What Lies behind No-Confidence Motion on Indonesian Social Media?
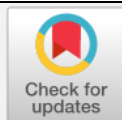
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ABSTRACT

Social media is currently taking on a role as a mobilizing, organizing, and communication tool for social protest movements. Social media platforms facilitate content creation, an emotional and motivational exchange to support and oppose protest activities. Social media can increase protest participation, such as hashtags through Twitter. A negative emotional sentiment triggers the hashtag to become a trending topic in Indonesia. It started with the Environment and Forestry minister's tweet about development and deforestation, making the public react by raising the hashtag #mositidakpercaya. This study explores the vote of no confidence and the correlation of narrative in the hashtag using a qualitative research method with Q-DAS NVivo 12 Plus analysis. The research data source was obtained from Twitter by capturing the hashtag #mositidakpercaya with supporting data from online media, journal literature, and books. The findings showed that miscommunication and the failure to understand the discussed context were conveyed.

1. Introduction

Advances in information technology during the industrial revolution 4.0 have a natural effect in providing convenience. The desire for fast and reliable information has become one of the essential aspects of civilization's evolution (Akram & Kumar, 2017). Social media is a great communication tool and provides easy access. Given the current state of social media, anyone can become a newsmaker and affect the masses. Social media is also a way of communicating with others through the massive sharing of information through social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube (Habibie et al., 2021).

Social media is a more interactive medium from the point of view of social interaction and creates a new meaning of personal communication (Zhong, 2021). Since social media is an online machine or can arise due to contact between fellow social media users, social media has its ethics and rules. As a forum for participation, sharing, exchanging information, and virtual networking (Fitriani, 2017). According to new media theory, the internet and related technologies, such as computer-mediated communication and social media, have unique capabilities that have changed how humans communicate. The idea emphasizes the evolution of media use from personal consumption of information and knowledge to interaction (Hu et al., 2017).

Following the evolution of social media, non-profit, government, and non-governmental groups worldwide have been hard at work finding ways to use social media platforms as effective instruments for strategic communication in times of crisis. Media has the power to construct social reality (Pristianita et al., 2021). Social media is essential for active citizen engagement, information sharing, communication, and online interaction between parties. The public can directly communicate with the government through social media, and technology can turn communication into interactive discourse (Appel et al., 2020). Also, many governments are now using social media technology to communicate and assess the public's wishes to maintain constant communication with individuals (Sheth, 2020).

However, the government faces difficulties responding to technological advances due to the lack of awareness and readiness to use social media. As a result, the benefits of using social media and how social media can build public trust must be considered (Roengtam, 2020). Governments must provide policy directions that foster trust, encourage participation, and link faith with progress (Khan et al., 2020). In addition, governments can use social media to promote openness, transparency, citizen engagement, policy effectiveness, management efficiency, cost-cutting, good governance, public employee satisfaction, and citizen satisfaction (Khan et al., 2020).

With social media, citizen participation in government is increasingly moving online, from initiative to passive (Bui, 2016). Meanwhile, the government can interact with the public through social media to restore public trust in the government. Using social media to win people's trust, they may gain a better understanding (Han & Jia, 2018). Social media can also threaten criticism of the government if it is felt that a policy not oriented to the community's interests will give birth to a new social movement through social media (Pratama et al., 2021).

Several studies have explored the role of social media in mobilizing action, such as how Twitter activists can rally real-life protest participants using the hashtag (Mikhailova & Gradoselskaya, 2019). Many social movements have identified and implemented hashtags as a powerful tool for public mobilization. As a digital communication medium, Twitter allows people to express themselves regardless of geography and at a much lower cost than traditional broadcast media (Duncombe, 2019) by using hashtags to get involved in the movement. Hashtags on Twitter serve various purposes in protest, including the ability to add or change

the meaning of a tweet (Zhang, 2021). Online activists use hashtags to highlight Twitter as a medium for live dialogue, demonstration, and dissemination of ideas as part of a more significant movement on a particular subject (Kuo, 2018).

Social media provides three essential functions for developing societies: giving information, reducing the costs of political participation, and increasing the ability of opposition forces to mobilize (Chang et al., 2014). Media can generate public political awareness because of its features that facilitate interactivity, proximity, and easy access for the public (Zempi & Rahayu, 2019). As a new social movement strategy, the media plays a role in facilitating reasoning and thinking in gathering support. Many people are concerned with media technology, especially online media. Decadence, consumerism, and lax morals are associated with the internet world. Social movement experts have long used framing to understand how movements attract members and create solidarity (Lampinen, 2020).

Social media, such as Twitter, has forced users to accommodate social movements through hashtag activities, raising many questions. The correlation between social media and social movements is inherent and attracts research interest. The hashtag #mositidakpercaya on Twitter once became a trending topic, then triggered questions through this research. The motion statement of no confidence must be submitted, and by whom, what are the effects of the motion of no confidence? The Ministry of Environment and Forestry's tweet about deforestation became a question and the complexity between the #mositidakpercaya (motion of disbelief) and deforestation. Therefore, this study explores information associated with the statement of the vote of no confidence through the hashtag and the correlation between the narrative in the hashtag.

2. Literature Review
2.1. Social Movement in Social Media

A social movement is a network of informal interactions involving a plurality of individuals, groups, and organizations engaged in political or cultural struggles based on a shared collective identity. In other words, a social movement is a group of people who share a common identity and point of view and come together to address a political or cultural challenge. Social movements trigger social action (e.g., political campaigns, petitions, protests). The ultimate goal of social movement action is to promote or oppose social change at both systemic and non-systemic levels (Li et al., 2020).

One of the most critical civil rights is the right to protest. Citizens participate in massive protests to express themselves and exercise their democratic rights. On the other hand, Protests can result in violence and destruction due to the high number of participants and can be costly. As a result, it is imperative to anticipate such protests in advance to avoid such losses. Protesters have used Twitter, a popular microblogging website, to plan, organize, and announce recent demonstrations worldwide (Ozturkcan et al., 2017).

Contemporary protest movements through social media activities have become quite an intense trend among social media users spreading quickly and widely. Social media has become a valuable ally for protesters, bringing together various activist groups to make it easier to coordinate anti-government protests. In contrast, protest movements through social media are a visual expression of differences of opinion (Surzhko-Harned & Zahuranec, 2017). Scholars in several studies have shown that leadership and collective identity also play an essential role (Poell & Dijck, 2017).

Social media facilitates political participation for citizens to engage in protest activities, allowing users to express their political opinions. Protest movements in the United States,

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Spain, Turkey, and Ukraine, pointing out that social media platforms facilitate the exchange of information essential for protest coordination, such as news about transportation, voter turnout, police presence, violence, medical services, and legal support; In addition, social media platforms facilitate the exchange of emotional and motivational content for and against protest activities, such as messages emphasizing anger, social identification, group efficacy, and caring (Jost et al., 2018).

Social media is a place for people to discuss their views and opinions, especially true regarding political sentiment. While social media is nothing new in politics, social media will play a much more significant role as a political instrument in the future. The first evidence of this came during the 2016 presidential election in the United States, when social media took on new forms, with many alleged attempts to influence voters' beliefs, attitudes, and actions, especially for Donald Trump, the presidential candidate, and now (Appel et al., 2020).

Social media will continue to be essential in mobilizing demonstrations for online and offline events. Social media technology creates virtual opposition communities that actively promote counter-hegemonic discourse, providing a platform for previously silenced voices to speak out against Mugabe's authoritarian rule. Regardless of their temporal and spatial location, protesters use social media to organize, strategize and gather (Gukurume, 2017).

Social movements through Twitter using hashtags in Indonesia to criticize and reject the omnibus law work copyright bill showed that social media could mobilize action and voice and disseminate crucial issues for rejection (Sutan et al., 2021). Through hashtags, the social protest movement through Twitter against the alcohol investment policy abolished alcohol investment articles (Pratama et al., 2021). Some call social movements hashtag activism, in this case, using hashtags to disseminate information and as an initial form of action through this type of digital activism (Xiong et al., 2019). Some have also stated that hashtags or digital activism are more helpful in educating them on participating in social movements or activism than traditional activism (e.g., protests) (Keller et al., 2018).

The mass media have long been the dominating source, partly because they are often considered reliable, valuable, and timely sources of information. While social media platforms acknowledge that echo chambers may be a problem, there is no straightforward cure. The fact that echo chambers are prone to fake news is one of the reasons they have come to the public's attention. Fake news is fabricated news pretending to be real to influence other social media users. The bot's repetition of such articles will only amplify the effect. Recent research has shown that participants are less likely to check information in perceived social settings, such as social media (Jun et al., 2017; Schwarz & Newman, 2017). The world of digital media thus presents a double challenge: 1) an abundance of information, entertainment, and other products that must be continuously organized, and 2) a lack of quality assurance of content, which requires regular monitoring of consumer credibility (Westerman et al., 2014).

3. Research Method

This study used a qualitative approach to explain and better understand a phenomenon. A qualitative research approach can understand human interaction in certain circumstances based on a research perspective. This study employed a qualitative research approach to the analysis of Twitter content. The researchers used qualitative data analysis software (Q-DAS) and NVivo 12 Plus software using three tools: word frequency analysis, sentiment analysis, and word tree analysis. NVivo 12 Plus can provide tools for collecting, categorizing, mapping, analyzing, and visualizing qualitative data obtained from memos, reports, laws, and interviews (Salahudin et al., 2020). NVivo 12 Plus can descriptively convey values and results and display tables and

images, simplifying and clarifying reading in the analysis and data sections (Pratama et al., 2021). The type of research data is secondary data. The source of research data came from the social media Twitter hashtag #Mositidakpercaya which was taken on November 6, 2021. Data successfully captured was 983 tweets, then imported into NVivo 12 Plus and managed and analyzed. At the same time, the supporting data for this research was from online media, journal literature, and books.

4. Results and Discussion

Social media is the primary source of information, resulting in a flood of information that cannot be dammed and even mixed with hoaxes. The ease of accessing social media has become a platform to facilitate content creation and sharing of highly interactive content. Social media influence people's interaction patterns and habits. There is an exchange of emotional and motivational content, including messages emphasizing anger, social identification, concerns about justice, and dispossession, to support and oppose protest activities (Jost et al., 2018). Through hashtags, protest movements on social media often significantly influence and change policies (Pratama et al., 2021).

Starting from the Minister of Environment and Forestry tweet, Siti Nurbaya, "The massive development of President Jokowi's era must not stop in the name of carbon emissions or deforestation." The statement attracted the critical attention of netizens on Twitter and became a trending topic on November 4, 2021. This study analyzes and explores information related to the statement of the vote of no confidence through the hashtag #mositidakpercaya and the correlation of the narratives in the hashtag.

Figure 1. Word Frequency hashtag #mositidakpercaya

The findings above explain that the hashtag #mositidakpercaya is linked to deforestation. Findings in **Figure 1** present hashtag #mositidakpercaya as the most frequently used word with a weight of 004%, followed by the word "deforestasi" with a weight of 003%, followed by the word "lord" with a weight of 002% and the word "opung" with a weight of 002%. **Figure 2** explains the sentiment of the hashtag #mositidakpercaya.
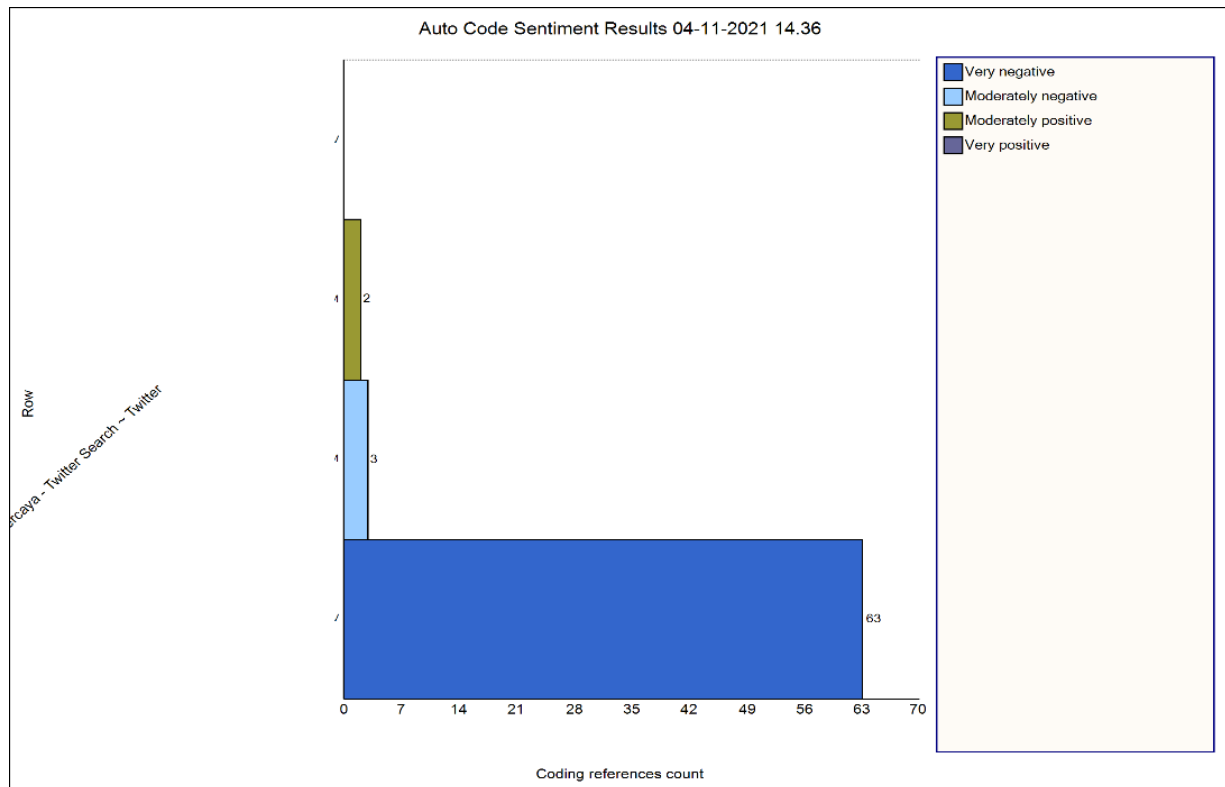
Figure 2. Sentiment #mositidakpercaya

Every hashtag contains a critical attitude towards the Environment and Forestry minister's tweet. The hashtag #mositidakpercaya against critical attitudes towards the @SitiNurbayaLHK account tweet contains negative sentiment with 63%, while moderately negative 3%, followed by relatively positive sentiment of 2%. The results of a text search query using a tolls word tree in **Figure 3** under the hashtag #mositidakpercaya are closely related to the word "dissipate emissions into the atmosphere."
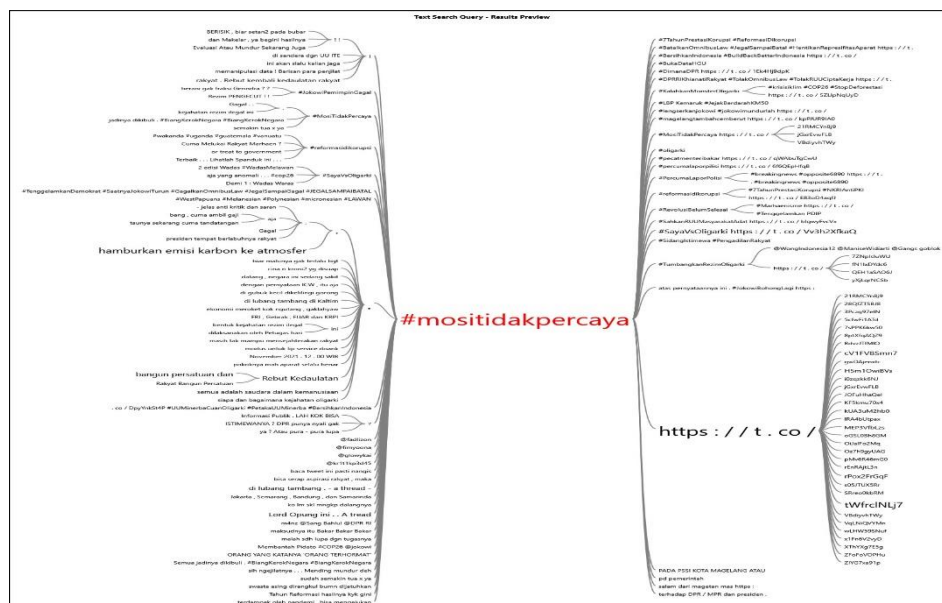

Figure 3. Text Search Query #mositidakpercaya

Starting the discussion on the findings related to the tweet of the Minister of Environment and Forestry, Siti Nurbaya Bakar, with Twitter account @SitiNurabayaLHK, who was appointed in 2014 to 2024 by President Joko Widodo. Related to his tweet, "The massive development of President Jokowi's era must not stop in the name of carbon emissions or deforestation," on November 3, 2021, which attracted a critical reaction from the public, and caused a trending topic on Twitter through several hashtags #deforestasi, #krisisiklim, followed by hashtags #mositidakpercaya is the focus of this study.

A vote of no confidence was used in the 1780s after the defeat of British troops Battle of Yorktown, initially used by countries with parliamentary systems of government, such as Australia and England (Mason, nd). While in Indonesia, it was identified as being used during the liberal democracy period in 1951 during Prime Minister Natsir, which resulted in the cabinet's fall (Thuy, 2019). A vote of no confidence in the government can usually be submitted to parliament by any legislature member, and it will be debated and voted on by parliament. If the motion is passed, the prime minister and members of his cabinet are usually forced to resign, as the executive needs the support of a majority of MPs to stay in power (Coombes, 2015).

A vote of no confidence is a statement or vote about whether someone in a position of responsibility (government, management, etc.) or other members are dangerous (Lento & Hazan, 2021). A vote of no confidence is usually used in a parliamentary system of government as the most stringent instrument of political control with a majority vote. Indonesia adheres to a presidential system of government, where the statement of a vote of no confidence is not explicitly regulated in legislation as in Latin America.

People's Representatives, Regional Representatives Council, and Regional People's Representative Council. In carrying out the duties and functions of legislation, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR-RI) is given the right to interpellation, inquiry, and express an opinion. The DPR-RI held the right to express an opinion as a representation of the statement of a vote of no confidence. This right must meet the strict requirements in Law Number 17 of 2014, amended several times by Law Number 13 of 2019 concerning the People's Consultative Assembly, the People's Consultative Assembly. The public's statement of a vote of no confidence in government policies is ineffective because it is not the realm of public rights. Still, if this effort is carried out with the DPR-RI, it is a very effective legal remedy.

In line with the research objectives above, it focuses on analyzing the narrative and causes of the hashtag movement through social media Twitter. Based on **Figure 1**, the hashtags #mositidakpercaya and deforestation are the most frequently used words, containing satirical narratives such as "let's welcome the "minister of deforestation" who supports development, deforestation, and deforestation scatters carbon emissions into the atmosphere." The description contained, in addition to criticizing the tweet of Minister Environment and Forestry, responding to deforestation for development, the core topic of deforestation problems that occur in Indonesia.

Deforestation is the loss of trees, including vegetation succession from forest cover to other landscape types. Koyuncu and Yilmaz defined it as the permanent conversion of forest land to other land use such as deserts, agricultural land, and grasslands. Another definition of deforestation is converting forest land to other uses through activities that kill forests, resulting in no permanent vegetation. Many researchers have investigated the causes of deforestation. Their finding is that the rate of deforestation is proportional to population and economic growth (Susanto et al., 2018).

The impacts of deforestation, habitat degradation and loss of biodiversity, decreased quality and quantity of water regulatory services, air pollution, and greenhouse gas emissions that cause climate change are just a few of the impacts of Greenhouse Gas (GHG) (Austin et al., 2019). The causes of deforestation in Indonesia from 2000-2016 were opening oil palm plantations by 25%, grasslands/shrubs by 20%, and small-scale agriculture by 15%, while timber plantations contributed 14% (Austin et al., 2019). The rate of deforestation that occurred in Indonesia from 2015-2016 was 0.63 million ha, while in 2016-2017, it decreased by 0.48 million ha, fell again in 2017-2018 to 0.44 million ha., and again increased in 2018-2019 to 0.46 million ha. Deforestation has decreased due to human activities utilizing forests or increasing forest cover due to planting (Surandoko, 2021).

The commitment to reducing deforestation is not only in the national interest. The Indonesian government has been severe in dealing with deforestation through various regulations, including the Presidential Instruction to stop granting new permits and improve the governance of primary natural forests and peatlands, control forest and land fires, control peat damage, control climate change, limit changes in forest area allocation for the non-profit sector. Still, it has become an international agreement, and the effort to reduce deforestation is to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, which are increasingly being felt by human life. Forestry (Conversion Production Forest), settlement of land tenure in forest areas (Penyelesaian Penguasaan Tanah dalam Kawasan Hutan (PPTKH) or Tanah Obyek Reforma Agraria (TORA), sustainable forest management, social forestry, and forest and land rehabilitation (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan Republik Indonesia, 2021).

The government's efforts are somewhat fruitful, with some regulations to suppress deforestation caused by oil palm plantations. The area of oil palm plantations in Indonesia continues to grow every year, but the rate of increase is relatively slow from the previous year. It is based on oil palm plantations in Indonesia which have increased slowly.

Table 1. Area of oil palm plantations in Indonesia

Year	Area (Ha)			
	Smallholders	Government	Private	Total
2016	4,739,318	707,428	5,754,719	11.201.465
2017	5,697,892	638,143	7,712,687	14,048,722
2018	5,818,888	614,756	7,892,706	14,325,350
2019	5,896.775	617,501	7,942,335	14,456,611
2020	6,003.764	569.166	8,285,370	14,858,300
2021	6.084.126	579,664	8,417,232	15.081.021

Source: Statistical of National Leading Estate Crops Commodity 2019-2021

The private sector dominates the control of oil palm plantations in Indonesia, the increase in plantation area was relatively high in 2016-2017. In 2021, it continued to increase slowly. Community-owned oil palm plantations also play an essential role in the prolonged expansion of land every year (Direktorat Jenderal Perkebunan Kementerian Pertanian Republik Indonesia, 2020); therefore, oil palm plantations are responsible for deforestation in Indonesia due to land expansion.

The effect of deforestation is increased carbon emissions caused by forest and land fires due to natural and human activities for plantation land clearing. There was an increase in carbon emissions from the previous year in 2018, reaching 162,661,563 tons of CO2e, increasing in 2019

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to 624,113,986 tons of CO2e, and starting to decline in 2020 to 40,204,855 tons of CO2e, the following year it fell again by 35,483,172 tons of CO2e (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan Republik Indonesia, 2021). In addition, the Steam Power Plant, produced from burning coal, is responsible for carbon emissions released into the atmosphere (Dunne, 2019).

The current state of the palm oil moratorium pledge is a sign that the goal of improving forest governance needs to be improved. The global environmental organization Greenpeace stated that deforestation data was almost 1.69 million ha from Industrial Forestry concessions and 2.77 million ha of oil palm plantations from 2002-2019, with these data projecting that future deforestation will remain high when the food estate project, which is a National Strategy Project and National Economic Recovery resulted in the loss of natural forests. Greenpeace Indonesia and The TreeMap conducted a study showing 3.12 million hectares of illegal oil palm cultivation in forest areas by the end of 2019. In addition, Greenpeace responded to carbon emissions from burning fossil fuels, especially coal; coal in electricity currently reaches 67% and dominates until 2030, which is 59% (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2021). They considered that the current government had not shown seriousness in implementing carbon issues or transitioning to new and renewable energy, plus PT Perusahaan Listrik Negara (Persero) or PLN's plan to build 13.8 gigabytes of electricity using coal as fuel.

Based on the results of the sentiment analysis on #mositidakpercaya against the Environment and Forestry minister's tweet showing a very negative sentiment, the content analysis showed that the high sentiment was triggered by one account that raised the hashtag with the same content. It was almost found that the tweet written was an opinion as a form of representation of disappointment with the incident. Then, the researchers saw that there was a failure to understand the snippet of the Environment and Forestry minister's tweet; a common understanding was needed to respond to this, such as the terminology of deforestation, which is not following Indonesia because it refers to European countries, a tree cut behind the house may be included in the category and value as deforestation. Besides, specific individuals have minimal data accompanied by views.

Development that takes place on a large scale must not stop in the name of carbon emissions or deforestation stopping growth in the zero-deforestation is the same as going against the 1945 Constitution for values and goals established to build national targets for the welfare of the people economically and socially, in addition to managing natural resources including forests must comply with sustainable and equitable principles. The Indonesian government has committed to the problem of GHG emissions to comply with the mandate of the 1945 Constitution. However, this condition is not a state problem alone but a common problem for the sustainability of the living ecosystem on earth.

Hashtags are Twitter features for bookmarking and differentiating one topic from another, making it easier to discuss an issue. In other countries, hashtags let people know about the discussed topic. However, in Indonesia, the purpose of using hashtags is to increase the popularity of a particular issue (Juditha, 2015). Without capturing the tweet's content entirely and appealing, the data findings are nonsense based on mere emotional sentiment. Content creators with the aim of popularity easily present hoax news or aim to find fault to bring down someone because they disliked a leadership (Waisbord, 2018). It is necessary to improve public communication to avoid misunderstanding the aims.

5. Conclusion

Social media is the flow of information dissemination and content creation that is most in demand in the community. All activities are related to social media, payment services, and

social protest movements. Information spreads quickly, and the accuracy of information is often a problem because the creators of hoax information for the sake of popularity or based on dislike. The protest movement on social media through the hashtag #mositidakpercaya is as tiny as previous actions to criticize the government for a policy or misunderstanding of communication by public officials. The hashtag #mositidakpercaya showed a failure to understand the information conveyed and the need for common terminology to see a case being discussed. Negative sentiment towards someone triggers emotions without prioritizing rationality, influencing them to enliven specific topics by raising hashtags through retweets—the need for intelligence in social use not to be influenced by certain content and prove facts. Government policy records need to be monitored and occasionally criticized to remain a priority for the public interest. Appreciation amid criticism is an excellent step to support a policy and participate in small activities. This research is limited to social media content on the hashtag #mositidakpercaya. Further research can see why a public no-confidence vote can occur, especially regarding the environment related to deforestation, emissions, and the use of fossil fuels in the study of government communication with the actual situation.

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7. Declaration of Conflicting Interests

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