

# The analysis of the hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound on Twitter in protesting mural removal in the public sphere

Luky Fitriani

*Magister of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science,  
Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia  
Email: lukyfitriany@gmail.com*

Pawito Pawito

*Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science,  
Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia  
Email: pawito\_palimin@staff.uns.ac.id*

Prahastiwi Utari

*Department of Communication Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science,  
Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia  
Email: prahastiwi@staff.uns.ac.id*

## Abstract

*The removal of mural looking like President Joko Widodo's face with the words 404 Not Found triggered a wide range of reactions from the public, including some on Twitter, who saw the action as an anti-critical form of government. As a result, the hashtag #Jokowi404notfound became a popular topic and was used over 11,000 times on August 14, 2021. The purpose of this study is to look at how people use the hashtag*

*#Jokowi404notfound on Twitter to protest the removal of murals. In August 2021, this study takes a qualitative approach, collecting data in the form of observation of media texts on Twitter's public timeline. According to the findings of this study, the hashtag #Jokowi404notfound was used to protest the government's anti-critical decision to remove murals as a form of suppression of individual freedom. When the public interest is at stake and the movement is mobilized by Twitter activists with large social media followings, the hashtag activism movement has the potential to drive and influence government policy. Messages to the government are also conveyed using various styles of language.*

**Keywords:** *Mural, 404 not found, social media protest, hashtag activism, Twitter*

## INTRODUCTION

Mural and graffiti have been known for long time as art used to communicate and express some thoughts and feeling. Mural is different from the graffiti though they look similar. Graffiti emphasizes the expression and more personal expression of the painter or artist because it only uses symbols representing certain entity. Usually, the graffiti is realized in symbols, letters, and sentences. Meanwhile, mural is about street art work containing deep message and meaning. Most of murals are placed in the public sphere meant to be seen by people (Fahri Zulfikar, 2021). Graffiti and mural have been known as medium for artists to express their thoughts and feelings. Walls are made to be alternative public sphere and medium of expression by showing various messages, social criticism, and symbols described in this street works (Gushendra, 2015). It aims to deliver some messages and make the messages being accepted by the people. It is also supported by the rise of mural art made in the public spheres in the different parts of the world.

Furthermore, murals are often used as a form of counterwork. For example, as United States mural artist did. He drew face of George Floyd on 38th Street and Chicago Avenue South, where Floyd was paralyzed. Floyd is a black American citizen who died due to discrimination and violence by local police (CNN Indonesia, 2021). Almost in line with the United States, Indonesian mural artists also use the walls in public spheres as medium to convey social criticism for the government. In last August, Indonesian citizens were surprised by the act of removing a mural that looks like President Joko Widodo's face with the words 404 Not Found in Batuaceper Tangerang. The removal of this

mural then caused various reactions from the citizens, including the users of Twitter. Some Twitter users consider the removal of the mural was an anti-critic form of the government. This incident was then followed by the appearance of thousands hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound created by Twitter users. Therefore, hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound became trending topic on August 14<sup>th</sup>, 2021 and was uploaded more than eleven thousand times (Cindy, 2021).

Actions in using hashtag ##Jokowi404NotFound on Twitter which was initially used by some people were able to create consolidation and mobilization to move masses massively until it reached more than 11 thousand times of use. The action of hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound usage was proven to be able to attract public's attention. The phenomenon of communication using hashtag as a social movement aimed for certain purpose is not something new. Social media Twitter has been used to introduce and expand social movement for long time. Various social movements and activism have used Twitter to attract both public and stakeholder attention, of course they are parties who have authority relation. One of them is as a form of support, resistance, or protest of things which are considered to be in the public interest. Similar movements carried on the Twitter have also ever been conducted in several countries in the world. One of them that had a very wide impact and spread to several countries was the hashtags #OccupyWallStreet and #BlackLivesMatter (Tremayne, 2014)

Both of them are a social movement which uses hashtag on Twitter to spread, expand, and persuade public to support this activism. Before OWS or Occupy Wall Street was first spilled on the streets of the United States on September 17, 2011, the discourse of protesting against capitalism using #OccupyWallStreet had been echoed two months earlier on Twitter. The purpose is of course to organize and expand the movement to protest economic inequality. Thus, thanks to the previously echoed #OccupyWallStreet, participants who took to the Financial District in New York City's Lower Manhattan to fight inequality, unemployment, and corruption, especially in the financial services sector managed to mobilize 1000 people at the start of the protest. In the study written by Tremayne in 2014 highlighted how Twitter can be used to identify who are the influencers or central players who can amplify the discourse on #OccupyWallStreet and push the online movement to a larger scale (Tremayne, 2014). Until the #OccupyWallStreet movement which initially only occurred in New York City, United States was then able to expand to Chicago, Los Angeles, Seattle, Boston, and even to 900 cities in Europe, Africa, and Asia (Kristianti, 2014).

In the 2020 hashtag activism was also used in Indonesia to oppose ratification of the Job Creation Bill. Hashtag #MosiTidakPercaya and #TolakOmnibusLaw became two of the most used hashtags until it was to be trending topic on Twitter for several days. This online protest is also an effort by the community to reject the ratification of the Job Creation Bill. Similar to the #OccupyWallStreet action, the resistance against the ratification of the Job Creation Bill was also accompanied by large-scale demonstrations in various regions in Indonesia (Saputra et al., 2021). Unfortunately, even though the action on the streets was massive and quite intense, the government still ratified the Job Creation Law on November 2, 2020. There has been a lot of research regarding the use of hashtags to mobilize activism on social media, yet, in Indonesia itself, research on the use of the hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound has not been widely carried out. Moreover, the hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound has an association with the president who is number one figure and figure who should be the most respected in this country. However, how people use these hashtags to express their opinions on Twitter is interesting to be studied, especially paying attention to the purpose, using of language style and editorial in uploaded messages. This research will also examine the people or figures who have influence in disseminating the use of hashtags.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Virtual Public Sphere**

Jürgen Habermas introduced public sphere concept as opposition of private domain. Imaginary space emerged as specific yet exclusive area. There are some definitions of public sphere based on its origin language. In example, based on German, in the 18th century the public sphere was born as part of 'civil' society which established itself as place for commodity exchange and social work which had its own rules. Everything will be clear for all people, in every discussion held by its community all matters is discussed thoroughly (Habermas, 1989). Habermas also stated that public sphere is democratic place, in which all citizens can personally express their opinion, discuss all relevant themes, interests, and their needs discursively (Fitriani, 2013). Various exchange of opinion in the traditional public sphere, in Habermas' style, can be found in the coffee shops, salons, even roadside stalls. Modern culture then has contribution in shaping society's custom to have gathering in various places including coffee shop and other physical places throughout Indonesia to discuss

hot topics (Juditha, 2018).

Apart from culture, internet technology also start to change society's custom in taking advantage of physical public sphere into virtual or online public sphere. Social media which uses internet, nowadays, allows everyone to express and discuss their thoughts publicly. Due to innovation in this technology field, social media becomes new product of communication. Then the scientists give attention to the creation of new public sphere named *networked public sphere* (Çela, 2015). Networked public sphere is interpreted as a place where public opinion is formed through an exchange process on online platforms. Internet based technology which has possibility to create new public sphere, particularly as discussion place adapted and oriented to political culture (Papacharissi, 2002). It includes political culture with purpose to protest a policy which is mobilized through virtual-based spaces.

### **Social Media Protest**

Internet, social media in particular, succeeds to become a place where new opinion and idea are able to be exchanged easily. Idea and opinion exchanged can massively reach highest level due to support from various social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. The users of social media can communicate each other and discuss certain themes online. It also becomes a disruption that now to express an opinion can be done easily without conventionally moving masses. In other words, freedom to express opinion nowadays achieves the word free as freely as possible without any obstacles such as physical or infrastructure before the emergence of social media (Cela, 2015). According to David Holmes, the emergence of new media allows interaction to be a significant differentiator between first and second media era (Littlejohn & Foss, 2018) including their functional properties (attributes). If the old media is only focused on broadcast, new media era will focused on network. Holmes labeled new media as media with interaction approach and social integration. Thus, social media is believed to have ability to change or contribution on communication of politic, mobilization, and social movement organization. One of them is Twitter, which is significantly used to conduct political discussions, communicate protest information, and call for online participation.

The extensive use of social media to protest has been undertaken in Spain, Greece, and US (Theocharis et al., 2015). Various researches also describe Twitter as online demonstration arena and play important role. For example, riot in Moldova, election protest in Iran, Tunisia revolution, Egypt revolution,

and Occupy Wall Street (OWS) protest happened in autumn 2011. At first, OWS movement was began in New York and expanded to cities on this entire world (Tremayne, 2014)

Twitter is believed to have role in the mainstream movement as one of political communication study, including the use of hashtag #Jokowi404 not found which appeared as protest of netizens or internet citizens on mural removal undertaken by police officers of Tangerang (Saputra et al., 2021). The action of government in the case of mural removal made most people disappointed and then leads the people expressing their feeling on social media with enclosing hashtag. Titter is able to be opened arena to democratize access to discourse formation in the society in two ways and more dynamic. The study showed that social media plays important role in forming political discourse or discourse, especially Twitter. Twitter can affect nature of online participation, so the users are not only passive when surfing but also contribute and create discourse. (Kasmani et al., 2014).

### **Hashtag Activism**

Hashtag is a bookmark feature on Twitter which makes a topic easy to be found and talked (Juditha, 2018). Twitter also provides Explore page which helps the users of Twitter to find out what hashtags are being talked about or trending topic both in Indonesia and in the world. Hashtag on Twitter Explore feature has also been classified based on topic category, starting form music, K-pop, politic, economy, or paid. The number of hashtag used by Twitter users will be able to measure how popular a topic is being discussed.

Hashtag activism has become one of the most exciting developments in digital activity in recent years. Hashtag activism is defined as a discursive protest on social media through phrases, words, or sentences tagged with hashtags (Yang, 2016). Various hashtag on social media are able to move masses support with huge numbers though it is only online. Some of them are also conducted as political action for criticizing stakeholders' policies and creating changes or raising society solidarity cross-country. Some hashtag succeeds to be mainstream media spotlight particularly hashtag used to find support, defend social justice, form of resistance, or protest against the policies of the authorities such as #BlackLivesMatter, #WomensMarch and #YouAintNoMuslimBruv. **Hashtag as political movement tool is not only used to expand society's participation, but also raising interest in political issues** (Meraz, 2017). In Indonesia, popular hashtag activism also succeeds penetrating into mainstream media especially

hashtag relating to public interest. One of the is hashtag #Jokowi404notfound which emerges as a protest to the government because government is considered as anti criticism due to mural removal.

## **METHODS**

This research was arranged using qualitative method with main purpose to provide description related to symptoms or reality, so it can give understanding (*verstehen*) regarding the emergence of reality or communication phenomenon studied (Pawito, 2007).

### **Data Collection**

The research data was collected using observation techniques and text discourse analysis on Twitter. Observation techniques or observations are carried out to systematically and directly track the communication phenomena studied. The symptoms in question are related to social, political, and cultural problems in society (Pawito, 2007). The researcher uses active participation observation technique, where the researcher comes online to mingle as Twitter users and observes what happens in the period of August to September 2021.

Based on the results of text observation on hashtag #Jokowi404notfound, there are more than 11,000 messages uploaded at that period. Then, the data was reduced until it reached data proportion which can be managed by taking some text samples. Text sampling is based on certain considerations (*purposeful selection*) according to research objectives to obtain substance representation of the data or information. Sample technique used in this research was non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling technique is not use random principle but it applies purposive sampling of data or deliberately chooses what is considered to be in accordance with the criteria and research objectives (Rakhmat & Ibrahim, 2019). One the considerations being the focus of the criteria in determining data used is that text messages uploaded by informant on Twitter must contain hashtag Jokowi 404 Not Found, the account has many followers, and has a high level of involvement in that time span. The mentioned involvement means that the account should have many comment replies, retweets or re-shared, and likes in every text uploaded on Twitter.

### **Technique of Analysis**

This research used interview analysis technique to drive the researcher understanding what messages are packaged in a message structure. Then the

collection of tweets with hashtag #Jokowi404notfound was classified based on its micro structure, which are emphasized meanings, descriptions and ways of emphasizing the opinions conveyed. Next, the data was categorized in accordance with the structure, and interpreted descriptively.

Triangulation technique was used by the researcher to validate the data which shows the differences by accessing more varied sources to obtain data in various perspectives relating to similar case (Pawito, 2007). Varied sources are usually believed to imply varied information so the data sources from other references are needed to validate the information.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **The use of hashtag as online protest**

Large-scale social restriction during pandemic makes people forced to reduce their mobility. The people are not permitted to leave the house if they do not have urgent need for reducing the risk of people exposed to Covid-19. All activities are then suggested to be carried out remotely. Therefore, the activities involving large crowds and masses are temporary prohibited by the government (Habibie, 2020). However, it does not reduce the democratic process in Indonesia. Even though the demonstration cannot be held by gathering masses physically, with the existence of social media, the process of democratic can still be held online. Twitter as social media, in fact, has succeeded to mobilize masses to participate in the protest against the removal policy of Jokowi 404 Not Found mural by police officers happened in last August. This incident was initially began when mural depicting a man similar to President Joko Widodo with the words *404 Not Found* found in Batuaceper Tangerang. Then the mural was erased by local officers and authorities because it was considered as form of insult to the president (Kompas.com, 2021). Removal of this mural got various response from the society, including the act of rejecting and protesting the government which removed the mural is trending on Twitter. The following is some tweets on Twitter which showed negative sentiment on the officers' effort to erase that mural:



No.	Data	Meaning	Purpose
1.	<p>@@PakarKampanye:Orang “berkreasi” lewat Mural aja dikejar, Lebay BANGET gak sih? Kita hidup di Negara komuniss atau demokratis? Akhirnya rame #Jokowi404NotFound (14 Agustus 2021)</p> <p>(@PakarKampanye: Chase people who are “creative” through murals, isn’t that really too bad? Are we living in a communist or democratic country? Finally hectic #Jokowi404NotFound (August 14, 2021))</p>	<p>The government is considered excessive by chasing for mural artists, which makes Indonesia look like communist country not democratic country.</p>	<p>Protest against the chase of mural artist who was deemed not to have committed crime</p>



No.	Data	Meaning	Purpose
2.	<p>@ronavioleta: Kritik yg dituangkan dalam seni pun dibungkam. Kalau kata @fadjroel, kita ini bangsa apa pak @jokowi??</p> <p>Btw om @DivHumas_Polri ini kata pakar2, presiden itu bukan lambang negara. Jadi ga usah lebay sama kritikan #Jokowi404NotFound (14 Agustus 2021)</p>	<p>Questioning for the freedom of criticizing government and telling the police officer that president is not symbol of state.</p>	<p>Protest against government's action regarding the chase of mural artist and show that government is overreacting to that criticism.</p>

*(@ronavioleta: Even criticism poured into art is silenced. @fadjroel said, what nation are we, sir @jokowi??*

*Btw bro @DivHumas\_Polri this is what the experts said, the president is not symbol of the state. So don't be dramatizing the criticism #Jokowi404NotFound (August 14, 2021))*



Table 1: Message using #Jokowi404NotFound to protest government’s action which is considered excessive and violates freedom of expression



Source: Twitter.com

Mural removal undertaken by the officers or relevant authorities is considered violating society's right of freedom for expressing opinion. Hence, the Twitter users above felt that what have done by the government by erasing the mural is excessive action on society who speaks out criticism through art. Even though giving opinion is citizen's freedom guaranteed by law. The Twitter users above also felt that Indonesia, which is anti-criticism, is no longer perceived as country that adheres to democratic system.

In protests using social media with goal of social change is according to research discussing #OccupyWallStreet and #BlackLivesMatter. Democratic and media experts emphasized that the role of technology to consolidate, stabilize and strengthen participation in democracy are able to be implemented (Theocharis et al., 2015). Some research also showed that currently social media is recognized to have function as strong tool to create social movement. For example, social media used by activists to voice discrimination against black people in US with hashtag #BlackLivesMatter (Olson, 2021). The action against racism, which also use social media, is able to expand the protest to foreign country. Hence, no wonder Indonesia has also amplified the hashtag on Twitter as protest movement against the government's removal of murals.

### ***Influencers have role to multiply the use of hashtag***

On August 14, 2021, the Twitter users with username @BossTemlen uploaded message along with photo of mural which reads Jokowi 404 Not Found. Tweet which contained question "Lukisan ini yang lagi rame ya? Tulisannya #Jokowi404NotFound" (*This is that viral painting, right? The words are #Jokowi404NotFound*). Then, still on the same day, @BossTemlen uploaded other message which said, "Pliss tagar ini jgn dibuat trending #Jokowi404NotFound (emotikon)" (*Please, don't make this hashtag trending #Jokowi404NotFound (emoticon)*).

No.	Data	Meaning	Purpose
3.	<p>@BossTemlen: Lukisan ini yang lagi rame ya? Tulisannya #Jokowi404NotFound (14 Agustus 2021)</p> <p>(@BossTemlen: <i>This is that viral painting, right? The words are #Jokowi404NotFound (August 14, 2021))</i>)</p>	<p>He asks his followers about the painting which is being talked.</p>	<p>Raising awareness that there is political issue going on regarding the removal of murals by the authorities</p>
			
4.	<p>@BossTemlen: Pliss tagar ini jgn dibuat trending #Jokowi404NotFound (emotikon) (14 Agustus 2021)</p> <p>(Bos @BossTemlen: <i>Please, don't make this hashtag trending #Jokowi404NotFound (emoticon) (August 14, 2021))</i>)</p>	<p>Urge to popularize the hashtag on Twitter in contradictory style.</p>	<p>Invitation to popularize the hashtag (with contradictory language) on Twitter.</p>
			

No.	Data	Meaning	Purpose
5.	<p>@BossTemlen: Bro @FaldoMaldini ... Gegara loe sich Ngabalin sm tagar #Jokowi404NotFound jd trending Faldo is Ngabalin in New Version (14 Agustus 2021)</p> <p>(@BossTemlen: Bro @FaldoMaldini ... because of you Ngabalin and hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound become trending Faldo is Ngabalin in New Version (August 14, 2021)</p> <p><b>Trending in Indonesia</b> <b>Ngabalin</b></p> <p><b>Trending in Indonesia</b> <b>#Jokowi404NotFound</b> 7,345 Tweets</p>	<p>Call/tell Faldo Maldini that because of him hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound becomes trending.</p>	<p>Be thankful to Faldo Maldini who is special staff for the Minister of State Secretary, whose tweets have made the hashtag even more popular.</p>

Table 2: Twitter Activist uploaded messages with #Jokowi404NotFound

Source: Twitter.com

The message uploaded by Twitter user @BossTemlen directly got 109 reply comments and liked for 1,800 times. On the second upload, the message contained a roar to not popularize the hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound surprisingly got bigger reaction than the first upload. The second message was responded for 470 times, re-shared for 1,800 times, and liked by Twitter users for more than 3,900. A language style selection which seems preventing the hashtag to be popularized, i.e. narration of “*Please, don’t make this hashtag trending*”, actually has opposite impact. Meanwhile, on the third Tweet or uploaded written that @BossTemlen mentioned Faldo Maldini is the one that make hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound popular.

On the social media Twitter, lately, Faldo Maldini is considered as figure who is pro with government policy. Before becoming a special staff, Faldo Maldini was also Twitter activist who was vocal in criticizing the government’s performance. His track record is what makes every message he uploads get

various reactions from public, including negative sentiment reactions. The third tweet or message uploaded by @BossTemlen succeeded to get 38 comments, re-shared for 193 times, and liked by 521 people.

Twitter user @BossTemlen who uploaded this contradicting language-style message has fairly large number of followers, it is 74.9 thousand followers. If it is reviewed from the number of his followers, it can be observed that the user of Twitter with name @BossTemlen has big influence as an influencer or key opinion leader on Twitter since many people follow his Twitter account. This user is able to move his followers to participate in hashtag activism on Twitter. He also consistently raises issues regarding government which is being hot topic on mass media. Besides, he, this Twitter user, also actively gives response and criticism of government's policies which are considered not in accordance with social interests on their social media pages. One of the examples is message about hashtag activism of mural mentioned above; he uploaded it using paradox or figure of speech contradiction. Thus, it can be observed that Twitter user uploading a message to not popularize hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound is an activist on social media who often gives criticism for both social and politic relating to government performance and public interest.

Hashtag activism is a new development in the digital era in this recent year. It occurred when numbers of post appears on social media with social and political claims. Protest online in the form of hashtag activism is united through words, phrases, or sentences placed with hashtag (Yang, 2016). Although it happened through online medium, the protest along with hashtag activism was able to provoke the use of hashtag up to more than 11 thousand times on Twitter. It can be seen or proven by messages uploaded by Twitter user @BossTemlen above as real example. Single upload of message can obtain reaction or response from other users for more than 1,800 times in short time. Since this hashtag becomes trending topic, various national mass media also pay attention to protest action which is packed on this hashtag activism.

It is not only @BossTemlen account with thousands of followers who conduct hashtag activism #Jokowi404NotFound, but alternative news media accounts named @OposisiCerdas also carries on same thing. As the name implies, which contains opposition words, the @OppositionCerdas account uploaded a message with hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound with critical message in the form of article title and inserted a link to website source with the same name.

No.	Data	Meaning	Purpose
6.	<p>@OposisiCerdas: Muralnya Dihapus dan Pelakunya Diburu, Tagar #Jokowi404NotFound Trending: Baper Sama Tembok (14 Agustus 2021)</p> <p><i>(@OposisiCerdas: The Mural is Erased and the Culprit is Chased, Hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound Trending: Getting too Sensitive (Baper) with Wall. (August 14, 2021))</i></p>	<p>Just now, the account released news article related to mural removal done by government, chasing for mural painters by the authorities, and the government is considered getting too sensitive due to the mural which says Jokowi 404 Not Found.</p>	<p>Disseminating critical news content.</p>



**Table 3. Hashtag activism message uploaded by accounts having large number of followers**  
Source: Twitter.com

Text message from account @OposisiCerdas above succeeds obtaining for 25 comments, shared for 118 times, and liked by 400 users. Furthermore, the user @OposisiCerdas has 116,400 followers on Twitter. Based on various links on the timeline of account @OposisiCerdas, this account is website-base alternative media which also spreads its news article through social media; hence, it can reach the readers widely. This account is just like the mainstream mass media accounts which also use social media to market their news products to a larger market. If viewed on the website profile page named OppositionCerdas.com, this media claims itself as critical alternative media and often to be aggregator or reproduce news from other mainstream media.

Besides, related to hashtag activism #Jokowi404NotFound on Twitter, this user (@OposisiCerdas) is more straightforward in criticizing government efforts in chasing the mural artist of 404 Not Found. It can be seen from the words used, “Muralnya Dihapus dan Pelakunya Diburu, Tagar #Jokowi404NotFound Trending: Baper Sama Tembok” (*the Mural is Erased and the Culprit is Chased, Hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound Trending: Getting too Sensitive (Baper) with Wall*). The user describes the government as people who have sensitive nature. In the Indonesia Dictionary, “Baper” is “bawa perasaan” which means excessive or too sensitive in responding some matters or problems. The matters or problems mentioned is sensitive reaction related to criticism in the form of mural with an image that is allegedly similar to President Joko Widodo and message which said 404 Not Found.

Protest action of Occupy Wall Street in US in 2011 also used influencer’s influence to strengthen protest action against capitalism. Two months before the masses hit the road, a blog was launched by Canadian anti-consumerism publications, Adbusters, and Twitter message enclosing hashtag #OccupyWallStreet. This action then provoked the start of discourse on Twitter for days, and slowly attracted people, and finally exploded with thousands of messages using hashtag #OccupyWallStreet. Therefore, some online voices discussing Occupy Wall Street in September 17 got attention, succeeded to provoke polices’ response, and finally increased number of people who hit the road and the Occupy protest happened in hundreds of cities around the world (Tremayne, 2014).

### **The use of satire, sarcasm, and appeals**

According to the research, there are some factors causing a hashtag becomes popular. One of the factors is selection of message context which is going to be uploaded on twitter. Based on the research related to hashtag #SaveHajiLulung which became trending topic worldwide, there was found that the factor which distinguished trending topic #SaveHajiLulung from the others was that it contained satirical elements and was full of humor (Juditha, 2018). Referring to the research above, it can be observed that the use of language which uses modern style without directly giving criticism is proven to be able to attract the attention of hashtag activism participants more widely. For example, with satirical language like the tweet below:



No.	Data	Meaning	Purpose
7.	<p>@LkmnOkterman: Tentu saja Mural HARUS dengan Izin, karena BUKAN Budaya kita. Bagaimana dengan KORUPSI, sanak @FaldoMaldini? Saya ndak berani ganggu @jokowi #Jokowi404NotFound #Jokowi404NotFound</p> <p>(@LkmnOkterman: of course Mural MUST have Permission, because It is NOT Our Culture. How about CORRUPTION, Bro @FaldoMaldini? I'm afraid to disturb @jokowi #Jokowi404NotFound #Jokowi404NotFound)</p>	<p>Satirizing Faldo Maldini's tweet regarding the mural polemic which is considered against the law, so it is mentioned as an action that must get permission.</p>	<p>Criticizing Faldo Maldini's who is pro with government, thus saying that the mural is against the law.</p>





No.	Data	Meaning	Purpose
8.	<p>@Tjeloup1:                      Tagar keren (emotikon)                      #Jokowi404NotFound                      (14 Agustus 2021)                      (@Tjeloup1: Cool hashtag (emoticon)                      #Jokowi404NotFound (August 14,                      2021))</p> 	<p>A hashtag appearing and becoming popular due to the arbitrariness of the apparatus in removing mural as anti-criticism and against freedom of expression.</p>	<p>Satirizing government with message “not found” which means no whereabouts were found in the midst of this difficult pandemic situation through hashtag activism.</p>
9.	<p>@Dianerahayu:                      Tagar #Jokowi404NotFound Kita jgn berkomentar...nanti terciduk... mending baca berita di Kompas online...(emotikon)                      (14 Agustus 2021)                      (@Dianerahayu:                      Hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound We don't comment... we'll be caught later... it's better to read the news on Kompas online...(emoticon) (August 14, 2021))</p> 	<p>Delivering message in order to not give comment regarding government, because making comment or opinion in this country will be caught by police officers.</p>	<p>Delivering message concerning a country which does not guarantee its people to free for expressing opinion for, even though it adheres to a democratic system.</p>

Table 4. Uploaded message of hashtag activism in sarcasm tone

Source: Twitter.com

The message uploaded by @LkmnOkterman seems satirizing people who are pros and defend the government in handling mural polemic #Jokowi404NotFound. Mural is a work art which becomes one of freedom of expression (Gushendra, 2015), yet, based on message used by @LkmnOkterman “Tentu saja Mural HARUS dengan Izin, karena BUKAN Budaya kita” (*of course Mural MUST have Permission, because It is NOT Our Culture*) expresses satire that make artwork must be got permission. This tweet succeeded to get one comment, re-shared for 17 times, and liked by 25 users.

Meanwhile, Twitter user @Tjeloup1 uses message in sarcasm mentioning that hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound is cool hashtag. “Cool” is words which must possess positive meaning. However, hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound actually means error or not found. Thus, hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound can be interpreted as message referring to the absence of President Joko Widodo. The message uploaded by @Tjeloup1 got 16 reply comments, re-shared for 87 times, and liked by 164 people. The user @Dianerahayu was also uploaded in sarcasm tone “*Tagar #Jokowi404NotFound Kita jgn berkomentar...nanti terciduk... mending baca berita di kompas online...(emotikon)*” (Hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound We don’t comment... we’ll be caught later... it’s better to read the news on Kompas online...(emoticon)). The message she uploaded was referred to not make comment about government, because if we make comment or opinion we will actually be caught by police officer. Besides, through her message, she also asserted that even though the state guarantees freedom of communication by law, in fact it is still considered as law violation by the apparatus. This tweet got 23 responses, re-shared for 90 times, and liked by 463 accounts.

Based on the micro structure on the emphasized meanings in the analysis of tweet with hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound above, it can be seen that most users used satire and sarcasm to express their disappointment to government. There is also a tweet using figure of speech contradiction or paradox which was written by @BossTemlen. He used words or sentences which contradict with the real situation. Emphasis on stylistic elements in the use of satire to express disappointment to the government on social media has often been carried out today. There are many Twitter users feeling more freely to use words with meanings which are intentionally emphasized to express disappointment on social media (Rakhman et al., 2021).

Hashtag activism #Jokowi404NotFound appears as a protest to government which has erased a mural looking like President Joko Widodo which reads 404 Not Founded. The emergence of social media as modern public sphere aiming to express opinion of interest is called new political communication (McQuail,

2015). Political communication, in this case as a form of protest through this new paradigm, has potential to shape more discourse and debate, the opportunity for new voices to emerge to be heard and urge social change. As a reaction from society related to political issues, the use of hashtags by the Twitter users has various styles. Nowadays, form of protest is not only taking action on the streets, but can also amplify the use of critical language, both straightforward and modified in various styles. Therefore, paradox, appeal, satire, and sarcasm are written on the explanation above.

Based on the explanation of #Jokowi404NotFound usage, it can be observed that hashtag activism is able to move and organize masses on digital public sphere to popularize and raise political issues by taking advantage from activists who have lots of followers (Tremayne, 2014). Hence, the purpose of hashtag activism by pushing social change and influencing government decisions can be realized. Hashtag activism #Jokowi404NotFound is finally able to influence the government to cancel the chase for the artist who drew the mural 404 Not Found.

Internet, social media in particular, in fact, has function as alternative place for conveying information, supporting mobilization, and big activation on critical spots (McQuail, 2015). In other words, internet, especially social media, has succeeded to be an online public sphere (*networked public sphere*) which allows the discourse to remain formed though it cannot meet directly.

The social media users can communicate each other online and discuss various themes, including politic. This matter also becomes a disruption that to express opinion now can be done easily without having to mobilize the masses conventionally. It means that, recently, freedom to express opinion achieves the word free as freely as possible without any obstacles such as physical or infrastructure before the emergence of social media (Çela, 2015).

The simplest form of societies' participation in the democratic process is expressing opinion or thought through online media. In this case, Twitter provides a place for society to participate in a virtual opened sphere freely. Furthermore, in this case opened sphere mentioned before is a discussion concept for society created by the society itself (Mansbridge et al., 2018). The use of hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound proved that the strength of masses movement can be carried on the virtual public sphere and it not merely conducted by traditional ways. In this pandemic time, the protest action actually can still be undertaken on the virtual public sphere, such as Twitter, without having physical activity or demonstration.

## **CONCLUSION**

The use of #Jokowi404NotFound which becomes trending topic in Indonesia on last August 14, 2021 can be observed as a hashtag activism to protest and effort to resist mural removal which interpreted by society as silence action for freedom of expression. Activism movement of hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound voiced by Twitter activists is able to multiply its usage up to tens of thousands of times. Online protest using hashtag finally succeeds to influence the government which then stops to search the artist who drew the mural. Besides, it can be concluded that the action of criticism and protest on virtual public sphere can be amplified using non-monotonous language style. The hashtag activists elaborated criticism message conveyed with various language styles. Criticism message is not merely using fierce language, but it can also use figurative, satire, or joke. This research also observed that hashtag activism on Twitter can be massively carried on when public interest is at stake. Moreover, its movements are mobilized by Twitter activists who have a lot of followers on their social media.

Research finding in this research gives strong evidence that social media, Twitter in particular, has function as strong discourse place as virtual public sphere. Twitter, as virtual public sphere, allows all people express their opinion without exclusivity. In other words, all people have same rights and freedom in expressing opinion, both to protest, criticism, and fight against government policies deemed not in the public interest. Furthermore, it can be seen that Twitter can also be vehicles to conduct demonstration virtually by involving many people and massively using hashtag. The research related to the use of hashtag #Jokowi404NotFound initiated to resist the removal of the mural Jokowi 404 Not Found is still far from perfect. There are many dimensions from this hashtag activism which can still be explored and rich in findings which are useful for further research. For example, matters which are related to the most active users in using hashtag or the most frequently and consistently voicing hashtag activism on Twitter. The collecting data can be conducted through deep interview in order to understand motivation and goals to be achieved from hashtag activism used for conveying criticism to the government.

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