



Collective Anger and Digital Mobilization: An Analysis of Social Movements in the Case of Mass Protests in Pati Regency, Indonesia, 2025

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze a social movement within the cases of mass protests that occurred in Pati Regency in 2025. This movement involved various social classes actors at the local level and was organized within a short timeframe. This study employed an observational method focused on online social media and discourse analysis approach. Data were obtained through digital media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and mainstream media. The findings show that, first, the social movement was grounded in collective anger toward the authorities' behavior, which was perceived as insensitive to public sentiment and aspirations. Consequently, the protest mobilized diverse segments of society. Second, digital media played a pivotal role in shaping collective behavior and mobilizing the social movement. Third, the protest movement is classified into three forms they are digital space indignation, massive logistical support provided by the local community, and direct protest actions against the Regent. These actions also involved instances of violent conflict. The collective anger in the mass protests of Pati Regency reflects an evolving public sentiment that is formed and digitally distributed. Moreover, the protest signifies mass indignation toward a political system that tends toward authoritarianism. This study contributes to the study of new social movements and offers practical insights for policymakers by providing an understanding of how the dynamics of collective emotion specifically public anger can evolve into organized social movements through digital networks.

Keywords: *Social Movement, Collective Anger, Digital Mobilization.*

INTRODUCTION

The collective outrage and the emergence of social movements in Pati in 2025 beyond political issues. It represent a serious social phenomenon recently confronted by communities across nearly all of Indonesia. This wave of indignation and protest had previously been directed toward the House of Representatives (DPR) in 2025. The massive scale of public participation warrants careful examination, as the movement underwent rapid social mobilization, swiftly coalescing into protest actions followed by significant surges of demonstrators. Sociologically, this movement was mediated by digital media, which accelerated its escalation into organized forms of protest. The advent of the digital era has redefined social movements, altering how society articulates grievances, fosters solidarity, and orchestrates protests (Saroj et al., 2026). Digital media serves as a vital space for the formation of collective emotions that trigger organized collective action. The collective anger of the Pati community emerged as a consequence of perceived injustice and disappointment toward political elites. Various elite behaviors, perceived as insensitive to the populace, spread extensively through digital networks and evolved into the foundation for social mobilization.

Research on social movements and their relationship with digital media can be categorized into three primary focal points. First, studies that examine social media as a tool for coordinating collective action. These studies emphasize that the rapid dissemination of information facilitates the organization of protests without the need for rigid, formal organizational structures (Theocharis et al., 2021; Tufekci, 2020). Second, research that positions social media as an arena for discourse formation and the framing of social issues. This body of work asserts that activists and the public produce narratives, shape public perceptions of

injustice, and consolidate support for movements through digital communication practices such as hashtag activism and online campaigns (Jackson et al., 2020; Freelon et al., 2020). Third, research focusing on the evolving nature of social movements within the digital landscape. This body of work underscores the transition from traditional hierarchical models to decentralized, horizontal frameworks that allow for more extensive individual engagement. Nevertheless, these developments are accompanied by inherent challenges, namely slacktivism and the fragmentation of movements (Bennett & Segerberg, 2019; Gerbaudo, 2022).

The existing literatures above underscores that scholarly attention remains largely focused on social media's role in facilitating collective coordination and restructuring social movements. However, in this study, digital mobilization is examined as the primary instrumental basis for protest movements driven by digital virality. This research aims to analyze the emergence of mass anger and large-scale social movements at the local level, even though these localized movements reflect broader structural issues within Indonesia's social and political landscape. Collective anger constitutes an essential factor in analyzing social movements (Jasper, 2018; Wahlström, Kocyba, De Vydt, & de Moor, 2019). Moreover, such social protests can be interpreted as manifestations of broader structural problems, wherein society seeks to express demands for justice and social change through various forms of collective mobilization (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015).

This study argues that the collective anger and social movements in Pati community in 2025 beyond political contestation. It represents a form of social tension arising from unequal power relations between citizens and authorities. Power imbalances, as urged by De Moor et al. (2020) and Górska (2022), as conditions in which the public perceives political institutions as failing to perform their representative and accountability functions fairly. These disparities are characterized as structural conditions where economic dominance, cultural norms, or social hierarchies impede equal representation, including the failure of institutions to respond to public aspirations. In this context, collective anger serves as a response to power structures and functions as a mechanism for public articulation.

Theoretical Framework

The study of social movements was initially understood through the framework of collective action which emphasizes the importance of formal organizations, leadership, and resource coordination as primary prerequisites for the process of mass mobilization. This perspective developed strongly within traditional social movement theories particularly resource mobilization (Buechler, 2021). The resource mobilization approach posits that the success of a social movement depends heavily on an organization's capacity to manage resources, establish leadership structures, and execute strategic coordination among participants (Bimber and Stohl, 2020). In this context, mass mobilization generally occurs through formal organizations such as labor unions, political parties, or civil society organizations that possess hierarchical structures and more coordinated collective strategies.

However, the development of digital media technology over the past two decades has significantly transformed the dynamics of mobilization within social movements. Social media platforms allow individuals to connect, disseminate information, and express political stances more rapidly and extensively without relying on formal organizations. In this context, Bennett and Segerberg (2019) urge the concept of connective action, a form of social movement mediated by digital media and characterized by more personal, flexible, and decentralized participation. Under the logic of connective action, mobilization no longer depends entirely on strong organizations, but rather on the ability of digital networks to connect individuals through shared narrative constructs, hashtags, or viral content that spreads rapidly (Bennett & Segerberg, 2019).

The primary difference between collective action and connective action lies in their coordination mechanisms and the resulting forms of participation. Collective action tends to rely on a collective identity constructed by formal organizations and structured mobilization strategies. In contrast, connective action emphasizes individual expression linked through digital platforms, allowing for more fluid participation that is not necessarily tied to specific organizational structures. In this context, social media serves as a communication infrastructure that enables the rapid and widespread dissemination of collective emotions, issue framing, and action coordination. In recent years, the connective action framework has been widely used to explain various social movements mediated by digital technology across the globe. Research indicates that social media plays a crucial role in accelerating information dissemination, amplifying collective emotions, and facilitating spontaneous mass mobilization (Joyne & Kumar, 2025). In the Southeast Asian context, these dynamics are also evident in numerous social movements that utilize digital media as a means of mobilization, such as the pro-democracy movements in Thailand (Charoenthansakul

& Natee, 2023) and civil society mobilization in Philippines (Sinpeng, 2021). These studies demonstrate that social media functions not only as a communication tool but also as a space for producing political narratives and fostering digital solidarity that can trigger collective action in public spaces.

The case of public protests in the Pati Regency can be understood through the theoretical framework of connective action. This is because the mobilization did not rely entirely on formal organizations or rigid leadership structures. Instead, the movement evolved through digital communication networks particularly platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, Twitter, and other mainstream media which enabled the rapid and the widespread dissemination of content, narratives, and expressions of collective anger. Digital content such as short videos, political memes, and campaign hashtags played a crucial role in building emotional resonance among the public and expanding participation in the movement. The position of this study lies in the point that the protest dynamics closely reflect the characteristics of connective action rather than the classic collective action model. Furthermore, this study emphasizes that digital mobilization as instrumental basis for protest movements driven by digital virality. In this regard, this position both diverges from and complements existing research on social movements in particular and in Southeast Asia in general.

METHOD

A study on collective anger and digital mobilization during the 2025 Pati protests employed two primary methods. The first, social media observation. The second, discourse analysis. Visual observation of social movements emerging through campaigns on TikTok, Instagram, and mainstream media (online representation) aimed to uncover data revealing how patterns of public morality discourse are constructed. Meanwhile, discourse analysis was employed to interpret the forms of representation and framing within social networks specifically X, TikTok, Instagram, and mainstream media. These discourses are not only reproduced through verbal utterances but also through visual representations designed to demonstrate the 'magnitude' or scale of mass power in the demonstrations, as well as the moral messages embedded for political interests, particularly by the movement's actors.

Data collection was conducted by observing various social media content specifically on X (Twitter), TikTok, and Instagram as well as reports from mainstream media. This observation focused on diverse forms of protest representation, including video posts, images, slogans, hashtags, and narratives related to the Pati community protests. Furthermore, the study examined digital campaigns within social media spaces as part of the mass mobilization and public solidarity-building process. The gathered data encompasses visual content, text, and digital representations illustrating the dynamics of information dissemination, public support, and the articulation of collective anger in digital spaces. The data was collected throughout 2025, a period during which the intensity of public discourse regarding the Pati community protests experienced a significant increase across both social and online media. This study analyzes approximately 120 units of digital content, comprising short-form videos, social media posts, and high-engagement tweets (likes, comments, and shares). Out of this total, 40 TikTok videos, 35 Instagram posts, and 45 tweets (X) were qualitatively analyzed to identify narrative patterns, collective emotional expressions, and forms of digital mobilization emerging within the movement's discourse. These contents were selected using a purposive sampling technique, considering their virality, relevance to protest issues, and connection to public mobilization narratives.

The observed social media accounts met the following criteria: first, consistent posting of content related to the Pati community protests. Second, high interaction rates within public discussions on the topic. Third, a significant role in disseminating specific narratives or framing of the movement. These criteria ensure the data accurately reflects the digital discourse dynamics within the online public space. The data was subsequently analyzed using a discourse analysis approach to interpret the representations and narratives emerging in public conversations. This analysis aims to understand how discourses on public morality, protest legitimacy, and critiques of political elites are constructed and disseminated. Additionally, it focuses on how visual representations in social media campaigns are utilized to demonstrate the 'magnitude' of mass strength and to establish moral messages that serve as the movement's legitimacy.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Collective anger refers to a shared emotional outburst within a large group. This phenomenon is triggered by various contexts, primarily relating to economic frustration, a sense of social injustice, and disillusionment with political elites (Laoutides, 2024). Collective anger does not cease as a mere emotional expression rather it can evolve into demonstrations, protest actions, and various other forms of symbolic resistance. This process is amplified by burgeoning narratives alongside the presence of digital media. Through social media platforms, digital media accelerates the dissemination of emotion and fast-tracks the

construction of solidarity networks based on perceived shared experiences. This context is elucidated in the findings of this study. The results section of this study first reviews the background of how the Pati community movement emerged, underwent escalation, and articulated its protests.

Mass Anger and the Advent of Protest Movements

The mass anger that catalyzed the wave of protest movements was rooted in a context of accumulated collective dissatisfaction regarding social, economic, and political policy conditions. This resentment did not emerge spontaneously. Rather, it developed through a series of institutional failures in responding to various public aspirations. In the context of the Pati community, this public outrage escalated as it was amplified by the logic of information dissemination across digital media. The protest movement arose from the viral spread of a video featuring the Regent of Pati's statements and attitude during a meeting with residents concerning development issues and public aspirations. In the widely circulated footage, the Regent's response was perceived by the public as a form of arrogance and a lack of sensitivity toward citizens' grievances, epitomized by a defiant remark toward the community "let alone 5,000, even against 50,000, I shall not falter."



Picture 1. Video of the Regent issuing a challenge to members of the public who oppose his policies.
Source: <https://www.youtube.com/shorts/WXx7xUcfy6Q>

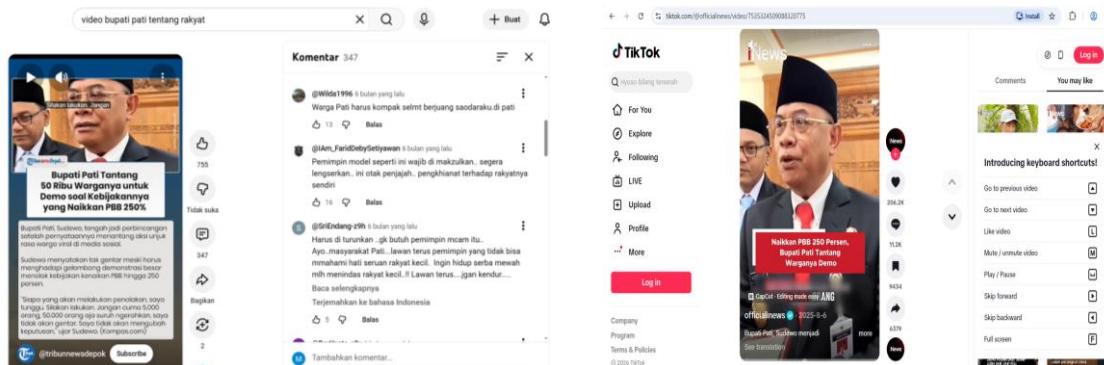
Based on the aforementioned video footage, historically, the public protest movement in Pati Regency originated from the local government's policy to increase rural and urban land and building tax (PBB-P2) rates. This increase reached a significant magnitude of up to 250 percent. The public responded to this policy by asserting a firm rejection of the measure. Furthermore, the situation was exacerbated by the response and statements from the Regent of Pati, who challenged the public and invited them to demonstrate with crowds ranging from 5,000 to even 50,000 of people. These remarks served as a psychological catalyst, provoking a public reaction and mobilizing concrete collective action.

Regarding to the Regent's policy and response, the initial stage of this case reflected a localized context, confined to the face-to-face interaction between the local government and the community. However, this context was captured and disseminated through social media, causing the localized event to transition into broader public consumption. This medium shift from physical to digital space served as the catalyst for the escalation of public outrage and the emergence of protest movements in the physical realm. Video footage of the Regent's response circulated through the social media accounts of citizens present at the meeting, which was subsequently and rapidly replicated by other users across various platforms, including Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, and Twitter/X. Fragments of the video content were repackaged into a more concise, dramatic, and shareable format. This repurposing process plays a pivotal role in shaping public perception, as media logic dictates that audiences predominantly consume short clips that highlight specific expressions or statements deemed problematic (Klinger, 2018). Consequently, a collective narrative of arrogance began to solidify. In the subsequent phase, mainstream media outlets also amplified the issue, thereby reinforcing and expanding the scope of both regional and national discourse. The intervention of mainstream media legitimized the issue, elevating it into a more substantial discourse. Public indignation escalated in tandem with the rising intensity of comments, critiques, and expressions of resentment across social media platforms.

Based on the aforementioned data, the findings indicate that netizens condemned and scrutinized the Regent's statement. Furthermore, this widespread condemnation reflects a shared collective experience regarding a bureaucratic system perceived as unresponsive. Within this context, the case underwent a dynamic shift, transforming from a singular event into a symbol of broader structural issues and emphasizing the power relations between public officials and civil society. The protest movement, in other words, reflects an alignment with evolving public sentiments that are formed and disseminated digitally. Digital distribution contributes to expanding the reach and deepening the intensity of mass indignation. In this regard, social media functions as an accelerator that hastens the transformation of issues from the digital sphere into protest movements in physical spaces.

The Transformation of Digital Outrage into Protest Movements

Protest movements represent a form of collective action undertaken by social groups to articulate dissatisfaction and demand changes in policies or power structures. Within the study of New Social Movements, protests are conceptualized as part of a repertoire of collective action (Kann et al., 2023; Grippo, 2025). The mass mobilization in the form of protest movements within the Pati community has been profoundly influenced by digital media acting as a movement medium. The dissemination of information regarding unilateral government policies concerning land taxes and development served as the primary catalyst for public indignation. This anger underwent an escalation and transformation from virtual spaces into physical ones. Within the digital realm, public resentment was constructed across various platforms through video uploads, conversation screenshots, and narratives reshared by social media users. In this context, digital media serves as a vehicle for articulating public outrage toward the conduct of public officials and their treatment of community aspirations. Interactions comprising comments, shares, reposts, and online discussions strengthened cyber-solidarity among social media users, effectively shaping public opinion regarding the ongoing case.



Picture 2. Digital public discourse and the engagement metrics including likes, shares, and comments on YouTube and TikTok platforms.

Source: Tribunnewsdepok.com,

<https://www.youtube.com/shorts/cdfyGPq7ewE>

Source:

<https://www.tiktok.com/@officialnews/video/7535324509088320775>

The aforementioned footage was uploaded by @tribunnewsdepok, garnering 387,000 views and 347 comments characterized by narratives of indignation and criticism. Meanwhile, on a mainstream media platform, Liputan 6, the content accumulated 492 comments and 99,000 views. One notable comment from a user, @MulyanaraRawahil, stated: *"Hayo kompak smua warga pati kumpulkan 50ribu injk2 itu bupati sombong bgituh omonganya nantang bukan mikirin rakyat malah ngyek rakyate ikimah nantang rakyat e jarene ra wdi"* (urging Pati residents to unite against the regent's perceived arrogance and defiant attitude toward the people). Another sentiment was captured from @DarYanto-s8v: *"lengserke wae nggo opo di pilih wong ngrekasake rakyate seng mbayar Dewe e Ki duite sopo"* (suggesting the leader's removal for burdening the taxpayers). Furthermore, @budeemarkheylmun3585 posted: *"Pancen njalok di tapok cangkemme iku cak... maju terus Rakyat Pati"* (expressing solidarity and anger from East Java regarding the controversial policy). Additionally, data from TikTok indicates significant engagement, with 11,200 comments, 6,379 shares, and 206,200 likes.

The massive influx of broadcasts and commentary across digital media encompassing both mainstream and social media platforms serves as the primary catalyst for actualizing protest movements at the Regent's (Bupati) office. In this context, the protest movement reflects a transformation of grievances from digital spaces into the physical realm. Digital spaces function as the infrastructure for fostering social support and driving collective mobilization in the form of real-world demonstrations. Such mobilization bridges individuals with shared emotional sentiments and expands the issue's reach to a broader public audience. In the transition from digital media to physical spaces, the legitimacy of the action is derived from the perception of widespread support on social media. Actors within the movement perceive themselves not as isolated individuals, but as representatives of a larger public voice. This perception of collectivity serves as a cornerstone of solidarity, while social media provides the mass support that reinforces the motivation for street-level activism. The participants in this movement comprise a diverse demographic, spanning both genders and various age groups.



Picture 3. The donation movement by the people of Pati and a session of mass prayer
Source: Social media content from various sources, processed by the author (2026)

Social movements in the case of the Pati community protests are manifested in two distinct forms. First, the protest actions are characterized by massive donations, evidenced by the accumulation of boxed mineral water along the sidewalks in front of the Regency Office (Pendopo) and the Pati Great Square (*alun-alun*). This movement is further marked by religious actions, specifically through communal prayers conducted by the local community. These actions reflect the engagement of collective identity and serve to fortify the social movement.

Secondly, the protest movement at the Pati Regent's office marked the pinnacle of escalation, stemming from a collective indignation that had previously accumulated through various forms of digital media expression. This movement evolved to mobilize masses from diverse societal strata, directly targeting the center of local government authority. The presence of the masses within governmental institutional spaces signifies a public effort to demand policy changes, specifically the revocation of land and building tax increases, and even the removal of the Regent from office. Consequently, the demands within this protest movement exerted a more tangible political pressure on policymakers. Within the framework of social movement theory (...), this stage can be understood as an intensification of collective action, wherein shared emotions, social solidarity, and perceived injustice drive the community toward more confrontational and visible actions in the public sphere. Furthermore, the conducted protest reflects the conflictual relationship between the public and the local government, illustrating how collective emotions and political momentum interact to forge a more robust intensity within social movements.



Picture 4. Mass protest against the Regent of Pati, 2025
Source: Social media content from various sources, processed by the author (2026)

The aforementioned visual data depicts the evolution of social protest dynamics as they transition from digital spaces to broad-scale physical mobilization. The protest reflects a complex nexus between activists and security apparatuses, manifested through acts of violence notably the assault on the Regent with footwear and high-tension interactions involving negotiation and direct advocacy in volatile conditions. Collectively, these scenarios encapsulate the confrontational phase of the movement, wherein collective dissatisfaction is externalized through physical engagement and immediate political pressure.

The transformation of digital resentment into mass action underscores the role of social media as a potent instrument for mass mobilization. Digital media accelerates the conversion of collective emotion into tangible action. The widespread dissemination of footage containing the Regent's statements responded to by the digital public through comments, shares, and likes has solidified the 'arrogant' label attributed to the figure. On other social platforms, such as Twitter and Instagram, this dissemination intensified through the use of hashtags. These hashtags emerge in online discourse as a primary tool for consolidation; by adopting uniform hashtags, the digital community constructs a virtual space centered on criticism and articulation. Furthermore, hashtags facilitate searchability, expand visibility, and propel video content toward viral and trending status. At this juncture, as an issue attains trending status, its social legitimacy increases as it is perceived as a matter of broad public concern. Ultimately, this process reinforces the emotional dimension of digital anger, facilitating its transition into the physical sphere.

Making sense of Collective Anger, Digital Media and Mass Protest

The collective anger and the emergence of massive protest movements by the community in Pati reflect a phenomenon that goes beyond political issues. As the data reveals, these movements stem from public outrage against government's attitudes and behaviors which tend to appear arrogant and insensitive to public sentiment. This resentment is manifested through protest actions, which are facilitated by the process of digital media mediatization. Digital media plays a pivotal role in shaping collective behaviour and mobilizing the social movements. The framing and mobilization through digital platforms is highly effective within the dynamics of movement, which can minimize resource requirements, reduce coordination costs, amplify collective emotions, and facilitate strategic narrative framing (Hoffmann et al., 2024; Schaaf & Quiring, 2023). Platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and other mainstream media have fundamentally transformed the dynamics of social movements, enabling the rapid dissemination of information and the formation of protest (Bennett, & Segerberg, 2019). This effectiveness is rooted in several interconnected mechanisms that leverage the unique capabilities of digital spaces.

The collective anger and digital mobilization in the case of mass protests in pati regency reflect several core arguments. First, protest movements involving broad segments of society are driven by more accessible mobilization, where coordination and communication costs for actors are neither time-consuming nor prohibitively expensive. Digital platforms enable instantaneous and widespread message dissemination thereby reducing reliance on the formal organizational structures that previously characterized in conventional/old social movements. This condition facilitates what is termed as "connective action," that is a situation in which individuals can contribute to a movement without prior involvement in complex organizational processes, rather through content sharing and the use of hashtags.

Second, there is the amplification of collective emotions, particularly moral outrage and empathy. Social media content including images and videos depicting injustice and the perceived arrogance of public officials spread rapidly and trigger potent emotional responses among users, fostering a shared sense of grievance and collective anger. The process of emotional contagion strengthens collective identification and compels individuals to engage in concerted action. Third, narrative framing and the legitimization of protest movements. Actors within these movements leverage digital platforms to redefine issues pertaining to land taxation and development, thereby influencing public perception and shaping the mainstream media agenda. Through this framing process, social movements garner broader support and articulate their demands more effectively.

The findings of this study also demonstrate that collective anger in the case of the Pati community protests is a part of the dynamics of affective publics public formations connected through the expression of emotions within digital spaces. Affective publics are groups formed through the circulation of feelings and emotional narratives mediated by digital technology, where emotion serves as the basis for connectivity and political participation (Lünenborg et al., 2024). In this context, emotion is no longer merely individual; rather, it functions as a social mechanism that bridges personal experiences with the broader public sphere. This can be observed in the protest actions against the 250% increase in land and building tax (PBB-P2) policy, which served as the foundation for collective anger and the emergence of the protest movement. Digital content, such as narrative videos of injustice and public commentary, underscores how emotions

are produced, circulated, and amplified through digital platform mechanisms. In this regard, within the framework of affective publics, public emotions are transformed into a movement force (political capital) that drives social mobilization. Emotion serves as a central element in shaping public opinion, collective mobilization, and influencing policy processes (Stempel, 2025). In other words, the collective anger in the Pati protest case can be understood as a form of digitally organized political energy. Collective emotion acts as a medium that bridges personal experiences with structural issues, while simultaneously enabling the formation of horizontal solidarity among citizens (Gerbaudo, 2022).

The findings of this study differ from existing research. Previous studies have primarily focused on the emphasis placed by the media on social movements as a tool for coordinating collective action (Theocharis et al., 2021; Tufekci, 2020), as an arena for discourse formation and the framing of social issues (Jackson et al., 2020; Freelon et al., 2020) and the transition from traditional hierarchical models to decentralized movement (Bennett & Segerberg, 2019; Gerbaudo, 2022). However, the findings of this study show and emphasize that social movements manifested through protests stem from mass resentment toward the behavior of government authorities, while digital media as an element of mediatization serves to drive the intensification of this widespread anger. Given the potential and massive against the government, manifested not only among the people of Pati but also within the context of the House of Representatives, both unfolding in the same year, 2025, is essential for policymakers to maintain effective political communication with the public, particularly in contexts where the population is facing economic pressure. Under such circumstances, various forms of violence directed toward the state may arise. Therefore, structural reforms are profoundly necessary to foster a strong social cohesion between the government and its citizens.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the emergence of mass protest movements in Pati Regency in 2025 is inextricably linked to the dynamics of collective anger developing within the community. This resentment was triggered by public perceptions of the behavior of power-holding authorities, who were deemed insensitive to the values, aspirations, and sense of justice of the people. This condition demonstrates how collective emotions can transform into social energy that drives widespread public mobilization. Such anger is not merely individual in nature; rather, it evolves into a shared sentiment held by various social groups across different classes. In this context, the protest movement reflects a crisis in the relationship between the community and political authorities at the local level, where public trust in the representation of power has undergone significant erosion. Furthermore, this research affirms that digital media played a strategic role in shaping, expanding, and mobilizing collective anger into organized protest movements, particularly on platforms such as X (Twitter) and Instagram. These platforms serve as discursive spaces where public sentiments are produced, exchanged, and rapidly amplified through digital networks.

In this context, digital media functions as a mobilization infrastructure that enables information, narratives, and collective emotions to spread extensively within a short period. Public outrage undergoes an amplification process that drives the formation of social solidarity and massive collective action. The protest movement by the people of Pati exhibits variants of collective action that can be identified in three forms: expressions of anger in the digital space, massive logistical mobilization by local communities, and direct protest actions against those in power. These three forms of movement demonstrate that contemporary social movements do not only take place in physical spaces but also evolve simultaneously in the digital realm. Furthermore, the protest movement within the social movement process is confronted with a series of violent encounters between citizens and state apparatus.

This study has limitations, particularly in its methodological context, as the data are sourced from digital media and mainstream news reports; consequently, the analysis focuses on discourse representation and public expressions emerging within digital spaces. Therefore, this research does not fully capture the internal dynamics of the movement's organization, including mobilization strategies, actor networks, and internal decision-making processes. Nevertheless, these limitations serve as recommendations for future research on new social movements, especially regarding actor networks, social media, and social movements. This study is expected to enrich the literature on new social movement studies and provide practical contributions for policymakers by offering insights into how the dynamics of collective emotions specifically public anger can evolve into organized social movements through digital networks. The primary orientation is to ensure that violence arising within a movement does not spiral across various aspects.

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