

Social media and collective identity on protest, analysis comparative of Omnibus Law protest and Hongkong 19-20 protest

Media Sosial dan identitas kolektif dalam protes, analisis komparasi protes Omnibus Law dan protes Hongkong 19-20

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Abstract

The large protests against the New Amendment to the Extradition Bill in Hong Kong and the Omnibus Law 2020 Job Creation Bill in Indonesia are proof of the massive public movement through social media. This study aims to determine how social media is used in social movements in terms of dichotomy content, actor clusters, and collective identity formation in two cases: Indonesia (Rejection of the Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill) and Hong Kong (Rejection of the Extradition Bill Amendment). Differences and similarities are listed below. This research uses a Qualitative Method, with the analysis using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Q-DAS), namely NVIVO 12Plus. This study has the following results: First, the dichotomy content between Indonesia and Hong Kong tends to be evenly distributed. Second, both examples show parallels in the distribution of actor clusters with the dichotomy, demonstrating that both cases have become a significant movement. Third, the collective identity in the Indonesian case refers to the contesting parties in the pros and cons of the Omnibus Law. In contrast, the Hong Kong case relates to protecting the Hong Kong people's ethnicity, language, politics, economy, and culture. The limitations of this study focus on social media in social movements and collective identities, excluding regulatory analysis and aspects of digital/mass media. This study recommends further research focusing on the legal consequences of the Omnibus Law and including digital and mass media in the framing of social movements.

Keywords: social media; digital protest; collective identity; Omnibus Law; Hongkong 19-20 protest

Abstrak

Protes besar menolak Amandemen Baru RUU Ekstradisi di Hongkong dan RUU Cipta Kerja Omnibus Law 2020 di Indonesia menjadi bukti masifnya gerakan masyarakat melalui media sosial. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana media sosial digunakan dalam gerakan sosial dalam konteks konten dikotomi, kluster aktor, dan pembentukan identitas kolektif dalam dua kasus: Indonesia (Penolakan RUU Cipta Kerja Omnibus Law) dan Hong Kong (Penolakan Amandemen RUU Ekstradisi). Penelitian ini menggunakan Metode Kualitatif, dengan analisis menggunakan Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Q-DAS) yaitu NVIVO 12Plus. Hasil penelitian ini adalah: Pertama, konten dikotomi antara Indonesia dan Hong Kong cenderung terdistribusi secara merata. Kedua, kedua contoh tersebut menunjukkan adanya kesejajaran dalam distribusi kluster aktor dengan dikotomi, yang menunjukkan bahwa kedua kasus tersebut telah menjadi gerakan yang signifikan. Ketiga, identitas kolektif dalam kasus Indonesia mengacu pada pihak-pihak yang bersengketa dalam pro dan kontra Omnibus Law. Sebaliknya, kasus Hong Kong berkaitan dengan perlindungan etnis, bahasa, politik, ekonomi, dan budaya masyarakat Hong Kong. Keterbatasan penelitian ini berfokus pada media sosial dalam gerakan sosial dan identitas kolektif, tidak termasuk analisis regulasi dan aspek media digital/massa. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan untuk penelitian selanjutnya dengan fokus pada konsekuensi hukum dari Omnibus Law dan memasukkan media digital dan media massa dalam pbingkai gerakan sosial.

Kata kunci: media sosial; protes digitak; identitas kolektif; UU Omnibus; protes Hong Kong 19-20

Introduction

This study aims to explore and compare the use of social media in social movements, case studies on the rejection of the Omnibus Law on job creation in Indonesia and the rejection of the amendments to the extradition law in Hong Kong. Social media has become a part of social interaction and has seen

alternative media to interact and discuss without national boundaries (Miladi 2016). Social media also plays a vital role in social movement and activism as a media platform (McCabe & Harris 2020). From 2019 to early 2021, there were three significant protests, two of which occurred in Hong Kong (Protests against the inauguration of the Amendments to the Extradition Law) and Indonesia (Protests against the enactment of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation). Society, such as mobilizing and organizing the existing masses (McCabe & Harris 2020). Social media also gives people the opportunity to express their voice (Burke & Şen 2018), share content, and discuss social issues (Korn & Kneese 2015).

Recently street protests are as crucial as they have been, and it may be even harder to rally people on the streets in the digital age. Apart from that, revolutionaries are also on Social Media and use this to monitor political, economic and social aspects (Kidd & McIntosh 2016, Ghermandi & Sinclair 2019). On the other hand, social media can also be a vital force, like in China. Social media has significantly changed Chinese society, politics, and the economy. This phenomenon proves that social media has a significant influence on society (Dong et al. 2017). Social media also makes netizens more aware of social, humanitarian and political issues (Brown et al. 2017).

Social networks can impact voicing netizen participation to become a real action related to rejection and protest on social media and mass participation (Bui 2016). In Hong Kong, it can also be seen that there is a moment of the emergence of massive social movements, known as umbrella movements. In practice, the use of social media can also be seen in existing protests to develop networks that are in action (Chen et al. 2016). Social media can also be used to mobilize protests that could occur. In the umbrella movement, there is social media which is used to mobilize the masses (Chu 2018). In the social movement, the rejection of the Omnibus Law in Indonesia shows that using social media is essential. The trend data on the topic of omnibus law in internet conversations show a significant role in Figure 1 and the proportion in the distribution of themes in Figure 1.

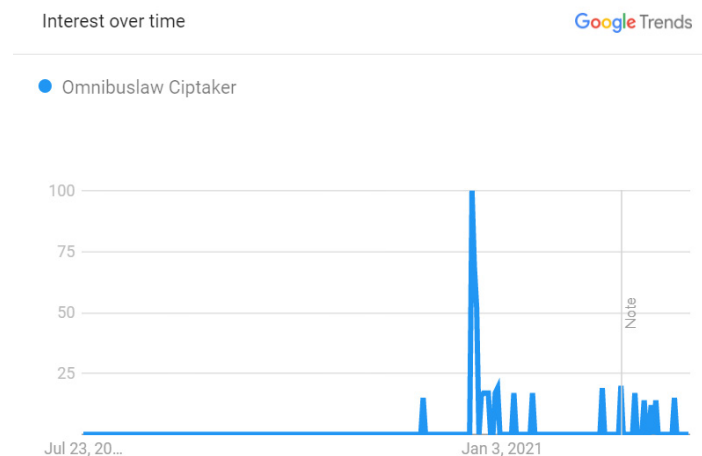


Figure 1.
Trends of Omnibus Law topic on internet
Source: Google Trends of Omnibus Law protest

Based on Figure 1, we can see that there appears to be a trend of the Omnibus Law discussion reaching its peak in October 2020, while Figure 2 shows the development of the topic of discussion related to the Omnibus Law Creation of Jobs, its shows that social media themes and trends followed the social phenomenon on reality like happened in Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill Protest context (Nofrima et al. 2020, Setiawan et al. 2021). Implementing the protest against the Omnibus Law on October 5, 2020, has several points of view, such as seeing that it is an effort to release from silence related to injustice received by the community (Wiryo 2020). The implementation of the Omnibus law Protest that ended in chaos could be suspected of the officers' aggressive, repressive and violent behaviour to bring order to the masses (Amnesty.id 2020). Aggressive, repressive and violent behaviour is found in various parts of Indonesia which carry out protests against the Omnibus Law on Job Creation (Walhi.or.id 2020). In the case of the 19-20 HK Protest, there are data related to trends from discussions related to the specific Hong Kong 19-20 Protest in Figure 3, as well as proportions in the distribution of themes in Figure 3.

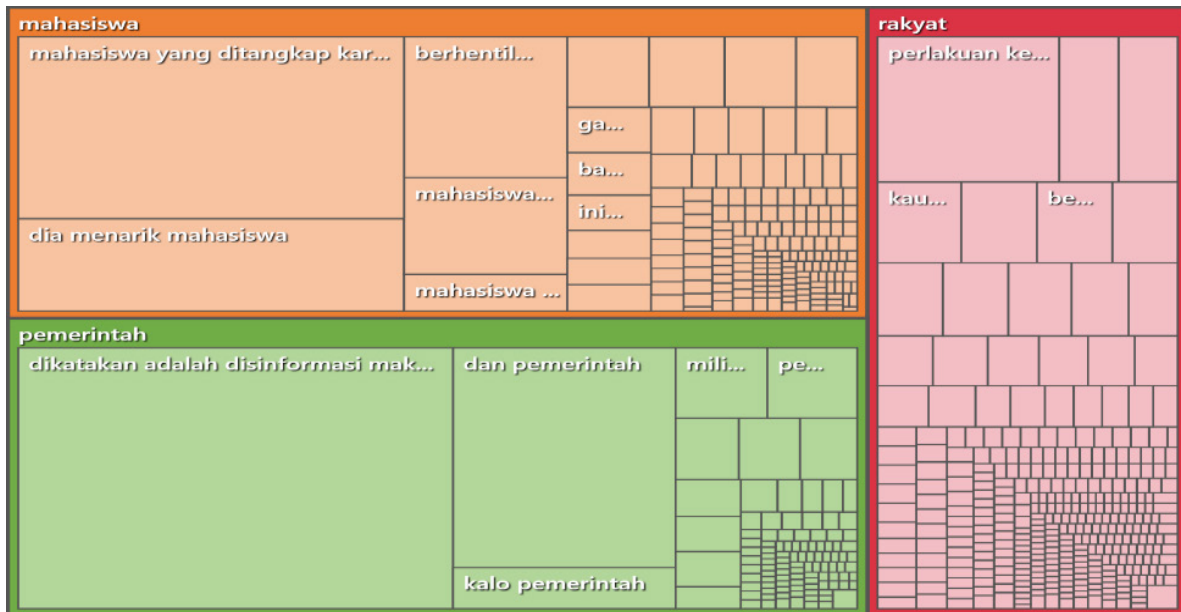


Figure 2.
Themes dominance on Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill
Source: Nvivo 12Plus Analysis

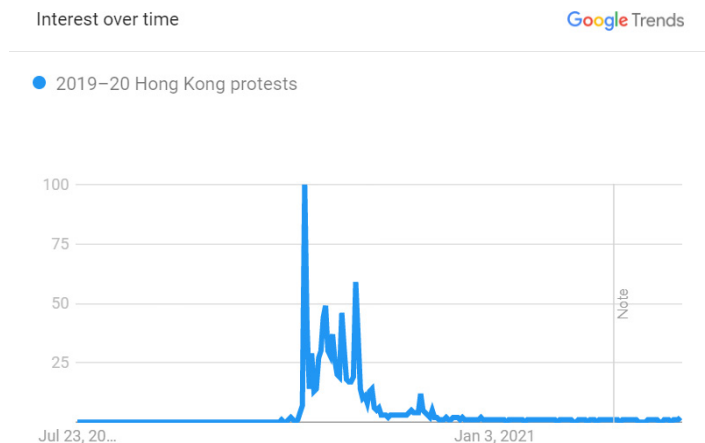


Figure 3.
Trends Hongkong 19-20 protest on the internet
Source: Google Trends of Hongkong 19-20 protests

Figure 3 shows that the trend of discussion related to protests related to the rejection of the Amendment to the Extradition Law in Hong Kong reached its peak in March 2019. In addition, the distribution of the proportion of themes related to the trend of rejecting the Amendment to the Extradition Law in Hong Kong shows that the theme in social media is one of the forms of expression and opinions from social media users as shown in Figure 4 (Murthy 2018). In this protest request, Social Media is used to inform other parties, especially netizens and the outside world (Sun et al. 2020). The protest action 19-20 HK The protest has great attention among students and college students (Reichert 2021). The use of hashtags to spread information and narration on social media is one of the methods used in the 19-20 HK Protest (Purbrick 2019, Tong 2019). This study tries to answer two questions, namely: *First*, What kind of social media is used in social movements in Indonesia and Hong Kong regarding content, and the cluster dichotomy of the social movement actors? *Second*, What kind of Collective Identity appears in the use of social media in social movements?

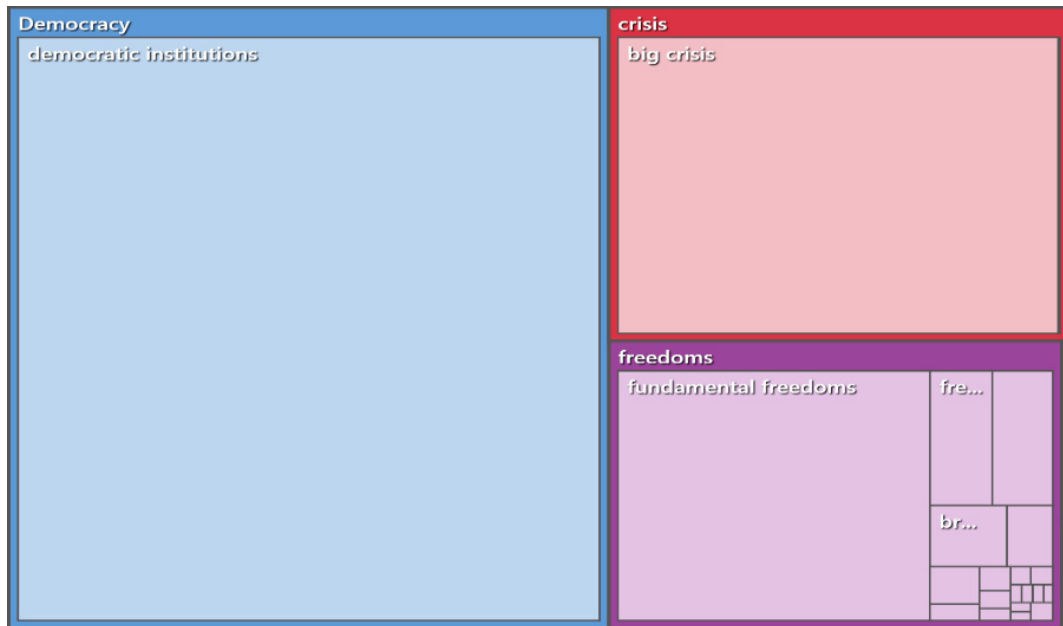


Figure 4.
Proportion themes of Hongkong 19-20 protest on the internet
Source: Nvivo 12Plus Analysis

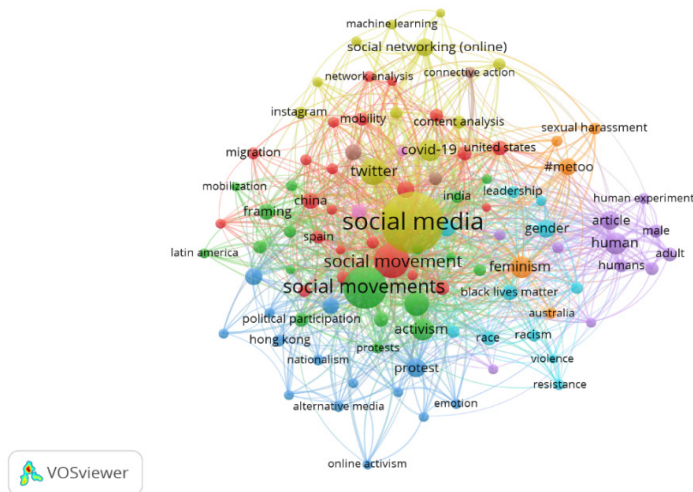


Figure 5.
Vos viewer analysis of social media dan social movement
Source: VOS Viewer analysis

In this study, we look at the use of social media in social movements in Indonesia and Hong Kong in 2020 and 2019. Based on Vos Viewer’s analysis data on previous research in the Scopus database, there are 204 documents in the 2016 to 2021 range related to the theme of social media and social movements. The Vos Viewer analysis was used to map the relationship between social media and social movements in previous research; the analysis is shown in Figure 5 and Table 1.

Based on Figure 5, shows that social media correlates with social movements issues, in this case, we can see in Table 1, specific cluster 3 with some themes like #meetoo, social movements, Hong Kong, China, and activism that can be classified as theme concentrate of social movements, but in the same cluster here appear also social media, wittre, an identity that theme on the social media side. This research focuses on the cluster 3 themes. Social media is a communication medium which allows each user to create their own content (Miller et al. 2018). Internet and social media play an essential role in the implementation of communication which adapts to every era’s changing social and economic conditions (Mano 2014).

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Social media also plays a vital role in the political field in an area, most of its use by supporters in an area such as the use of social media Facebook to support one candidate for leadership by spreading posts about the candidate's campaign (Miller et al.2018).

Table 1.
Vos viewer analysis of social media dan social movement

Words	Cluster
<i>Machine learning, social networking (online), Covid-19, United State, Instagram, framing, Migration, Nationalism, Alternative Media, human, article, humans, adults, feminism, race, black libe matter, Mobilization Applications, Mobile Phone, Parkinson Disease, Physiology, Prevalnce, Priority Journal, Produces, Randomized Controlled, Social Interaction, Survey and Questionnaire, Telemedicine, Treatment Outcome.</i>	1
<i>India, Leadership, protest, Covid-19, Demography, Education, Emotion, human expeiment, australiam, human, humans, Organization and Managers, Pandemic, Pandemics, Preception, Physical Activity, Public Health, Public Opinion</i>	2
#metoo, Facebook, Hashtags, Hashtags Activism, Identity, Politics, Social Media, Social Networking, Social Movements, Social Movement, Hongkong, Twitter, China, Activism	3
<i>Activism, Affect, Communication, Connective Action, Digital Media, Media, Neoliberalism, Protest, Social Movement, Social Movements, Stakeholder, Spain, Framing,</i>	4
<i>Clinical Article, Gender, Human Experiment, Internet, Juvenile, Marketing, Mass Media, Mass Medium, Organiztion, Sexual Harrasment, violence</i>	5

Source: VOS viewer analysis

Social media is a platform for more than two account interactions, but social media can connect multiple accounts at once and create new public spaces accessible to everyone (Tao et al. 2019). Social media makes it easy for activists to express their views and views in dealing with social and political phenomena directly and simultaneously. Social media, used as a public space, impacts every topic and theme about social problems and always gets a netizen response. The cases of the Umbrella Movement, Black Lives Matter, Arab Spring, and others have made social media a platform to speak up (Carney 2016).

Social media brings a new perspective that protests can convey a narrative on social media platforms, to criticize social issues and policies around us (Burgess et al. 2017, Zhu et al. 2017). Social Media can also attract netizens to participate in social movements and protests by using posts, hashtags, shares and other tools that can be used on social media (Kurniawan & Sutan 2021). From there, social media can be seen as a medium that influences people to participate in movements that have the potential to be used on social media platforms (Evans 2015, Gregg 2015, Kende 2016, Checker 2017, Duarte 2017).

A social movement can be understood as an organized campaign for specific social goals which can change or prevent a shift in society's value structure (Karki 2015). In this case, the concept of a social movement can help prevent discrimination by the authorities and is also a form of voicing the aspirations of the existing community. A social movement can also be related to cultural values and the identity of specific communities; the use of Social Media to protect local identity is one thing that can be seen in the case of the umbrella movement that occurred in 2014 or at the protests in Hong Kong in 2019 (Karki 2015).

Social movements began to use various media to express what they wanted, such as using slogans to attract citizens to be aware of social problems, as in the Umbrella movement using slogans to voice accidents during protests (Gukurume 2017). Social movements in this era use social media as a tool of protest. Using traditional methods that are irrelevant in this era causes social movements in the field to protect values in social media and social life (Lee 2018, Parrott et al. 2020). Ordinary people and activists take the opportunity to use social media to express voice movements and protect values, just like the umbrella protects the value of local identity (Dong et al. 2017). Some cases like the Arab Spring movement turned fear and anger into hope for a better humanity (Wang 2019).

Collective identities have always been victims of prevailing social attitudes and support for transformational movements as a result of content division as well as content on mobile media platforms (Sutan et al. 2021). This phenomenon suggests that the term “system” has been used to describe the internal organization and coherence of social movements and the term “identity.” Bennett and Segerberg’s ‘connective behavior’ hypothesis provides complete integration of this school of thought (Gerbaudo & Treré 2015). On the other hand, social movements in the scope of themes related to climate change can support specific themes, such as a large amount of information about environmental destruction, ocean acidification, and average temperatures, but also the accumulation of global warming, all of which are seen as scientific speculation or even curiosity (St’ahel 2016).

Zeitsoff (2017) asserts that one of the most significant advances of social media (compared to traditional media channels) is the ability of users to find and share information within their network. Thanks to sophisticated algorithms, individuals can track and recommend content based on their past behaviour or interests and shared content within their network (Zeitsoff 2017). Due to the unique nature of social media, information can be targeted and modified for specific audiences, thereby increasing its persuasive power. Moreover, people do not just passively follow or receive messages from the elite; instead, social media empowers ordinary citizens to respond favourably to the elite through hashtags or direct interaction. Finally, the speed of communication on Social Media has accelerated the news cycle, allowing items to “trend” and “go viral” much more quickly (Zeitsoff 2017). Many previous studies have focused on how social media plays a role in political phenomena. This study uses Twitter to take a deeper look at the protests. Social Media offers new information that cannot be provided by conventional media such as newspapers or television, and users can still interact without boundaries and face to face (Murthy 2017, 2018).

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative approach, to analyse the social media data using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Q-DAS), in this research using NVivo 12Plus (Agustiyara et al. 2021, Purnomo & Ramdani 2021, Purnomo et al. 2021, Ramdani & Purnomo 2021).

Table 2.
Hashtags description

Hashtags	Description
Omnibus Law Case (5-10-2020 Until 31-12-2020)	
#CabutOmnibusLaw	Promoting the Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill rejection
#DPRRIKhanatiRakyat	Showing that society did not trust the house representative
#GagalkanRUUCiptaKerja	Rejecting Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill
#KebenaranMilikPenguasa	Showing a satire from the activist that the government only spoke the truth
#MahasiswaBergerak	Showing that college students’ participation in the protest movements
#MosiTidakPercaya	Showing that society did not trust the governments regarding Omnibus Law
#RakyatBukanMusuhNegara	Providing that civil society was not the enemy for the chaos happening
Anti Extradition Bill (15-03-2019 until 25-12-2020)	
#FreeHongKong	Showing the voice of Hongkong people to reject the extradition law amendment
#HongKongers	Showing the identity of the Hongkong People proud to be the citizen of Hongkong
#HongKongProtest	Showing the protest movement to reject the extradition law amendment
#save12hkyouth	Showing empathy to the 12 Hongkong youth that became a victim
#StandWithHK	Showing the support and empathy to the Hongkong Protest
#Stand With HongKong	Showing the support and empathy to the Hongkong Protest

Source: Twitter social media

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In this case, social media data is the primary data in the analysis parts. The analysis is defined in three kinds analysis: (a) Crosstab analysis to explore the content dichotomy in the social media context of social media and collective identity on protest. (b) Maps analysis to explain the correlation of the content dichotomy and cluster of actors in protest. (c) Word cloud analysis to explore the Collective identity on social media about the protest of Omnibus Law and Hongkong 19-20 Protest. The data of social media are defined in hashtags and the explanation in Table 2.

Results and Discussion

This analysis is defined in three analyses as examples: (a) Dichotomy content analysis of Protest Omnibus Law in Indonesia and Hong Kong 19-20 Protest in Hong Kong. (b) Cluster of Actors in Omnibus Law Protest in Indonesia and Hongkong 19-20 Protest in Hongkong. (c) Collective Identity on social media case of Protest Omnibus Law in Indonesia and Hongkong 19-20 Protest in Hongkong.

Dichotomy content analysis of protest Omnibus Law in Indonesia and Hongkong 19-20 protest in Hongkong

This analysis tries to explore the Content classification of the social media about the Protest Omnibus Law in Indonesia and Hong Kong 19-20 Protest in Hong Kong. The content defined in the fifth categories, there is Information of Protest, Attracting Participation, Mass Mobilization, Spreading the Protest Narration, and Support Protest. This analysis is used to know the content dichotomy that exists on Twitter social media related to protests related to Omnibus Law Protest in Indonesia and Hong Kong 19-20 Protest in Hong Kong. The analysis is in Table 3 and Table 4.

Table 3.
Dichotomy content on social media of Omnibus Law protest (Indonesia)

Actors	Information of Protest	Attract Participate	Mass Mobilization	Spreading of Protest Narration	Support Protest	Total
Individual Activism	21,93%	21,93%	21,93%	21,93%	12,27%	100%
Media & Journalism	21,93%	21,93%	21,93%	21,93%	12,27%	100%
NG'O	21,93%	21,93%	21,93%	21,93%	12,27%	100%
Public Figure	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	100%
Total	21,61%	21,61%	21,61%	21,61%	13,58%	100%

Source: NVivo 12Plus Analysis

In the case of Omnibus Law Protest The dichotomy of content on social media in total has a percentage, namely the content of "Providing Information," "Inviting to Participate," "Mass Mobilization," and "Distribution of Rejection Narratives" has a value of 21.61% and the theme related to "Support Protest" has a value of 13.58%. In this case, content is used to attract the attention of social media users to participate and follow what is happening in these social movements (Miladi 2016, Ronzhyn 2016, Soares 2018). A large number of social media users is one of the reasons why content is one of the "tools" to attract attention and voice what they believe (Muannas 2018, Maelasari 2021, Thifalia & Susanti 2021). In the analysis of the content dichotomy, it can be seen that the criteria for posting on social media are aimed at the specification of specific goals; this is in line with the results of research proposed by Badr, which shows that a social media post is used for specific purposes to implement social movements (Badr 2018). Content, in this case, can be used for various purposes, such as inviting participation (Komariah & Kartini 2019). In the social media dimension, content needs to be emphasized in attracting attention and voicing a problem that exists in real social life (Sulianta 2015, Aqromy 2019, Bina 2021). This analysis supports the results of Badr's research which states that postings in social movements can refer to the specification of specific goals or intentions (Badr 2018).

Table 4.
Dichotomy content on social media of Hongkong 19-20 protest (Hongkong)

Actors	Information of Protest	Attract Participate	Mass Mobilization	Spreading of Protest Narration	Support Protest	Total
Individual Activism	19,99%	19,99%	19,98%	20,01%	20,04%	100%
Media & Journalism	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	100%
NG'O	20%	20%	20%	20%	20%	100%
Public Figure	20%	20%	19,99%	20%	20,01%	100%
Total	20%	20%	19,99%	20%	20,01%	100%

Source: NVivo 12Plus Analysis

In the case of Hong Kong 19-20 Protest, the dichotomy of content on social media in total has a percentage, namely the content of “Providing Information,” “Inviting to Participate,” “Distribution of Rejection Narratives” has a value of 20% and the theme related to “Support Protest” has a value of 20.01%. In the theme dichotomy, “Mass Mobilization has the smallest percentage with 19.99%. In this case, content is used to attract the attention of social media users to participate and follow what is happening in these social movements (Miladi 2016, Ronzhyn 2016, Soares 2018). A large number of social media users is one of the reasons why content is one of the “tools” to attract attention and voice what they believe (Muannas 2018, Maelasari 2021, Thifalia & Susanti 2021). In the results of the data analysis, the content dichotomy supports the results of research by Badr, who stated that to accommodate social movements, the use of content in social media has specific functions and purposes (Badr 2018). Content, in this case, can be used for various purposes, such as inviting participation (Komariah & Kartini 2019). In the dimension of social media, content needs to be emphasized in attracting attention and voicing a problem that exists in real social life (Sulianta 2015, Aqromy 2019, Bina 2021). The results of this content dichotomy analysis support the results of research by Badr, which states that each post to spread the influence of social movements has a specific function and purpose; in the case of Hong Kong, it can be seen that the main goal is to reject the government’s efforts to amend the Extradition Law, with various functions (Badr 2018).

Analysis of cluster of actors in Omnibus Law protest in Indonesia and Hongkong 19-20 protest in Hongkong

This analysis aims to describe the mapping of actor categorization with the theme dichotomy on social media Twitter on rejection related to the Omnibus Law, Job Creation and Hong Kong 19-20 Protest. This analysis uses Project maps analysis on Nvivo 12Plus, which is used to present graphical data related to the mapping between the dichotomy of content spread in social media and the categorization of actors in social media. In this analysis, there are four categorizations of actors, namely: Individual Activism which refers to Social Media Activists, and individual Netizens. Media and Journalism refer to the news media and journalists describing the refusal of Omnibus Law. NGO refers to non-governmental organizations that respond to the refusal of Omnibus Law. Public figures refer to public figures from politics, academics or experts. The content defined in the fifth categories, there is Information of Protest, Attracting Participation, Mass Mobilization, Spreading the Protest Narration, and Support Protest. The analysis is in the Figure 6 and Figure 7.

In the case of Omnibus Law Protest, in the analysis of actor clustering, each actor categorization correlates with the existing content dichotomy; this shows that the case of Omnibus Law rejection has become a massive movement that has reached several actors. These results support the findings which state that actor segmentation plays a vital role in disseminating content on social media related to social movements (Calderón et al. 2018, Earl et al. 2022). In addition, all categories of actors are related to all content dichotomies in social media. This phenomenon might happen because a social media post has several purposes that can be done in one post (Bonilla & Rosa 2015, Poell et al. 2016, Brown et al. 2017).

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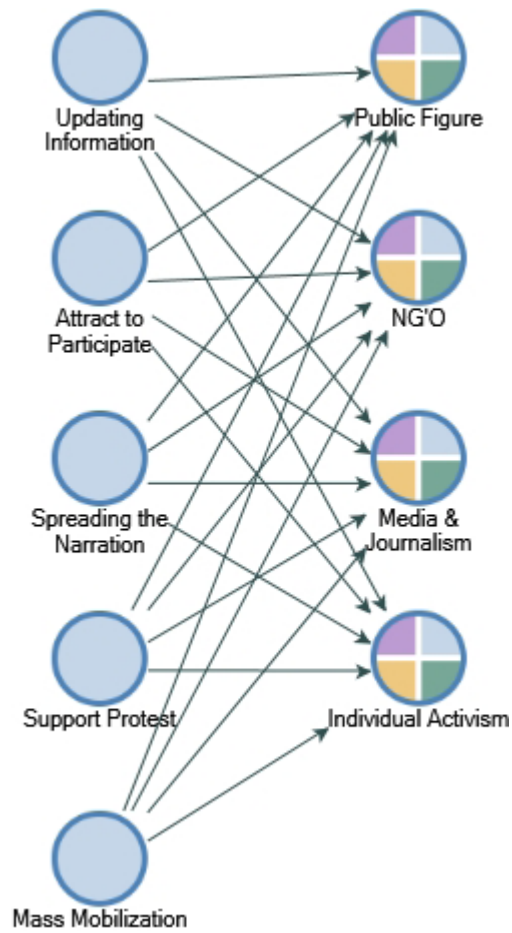


Figure 6.

A cluster of actors in Omnibus Law protest in Indonesia
 Source: NVivo 12Plus Analysis

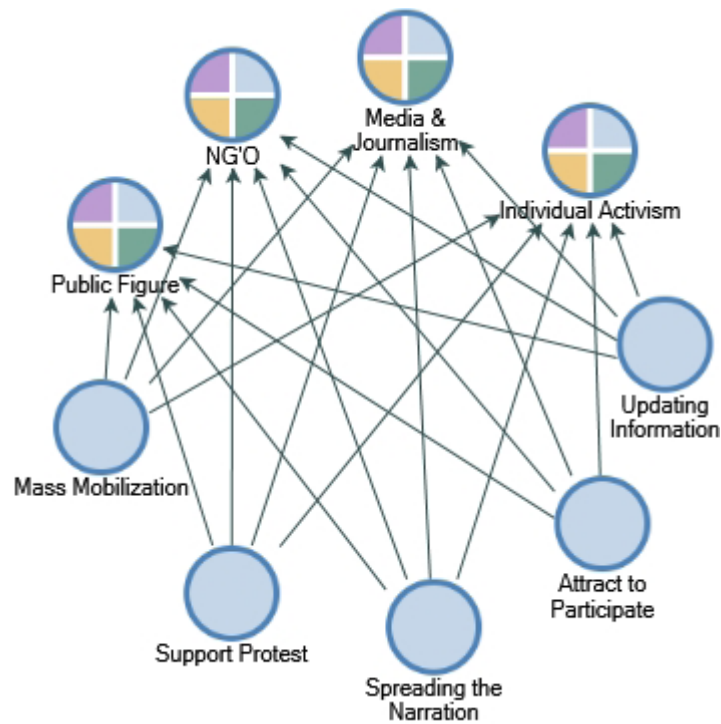


Figure 7.

Cluster of actors in Hongkong 19-20 protest in Hongkong
 Source: NVivo 12Plus Analysis

In the case of Hong Kong 19-20 Protest, the analysis of actor cluster data shows that all actor clusters are correlated with all existing content dichotomies. These results indicate that the movement to reject the Amendment to the Extradition Law in Hong Kong has become a massive movement so that it reaches a cluster of actors in social media information; this result becomes the legitimacy of the findings which state that actor segmentation play a vital role in spreading content in social media related to social movements that occur (Calderón et al. 2018, Earl et al. 2022). This analysis is related to mapping related to actor categorization and content dichotomy, all of which have a relationship between actor categorization and content dichotomy in the rejection of the amendments to the extradition law in Hong Kong. In this case, it can be seen that each post often has purposes that can be accommodated in one post on social media.

From the analysis parts, there is one point that can be taken as an example the rejection of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation in Indonesia with the rejection of the Amendment to the Extradition Law in Hong Kong have something in common: all actor categorizations related to each Content Dichotomy in each case. In this case, it is not impossible that all actor's categorizations can be connected with all existing content dichotomies because a post on social media can contain more than one purpose related to existing content, in both cases legitimizing the findings which states that actor segmentation plays a vital role in the dissemination of content on social media related to the social movements that occur (Calderón et al. 2018, Earl et al. 2022).

Analysis of collective identity in social media case of protest Omnibus Law in Indonesia and Hongkong 19-20 protest in Hongkong

This analysis focuses on the collective identity that appears on social media related to Social Movements in Indonesia (Rejection of the Omnibus Law Bill on Job Creation) and Hong Kong (Anti Extradition Amendment Bill Movements). This part of the analysis aims to see and compare the tendency of Collective Identity on Twitter social media related to these two actions. Analysis of the Figure 8 and Figure 9.



Figure 8.
Collective identity on social media narratives case of Omnibus Law protest
Source: NVivo 12Plus Analysis

In the case of the Omnibus Law Protest, this collective identity can be seen in the narrative on social media Twitter related to the rejection of the Omnibus Law Job Creation. This analysis shows that the collective identity appears in the massive use of hashtags as part of the narrative on social media Twitter (Poell et al. 2016). The collective identity in the Omnibus Law rejection focuses on the affected parties of Omnibus Law. Identity narratives such as the Police, People, Students, Government and TNI appear as parties to the dispute in the Omnibus Law issue; this finding is in line with the theory developed by

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McGarry and Jasper related to a collective identity built up in protests referring to the parties to the dispute (McGarry & Jasper 2015). Collective identity, which refers to the disputing parties, shows the government's interest in ratifying the Draft Law into Law.



Figure 9.

Collective identity on social media narratives case of Hongkong 19-20 protest
Source: NVivo 12Plus Analysis

In the case of Hongkong 19-20 protest the collective identity that emerged in the rejection of the Extradition Law Amendment refers to the protection of identity as the Hong Kong community itself, which is different in culture, language, economic style, ethnicity, to political views from other communities in mainland China; this result supports the findings which mentions protecting the identity of the Hong Kong people when they grew up after the Umbrella Movement (Wong & Liu 2018, Reichert 2021). Hong Kong people are proud of their identity as people Cantonese people, or Cantonese Society (Culnan & Yiu 2018). In addition, #HongKong can refer to the Hong Kong region, which has an economic and political system different from mainland China/China.

Some factors cause differences in the segmentation of the use of social media in the case of the rejection of the Omnibus Law Act with the rejection of the amendments to the Extradition Law in Hong Kong as follows: Political - sociological factors: in this factor, the rejection of the Omnibus Law will have an impact on policies in efforts to improve the welfare of the community, primarily related to the fate of workers (Mankhub 2020, Zahra & Fauzi 2021). This factor causes the segmentation of social media usage to be dominated by themes related to the disputing parties, scattered narratives and the use of hashtags. Meanwhile, in the case of Refusal to Amendment to the Hong Kong Extradition Law, it refers to the relationship between Hong Kong and China/China which has received protests and criticism from the Hong Kong people who have social, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, political and economic identities that are different from mainland China, with the amendments to the Act. This difference in regulation has the potential to disrupt the identity of the Hong Kong people (Shek 2020, Sun et al. 2020).

This study had the theoretical implication on social media theory, social movements theory, and collective identity as proof that digital social movements bringing the collective identity to digital space, on this the collective identity can't be limited by the space, but is adapted to be digital identity with collective characteristic. On the other side novelty of this study is bringing a new perspective to seeing the digital social media, that social movement is not limited by space, time and distance, but the social movement will collapse by the minimum attention and minimum mobilization. From this research, the social movement can bring and advocate public policy if the society has the same reason.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study is related to knowing how social media is used in social movements in terms of dichotomy content, and actor clusters in two cases, namely Indonesia (Rejection of the Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill), Hong Kong (Rejection of the Extradition Bill Amendment), as well as to find out how the use of social media in social movements to form a collective identity has shown differences as well as similarities, differences and similarities as follows. *First*, the dichotomy content between the case of Indonesia and Hongkong tends to even distribution in each part of the content dichotomy. *Second*, both cases show similarities in the distribution of actor clusters with the content dichotomy, showing that both cases have become a massive movement. *Third*, the collective identity in the Indonesian case refers to the disputing parties in the pros and cons of the Omnibus Law, while the Hong Kong case refers to the protection of the identity of the Hong Kong people who are different in ethnicity, language, politics, economy and culture.

This research has limitations: *First*, the focus is on the use of social media in social movements and the emerging collective identity, regardless of how the regulatory analysis is related to the two protests. *Second*, the analysis was carried out in the social media dimension, not yet looking at aspects of digital media and mass media related to the framing of the two cases. This research contributes to expanding the research themes and development on case social media and asocial movements especially correlate with the collective identity phenomenon on every single protest. The recommendation explains that: *First*, the focus of the study could be related to the analysis of the impact on the ratification of the Omnibus Law in the scope of legality. *Second*, consider aspects of digital media and mass media in the analysis of framing social movements.

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