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Social Media & Organizational Management of Contemporary Socio-Cultural Movement: An Instrumental Case Study of *Akademi Berbagi* in Indonesia

Abstract

The rise of the internet and social media has promoted the evolution of a new form of social movement in Indonesia, one that has predominantly promoted socio-cultural, rather than political change. However, many of these movements have continued to face the classic challenges of social movements, particularly consistency and sustainability. As such, a number of movements have dissolved as they have been unable to accumulate and allocate their resources. This article has taken on internet-based social movement, Akademi Berbagi (Akber), for an instrumental case study. Akber is a movement that has emerged and been active almost wholly through Twitter, with its main goal being to promote socio-cultural change at the individual level, particularly in the field of education. This article seeks to analyse the organizational management of Akber, referring specifically to its organizational efforts and strategies to accumulate and allocate its resources. Data were collected through interviews and online/offline observations, as well as investigation of the digital documents from the official social media accounts of Akber and its members. This research finds that the optimal management of socio-cultural movements such as Akber relies on several factors, including the use of various internet platforms, the loose federal organizational structure, the movement's ability to avoid the trap of pseudo-support, and the ability to respond to external changes.

Keywords: Social media, organizational management, socio-cultural movements, movement resources, Indonesia

1. Introduction

The number of social movements that have been initiated and mobilized through internet and social media has increased significantly along with the rapid development of the internet and social media sites, both in Indonesia and around the globe, (Lim, 2013; Molaei, 2015;

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Harlow & Harp, 2012). The internet, with various advantages over old media (McQuail, 2010; Flew, 2005; Dijk, 2005), has facilitated the organization of old movements and given rise to new social movements that make full use of technology for their activities (Laer & Aelst, 2010; Molaei, 2015). In Indonesia, internet use has increased significantly, reaching 143 million users (54% of the total population) in 2017 (APJII, 2017). As such, Indonesia is the democracy with the largest number of internet users in Southeast Asia. This has distinguished the internet-based movements of Indonesia from earlier movements, as they predominantly work towards socio-cultural goals rather than political and structural ones. Another important difference lies in these new movements' organizational management, including their accumulation and allocation of resources. Recognizing the significant divide in resource management between old and new movements, this article will analyse the organizational management of an internet-based socio-cultural movement in Indonesia.

Internet-based social movements in Indonesia have taken up a wide range of causes, including education, urban farming, traffic congestion, healthcare, poverty, and even alms. In the field of education, for example, various movements have been established and organized through social media, including Akademi Berbagi (Sharing Academy), Coin a Change, and Save Street Child (SSC). Akademi Berbagi is a movement that primarily provides free informal classes; Coin a Change is a movement that collects spare change to help children who have dropped out of school (See http://coinachance.com); while SSC focuses on educating street children (See https://twitter.com/savestreetchild?lang=en). To deal with traffic congestion, the *nebengers* movement was initiated on Twitter before transitioning to an Android and iOS-based application (See http://www.nebengers.com/tentang-nebengers.). Another movement, Indonesia Berkebun (Indonesia Farms), has focused on environmental issues, particularly urban farming (See http://indonesiaberkebun.org.). Other movements have had a religious background, such as Sedekah Rombongan (Group Alms), which asks sympathizers to donate money (alms) to help the needy (See http://www.sedekahrombongan.com). There are also the two movements that have most widely attracted attention in discussing the relationship between the internet, social media, and social movements in Indonesia: Gerakan Koin untuk Prita (Coins for Prita) and Gerakan Satu Juta Facebookers Dukung Bibit-Chandra (One Million Facebookers for Bibit Chandra) (Lim, 2013; Seto, 2017; Nugroho & Syarief, 2012; Molaei, 2015). However, these two movements have political goals that are different from the socio-cultural movement that is the focus of this research.

Among the main challenges faced by many social movements, including the internet-based socio-cultural movements in Indonesia, are consistency and sustainability. Based on the resource mobilization perspective, the unsustainability or failure of a movement may be caused by its inability to optimally accumulate and allocate resources (Klandermans, 2005). In the context of internet-based movements, failure occurs when a movement is unable to connect its online and offline activities (Harlow & Harp, 2012). A movement may, for example, have hundreds or thousands of supporters on its official Twitter and Facebook account, but only a few who are willing to become involved in its offline actions. In such a case, there is a divide between the movement's supporters and its activities. Internet-based movements, including in Indonesia, must deal with problems such as slacktivism or clicktivism (Lim, 2013; Nugroho & Syarif, 2012; Halupka, 2018). Furthermore, the digital divide poses a complex structural problem for such movements (Molaei, 2015), and is a major obstacle in the management of contemporary internet-based movements.

This article seeks to analyze the organizational management of internet-based socio-cultural movements in Indonesia by using Akber as an instrumental case study. Akber is one of the numerous internet-based socio-cultural movements established in Indonesia through Twitter. After its founding in 2010, Akber was able to recruit thousands of participants with hundreds of volunteers and establish branches in fifty Indonesian cities. It was not, however, free of the common problems of internet-based social movements, namely movement sustainability and consistency, as well as broader issues of organizational management. From its peak of fifty branches, over time Akber has decreased in size. Seven years after its founding, it has branches in only 21 Indonesian cities.

More specifically, this article focuses on Akber's accumulation and allocation of the movement's resources. Aside from examining Akber's strategies for resource accumulation, it also looks at the structure evolution of the movement since its founding and the management issues it has faced. Previous research into internet and social media-based movements have tended to use socio-political movements as their research objects (see Theocharis, et al., 2015; Anduiza, Cristancho, & Sabucedo, 2013; Soon & Cho, 2014; Breuer, Landman, & Farquhar, 2015; Lim, 2013; Nugroho & Syarief, 2012; Molaei, 2015). As such, by exploring the organizational management of a socio-cultural movement such as Akber, this research can enrich the literature and promote further discussion of the organizational management of contemporary internet-based socio-cultural movements, particularly in an emerging country such as Indonesia with its rapidly growing of internet user.

2. Mobilization and Communications in Social Movements

Diani and McAdam (2002) define social movements as informal action networks of multiple individuals, groups, or associations, who are united in political or cultural conflict by their shared collective identity. Wilson (1973), meanwhile, holds that social movements are conscious endeavours by groups of people who work together in an organized fashion to achieve a specific goal and thereby promote or defend against changes in society. McCarthy and Zald (1977), on the other hand, argue that social movements are collections of opinions and beliefs that represent a preferred change in elements of the social structure. Singh (2010) defines social movements as sets of actions that are used by a collective to oppose its enemies and promote specific long-term and short-term goals.

Definitions of social movements are, indeed, varied (Suharko, 2006). However, generally speaking, these definitions can be categorized based on their theoretical perspectives: the collective behaviour perspective, the resource mobilization perspective, the political opportunity perspective, and the identity orientation perspective (Klandermans, 2005). Each perspective has a different emphasis in its examination and analysis of social movements. This research holds that social movements can be understood through these four perspectives because social movements can emerge from dissatisfaction, the availability of resources, changing political opportunities, or from social reconstructions of meaning (Klandermans, 2005). For its more specific needs, this research applies the theory of resource mobilization as its main point of consideration, without discarding the other perspectives.

According to the resource mobilization perspective, social movements are mobilization systems that are organized rationally, meaning that the individuals in social movements cannot be viewed as irrational entities (as in the collective behaviour perspective; Cohen, 1985).

A social movement will be successful or will meet its goals if it is able to optimally mobilize its resources to promote its organizational interests. The fundamental assumption of the resource mobilization perspective is that contemporary movements require sophisticated means of organization and communication (Singh, 2010). In social movements, communication – both direct and mediated – is simultaneously a tool of resource mobilization and a structure interaction with external groups (Donk et al, 2005). Communication plays a role in all of a social movement's processes; for example, persuasive communication is important in movements' social construction of collective action frameworks (Klandermans, 2005). As such, communications and media technology have an important role in social movements' mobilization (Lievrouw, 2011); they have become increasingly important for contemporary social movements, and not only because of their instrumental value (Porta, 2011). From a resource mobilization perspective, communication technology – particularly media and information technology – is an important resource that can be exploited by movements to disseminate information to involved actors, frame issues, and inform/persuade its targets (Lievrouw, 2011). According to Castells (2015, p. 15), "the characteristics of communication processes between individuals engaged in the social movement determine the organizational characteristics of the social movement itself".

3. Internet, Social Media, and Organizational Management of Social Movements

The internet is an important resource for contemporary social movements. The internet has transformed the ambitions and capacities of social movements, as well as the means through which activists communicate, collaborate, and protest (Porta, 2011; Garret, 2014). According to Castells (2015), social movements using internet technology are networked social movements that represent a new species of social movement. As the internet has evolved and found widespread use, it has proven useful for disseminating movements' ideas, recruiting participants and volunteers, establishing coalitions, conducting lobbying, communicating, and campaigning (Donk et al, 2005; Brunsting & Postmes, 2002). The internet, including social media websites, has had a number of benefits for social movements, as it has – among other things – provided space for interaction, promoted equality, eliminated intermediaries, reduced costs, and fulfilled the need for co-presence, among various other benefits (Garret, 2006; Theocharis, et al., 2014; Lee, 2015). The internet not only provides a channel for transforming the information in movements but also become a practical space for social movements to be born and grow (Lievrouw, 2011). According to Edwards (2004), the internet is a powerful tool for movement-building, fundraising, information collection, and volunteer recruitment and mobilization.

Aside from recognizing the influence of the internet in general, various studies have also shown the significance of social networking sites (SNS) such as Facebook and microblogging sites such as Twitter to social movements (Harlow & Harp, 2012; Harned & Zahuranec, 2017; Lim, 2013; Breuer, Landman, & Farquhar, 2015; Khondker, 2011). Social media has contributed importantly to increased participation in social movements (Boulianne, 2015). As Lim (2013, p. 640) explains, "social media provides a space for individuals, especially the youth, to participate in the act of consumption as well as in the production and distribution of ideas, knowledge, and culture". Nonetheless, according to Nugroho and Syarif (2012. p.

13), "… on the one hand, social media provides a relatively new potential platform for the citizens to engage with politics. On the other, there are pressing challenges that may hinder them from fully benefiting from the opportunity".

The role of the internet and social media in social movements has been seen not only with optimism but also through a more realistic or perspective. Some researchers have argued that social media has not significantly affected the dynamics and growth of social movements, as widely touted (Morozov, 2011). Others, meanwhile, have shown that the internet and other platforms have brought change to the dynamics of social movements and collective action, but within certain limits. Laer and Aelst (2010, p. 1146) explain that "with the internet, social movements have not become a more powerful force in society. But […] the internet has enabled social movements to follow that transition and operate more globally".

In the literature on social movements, particularly that on resource mobilization, the concept of social movement organizations (SMOs) has a special position. It is one of the most popular, and yet most ambiguous, concepts in social movement studies (Porta & Diani, 2006). McCarthy and Zald (1977) define social movement organizations as formal and complex organizations that set their goals based on the preferred goals of their social movements or those of opposed social movements and work towards realizing said goals. Another definition holds that social movement organizations are organizations that accumulate resources from their surroundings and allocate them to achieve their goals (Porta, 2011).

Social movement organizations (SMOs) can be divided into two categories: social movement organizations with isolated structures and federal structures (Klandermans, 2005). Movements with isolated structures are those that do not have (local) branches, while the opposite is true for movements with federal structures. Federal structures can be further categorized, based on their level of decentralization and autonomy, into loose federal structures, pyramid structures, and centralized structures (Klandermans, 2005). Porta and Diani (2006) offer a model of social movement organizations that consists of professional movement organizations and participatory movement organizations. Each theoretical approach to social movement organizations seems to attribute a different meaning to them (Klandermans, 2005). The theory of resource mobilization examines social movement organizations as a means of achieving a certain goal or as movement resources in their own right.

Social movement organizations (SMOs) are responsible for the everyday management of social movements. As such, the management of social movement organizations involves the formulation of strategies for acquiring resources and for determining alternatives for resource allocation (Klandermans, 2005). Movement resources may be material or immaterial, tangible or intangible. Location, funding, communications equipment, and transportation are just some examples of movements' tangible resources. Meanwhile, knowledge, experience, expertise, and leadership are examples of movements' intangible resources. From a resource mobilization perspective, social movement organizations – including their orientations, structures, and cultures – are resources that strongly determine the achievement of movements' goals (Klandermans, 2005). Therefore, in a broader scope, the management of social movement organizations does not only involve efforts to accumulate and allocate resources, but also to set and change the goals, structures, and cultures of their movements.

4. Methodology

This research is an instrumental case study (Stake, 2009). Instrumental case study is an approach in qualitative research that uses a particular case to understand a phenomenon or issue (Stake, 2009). As its instrument (case), this study examines Akademi Berbagi to understand and analyse the dynamics of contemporary internet-based socio-cultural movements in Indonesia. This research does not seek to generalize or provide an exhaustive picture of these dynamics but rather seeks to use Akber to provide a new perspective on the issue of social movement and social media role. Although this research has applied an instrumental case study approach, this research have also had an intrinsic interest. This means, this research also looks at the uniqueness of the Akber as a case. Data collected in this research are related to the history of the movement, the dynamics of its structure, to the mobilization strategy of the movement for the accumulation and allocation of resources. Data collection uses procedures, namely interviews, observation, and data collection from social media especially Twitter.

The interview is the main procedure for data collection. Interviewees were selected based on their position in the structure of the movement (founder, co-founder, region coordinator, volunteers, and sympathizers). Some of the interviewees were Ainun Chomsun (Akber's founder), Karmin Winarta (Co-Founder), Muhammad Wahdan (Akber's coordinator/principal in Yogyakarta), Lianda Marta (Akber's coordinator/principal in Pekanbaru), Soraya Pinta (Akber's coordinator/principal in Palu), as well as eight volunteers and sympathizers of Akber in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Pekanbaru and Palu. Interviews were conducted both in-person, via email, and by telephone. Structured interviews were prepared for email interviews, while a semi-structured format was used for interviews conducted face-to-face and telephone.

The next procedure is observation. This type of observation is non-participant. This procedure aims to obtain data on organizational dynamics, i.e. activities, strategies, and habits from Akber. In addition, this also aims to confirm and complete some data previously obtained through interviews because observation procedure deals not with what people/organizations say they do but what they actually do (Gillham, 2008). Online activities of Akber were observed through its official social media accounts. These included both the official Twitter account of the central Akber organization (@akademiberbagi) and such cities as Jakarta (@AkberJKT), Pekanbaru (@AkberPekanbaru), and Yogyakarta (@akberjogja). Furthermore, the researchers also observed the official account of the founder, Ainun Chomsun (@pasarsapi). Online observation collected tweet data from the above accounts. Akber's offline activities, meanwhile, were observed through attendance at Akber class activities in Yogyakarta. Observation in Yogyakarta was carried out because it holds classes regularly; in some cases, classes may be held twice a week. The data collected in this offline observation is visual (photos) and audio data of the classes that are taking place.

This research adopted and modified the analysis model proposed by Miles and Huberman (2009). Therefore, data analysis of this research consisted of four main stages, namely data reduction, presentation/display, conclusion, and verification. Data reduction refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the data (Miles & Huberman, 2009). Also, it means eliminating data (from interview and observation) that is not relevant to the purpose of the study or insignificant for analysis. Meanwhile, the data presentation executed by placing it in a form that is ready and easier to analyze, such as structured text or tables. More than that, the data display carried out by placing it by the unit of analysis used. The conclusion process is an attempt to answer research questions and build

the main arguments of this study. This achieved by reading the data based on the unit of analysis and theories used. The last step is verification by confirmed the results or analysis with the interviewees as well as the available data.

5. Results and Discussion

5.1. Akademi Berbagi: A Movement that Began with a 140-Character Tweet

Akber was initiated in 2010 via Twitter by Ainun Chomsun. It emerged from a discussion between Ainun and Subiakto, a leading advertising figure, on June 29, 2010. Subiakto conveyed his interest in providing free lessons in copywriting and offered his office as the first 'classroom'. He asked Ainun to bring together ten people who wanted to study copywriting. Ainun then shared this information on her Twitter account (@pasarsapi), where it spread rapidly, showing that many Twitter users were interested in attending the free class. During one class, Budiman Hakim – a teacher at the time – told Ainun that she should have a name for her activities or movement. While browsing the internet, Ainun found the word *academy*. To this, she decided to add the word *berbagi*, because the movement was focused on sharing: those who had knowledge shared their knowledge, those who had meeting spaces shared their spaces, those who had time and energy shared those.

By the end of 2010, Akber's activities had only been conducted in Jakarta. In early 2011, Akber classes began to be held in Bandung; by the end of that year, Akber branches had been established in twelve Indonesian cities: Semarang, Yogyakarta, Solo, Surabaya, Madiun, Palembang, Jambi, Medan, Tangerang, and Ambon. At this time, Akber had some 25 volunteers. During 2011, it also attempted to penetrate Singapore, holding classes for Indonesian migrant workers employed there. In general, the materials taught at Akber classes were applicative or soft skills. Meanwhile, the teachers had diverse backgrounds. Most of the people who shared their knowledge were practitioners, while other Akber classes were taught by academics. According to records, more than a hundred teachers have shared their knowledge through Akber, which has sponsored more than 1,000 Akber classes (See www.akademiberbagi.org).

Movement resources strongly determine the success of social movements. From a resource mobilization perspective, social movement organizations are expected to accumulate various resources – money, time, commitment, and knowledge – and allocate said resources to meet their movements' needs (Donk et al., 2005). Akber has thousands of supporters and participants, as well as hundreds of volunteers throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Akber, likewise, has collected resources (tangible and intangible) from its supporters, participants, and volunteers, as well as partner institutions such as corporations and government institutions; this reflects Jean Cohen's argument that actors in new social movement must consider the involvement of both the state and the market (Singh, 2010). For example, when holding classes Akber Yogyakarta routinely uses a room at Grapari Telkomsel (the office of a telecommunications provider) while Akber Pekanbaru uses a room in the public library. Many Akber classes are held in school and university classrooms, cafes, and restaurants, while others are held outdoors such as in gardens or in museum courtyards.

Social movement organizations, including Akber, face numerous challenges in accumulating the resources, as well as in allocating said resources. Such challenges may emerge from within or without the movement organizations. Not all of the necessary resources are divided

evenly among branches, and the conditions they face may differ significantly. While Internet access may be available to all branches, this is not true for funding, working spaces, and volunteers. Some local branches, particularly in smaller cities such as Ende and Cianjur, have been hindered by the limited availability of people who can teach and share their knowledge.

5.2. Structural Development of the Akademi Berbagi

In its early years, Akber could have been described as a 'one-woman show movement'. Ainun, the initiator of the movement, handled almost everything on her own. She contacted the teachers, informed others of scheduled class times and locations via Twitter, handled registration, wrote live tweets during class, and emailed materials to participants. After several classes, a number of participants offered to help with these administrative tasks. The initial structure of the Akber movement was simple, informal, and fluid. Ainun, as the founder, served as a coordinator (in Akber, known as a 'Kepala Sekolah', or Principal). As the number of individuals involved in the movement increased, the influx of participants and supporters led to Akber becoming more complex and extensive.

Ultimately, Akber adopted a federal structure. Akber Nasional (National Akber) is the central administration of Akber and headquartered in Jakarta. It is managed by a number of volunteers, including Ainun, who serves as the national coordinator. Akber Nasional coordinates the Akber branches at the local level. Each local Akber branch has its own structure. The requirement for the establishment of the local branch is that there are at least three volunteers. One volunteer will serve as Principal, while the other volunteers will support the Principal in all coordinating activities. These branches are relatively autonomous in determining their structures and conducting activities, as stated by Lianda Marta:

> "Akber Pekanbaru has no formal organizational structure. But I've set two circles of volunteers, the first circle and the second circle. The first circle consists of those volunteers who first joined Akber Pekanbaru, while the second circle contains those who joined afterward" (Lianda Marta, personal communication, 20 December 2014).

In its organization, Akber has adopted a grassroots model, with a strong participation orientation and limited formal structure. Akber Nasional has set several rules that must be followed by local Akber branches. However, owing to the need for flexibility and the desire to ease volunteers' activities, these are not enforced strictly. As Ainun explained, "… the system and rules (of Akber) have not been made that strict, because something volunteer-based needs flexibility to give every city the chance to innovate, and to ease duplication in various places" (Saya, 2014). The local branches of Akber are free to choose the teacher, venue, time, and number of participants. Akber Nasional only recommends that the teachers are practitioners or other persons with sufficient knowledge and experience in the field.

Over time, Akber's structure developed intensively. Akber Nasional became a legal entity with foundation status, the Akademi Berbagi Foundation (ABF). This marked the beginning of the social movement's institutionalization, referring to the four phases of social movements (Christiansen, 2009). As foundation, Akber gained certain benefits, but it also faced a number of challenges. On the one hand, "formal organisations may, over time, become more interested in their own survival and growth than in social changes" (Lee, 2015, p. 311). However, on the other hand, formal organizations have better capacity to accumulate resources and thereby promote their goals (Lee, 2015). The founding of the Akademi Berbagi Foundation, thus, could potentially ensure the movement became more profession-

al, increase the likelihood it would realize its goals, facilitate fundraising, and promote its continued survival. However, at the same time it posed a challenge: Akber had to consolidate its branches. Ultimately, Akber – as a low-risk, participation-oriented movement – was not significantly disturbed by this institutionalization.

5.3. Resource Accumulation and Allocation Strategies

Movement strategies are efforts made by social movement organizations to accumulate and allocate resources. They cover a broad range of endeavours within the landscape of the social movement, including efforts to gain support and sustained commitments to volunteers and movements, as well as the search for participants, the recruitment of volunteers, the selection and use of available communication channels, and the accumulation and allocation of resources to further its goals. To gain public support, social movements must be able to disseminate their ideas and messages broadly among the public. In other words, movements must be capable of creating public awareness of their goals.

Contemporary social movements such as Akber rely heavily on the internet and social media for disseminating information on themselves and their goals to the public as a means of gathering support. As such, the internet platform Twitter has been one of Akber's main resources. Information conveyed through the official account @akademiberbagi has included its profile, its ideas and goals, its mechanisms for participation and volunteering, and its activities (particularly classes, class schedules, and class materials), as well as profiles of its teachers and other relevant information. This information has been conveyed through tweets in the form of text, images, audio files, and videos (See figure 1 & 2). Similarly, the official accounts of local Akber branches have used various media for conveying information. Complementing these official Twitter accounts, information is also distributed through the personal Twitter accounts of volunteers. Aside from Twitter, Akber uses a range of media to disseminate information, including Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, blogs, websites, email, and cloud computing facilities.

Figure 1. Information about volunteer recruitment at the Official Twitter Account of Akber Pekanbaru.

Figure 2. Akber's class posters about "The Art of Delegating people" organized by Akber Jogja.

After movements gain support, social movement organizations seek to transform supporters into participants, i.e. by involving them actively in concrete and specific activities (Klandermans, 2005). As such, social movement organizations require appropriate strategies to ensure that supporters are interested in becoming participants and in being actively involved in movement activities. Akber seeks to mobilize its supporters by involving them in its classes. Before these classes, information – class theme, date/time, venue, teacher, and registration – is distributed online through Twitter and other media (Facebook and organization website). Some local Akber branches also use specially designed posters to share information on their classes; this is done to draw more participants (Muhammad Wahdan, personal communication, January 5, 2015). Local Akber branches may also disseminate information by word of mouth. Volunteers may invite their classmates or families and ask them to participate. As Lianda Marta stated, "… in Akber Pekanbaru, aside from disseminating information through social media, class information is also spread personally, to those around us" (Lianda Marta, personal communication, December 20, 2014).

Volunteers play a central role in the survival of social movements. Volunteering, while requiring a high level of dedication, effort, and motivation, most commonly results from individuals being asked to do so (Klandermans, 2005). Akber volunteers work as administrators, as teachers, and as venue providers. Akber Nasional has prepared guidelines for recruiting volunteers, as well as several rules that must be followed by all Akber branches. Local Akber branches, thus, follow these guidelines when recruiting volunteers. However, they may also

adapt their recruitment strategies to their local conditions. As stated by Ainun, "there are guidelines [for recruitment], and every city [branch] may set its own guidelines and strategies, so long as they promote the vision of Akber" (Ainun Chomsun, personal communication, November 20, 2014). Akber Nasional has set several requirements. Managerial volunteers must be at least eighteen years old and have participated in at least one Akber class, while volunteer teachers must be practitioners or experienced professionals in a certain field.

The procedures for joining Akber as a volunteer vary in every city. To become a managerial volunteer with Akber Yogyakarta, for example, it is enough to participate in a class and fill a form. Meanwhile, potential volunteers with Akber Pekanbaru must register at the blog *https://akberpekanbaru.wordpress.com*. Aside from managerial volunteers, Akber also has volunteer teachers and venue providers, as stated above. To recruit teachers, most branches use the same general procedure. Managerial volunteers contact potential teachers and ask if they are willing to share their knowledge at Akber. Volunteer teachers may also contact a managerial volunteer and express their desire to share their knowledge and experience. These simple recruitment mechanisms have enabled Akber to significantly increase its volunteer base; because there are not many requirements that must be fulfilled, participants and supporters are more interested in volunteering. However, the lack of strict recruitment mechanisms has also eased the departure of volunteers from the organization.

Indeed, social movement organizations are not expected 'to only recruit as many volunteers as possible, but to retain them' (Klandermans, 2005, p. 31). Retaining volunteers is closely linked to ensuring their sustained commitment to the movement. Akber Nasional and the local Akber branches have made several efforts to maintain their volunteers' commitment, particularly that of their managerial volunteers. According to Ainun, such efforts have included the stipulation that movement activities must be done consistently, and that inactive branches would be frozen, as well as the provision of training to volunteers, the creation of various rituals, and the evaluation and improvement of movement organizations (Ainun Chomsun, personal communication, November 20, 2014). This includes, for example, the Local Leaders Day (LLD) forum, which is attended by volunteers from throughout Indonesia. LLD was organized by Akber Nasional and includes workshops and training sessions for local volunteers.

Although money is not everything in social movements, everything needs money. As such, funding is an important resource that can determine a movement's success (or lack thereof) in realizing its goals. Most of the money used by Akber comes from its volunteers. As Lianda Marta said, "the source of funding (for Akber Pekanbaru) has been the 'pockets' of individual volunteers" (Lianda Marta, personal communication, December 20, 2014). Akber's main activities, Kelas Berbagi, do not require a significant amount of money, as the teachers are not paid and the venues are provided freely by donators or partner institutions. Nonetheless, Akber Nasional requires a significant amount of money to ensure its continued survival. For volunteer empowerment activities such as LLD, Akber requires access to significant funds. As Karmin Winarta, a Co-Founder of Akber, stated " for events such as LLD, Akber is supported by sponsors"' (Karmin Winarta, personal communication, December 15, 2014). These sponsors and donors may be individuals, institutions, or corporations.

How has knowledge, the main resource of Akber, been allocated? In this case, knowledge can be understood in two ways. First, knowledge may be understood as the material distributed by teachers to Akber classes throughout Indonesia. Second, knowledge may refer to the general knowledge of Akber's supporters, participants, and volunteers. The allocation of the first type of knowledge has, to date, been limited to offline classroom activities. Classes in

some cities have also shared their material via Twitter through live tweets, or made presentations available in PowerPoint form through their blogs or websites. However, this has not been consistent, and has not been done by all volunteers in all branches – even though the knowledge shared in these classes has considerable potential to promote social change.

6. Pseudo-Support and Duality of Participation in Internet-Based Socio-Cultural Movements

In Indonesia, movements initiated and organized through social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have been predominantly low risk and participation-oriented movements, seeking to promote change at the micro or individual level. These movements tend to be humanistic, cultural, and non-materialistic, and cover topics such as education, healthcare, the environment, and feminism; as such, they meet the criteria for new social movements identified by Singh (2010). In the case of Akber, the movement's orientation has had several implications for its efforts and strategies to accumulate and allocate resources. Low risk and participation-oriented movements such as Akber have an easier time recruiting supporters and volunteers, as their underlying philosophies – in this case, 'education and knowledge should be available to everyone without cost' – are popular and can thus easily gather support. In other words, Akber and similar organizations can more readily attract support as their ideas are simple and 'universal'. This reflects the findings of Lim (2013), who writes "social media activism is more likely to successfully mobilise mass support when its narratives are simple, associated with low risk actions and congruent with dominant meta-narratives" (p.638).

However, quantifying the support for online movements based on their number of Twitter and Facebook followers can be difficult. Akber may have thousands of Twitter followers, which the movement organization can identify as its resources. It is necessary, however, to consider the potential influence of anonymity and robot accounts, the 'trap of pseudo support'. Some of Akber's Twitter and Facebook followers may be anonymous or inactive, and the social movement organization lacks the ability to determine their status. The most likely way for Akber to address this situation is to transform its existing supporters into participants.

For a movement organization to survive and achieve its goals, simple support is not enough. As such, it must attempt to involve these supporters in its activities and thereby transform them into participants. By doing so, movements can gain real – rather than pseudo – support. Nonetheless, it is also necessary to consider the form of participation. In movements such as Akber, there is duality, i.e. between online and offline participation. Individuals may participate in Akber by participating in its free classes, or they may simply participate by sharing its information and ideas via Twitter. The problem of pseudo support becomes irrelevant when anonymous accounts and robot accounts can still participate online.

By becoming participants, individuals/supporters offer their available resources – at the very least, their time and energy – to the movement. As such, participation is part of social movement organizations' allocation of resources. Movement organizations with a participation orientation ask individuals to participate by offering them satisfaction and personal benefit (Klandermans, 2005). In accordance with Akber's manifesto, knowledge and the joy of contribution are the main benefits offered to supporters, participants, and volunteers (See https://akademiberbagi.org/tentang-kami/manifesto/).

7. Federal Structure in the Management of an Internet-Based Socio-Cultural Movements

Efforts to gather support, promote participation, and retain volunteers in movements depend strongly on said movement internal dynamics. One characteristic that distinguishes social movement organizations from other organizations is their fluidity (Klandermans, 2005). In other words, social movement organizations experience rapid structural transformations in response to internal and external changes. Porta and Diani (2006) explain that transformations in social movement organizations may be caused by institutional factors, organizational culture, or technological innovation and modernization. In the case of contemporary socio-cultural movements such as Akber, change is driven primarily by the third factor.

Most internet-based socio-cultural movement organizations in Indonesia have a federal structure, with a central organization supported by local branches; this is also true for Akber. In the case of Akber, the central and branch organizations may be considered equal, as indicated by the broad autonomy and freedom enjoyed by local branches. As such, referring to Klandermans (2005)'s typology of movement organizations with federal structures (2005), Akber may be identified as having a loose federal structure.

The equal position of the central organization and the local branches in such socio-cultural movements may be linked to these movements' orientations and goals. Akber, as a participation-oriented organization that seeks change at the individual level, has given individuals – in this case, volunteers at the local level – considerable 'power' to make their own decisions. Individuals may choose to participate, or continue to participate, to earn certain incentives. Conversely, they can easily withdraw from the movement if their expectations are not met. The characteristics of the internet and social media – where the movement was 'born and raised' – have likewise contributed to the development of this horizontal structure.

Movements with federal structures rely on their local branches to deal with their constituents (Klandermans, 2005), even as advancements in internet technology have made direct communication possible. In the federal structure, local branches generally have the freedom to accumulate their own resources. Akber Nasional is not directly involved, for example, in the recruitment of volunteers, and local branches do not need to wait for approval before involving new volunteers in their activities. Another benefit of this federal structure is that the failure of one branch will not significantly affect other branches (Klandermans, 2005). Some of Akber's branches have been frozen for various reasons, but this has not significantly influenced its branches in other cities.

Such a structure pushes local branches to innovate in accumulating the resources need. Generally, the central organization will set rules that branches must follow. However, in movements such as Akber, these rules are not strictly enforced, thereby giving flexibility to their local branches. Nonetheless, the central organization does help its branches. It provides these branches with consultation regarding resource collection, as well as recommendations for and potential solutions to their problems. In Akber, the most common problem is the minimal availability of volunteer teachers. As such, Akber Nasional will recommend teachers or establish communications between teachers and managerial volunteers.

The federal structure does, however, have weaknesses in social movement organizations, particularly in their accumulation of resources. The uneven distribution of resources between branches is one issue that must be addressed. In this, the central organization may play a key role. Where movements have difficulty accumulating resources, such as because of limited

availability, the central organization can provide support where possible. However, in movements with a federal structure (such as Akber), such intervention is not given priority. This may be because, as stated previously, the failure of one branch is seen as not significantly influencing other branches or the movement as a whole (Klandermans, 2005). Nonetheless, it is still important to prevent the failure of branches because, in absolute terms, there is no guarantee that the failure of a branch will not affect other branches. A domino effect may occur if the central organization does not respond to the dynamic situation of its branches. This is particularly important within the context of internet-based movements, as the failure of one branch may spread virally and thus negatively impact morale across the movement.

8. Conclusion

Internet-based social movements such as Akber, because of their new orientations, structures, and management styles, cannot wholly be categorized as *lifestyle movements* (Haenfler, Johnson, & Jones, 2012) or as general socio-political movements. These movements have presented with a combination of characteristics, including in their goals of producing socio-cultural change at the individual level, their loose federal structures, and their mobilization of resources through their formal and informal networks. As such, movements such as Akber are hybrid movements with both diverse and new characteristics. The actors in these contemporary movements communicate with different media and through different means than earlier actors. This, in turn, has implications for many aspects of these social movements.

In the management of internet-based socio-cultural movements, organizational maturity is one factor determining the successful accumulation and allocation of resources. Organizational maturity, in this case, can refer to the extent to which a movement is capable of responding to complex and dynamic changes, be they within or without the organization. These movements must optimize their own adaptive capacity by formulating good movement strategies and by differentiating their structures. Movements must also be capable of creating the potential for mobilization, stimulating participants' motivation, eradicating obstacles, and ensuring members' commitment by optimally utilizing the internet and various other platforms. No less important is for movements to recognize trends in internet and social media usage and consider them in formulating both their specific communications strategies and their general management. The development of Artificial Intelligence (AI), for example, will in many ways significantly influence the dynamics of internet-based movements, including their strategies and their decisions to accumulate and allocate resources. Changes in social media algorithms, likewise, will significantly affect the management of the internet-based social movements that rely heavily on them for disseminating their content. Movements, thus, are expected to understand the characteristics of the platforms they use and thus adapt their management strategies.

As such, it is difficult to deny the importance of the internet in socio-cultural movements' accumulation and distribution of resources. The internet, and the new media in general, may be the 'breath' and simultaneously the 'backbone' of contemporary social media-based movements attempts to promote social change. However, the internet would be meaningless if the movements and the actors within are unable to optimally use it. Change, the ultimate goal of all social movements, cannot be manifested only through the instrumental use of the internet and other information technologies. According to Molaei (2015, p. 95), "social media's con-

tribution to the success of social movements is only one of the critical factors". Meanwhile, according to Shirky (2009, p. 160), "revolution doesn't happen when society adopts new technology. It happens when society adopts new behaviour".

Contemporary movements are movements that work in two realms, being both online and offline. As such, movements' activities on the internet should ideally be supported by offline activities (Harlow & Harp, 2012). Conversely, the real-life activities of movements would be more efficient if supported by online action. These two types of activities are mutually complementary, not mutually exclusive. The presence of online action is just as important as the presence of offline action, because in principle change must be manifested through both.

Despite offering considerable optimistic signs, the position of the internet in social movements and in general society should still be viewed critically. Issues such as the digital divide, for example, have been major issues and challenges that must be overcome by social movements (Molaei, 2015). Addressing the digital divide is necessary to create a condition that enables every individual to be broadly involved in various social movements and to promote social change through communication and information technology. To do so, the digital divide must not be understood solely as in material terms, but also in terms of motivation, skill, and usage (Dijk, 2005), i.e. at the second level (Min, 2010).

Reflecting on socio-cultural movements such as Akber, readings of the use of the internet and social media by social movements in mobilizing their bases should not be trapped in a zero-sum game, between optimism and pessimism. The role of the internet in social movements should be positioned more realistically, considering the characteristics of the internet itself and the contexts in which movements are active. What is the future of internet-based social movements in contemporary society? According to Mosco (2017, p. 5), "the Next Internet can be a tool to expand democracy, empower people worldwide, provide for more of life's necessities, and advance social equality". However, to attain such an optimal situation, ideal conditions and inclusivity are certainly needed.

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