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Digital Advocacy for Punitive Justice and Vigilantism: Analyzing Citizen Dissatisfaction with the Klitih Prevention Policy

Abstract

This study aims to investigate how the digital advocacy process in responding to the Klitih occurrence in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, was executed in expressing public dissatisfaction on social media (particularly Twitter), who are the actors, and how it will contribute to future social problem resolution. This study seeks the public response on Twitter regarding the Klitih accident that occurred in early April 2022 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, by using the Twitter API executed in Python programming language. The analysis tools use qualitative content analysis through statistical analysis, sentiment analysis, emotional classification analysis, and social network analysis. We found that collective public responses on Twitter have successfully formed digital communities. This study observes two advocacy fibers; vigilantism and punitive law enforcement. Massive negative sentiments, colossal anger, and fear over how the Klitih issues are being resolved have a dissatisfaction impact through advocacy. The study's findings contended that the next step for digital advocacy lies in the presence of popular government opinion leaders in welcoming the advocacy and how strategies may be advanced by the dissatisfied party in lifting the advocacy to a greater stage. Future scholars can broaden it by applying the same methodology to the non-digital advocacy spectrum

Keywords:

digital advocacy; klitih; public dissatisfaction; street crime; twitter

Introduction

Historically, the concept of advocacy meant to be able to please or against a cause and express a particular political position (Johansson & Scaramuzzino, 2019). As time

goes by, it has been argued that a conceptualization of what it means to be an advocate needs to be extended to reflect the requirements of the digital age (Hoefer, 2012). Digital media creation in audio, graphics,

digital story, and blended media is desirable for forming so-called digital advocacy (Reyna et al., 2018).

The potential power of digital media and similar forces in forming digital advocacy is up-and-coming. The emergence of digital advocacy as a convenient way is due to several motivations—first, the development of communication technology and easier accessibility of the internet. The affordability of communication technologies (such as mobile phones, tablets, and so forth), combined with low-cost or even free social networking apps, makes digital media production more accessible (Reyna et al., 2018). Second, social-promotional motivation drives interaction and socialization with other users by sharing information and news on digital media, simultaneously seeking to draw attention and ultimately gaining a reputation in their network (Kim, 2017). Additionally, the notion of web-supported activism supports the opinions, views, and expressions are no longer fit inside the traditional parliamentary approach, where the digital media plays a vital function within a public sphere, allowing excluded and marginalized voices to be heard and bringing them into a political discussion (Dahlberg, 2007; Neumayer & Svensson, 2016).

Within the context, the author is interested in examining a particular juvenile delinquency case: Klitih action in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Klitih is a Javanese term that means an activity conducted by a group of adolescents in the middle of the night, with the average age being students, to harm, torture, and even kill any known or unknown hostile targets, yet however is still considered as juvenile delinquency (Jatmiko, 2021). The primary cause of this juvenile delinquency type is typically a combination of environmental influences, playmates, and other complex individual factors (Nurisman, 2022). This supports Klitih's continued existence and growing openness, where now the Klitih perpetrators will attack anyone to get their actions covered by the media.

In early April 2022, citizens of Yogyakarta were shocked by the Klitih phenomenon. A teenager named Daffa Adziin Albasith (18) was driving by motorbike in the middle of the morning to look for food for Ramadan sahur in the Banguntapan area. Daffa collided with an unknown individual, and the offender seized a gear, causing significant injuries to Daffa's head, according to the Kompas' (2022) page. When Daffa sought to be carried to the hospital, his life was not saved. This particular case has become a massive concern for citizens, both from within and outside the city.

One of the approaches that society seeks to pursue as a sign of dissatisfaction with the current system of managing Klitih is vigilantism, or 'taking the law into their own hands.' The current legal system is

thought incapable of resolving the Klitih problem. One of the primary issues about the applicable law is that because the Klitih perpetrators are still adolescents, they are not entangled in prison sentences; therefore, the deterrent effect is inadequate. The debate about vigilantism has gained new prominence, with scholars arguing about whether vigilantism is permissible or not. Haas (2010) suggests that vigilantism should be expected when citizens have low or no confidence in the formal authorities or the legal authorities that have been involved at first. Dumsday (2009) parsed out one condition under which a person might turn to vigilantism when the state has enacted good laws but is failing to enforce them. Thus, even though the justice system is meant to curb emotional excesses, it can sometimes actually be the cause of emotional reactions.

To connect the dots, Klitih occurrences in particular Daffa's case were voiced in a strong and polarized dissatisfaction manner over the government's prevention of Klitih that has occurred repeatedly. Among other media, Twitter is one of the favorite tools that we decide to employ for the research. The latter is backed up by Twitter's diffusion of speed and spread mobility allowing it to be a breaking-news messenger, and the feature of hashtags can establish ad hoc public networks. This creates a sense of massive mobilization of public opinion that conveniently empowers the advocacy process. In this article, the author investigates the role of social media, particularly Twitter, in forming digital advocacy to express public dissatisfaction in social problem resolution, particularly Klitih's resolution. Based on these objectives, the research questions are: How was the digital advocacy process in responding to the Klitih occurrence in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, executed in expressing public dissatisfaction, who are the actors, and how will it contribute to future social problem resolution? To date, there have been numerous studies on Twitter taking into account the public

satisfaction with public policy with certain hashtags, but little research has been conducted taking a sentiment approach to public opinion contributions (i.e., people's emotions and behavior toward how a policy solves their problem). This research adds to our understanding of social media behavior. This study also extends the experimental argument of Chen et al. (2020) study, specifically, whether being exposed to tweets containing social movement material would boost one's behavioral outcome in engaging in solving social problems, with an awareness of the effect of digital or hashtag movement. This research may investigate how social media influences people's thoughts and viewpoints.

Overall, the novelty of this article intends to contribute to a scientific understanding of how Klitih may be resolved in addition to the findings of the literature which mostly focuses on a review of legal foundations and anthropological approaches. The author examines the research questions by looking at vigilantism or other preferred social problem resolution, using Twitter to assess digital advocacy and people's main concerns about Klitih's actions in Yogyakarta. Later, the author describes the behavior in the discussions on Twitter. The author also reads and understands the characteristics of the discussion to discover how the motives of social problem resolution may emerge, which actor was the most influential in the discussion, and how it dynamics over time. The author then discusses how digital advocacy polarizes dissatisfaction and how it develops, which defines the preferred resolution to the Klitih problem. The final part will provide some concluding remarks and limitations.

Citizen dissatisfaction on a restorative conflict resolution: Vigilantism

Etymologically, vigilantism shares the same meaning with several other phrases, such as *eigenrichting* and "frontier justice." Vigilantism is a social movement encouraging

autonomous citizens to commit premeditated acts of [threatened] force (Johnston, 1996). The term vigilantism is frequently used in the criminological spectrum because it focuses on crime control or social control and tries to provide assurances or guarantees of security to general societal members. In other words, vigilantism is defined as people who 'take the law into their own hands and are thus regarded as illegal.

To understand more about vigilantism behavior in society, we can conceptualize vigilantism as an attempt to fill the requisition between the imbalance between cultural goals— comfort, tranquility, and security, and institutionalized means— law, rules, and regulations. Vigilantism is born from the stress of society in achieving those goals. However, it is not balanced with the same stress in existing approved norms regulating the means to achieve the goals, which is considered an anomie society (Merton's strain theory, cited in Trevino, 2022). Violence develops due to pressure from structural conditions in which there is a gap between what is expected to be different and the ability to satisfy these expectations. In a study conducted by Hendrawati and Krisnan (2019), this ability gap was attempted to be explained. They demonstrated that vigilantism is motivated by poor individual mental, emotional, and intellectual conditions due to a lack of education and legal awareness in the community.

Interestingly, in journals released in the last five years, the “digital” dimension was included in studies related to vigilantism. One of the most vocal scholars is Daniel Trottier (2017), who examines how digital media's affordability and culture inform the moral dimension of vigilantism. Trottier explains that digital vigilantism is a process in which citizens collectively are offended by the activities of other citizens and coordinate retaliation on mobile devices and social platforms. Since so much social interaction now takes place online, it makes sense that this kind of media intelligence also shapes interpersonal interactions. Trottier leaves an unanswered question

regarding the blurring of lines that might ordinarily distinguish socialization from the surveillance that fuels vigilantism. This indicates a more significant effort to control information flow and a claim to information autonomy. People may feel compelled to monitor others, forming a group known as digital advocacy, which will be discussed in greater depth in the following section.

Methods for assessing digital advocacy on social problems: The usage of Twitter

The term “digital advocacy” has been mentioned in many research and works of literature (Hall, 2019; Johansson & Scaramuzzino, 2019). Digital advocacy is also considered outstanding public journalism (Pearce & Rodgers, 2020) engaged in the public sphere. However, whether digital or non-digital, advocacy retains a specific meaning: to involve the general public in political movement, opening up spaces for the public to acquire information, raise issues, and direct them to the government.

Current research on the culture of digital advocacy focuses on how digital media facilitates communication and interaction among concerned citizens about critical social issues. Seelig et al., (2019) emphasize that during the advocacy process, participants create opportunities for exposing and sharing content, as well as another source for building awareness and outreach with others who consider themselves advocates for a cause. Advocacy groups seek to implement formal policy-making processes through the use of the digital spectrum through the process of digital advocacy. With reference to Johansson and Scaramuzzino (2019), we highlight how the opportunities available to the various groups that use digital advocacy have been influenced by differences in positions and connections to governments and political actors. Their various digital access activities can be seen as strategies to amplify access to political decision-makers or to the political decision-making process.

Twitter, as a mainstream digital media platform, has been identified as a new source of journalism that provides real-time updates (Small, 2011). In an empirical context, hashtags on Twitter make it possible for people to serve a collective purpose in the struggle between different individuals or groups. It can be intended and used as means of achieving a collective outcome. The ability of hashtags enables a community of interest around the topic without needing to establish a mutual followers relationship with all or any of the other participants (Brunsting & Postmes, 2002). Several studies thus far have linked the usage of Twitter hashtags with the formation of collective actions. In their research on #MeToo, a hashtag associated with support for self-disclosures of harassment or violence, Mueller et al. (2021) found that a hashtag allows marginalized people to leverage their social networks to promote the visibility of their sidelined voices. Recent findings in line with this study's area, Alifiary and Kusumasari's (2021) study on the formulation of #TolakRUUPermusikan in Indonesia influenced the people to respond and gives critiques on the government and has enough power to withdraw a controversial music bill.

Main public concerns regarding Klitih practices in Indonesia

What exactly is Klitih? Klitih is a term derived from the Javanese language that refers to a person's actions outside the house at night without a specific goal and has a neutral connotation (Nurisman, 2022). Klitih's meaning moved from positive to negative as time progressed because it was associated with the disorderly conduct of adolescents at night. Klitih is aggressive behavior that adolescents usually carry out to injure others. Scholars have identified numerous highlights in the field of law enforcement. First, the punishment was not necessarily in the form of imprisonment because the perpetrator is still considered an adolescent (Nurisman, 2022). This conveys the

impression that the deterrent effect is lacking. According to Harahap and Sulhin (2022), Article 21 of the SPPA Law states that in the case of a child under the age of 12 who commits or is accused of committing a crime, the intention is to have the child returned to the parent or guardian rather than to be sentenced to a criminal penalty.

The perception of an unresolved legal dispute, in which Klitih has repeatedly occurred, indicates a discursive level of public demanded solution that has not yet progressed to collaborative resolution. We forecast a substantial response addressing what types of advocacy strategies are produced and where the digital advocacy execution takes place. The latter consideration is due to the evolution of digital media, which makes this approach appropriate for research. Hypothetically, utilizing digital advocacy research enables citizens to design and exchange information and ideas by providing specific conditions for actively participating in changes to improve society (Seelig et al., 2019).

Methods

The primary tool for crawling tweets related to "Klitih"—including replies, retweets, and quoted tweets—is the Twitter Application Programming Interface (API). The Twitter API is a gateway that can only be used with Python programming through the Tweepy library. This study used JupyterLab and Google Collaborator as web-based interactive computing environments to run Python. To narrow down the population, the researcher only takes the sample for those who engage in every tweet relating to the word Klitih, such as Klitih, Nglitih, Klitihan, Nglithih, Klithih, and Klithihan. The latter method can obtain every proportional data and has an equal opportunity to be chosen from the population, considering that the word Klitih itself is unique and represents a location. This study will collect data according to the Klitih action on Daffa Adziin Albasith's case journey starting from 1 April 2022 to the

next three weeks when the demands on society are expected to be massively voiced, which is 20 April 2022. The search engine is limited based on the selected timeframe to extract the data, which makes the only exclusion in obtaining the entire data. The dataset generated by the search is in CSV format. It contains all data about Klitih's tweets; not only the text but also the statistics of each tweet.

The dataset obtained is still in the disarrayed text, therefore it needs to be turned into a sentence with proper grammar and writing structure. In scrutinizing the dataset, content analysis refers to identifying data units that are then categorized, recognized, compared, and contrasted with concluding the communication's actual content—continued by sentiment analysis, emotion classification, and social network actor analysis, some content analysis techniques used. This method of this text mining enables the discovery of hidden text data and identifies connections between texts in a dataset.

Sentiment analysis and emotion classification are similar in that they both identify the type of text in question using Python-based deep machine learning through the Transformers library. By using Gephi, social networks are visualized and explored for analysis. We removed everything from the initial dataset we obtained but the two required labels we needed were "source" and "target," which refer to the username that tweets and the username that reacts to or retweets the tweet. Finally, Tableau is used to perform statistical analysis and visualize the data into a chart or graph, such as a line or pie chart.

Results and Discussion

Results

We collected 154,420 tweets from April 1, 2022 to April 20, 2022 (Table 1). For the keyword *Klitih*, *Nglitih*, *Klitihan*, *Nglithih*, *Klithih*, and *Klithihan* (with and without #), the number of related tweets peaked on Tuesday, April 5, 2022,

at 6 pm local time, hours prior to the Daffa's Klitih incident. We discovered that only 9.21% of all tweet gains were attributable to original tweets. Information sharing dominates Klitih's discussion with nearly 70% of the retweets. Reciprocal messages and users quoting other people's tweets are the only contributions to the conversation that account for percentages of 16.7 percent and 4.46 percent, respectively.

Annotated Timelines

As a first step toward synthesizing the timeline of events and critical themes surrounding Klitih, we reviewed the text and links posted during the zenith of Klitih's Twitter advocacy. Based on our analysis, we developed a timeline of the significant events discussed on Twitter (Figure 1). Our data collection started on April 1, roughly two days before the Yogyakarta Klitih incident. The Klitih incident on April 3 at around 2 am, which is not when Twitter users are active, marks the beginning of the period. At 3.09 am on April 3, a tweet containing the first call that sparked the conversation about the Klitih incident was aired where @anangsaputra97 tweeted "*Min dapat info ada yang kena Klitih dekat Balai Banguntapan jln Gedongkuning @Upil_Jaran2*" (1510348623892025347). Unfortunately, after receiving care in the hospital, the victim could not be saved at around 09.30 am. Then, several widely shared tweets from the immediate aftermath shocked the discussion: The first news was broadcast by the verified news source @kumparan: "*Remaja yang jadi korban klitih di Jogja tersebut tewas dalam perjalanan ke rumah sakit. #publisherstory*" (1510820139448430596).

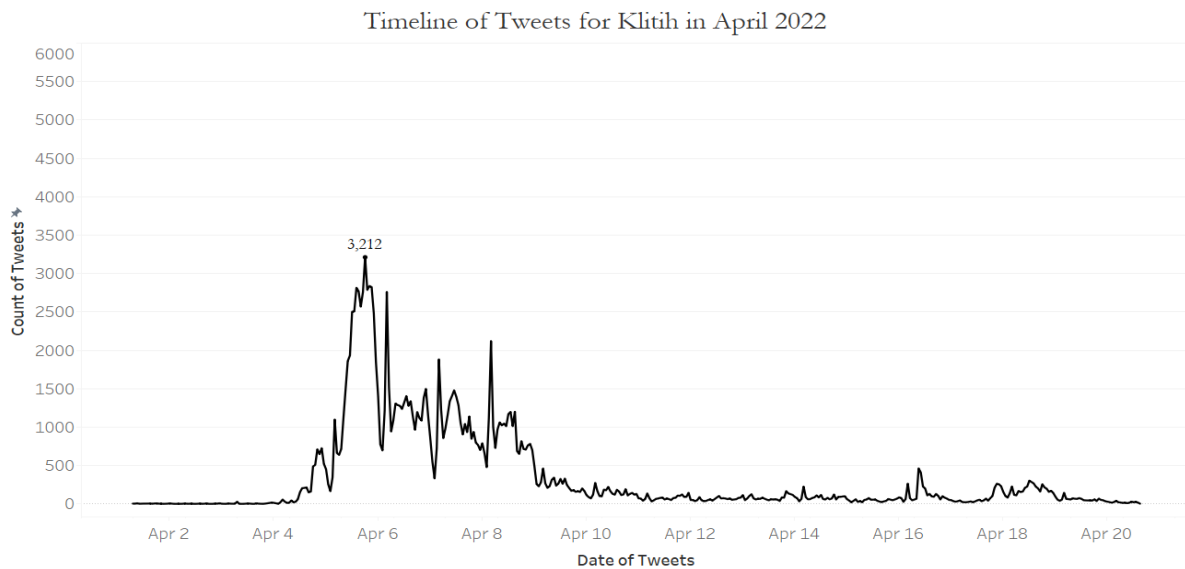
Overall, an intense discussion was opened on April 5 when the perpetrators of Klitih were arrested by police, followed by the dialogue on how Klitih should be handled, voiced in various forms of expression. Twitter activity on the day of the incident was noticeable but less intense than at other times during the study period, particularly

Table 1.
Count of Tweets by Classification

Keyword	Search API	Classification	Total
Klitih, Nglitih, Klitihan, Nglithih, Klithih, and Klithihan (both with and without #)	154420	Text tweets	14229 (9.21 %)
		Engagement (90.8 %)	
		Replies	25820 (16.7 %)
		Retweets	107477 (69.6 %)
		Quoted retweets	6894 (4.46 %)

Source: Obtained from primary data.

Figure 1.
Timeline of original Tweets for keywords related to Klitih



The trend of count of Author Id for Date Hour.

Source: Obtained from primary data.

the week following April 5. In the following section, we will examine the increase in Twitter activity in the context of who the actors are and how sentiment and emotions are expressed.

Sentiment Analysis and Emotional Classification

Since this study focuses on citizen dissatisfaction, we can predict some unfavorable attitudes and sentiments in the Klitih discussion on Twitter. In order to label the sentiment, we must purge the dataset of retweet-only tweets and leave only the original tweets. We found that, out of 80,918 original tweets, 65.6% of tweets had negative sentiment, 28.3% had neutral sentiment, and only 5.18% had a positive sentiment.

By also displaying the variation in the identification of variation within the emotion expressed, we can visually compare the number of tweets assigned to each of these sentiment categories (Figure 2). A significant portion of tweets with a high value express anger and fear. Two days after the incident, tweets expressing anger and fear spiked sharply, peaking on April 5. There were roughly 8,300 tweets of fear and 21,500 tweets of anger on that particular day. Twitter users express their anger and frustration in these widely shared tweets by @zoelfick “Klitih merembet sampai Semarang. Nggak ditindak cepat, bisa-bisa jadi tren nasional. Sc: @portalsemarang” (1511154685008560129), which was retweeted 2,756 times that day and consistently 2,108

retweets the following day. Meanwhile, the emotion of fear was shown through

@Stakof's tweet, which was retweeted 1,247 times and 1,285 times the following day. @Stakof questions the government's attitude, which was considered late in taking preventive action "nDoro Sultan waktu itu (Januari 2022) ngendika: klitih cuma dibesar-besarkan, dan curiga ini by design. Semalam ada korban klitih meninggal, dan ternyata korban adalah anak dari ketua fraksi partai. nDoro sultan ngendika:" (1511204838511505408).

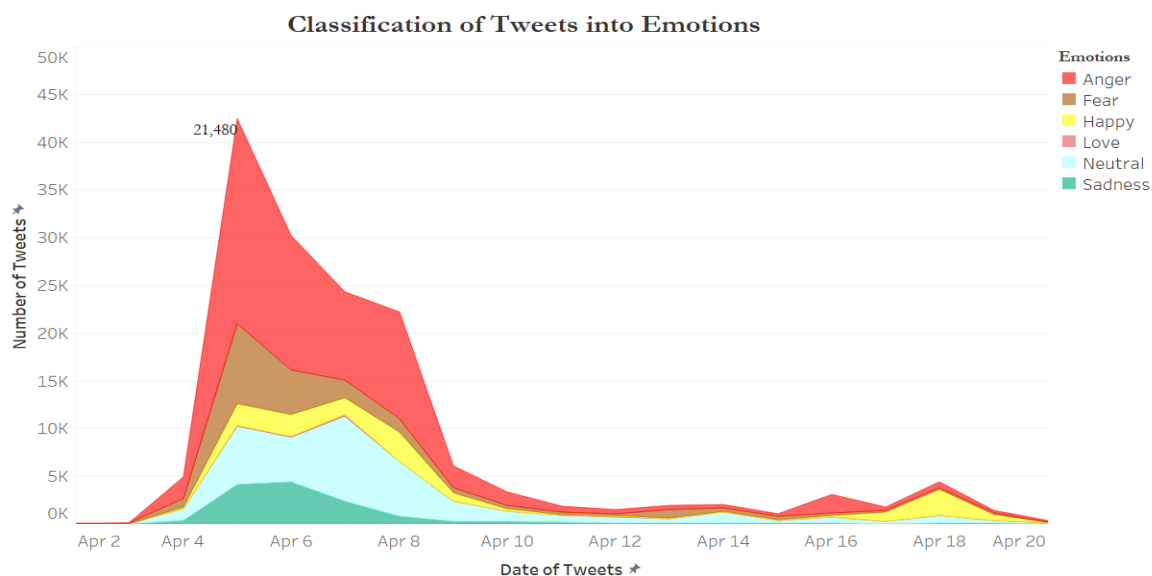
We also observed that most Twitter users engage in tweets that assist in resolving conflicts, which is exciting and consistent with the previous findings. Given our interpretation, law enforcement and vigilantism are on opposite ends of the spectrum regarding how conflicts are resolved. Examples include the assertions made by @RidhaIntifadha that increased enforcement effort is required. Top-down resolution can be achieved by examining the formation of the Klitih group and its regeneration, as well as the need for new regulations on online games. Alternatively,

@RagilSempronk, @Puthutea, and @shitlicious, in their tweets, describe specific actions such as spreading the identity of the perpetrator, posting photos of the perpetrator in public places, to hitting the perpetrator at the scene, indicating that extra vigilant action is needed to provide a deterrent effect for the Klitih perpetrator.

Actors

One who writes influential tweets is not necessarily an influential user. Riquelme and González-Cantergiani (2016) identify that while influential users are usually associated with hub nodes, their influence can also be spread in terms of extension (the number of users "affected" by the message), intensity, content, and so forth. Through the dataset, we illustrate the outcomes of a social network analysis that includes each participant in the Klitih discussion and demonstrates the significance of each actor in the form of an Atlas (Figure 3). We also interpret the network by calculating the centrality node values—eigenvector centrality, closeness centrality, and betweenness centrality— based on the Gephi

Figure 2.
Classification of Tweets based on emotions



The plots of Anger, Fear, Happy, Love, Neutral and Sadness for Date Day. Color shows details about Anger, Fear, Happy, Love, Neutral and Sadness.

Source: Obtained from primary data.

Table 2.
Top 7 actors in the social network on Klitih's discussion

Username	Followers*	Eigenvector Centrality**	Closeness Centrality**	Betweenness centrality**
@zoelfick	82.3K	0.426428	0.388528	140311496.04
@RidhaIntifadha	4.8K	0.269402	0.376547	123778542.58
@merapi_uncover	103.8K	0.244905	0.378406	90854021.14
@Stakof	115.6K	0.221409	0.356793	66206080.85
@RagilSempronk	7.2K	0.178939	0.35554	61446505.58
@Puthutea	126.5K	0.098825	0.35276	74346779.59
@sigdenifikan	1K	0.079535	0.365389	61980324.37

*as per 9 September 2022

**capped on 5.6901478445892085E-15

Source: Obtained from primary data.

actors. As mentioned in the previous section, @zoelfick and @RidhaIntifadha's tweets received much engagement, but Twitter users only participated there for information-sharing purposes. This finding also suggests that the tweets about Klitih from the latter two accounts are enlightening and enjoyable enough to spread. We think people unfamiliar with the Klitih events may follow their tweets very closely because the real-time information exchange network makes it possible for ideas and information to spread quickly among huge audiences without considering time or location constraints (Su et al., 2017). As visualized in Figures 3.a and 3.b, there appear to be no small actors swarming the nodes, and the reasonably high out-degree value of @zoelfick and @RidhaIntifadha symbolizes the massive incoming network. On the other side, despite not having the most extraordinary centrality, the accounts @merapi_uncover, @RagilSempronk, and @stakof combine to form a community that we refer to as a "triangle," made up of numerous personal accounts and news portals that not only link to one another but also participate in ongoing discussions. This result is consistent with what De Choudhury (2011) stated in the study's introduction, which is that user bonding is influenced by the network structure of the individual involved. Because @Stakof and @RidhaIntifadha are not using the Javanese language in their tweets, the location

appears to have a slight homophilic effect on bond formation, whereas the "triangle" community ties are primarily led by local accounts and mainly engaged in Javanese. This supports De Choudhury's doubts about the correlation between bond formation and the homophily of a topic of interest.

Discussions

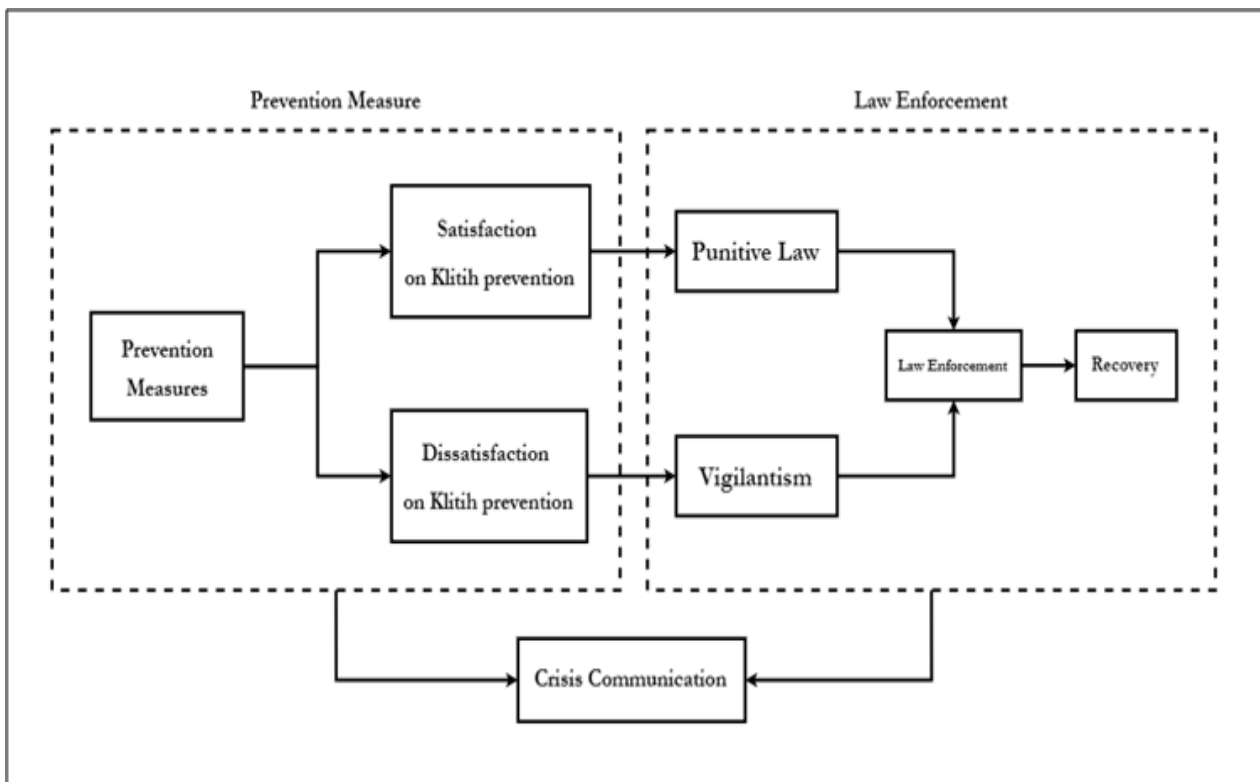
This study has mapped the pattern of dissatisfaction, its implications, and the advocacy strategy used by Twitter users in responding to the Klitih case using a time frame from the incident that happened on April 3. The results demonstrate that during the chosen period, people used Twitter to distribute information, foster anger and fear over the situation, and encourage an eagerness for policy change. More recently, our findings indicate a one-way information-sharing model, with about three-quarters of their sample tweets motivated by sharing. In addition, each community's messages focused on social conflict resolution make up a significant portion of two-way discussions. In other words, the endorsed collective model establishes relationships between communities and appears to be fully realized in tweeting about Klitih in April 2022. Our further discussion will be based on Figure 4, which illustrates a diagram of public dissatisfaction based on the result of the digital advocacy process to prevent Klitih activities in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

We identified two primary advocacy fibers in the Twitter conversation about the Klitih resolution: (1) taking vigilantism measures; and (2) there is a call for a shift from the policy's intended outcome from restorative justice to punitive justice. Applying physical defense techniques when dealing with offenders and showing punitive attitudes by exposing all information about the perpetrators—so-called 'digital vigilantism'—are examples of measures that are highly expected to provide a deterrent effect. The latter is an alternative to vigilantism. We contend that widespread complaints reflect a form of cognitive modernization, where people now believe that the governing system should settle social disputes without resorting to violence. To this extent, the public is conscious that vigilante action could lead to a violent crime that exposes them to additional problems. Then, we also highlight how people behave on the internet, which may be different if realized in real life. The latter argument

presumes that vigilantism on the internet expresses a diverse nature between seeking to solve crimes or being motivated solely by the pleasures of anonymity (Galleguillos, 2021) and results from frustration with current policies that do not address the recurring Klitih problem.

We explain in greater detail how the conversations that take place during the advocacy process have a lot of weak entry points: sound reckless, seem accusatory, suddenly, and harmful and inappropriate words are also frequently released. This attracts many negative sentiments associated with widespread discontent, such as *“Gaes pokoke kalo ke jogja dan maen malem hari, plis, bawa mobil lapis baja sama senapan ya. Kalo dipepet klitih, tabrak lari aja atau tembak di tempat ya. Pake hukum rimba aja di sini, kecuali kalian kerabat orang penting”* (tweeted on April 5). Since it is common on Twitter to defend against perceived threats, especially when they involve

Figure 4.
Model of citizens responses to the Klitih prevention satisfaction or dissatisfaction, grasped from the findings of digital advocacy process on Twitter.



Source: Constructed by author.

social justice issues that put people at risk, it raises doubts about the original intent of the vigilantism expression. This has led to the development of a so-called call-out or cancel culture (Gregory & Singh, 2018). We presume that there may be some neuroticism in the discussion since, as demonstrated in the article 'You are what you tweet' by Qiu et al. (2012), neurotic people are less likely to feel the need to repress their propensity to disagree with others.

From the standpoint of policy-making, one of the policy roles is to address public issues and demands; we refer to this as complaint handling. In our findings, the development of digital advocacy has revealed the Klitih problem's root cause, based directly on the public as the disadvantaged side. Root cause analysis is a foundational element because public discourse raises awareness of new problems and frequently prompts ideas for solutions (Bail, 2016). Through this study, we add more perspective on how digital advocacy works. The digital communities confirm that the Klitih incident is recurring, creating a sense of insecurity and undermining the reputation of the area in which they live. Prevention measures and the common deterrent effect in law enforcement are essential in determining satisfaction with the Klitih prevention policy. Also, as we have stated in the result section, considering the high level of dissatisfaction among users, efforts should be directed not only toward prevention but also toward broadening the scope to include areas where their level and reasons for satisfaction or dissatisfaction are poorly managed. Therefore, some unlawful actions have been introduced as a recovery to have a transformative effect, including vigilant actions.

From a theoretical point of view, recovery is a crucial method of handling complaints. Related bodies are responsible for making policies that carry out top-down recovery and are participatory at the same level as the policy target. Our research shows that the policy decision-making actor was

not actively engaged in the community discussion during the advocacy phase. We consider the local government (@humas_jogja) to have a veto point on the juvenile delinquency policy-making issue. The government public relation has no appreciable inward or outward extension in the network (refer to the Result 4.3 section), and the responses were merely in reportage format "*Gubernur Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, meminta pelaku penyerangan yang berakibat tewasnya pelajar SMA Muhammadiyah 2 Yogyakarta, Dafa Adzin Albasith, harus diproses secara hukum. #GubernurDIY #SriSultanHBX #Klitih #JogjaBisa #PoldaDIY*" (1510996256612839427). This finding is interesting to discuss in terms of crisis communication, where the term "klitih" was not mentioned but implicitly as "street crime." This also explains why they were not included in the advocacy process because the "klitih" keyword was not triggered. Previous studies have shown that policy response is no other than marketing: whether it is a fast response or socially responsible (Coombs, 2007). The policy-making body on the Klitih issue did not act as a central node in the public sphere because the 'clarification' was carried out directly at the city hall by the leader, who then tweeted in the form of news. Where we found little attention on solution clarification measures by the government in the advocacy process, such responses are shown as a kind of reputation management where it can be achieved by direct interaction rather than through mediation.

A positive response, a very intangible resource, may allow for faster recovery from a crisis. Interestingly these theories on crisis communication are refuted. The public, however, has repeatedly assumed that the government's communication on the Klitih incident in April was solely due to the background of the victim being the son of an important figure in the legislative; This was expressed in "*Kasian ya warga jogja,*

punya polisi setempat gak bisa diandelin buat jaga keamanan dari klitih, punya gubernur baru bergerak kalau ada anak pejabat yang udah jadi korban” (1511217250086588420). Our research shows that, in several instances, the public adopts an implicit bias strategy that is encouraged by ongoing exposure to social stereotypes in a climate where the government frequently fails to emphasize a crisis urgency (Solihin, 2021). Moreover, some of them claimed that if the victims were ordinary people, the urgency of the Klitih settlement would be less acute, such as “@_ffffffc @panggilajasinyo @BossTemlen Nah benerrr ni diaa. Sama kyk korban klitih giliran rakyat biasa dibilang jangan dibesar besarkan, giliran anak pejabat yg mati baru berkoar koar hrs ditegasin. Gitulah kawan mereka memperlihatkan muka busuknya mereka. Hanya yg berkuasa yg menang” (1513698193913303042) or “@MilanistiSagita @Carolin70721853 @detikcom Iya, saya bbrp kali ikutin berita klitih ini. Sebelum2nya juga pemprov ga sampe bilang harus ditindak. Karena kemarin2 korbannya mungkin hanya rakyat biasa” (1511537565647585282).

So, how can Klitih's advocacy inform the effectiveness of media advocacy practices in contributing to future social problem resolutions? Advocacy that focuses on dissatisfaction and agitation that is carried out through various behaviors shows, has injected urgency and awareness of policy change in Klitih prevention efforts. However, up until this point, digital advocacy has only focused on their attention in expressing their dissatisfaction, sporadically securing their identity and self-interest, but didn't step up the game. In achieving policy change, as suggested by Gibson (2010), media advocacy should not have neglected the role of mainstream journalist outlets. To foster such digital-scale conversations, advocates must develop a sophisticated media strategy, just as they would for drawing attention. Klitih advocacy may have developed their collective identity as

dissatisfied citizens but are lacking in defining matters of strategy.

There are some important limitations in digital advocacy that we found in the Klitih prevention discussion. We argue that there is a need in broadening the ways to help community groups facilitate the intragroup conversations and internal debates that are so necessary for building an effective political movement. A case in point would be the research of Alifiarry and Kusumasari (2021) who has successfully mapped how digital advocacy has successfully brought down an impending policy. We concur with the similarities in forming the collective movement, but it is worth noting that movements are also carried out at the legislative level. In the end, digital advocacy still requires traditional strategies to keep the conversation about advocacy going. It is true that digital advocacy has helped define issues and anticipated solutions, but expressing discontent by itself is insufficient to develop a comprehensive political strategy. Additionally, we discovered that the dominant viewpoint in digital advocacy was stuck trying to arouse awareness and emotion, but made very little strategic effort to influence policymakers directly through the government. The majority of active Klitih prevention advocates are based outside of Yogyakarta, making them wholly irrelevant to small actors who actually face a high risk of contracting Klitih. This, from our viewpoint, affects the likelihood that this dissatisfaction will escalate to a more serious level. Digital advocacy may open up space, but actual policy changes are still made by the relevant decision-makers, in this case, the legislature, and the executive branch.

The previous analysis now supplements the two-sided findings of a missing link: a lack of a clear advocacy target receiver, and a lack of additional strategic efforts in achieving advocacy goals. We add perspective on why digital advocacy is limited, as well as pointers on how it is ineffective. The study's findings contended

that the next step for digital advocacy lies in the presence of popular government opinion leaders in welcoming the advocacy and how strategies may be advanced by the dissatisfied party in lifting the advocacy to a greater stage. By definition, the complex and multifaceted situations of Klitih seem to be best suited for a pragmatic sensemaking approach that prioritizes adaptability and problem-solving, particularly when it comes to an understanding key crisis leadership behaviors and developing competency-based, evidence-based recovery strategies (Medeiros et al., 2022; Sriharan et al., 2022). On the other side, as we've seen, if dissatisfied communities have access to a wider range of resources that cater to their interests and address their needs, these strategies in achieving expected outcomes (Figure 4) will be more effective. We concur with Apriliyanti and Fathin's (2022) conclusion that there is a need for mortification strategies where we expect meaningful and constructive communication between the government and the public to emerge to attain public engagement.

Conclusion

We have collected, mapped, and analyzed Twitter data to understand public dissatisfaction with current Klitih prevention measures by the government. We discovered that the public expects juvenile delinquency to be coped with by employing a punitive rather than a restorative approach because it is linked to habitual crime. We find indications of related behavior in preventing Klitih through the initial assumption of vigilantism, where the citizens' mistrust of law enforcement amplifies the effect. This effort was made through the emotions expressed, which tend to symbolize disappointment solely in the form of anger and fear. Through this research, we contribute to finding novel attention on the missing links in the digital advocacy process where both top-down and bottom-up approaches are lethargic in the advocacy process: a top-down approach where

the local government has no significant outlet in a form of crisis communication, which we believe is critical in complaint handling, and the bottom-up approach made by the dissatisfied community are limited in sporadic agitation and propaganda.

Our findings enlighten that it remains difficult to conclude how only mapping public opinion can instantly solve street crimes like Klitih. From a practical standpoint, we believe that policy decision-making bodies should be more present on an equal spectrum where digital advocacy is conducted. We advise stepping up the emotions expressed by the public in the digital sphere. This can be accomplished by imitating the private sector, which, at least from what we can tell, tends to have community relations that are less rigid, inactive, or nonexistent when it comes to communicating on the digital spectrum.

Although our findings fill a gap in the literature regarding Klitih or other criminology studies, the following limitations should be acknowledged. To begin, the data extracted from Twitter for the analysis does not necessarily represent the entire population of the study unit. We see the flow of the conversations and conclude that there is a pattern worth noting, but our findings exaggerate if stated as representing the 'whole' unit. Second, we do not modify or translate any tweets into English in order to preserve the authenticity and integrity of each Twitter user's meaning. Because it respects the ethical use of public opinion, interpretation efforts are minimal; therefore, bilingual interpretation must be made independently. Third, our analysis of the sample data is uneven because it focuses on the peaks and valleys of the Klitih discussion's intensity. Although this is a multi-wave study, it does not cover the entire course of events. Fourth, we utilized sentiment and emotional classification analysis at the sentence or document level; therefore, a triggering comment may refer to more than one sentiment or emotion.

These limitations create room and opportunity for further research. Whereas this

study focuses on community advocacy on Twitter as one of the digital media, future scholars can broaden it by applying the same methodology to the non-digital advocacy spectrum. The findings of this study can also be used as a further description for future research, not necessarily about similar cases, but how social media research contributes to the evaluation and development of public policy.

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