indonesia

*Penulis Korespondensi: jafar.muhammad@uiii.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

The study analyses two cases of digital movements in Indonesia. It identifies who are the actors behind the movement, the spread of the movement, the tactics used to increase exposure, and challenges a digital movement faces. The first case is the movement to reject Firli Bahuri as chairman of the Corruption Eradication Committee (KPK), and the second case is the persecution of David Ozora by Mario Dandy, the son of a tax official. The Firli case represents a long movement that brought a lot of controversies. It attracted massive public attention, shown in the form of, among others viral hashtags on social media, news coverage in mainstream media, and even demonstrations that claimed lives. However, this movement was not successful. On the other hand, the movement that demands the persecution of David Ozora, which only lasted for a few days, successfully moved the government to respond quickly to remove the official's position, suspect perpetrators, and bring gratuity and money laundering cases into court

Keywords: digital protest, social movement, corruption eradication commission

ABSTRAK

Studi ini menganalisis dua kasus pergerakan digital di Indonesia. Ini mengidentifikasi siapa aktor di balik gerakan, penyebaran gerakan, taktik yang digunakan untuk meningkatkan eksposur, dan tantangan yang dihadapi gerakan digital. Kasus pertama adalah gerakan menolak Firli Bahuri sebagai Ketua Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK), dan kasus kedua adalah penganiayaan terhadap David Ozora oleh Mario Dandy, anak seorang pegawai pajak. Kasus Firli merupakan sebuah perjalanan panjang yang membawa banyak kontroversi. Hal itu menarik perhatian publik secara masif, ditunjukkan dalam bentuk antara lain tagar viral di media sosial, pemberitaan di media arus utama, bahkan demonstrasi yang merenggut nyawa. Namun, gerakan ini tidak berhasil. Di sisi lain, gerakan yang menuntut penganiayaan terhadap David Ozora yang hanya berlangsung beberapa hari ini berhasil menggerakkan pemerintah untuk cepat tanggap mencopot jabatan pejabat, mencurigai pelaku, dan membawa kasus gratifikasi dan pencucian uang ke pengadilan.

Kata Kunci: protes digital, gerakan sosial, KPK

PENDAHULUAN

The study will focus on the digital aspects of the online movement in a movement through digital tools. We will look at; who are the actors behind the movement, identify the spread of the movement, tactics of a movement in increasing exposure, and challenges

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for a movement. However, it is difficult to find an answer through only one case, so we try to study two cases together. We started with the question, Why do demonstrations that go through a long construction, are carried out continuously, and involve the masses, so many results fail, while unexpected mass protests actually succeed? Comparison of the #reformasidikorpsi movement, one of which rejected Firli Bahuri as chairman of the KPK, and the case of the persecution of David Ozora by Mario Dandy, the son of a tax official, is an interesting case to study.

Firli Bahuri is the controversial KPK Chair. His appointment as chairman of the anti-corruption agency was considered problematic. When he first took office, the KPK raised many controversial issues, starting from the revision of the KPK Law, violations of the code of ethics, cases of the National Insight Test, gratification ticket cases, formula E corruption cases, and other corruption cases. extension of the term of office of the KPK leadership.

The revision of the KPK Law has had a number of controversies such as the existence of the KPK Supervisory Board, the revocation of a number of KPK authorities related to investigations and prosecutions, as well as a number of procedures that were considered to complicate prosecutions. process. This revision of the Law was proposed by the DPR and received various rejections from the KPK, but Firli agreed to the revision of the KPK Law.

Firli violated the KPK's code of ethics, namely meeting parties related to the case, dismissing Brigadier General Endar regarding the Formula E case, and renting a helicopter for personal gain. The Formula E case became a case that attracted public attention where Brigadier General Endar admitted that he was forced to make a Criminal Report (LKTPK) for the case being investigated by the KPK. The extension of the term of office of the KPK leadership is the latest polemic, Thursday (25/5/2023) The Constitutional Court approved the lawsuit for extending the term of office of the KPK leadership from 4 years to 5 years. Several former KPK leaders criticized this case.

Some of these controversial cases led to various viral protests on Twitter. The issue of revising the KPK Law sparked a digital protest through the hashtag #reformasidikorupsi. the biggest reform after 1998. Demonstrations against the revision of the KPK Law which were considered problematic. Five people died in simultaneous demonstrations across Indonesia. One of them was shot by a bullet by the police.

Not receding and weakening, the issue of weakening the KPK continued, but instead the state strengthened its first position; finally the Constitutional Court decided to extend the term of office of the KPK from four years to five years. This series of events has sparked various public protests ranging from protests that took to the streets and also protests on social media.

Mario Dandy's case is that of Sri Mulyani, the son of a Ministry of Finance official, Rafael Alun Trisambodo. Mario abused David Ozora, son of a Nahdatul Ulama official. The abuse culminated with David being rushed to the hospital unconscious for 38 days. This case went viral on social media. The public was shocked after knowing the chronology of events and evidence of Mario's alleged hedonism and the alleged discrepancy in Rafael's property, which differed only slightly from Sri Mulyani.

The persecution had a long tail, the Ministry of Finance released an official response regarding the Rafael case on February 23, or the day after, Mario Dandy's father, Rafael Alun was immediately removed from his post by the Minister of Finance on Friday, February 24, 2023, two days after the case went viral. The issue developed into allegations of gratuity and money laundering at the tax agency, then the RAT of the suspect KPK April 3 for alleged gratuity and money laundering.

METODE PENELITIAN

We compare the two cases above. Firli's first case was a long case and reaped various controversies. The KPK's steps did not escape the attention of the public, and have repeatedly been in the public spotlight. This attention took the form of viral hashtags on social media, news coverage in mainstream media, and even demonstrations that claimed lives. However, this is not enough to answer the issue of weakening the Corruption Eradication Commission which actually strengthens the perpetrators of weakening, such as extending the term of office. When compared to the persecution cases which only lasted a few days, the public can see the government's response that moved quickly, starting from removing positions, suspecting perpetrators, to arresting gratuity and money laundering cases.

HASIL DAN DISKUSI

We agree with the definition of social movement as a rational attempt by excluded groups to mobilize sufficient political influence to advance collective interests through non-institutionalized means (Mc Adam, 1982). Thus, the perspective put forward in this article rests on opportunity. McAdam's political structure rests on the fundamental assumption that wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few groups, thus depriving most people of any real influence over the major decisions that affect their lives (Mc Adam, 1982). Protesters are excluded from routine decision-making processes precisely because their bargaining position is so weak against members of the political establishment.

However, the flow of social media is unstoppable, because there is a kind of cultural shift into digital culture (Boehme-nebler, 2020). This culture is seen by Pavan (2017) as the optimization of social media in increasing the strength of the movement through the integrative power of online collective action networks. According to Pavan, the relevance of social media lies in its ability to enhance the inherently relational nature of collective action through the provision of a ubiquitous technical infrastructure that supports the rapid building of 'personalized, multi-user, multi-tasking, and multithreaded communication networks' that expand and enrich the relational environment. that underlies collective efforts (Pavan, 2017).

Furthermore, Pavan argues that the advantage of the power of social media is not just the provision of infrastructure, but social actors form and use this network as a space for political participation, as a place of strategic communication to connect and integrate heterogeneous competencies, experiences and skills and, in this way, to broaden and accelerate the formation of new meanings, frames and collective action strategies to challenge the status quo.

Schardie (2018) tries to measure the ability of social media in demonstrations. Schardie classifies tools as ASSET (access, skills, empowerment, and time). social media posts. Skill is the ability and knowledge to process content on social media such as making images, videos, copywriting. Empowerment is how confident people are to express and act on a political opinion, this is like a sense of personal efficacy or feeling in control of one's environment which often characterizes those who are economically capable. While Time is the time provided to focus on social media movements, sometimes the working class has time to access the internet but only to do their work.

However, Schardie (2018) provides a kind of skepticism towards movements facilitated by social media, he instead emphasizes the strong social ties that have existed before the movement to strengthen the movement. He explained that structured organizational networks, grassroots organizing, traditional media, and ideological responses to economic and political crises work together to drive large-scale movements.

This research argues skeptically, that social media is not enough to explain the power of digital movements. However, he also disagreed with the protest movement against the weakening of the anti-corruption agency, which had a structure and strong enough community relations, but did not succeed. This study emphasizes the importance of increasing opportunities for political structures to pressure the government to listen to movements: one way is to seek the government's interests.

To prove our argument, we use several opinions that will explain the partiality of the success of the online movement in a frame of mind. Theoretically, there are three articles related to protest strength and social media, namely unity, number, and commitment (Freelon, et al 2018). We use the freelon measure to test how much power the two growing protests have. Freelon, with reference to Earl and Kimpot (2011) states that the three keys to seeing are these three sizes.

Unity is a measure to see how far the unity of strength of each protest is achieved. The way to see that size is to use the number of retweets and hashtags. However, we see that this method is not perfect because it does not play keywords to see how busy netizens are talking about it. So besides counting hashtags and retweets, we also count the number of tweets at any given time from the start of the incident to the issuance of a court decision or policy.

Freelon believes that the best way to judge the unity of a movement is by measuring how small the number of hashtags is. That is, the more hashtags used, the better the movement will be stronger. On the other hand, if individual protesters do not use hashtags, it is difficult to gauge the strength of a unified movement.

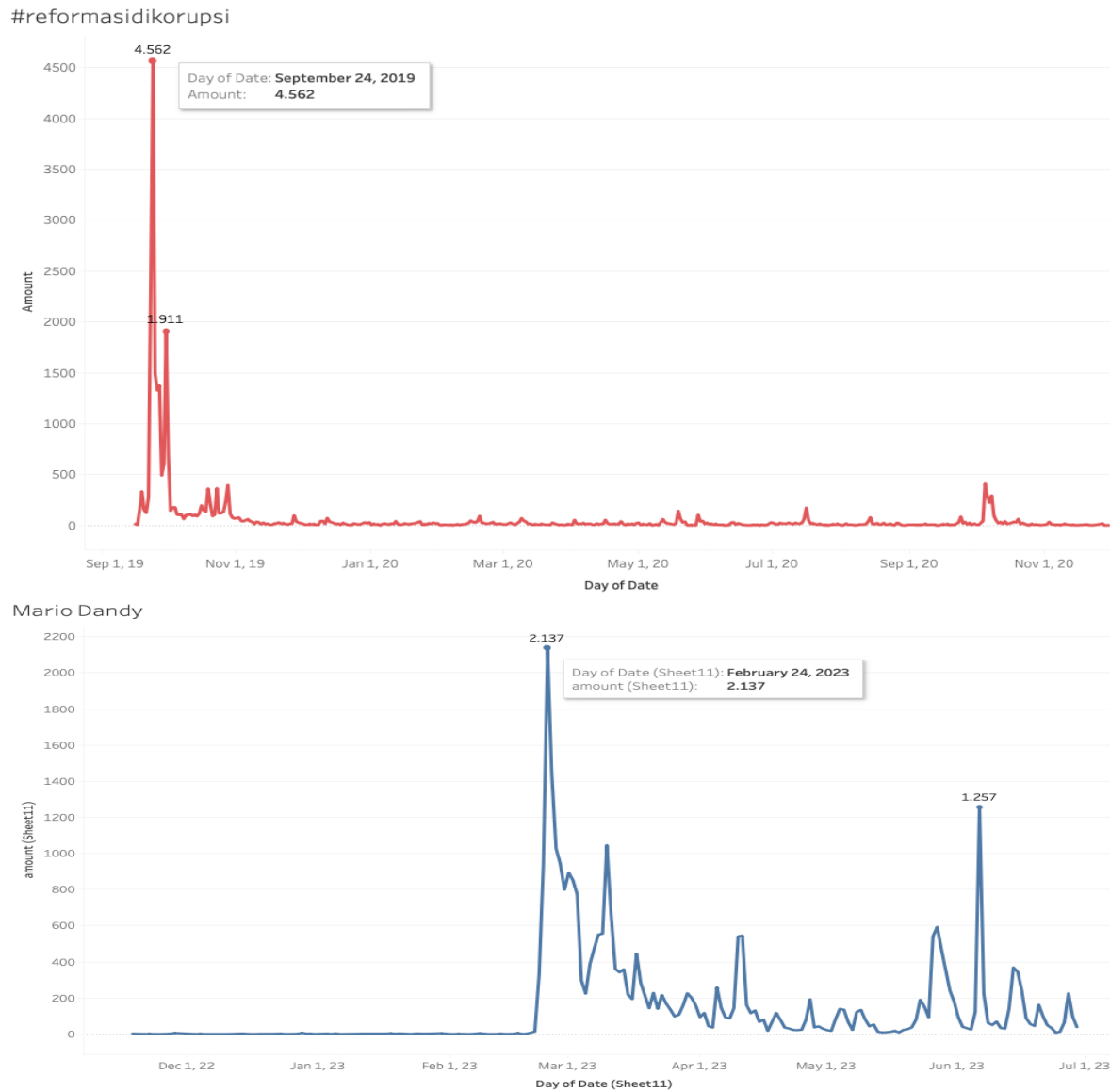
Second, numbers. This study measures numbers by making simple logic. From the whole comparison, we will conclude which one has the best numbers. The result of this comparison is the justification for the strength of a move. In his writings, Freelon uses network analysis to find good numbers. But we are not sure about this opinion. We add network variables to communities (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012) to see, qualitatively, which networks legitimize movements.

Next, we will examine how strong the movement is in terms of political structure. We Instead of believing in numbers, we believe more in the perspective of political process models.

Social capital is supported by a social media algorithm, better known as the echo chamber. it refers to a polarized situation where beliefs are strengthened or strengthened by repetition of communication in a closed system and isolated from disclaimers (Morini, et al 2021). Social scientists use the term echo chamber to describe specific situations that some people find themselves in as a result of their own supply, distribution, and/or demand for media – that is, situations in which they occupy what is defined in their influential books. Echo Chamber as a limited and closed media space that has the potential to magnify the message conveyed in it and protect it from objections” (Jamieson and Capella, 2008).

This phenomenon originates from the habit of humans who only want to hear and see things they like, then social media algorithms will adjust accordingly. If someone is already in a certain position, for example a key opinion leader has shown his position on one side, then his followers will follow the opinion of the Opinion Leader. The echo chamber works as if by systematically isolating its members (Nguyen and Vu, 2018). By antagonizing other factions, echo chambers make their members too dependent on approved side sources of information.

First, the amount and quality of support protestors have significant influence and power. Within the timeframe we specified, tweets will appear. In comparison, there were more tweets for #reformasidikorupsi and TWK KPK than the Mario dandy case. This means that the TWK KPK case and #reformasidikorrupsi received more attention from the public who participated in producing the text.



Gambar 1. Tweet Freq by Two Cases

The graph above shows that #reformasidikorupsi shows a strong mass movement but only lasted a few days. In the process of continuing the movement, the hashtag began to fade until it finally showed no existence. Unlike Mario dandy, who continued to survive for 3 months. This shows that public attention to the Mario dandy case is stronger than #reformasi dicorruption. However, if you pay more attention to the fact that the hashtag #reformasidikorupsi has a total of 4562 in September 2019 compared to Mario dandy's 2137 in February 2024, this data shows that when it was perched, the hashtag #reformasidikorupsi was stronger than in the case of Mario Dandy.

Tabel 1. Amount of Tweets and retweet by two cases

Keyword	Amount month	Total Tweet	Total Retweet
Mario, Rafael	3	33980	305046
KPK TWK	1	15702	283366
#reformasidikorupsi	1	17802	120843

Source: Twitter (2023)

The table above shows the difference in public attention to the corruption reform case and the KPK TWK in September 2019 and the Mario Dandy case in February-April 2023. It can be seen that the discussion regarding the #reformasidikorupsi case received high attention from the public. This indicates that in terms of the number of tweets, #reformasidikorupsi has received more attention. Especially if you look at engagement which can be seen through the many retweets which further strengthen the strength of the #reformasidikorupsi movement and the issue of weakening the KPK.

However, we also found that there was some sort of great power behind the victim of David's abuse. David Ozora is the son of Jonathan Latumahina, a member of the GP Ansor Central Board. At the beginning of the case, Yaqut as Minister of Religion responded to the persecution.



Gambar 2. Capturing Minister’s Tweet

In his Twitter, the Minister of Religion gave a sign that he was on the victim's side. Influence and power are quite important variables and should not be ruled out. In his tweet, the Minister of Religion said that the cadre's children were also his children, this statement was written on February 23, 2022 or three days after the beating incident.

At the same time, we examine Understanding of the problem and the right strategy and specific and measurable demands. In the case of the weakening of the KPK, they drew up a strategy, conducted policy reviews, conducted public trials, while in the Mario Dandy case, no in-depth study was found by the protestors about Mario Dandy. Instead of us getting a strategy, the public actually associated this case more with Mario Dandy's tax office and lifestyle, and questioned the tax institution. In addition, we found that Tweets about taxes outweighed David's emphasis on being a suspect in abuse.

In analyzing the contents of Twitter, we found specific requests from the public regarding the Mario Dandy case, namely to investigate the assets of Rafael Mario Dandy's father, not to imprison Mario for committing abuse. We suspect that this case has developed into a public lawsuit related to the tax institution because Mario's father is a tax official.

Meanwhile, the results of tracing the demands of the #reformasidikorupsi movement, we found that there was a strengthening of the main demands totaling seven, one of which was to Cancel the KPK leadership having problems with the DPR's choice. Based on this comparison, we consider that the KPK's demands have problems with demanding the removal of Firli as chairman of the KPK, which has more specifications and demands that can be measured. Meanwhile, "investigate Rafael's treasure" is more obvious than "Mario dandy's imprisonment". This indicates that the #reformasidikorupsi protest has more specific and measurable demands than the Mario Dandy case.

Next is related to Media engagement points. We test media engagement by collecting media that highlight both cases. Based on our findings, the media pays more attention to the Mario dandy case than #reformasidikorupsi. This finding is based on the results of calculations by the media that produce tweets related to the demonstrations and the Mario Dandy case. In our opinion, the media has become quite important for priming and framing. Priming is the process of putting something on the top of the agenda, while framing is making meaning. Framing is very close to the meaning making process. What the movement is doing is trying to priming the movement through the hashtag #reformasidikorupsi. The hashtag went viral and became the movement's official agenda name. However, what was done by the media regarding the framing of the Mario dandy case became our sharp focus. The media plays a role in helping to highlight the Mario dandy case which was previously private to become public (Snow and Benford, 2000).

Regarding the government's response, we see that the #reformasidikorupsi case did not touch upon the removal of firli bahuri, until now he is still in the leadership position of the KPK, and has even been extended to 5 years from the previous four years. We explore this by looking at the relationship between Firli as chairman of the KPK and PDIP as the ruling party. As the ruling party that won the DPR and the President, PDIP's

central role cannot be underestimated. We are trying to trace the relationship between the KPK and PDIP. Seen between relationships

Why do we place so much emphasis on networking within protestors? That in both the cases of Mario dandy and Firli Bahuri, there was a kind of great power that gave them more freedom of movement. The difference is that Firli Bahuri's strength is in himself who is the target of protests, and David Ozora as the victim of persecution. For example in the Mario dandy case, the actor here is the presence of the Minister of Religion on the side of David Ozora. This happened because the background and social capital of the victims was quite large, namely the community organization with the largest Islamic background, Nahdatul Ulama.

The movement from 2019 to 2021 is quite concerned about national issues, namely the issue of the omnibus law and corruption reform. The movement is a part that awakens high school / STM students.

Why didn't a movement which involved the masses and went viral, as the biggest post-reformation demonstration, succeed? The objective conditions for this movement to emerge and be able to attract a large number of masses are due to the banality of the oligarchy which has turned into anger from the masses. Oligarchy power that cannot be controlled by the state. This oligarchy was detected by civil society resulting in public outrage driven by NGOs and student organizations.

The reason for the objective of the movement is because of the depravity of the state, in a KPK law that puts the KPK in a weak position. Scientific predictions have been made from 2019, that when the state is dealing with an oligarchy, the state has no power. Civil society wants a strong state to face the oligarchy, but what happens is the state protects the interests of the oligarchy. Society is left alone and the state weakens democracy-strengthening institutions such as the Corruption Eradication Committee and the Constitutional Court.

What's the difference? Mass waves are not linear, there are many mass waves and the state does not respond positively. On the other hand, the Mario dandy case, which should be a private issue, is being raised and should become a matter of public interest?

First, there is the factor of social capital. This capital is ordinary society and does not have any affinity or affiliation with the state. Even being despised, we found the fact that several lecturers were given warning letters because they closed classes for student demonstrations. Even the Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education along with the Minister of Education worked together to restrain the arriving masses. Minister of Research Technology and Higher Education (Menristekdikti) Mohamad Nasir regretted that lecturers allowed their students to demonstrate. Nasir said there were sanctions against the university rector (PT) if there is a deployment of students on campus. We will see the penalty later. What kind of movement. If he deploys, yes, with

the sanctions we carry out there are two tough sanctions, in this case a warning, SP1, SP2," said Nasir ([Detik.com, 2019](#)).

The absence of social capital from the movement leads to a lack of attention and tenacity in fighting for public issues. When compared to the Mario dandy case, the social capital owned by the victim cannot be ruled out.

The father of David Ozora, Jonathan, is a PBNU administrator. A network owned by PBNU administrators as well as influencers who have friends and followers such as Eko Kuntadhi and Deny Siregar and Guntur Romli. Protests use the same medium as Twitter to rally power, or show their strength. The power struggle between the protestors and the targets of the protests is an old discussion. Movement scientists have predicted this. McAdam ([1999](#)), through a few arguments from the breadth of arguments about political structure, explains that protest in the political process model rests on the fundamental assumption that wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few groups, so that most people are removed from real influence over major decisions that affect their lives.

The strength and powerlessness of protest are determined by whether or not the movement is strong in utilizing the movement's potential, in this case, the closer to power, the closer to protest victory. There is an echo chamber factor that makes a particular issue a global issue. The echo chamber separated the people into two camps, but those who entered the David Ozora persecution chamber generally did not discuss the persecution but the lifestyle of the tax official's son who often abused power. We are not stating that Mario Dandy is a victim and not a perpetrator, we are trying to see from the point of view that the followers of David's father and his fellow influencers help foster this phenomenon, or in other words, they benefit from the algorithm.

It seems clear, from the support of influencers, the community gets a tax trigger which is the obligation of the community. The driving motivation for activism is a strong attitudinal affinity for the goals of the movement or a well-articulated set of grievances consistent with the movement's ideology ([Mc Adam, 1986](#)). In our opinion, in Mario dandy's case, the tax was the motivation of the people to take part in protests against the dishonorable behavior of public officials. After getting to know this tax official, the echo chamber got stronger and became a snowball for the Mario Dandy issue, which was a private issue before becoming a public issue. Even though the problem is simple, it is enough to be handled by the police and it will be resolved.

In fact, the protestors do not care what they protest and how far the protest will be successful. They don't target anyone in the tax protests and just want a clean tax government. In contrast to the #reformasidikorupsi movement which is clearly targeting a person and the KPK institution.

This is in line with what was explained by Kurzman (1996) that protestors are either unconcerned about opportunities (and by extension about whether protest succeeds) or are defining opportunities in some different way. This is the point of our argument, an explanation of the anomaly of protests that were fully attempted failed, and protests that were not taken seriously instead received a very, very good response from the government.

In addition, Oliver (1984) explains that we can see subjective interests, as shown by statements of concern about the problem of weakening the KPK, or cases of the luxurious lifestyle of tax officials' children. Movement subjective interests are various acts of attitude that tap into what one might perceive as one's concern for the collective good is an important predictor of participation in societal organizations. We can see clearly, the subjective interest for those who are interested in the Mario Dandy case is the issue of tax accountability, and for members of the #reformasidikorupsi movement is a weakened state institution. This factor also determines confidence in the success of the movement, this is what we mean by the bargaining position in the movement.

For us, the Echo Chamber which contains tax issues is not the main reason for the successful arrest of Mario Dandy, but for the arrest of Rafael Alun. Communities get information that is close to them. Likewise the response to Rafael Alun by Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani, who relieved Rafael from his post at a public request that went viral. We consider that in one case, the persecution of David Ozora was subject to two pressures, the first from the close network of the authorities and the second from public pressure.

The two pressures worked on each of the charges, both the conviction of the alleged abuse and the arrest of tax officials who misappropriated assets. Here the success of the digital protest shows its power. This is different from the condition of digital protests by the #reformasidikorupsi movement which has no alliances in the government.

The demonstrators, both on the streets and on social media, are dealing with the state system which has instruments to perpetuate interests. The results of our analysis of the relationship between the ruling party and the chairman of the KPK suggest that they are on good terms amidst such large mass protests. Even when Julianri Batubara was exposed to the corruption case of the social assistance COVID-19 PDIP was unmoved and did not fight back or make a public statement. PDIP also did not give any statement when the Constitutional Court decided to set the KPK leadership term to five years. The thing that makes us the signal is that the PDIP elite is involved with Firli, the chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission who has not flinched amid thousands of protests demanding his resignation.

The #reformasidikorupsi movement was not successful because it had a small opportunity politics structure and faced the interests of the government, meanwhile Mario Dandy was easily arrested because the victim was on the side of the government, and the case went viral because it received attention from the public over taxes which made the government do more than anything what the public expects.

KESIMPULAN

This study concludes that protest-based movements on social media require a network of rulers to create forces capable of suppressing public officials. Through structural and political analysis of opportunities, the movement can easily achieve results in a relatively short time. This condition is supported by the phenomenon of the echo chamber algorithm which makes the protest movement go viral and gain a lot of mass support. It seems that it will be more difficult for ordinary people to oppose something that is systematic and has many interests, because the government will never care: such as demonstrations against weakening the KPK and removing the KPK chairman, rather than simply imprisoning the perpetrators of abuse and clearing the name of taxes.

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