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Mapping the Digital Movement in the Hashtags #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden

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Abstract

Hashtag mobilization has currently become one of the ways to mobilize opinion. As the 2024 presidential election draws nearer, hashtags which are considered effective tomobilize support for presidential candidates in 2024 have emerged and have been widely discussed on Twitter, using different hashtags, namely #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden. This research uses Theory of Digital Movement of Opinion, a type of digital activism characterized by spontaneous and disorganized reactions from social media users on Twitter. This research aims to map those three hashtags: can different hashtags produce different mobilizations? The research method is descriptive and quantitative with social network analysis conducted by taking data from the three hashtags in the period from April 29, 2022 to May 12, 2022. This study found 235 accounts talking about #2024AniesPresiden, 22 accounts talking about #GanjarPresiden, and eight accounts talking about #PrabowoPresiden, where data was processed using NodeXL software. The base and its mappings are related to the diameter, density, and centrality (betweenness, closeness, and degree). The @SMILEINDO24 in the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden, the @ganjar_center in the hashtag #GanjarPresiden, and the @djagger17 in the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden are also found as the central or most influential actors in disseminating information and serving as a liaison. In contrast, the @AniesIndonesia in the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden, the @ganjar_center in the hashtag #GanjarPresiden, and the @prabowo in the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden are the critical actors in the formation of communication networks and information flow. The findings of this study have implications on dominant actors that can be used or exploited by policymakers so that these actors can influence public opinion and mobilize opinion movements.

Keywords: Hashtag; Social Network Analysis (SNA); Digital Movement of Opinion (DMO); Digital Activism; Presidential Candidate.

Introduction

Hashtag mobilization has currently become one of the ways to mobilize opinion. As the 2024 presidential election draws nearer, hashtags which are considered effective to mobilize support for presidential candidates in 2024 have emerged and have been widely discussed on social media to see whether these hashtags can mobilize the digital opinion movement? Support hashtags have emerged

through the use of different hashtags, namely #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden. Twitter users widely discuss these hashtags.

According to data from the Twitter Advanced Search accessed in the period from 29 April to 12 May2022, what is interesting is that social media users have emerged in opinion, namely accounts or Twitter users who support Anies Baswedan, Ganjar Prabowo, and PrabowoSubianto. The three remain atop the rankings as the most potential figures to run for president in 2024 (saifulmujani.com, 2021). It is also based on a survey conducted by a survey agency verified by the General Elections Commission (KPU), that is Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting (SMRC), which will serve as a mirror in answering the level of public preference for the most preferred figure: Ganjar Pranowo (86%), Anies Baswedan (74%), and Prabowo Subianto (71%) (Tempo.co, 2021).

The use of hashtags (#) or hashtags in social media – which various levels of society often use to raise socio-political issues (Setianto, 2020) – is a phenomenon of digital movement or digital activism, and social media sites which make it easier to share information and communicate with other users (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Social media users express their feelings about a topic, issue, problem, trend, or discourse by leaving comments using specific hashtags. This action is usually taken in response to an event. Hashtags create communities where social media users who do not know or follow each other can discuss the same topic online even if they do not share the same opinion (Bruns & Burgess, 2012). Studies of social movements in the digital realm have different focuses and are classified into two broad categories (Eriyanto, 2019), namely: (1) The digital world (online) as an extension of offline social movements, sees the digital world as a medium used by social movement actors. Spreading ideas and gaining public support from where digital activism point of view is an integral part of offline activities, which can have a positive impact and achieve the desired effect of activists and have a negative impact in terms of public friction (Shah, Sivitanides, & Mehta, 2013); (2) Social movement or digital activism as an independent and autonomous component of any offline social movement, and believes that digital activism has its characteristics and characteristics that are not limited to the digital world.

The concept of digital activism arises when technology is used to encourage civil society activities, especially in the context of a democratic country (Rahmawan, Mahameruaji & Janitra, 2020), which has the potential to increase public participation in a social movement (Lim, 2013); on the other hand, there is an opinion that activism mediated by online communication and interaction must continue to produce mass movements, street protests, and various other offline activities; which are currently one of the most common types of digital activism by young people today (Ratnasari, Sumartias, & Romli, 2021) and can be expanded to include activism in other parts of the Indonesian context (Parahita, 2019). When compared to online petitions or well-known digital social movements, the forms of digital social movements are relatively new; contained in the nature, form, and characteristics as the difference, for example, led by certain actors or social organizations (Eriyanto, 2019) that create campaigns inviting social media users to participate in digital social movement campaigns. Although this campaign is conducted digitally, it has a clear purpose and is led by the actor who spearheaded the movement. Meanwhile, the new model of digital social movement is more spontaneous, and social media users also respond spontaneously to everyday events by posting comments on social media. Their activities are more natural because they are not directed or controlled by actors (accounts) of social movements. Hashtags are liaisons between users with the same interests and alignments (Eriyanto, 2019).

The digital movement is also called the digital movement of opinion (DMO) by Barisione et al. (Eriyanto, 2019), which emerged as a result of technological advances, especially social media, which creates a virtual network between one user and another. DMO is defined as a social media activity where users spontaneously comment on issues that arise, but social movement actors do not respond to this activity because it is spontaneous and impulsive; therefore, such digital activity has a relatively short lifespan. Users are interested in a particular problem and will move on to another problem the next day. The most common forms of DMO include making comments, replying to uploads, creating memes, and other activities, which are an issue

that is discussed spontaneously in DMO rather than with a specific goal or goal, as in social movements in general. Previous studies on hashtags in the digital opinion movement found that hashtags played a role in forming opinions about the same group, where as media actors, on the other hand, formed their sub-groups, which sparked controversy (Prihantoro, Rakhman & Ramadhani, 2021).

The digital movement is also carried out in Indonesia; Social media users (netizens) almost always comment on current events, such as cases of corruption, floods, traffic jams, economy, society, culture, politics, defense and security, and others. Events that arise are commented on by social media users spontaneously, and their comments are responded to in real-time by other users so that the issue triggers debates and often becomes a mobilization on social media. Because it functions as a "topic of discussion," hashtags play an essential role in these conversations, where users use hashtags to interact with other users and discuss and share statements (Eriyanto, 2019).

Social media plays an essential role in DMO because it facilitates the expression of opinions and increases public participation in specific movements (Prihantoro, Rakhman & Ramadhani, 2021). Twitter is a platform for expressing one's digital opinion and is an ideal means for the digital opinion movement to communicate directly to the intended party without the need for an intermediary in the form of an official institution or survey agency (Prihantoro, Rakhman & Ramadhani, 2021).

Several researchers have researched hashtags and digital movements; to investigate how hashtags mobilize digital movements. Previous research, for example, #Ferguson described hashtag activism as it is possible to implement social media, especially the Twitter hashtag, as an influential tool that helps encourage activism (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). Research using the hashtag #AusterityinEurope (online savings in the UK, France, and Italy) shows that social media empowers social movements and digital network collective action and public opinion in a new digital form that incorporates the principles of active citizenship and individual engagement, public debate (or contestation), and collective voice (Barisione & Ceron, 2017). Research with the hashtag #RefugeesWelcome shows that the digital opinion movement, which is mainly driven by the social media elite, whose tweets are voiced by a large number of isolated users (netizens), is also a new form of digital citizen participation (Barisione, Michailidou & Airoldi, 2017); by utilizing digital space as a place to carry out activism activities, it is a form of social change (Yusuf & Wibowo, 2021). Research findings with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter that hashtag activism has created a movement based on hashtags, phrases, sentences, and words, accompanied by political and social ideas, and this process creates interrelated temporary effects in every post on cyber space and contributes to the narrative actions of each agent – where they create a variety of content creatively and communally – through narrative structures and content into social contexts (Yang, 2016).

Another study on hashtags for mobilization against #DilmaRoussef (presidential ouster) in Brazil describes how government messages spread through dense communities of pro-government netizens who actively retweet the content of a small group of politicians (network authorities) while opposition messages spread. Through a distributed network strategy with a very active network hub coordinating its political message (Calvo, Dunford, & Lund, 2016), the hashtag #koruptorkoknyaleg revealed that social networks (SNA) were formed to facilitate public voice, in this case, on the issue of corruption (Zempi & Rahayu, 2019), the hashtag #ThePowerOfEmakEmak is not only an effort to manage public sentiment where political communication is built, but also is able to turn domestic economic problems into national problems although in some ways it becomes less effective because its users are limited to their circle (Imamah, 2020), as well as the hashtag #roketchina which describes the communication network that is formed is monitored not only by individuals but also by official institutions or agencies (Jovanica, Rahmintanigrum, Nuradni & Salsabila, 2022). It is also interesting to examine the research findings using two different hashtags, such as the hashtag #BubarkanKPAI vs #KamiBersamaKPAI which the hashtag #BubarkanKPAI is more successful and able to mobilize the community because it is narrative and has a clear frame or framework (Eriyanto, 2019); and research on the hashtag #PakaiMasker vs #DirumahAja on mobilizing digital opinion support (Prihantoro, Rakhman

& Ramadhani, 2021).

The similarities between these studies can be found in observations about how hashtags mobilize social media users and how hashtags encourage users to stay concerned and engaged with them. However, these studies have not answered the question, can different hashtags (#) result in different mobilizations? When a digital opinion movement uses a specific hashtag, will the mobilization of social media users be different if the movement uses another hashtag? In other words, the gap arises because research generally uses only one or two hashtags for its analysis.

The purpose of this study was to map the hashtags of #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden and find out the role of hashtag (#) in mobilizing digital opinion support using social network analysis (SNA); and find out how different hashtags (#) can generate different digital movements.

Theoretical Framework

Social network analysis (SNA) can be used to determine which actor (node) is involved in a relationship, which is associated with the actor, and the gap and reach of each actor (Prihantoro & Ramadhani, 2021). SNA also investigates networks, ideas, and actors in an environment. The relationship between actors has several measures at the actor level (Bakry, 2020), namely: (1) Degree centrality is the number of interactions or bonds that occur between an actor or node; (2) Closeness centrality calculates the average distance or proximity between actors with the highest value of 1.00; (3) Betweenness centrality calculates how often another node passes a node to get to a specific node in the network; and (4) The centrality of the eigenvectors is a measure of how essential actors are in a network (Setatama & Tricahyono, 2017).

At the system level, a network has several sizes, including: (1) Diameter, which is the farthest distance an actor can travel in a communication network; (2) Density, which is determined by the number of reciprocal interactions that occur between Twitter users; (3) Reciprocity, namely two-way communication that occurs between Twitter users; and (4) Modularity, which is a group or cluster formed in a communication network (Eriyanto, 2014).

Digital movement of opinion (DMOs) are usually motivated by emotions, such as compassion and empathy (for support movements), anger and anger, or irritation for protest and opposition movements (Barisione & Ceron, 2017). Meanwhile, social media creates activities that cannot be combined into two forms of participation: (1) the majority of the public, who generally express their opinions privately; (2) the activities of a small group of people with different organizations, issues, and leaders (Eriyanto, 2019). When problems arise, social media users express their opinions (support or criticism) by uploading them on social media spontaneously, where the public voice can also be heard through these posts without being ordered or led by leading actors of social movements. Social media users usually be have differently because they are notinvolved in the organization and are not members of any social movement (Eriyanto, 2019).

Opinion movements are defined by their focus on the same issue and are a legitimate form of activism that anyone can do in thedigital realm (Barisione & Ceron, 2017). The four main characteristics of DMO: (1) Unplanned (spontaneous) when users actively express their opinions and criticisms (opinions) through uploads on social media, and also there are no main actors who create issues and bring them to the attention of the public; (2) DMO is not outdated because opinions are spontaneous and there are no organizing actors, so public attention to specific issues can shift quickly; (3) The majority of social media users' opinions are binary (black or white), whether they support orcriticize an issue or policy; (4) It is cross-sectoral because it involves many groups or sectors (Barisione & Ceron, 2017).

Hashtag (#), which plays a role in digital activism, known as “hashtag activity” (Yang, 2016), refers to a movement (in the form of approval or disapproval) through the use of hashtags. Hashtags serve as a frame, as they 'promote the definition of a particular problem, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendations for the item described' (Barisione & Ceron, 2017).

According to several studies, hashtag (#) plays a role in mobilization (Eriyanto, 2019). How can hashtags help mobilize people in digital activism? Some experts offer alternative explanations for the role of

hashtags in forming creative communities where social media users may not know each other (not follow each other). However, they appear to be in the same community and discuss similar topics. Hashtags conjure up images of large spaces where users share thoughts on the same subject and express approval or criticism of a topic without following certain social media accounts. On the other hand, a narrative theory is used to explain the importance of hashtags (Yang, 2016) and that successful social movements include digital activism that requires stories because it involves actors and the public in debate; In addition, stories depict social movements as everyday problems faced by citizens so that one's involvement makes sense and is useful when told through stories.

The Twitter hashtag – as a tag to identify the topic of discussion – allows users to communicate without having to establish follower/follower relationships with other participants; it also allows tracking of topics that are more than just current news but rather more significant processes or more complex sequences of events associated with hashtags thus providing a better frame. More nuanced for the same topic; thus can indicate interpretations, assessments, or possible solutions to the problems at hand. Effective hashtags also provoke emotional opinions and generally have a clear framework (Eriyanto, 2019).

Material and Methodology

Paradigms for researchers are philosophical attitudes that provide a set off undamental beliefs that guide action; the nature of the world, the individual's place in it, and the various possible relationships with that world are all determined by the paradigm for its owner (Creswell, 2013). This study uses a post positivist paradigm, which is reductionist, logical, empirical, causally oriented, and deterministic based on a priori theory (Creswell, 2013).

Social networks (SNA) are appropriate subjects for quantitative and qualitative studies because they embody both the structure (which can be observed from an outsider's perspective0 and the content of social relationships (which can be understood from the insider's perspective of network actors); and according to Crossley (2010) because social structures and forms of social relations cannot exist apartfrom the content of social processes, qualitative and quantitative insights into social networks must be considered together (Nooraie, Sale, Marin & Ross, 2018) although according to Freeman (2004) that SNA – the study of the interactions of actors in a network – has historically been associated with quantitative methods, as it relates to graph theory, a branch of mathematics that focuses on studying the relationships between points, informing multiple sizes, and patterns of networks. Consequently, graph-based social network construction is an essential aspect of SNA as a presentation technique and for calculating many network structure indicators. Therefore, this research tries to use a quantitative study point of view.

In terms of its nature, this research is a descriptive study, where the researcher tries to describe and interpret things such as the state of a thing or relationship, developing opinions, effects that occur, and community trends (Creswell, 2014). In this case, the researcher tries to understand the complex structure by utilizing various network features (Nooraie, Sale, Marin & Ross, 2018). The researcher chose the descriptive quantitative design because the researcher will describe in detail and interpret the data or symptoms obtained during the study. The type of research is also chosen according to the research objectives, which according to the researcher, is more appropriate to be achieved by descriptive research.

The level of analysis in social networks (SNA) consists of network structures, groups, and actors (Gruzd, Mai & Kampen, 2016). At the network structure level, there is density (density of relationships among actors or nodesin the network), diameter (the farthest line between one actor/social media account and other actors in the network), and reciprocity (a two-way relationship that occurs between members). Or actors or nodes in the network, and centralization (degree of centrality of actors or nodes or social media accounts in the network). At the group level, there is modularity, which consists of actors (social media accounts) in the network. As for the actor level, there is intermediate centrality (betweenness centrality), namely actors who act as intermediaries, closeness centrality, which is the actor who is closest to other actors, and degree centrality, which is the most

famous actor (who has many links or relationships) with other actors.

Social network analysis (SNA) is a method of visualizing the activity and strength of connections between users on social networks and steps in identifying knowledge - sharing interactions. SNA is designed to identify and compare relationships between interacting individuals, groups, and systems to describe informally "who knows who" and "who shares with whom" relationships (Prihantoro, Rakhman & Ramadhani, 2021).

The social network analysis method or SNA is used to answer the question of how the role of hashtags mobilizes social media users. The network formed by three hashtags, namely #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden, was then compared by researchers.

Hashtags are said to be successful in mobilizing social media users (netizens) if they have better network structure characteristics, such as density, reciprocity, and diameter. The purpose of the SNA method is to describe the structure and network of relationships between actors (in this case, social media users). The SNA method examines the relationship between actors (nodes or social media accounts) in specific social structures.

This method will also show how the network structure of social media users (Twitter) is related to the hashtags #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden on social media. The information collected (population) is April, 29th2022 - May 12th, 2022 which includes the period of Ramadan and Eid al-Fitr in Indonesia. The research was then carried out in the following stages.

The first step is to collect data from Twitter using three hashtags. The researcher used the Twitter Advanced Search to enter the three hashtags as keywords: #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden. The data collected or the number of tweets analyzed in this study only represents a portion of all tweets that include the three hashtags. The second step is to analyze the social media conversation data collected in the first stage using the NodeXL Basic software. There are three levels of network analysis.

First, the network structure, which at this level of analysis is intended to show the shape and structure of the network, which relates to the structure of the network as a whole, not the individual actors (nodes).

Second, the group or groups in which the grouping of the network is described at this level, how the actors (nodes) in the network form groups that are different from others.

Third, the actor, which at this level describes the dominant (central) actor of the network andidentifies the actor's position in the network.

Result and Discussion

This study discovered 235 accounts or Twitter social media users who uploaded and discussed the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden, 22 accounts who uploaded and discussed the hashtag #GanjarPresiden, and eight accounts who uploaded and discussed the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden in the period from April 29, 2022, to May 12, 2022, using NodeXL Basic software.

The comparison of communication networks mapped with the NodeXL Basic software in the hashtags #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden is shown in figure 1, figure 2, and figure 3 as well as its network structure in table 1.

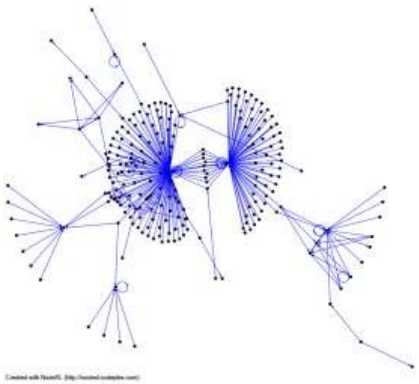

Figure 1. Network Visualization of#2024AniesPresiden

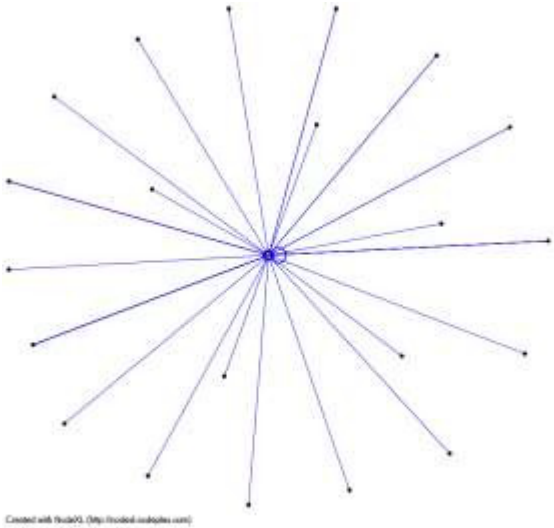

Figure 2. Network Visualization of#GanjarPresiden

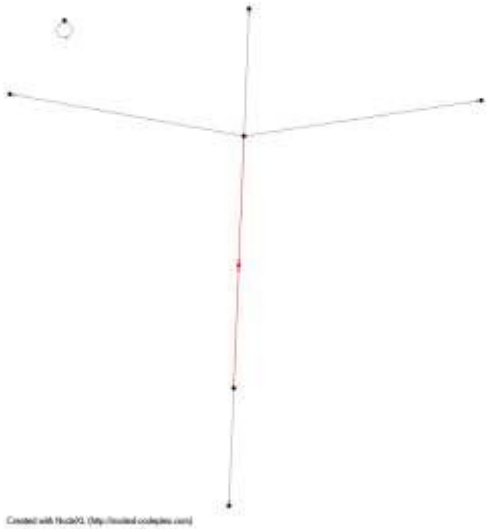

Figure 3. Network Visualization of#PrabowoPresiden

Table 1. Comparison of Network Structures #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden

Analysis	#2024AniesPresiden	#GanjarPresiden	#PrabowoPresiden
Diameter	9	2	4
Density	0.004564466	0.045454545	0.107142857
Reciprocity	0.008032129	0	0
Betweenness Centrality	34796 (@SMILEINDO24)	420 (@ganjar_center)	24 (@djagger17)
Closeness Centrality	1 (@sanwo18 and @nomerorae)	0.048 (@ganjar_center)	0.111 (@djagger17)
Eigenvector Centrality	0.071 (@SMILEINDO24)	0.196 (@ganjar_center)	0.212 (@prabowo)

Source: NodeXL

Supporters of Anies Baswedan on Twitter use the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden to show their support. The fact that the diameter is indicates that the upload spreads from one user to another (social media account). Density and reciprocity are both close to zero, meaning that a low density indicates a low level of interaction between users/number of social media accounts (Eriyanto, 2019).

The low density indicates that, while assistance has been provided, the level of user interaction (social media accounts) is down. The actor with the highest betweenness centrality value serves as a liaison between

groups with different networks (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020), and it was discovered that the actor with the highest intermediate centrality value, namely @SMILEINDO24, became the key or most influential actor in disseminating information and acting as a liaison.

Eigenvector Centrality is a network metric that considers not only how many connections a node has (i.e., degrees) but also the centrality of the connected nodes; feel not only how many you know but also who you know (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020). Compared to other accounts, the @SMILEINDO24 account has the highest eigenvector centrality value, making it a key actor in forming a communication network on the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden. Closeness centrality is the shortest average distance between two nodes (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020). It was discovered that two actors received the highest closeness centrality value, namely the @sanwo18 and @nomerorae accounts, implying that they have close relationships with other actors. In other words, the closer the value of the centrality of proximity is to 1.0, the closer the actor or account is, implying that if he publishes information or uploads, it will spread quickly.

This study discovered that the @SMILEINDO24 and @AniesIndonesia accounts were influential central actors in the flow of information because they had the highest in-degrees, and the two actors or Twitter social media accounts were the most referred or mentioned, with the @SMILEINDO24 account being mentioned 118 times and the @AniesIndonesia account being mentioned 83 times.

Out-degree is the magnitude of the value on the node or actor indicating how frequently the actor responds to other user comments (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020). According to this study, the @rfauzy5 account was the actor who was most frequently referred to or responded to comments from other users on the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden. There are 22 Twitter social media accounts or network actors discussing Ganjar Pranowo as the president of Indonesia in 2024 under the hashtag #GanjarPresiden. The diameter of the hashtag #GanjarPresiden was discovered to be two, indicating that the upload spread from one user to another (social media account). Density is close to zero, and there is no reciprocity (zero). Low density indicates alow level of user interaction/number of social media accounts (Eriyanto, 2019). Despite the support, density close to zero means that the low density shows a low level of user interaction (social media accounts).

The actor or Twitter social media account with the highest value betweenness centrality serves as a bridge between groups with different networks. According to this study, the actor with the highest betweenness centrality value, @ganjar_center, became the key or most influential in information dissemination and liaison. The closeness centrality of actors with the @ganjar_center account is not very close to other actors in the #GanjarPresiden communication network because the value is further away from 1.0; the farther the actor is (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020), so if he publishes information or tweets it will not spread quickly.

However, compared to other accounts, the @ganjar_center has the highest eigenvector centrality value, making it a key actor in forming a communication network on the hashtag #GanjarPresiden. Because the in-degree value of the@ganjar_center account is the highest, he is the most referred or mentioned 37 times. The magnitude of the value on the node or actor indicating that the actor frequently responds to other user comments is referred to as out-degree (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith &Himelboim, 2020). The @ganjar_center account also frequently responds to other users' comments on the hashtag #GanjarPresiden (the account that refers to the most).

Eight actors or Twitter social media accounts were found discussing the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden, and they supported Prabowo Subianto becoming Indonesia's president in 2024. This study found diameter 4 depicts uploads spreading from one user to another (social media account). Density is close to zero, and reciprocity is non-existent (zero), indicating a low level of interaction between users or a high number of social media accounts (Eriyanto, 2019). The density is close to zero (low), indicating that, even though support has been provided, the level of user interaction (social media accounts) is down.

The actor with the highest value betweenness centrality acts as a liaison between groups with different networks, resulting in the

@djagger17 account becoming the key or most influential actor in disseminating information and acting as a liaison on the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden. The @djagger17 account, on the other hand, is an actor who does not have a relative centrality with other actors; this is because the farther away from the 1.0 value of the centrality of proximity, the farther away the actor is (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020), so if he publishes information or tweets, the information or tweet will not spread quickly.

Eigenvector centrality helps determine the most critical actors in a network by looking at how many connections a connected node has (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020); thus, the @prabowo account is a crucial actor in the formation of a communication network on the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden.

The use of social media Twitter has been adopted by politician as a tool for building relationships with constituents, having direct dialogues, and initiating political discussions (Murwani, 2018). Account @prabowo as a central actor who influences information flow because he is the most referred to or mentioned in addition to having the highest in-degree among other actors. There is an account @djagger17 that most frequently responds to comments from other users; because he has the highest out-degree score (Hansen, Shneiderman, Smith & Himelboim, 2020), he is an actor who frequently responds to other user's comments on the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden (the account that refers the most).

This study also discovered that the conversations uploaded by Twitter social media users for the three hashtags were more inclined to supporters or those who discussed Anies Baswedan, Ganjar Pranowo, and Prabowo Subianto, allowing for a straight forward narrative (story) and frame (framework). Twitter users who support Anies Baswedan for President of Indonesia in 2024 use the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden to upload their support tweets, in which they wish for Indonesia to be populated by good people led by a religious person, and their tweets are typically Islamic. Actors or Twitter social media accounts that support the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden tend to raise narratives (stories) with religious nuances, carry a specific religion (Islam) with the use of specific holy verses (Al Qur'an), and seek Muslim leaders who are considered good Muslims who can lead Indonesia.

The actors (social media accounts) who supported the hashtag #GanjarPresiden were found to be more patriotic and dedicated to the country's development. It was also discovered that actors or their supporting Twitter social media accounts tended to lack a clear and specific narrative and story framework in the hashtag #PrabowoPresiden.

The mobilization of the digital opinion movement using the hashtags #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden demonstrates the emergence of a digital movement of opinion (DMP) because DMO characteristics emerge spontaneously as a result of social media users' reactions (Barisione & Ceron, 2017). Twitter users respond quickly to actor statements, posting tweets (tweets and mentions) to express support or vice versa.

Digital activism arises when technology – in this case, social media Twitter – is used to encourage civil society activities, especially in the context of a democratic country (Rahmawan, Mahameruaji & Janitra, 2020) – in this case in, Indonesia, a country that is free to gather and express opinions according to the constitution 1945 – which has the potential to increase public participation; generates a movement (in the form of approval or rejection) through the use of hashtags (Yang, 2016), becomes a frame (framework) because it can define specific problems, interpret causal, moral evaluations, and recommendations (Barisione & Ceron, 2017).

Indeed, it is the three hashtags – #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden that give rise to an image of an ample space where users share their thoughts on the same subject; and express approval or criticism of a topic – plays a significant role in the formation of imaginative communities (Eriyanto, 2019) where social media users may not know each other (not follow each other). However, they seem to be in the same community and discuss similar topics.

The diameter, density, reciprocity, and centrality (including betweenness, closeness, and eigenvector centrality) discovered and mapped in this study demonstrate that the three hashtags represent digital opinion movements (DMO). Even if they are not directly targeted, actors are at the center of the opinion movement, and Twitter users have expressed their support for or opposition to the three

hashtags.

The three hashtags have a low density (indicating low interaction between social media accounts) and no social media accounts at the center. Aside from their similarities, the three hashtags differ in their diameter, reciprocity, and centrality.

Hashtag #2024AniesPresiden found to be more mobilization and the use of religiously charged narratives (story) or religious nuances by involving actors and the public in the debate and being more widely disseminated, given that the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim (Wahid, 2017); Indonesian society is multicultural; there is a wide range of races, ethnic groups, and religions (Murtiningsih & Veronika, 2022).

Furthermore, compared to the hashtags #GanjarPresiden and #PrabowoPresiden, the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden has a high er reciprocity value, indicating that the account (actor) in it is more two-way (replying to messages and uploading them).

Overall, this study's network structure findings indicate that hashtag #2024AniesPresiden generates more conversations and interactions than hashtag #GanjarPresiden and hashtag #PrabowoPresiden, based on data collected in the period from April 29, 2022 to May, 12, 2022. The larger diameter, density, reciprocity, and centrality (betweenness, closeness, and degree) of the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden are advantages for mobilizing the digital opinion movement.

This study aims to map three hashtags, #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden, to see if different hashtags result in different mobilizations. Social media users use hashtags to encourage other users to participate in expressing their opinions.

Mobilization in the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden can also be explained using the Barisione framework (et al., 2019), which states that a successful hashtag is emotionally capable of eliciting spontaneous responses from social media users but also has a clear framework. If social media users agree (support), they will adopt a supportive attitude, and vice versa (Barisione & Ceron, 2017). Hashtags with more straight forward frames will be more effective in mobilizing this type of "black and white attitude." The mobilization of hashtags is growing, and the implications for the public are significant because the information in this study is dominated by statements and support for the hashtag #2024AniesPresiden; such perspectives do not frequently appear in social media conversations because the social media space is more lively and spontaneous.

Conclusions

This study demonstrates how the use of various hashtags in the digital exchange of ideas results in various mobilization movements. When a DMO uses a specific hashtag, the digital mobilization movement of social media users differs, even if another hashtag is used; for example, the hashtags #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden can result in the mobilization of a different opinion movement (DMO). In this study, mobilization is measured using the network structure formed by the three hashtags. Hashtags that are attracting an increasing number of Twitter users, such as #2024AniesPresiden, #GanjarPresiden, and #PrabowoPresiden, can be linked to how the characteristics of Twitter social media users who prefer narrative (the ability to create narrative imagination) require stories, attract social media users' emotions, and have a clear frame (framework).

This study's findings affect how actors use hashtags to gain more online support. The researcher suggests that policy makers use or exploit central/dominant or critical actors because they can influence public opinion and mobilize opinion movements. In addition to gaining more support from Twitter social media users for the issue or topic of discussion that will be raised, it is clear from the comparison of the three different hashtags in this study that different hashtags can have an impact on different digital opinion movements, necessitating different hashtag strategies; The DMO concept can also be used as a backup solution or problem solver for new forms of digital citizen participation for future research.

Future research on digital movement opinion (DMOs) that have not been included in this study could capture interaction patterns between other relevant hashtags, including the extent to which Twitter accounts are fake or fake managed accounts affect the ups and downs of DMOs and impact on the democratic quality of the digital public sphere, in addition to considering other social media platforms besides Twitter, which is a limitation in this

study.

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