SOCIAL MEDIA, YOUTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL LOW-RISK ACTIVISM: A CASE STUDY OF SAVESHARKS INDONESIA CAMPAIGN ON TWITTER

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ABSTRACT

The lack of understanding and awareness on shark's conservation in Indonesia is still largely found. Evidently, it could be seen from the massive reducing number of shark's population, irresponsible consumption of shark meat, and constant activities on illegal, unregulated and unreported shark fishing and finning in Indonesia. On the other hand, shark existence is considered critical for sustainability in the marine area. In 2012, Savesharks Indonesia has started an online campaign on Twitter as their effort to raise public awareness of the critical role of sharks' conservation. However,social media activism has the possibility to lead into 'slacktivism', or 'feel good' activism; without creating a meaningful impact for the cause. Based on Lovejoy & Saxton (2012) framework of communicative functions in Twitter environmental advocacy and Lim's (2013) argument of political implications of social media use for activism, this article is intended to explore the relationship between online environmental activism and its implication toward the cause. On the first stage, a content analysis was conducted to explore the communicative functions of Savesharks Twitter campaign. On the second stage, we conduct interviews with Savesharks' followers to investigate the level of activism that the audience refers to in this campaign. Results indicate that Savesharks Indonesia online activism has reached the action stage where the

audience were involved not only in online realm of activism but also in offline forms. As such, it is still questionable whether the activism could lead to tangible political actions (e.g. influencing the environmental policies).

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, the growing number of sharks' exploitation without any sustainable fisheries regulation or management becomes a significant concern. Indonesia ranked as the world's top shark producer and third-largest exporter, representing an average of 7 percent (1235 tonnes) of the world's total yearly exports of shark fins and 4 percent of the value (USD10 million) within the year of 2000 to 2011 (Dent & Clarke, 2015). However, sharks have critical roles in maintaining coral reef ecosystems – they are in the upper level of the marine food chain – forkeeping the balance of marine ecosystems (Fahmi & Dharmadi, 2013).

According to the Oceanic Research Group, similar to most upper-level predators – generally sharks consume other fish who are sick, immature and weak, as such, they contribute to maintain a better chance of survival for their environment (Conger, 2018; Sofia, 2015). In fact, like fish species in general, sharks are a renewable resource that can be exploited sustainably. However, sharks are also vulnerable to the threat of extinction due to their conservative life-history traits – slow growth rates, late sexual maturity, low reproductive output and long gestation (Ruppert et al., 2013).

Driven by these facts, Riyanni Djangkaru – a female diver and environmental enthusiast – led an initiative to create Savesharks Indonesia. When starting this campaign in 2012, Riyanni used Twitter as the first social media platform to disseminate information about the important role of sharks. By using the hashtag #savesharks, the campaign previously intended to create awareness about the positive impacts on being a responsible consumer – influencing people to consider their decision in consuming sharks as part of their regular menu. News exposure about sharks culinary was also responsible for translating shark's consumption into 'a cool-culinary' trend. However, not many people aware of its production process; that producing sharks fin soup could affect the stability of marine ecosystem

(personal communication with Riyanni, 2014). In short, the campaign is not only focusing on conservation in the marine area but also on health issues of consuming seafood for humans. Consequently, according to Riyanni, the targeted audience of Savesharks Indonesia campaign is mostly youth – as this group is one of the consumers for seafood culinary, and also an active user of social media.

For their icon's campaign, SaveSharks Indonesia chooses a shark animated character called Itong Hiu (or Itong the Shark). Besides Twitter (@itong_hiu), Riyanni also set up a Facebook Fan Page (SaveSharks Indonesia), website (www.savesharksindonesia.org), and also YouTube (savesharksindonesia) and Instagram accounts (@itong_hiu). Until 2020, their social media accounts are still active with 23.127 followers on Twitter, 3.969 followers on Facebook and 1292 followers on Instagram. Savesharks Indonesia also utilises online petition via Change.org to support their movement. For example, they created a petition to protest a store for selling food made from shark's ingredients, and another petition was conducted to put pressure to one of the Indonesian airline's company – due to their service for carrying cargo containing sharks.

A year after its initial start, the campaign has developed to a bigger network. Consequently, there is a need to involve more people in Savesharks Indonesia's community. Riyanni then recruited more members who have specific skills and experiences needed to run the campaign – including graphic designer, blogger, journalist, and teacher. They also opened recruitment opportunities for general audience who were interested to join as volunteers throughout Indonesia. To this point, the activism that once started from one's personal concern has already transformed into a group of youth activism; collaborate with various parties, sell merchandises, and create events. Upon its growing stage, Savesharks Indonesia has managed to collaborate with the government institution (the Indonesian Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries), private companies and other ENGOs, such as Conservation International, Greenpeace Indonesia, and Jakarta Animal Aid Network.

The case of Savesharks Indonesia indicates the important function of environmental groups or activists – namely to mobilise participation (Pickerill, 2001). Since the widespread use of the internet and online media, the terms 'online activism' or 'cyberactivism' have also been widely used – particularly to address the social movement using digital communication tools for increasing public awareness of environmental issues (Kurniawan & Rye, 2014). However, online platform such as social media has the tendency "for being fast, thin and many" – as many online campaigns appear and disappear quickly on the internet without leaving further impact (Lim, 2013).

The tendency for giving 'likes' as a token displays of support for the cause has been criticised by some charitable organisations. For example, in 2013 UNICEF Sweden launched its "Likes Don't Save Lives" campaign to communicate that despite receiving 'likes', meaningful financial contributions were needed for their mission – to protect children's health in developing nations (Kristofferson et al., 2014). As such, this article's aim is to explore the online environmental activism impact – whether it can provide a meaningful impact or it is only a form of 'slacktivism' or 'feel good' activism (e.g. just by clicking a keyboard to show some supports). Interestingly, a recent study about Twitter usage among Indonesian youth-based environmental organization affirms that Twitter is one of the most popular platforms utilized by Indonesian youth to campaign about ecological damage (Alam, 2020).

By using the case of Savesharks Indonesia campaign on Twitter – that was conducted actively from 2014 to 2015 – we will investigate how online environmental activism can support 'real' activism in the form of engagement and action among Indonesian youth. The research questions for this paper can be formulated as follows: What are the implications of online environmental activism in Savesharks Indonesia campaign on Twitter? What kind of activism can be derived from their online campaign? For this study, we decided to use a set of data from 2014, which reflects the start period of Savesharks Indonesia campaign to give description about the implications of their campaign after two years since its inception.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To investigate the implications of online environmental activism in Savesharks Indonesia's Twitter campaign, we draw on the concept of communicative functions of tweets from Lovejoy & Saxton (2012). This concept will be used for investigating actions and responses in Savesharks Indonesia campaign. Regarding the environmental advocacy and Twitter usage, Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) identified three key communicative functions in the tweets sent by 100 largest non-profit organisations in the United States (US), namely: the information, community, and action functions (Guo & Saxton, 2014). The information function is the basic function of Twitter contents related with information about the organisation and its activities, or any news and information that has potential interest to followers (Lovejoy et al., 2012). The community function refers to tweets that can promote interactivity and dialogue among stakeholders-facilitating them to engage, create networks, and build communities. The third function, or action function, is aiming followers to "do something" for the organisation; for example, to donate, buy a product, attend an event, join a movement, or launch a protest (Lovejoy et al., 2012).

Figure 1: Communicative functions of tweets (Source: Framework model based on concept from Lovejoy et al., 2012)
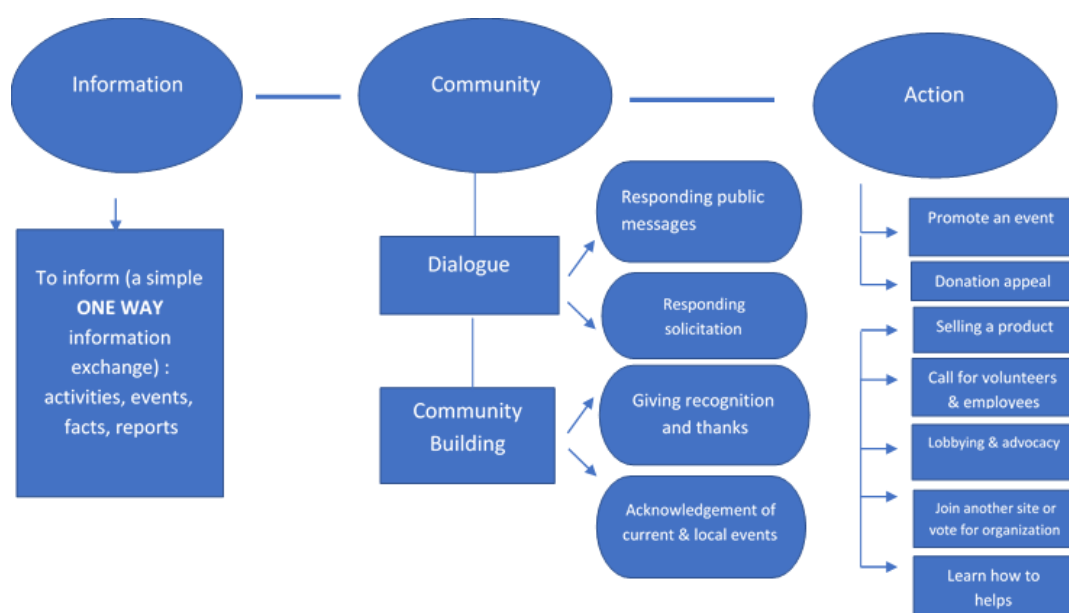
The concept of communicative functions on Twitter (Figure 1) will be used as a main framework to analyse and categorise tweets from Savesharks Indonesia. In a study about online environmental activism in Britain, the internet is used as a gateway to activism; to raise the profile of group campaigns, to stimulate local activism, and to mobilize online activism as well as attracting participants to existing protests (Pickerill, 2001). Borrowing the definition from Pickerill (2001), we define online environmental activism as the form of activities which involve the use of the internet to trigger campaigns, coordinate action, distribute tactical information, e-mail petitions, and engage in direct lobbying (Pickerill, 2001).

Castells (2009) describes how environmental organisations use the internet not only to mobilise participation in offline activism, but also to promote online activism. Environmental activists utilise websites, chat rooms, messenger, microblogging, video sharing, crowdfunding platform and online petition to trigger their campaigns. The internet holds a critical role in the global warming movement, as the technology facilitates the widening social networks for disseminating information, communication and coordination in that movement (Castells, 2009). For example, the Rainforest Action Network and Greenpeace use the network of websites to coordinate their actions globally and to mobilize people for action (Castells, 2009).

In Indonesia, the internet also plays a significant role for environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGO) (Kurniawan & Rye, 2014). Kurniawan & Rye (2014) conduct a series of interviews with 19 ENGO in Indonesia who work in the domain of forest protection; to explore their internet usage and to investigate how it could influence the mobilizing structure of the environmental movement. Evidently, the result shows that the internet empowers the environmental activism of the Indonesian ENGOs – by enhancing opportunities for political participation (Kurniawan & Rye, 2014). Environmental issues have also become the focus of traditional media. Agustina et.al. (2020) state that most Indonesian television news coverage in 2017-2018 were highly concentrated in broadcasting specific issues, such as the issue of forest fires (Agustina et al., 2020).

Despite there are still fewer academic works focusing on the role of the internet in environmental activism and civil society in Indonesia as mentioned by Kurniawan and Rye (2014), a number of recent studies has addressed the topic of online activism and public engagement in Indonesia. In general, Nugroho (2011) and Lim (2013) argue that online activism had becoming more prominent in Indonesian civil society in the era of 2000s (Nugroho, 2010).In particular, some previous studies on Indonesian environmental campaigns argue that Twitter is proven to be effective for facilitating public engagement in the cause (Alam, 2020). With its conversational markers and features, Twitter can provide a more democratizing space for discussions; and as such, socializing a range of environmental damage cases to the public (Alam, 2020).

From his study about civic activism and social media in Indonesia, Nugroho (2011) addresses the convenience of social media characteristics – to be used by civil society and NGOs in facilitating them to achieve their goals. The Internet and social media act as a communication platform and an information resource, thus provides a way of coordinating activities, and also collating and sharing useful and tactical information (Nugroho, 2010). Social media such as Facebook and Twitter are largely popular among general audience because of three reasons: the price of mobile phones are relatively affordable; the strong sense of community in Indonesian culture, and the tendency to follow trends regarding new technologies and celebrities (Nugroho, 2011).

Regarding social media use, it could be stated that Indonesian internet users were dubbed as the Twitter's early adopters and the most prolific Twitter users (Carley et al., 2016). Previously, Indonesia was ranked as the country with the highest Twitter penetration in 2010 according to the ComScore report and as the fifth country with largest Twitter users in the world in 2012 with 29.4 million users (Carley et al., 2016; Lim, 2013; Semiocast, 2012). By 2013, Indonesia was acknowledged as the 'Twitter nation' by CNN and ranked as the fifth most tweeting country a year later (Carley et al., 2016; Lim, 2013).

To investigate the second research question, we draw on Merlyna Lim's argument (2013) about the political implications of social media use for activism. Lim states that social media has benefits for empowering activism. However, she also addresses the debate on political implications of social media that went to two different directions: either online activism is actually promoting citizen engagement and societal change, or it is just a form of "slacktivism" or in other words, lazy activism (Lim, 2013).

According to Malcolm Gladwell – a Canadian journalist and author – activism associated with social media is dependent upon the "weak tie" relationships, whereas "meaningful activism requires strong and robust organisational structure" (McCafferty, 2011).

Slacktivism, or clicktivism (click activism), or armchair activism, is the term to describe "feel-good" online activism through "liking" or just clicking the keyboard to show support for a social cause without any action (Glenn, 2015) Morozov (2009) states that this kind of activity gives an illusion for the participant for contributing a meaningful impact on the social cause – only by joining a Facebook group or retweeting an issue (Morozov, 2009).

Kristofferson et al. (2014) define slacktivism as "a willingness to perform a relatively costless, token display of support for a social cause, with an accompanying lack of willingness to devote significant effort to enact meaningful change"(Kristofferson et al., 2014). Although the term slacktivism is considered negative, others perceive it as a more cost-effective and environmentally friendly way to reach people across geographic locations (Glenn, 2015).

Moreover, Lim (2013) suggests that the debate of the political implications of social media should be viewed beyond the contrasting perspectives of utopian and dystopian – whether the public participation in online media being perceived as real activism or not. She argues that the social impacts of the internet and social media should be understood "as a result of the organic interaction between technology and social, political and cultural structures and relationships" (Lim, 2013).

METHODOLOGY

For this study, we applied a qualitative approach to investigate the relationship between activism on social media and its implication by using the case of Savesharks Indonesia. The focus of this study is to investigate how 'causes' – in the context of social media activism – can influence 'outcome' of the activism itself. As such, we applied positivist paradigm to analyse the usage of Twitter by measuring the campaign's performance; using a particular framework from Phethean et.al. (2015) which will be described further in this methodology section.

On the first stage of data collection, we examined the content of tweets from their account @itong_hiu for nine months (January to September 2014). We chose this particular period, as in 2014 – 2 years after its initial start – Savesharks Indonesia has started to grow its network and received coverage from numerous mass media due to their online activism. The total number of tweets in this period are 465 tweets.

Prior to the analysis stage, we manually count the highest number of engagement by each month to find the salient topics – to be used as data samples for representing 'top tweets' in each month. Engagement was measured from the total number of times a user interacted with a tweet. User's interaction with a tweet includes actions such as making retweets and replies, following the account, putting likes (favourites) on a tweet, clicking links on profile or cards or URL on a tweet and using hashtags (Twitter). We used content analysis to investigate actions and responses in tweets, particularly to categorise data (tweets) based on the concept of communicative functions of tweets from Lovejoy & Saxton (2012): the information, community and action functions.

On the second stage of data collection, a series of interviews had been conducted with six informants who represent the campaign's audiences. To examine the form of activism and determine the value of social media use that the audience engaged in this campaign, we applied the framework of social media stages on awareness, engagement and action for developing the guideline questions (Phethean et al.,

2015, 2013). The guideline questions were addressed to get a description of informant's understandings and engagements with Savesharks Indonesia campaign, which include these points: (1) What are their understandings about the campaign; (2) What type of engagement the informants involve in the campaign and what kind of messages that make them engaged (e.g.: willing to share to their followers)?; and (3) What kind of actions they do to support the campaign? Narrative analysis was then applied to focus on stories and experiences from the informants. In the final stage of data analysis, we compared those two datasets; the tweets and experienced based on the informant's interviews to answer the research question of this study: how online environmental activism can support 'real' activism in the form of engagement and action among Indonesian youth.

In selecting the informants, we set the criteria described as follows: (1) they are an active social media user; (2) has been following Savesharks Indonesia social media account, particularly Twitter, since 2014. These criteria were set to gain perspectives from informants who were already familiar with Savesharks Indonesia campaign. For the purpose to obtain in-depth views, informants were chosen by two categories – those who are active members of Savesharks Indonesia community and those who are categorized as volunteers (non-members). The informants' age range also represents the youth group, ranging from 16 to 30, with various backgrounds, from students, teachers to private employee.


FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

Based on content analysis results – of Savesharks Indonesia tweet contents during the 9 months period of 2014 – it can be seen that the most engaging tweets come from the action category. In particular, the most engaging tweets come from these subcategories: lobbying and advocacy, call for volunteers, and learn how to help and promote event (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Percentage of Tweet Function
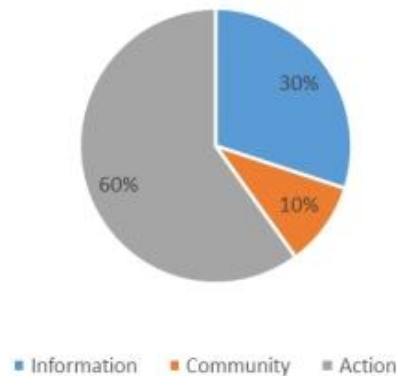
The action function aims to promoting and mobilising followers – to do something for the organisation (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012). Tweets with information and community functions are also present in the top tweets – that reached the highest number of engagements for three months in April, June and August (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: The number of highest engagement
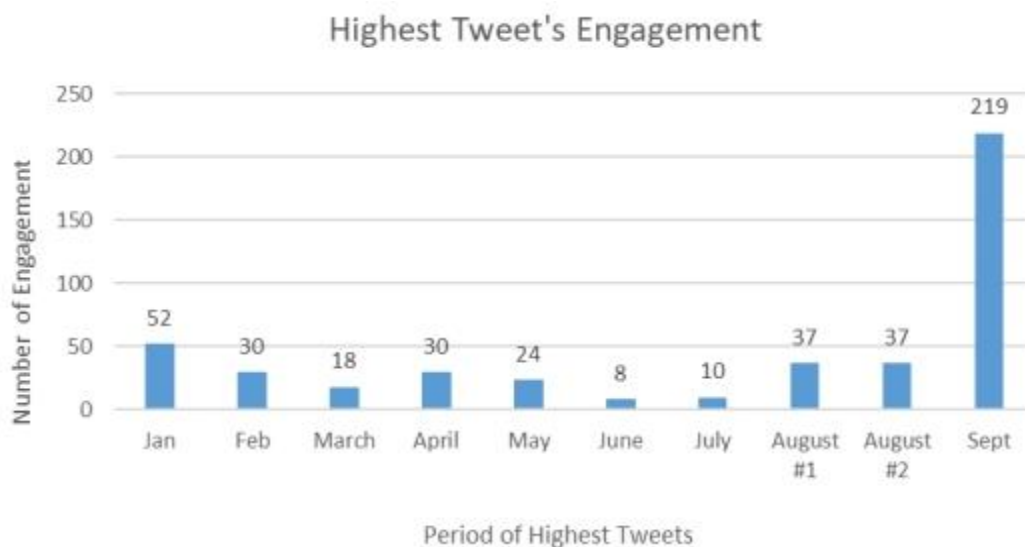
In Figure 3, we can see an increasing number of engagement in September 2014. At that time, @itong_hiu, the Twitter account of Savesharks Indonesia, conducted a campaign through Thunderclap – a 'crowdspeaking' platform that allows individuals and companies to work together to spread a message (Biggins, 2018). That campaign was intended to support the protection of sharks dan rays, targeting on wider issue than the usual scope of Savesharks' campaign, which mostly focused on

current activities from the organization and particular issues about sharks' conservation in Indonesia. The theme campaign for September 2014 was targeted to the wider audience – not only limited to Savesharks Indonesia followers, but also outside of the group, including international participants. As a result, a higher number of engagement was reached compared to the previous months.

Table 1: The Interview results

Questions	Informant's responses
Informant's understandings about Savesharks Indonesia campaign	A campaign for saving the sharks, conducted through the education for consumers; an awareness raising campaign to stop consuming shark fin soup; a campaign to prevent the extinction of sharks and creating impact for maintaining the stability of marine ecosystem and influencing the government to regulate sharks protection in Indonesia.
The type of engagement the informants involve in the campaign (1) and the type of messages that make them engaged (2)	(1) Retweeting messages, checking updates on Savesharks Indonesia Twitter, forwarding the information offline. (2) Any information regarding Savesharks campaign event; topics related with sharks protection and conservation; health information related to consuming sharks meat; information related to joining Savesharks campaign.
Actions to support the campaign	All informants considered themselves as active participants of the campaign by supporting Savesharks campaign, both online and offline. For example, by spreading the messages, making offline campaign to support Savesharks and attending the organisation's events.

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The surge of engagement in September (see Figure 3) also represents the popularity of action function in the tweets from that period. This result resonates with the informant's answers from the interviews (see Table 1). Apparently, they prefer to share messages containing action function, e.g. tweets about how to participate in Savesharks campaign. They also prefer to share tweets which they considered

important – for example, information about shark hunting and the important role of sharks in the marine ecosystem. Basic information about sharks, such as the characteristic of sharks, their economic value and how to protect sharks, also regarded as important messages. Issues related to personal health, such as risks of consuming sharks meat, were also chosen as preferred topics.

All of the informants state they have engaged with the campaign by responding to updates on Twitter – by retweeting (RT) and also forwarding the information through their personal account in their own language. Retweets, according to Morris (2009), indicates the amount of tweet being forwarded by users, which could be described as a valuable tweet (Carew, 2015). In addition to that, there are two topics that regarded as valuable or preferable to share.

The first one is about the facts of hunting and trading sharks in Indonesia – from the process of sharks being hunted and sold, to the consequences emerged from circumstance on food security for the society. This topic, which categorized as information function – as it contains news or facts which relate to organisation's campaign – is regularly forwarded by the informants to their followers. Most of the informants said, the important role of sharks, particularly the message "Savesharks = Save seafood" becomes their favourite tweet.

The second valuable topic falls under the category of "learn how to help". This subcategory of information explains the process on how to help the organisation to achieve their mission – as well as indirect requests for support (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012).

Generally, informants view the information about participating and involving in the campaign is worth to share; to invite more people for supporting the campaign. Evidently, tweet on inviting people for filling the survey from Savesharks is deemed as the top tweet in February 2014 (see Table 2). All of the informant state they knew about Savesharks Indonesia campaign from Twitter – either from friends' recommendation, references from some social media celebrities/famous account, or social media competition related with #savesharks campaign.

Table 2: Top Tweets by Each Month

2014	Top Tweets	Tweet Functions
January	Kami mendukung @SBYudhoyono + KementrianKelautanPerikanan utk segera menyelesaikan regulasi ttg hiu di Indonesia. #savesharks	Lobbying and Advocacy
February	Yuk bantu isi dan sebarkan survey #savesharks ini --> http://t.co/GDX6XB1esB :)	Learn to help
March	mau ikutan jd volunteer #savesharks? boleeh bangeett !!! daftar disini yaaa --> http://t.co/TUVvkwaXGW	Call for volunteers
April	#hot #news STARWOOD HOTELS ANNOUNCES BAN ON SHARK FIN IN ALL HOTELS WORLDWIDE !!! Yeayyyyy !!! #savesharks	Information
May	Let's SIGN and SHARE! Stop @LionAirID angkut sirip hiu dlm kargonya! #savesharks http://t.co/MzEsOmM8cE	Learn to help
June	Kak @mettakarania juga nemuin penjual sirip hiu, dari baby black tip sampe tresher sharks yang memang udah dilindungi #kopdar #savesharks	Information
July	di acara bukber @jepecom akan ada kak @medinakamil, @TyoJPSurvival dan @harleysastha. Guest starnya tentu @itong_hiu dong. hihihi #bukberJP	Action : Promoting Event
August	Dear @OceanDefenderID @GreenpeaceID Thank u for the #SharkWeek. Really appreciate it. Salam #savesharks. Love, Itong http://t.co/nHgGANCTG1	Community building for giving recognition and thanks
	5. Dalam beberapa dekade trkh, populasi sharks menurun 90% krn overfishing dan pertumbuhan yg lambat #SharkWeek #SaveSharks	Information
September	#savesharks at FKH UGM. Semangat teruuusss UGM! Cc: @r_djangkaru http://t.co/S2qn1zhobx	Action : Promoting Event

Some informants followed the account because of their personal interest (for example, as a seafood consumer). Their understandings about Savesharks campaign are somewhat various – half of the informants acknowledged the campaign is about saving sharks – by educating consumers about the important role of sharks in the ocean ecosystem, and the risks of consuming shark meat. However, other informants mentioned briefly that Savesharks campaign is simply a campaign to raise consumer's awareness to stop consuming shark fin soup.

Another deeper understanding from the informants is that Savesharks campaign has a critical impact related to the environmental issues, such as maintaining the stability of the marine ecosystem. Consequently, influencing the government in making the regulations to prevent the extinction of sharks is part of the community's mission. As explained by one of the informants:

> "It is a campaign to save the sharks, in order to keep the balancing of the marine ecosystem. The campaign was delivered by disseminating the issue to the people, including giving talks to school and other communities, and by using social media. It is a long process, starting from research and investigation to fishermen, the consumer's consuming habit, socialization, and education, to final analysis that expected as the inputs for

government to create a comprehensive regulation for sharks' protection."

As for the action stage, most informants perceive this stage as "doing or attending offline activities for supporting the campaign". For example, one informant conducted a sport and cultural event to deliver the message of saving the sharks population. The same informant also produces merchandise and sells those to her network circle of family and friends. Other informants view the action stage as regularly attending the offline event (for example, attending public talk) and also making a donation by buying the official merchandise – although the latter is not considered as a primary action. However, spreading the information about the campaign is also considered as an action, as one informant states that she views herself as an active participant by doing that kind of action.

The case of Savesharks Indonesia describes the trends of online environmental activism – where activists use social networking platform to recruit members, to promote their causes, to facilitate fundraising efforts and to manage their campaign activities (Carew, 2015; Crowther et al., 2012). From its initial start, Savesharks Indonesia had involved individual supporters and informal grouping of activists – by using social media and also developed collaborations with a number of organisations.

This resonate well with Pickerill's (2003) definition of online environmental activism mentioned previously in the conceptual framework of this article. Followers of Savesharks Indonesia whom we interviewed were aware of the issues from the campaign; they were also engaged with the campaign by endorsing campaign messages to other followers. Retweeting, according to Bruns and Burgess (2012) can be viewed as an "implicit endorsement for message and sender", particularly when the original message is being shared without additional commentary (Bruns & Burgess, 2012). Up to this stage, Savesharks Indonesia's online activism has opened more opportunities for public participation in terms of supporting the movement; albeit it is still largely in the realm of online engagement.

From 2014's previous study on online environmental activism in Indonesia, it has been acknowledged that online networking platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, are not easily transformed into actual activism, or tangible political actions (Kurniawan & Rye, 2014). The same study also indicates that online activism by well-established organizations could be "disconnected from the offline reality of environmental policy"(Kurniawan & Rye, 2014). This was largely caused by the fragmentation of online political discussions which might contribute less to the policy formation (Papacharissi, 2002). Consequently, Papacharissi (2002) points out that the internet may open up a public space, but has not yet empowered a public sphere.

For example, in the case of online political activism, the exposure of online activities can influence individual decisions on doing actions such as petition signing or charity donations; but not necessarily could increase the number of voters (Howard et al., 2016). This resonates with researchers findings, as in the action stage, Savesharks Indonesia online activism has successfully influencing the followers to do offline actions – such as making and attending offline events related to the movement, creating merchandises and making donations. However, it is questionable whether the activism could lead to tangible political actions, such as influencing the environmental policies. Up to this stage, the online activism is reflecting more to what Lim (2013) refers as a "populist political activism" – whether it is in online, offline, or both forms – which could be transformed from public participation in social media.

To achieve the level of popular activism, the campaign needs to fit with the principles of contemporary culture of consumption (Lim, 2013). This includes creating a simplified narrative to make the message easily go viral. In Savesharks Indonesia's case, it could be seen from preferred messages recalled by informants ("Savesharks = Save seafood") – that represents the three principles of contemporary culture of consumption: light package, headline appetite and trailer vision (Lim, 2013). Light package refers to content that can easily be understood and has a "hype" element, while headline appetite is a condition where information is condensed to fit into

online platform – with limitation of character or words and generally requires short attention span (Lim, 2013). Trailer vision is an oversimplified and sensationalised story (Lim, 2013). Narratives related to the risk of personal well-being are considered fitting to these three principles; some informants remember briefly the main message of Savesharks campaign is to stop consuming shark fin soup due to its health risk for people who consume it.

The critical role of sharks in marine ecosystem is also considered as an important message. However, a short and 'light' message such as "Savesharks = Save seafood" is more favourable because it applies to the principles of contemporary culture of consumption. As addressed by Riyanni in an interview, "Food security is the cool jargon" (Purba, 2014).

In addition, the use of hashtag #savesharks and symbol – in the form of Itong Hiu – has also contributing to make the campaign more visible and to grab the attention of social media users, particularly youth. Interestingly, using a hashtag can be seen as an explicit attempt to address an imagined community of users – it has keywords function that link the networks of follower and followee; for reaching a new community of users (Bruns & Burgess, 2012; Carew, 2015). This might explain why Savesharks Indonesia opts to use the hashtag #savesharks instead of #savesharksIndonesia. The first hashtag has been used globally among activists to communicate the campaign on preserving sharks, so it provides as a keyword to link the local movement to the wider context.

Furthermore, the use of animation character in this campaign also functions as easy symbolization – to change people's perception that shark is a dangerous creature and a human killer. By using a funny and cartoon character as a campaign symbol, this online community is aiming to "sell" the message – in a more practical way for their targeted audience: the youth and children group.

Evidently, the iconic cartoon character is perfectly match for merchandising activities' purpose. The character has been put into wearable and consumable items such as t-shirt, cap, pins and bracelet (and also made into shark-shaped cookies). This

strategy is useful for communicating and creating awareness among the youth. Moreover, this kind of practical activism is reflecting the 'DIY (Do It Yourself) culture' among youth – where activists deploy various media forms, including producing handmade items and artworks to create participatory political cultures (Zobl & Drüeke, 2012).

CONCLUSION

The popularity of social media has established a form of participatory culture, which have resulted in the form of easy or low-risk activism, or doing a low-risk action (Lim, 2013). Evidently, this online participatory culture was indicated by certain characters, such as amateur and non-market production, networked collectives for producing and sharing cultures, also niche and special interest groups (Lim, 2013). Based on researchers findings, the followers of Savesharks Indonesia have already built their networked collectives and shared the cultures in this form of low-risk, accessible and affordable action; such as disseminating the information, making merchandises, as well as attending and creating offline events. This kind of practical activism – such as making donations and producing merchandise – is easier to do than gathering people for carrying out protest on the streets (Lim, 2013).

To conclude, the use of social media in Savesharks Indonesia environmental activism could not be deemed as a form of 'slacktivism'; but instead it has transformed into a participatory culture. While this participatory culture is still in the form of low-risk, easy and practical activism – it shows that social media has a role in building the network of activists and opening opportunities for collaborations within the environmental communities.

This resonates with some previous studies about online platform and activism (Hill & Sen, 2000; Kurniawan & Rye, 2014; Lim, 2013; Nugroho, 2011; Pickerill, 2013) – that identify the important role of communication technology in widening the public sphere; by giving access for voicing people's concerns.

LIMITATION AND STUDY FORWARD

However, it is important to take notes of the limitations within this research, as we only took a particular period and a small sample case of informants. Consequently, this study only offers a partial description of the overall impact of the campaign. In addition to that, it is also necessary to underline the fact that social media users are mostly represented by the urban and middle-class group. From the latest APJII's survey, the largest number of internet users in Indonesia are still located in cities and particularly in Java island – the most populated island in Indonesia – where the distribution of cellular service and fixed wireless access providers are concentrated (APJII, 2017). As the main target audience of Savesharks Indonesia still fits with this character of social media users – the youth and middle-class group – microblogging platform like Twitter can act as a valuable tool to disseminate messages and to build dialogue among the same group of stakeholders. Recently, visual content in online platforms such as Instagram and YouTube have started to become more popular among youth. As such, it can be suggested to do further research on environmental campaign within these platforms.

However, the environmental movement should consider achieving a more long-term impact and to create more tangible political actions in the future. Consequently, there is a need to aim for other stakeholders, particularly the direct one. For example, the local government and fishermen in the areas where sharks' exploitation are high, as they can have more visible roles for creating direct impact in conserving the marine ecosystem. Social media, such as Twitter, can be useful in establishing network and collaborations among certain groups. Nevertheless, to extend its impact on larger groups and to create more tangible political actions – for example, contributing to the environmental policy formation – remains a challenge.

One of the good examples of educating locals and collaborating with larger and various stakeholders in conserving sharks came from India. To educate the locals about whale sharks and its legal status, a campaign was created by doing

collaborations with many stakeholders – including government, corporate sector, non-governmental organizations, and religious leaders (Kumari & John, 2017). As such, further studies can be conducted to investigate the role of religious leaders or local key opinion leaders for attaching local values in environmental activism. Creativity to combine the message in social media between a "modern" and a "local or traditional" approach will possibly lead to achieve wider goal.

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