



Social Media and Social Movements: Orang Tua Bergerak and the Alleged Wrongful Arrest in the Gedongkuning *Klitih* Case, Yogyakarta, 2022

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Received: September 29th 2025 | Accepted: December 5th 2025 |

Published: December 31st 2025

Abstract

This study analyses the strategies of the Orang Tua Bergerak movement in advocating against the alleged wrongful arrest in the Gedongkuning klitih case of 2022 by employing both digital (online) and direct (offline) methods. Using a qualitative approach and content analysis, this study identifies the strategic and communicative practices developed by the movement in collaboration with cross-movement actors. The findings reveal three key points. First, Orang Tua Bergerak utilised social media platforms, including Instagram, X, and Facebook, to disseminate digital posters, online writings, petitions, and documentary videos. These outputs incorporated injustice framing, aimed at mobilising broader solidarity and drawing attention from diverse movements. Second, the participation of cross-movement networks amplified public sympathy and encouraged the circulation of injustice narratives, which increased societal awareness of the Gedongkuning incident. Third, the heightened public attention was strategically leveraged by Orang Tua Bergerak to conduct direct advocacy at local and national levels, including hearings, discussions, and the Kamisan protest. These findings show how digital mobilisation complements direct action in sustaining advocacy and amplifying social justice campaigns. This study contributes theoretically by conceptualising the transition from digital activism to direct collective action within hybrid social movement frameworks.

Keywords: Digital movements (online); direct movements (offline); injustice framing

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Introduction

Existing studies on digital activism in Indonesia predominantly focus on online engagement, leaving limited analysis of how digital participation transitions into direct collective action within hybrid social movements, particularly in grassroots justice movements such as *Orang Tua Bergerak*. This study examines three key questions, the context of the alleged wrongful arrest in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case, the use of digital activism to circulate injustice narratives, and the organisation of direct mobilisation and its interconnection with digital advocacy. The *klitih* cases have emerged as a significant regional concern in Yogyakarta. Originally derived from the Javanese term meaning "jalan - jalan," the term has undergone a

semantic shift, acquiring a negative connotation associated with juvenile street crimes. These incidents often result in severe injuries and in some cases fatalities. Between January and July 2025, approximately ten *klitih* incidents were recorded. One of the most notable cases was the Gedongkuning incident, which led to the emergence of the *Orang Tua Bergerak* movement. This case involved the death of 17-year-old high school student Daffa Adzin, son of Madkhan Anis, a member of the Kebumen Regional House of Representatives (2024–2029).

According to police reports, the incident occurred on 3 April 2022, triggered by a dispute between the victim and a group of youths on the street. The altercation escalated into physical



violence, during which Daffa was fatally struck on the back of the head with an iron gear tied to a strap. He was taken to Harjokulito Hospital but subsequently died (CNN Indonesia, 2022). Based on eyewitness testimonies, physical evidence, and CCTV footage, police identified five suspects: Ryan Nanda Saputra/Ryan (18), Fernandito Aldrian Saputra/Dito (18), Muhammad Musyaffa Affandi/Fandi (20), Hanif Aqil Amrulloh/Hanif (20), and Andi Muhammad Husein Mazhahiri/Andi (19). Ryan, identified as the primary assailant, received a ten-year prison sentence, while the other four were each sentenced to six years under Article 170(2) point 3 of the Indonesian Criminal Code concerning homicide (Suhamdani, 2022).

All five remain incarcerated following the 2022 verdict.

The parents of the five convicted youths, Andayani (mother of Andi), Subadriyah (mother of Hanif), Sri Wahyuni (mother of Fandi), Asri Astuti (mother of Dito), and Wahyuni (mother of Ryan), identified irregularities in the judicial process, including alleged coercion and denial of legal assistance during interrogation. Their children reported experiencing physical violence by police without legal counsel. Viewing the trial as unjust, the parents established the Orang Tua Bergerak movement. These movement exemplifies a form of social movement defined as a series of activist practices that construct political resistance to achieve social change (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015). Such activism facilitates citizens active



participation in monitoring and evaluating public policies, often materialising through protest strategies amplified by digital media (Paskarina, 2020). In this context, the functions of social media as platform for articulating both individual and collective political rights. A concrete example includes digital activism manifested through bluescreen posters featuring the Garuda emblem alongside “Peringatan Darurat” in response to the Regional Election (Pilkada) Law on 22 August 2024.

Research method

This study employed content analysis to examine the communication strategies of the Orang Tua Bergerak as reflected in its published content. A qualitative approach was

further conducted through indepth interviews with twelve key informants: Andayani (Orang Tua Bergerak/Mother of Andi), Adriani Zulivan (Communication Team, Orang Tua Bergerak), Eko Prasetyo (Founder, Social Movement Institute/SMI), Yogi Fadhlil (Legal Counsel, Orang Tua Bergerak-Tim Advokasi untuk Keadilan Andi/TAKA), Kevin Setio (Minister of Advocacy, The Student Executive Board of Universitas Gadjah Mada 2023/BEM KM UGM 2023), Vigo Joshua (Editor-in-Chief, Balairung Press 2024), Ihya roza Yahya (Head of Legal Division, Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Tindak Kekerasan/KontraS), Fullah Jumaynah (Women’s Movement Observer and Researcher, The Habibie Center), Wahid Hermawan (Coordinator,



Kesatuan Perjuangan Rakyat Yogyakarta/KPR Yogyakarta 2023), Ryan Santula (Chair, Serikat Mahasiswa Indonesia Yogyakarta 2023), Sefia Ayu (Director of the documentary *Memburu Keadilan*), and Herlambang Perdana Wiratraman (Lecturer at the Faculty of Law, Universitas Gadjah Mada).

In addition to primary data, secondary data were drawn from social media accounts including @orangtua.bergerak, @socialmovementinstitute, @kpr_yogya, @bppmbalairung, @suarkala_, @lbhyogyakarta, @bemkm_ugm (now @bem.ugm), @bangsamahasiswa, and @gejayanmemanggil. Data collection was conducted in March 2025 through respondent mapping, followed by primary data gathering via in-depth

interviews in May 2025, and data processing alongside manuscript drafting in June 2025. Data analysis followed Creswell's (2013) framework, which involved reducing interview data and verified social media findings, aligning them with relevant theories, and interpreting them into a core analytical argument. Digital methods were utilised as instruments for amplifying issues and exerting tangible pressure through direct collective action.

Literatur review

The Orang Tua Bergerak movement can be situated within the global landscape of parental movements, where parental identity serves as a moral basis and a source of mobilising power. For instance, Moms Demand Action, initiated by Shannon

Watts following the Sandy Hook tragedy, utilised social media, digital petitions, and emotionally framed narratives centred on child protection to push for gun control reform (Glamour, 2022). Social media has become a strategic arena for social movements to mobilise public support through simple, symbolic, and resonant narratives (Lim, 2013). This practice is evident in campaigns such as #StopAsianHate, #RevisiUUITE, and the digital petition for the Sexual Violence Eradication Bill (RUU P-KS), where hashtags, online petitions, and digital content fostered solidarity and generated digital pressure capable of influencing state policy (Shahin and Hou, 2025; Nalle and Arianto, 2024; Ratnasari et al., 2021; Rajasa and Ramadhan, 2023). Various forms of digital

activism, such as the use of hashtags in social media campaigns, online petitions, and other virtual actions, have become part of a broader repertoire that enhances the visibility of social and political issues (Ayudha, 2024).

Digital movements engage diverse groups with internet access, thereby shaping public opinion through the circulation of information across networks (Carpini and Michael, 2000). Yang (2016) further argues that digital movements construct alternative narratives that challenge dominant discourses and act as arenas for identity-building. These practices often lead to offline mobilisation, where social media functions as a coordination tool that bridges communication gaps during protests, as observed in Iran, Tunisia, and Egypt



(Kavanaugh et al., 2011). Effective utilisation of social media, through visual strategies and information dissemination, is therefore essential for cultivating collective awareness (Rahmawati et al., 2025). Nonetheless, as noted by Sastramidjaja (2025), digital activism also poses potential risks, highlighting the need for hybrid strategies that integrate online activism with direct action to overcome its limitations. This study addresses a notable research gap, as existing literature rarely explores parent-led movements in the context of *klitih* in Yogyakarta. Although prior works have examined digital activism in Indonesia, they predominantly emphasise single-method approaches. By contrast, this study investigates how cross-method activism integrating

digital and direct strategies has been employed to advocate in the *klitih* case.

Conceptual framework

The analysis of Orang Tua Bergerak draws on two theoretical frameworks. The first framework refers to George and Leidner (2019) conceptualisation of digital activism. Digital activism as the technology, particularly Social Networking Systems (SNS), to exert social and political pressure. They argue that digital activism operates across a spectrum of practices that involve varying levels of engagement and risk. Milbrath's (1965) framework of political participation identifies three categories: first, spectator activities, which are low-risk and limited forms of participation such as political discussion and voting; second, transitional



activities, which reflect intermediate engagement, including participation in demonstrations or contacting government stakeholders; and third, gladiatorial activities, which represent high-intensity participation, such as holding political office or organising social movements for advocacy.

Building on this framework, George and Leidner (2019) synthesise Milbrath's model in their work, categorising digital participation into three levels. Digital spectator activities refer to passive and limited actions, such as clicktivism (liking, following, or digitally signing petitions) and metavoicing (sharing, retweeting, or reposting content on social media). Digital transitional activities represent a higher level of engagement, such as

creating and disseminating online petitions, which act as intermediaries for further mobilisation. Finally, digital gladiatorial activities involve high-risk, confrontational actions, including hacking or leaking sensitive data. Importantly, George and Leidner (2019) emphasise that these levels of participation remain interconnected, with individuals and organisations moving fluidly across them.

However, the perceived effectiveness of these digital practices has been widely debated. Merlyna Lim (2013) offers a critical perspective by arguing that clicktivism is a form of "slacktivism" or "*aktivisme malas*" relying primarily on the act of clicking with uncertain potential for substantive impact. Thus, Lim (2013) emphasises the importance of carefully



packaging digital movement strategies to enhance their effectiveness and move beyond the limitations of clicktivism. Lim (2013) identifies several factors necessary to translate digital activism into effective issue awareness, emphasising contemporary principles of communication. These strategies include framing issues through simplified narratives to accommodate the fast-paced, saturated environment of social media. Key techniques involve headline appetite (concise information), trailer vision (short, sensational stories), and light packaging (easily digestible content). This critique offers an important counterbalance to George and Leidner's (2019) more optimistic view of digital participation. Rather than

treating clicktivism as inherently ineffective, these two perspectives can be read as complementary: George and Leidner map the structural possibilities of digital engagement, while Lim emphasises the communicative conditions required for such engagement to evolve into sustained action. Nikunen (2021) argues that framing issues through affective practices such as expressive demands for justice and emotionally charged storytelling encourages broader public participation. In another context, a counter-narrative is offered by Cabrera et al. (2017) who argue that clicktivism cannot be regarded as genuine activism, as it is limited to digital expression and often remains symbolic. They further contend that clicktivism fails to produce



substantive social change and does not foster genuine commitment.

The second theoretical framework applied in this study is injustice framing, as outlined by Tarrow (2011) under the concept of framing contention. This consists of three dimensions. First, diagnostic framing involves defining the problem and identifying those responsible, thereby constructing an initial narrative that raises awareness of injustice. Second, prognostic framing refers to tactical responses that articulate demands, develop strategies, and exert pressure on targets to initiate change. Third, motivational framing provides a moral narrative that appeals to emotions, fostering solidarity and collective engagement in the movement. This framing underscores calls for

unity and populist values, particularly in addressing perceived injustices.

Drawing on the two theoretical frameworks, these theoretical perspectives provide an integrated lens for analysing the Orang Tua Bergerak movement. George and Leidner's (2019) digital activism spectrum helps explain how the movement initially mobilised support through low-risk online participation, while Lim's (2013) critique clarifies the narrative strategies required for such participation to gain traction in saturated digital environments. Tarrow's (2011) framing contention further elucidates how injustice narratives were constructed to define the problem, formulate demands, and motivate collective involvement. In the context of the Gedongkuning case, this



combined framework enables a focused analysis of how digital narratives of injustice were intentionally crafted and subsequently translated into direct offline mobilisation, illustrating the hybrid nature of Orang Tua Bergerak advocacy strategies. This study contributes theoretically by a significant research gap, as parent-led movements within the context of *klitih* cases in Yogyakarta remain largely unexamined.

Findings

The context of alleged wrongful arrests in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case

The law enforcement process in the 2022 Gedongkuning *klitih* case suggests a possible fabrication of facts. This is evidenced by the author's interview with Yogi Fadhli:

*"The involvement of Andi, Ryan, Hanif, Fandi, and Dito was unrelated to the Gedongkuning *klitih* case, as they were only engaged in a brief sarong fight in Parangtritis before dispersing after police gunfire. Evidence from the Ombudsman indicated procedural irregularities: although sixty CCTV recordings were seized, only five or six were presented in court, most of which were blurred and insufficient for identification. The images, depicting masked and helmeted figures, made it nearly impossible to establish the perpetrators identities" (Interview with Yogi Fadhli, TAKA Legal Counsel, 10 May 2025).*

The parents of the five defendants, together with the legal team, identified alleged procedural violations and attempts at criminalisation.



“The arrest of the five minors in the Gedongkuning case raised serious concerns of due process violations and criminalisation. Four were taken without arrest or assignment warrants, while one was detained by a police officer acting in a personal capacity. Reports from legal counsel indicated that the youths were subjected to physical abuse during detention, a claim later substantiated by the Ombudsman, which classified the actions as maladministration and abuse of authority under police regulations” (Interview with Yogi Fadhl, TAKA Legal Counsel, 10 May 2025).

The interview further indicates that the police committed legal violations extending beyond criminal acts, recklessly disregarding established legal procedures. As emphasised by Ihayzora

Yahya:

“Law enforcement officers were found to have flagrantly violated multiple legal provisions, including Article 54 of the Indonesian Criminal Procedure Code (KUHAP) on the right to legal assistance for defendants; Law No. 5 of 1998 on the ratification of the Convention Against Torture; Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights, which guarantees freedom from torture; the Fourth Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, Article 28 on freedom of assembly and association; Law No. 12 of 2005 on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and National Police Regulation No. 8 of 2009 on the standards of human rights implementation in policing. These safeguards were disregarded, as violence and torture were employed to extract confessions” (Interview with Ihayzora



Yahya, KontraS Head of Legal Division, 18 May 2025).

The interview highlights layered legal violations and the criminalisation of five minors, who were coerced into confessions. Parents and the defence team further suspected that the official investigation reports (Berita Acara Pemeriksaan or BAP) were produced under intimidation to accelerate the case to trial. As stressed by Yogi Fadhli:

"The BAP was conducted at Polsek Kota Gede after the defendants had already experienced violence at Polsek Sewon, indicating that intimidation had preceded their testimonies and coerced them into admitting acts they did not commit. Each suspect holds the legal right to be accompanied by legal counsel during questioning, which ensures the validity

of the BAP; however, this safeguard was absent in the present case. Equally concerning, witness BAPs were also compromised, as several of the victim's peers later retracted their statements during trial. This raises the possibility that the police either fabricated or directed the BAPs themselves" (Interview with Yogi Fadhli, TAKA Legal Counsel, 10 May 2025).

There were deliberate efforts by law enforcement to exert psychological pressure on the parents of the defendant. Andayani, expressed:

"During the interrogation, I was demeaned by the police and perceived as an inadequate parent, which weakened my mental state. My child, Andi, was even threatened at gunpoint to force compliance. These acts left us powerless, culminating in a flawed



reconstruction and miscarriage of justice" (*Interview with Andayani, Mother of Andi, 4 May 2025*).

The interview indicates that the police sought to undermine the psychological resilience of the defendant's parents. Such actions constitute forms of structural, symbolic, and psychological violence aimed at weakening their mental state. This point is emphasised by Fullah Jumaynah:

"The violence perpetrated by the police can be categorised as structural, given its deliberate and organised nature; symbolic, as it involved coercion through force; and psychological, through the discursive labelling of mothers as failed parents. This resulted in double victimisation: first, as their children became victims of wrongful arrest, and

*second, as the mothers themselves were subjected to an unjust legal system and the additional social burden of gendered expectations" (*Interview with Fullah Jumaynah, Researcher at The Habibie Center, 21 May 2025*).*

The interview illustrates that the police engaged in both physical and psychological violence, resulting in double victimisation whereby victims suffer additional harm beyond the initial offence. Such practices reflect the absence of a humanist approach in policing and undermine fundamental principles of law enforcement, as emphasised by Herlambang:

"This case demonstrates three key points: first, the police lack a humanist approach; second, police reform has failed to materialise; and third, the institutional capacity of law enforcement remains



weak. Consequently, the case reflects a form of scapegoating in politics" (Interview with Herlambang, Lecturer at the Faculty of Law UGM, 4 June 2025).

Allegations of violence against five minors and the fabrication of case files, raised by Orang Tua Bergerak, were addressed by the Yogyakarta Regional Police in a press conference on 11 April 2022. The professional and security division denied claims of torture and investigative misconduct (Aji, 2022). Witness testimony reported the discovery of a sharp object, a modified gear with a rope, allegedly used in the assault. The police subsequently conducted three crime scene investigations involving examination of material evidence, witness searches, and CCTV analysis, asserting procedural

compliance and reinforcing the claim that the five minors were perpetrators in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case through their use of motorcycles and traceable CCTV footage (Priatmojo, 2022).

Orang Tua Bergerak movements

Orang Tua Bergerak emerged ahead of the district court's verdict on 8 November 2022, shaped by a series of events including arrests, irregular investigations, violence, flawed reconstructions, and miscarriages of justice. The movement functioned as a form of resistance to injustice, providing a platform for parents of defendants to publicise the Gedongkuning *klitih* case through social media, while gaining cross-network support. Andayani emphasised:



“The movement sought to consolidate diverse strategies into a unified resistance. As the trial progressed, Orang Tua Bergerak increasingly functioned as an alliance extending to wider society, inviting public engagement in voicing injustice. Its main demand was for the police and government to review the case, given the numerous irregularities from the outset” (Interview with Andayani, Mother of Andi, 4 May 2025).

The consolidation of Orang Tua Bergerak was further supported by networks from SMI, which initially identified concerns regarding the Gedongkuning *klitih* case.

“At that time, our concerns focused on the evidence and court verdict. SMI identified several gaps, particularly in advocacy and campaigning, noting that the parents, inexperienced in protests

and apprehensive about affecting the trial, were vulnerable. Consequently, SMI amplified the issue through digital posters and facilitated parents’ engagement with local and national movement networks” (Interview with Eko Prasetyo, Founder of SMI, 6 May 2025).

Social media strategies of Orang Tua Bergerak

This study finds that Orang Tua Bergerak employed digital media as an initial mechanism to trigger subsequent mobilisation. Orang Tua Bergerak early digital activism included online petition campaigns, conducted in collaboration with the widely followed platform Change.org, which hosts numerous petition movements. The following online petition exemplifies Orang Tua Bergerak engagement with Change.org:

Figure 1. Petition participation



Source: Change.org

Orang Tua Bergerak utilised online petitions to mobilise public support regarding injustices in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case. Monitoring of Change.org indicated that the initial petition reached its target of 10,000 participants by 17 December 2022. Encouraged by this result, Orang Tua Bergerak launched a second wave with a maximum target of 15,000 signatures. The

final count reached 10,717, representing approximately 71% of the intended target, reflecting substantial engagement in demanding justice for the Gedongkuning case. The bottom section of Orang Tua Bergerak online petition presented a narrative of injustice, detailing the consequences of law enforcement violations against the five minors, as evidenced in the following findings:

Figure 2. Short narrative of the Gedongkuning *klitih* incident

Sebagaimana yang diatur dalam perundangan, dalam proses penangkapan, penyidik Polri wajib memenuhi syarat berikut:

1. Didasarkan pada bukti permulaan yang cukup, yaitu sedikitnya dua bukti.
2. Melakukan penangkapan tidak sewenang-wenang, artinya hanya menangkap mereka yang betul-betul melakukan tindak pidana, tidak untuk yang masih terduga atau tersangka.
3. Tidak menggunakan kekerasan. Petugas dilarang melakukan intimidasi, menakut-nakuti dan penyiksaan dalam proses penyidikan. Ini sejalan dengan konsep hak asasi manusia (HAM) yang tertuang dalam Undang-undang Dasar RI Pasal 281.

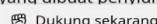
Dalam kasus ini, proses penangkapan tidak memenuhi ketiga syarat tersebut.

 Dukung sekarang

Tandatangani petisi ini

Proses persidangan pun berjalan alot. Jaksa Penuntut Umum (JPU) tak pernah menghadirkan bukti yang dapat menjelaskan secara terang benderang, bahwa kelimanya adalah benar-benar merupakan pelaku. JPU bacakan tuntutan berupa 11 tahun penjara untuk RNS yang disangkakan sebagai eksekutor dan 10 tahun kepada empat terdakwa lainnya, pada 13 Oktober 2022. JPU dengan jelas telah menyampangkan bukti persidangan berupa:

1. Keterangan saksi, yang merupakan teman-teman terdakwa yang ikut dalam kejadian perang sarung yang menyatakan kelima terdakwa tidak pernah berada di TKP Gedongkuning.
2. Keterangan ahli, yaitu kesaksian ahli digital forensik yang menyatakan ada rekayasa dalam dokumen CCTV.
3. Keterangan terdakwa, yang sudah mencabut seluruh BAP awal yang dibuat penyidik.

 Dukung sekarang

Tandatangani petisi ini

Source: Change.org

The petition's narrative highlighted alleged violations by law enforcement, including arbitrary arrests, torture, and fabricated evidence by the public prosecutor during trial proceedings. Another finding shows that Orang Tua Bergerak employed digital activism

through hashtag campaigns, promoting #SalahTangkap, #StopRekayasa, and #UsutTuntas on social media. This study finds that Orang Tua Bergerak utilised three social media platforms, as demonstrated in the following findings:

Figure 3. Instagram, X and Facebook accounts of Orang Tua Bergerak



Source: Author's documentation based on public profiles on Instagram, Facebook, and X (2025)

Instagram, X, and Facebook served as digital channels for shaping public awareness. Adriani Zulivan emphasised:

"We expected that the truth of this case could be revealed through the media

we engaged particularly by documenting the treatment received by the defendants and by providing comparative media. Such efforts were intended to raise public awareness that the incident constituted

a case of wrongful arrest” (Interview with Adriani Zulivan, Orang Tua Bergerak Communication Team, 3 May 2025).

Cross-issue advocacy movements in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case

The dissemination of Orang Tua Bergerak

content was carried out in collaboration with cross-movement networks. The digital narratives were framed around injustice to mobilise public support. The following are examples of Orang Tua Bergerak digital products developed in cooperation with allied movements:

Figure 4. Digital posters from SMI



Source: Instagram posts by @socialmovementinstitute (2022)



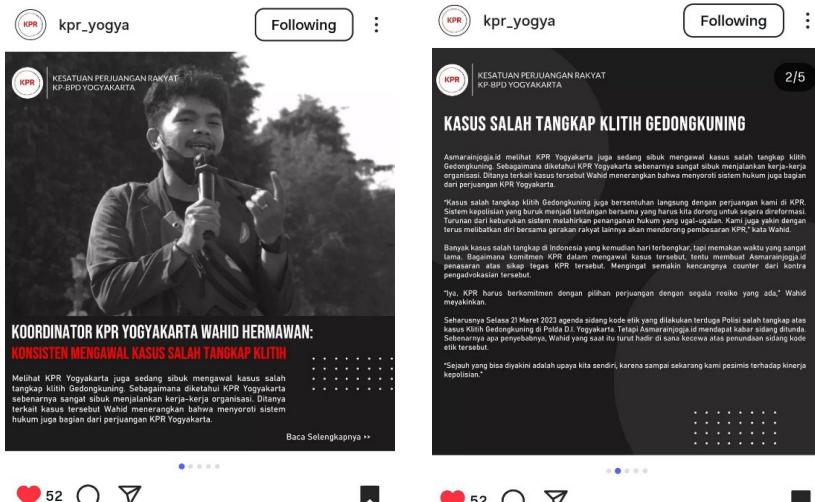
The Social Movement Institute (SMI) is the original name of an organisation established to engage young people in activism and alternative political education. SMI consistently supports cross-issue advocacy through both digital and offline campaigns, recognising the limited outreach of the Gedongkuning case and its close connection with one parent of the accused, Andayani. SMI assisted Orang Tua Bergerak by producing digital posters and issuing calls for consolidation. Eko Prasetyo emphasised:

"We initially supported Orang Tua Bergerak in campaigning on the Gedongkuning case, as public awareness was limited due to the negative

*stereotype of *klitih*, which was often deemed unworthy of protection. Recognising this gap, SMI actively engaged in both campaigning and movement consolidation. Our involvement included producing digital posters for social media campaigns and issuing calls for solidarity during *Aksi Kamisan*" (Interview with Eko Prasetyo, Founder of SMI, 6 May 2025).*

The initial campaign on the Gedongkuning *klitih* case was limited in mobilising participation, prompting the movement network to issue solidarity statements to ensure sustained advocacy. KPR Yogyakarta released a public statement through digital content disseminated via its official channel, @kpr_yogyakarta:

Figure 5. Digital posters from the KPR Yogyakarta



Source: Instagram posts by @kpr_yogya (2023)

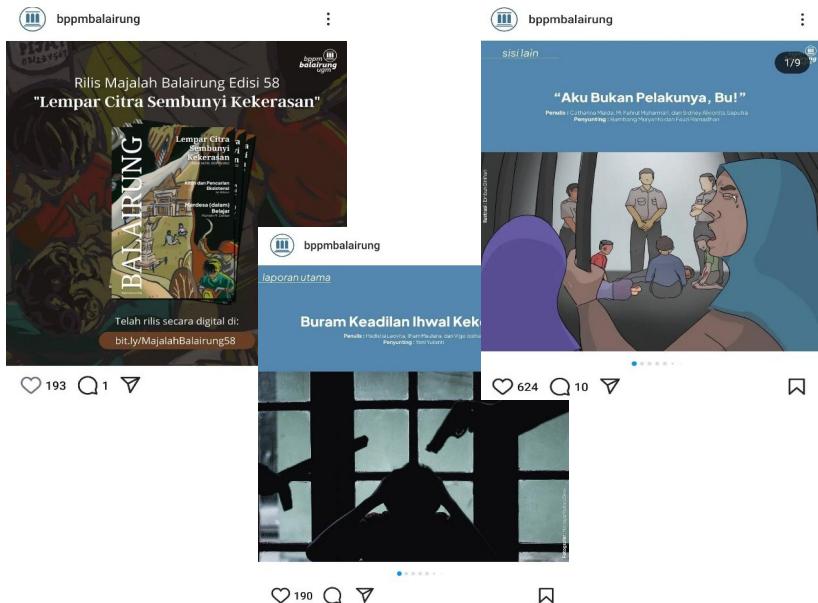
According to Wahid Hermawan, it was emphasised that:

"KPR expanded the issue through posters, written statements, and public releases to mobilise solidarity. In my view, the digital production of injustice narratives plays a crucial role in engaging online audiences and transforming them into active participants in collective action"

(Interview with Wahid Hermawan, Coordinator of KPR Yogyakarta 2023, 11 May 2025).

The construction of injustice narratives also served as a key element of digital propaganda. The student press, Balairung, contributed by producing short digital readings and issuing a magazine release, as shown in the following findings:

Figure 6. Digital posters from the Balairung Press



Source: Instagram posts by @bppmbalairung (2023)

The short digital reading and magazine release entitled "Lempar Citra Sembunyi Kekerasan"² along with two other articles, fuelled public discourse propaganda by highlighting evident irregularities. Vigo Joshua emphasised:

² Projecting an Image While Concealing Violence

"We cited the report issued by the Ombudsman of Yogyakarta, which confirmed maladministration in the form of violence. This served as a useful data supply for propaganda as an element of collective action. Furthermore, advocacy required media



pressure as a crucial component. The writings also identified key actors, aiming to intensify the propaganda, since the ultimate purpose of journalism lies in conveying truth and achieving its intended goals" (Interview with Vigo Joshua, *Balairung Press Editor-in-Chief 2023, 8 May 2025*).

Media pressure became a driving force in framing the message of injustice. The

Gedongkuning *klitih* case, in particular, required contextual packaging with factual findings that highlighted irregularities in the legal process. Orang Tua Bergerak legal team also pursued non-litigation strategies, producing infographics and digital posters that exposed legal inconsistencies, acts of violence, and calls for public involvement in monitoring the case:

Figure 7. Content By Suarkala and the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH Yogyakarta)



545 17 890 7



890 7



Source: Instagram posts by @suarkala_ & @lbhyogyakarta (2022)

These social media accounts, @suarkala_ and @lbhyogyakarta, published a legal analysis of the court ruling concerning the five children. Their findings noted that, first, the prosecutor's indictment should be annulled for failing to specify the relevant articles of the Penal Code; second, the indictment was defective and vague, as it ignored

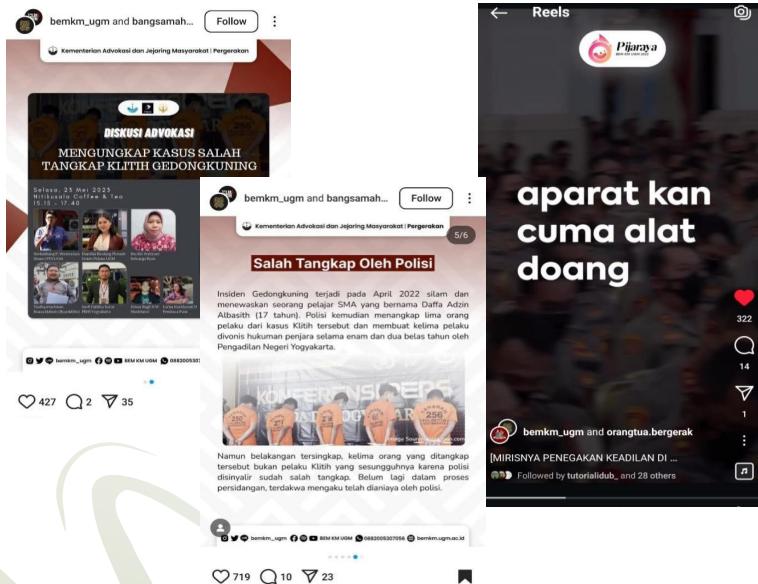
the defendants' statements recorded in the BAP dated 13 May 2022; third, the indictment should have been dismissed because the defendants were denied their right to legal counsel under Article 54 of the KUHAP; and fourth, the indictment was legally void as it merely reproduced its content through copy-paste. This was reinforced by Yogi Fadhli:

“In the context of publication, several posters and infographics were produced, accompanied by networking efforts” (Interview with Yogi Fadhli, TAKA Legal Counsel, 10 May 2025).

The dissemination of digital materials utilised

collaboration features, enabling followers to access shared posts. In 2022 and 2023, the UGM Student Executive Board (BEM KM UGM) produced digital publications, as evidenced in the following findings:

Figure 8. Digital publications by BEM KM UGM



Source: Instagram posts by @bemkm_ugm (2022)



The social media account @bemkm_ugm uploaded short reels, written statements, and posters inviting public discussions. These publications served as a strategy to build public empathy through counter-narratives, Kevin Setio emphasised:

"We created and uploaded digital content to generate divided public opinion, prompting questions such as whether the accused was truly the perpetrator. Presented digitally, this approach fostered public empathy. Moreover, the use of reposting features and collaboration with movements in Yogyakarta escalated the campaign and made the movement more inclusive, encouraging wider participation" (Interview

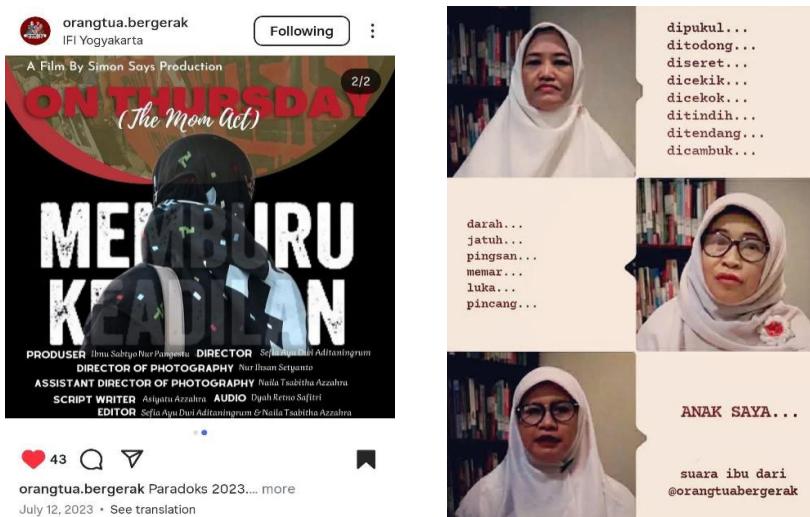
with Kevin Setio, BEM KM UGM, 1 May 2025).

Digital video strategy "Memburu Keadilan"

The injustice framing was articulated by students of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta through a documentary video that relied on visual narration. The strategy of documentary production aimed to convey messages of injustice and factual details of the case to the public, as narrated by the defendant's mother. The documentary, entitled Pursuing Justice, also depicts the experiences of Orang Tua Bergerak and the personal emotions involved in their struggle against injustice, as illustrated in the following findings:



Figure 9. Documentary video “Memburu Keadilan”



Source: Instagram post by @orangtua.bergerak (2023)

Sefia Ayu emphasise:

“We highlighted the mothers perspectives to demonstrate how injustice materialised, leading to the imprisonment of innocent individuals. The documentary functioned as a form of contemporary digital activism, relying on visual narration while the audience engaged through listening and reading issue fragments. The video gained rapid public attention, generating

sympathy and reinforcing awareness that the case represented a wrongful arrest” (Interview with Sefia Ayu, Memburu Keadilan Director, 15 May 2025).

The construction of counter-discourse through injustice framing demonstrates potential for virality, given that digital media function as an extreme medium for the production and circulation of information.

This study finds that the Gedongkuning *klitih* case gained increased national attention, indicating rising cross-network participation in amplifying the issue.

National news media played a significant role by publishing reports and disseminating them via X, Instagram, and YouTube, thereby reinforcing the visibility of the case:

Figure 10. Mainstream media publications on the Gedongkuning *klitih* case



Source: X post by @BBCIndonesia (2022) and @conde_co (2025)

Based on national news media publications, coverage of the Gedongkuning *klitih* case reached national attention. In addition to

traditional media outlets such as Kompas, Mojok.co, and Kumparan, social media posts also received extensive engagement through

comments, shares, citations, reposts, likes, and views, enabling rapid and brief user interactions.

Direct (offline) movement strategies of Orang Tua Bergerak

Orang Tua Bergerak digital media strategy, in collaboration with allied movements, highlights the pivotal role of social media in disseminating injustice framing related to the Gedongkuning *klitih* case. Findings indicate a correlation between online

activism and direct movement actions. In other words, Orang Tua Bergerak digital strategies and outputs, cross-movement collaboration, and national media engagement effectively orchestrated narratives of injustice into tangible mobilisations. The nationwide attention on the Gedongkuning *klitih* case further prompted Orang Tua Bergerak to pursue vertical advocacy to secure justice. The following presents the direct movement strategies at both national and local levels:

Figure 11. Direct movement strategies at the national level



Source: Instagram posts by @suarkala_ & @orangtua.bergerak (2023)



At the national level, Orang Tua Bergerak with legal counsel conducted litigation advocacy in Jakarta targeting institutions such as National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM), KontraS, the Prosecutorial Commission (Komisi Kejaksaan), the National Police Commission (Kompolnas), the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), and the Supreme Court. These meetings aimed to prepare *amicus curiae*, *cassation memoranda*, and legal complaints. An *amicus curiae* represents a third-party legal opinion intended to influence judicial decisions (Ksatria, C. A. A. D, 2025).

In addition, Orang Tua Bergerak conducted non-litigation advocacy by engaging with public figures such as Najwa Shihab (Narasi), Novel Baswedan, and Pengurus

Pusat Muhammadiyah to organise press conferences, podcasts, and media clips. These interactions served as a strategic opportunity to amplify the Gedongkuning *klitih* case at the national level and garner public sympathy. Such access was often facilitated by local movement networks, including SMI, KPR, and TAKA legal counsel. Yogi Fadhli stated:

"At that time, we travelled to Jakarta with the parents to submit complaints. Within the campaign context, we also engaged with Novel Baswedan to produce a podcast and with Najwa Shihab, providing a platform for mothers to voice their concerns. This approach extended beyond mere audience engagement, encompassing video production, public discussions, and knowledge



dissemination, and direct actions” (Interview with Yogi Fadhli, TAKA Legal Counsel, 10 May 2025).

Orang Tua Bergerak maximised direct advocacy in Jakarta to obtain legal consideration and perspectives. Ihyaiza Yahya explained:

“We identified this case as an unfair trial, which included instances of torture. Therefore, we conducted strategic litigation advocacy by intervening with several state institutions to provide attention and legal perspectives on the case and its proceedings. Additional outputs included press conferences, amicus curiae submissions, public statements on websites, and social media content for campaign purposes” (Interview with Ihyaiza Yahya, KontraS Head of Legal Division, 18 May 2025).

At this point, Orang Tua Bergerak, in collaboration with allied movements, advanced advocacy efforts at both national and local levels. Local-level movements played a crucial role in connecting Orang Tua Bergerak with national actors. Ryan Santula explained:

“We connected various movements and alliances in Yogyakarta and facilitated parents engagement with Najwa Shihab. Importantly, we employed two movement strategies: first, leveraging social media through posts and posters, as we believe digital platforms serve as political spaces to influence discourse; second, disseminating posters across campuses while organising discussion forums” (Interview with Ryan

Santula, Chair of Serikat Mahasiswa Indonesia Yogyakarta 2023, 12 May 2025).

Variations of direct actions by movement networks served as an alternative to exert public and political pressure. Eko Prasetyo emphasised:

"We employed two movement strategies via social media to mobilise street actions, aiming to exert political and public pressure. The escalation of Aksi Kamisan enabled broader public understanding of the issue, prompting participation from student activist

groups across multiple campuses a phenomenon unprecedented in prior klith cases" (Interview with Eko Prasetyo, Founder of SMI, 6 May 2025).

Digital media continued to play a central role as a tool for propaganda and mobilising public support. Digital movement methods were also employed during direct actions for documentation, which was published on social media to maintain momentum and reach a wider audience. The following are key findings from local-level actions:

Figure 12. Orang Tua Bergerak action strategies at the local level





Source: Instagram posts by @orangtua.bergerak (2022)

Orang Tua Bergerak actively documented its activities in collaboration with allied networks. Various direct action methods were employed, including street demonstrations to the DPRD DIY, Aksi Kamisan at Tugu Yogyakarta, discussions, audience engagements, and poster dissemination. Wahid Hermawan emphasised:

“Many direct actions were conducted through

cross-movement consolidation. Collective participation in street actions was combined with documentation, which was then published on each network’s social media accounts, demonstrating the integration of both methods” (Interview with Wahid Hermawan, Coordinator of KPR Yogyakarta 2023, 11 May 2025).

Orang Tua Bergerak coordinated both digital



and direct action strategies. This aligns with George and Leidner (2019) spectrum of digital activism, whereby Orang Tua Bergerak digital products, in collaboration with allied movements, transformed initial clicktivism into tangible participation. Various accounts and national media amplified the *klitih* Gedongkuning case, generating public sympathy. The framing of injustice in digital content guided Orang Tua Bergerak in formulating demands and subsequent offline actions at both national and local levels. Kevin Setio emphasised:

"In my view, social media is relevant for constructing discourse on injustice in this case. Direct actions, such as street demonstrations, reflect the extent to which the public is mobilised through social media. Therefore,

integrating both digital and offline methods is essential to prevent the movement from remaining solely at the discursive level" (Interview with Kevin Setio, Minister of Advocacy BEM KM UGM 2023, 1 May 2025).

In line with the concept of digital activism, George and Leidner (2019) argue that participation operates at three levels: digital spectator activities, digital transitional activities, and digital gladiatorial activities. This study finds that Orang Tua Bergerak employed digital spectator and digital transitional activities as movement instruments to mobilise support by framing discourses of injustice. The petition strategy reflect as digital activism through clicktivism, combining digital spectator activities with digital transitional activities.



The petition functioned as an initial mobilisation tactic, enabling widespread participation with minimal effort and risk. Consistent with Tarrow (2011), the narrative of petition illustrate as a framing contention that underscored the injustice of the Gedongkuning *klitih* case. Its central focus was the mobilisation of anger, fostering collective discontent. As Tarrow (1998) explains, expressions of outrage over human rights violations, torture, and intimidation activated a collective action frame, enabling shared understandings of grievance. The narrative also reflected a diagnostic frame, positioning injustice as a problem to be collectively recognised. Through this framing, the portrayal of police violence and misconduct reinforced public perceptions of wrongful arrest

in the Gedongkuning case and identified the police as a common adversary. Orang Tua Bergerak uses the hashtags as symbolic expressions framing the issue, with approximately 60 retweets and shares recorded. These hashtags reflect with George and Leidner (2019) concept of digital spectator activities, particularly metavoicing, this reflects efforts to disseminate the issue despite limited viral traction. Such hashtag activism is thus considered a supplementary online strategy in framing injustice in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case.

Orang Tua Bergerak sought to transform individual anxiety into collective concern in order to mobilise support through digital content produced in collaboration with cross-movement actors, employing what Tarrow (2011) terms framing contention. This

framing was manifested in posters, short writings, online magazines, and voice-over videos highlighting injustice, violence, and irregularities committed by the police against five children. Narratives such as "Bebaskan Mereka",³ "Salah Tangkap Klitih Oleh Polisi",⁴ and "Bebaskan Kawan Kami",⁵ alongside demands to "Tuntaskan Kasus dan Tangkap Penyidik Merusak Alat Bukti"⁶ and calls for "Aksi Solidaritas"⁷ can be identified as prognostic framing. This approach offers solutions to the issue through narrative demands while simultaneously constructing strategies for direct action.

In addition, narratives such as "Lawan Peradilan Sesat",⁸

3 Free them

4 Wrongful arrest of *klitih* suspects by the police

5 Free our friends

6 Resolve the case and prosecute investigators who tampered with evidence

7 Solidarity action

8 Resist miscarriage of justice

"Mengutuk Kekerasan",⁹ and "Lebih Baik Membebaskan 1000 Orang Bersalah Daripada Menghukum 1 Orang Tidak Bersalah"¹⁰ along with calls for Kamisan street protests and public discussions disseminated through digital products, illustrate motivational framing. This framing orchestrates readers' emotions through moralising narratives designed to encourage participation in concrete action. The injustice framing embedded in these digital outputs resonates with Lim's (2013) framework, which emphasises headline appetite (condensed information), trailer vision (sensationalised storytelling), and light packaging (short reflective content). Furthermore, the use of symbols such as the

9 Condemning violence

10 It is better that a thousand guilty persons escape than that one innocent suffer



depiction of a pig's head in digital posters served to articulate narratives of injustice and police misconduct in the wrongful arrest of five children in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case.

Orang Tua Bergerak and allied movements strategically employed visual formats in their digital content. The dominant use of dark tones (black and grey) symbolised grief, seriousness, and tension, while the contrasting red with the slogan "Bebaskan" signified resistance. White backgrounds were used to maintain textual clarity. This colour composition collectively constructed a resistant and assertive movement identity against injustice. The technical packaging of the issue adopts a contemporary approach to highlight injustice, aiming

to evoke public resonance through framing affective dimensions of anxiety, anger, and hope, as discussed by Nikunen (2021), to foster emotional alignment and issue participation. Parents' testimonies regarding the violence experienced by each child generated public sympathy, emphasising the need to resist unjust criminalisation. Such affective practices transformed ironic language into the mobilisation of solidarity movements.

Orang Tua Bergerak combines online and offline strategies to challenge the alleged violence and injustice in the Gedongkuning case. Together with allied groups, Orang Tua Bergerak mobilised direct advocacy that reflects what Milbrath (1965) characterises as gladiatorial political participation, in

which actors take proactive and confrontational roles to demand justice for the five youths. These offline efforts were enabled by earlier digital mobilisation, consistent with George and Leidner's (2019) notion of spectator and transitional digital activism, as online engagements such as sharing posts, signing petitions, and circulating narratives created the initial momentum for collective action. Moreover, the movement's use of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames aligns with Tarrow's (2011) concept of injustice framing, which helped articulate the problem, propose solutions, and cultivate emotional resonance. Together, these dynamics illustrate how Orang Tua Bergerak activism forms a hybrid model in

which digital mobilisation and injustice framing effectively translate into sustained offline advocacy.

Conclusion

The Orang Tua Bergerak movement adopted hybrid strategies to contest the alleged wrongful arrest of their children. Digital activism played a central role, with narratives of injustice in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case disseminated through petitions, digital posters, hashtags, and videos across Instagram, X, and Facebook, supported by cross-movement solidarity framed through injustice framing. This generated public participation—likes, shares, petition signatures—and gained traction through national media coverage, enabling Orang Tua Bergerak



to escalate advocacy with institutions and collaborate with public figures such as Novel Baswedan and Najwa Shihab. In parallel, Orang Tua Bergerak pursued offline actions including Kamisan protests, poster distribution, demonstrations at DPRD DIY, and public discussions. This aligns with Milbrath's (1965) concept of traditional political participation, specifically gladiatorial activities, as Orang Tua Bergerak acted as initiators demanding justice for the sentencing of their five children. Direct actions were complemented by social media strategies consistent with George and Leidner (2019), employing digital spectator and transitional activities to disseminate narratives of injustice.

In analysing patterns of digital activism, the spectator phase represents the initial

stage of issue awareness, marked by passive actions such as reading posts, liking, or sharing content. This phase signifies limited engagement, as participation has not yet escalated into more substantial forms of action. The transition to the gladiatorial phase illustrates that activism is not static, narrative framing and campaigns can mobilise individuals and groups from passive spectatorship to active participation. Injustice framing becomes a key driver of this progression by generating collective sympathy and fostering a sense of belonging within the movement. Theoretically, this study shows how hybrid advocacy enables digital participation to progress into sustained collective action. This highlights both theoretical and practical



implications: digital activism should not be viewed as an end in itself but as a catalyst for hybrid movements that combine online amplification with offline action. This study contributes to scholarship on social movements by demonstrating how activism is no longer linear but cyclical, maximising digital platforms for issue amplification and

exerting tangible pressure through direct engagement in the Gedongkuning *klitih* case in Yogyakarta. Future research could further examine whether similar hybrid mobilisation patterns appear in other wrongful-arrest cases in Indonesia and how digital injustice framing shapes long-term public engagement and institutional accountability.





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