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## **Digital Affective Citizenship: @The nexus of on-line and off-line anti-corruption activism in Banten, Indonesia**

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## Chapter Four

# Indirect activism and the Practice of Doing Citizenship

### Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the anti-corruption discourse in social media campaigning in Banten in comparison with the similar use of social media by CSOs on a national level. I also argued that corruption was framed as a moral discourse in social media in Banten. In this chapter, I continue to delve into what activist-citizens in Banten actually do with social media. In other words, I am looking at social media as practices, as ‘something human beings do...a form of action’ (Couldry, 2012:61). Different from the discourse analysis (used in chapter 3) that considered social media as texts or ‘system of statements’ (Parker, 1989:61, Sam, 2019:3, this practice approach to social media frames its questions by reference to ‘what people are doing in relation to media in the context in which they act’ (Couldry, 2012:62).

In this sense, I focus on Facebook posts and comments, which I will read and analyze as an ‘act of citizenship’ (Isin and Nielson, 2008, Isin & Ruppert, 2015, Di Gregorio and Merolli, 2016:934,), i.e. as both institutional and individual

practices of making citizens or citizenship (Fourtier, 2016: 1040). And, since this act of citizenship is conducted on the Internet or social media, it is conceived as a digital act of citizenship that is defined as a set of digital acts that designate political subjects emerging from the encounter between citizens and the state (Isin & Ruppert, 2015:9).

Through following the same three Facebook page and groups: Fesbuk Banten News (FBN), Wong Banten (WB), and Forum Warga Banten (FWB), I ask how anti-corruption activism in Banten is being practiced online? And, what kind of citizenship does this online anti-corruption activism reflect?

I made an open coding of posting and comments related to corruption in the three Facebook page and groups above categorizing those postings and comments into different types of digital acts. Digital acts, here, are conceived as all speech acts uttered through the Internet or social media (Isin and Rupperts, 2015). In this sense, I conducted open coding to examine social media data for concepts or categories, i.e. digital acts, that can explain an observed phenomenon (Gobo, 2008: 227). After initial categories were generated, they were modified, condensed and refined to best reflect the data (Seelig, et.al, 2019: 20).

In this chapter, I argue that online anti-corruption activism in Banten is practiced through the digital acts of reporting and sharing news on corruption and digital acts of flaming toward local leaders who are deemed corrupt. These digital acts, as I further argue, reflect what I call 'online indirect activism'. In this online anti-corruption indirect activism, digital acts enacted by its activist-citizens depict emotions including anger, hate, disgust and also a sense of injustice. The 'online indirect activism' and expression of emotion shapes a type of citizenship that I call as 'digital affective citizenship' reflects the character of citizenship in Banten that , more or less, is 'powerless angry citizens'. This characteristic is resulted from the struggle of emotional citizens who have a desire to curtail corrupt leaders and preventing them to be re-elected in the elections but have less leadership and organizational power which can effectively lead to such curtailment.

## **Digital Acts of Reporting and Sharing News on Corruption**

The first coding categories that I generate to identify online anti-corruption campaign practices in Fesbuk Banten News, Wong Banten, and Forum Warga Banten are digital acts of reporting and sharing news related to corruption.

I have categorized 198 postings in Fesbuk Banten News (FBN), as the first

and most active citizen journalist Facebook page in Banten (see chapter 3), almost all of the postings on FBN can be categorized as digital acts of reporting news on corruption. From 2010 to 2015, there were four categories of reports related to corruption in FBN, they are reports on corruption allegation cases (44 postings, 754 comments), reports on corrupt electoral practices (51 postings, 2614 comments), reports on corruption and infrastructure condition (37 postings, 711 comments), and reports on anti-corruption demonstrations (64 postings, 1205 comments). The remaining postings outside these four categories can be categorized as reports on people with poor health conditions, and calling for help and donations for them (39 postings, 315 comments).

**Tabel 1. Coding Categories For Fesbuk Banten News (FBN) of Digital Acts of Reporting.**

<b>Coding Categories</b>	<b>Postings</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Reports on anti-corruption demonstrations	64	1205
Reports on corrupt electoral practices	51	2614
Reports on corruption allegation cases	44	754
Reports on corruption and infrastructure condition	37	711
Reports on people with poor health conditions	39	315

The digital act of reporting on corruption allegation cases, according to Uday Suhada, one of the FBN's citizen journalists and who also well known as an anti-corruption activist in Banten from ALIPP (Aliansi Independent Peduli Publik/Independent Alliance for Public Care), is one of his attempts to:

“build public opinion...in this region...because one of the requirements for corruption cases to be handled by KPK is that the case considered [is] making people upset (meresahkan masyarakat) or [that it] has become a public concern of that region...to make the corruption case stink...so KPK will smell it.. ”. (Interview on 19 September 2014)

One of the corruption cases reported by Uday Suhada on Fesbuk Ban News is *kasus korupsi dana hibah* (social-assistance grants corruption case) in 2011. Money from the social-assistance grant<sup>1</sup> was suspected to be illegally used for funding Ratu Atut's election campaign in her governor candidacy of 2011. Uday posted:

1) A social assistance grant is support given in the form of money, goods, or services from a local government to regional company (BUMD), society organizations (organisasi masyarakat) and the community.

## **DUGAAN KORUPSI DANA BANTUAN HIBAH DI PROVINSI BANTEN (Oleh : Uday Suhada)**

August 16, 2011 at 11:35pm

FESBUK BANTEN News - Agar tidak menjadi fitnah, berikut ini saya ketik ulang Kebijakan Gubernur Banten Ratu Atut Chosiyah mengeluarkan uang rakyat berkedok Dana Bantuan Hibah pada Tahun Anggaran 2011 yang sangat kental berbau Kolusi, Korupsi dan Nepotisme.

Hal ini saya lakukan mengingat Pemprov Banten menutup-nutupi kebijakan yang mengesampingkan asas kepatutan dan kepatantasan ini. Jangankan alamat penerima bantuan, sekedar Surat Keputusan Pembebanan yang ditandatangani Ratu Atut Chosiyah-pun disimpan melebihi pusaka seolah-olah milik probadi. Padahal hal itu adalah mutlak hak publik untuk mengetahuinya, sebab dana yang dikeluarkan berasal dari rakyat melalui APBD.

### **Corruption allegation of Discretionary Social-Assistance Grant in Banten Province (By Uday Suhada).**

FESBUK BANTEN News- In order not to become a false accusation, herewith I retype (my writing) concerning a policy decision made by Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah in spending people money in the name of Discretionary social-assistance grant from the 2011 fiscal year that smells of collusion, corruption, and nepotism.

I do this because the Banten Provincial government is covering up this policy that ignores the fit and proper test. They do not just keep beneficiaries' addresses, but also hide the decision letter signed by Ratu Atut Chosiyah. The public, however, has the absolute right to know about it, since the money comes from the people through regional development budget (APBD).

This post was of one the longest on the Fesbuk Banten News and was divided into two posts, since it was also to uncover the list of discretionary social-assistance grant recipients, organizations, or institutions, including the amount of money they received.

The second category is a report on corrupt electoral practices. During the election time, in Banten, issues and discussions on corruption and dynasty are always at the forefront of debates. This is also a time when, citizen-journalists of Fesbuk Banten News active monitoring elections process, as Lulu Jamaludin, founder, administrator, and also a reporter of Fesbuk Banten News once said:

Since I become part of MATA Banten (Masyarakat Transparansi Banten/ Banten Society for Transparency), I was called to get involved in the monitoring of money politics or unfair campaigns in the elections, by encouraging citizen-journalist of FBN to look for such cases and posts them in FBN (Interview on 3 September 2018)

In most of the postings, citizen-journalists of Fesbuk Banten News search and share their findings on how members of the dynasty, especially Ratu Atut, use underhand campaign strategies including money-politics. For example:



Do you want to have a healthy and fast-growing baby? So he/she can vote for the next local election? Please eat this GOVERNOR branded breast-milk companion biscuit. The biscuit has been circulated in the nearest community health center...(Imar/LLJ)

In this post, Imar, one of the citizen-journalist of Fesbuk Banten News (FBN) reported unfair campaigns strategy namely the use of local government programs, in this case, additional health nutrition programs, by Ratu Atut, as an

incumbent, as a campaign tool for governor election. Different from ‘professional journalism, Imar, used irony and humor in his report, but still provided a photo as factual proof of his report.

In this sense, FBN’s citizens’ journalists’ reporting on corruption, seems to echo what Blaagaard (2013: 194) thinks about citizens’ journalism when they challenge the ostensible objectivity of professional journalism, that is: “detached, unemotional, neutral, unbiased, and independent”. By contrast, citizen journalism a la FBN shows that their reports on corruption are often passionate, engaged, affective and biased, yet also a result of journalistic subjectivity (ibid. 195, Isin and Ruppert, 2015:145).

This type of affective citizens journalism was also conducted by Mang Ripin, an amateur photographer and the most active journalist of FBN, when he makes reports on poor infrastructures condition in Banten. In his postings, Mang Ripin did not directly mention that the poor infrastructures are caused by corruption, as exemplified by these postings:



The shot from Mang Ripin

Saturday (28/12/2013). A swing at the City of Serang’s square broke and collapsed. As the result, children who used to play in the square that is worth 10 billion rupiah (about 645.000 USD) feel disappointed.

Related to his report and shot in FBN, Mang Ripin explained that:

I cannot really say that these poor conditions of roads or public facilities are because of corruption. I just give some hints. Even sometimes I try to criticize using indirect symbols this is a kind of resistance without being rough” (Interview, 05 September 2014)

The notion of reporting using ‘indirect symbol’ also can be found in this posting:

**FESBUK BANTEN News** with Arifin Noer la Galigo.  
November 5, 2013 · 🌐

Jepretan **MAng Ripin**  
Truk pengangkut sampah melintasi **jalan** Protokol kota Serang.Minggu (4/11/2013).(LLJ)



The shot from Mang Ripin

A garbage truck passed on the main street of Serang City. Sunday (4/11/2013) (LLJ)

This photo not only depicts a garbage truck passing on the main street of Serang city, as is written in the posting, but also a puddle on that street, suggesting that the street is damaged, and a reflection of Ratu Atut’s billboard photo on the puddle. “I want to relate the poor condition of the street with the



image of Ratu Atut who at that time still is still in power. But without being direct,” said Mang Ripin.

This kind of act of reporting is coming from Mang Ripin’s passion for photography, as well as empathizing with others and caring about what is going on around him. He states that:

I love to walk around (*keluyuran*) with my camera, in my free time or when I have jobs, I always looking for something interesting to be posted in FBN. I ended up mostly taking photos of problems faced by citizens of Banten. Mostly without any planning,...as a citizen of Banten, even though I am not born in Banten, or at least, I feel (*merasa*) as citizens of Banten, I want to share those problems.. to make other citizens care (*peduli*)...and also to fight (*melawan*) manipulations (*penyelewengan*). like in the case of poor roads or public facilities. (Interview, 05 September 2014)

This act of passionate sharing, in a different way, was also enacted by members of Wong Banten and Forum Warga Banten Facebook group (about these Facebook groups see chapter 3), in the form of sharing news on corruption from mainstream mass media added with provocative statements. It shows how social media operate in ‘the hybrid media system’ (Chadwick, 2017: xi) that: “...is built upon interactions among older and newer media logics in the reflexivity connected social fields of media and politics.

The Wong Banten Facebook group has 59 postings that I have categorized as digital acts of sharing news on corruption. While in Forum Warga Banten there are 75 postings that I coded in the same category. In fact, the members who actively share the news on corruption in the two Facebook groups are often the same person. They have joined both Facebook groups.<sup>2</sup>

These are the example of postings from Sanusi who are an active member of Wong Banten and also the founder and administrator of Forum Warga Banten (see also chapter 3):

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2) Both Wong Banten and Forum Warga Banten are public group. So, both the groups’ members and people from outside the groups can read the news that shared. However, members of Wong Banten and Forum Warga Banten relatively different. Wong Banten has more members and they located mostly in Serang, the capital of Banten Province. Whereas, Forum Warga Banten has less members and most of their location is *Tangerang Selatan* (South Tangerang).

**ForumWarga** ▸ Wong Banten  
November 4, 2013 · 🌐

Wow... sekedar untuk nenteng merek, pake ngerampok duit rakyat?  
Dijejali asesoris apapun ya tetap aja ATUT juga.. orang pasar RAWU..  
---

Menenteng Tas Ini, Atut Serasa Wanita Berkelas  
Harganya Rp 400 - 700 juta?...

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**Menenteng Tas Ini, Atut Serasa Wanita Berkelas |  
gayahidup | Tempo.co**  
Di Jakarta para sosialita juga bergegas membeli tas Hermes untuk koleksinya  
TEMPO.CO

Like · Comment · Share · 5 7

### Forum Warga > Wong Banten

Wow..just to have this branded bag, they from robbing people's money?  
Dressed up with any accessories, she is still ATUT...a lady from RAWU market.

----

Carrying this bag, Atut feels like a classy woman  
The price is 400-700 million?

### Carrying this bag, Atut feels like a classy woman I lifestyle I Tempo.co

In Jakarta, socialites also rushed to buy Hermes bags for their collections.

TEMPO.CO

Forum Warga is a pseudonym of Sanusi. He also has another account called "Gabriel Jeka II" which he often uses when he is sharing some news on corruption in Forum Warga Banten. This is seen in the following post:

**Gabriel Jeka II**

April 16 at 8:28am

Uang Haram hasil menjarah APBD Banten

===

KPK Sita Mobil Airin Terkait Pencucian Uang Wawan

Selasa, 15 April 2014 | 20:08 WIB

JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com - Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) menyita satu unit Honda CRV bernomor polisi B 1179 NJA atas nama Wali Kota Tangerang Selatan Airin Rachmi Diany. Penyitaan ini dilakukan terkait penyidikan kasus dugaan tindak pidana pencucian uang yang menjerat suami Airin, Tubagus Chaeri Wardana alias Wawan.

### Gabriel Jeka II

Illegitimate Money from Robbing APBD (Local Government Budget) of Banten

=====

KPK Seized Airin's Car Related to Wawan's Money Laundry

Selasa, 15 April 2014 | 20:08 WIB

JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com - The Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) confiscated a Honda CRV with number plate B 1179 NJA belonging to the Mayor of South Tangerang City, Airin Rachmy Diani. This confiscation is related to the investigation of a money laundry allegation case that also involves Airin's husband, Tubagus Chaeru Wardana alias Wawan.

This kind of news sharing combined with a provocative introduction is a typical post in Forum Warga Banten and Wong Banten. In this sense, the act of sharing news is not neutral, but involves the passion of the posters to fight adversaries, i.e. the Banten political dynasty and its cronies. It can also be seen from this news with a provocative introduction from Agus Safari shared in both Wong Banten and Forum Warga Banten:



**Agus Safari Gustav** shared a link.

June 25, 2015 · BlackBerry Smartphones App

Runtuhkan politik dinasti Atut di Tangsel.

Saatnya Bergerak #TolakPolitikDinasti! Kamis 25 Juni 2015

Jakarta - Politik dinasti selama ini tumbuh subur di seantero negeri. Saatnya bergerak menolak politik dinasti yang telah membunuh sendi-sendi demokrasi.

"Salah satu gerakan yang harus didorong sekuat mungkin oleh LSM dan parpol mulai melihat manusia sebagai manusia. Jadi manusia bukan dilihat dari hubungan biologis atau genetisnya. Jangan biarkan politik dinasti membunuh demokrasi," kata Sekjen Partai Solidaritas Indonesia Raja Juli Antoni, kepada detikcom, Rabu (25/6/2015).

Sebenarnya inti dari demokrasi adalah memberikan ruang seluas-luasnya kepada masyarakat dari latar belakang apa pun untuk menjadi pemimpin. Tidak peduli apakah dia dari kalangan elite atau rakyat biasa, semua mestinya diberi ruang berpartisipasi baik sebagai pemilih maupun orang yang dipilih dalam kontestasi politik.

"Dengan lahirnya politik dinasti itu justru mengingkari makna demokrasi itu sendiri," tegas Mantan Ketua Umum PP Ikatan Pelajar Muhammadiyah (IPM) ini.

### Agus Safari Gustav

Bring down Atut's dynasty politics in Tangsel (South Tangerang)

Time to move #RefuseDynastyPolitic Thursday 25th of June 2015

Jakarta. A Political dynasty has been rising throughout the country. This is the time for making a movement against such a political dynasty that has been destroying the foundations of our democracy.

"One of the movements that should strongly be pushed by NGOs and political parties is that which sees human relations as not only biological or genetic relations. Don't let the phenomena of political dynasty kill democracy", said Secretary-General of Indonesia Solidarity Party, Raja Juli Antoni to detikcom, Wednesday (25/8.2015).

The core of democracy, actually, is providing the broadest space for members of society from any background to act as leaders. It is not a matter whether he/she is coming from elite circles or are just ordinary people, everyone should be given space for participation both as voters or as the one who is being voted for in political contestations.

"The emergence of a political dynasty, in fact, means denying the meaning of democracy itself." said this former Chairmen of Muhammadiyah Students Bond (IPM).

Agus Safari is one of the most active members of Forum Warga Banten and Wong Banten and he has, for a long time, been involved in anti-corruption and anti-dynasty campaigns on Facebook. Agus Safari has been involved in South Tangerang City mayor's election battle since 2010 when he became one of the witnesses in the Constitutional Court for the case made against Airin Rachmy Diany's allegedly fraudulent practices during in the election. At that time he was a Head of Governmental Section in Pamulang Barat Village, one of the village offices in South Tangerang City. Besides that, he was also a supporter of Arsid, Airin's opposition in the local election. Due to his statements, combined with those of others, Airin Rachmy Diany's eventual win in the 2010 elections was canceled and The Constitutional Court (MK) decided to re-hold the election. However, in the re-election, Airin successfully maintained her victory. In the 2015 election he continued to support Arsid, and is thus, again, opposing the incumbent; Airin Rachmy Diani. In his posting above, Agus Safari shared a piece of news from an online news portal detik.com about the rising of a political dynasty in Indonesia and added a provocative and passionate caption: "Bring down Atut's dynasty politics in Tangsel (South Tangerang)". The context of this posting was the election of South Tangerang's Mayor in 2015 when Airin Rachmy Diani, Ratu Atut's sister-in-law, ran for the mayoral candidate for the second time. It is clear that Agus Safari campaigned against Airin Rachmy Diani whom he called 'Atut's dynasty politic in Tangsel' by sharing news as a piece of evidence that political dynasty bad for democracy. He stated that:

"Just share the news so other citizens will get the factual information..in elections time, as is the case in South Tangerang mayor elections, sharing news about dynasty's corruptions, as I did, is one of the ways to campaign against the dynasty, so they eventually will not win the election" (Interview on 28 April 2014).

In this sense, digital acts of sharing news practiced by Agus Safari and Sanusi are also a call or provocation for other members of Wong Banten and Forum Warga Banten to take action to 'refuse dynasty politic' back to power.

What other members of those Facebook groups and also readers of Fesbuk Banten News respond to the digital acts of sharing and reporting news on corruption will be explored below.

Digital Act of Flaming

Such reports and shared news on corruption cases involving Ratu Atut and her dynasty (about Banten political dynasty, see chapter 1) have attracted the attention of many Fesbuk Banten News (FBN) readers, Wong Banten, and Forum Warga Banten members. Enabled by a social media platform that facilitates the participation of wider audiences, readers and members are no longer passive recipients of information but actively participate in the making of news by adding some reports and information through their comments. Moreover, since the report and the shared news also serves not only as mere news coverage, but also as an anti-corruption or anti-dynasty campaign, the readers’ and members’ comments appear more as resentment toward the corrupt dynasty and cronies. In this case, I categorized those comments as digital acts of flaming.

I use the definition of flaming from Moor (in McCosker, 2015:205) as a criterion for categorizing those comments that: “displaying hostility by insulting, swearing or using otherwise offensive language, but also for certain extent not intentionally offend others, but they are simply meant to express disagreement or an alternative opinion or humorous play”. Using that criterion, I found 1,141 comments in Fesbuk Banten News, 412 comments in Wong Banten, and 231 comments in Forum Warga Banten, that I coded in the category of digital acts of flaming. This is a table displays coding categories that I applied to postings and comments related to corruptions and Banten political dynasty:

Tabel 2. Coding Categories For Fesbuk Banten News (FBN), Woang Banten, and Forum Warga Banten of Digital Acts of Flaming

Coding Categories	Postings	Comments
<b>Fesbuk Banten News</b>		
Flaming the dynasty	-	1,141
Criticizing dynasty’s supporter	-	241
Calling for citizens to take actions	-	113
Hoping for divine interventions	-	104
<b>Wong Banten</b>		
Flaming the dynasty	-	412
Calling not to vote for the dynasty	-	16
Calling for citizens to take actions	-	13
Criticizing dynasty’s supporter	-	10

Forum Warga Banten		
Flaming the dynasty	-	231
Claiming citizens identity	-	11
Criticizing poor infrastructures conditions	-	8
Calling for citizens to take actions		8

These are some examples of the comments from Fesbuk Banten News:

**Asih Klorophi Thea** *ratu korupsi julukan yang cocok buat si anjing* (The queen of corruption is a suitable nickname for the dog) “

**Rere Septriachaa** *atuutt bisanya Cuma ngurusin muka aja dasar tukang korupp. Ngaca dong tuh muka udah ky muka babi* (Atuutt is only capable of taking care of her own face You are corruptors. See your own face in the mirror, it looks like the face of pig)”

**Windya Aqsanto** *dasar manusia rakus ehhy monyong idup lu cuma bentar di dunia dasar katro lu gak ada bedanya lu ma setan* (such a greedy human being, eehh ugly! Your life is short, what a freak, you are not as different as satan)

**Farhan Alwaini** *Satu keluarga najis semua emanq..... Idih dasar bodoh sampah neraka... ANJINGGGG ‘GA PERLU SENSOR* (this one family [Ratu Atut Family] is indeed disgusting..you are all morons..waste of hell)

**Blues Yoes** *Itu sumpahnya demi Allah loh...goblok amat.buah dari keserakahan... ngakunya mah islam jeh makan darah rakyat..iblis doank* (She took a vow in the name of Allah...very stupid...it was a result of her own greed..she claims herself as Muslim but sucking people’s blood... She is a devil)

Blues Yoes, a middle-aged man from Cilegon City, and one of the commentators in the flaming post above, intentionally flames (menghujat) Ratu Atut to express his anger and to provoke other citizens (warga) to resist corruption and the dynasty, as he says:

I see the conditions of Banten...there is no change at all..from when Banten was founded until now. We as citizens (warga) who care about Banten need to just speak up because our representatives do not represent citizens’ voices. I am not a member of representatives..what I can do is shout on Facebook..I must speak harshly to get attention..and provoke other citizen’s emotions..so

that they will speak up and have their voice to resist corruptions and dynasty (Interview on 22 October 2011).

In this sense, Blues Yoes considers his flaming as a strategic tool to affect other citizens to participate and have a voice against corruption and the dynasty. He believes that harsh, vitriolic and emotional words will provoke other citizens to join him and to behave and many seem to follow in a certain way. That is why the numbers of comments categorized as flaming are dominant in Fesbuk Banten News.

Meanwhile, comments in Wong Banten may not be as hostile as comments in Fesbuk Banten News (FBN), but they still show a flaming element in the form of sarcastic, humorous and even poetic comments. This is an example of such comment from Gol A Gong (Hendrayana Harris), a famous writer and also one of the most active members of Wong Banten:

#### **Gol A Gong**

*warga banten Sehat, pejabat Banten Maksiat*

*Warga Banten Eling, Pejabat Banten Maling*

(Citizens of Banten are healthy. Banten government officials are immoral.

Citizens of Banten are conscience, Banten government officials are thieves)

This comment is only one example of many sarcastic and poetic comments and postings from Gol A Gong. He explained that writing such comments or postings in Wong Banten as a part of his:

Moral and cultural movement as a citizen of Banten that is not involving direct engagement (*tidak terlibat langsung*) like demonstrations or getting involved in political parties... but affecting other people emotions. Somebody else has taken that part. As a writer and literacy activist, I use my pen, not my muscle to criticize the dynasty in social media, like Wong Banten. (Interview in 16 Agustus 2014)

As a part of this 'cultural movement', another active member of Wong Banten, Nur Baety, an entrepreneur woman, regularly makes postings and comments that criticize the dynasty's leadership and corruption. Interestingly, most of her postings were written in form of 'poetry', with lyrics and rhymes, as follow:



**Nur Baety**

*Ibu Ratu ..... (Mrs. Ratu)*

*Aku tidak benci kepadamu ,,,(I don't hate you)*

*Aku tidak dendam kepadamu .. (I don't (need to) revenge (for) you)*

*Aku cuma tidak simpatik ,,,( I just don't have sympathy for you)*

*Anti pati terhadap lakumu,, (My antipathy to your deeds)*

*lakumu sebagai pemimpin (Your acts as a leader)*

*atas amanah rakyatmu .. (On the trust of your people)*

*kau senangkan dirimu... (You make yourself happy)*

*kronimu , keluargamu ... (Your cronies your families)*

*tp tidak untuk rakyatmu ..(but not your people)*

*Ibu Ratu .... (Mrs. Ratu)*

*Bagiku engkau perempuan biasa (For me you are just an ordinary woman)*

*standart saja...(just an average)*

*Knowladge mu biasa ,,, (Your knowledge is limited)*

*prestasimu tanda tanya ...(Your achievements questionable)*

*karier politikmu seketika ., (Your political career is instant)*

*saat tahta dalam genggaman (Only when you keep the throne)*

*Ibu Ratu .... (Mrs. Ratu)*

*Aku kasian kepadamu...(I pity you)*

*ketika tahta kau genggam ..(When the throne is in your hand)*

*dengan segala keterbatasanmu ( with all your limitations)*

*orang2 disekelilingmu (people all around you)*

*Jika mereka menyayangimu (if they love you why they don't remind you)*

*kenapa mereka tidak mengingatkanmu ...*

*akan sebuah konsekwensi (about consequences)*

.....

Nur Baety said that she made poetry-like postings to convey messages that are more interesting, relaxed and easy to understand (and memorize):

I want to grab the attention of people or that of members of Wong Banten. To stimulate people feelings... so they will respond and support my criticisms toward the dynasty...Before the issue of corruption and dynasty appear in Wong Banten, I have already felt unsatisfied with Ratu Atut's and her dynasty's

leadership. The leaders must have beyond average abilities...Ratu Atut's and families simply do not have the qualities to be leaders..I feel restless about it.. and start makes postings criticizing Atut and dynasty's leadership.." (Interview on 4 September 2014).

Besides frequently commenting or posting in Wong Banten, Nur Baety also occasionally makes comments in Forum Warga Banten. Most of her and other members' comments in Forum Warga Banten are similar to those in Wong Banten, i.e. humorous and sarcastic. As it can be seen from these comments:

### Nur Baety

*memilih, daripada di Banten yang legislatut...bulshit semua..nggak mutu kerana rekrutmen asal asalan*

(to vote legislatut [a word play of 'legislative' and 'Atut'. it is mean a candidate of legislative members who are Ratu Atut's cronies]...all bullshit..they are not qualified because of bad recruitment)



(**Forum Warga** a witch...hehe hehhe)

Showing a photo of Ratu Atut's face with unnatural make-up.

### Khaeril Bowi

*Ratu Tubagus, muka atut selalu bagus..Atut Airin jalan butut di biarin wkwkw*

(Ratu Tubagus [Banten's nobility title used by Ratu Atut's family], Atut's face is always gorgeous...Atut Airin [Airin is a major of South Tangerang who also Ratu Atut's sister in law] damaged roads are ignored wkwk [this comment is following the form of traditional humorous poetry rhyme] )

Khaeril Bowi is a student activist from Serang who also joined a different Facebook group including Forum Warga Banten, and also Wong Banten. He explained that:

I am joining Facebook groups that have a lot of members...I like to make postings or comments that can make people emotional or angry toward the dynasty...and I believe that Banten people is basically 'keras' (tempered/rough), so they eventually will get angry..."(Interview, 17 September 2014)

This notion echoes what has been done and said by Blues Yoes ('to provoke other citizen's emotions'), Gol A Gong ('to affect other people's emotions') and Nur Baety ('to attract people feelings') above. In this sense, their emotional comments on corruption and dynasty in Fesbuk Banten News, Wong Banten, and Forum Warga Banten that I have categorized as digital acts of flaming can be considered as online indirect activism. And, it is parallels what Alexandrakis, (2016), in the context of the formation of resistant subjectivities among a group of young graffiti writers in Athens, Greece, has referred to as "indirect activism", which is: "the manifestation of a mode of resistance whose critical agents attempt to bring about their ambitions and visions by activating other groups to undertake resistance of their own" (Ibid: 274-275).

This term, online indirect activism, is also accounted for digital acts of reporting and sharing news on corruption described in the first sub-chapter above. The acts of reporting corruption practiced by Uday Suhada in Fesbuk Banten News are attempts to make corruption cases become a public concern and 'make people upset (meresahkan masyarakat)' so they will attract KPK's attention. Mang Ripin conducted different acts of reporting by posting photos as indirect references to some corruption allegation cases, that he believes can trigger people's attention and curiosity. Meanwhile, Sanusi and Agus Safari, through Wong Banten and Fesbuk Banten News, conducted acts of sharing news on corruption with a provocative introduction as attempts to provoke or activate other members to undertake their resistance against the corrupt dynasty.

## Digital Affective Citizenship

Digital acts performed on the three Facebook page and groups shown above, such as digital acts of reporting and sharing news on corruption and digital acts of flaming, are central to the constitution of citizenship (Isin and Nielsen, 2008),

or they can be seen as a digital act of citizenship (Isin and Ruppert, 2015). The digital act of citizenship, then, is defined as a set of digital acts that designate political subjects emerging from the encounter between citizens and the state (Isin & Ruppert, 2015). In the three Facebook page and groups studied, the citizen journalists of Fesbuk Banten News and members of Wong Banten and Forum Warga Banten express their sentiments through the digital acts of reporting and sharing news on corruption and finding emotional response from other citizens in the act of flaming. In this way, digital citizenship emerging from those digital acts filled with affects or emotion the encounter between citizens and state (or agent of state) through those three Facebook page and groups can be seen as a form of citizenship, that I called as digital affective citizenship.

The term affect that I use is to refer here to a general category of emotions and sensations, including embodied and sensory feelings that give us our perception of the world and that are used to enact and bring out worlds, subjects, and things. (Fortier, 2016: 1039). Following Sara Ahmed (2014), I consider the affect and emotions that are irreducibly entangled, as she writes that: ‘emotions... involve bodily processes of affecting and being affected’ (2014:208). Continuing from there, affect and emotions are simultaneously deeply felt and embodied as well as public (Ahmed, 2014; Berlant, 2011), and cannot be reduced to the realm of the personal and the subjective (e.g., Massumi, 2022: 28)

Digital affective citizenship represents an “agonistic form[s] of the contest as an alternative model of citizenship” (McCosker and John, 2013:189). Therefore, it does not represent the ‘rational’, ‘detached’ and ‘impartial’ notion of digital citizenship referred to the ability to participate in the everyday online environment effectively with an ethical and normative behavior (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2006: 199, Mossberger, et.al. 2007, McCosker, 2014). From the description above, and in line with studies by Wahl-Jorgensen (2006), Papacharissi (2009), Van Zoonen et.al (2010), Tong, (2015), McCosker and Johns (2014, 2016), I acknowledge that digital affective citizenship does not arise from rational, detached observation, but rather from the asset of shared emotions including anger, hate, disgust, and a sense of injustice. This emotional expression reflects the character of citizens who have less power and organizational/ leadership capacity, that can be seen from their online indirect activism, in effectively influencing or taking responsibility for political affairs of their polity, i.e. preventing the corrupt family form being re-elected.

## Conclusion

In this chapter, I have asked two main questions: how is anti-corruption activism in Banten being practiced online? And, secondly, what kind of citizenship does this online anti-corruption activism reflect?

The answer to the first question, as I have described above, is that online anti-corruption activism in Banten is practiced through digital acts of reporting and sharing news on corruption, and digital acts of flaming to resist the Banten political dynasty that deemed corrupt. Through these digital acts, activist-citizens of Banten are conducting, what I called: 'online indirect activism', which is a mode of resistance whose activist-citizens of Banten emotionally attempt to activate other citizens to initiate their own resistance.

For the second question, I have argued that the digital acts of reporting and sharing news on corruption have provoked readers and members of the three Facebook page and groups to perform digital acts of flaming toward the Banten political dynasty that regarded corrupt. Through these digital acts, activists-citizens of Banten direct their feelings of anger, hate, passion, and disgust about their corrupt leaders. Therefore, from these digital acts emerge a form of citizenship that I call digital affective citizenship. Digital affective citizenship reflects the characteristic of citizenship in Banten that is powerless angry citizens who lack of power and organizational capacity to curtail corrupt leaders and preventing them to be re-elected in the elections.

Digital affective citizenship, therefore, is about how citizens vent emotions in an 'affective public' (Papacharissi, 2014), and not about participating in or triggering off-line political actions to curtail corrupt leaders. And, the study about how, when, and why this online emotional activism can (and cannot) be transformed into significant off-line political mobilizations will be scrutinized in the next chapter.