

Exploring participatory culture among persons with disability: a case study on #stopaudism

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How to Cite This Article: Nurfikria, I. (2023). Exploring participatory culture among persons with disability: a case study on #stopaudism. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, 7(3). doi: 10.25139/jsk.v7i3.5870

Received: 06-02-2023, Revision: 09-08-2023, Acceptance: 11-10-2023, Published online: 30-11-2023

Abstract This study examines the participatory culture of persons with disabilities in Indonesia by analysing their engagement in hashtag activism on Instagram. The selected hashtag, #stopaudism, gained prominence in response to an incident involving the Minister of Social Affairs, Tri Rismaharani, who compelled Deaf persons to speak during an event commemorating the National Day of Disabilities on 1 December 2021. This research employs a mixed-method approach, combining web scraping techniques with thematic analysis, and draws upon Henry Jenkins's participatory culture theory to analyse Instagram posts featuring the #stopaudism hashtag by persons with disabilities. The web scraping techniques successfully tracked trends in the #stopaudism hashtag, revealing a notable surge on December 2nd and 3rd, 2021, and highlighted posts with the highest likes and comments. Thematic analysis unveiled six strategies employed by persons with disabilities on Instagram to participate actively in hashtag activism: education, self-disclosure, declaration of hashtag activism, expression of anger or disappointment, presentation of evidence/media coverage, and invitations to sign petitions.

Keywords: deaf; hashtag activism; participatory culture; people with disabilities

INTRODUCTION

According to a live video on the YouTube channel of The Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemensos RI, 2021), during the National Disability Day commemoration on 1 December 2021, held at the Aneka Bhakti Building in Jakarta, the Minister of Social Affairs, Tri Rismaharani, was observed pressuring a Deaf individual named Arum Fadila to speak and reduce their use of sign language. Later, she invited another Deaf individual named Aldi onto the stage and urged him to speak. Shortly after that, Stefan, a public relations representative from Pusbisindo (Indonesian Sign Language Center), reminded the Minister not to compel Deaf persons to speak and suggested using sign language instead. The Minister explained that her actions were intended to teach children with disabilities how to make the most of their abilities and be thankful for God's gift (tempo.co, 2021). This incident triggered a strong response from various groups, particularly people with disabilities, who

generally felt disappointed and angered (tvonenews.com, 2021). They took to social media and posted on Instagram using the hashtag #stopaudism.

It is worth noting that the hashtag #stopaudism was not a new addition to social media in response to the Minister's actions. Our research identified several posts with the #stopaudism hashtag that predated 1 December 2021. For instance, the account @cerritosaslclub, associated with an American sign language club in California, USA, posted criticism of the term "hearing impaired" on 10 April 2016 and included the hashtag #stopaudism in their narrative. Additionally, the #stopaudism hashtag appeared in a post by the @deafcsnunians account, a student government organisation at CSUN (California State University), focusing on raising awareness about issues concerning deaf and hard of hearing persons, which was uploaded on 2 November 2012. This post featured photos and stories from their discussion with Ella Mae Lentz, an American author, poet, teacher, and advocate who is Deaf. However, these early hashtag uses were relatively limited and came from accounts outside Indonesia. The actions of Minister Tri Rismaharani in pressuring Deaf persons to speak sparked disappointment and anger among people with disabilities in Indonesia, prompting them to express their protest collectively by using the hashtag #stopaudism in their social media posts.

Audism is a belief held by persons who consider their ability to hear as making them superior and of higher status than those without this ability (Bauman, 2004; Eckert & Rowley, 2013). The term was first introduced in 1975 by Deaf researcher Tom Humphries in his writing. Audism in society is evident in the coercion and judgment of the intelligence of Deaf persons based on the standards of those who can hear. This understanding needs improvement within the community to foster inclusivity.

Besides their role in categorising messages and marking the cyberculture system (Carley et al., 2018), hashtags have evolved to serve as initiators of movements (Laucuka, 2018). Through this function, hashtags have proven effective in uniting large groups of people with a simple symbol that is easily remembered. Communities can form around hashtags, allowing strangers to discuss the same topic online (Bruns & Burgess, 2012), ultimately turning it into a viral issue. Numerous social media activists have leveraged these phenomenon movements, known as hashtag activism, often in response to specific events (Eriyanto, 2020) undertaken by the public using digital media to effect change on various issues, including government policies (Kaun & Uldam, 2018; McGregor, 2021).

While studies on digital activism by people with disabilities remain relatively limited, some researchers have explored this area. For instance, research on the hashtag #cripthevote on Twitter has highlighted it as a new form of social movement that has effectively raised awareness of disability issues in society (Mann, 2018).

Additionally, research has examined changes like disability activism influenced by social media (Pearson & Trevisan, 2015). The presence of social media has strengthened the structure of disability activism, expanding campaign strategies and enhancing their impact on mainstream media coverage.

Meanwhile, Ineland et al., (2019) conducted a study on #funkpol and found that although digital activism has emerged, social media is not yet widely recognised as a tool to empower marginalised groups, encourage their participation, or facilitate political negotiations. Maintaining critical awareness in response to the enthusiasm surrounding digital media presence is crucial. This is because there is a belief that the structure and power dynamics in the offline world, where established dominant power structures exist, are not fundamentally different from what occurs online.

The significance of this case lies in the relatively limited number of studies on digital activism by persons with disabilities, despite its importance for enhancing the political and social engagement of people with disabilities. Despite recent achievements, there is still a long road ahead to ensure that the language of inclusion goes beyond mere rhetoric. This article seeks to bridge this gap in the literature by drawing from research on digital activism by people with disabilities in Indonesia. It aims to contribute to ongoing discussions about current and future disability activism.

In this study, the author seeks to spotlight the actions of Indonesian disability activists through hashtag activism on Instagram. The combination of narrative and visual information harnesses Instagram's strength in building emotional connections with its users (Gerbaudo, 2012). People with disabilities also actively use Instagram to advocate for their rights and negotiate their presence (Cahyadi & Setiawan, 2020). Moreover, the platform's accessibility has been enhanced through automatic alt text and customisable, auto-generated captions for video content, ensuring equal access.

Social media has undeniably provided an alternative space for minority groups to share their stories and challenge dominant media narratives (Liao, 2019). Additionally, the internet, including social media, has been described as a new free zone for people with disabilities, allowing them to socialise independently and voice their concerns against restrictive norms and rules (Löfgren-Mårtenson, 2008). A survey conducted by Ellis revealed that almost half (47%) of people with disabilities have used social media for political (disability-related) and non-political interests (Ellis & Kent, 2016). Many persons with disabilities use social media for socialisation, education, advocacy for disability rights, and disseminating disability-related issues (Harris et al., 2012; Li & Brady, 2016). Social media is believed to have the potential to reshape disability participation in the public sphere and serve as a platform for various disability movements (Pearson & Trevisan, 2015).

However, the advancement of digital technology also presents new challenges for some segments of society, including persons with disabilities (Ellis & Goggin, 2015). The democratising effects of social media are still limited, as they depend on access and personal digital skills, which can be a significant barrier (Barlott et al., 2020; Lussier-Desrochers et al., 2017). Media access and participation remain significant challenges for people with disabilities in Indonesia (Ellis, Katie; Goggin, 2018).

Regarding technology access for people with disabilities, Susenas (Survey Sosial Ekonomi Nasional) data from 2020 shows that phone ownership among people with disabilities was recorded at 36.7%, a decrease from 42.4% in 2018. This decline is strongly attributed to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. Meanwhile, internet use by people with disabilities in 2020 was recorded at 18.9%, a slight increase from 15.9% in 2018. However, this figure remains relatively low compared to the non-disabled population, where 52.7% use the internet.

Many activists with disabilities have emphasised the need to exert extra effort in creating their counter-narratives through digital media (Ellis & Kent, 2016). Many activists with disabilities have emphasised the need to exert extra effort in creating their counter-narratives through digital media (Ellis & Kent, 2016; Ellis, Katie; Goggin, 2018). Based on the research conducted, Bitman asserts that activists with disabilities must work diligently to achieve their goals while enabling greater freedom for others (Bitman, 2021).

This implies that social media has the potential to replicate inaccessibility and discriminatory behaviour towards people with disabilities, similar to what often occurs offline. Digital media still tends to overlook persons with a wide range of disabilities due to the lack of structural, moral, and technological support required to create an inclusive social media design. It is anticipated that in the future, efforts will focus on developing more accessible digital media applications while transforming existing inaccessible ones into more inclusive platforms. To illustrate, an inaccessible digital media design is analogous to the absence of a ramp in a building, creating barriers for wheelchair users. Hence, it is a collective endeavour to construct a more inclusive digital world.

Quoting Vincent Mosco's article, "Marx in the Cloud," featured in his book with Cristian Fuchs titled "Marx in the Age of Digital Capitalism: Studies in Critical Science," it is suggested that one perspective on the rapid growth of digitalisation is to view it as a democratic-deliberative public space (Fuchs & Mosco, 2015). Some refer to it as the engine of democracy, providing a space for anyone to voice their opinions, challenge established power structures (Jenkins, 2006; Rainie & Wellman, 2018) and enhance channels for community participation (Livingstone & Markham, 2008).

As Henry Jenkins emphasised in his book "Participatory Culture in a Networked Era" (2016), co-authored with Mizuko Ito and Danah Boyd,

one of the key features of new technology, namely interactivity, has been a primary driver of cultural participation. The concept of participatory culture was first introduced by Henry Jenkins in 1992 in his book "Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture." Participatory culture involves persons, whether from the private or public sphere, no longer being mere consumers but also contributors and producers (Jenkins, 2006). Through new media, each person can actively participate in the creation, dissemination, and interaction of culture (Jenkins et al., 2009). In a participatory culture, people can creatively respond to electronic signals to produce cultural content, supported by minimal barriers, strong community support for creating and sharing work, informal mentorship, and a belief in making valuable contributions (Jenkins, 2006). This aligns with the social model of disability, which emphasises identifying and rectifying social and infrastructure factors that limit the independence and active participation of persons with disabilities in the community (Hens & Dunphy, 2022).

For Jenkins, the power of participation lies not only in the ability to challenge commercial culture but also in the capacity to create, modify, change, diversify perspectives, and then circulate or even reintegrate them into mainstream media. Jenkins associates participatory culture with the idea that the boundary between passive consumers and active producers has blurred as both parties have become active participants in the cultural landscape. Another related concept is Ross Mayfield's "Power Law of Participation," which categorises levels of participation, ranging from low-level activities like reading online articles, tagging, and commenting to high-level digital participation such as collaboration, moderation, and initiating social movements (Mayfield, 2005).

Participation by persons with disabilities is believed to have a profound impact on their occupational and social aspects and the functioning of these participation spheres. Disability rights initiatives leverage social media to facilitate the individual and collective participation of people with disabilities (Alathur & Pai, 2023). This approach aligns with the principles of the social model of disability, which emphasises identifying and rectifying social and infrastructure barriers that hinder persons with disabilities from achieving independence and active participation in the community.

However, similar to the challenges faced in the development of digital technology, participatory culture also presents its own set of obstacles, including participation gaps, transparency issues, and ethical challenges (Jenkins, 2006). These challenges remain significant issues that need to be addressed and improved upon. Furthermore, research conducted by McMorris indicated that digital participation among adults with disabilities is lower compared to the general population. Factors such as limited access to computers, opportunities for acquiring digital skills, motivation to engage with technology, and a lack of trust in

technology, particularly the internet, are some of the issues experienced by people with disabilities (McMorrine, 2017). Nevertheless, removing participation barriers caused by mobility impairments contributes to advancing the social model of disability within the public sphere (Alathur & Pai, 2023).

METHODOLOGY

The research employed a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative methods to collect and analyse data. This approach involved gathering numerical information and text-based data to create a comprehensive database for the research.

Initially, the researchers utilised web scraping as the data extraction method. Web scraping is a technique used to extract data from websites or social media platforms, such as a specific hashtag on Instagram. The data extraction was conducted over a predetermined period, and data were collected until a noticeable trend emerged (Crystal Pereira & Vanitha, 2015; Himawan et al., 2020; Priadana & Murdiyanto, 2020). The chosen research period spanned from 1 December 2021, 00:00 Western Indonesian Time, to 10 December 2021, 24:00 Western Indonesian Time, totalling ten days. This period was determined based on the incident involving Tri Rismaharani, who compelled a Deaf child, Aldi, to speak on stage during the Disability Day commemoration on 1 December 2021. The endpoint was determined based on the observed trend in the number of posts. Thus, it was concluded that a 10-day period would be adequate for conducting a trends analysis of #stopaudism.

Web scraping was chosen as the data retrieval method because it offered a more accessible approach than Instagram's Application Programming Interface (API), which had certain access restrictions. During implementation, the crawling process was carried out using the BeautifulSoup library in Python programming to obtain JSON (JavaScript Object Notation) data, which was then visualised using the JSON Viewer application (Fatmasari et al., 2019; Priadana & Murdiyanto, 2020). The researchers successfully obtained data on posted content, including the number of posts, timestamps, and likes and comments.

Subsequently, the researchers conducted a thematic analysis to gain deeper insights into how persons with disabilities expressed their participation in the #stopaudism trend on their Instagram accounts. Thematic analysis is a qualitative method used to identify, analyse, and interpret patterns (referred to as themes) within collected data (Braun & Clarke, 2019). The researchers downloaded links to all the posts identified through the data extraction process to conduct this analysis. Before the analysis, accounts not owned by persons with disabilities were excluded. This exclusion was determined by reviewing the account profiles and the content posted on each account. Any account not owned by a person with a disability was removed from the thematic analysis process.

The thematic analysis follows four key principles: acknowledging theoretical and philosophical assumptions, defining themes, providing detailed descriptions of the data set, and deciding whether to use an inductive or theoretical thematic analysis approach. These principles guide the research process, including topic determination, data collection, analysis, categorisation, and interpretation (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Joffe & Yardley, 2004).

It is important to note that the purpose of thematic analysis is to delve into the deeper meaning of a topic rather than to validate correctness or errors. It provides a framework for understanding the subject matter and should be seen as something other than a definitive truth. This understanding is crucial to avoid misrepresenting or claiming absolute authority over the research findings (Alcoff, 1991).

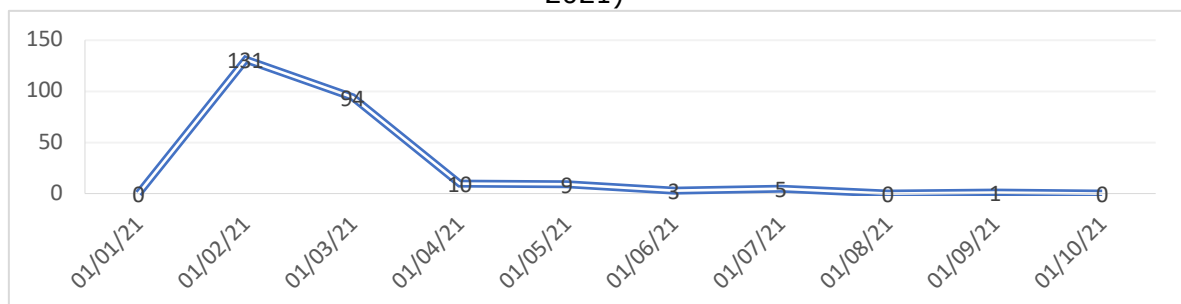
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The dataset used in this study was taken on Tuesday, 14 December 2021, at 19.00 WIB in Indonesia.

#stopaudism Trends

The following data presents the occurrence of the hashtag #stopaudism on Instagram during the specified period. Figure 1 illustrates # the daily trend of #stopaudism from 1 December 2021 to 10 December 2021. The highest number of #stopaudism posts occurred on 2 December 2021, with 131 posts. Interestingly, on 1 December 2021, the day of the event, there were no posts with the hashtag #stopaudism. On 3 December 2021, although the number of posts decreased to 94 compared to the previous day, it remained relatively high. However, on 4 December 2021, posts dropped significantly to just 10. Likewise, on 5 December 2021, there were only nine posts. On 6 December 2021, there were only three posts. There was a slight increase on 7 December 2021, with five posts, but on 8 December 2021, no #stopaudism posts were recorded. The following day, 9 December 2021, saw only one post, and there were no posts on 10 December 2021. 253 #stopaudism posts were recorded from 1 December to 10, 2021.

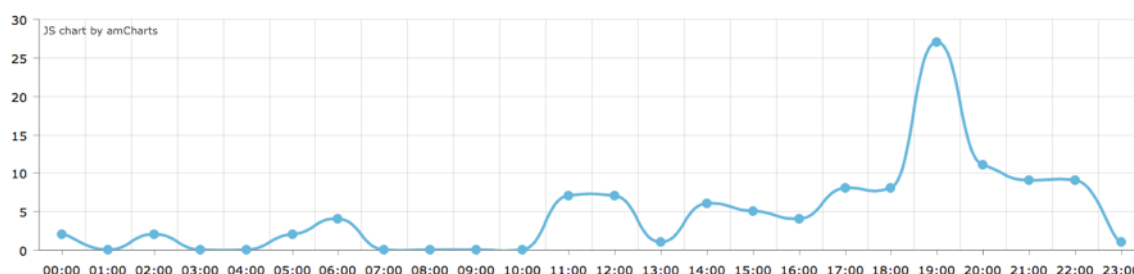
Figure 1. The trend of #stopaudism per day (1 December 2021 – 10 December 2021)



Source: Data Processed by Author (2021)

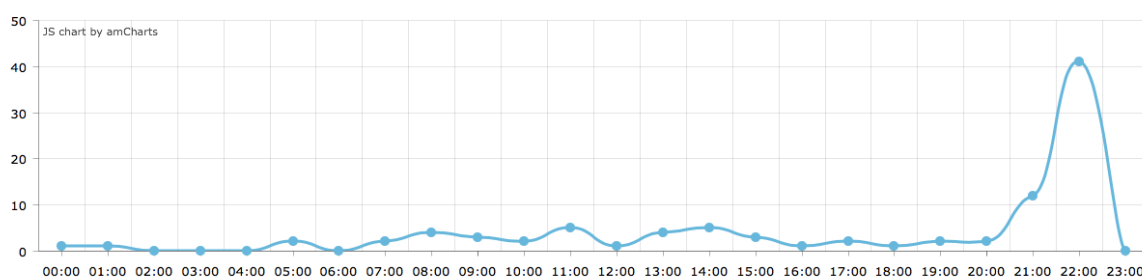
Figure 2 displays the hourly trend of #stopaudism posts on 2 December 2021, indicating that posts with the hashtag began to appear in the early hours of the day. The peak posting activity occurred between 18:00 and 20:00 Western Indonesian Time, with 27 posts. Similarly, Figure 3 presents the hourly trend of posts on 3 December 2021, with the most posts appearing between 21:00 and 23:00 Western Indonesian Time, totalling 41 posts.

Figure 2. The trend of #stopaudism per hour on 2 December 2021



Source: Data Processed by Author (2021)

Figure 3. The trend of #stopaudism per hour on 3 December 2021



Source: Data Processed by Author (2021)

Out of the 253 #stopaudism posts, the researchers conducted an exclusion process, eliminating posts from 14 accounts that were confirmed not to belong to persons with disabilities. This exclusion process involved in-depth scrutiny of each account's profiles and posted content. Consequently, 239 posts were retained from accounts confirmed owned by persons with disabilities. This reveals that the primary actors in the #stopaudism activism, as reflected in the hashtag posts, are predominantly persons with disabilities themselves. The participation of non-disabled persons remains minimal, accounting for less than 6 per cent of the total hashtag posts.

Further examination by the researchers indicated that non-disabled persons who engage in #stopaudism hashtag activism mostly belong to the immediate social circles of persons with disabilities, such as family members or educators. For instance, parents with children with disabilities, siblings of persons with disabilities, and teachers in educational institutions for people with disabilities are among those involved. However, persons outside of these close-knit circles appear less aware or inclined to participate in the activism movement associated

with the hashtag #stopaudism. Ideally, all members of society should understand and support efforts to eliminate discrimination against persons with disabilities, especially given that Indonesia is home to approximately 22.5 million persons with disabilities, constituting around 5 per cent of the population (BPS, 2020). This underscores that the issue of disability remains a topic that has yet to capture the attention of the wider community, and persons with disabilities still face marginalisation. Out of the 253 #stopaudism posts, the researchers conducted an exclusion process, eliminating posts from 14 accounts that were confirmed not to belong to persons with disabilities. This exclusion process involved in-depth scrutiny of each account's profiles and posted content. Consequently, 239 posts were retained from accounts confirmed owned by persons with disabilities. This reveals that the primary actors in the #stopaudism activism, as reflected in the hashtag posts, are predominantly persons with disabilities themselves. The participation of non-disabled persons remains minimal, accounting for less than 6 per cent of the total hashtag posts.

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The 239 posts collected for ten days from persons with disabilities indicate the emergence of a participatory culture among this group through hashtag activism. These persons can be described as everyday activists (Vivienne, 2016) who conduct their actions not in a strategic or organised manner but use their personal stories to challenge social norms and make a meaningful impact. While it is evident that this number is relatively small, especially when compared to the activism surrounding other Instagram hashtags like #Antivaccination (Kim et al., 2020), #kamitidaktakut (Nuswantara, 2019) or #dirumahaja (Chusna, 2021), which enjoy larger participation, it nonetheless represents a significant step in raising awareness and advocating for disability rights.

Actor Popularity

During the web scraping process, researchers also collected data related to the posts with the highest likes and comments in the #stopaudism

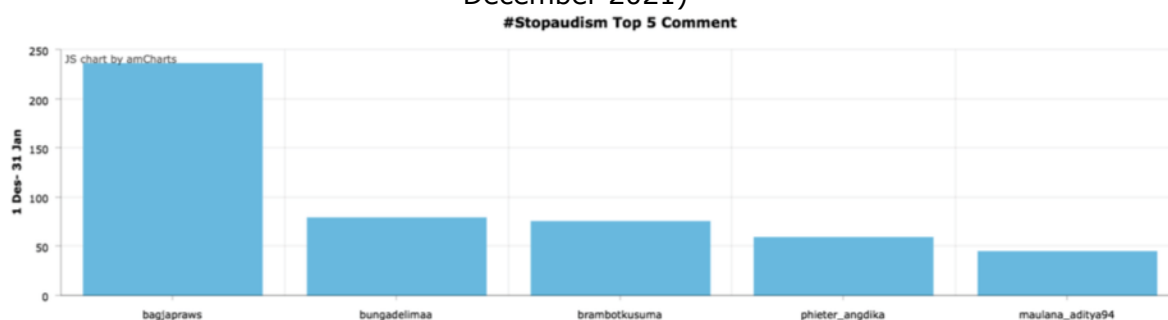
hashtag. Figure 4 illustrates the top five accounts with the most liked posts and detailed data, including account name, address, and upload time, as presented in Table 1. Additionally, Figure 5 showcases the top five accounts that generated the most comments, with detailed data provided in Table 2. It is important to note that the number of likes and comments may have changed after the research was conducted when users accessed the posts. Through observing several posts displayed by each account, only two accounts were identified as belonging to non-disabled persons, namely @brambotkusuma and @kreativv.id.

Table 1. Detailed data on #stopaudism posts with the most likes

Account	Likes	Comment	Datetime	Link
bagjapraws	5383	236	2021-12-05 03:21:58	https://www.instagram.com/p/CXEvxq9B3s9/
kreativv_id	4339	30	2022-01-26 17:05:15	https://www.instagram.com/p/CZMHVBulun2/
brambotkusuma	2176	79	2021-12-03 12:28:52	https://www.instagram.com/p/CXAkxgQJOKg/
sitirodiah21	1548	17	2021-12-02 11:40:07	https://www.instagram.com/p/CW96ZilFkG4/
amanda_farliany	1340	31	2021-12-02 13:12:10	https://www.instagram.com/p/CW-E7vmlXeU/

Source: Data Processed by Author (2021)

Figure 4. #stopaudism posts with the most comment (1 December 2021 – 10 December 2021)



Source: Data Processed by Author (2021)

Table 2. Detailed data on #stopaudism posts with the most likes

Account	Likes	Comment	Datetime	Link
bagjapraws	5383	236	2021-12-05 03:21:58	https://www.instagram.com/p/CXEvxq9B3s9/
bungadelimaa	0	79	2021-12-05 08:38:50	https://www.instagram.com/p/CXFT8mVho3T/
brambotkusuma	2176	75	2021-12-03 12:28:52	https://www.instagram.com/p/CXAkxgQJOKg/
phieter_angdika	0	59	2021-12-03 02:17:54	https://www.instagram.com/p/CW_cw2rA-XI/
maulana_aditya94	678	45	2021-12-02 13:11:20	https://www.instagram.com/p/CW-E1nLF3Wq/

Source: Data Processed by Author (2021)

The @bagjapraws account, which received the highest number of likes (5,282 likes) and the highest number of comments (236 comments) for #stopaudism content posted on 5 December 2021 at 03:21 Indonesian Western Time, belongs to Bagja Wiranandhika Prawira. He is the co-founder and Chief Operating Officer of Silang.id,

an educational startup established as a platform to promote an inclusive Indonesian society. Through his Instagram account, Bagja actively advocates for disability issues, particularly focusing on the use of sign language. As a Deaf individual, he uses his posts to spread education and raise awareness about the importance of inclusive communication. Similarly, the @sitirodiah21 account, which received 1,548 likes, belongs to Siti Rodiah, who is also Deaf and serves as the deputy chairperson of Gerkatin (Movement for the Welfare of Deaf Indonesia). She actively uses her Instagram platform to address disability issues, focusing on deafness aiming to promote equality and inclusivity in Indonesia.

Another notable account is @amanda_farliany, which garnered 1,340 likes. Amanda Farliany is a successful model and Deaf content creator. Alongside her husband, who is also Deaf, and her four children, she shares educational content about Sign Language and Deaf culture through her Instagram account.

The @bungadelimaa account, with 79 comments, is owned by Bunga Delima, a Deaf individual actively involved in the Parakerja Institute. This platform aims to enhance the accessibility and work competence of people with disabilities.

Lastly, the @phieter_angdika account, with 59 comments, belongs to Abdurrahman Phiete Angdika, a Deaf activist currently pursuing his master's degree in the United States under a scholarship from the Deaf Youth Leadership program. Both Bunga and Phieter use their Instagram accounts to provide valuable educational content about the lives and culture of Deaf persons.

The actions taken by persons with disabilities through their Instagram accounts have effectively attracted public attention in the digital space, as evidenced by the significant number of likes and comments they have received. This demonstrates that digital participation among persons with disabilities in Indonesia has emerged. Technological advancements, particularly the improved accessibility of social media platforms, have provided new opportunities and freedom for marginalised groups (Ellis & Kent, 2016). Many persons with disabilities have seized this opportunity to voice their concerns and advocate for disability-related issues. Through social media, these marginalised activists are actively working to present alternative narratives to challenge the prevailing mainstream discourse.

However, while this emergence of digital participation is a positive development, it is important and hopeful that more persons with disabilities will become active advocates in the digital realm to amplify their voices. The low level of participation by persons with disabilities in the digital space highlights that digital inclusivity in Indonesia is not yet fully realised. Inclusivity in the media plays a crucial role in supporting the lives of persons with disabilities (Hastuti et al., 2020).

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD), which Indonesia has ratified through Law No. 8 of 2016

concerning Persons with Disabilities, strongly emphasises the importance of ensuring that persons with disabilities are active participants in society, including in the digital realm. It is crucial to dispel misconceptions about digital accessibility for persons with disabilities, such as the belief that they require separate applications or that creating accessible content is prohibitively expensive. In reality, people with disabilities can use the same applications as non-disabled persons, provided these applications are designed with universal accessibility features that benefit everyone, regardless of their abilities.

Thematic analysis

Following the extraction of 253 #stopaudism posts through web scraping techniques, the researchers proceeded to exclude posts from 14 accounts that were confirmed not to belong to persons with disabilities. This exclusion process involved thoroughly examining the profiles and content within each account. As a result, 239 posts were gathered from accounts confirmed to be owned by people with disabilities. Subsequently, the researchers conducted a thematic analysis of these posts, identifying six emerging themes within the content: educational, self-disclosure, declaration of the hashtag, expressions of disappointment and anger, evidence/media coverage, and invitations to sign petitions.

Among the five identified themes, the educational theme was the most prevalent, appearing in 67 posts. Instagram users with disabilities have used hashtag activism to educate the public about Audism, employing various mediums such as photos, videos, and caption narratives. For instance, on 2 December 2021, @khaled_jomb196 shared a post (Figure 5) in which he conveyed:

"Audism is a belief that considers persons with hearing abilities superior (Tom Humphries, 1975). Examples of audist attitudes include:
- Believing that Deaf persons cannot attain the same levels of intellectual, linguistic, career, financial, and communication skills as hearing persons - Asserting that Deaf people cannot pursue careers as teachers, pilots, lawyers, doctors, and more - Insisting that Deaf persons cannot drive or attend college - Claiming that being unable to speak means having no future - Falsely believing that Sign Language makes people lazier in speaking - Suggesting that Deaf persons cannot integrate with the hearing population - Presuming that refraining from using hearing aids leads to failure - Advocating for the mandatory speech of Deaf persons to achieve intelligence and success - These discriminatory attitudes collectively constitute Audism. Hopefully, my online friends (followers) do not exhibit Audism."

In the image (Figure 5), the account owner showcased a red twibbon, which is a digital image with a specific message featuring his picture. The twibbon carried the following message: "Sign Language is a way to maximise God's creation. Hands and eyes are God's creations. STOP AUDISM. The new latent danger today is the ideology of

normalisation. It is time to reinforce stigmatisation by moving the day of anti-ableism." This post garnered 782 likes from online users.

Figure 5. @khaled_jomb196 Instagram Post On 2 December 2021



Source: (khaled_jomb196, 2022)

The caption by the account owner @khaled_jomb196 demonstrates an educational effort, as he quoted the definition of Audism from Tom Humphries, a renowned scholar in Deaf culture and communication who coined the term Audism in a 1975 paper. @khaled_jomb196 also provided examples of audism actions and encouraged readers not to engage in Audism.

A similar educational theme post was found on @cristophorusb's account when he uploaded content on 2 December 2021 (Figure 6). In his post, he defined Audism as a form of discrimination where persons consider those who can hear or speak as superior to Deaf people, citing Tom Humphries. He listed examples of audism actions and encouraged learning Indonesian Sign Language and understanding the world of deafness through @officialsilang.id. He also tagged three friends as exemplary deaf allies and urged others to spread awareness to create more deaf allies.

The picture accompanying the post included a profile picture on the left and the right, the text (Figure 6): "Sign Language is a way to maximise God's creation. Hands and eyes are God's creation." Below was a message advocating to stop Audism and a depiction of Indonesian Sign Language cues discrimination.

Like @khaled_jomb196, @cristophorusb also displayed a red twibbon with a picture of himself in the picture section of his account. In his post, he explained Audism, stressed the significance of sign language and encouraged people to learn Indonesian Sign Language through the @officialsilang.id community. He also highlighted the importance of

creating more deaf allies from the hearing community who support the Deaf community.

Figure 6. @cristophorusb Instagram Post on 2 December 2021



Source : (cristophorusb, 2022)

The second most common theme identified was the declaration of the #stopaudism hashtag movement. In this case, 53 accounts posted the hashtag #stopaudism without any additional narrative. It appeared they aimed to emphasise the declaration of the hashtag. Examples of such posts include @putyuliani_ on 2 December 2021 (Figure 7) and @sherly_gusti_ayu on 3 December 2021 (Figure 8). Both users featured twibbons in their picture section and wrote only #stopaudism in the caption section.

Figure 7. Instagram post of @putyuliani_



Source: (putyuliani_, 2022)

Figure 8. Instagram post of @sherly_gusti_ayu



Source: (sherly_gusti_ayu, 2022)

The third theme identified was the self-disclosure narrative, present in 48 posts. In this theme, the account owners shared personal experiences as persons with disabilities and connected these experiences with their use of sign language. For instance, @amanda_farliany's post on 2 December 2021 (Figure 9), which received 1,367 likes and 20 comments, featured the following text:

"WATCH US TALK....I was born Deaf but did not give up. NOT ALL DEAF/HoH can communicate the same way. Some can only use oral to communicate, some with signing, some can do both, and some cannot do either (because they never had the chance to go to school) ... I have tried my best, one of them by learning Sign Language. Deaf people have always been considered STUPID, PITIED, UNABLE TO DO ANYTHING, WITH LIMITED LANGUAGE TO COMMUNICATE. Always PITIED or SEEN AS NEEDING TO BE SAVED – we do not need pity...😓 We have accepted what we are ... Audism is not a freedom to choose ... Hopefully, it can be a lesson to understand what Audism is. It also does not fall into the category of a crime 😊. Here is the link to join twb.nz/stopaudism #stopaudism".

In the picture section, the account displayed a twibbon with the text "stopaudism" alongside a picture of herself. Through the narrative and images, the account aimed to present herself as a Deaf individual and share her daily experiences. She hoped this would help people understand her perspective and avoid committing acts of Audism against the Deaf community.

Figure 9. Instagram post of @amanda_farliany



Source: (amanda_farliany, 2022)

Another self-disclosure strategy is evident in the post by @maulana_aditya94, uploaded on 2 December (Figure 10). The post reads:

"Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb...Ladies and Gentleman, Why am I Deaf? Because I was originally born Deaf. Every day, I communicate using Sign Language (Indonesian Sign Language) because I find a better understanding and comfort in communicating using sign language without verbally talking. Who made Sign Language? Allah. So, it is something worth feeling grateful for when using sign language. It should be that @tri_rismaharani_kemensos and friends think in a better way. @stopaudism.id #stopaudism".

In this post, the account owner, who is Deaf, emphasised that he is more comfortable and has a better understanding when communicating with sign language. The picture section of the post featured a picture of himself on the first slide and the twibbon "stopaudism" on the second slide. This post received 775 likes and 46 comments.

Figure 10. Instagram post of @maulana_aditya94



Source: (maulana_aditya94, 2022)

The fourth theme observed in the activism led by people with disabilities consists of posts that express disappointment and anger, totalling 34 posts. An example of this theme is in the post by @felstarnissi on 2 December 2021 (Figure 11). In her post, she wrote: "Tomorrow is International Disabilities Day, and I just got the information today that turned my emotions upside down 🙄🙄🙄. The level Minister released that kind of statement and learnt from the Deaf with a privilege? I cannot fathom what is on her mind right now. I always connected the world of deafness with some of the cases of Sexual Violence that happened. Imagine the report of the Deaf cannot be accepted because of the use of sign language. If you want to report to be accepted, you must be "FORCED" to speak. Under the pretext of "maximising abilities". I cannot imagine the trauma. I do not even know what to say because it not only disappoints one or two but 2,7 million Deaf people in Indonesia and parents with Deaf kids! What makes it more upsetting is that the Minister does not even feel guilty and instead is defensive of her statement. Wow, it seems 2045 is still far away 🙄🙄🙄. It has been triggering to see the content in the previous reels and now with the additional statement of the Minister of Social Affairs. I want to deliver my prayer. Audism is deeply rooted in society. Get the twibbon in twb.nz/stopaudism #stopaudism".

In this post, @felstarnissi expressed her deep disappointment regarding the incident where Tri Rismaharani forced a Deaf individual to speak on International Disability Day 2021. She believed that she and the Deaf community of Indonesia and parents of Deaf children shared this profound sense of disappointment. According to her, Tri Rismaharani's actions reflected the deeply entrenched Audism in society. The post, which included a twibbon "stopaudism" and a picture of herself in the top left corner, received 825 likes and seven comments.

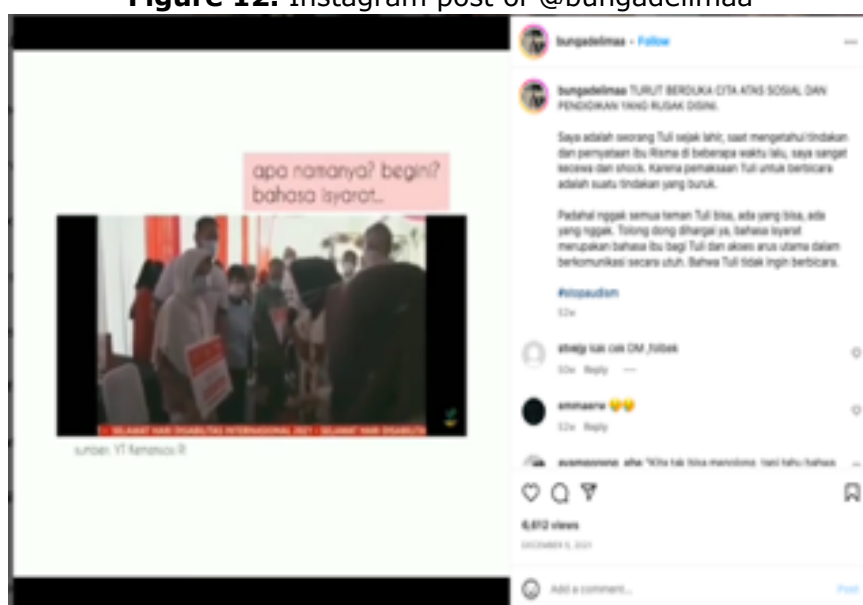
Figure 11. Instagram post of @felstarnissi



Source: (felstarnissi, 2022)

Another account, @bungadelimaa, expressed her disappointment in a post uploaded on 5 December 2021 (Figure 12). She wrote: "DELIVERING CONDOLENCES TOWARDS THE DAMAGED SOCIAL AND EDUCATION HERE. I have been Deaf from birth, and when I received the information regarding the actions and statement from Bu Risma sometime ago, I was very disappointed and in shock. Because to force the Deaf to speak is a cruel act. Not everyone can; some may, and some do not have the capabilities. Please have some respect. Sign language is a mother language for the Deaf and the main access to communicating that the Deaf do not want to talk verbally. #stopaudism". Similar to @bagjapraws, @bungadelimaa also included video footage of the incident when Tri Rismaharani forced a Deaf woman to speak and discouraged the use of Sign Language. This post received 898 likes, 58 comments, and 6612 views.

Figure 12. Instagram post of @bungadelimaa



Source: (bungadelimaa, 2022)

The fifth theme observed in the #stopaudism hashtag activism by disabled persons involved posts that provided visual evidence of the incident and media coverage, totalling 32 posts. One such post was made by @meishinhoo on 2 December 2021 (Figure 13), receiving 93 likes and 10 comments. In this post, the account owner shared a twibbon picture on the first slide and continued with the second to fourth slides, featuring news coverage from Volix Media regarding the incident. The fifth slide contained footage from the video of the incident. The caption of the post read:

"Indonesian Deaf uses Sign Language and does not have to communicate verbally. Cheer up, we, the Deaf, support sign language. I love you all, the Deaf, 🙋❤️🙋, Thank you."

Figure 13. Instagram post of @meishinhoo



Source: (meishinhoo, 2022)

The sixth theme that emerged from the #stopaudism activism focused on content that invited support for a specific stance and signing a petition initiated by the Indonesian Deaf Community Network to demand an apology from the Minister of Social Affairs, Tri Rismaharani. There were only three posts with this theme. One of these posts was shared by @aryolandasari on 7 December 2021 (Figure 14) and read as follows:

"International Disability Day (3 December) is commemorated annually to promote the rights and welfare of people with disabilities in various levels of society and the developmental stages, as well as to raise awareness towards the situations of disabled persons in various aspects such as political, social, economic, and cultural life (WHO). People with disabilities, including the Deaf, live in vulnerable situations, both vulnerable to being left behind due to an environment that does not accommodate their special needs and vulnerable to violence due to the stigmas attached. Therefore, the act of affirmation needs to be encouraged to minimise the gaps in between, one of them being the effort to understand the diversity in terms of communication, either verbally or by signing, instead of imposing the standard of normal hearing communication towards the Deaf. Thank you @felstarnissi and friends from @feministhemis for trying to educate about the culture of deafness and Audism. I have learned much from you and would love to learn about the issues continuously! Sign the petition. #stopaudism #supportIndonesianSignLanguage #cultureofdeafness #supportsignlanguage #internationaldisabilitydays."

The post consisted of 9 slides containing information regarding the statement of attitude. In contrast, the 10th slide displayed a petition page from change.org demanding an apology from the Minister of Social Affairs, Tri Rismaharani.

Figure 14. Instagram post of @aryolandasari



Source: (meishinhoo, 2022)

@bagjapraws also invited people to sign a petition in his post on 7 December (Figure 15). He wrote:

"The Deaf are calling all Indonesians. In order for the action taken by the Minister of Social Affairs, Dr. Ir. Tri Rismaharani, M.T., to not become an example and commonplace and to prevent the perpetuation of stigma against the Deaf, we take action to urge her to apologise to the Deaf people of Indonesia. An apology as a sign for her to acknowledge the action committed, indicating a violation of a disabled person's human rights in the Constitution Number 8, the year 2016 concerning Persons with Disabilities, namely: 1. Respect for rights without discrimination in article 5 paragraph (1). 2. The right to express and communicate in Article 24 concerning the Right to Express, Communicate, and Obtain information. Let us sign the petition together to ensure that a similar incident will not occur again. Link to the petition. #trirismaharni #ministerofsocialaffairs #disability #Deaf #discrimination #petition."

In the picture section, a 5-page petition manuscript is displayed. This post received 1,186 likes and eight comments.

Figure 15. Instagram post of @bagjapraws



Source: (bagjapraws, 2022)

The emergence of various themes within hashtag activism by people with disabilities represents the diverse ways they engage in digital participation to create their narratives and challenge mainstream discourse. One prominent aspect of this is the self-disclosure narrative or personalisation, which Veronica Barassi identifies as a key feature of contemporary social media activism (Barassi, 2018). While social media provides accessible channels for activists with disabilities, they still face challenges in constructing counter-narratives within these platforms.

The research findings highlight that the #stopaudism hashtag movement is characterised by structured ideologies promoting free speech and anti-audism sentiments. This movement catalyses group formation among persons who aim to promote their culture, particularly sign language, and drive social change. Moreover, there is evidence of online and offline dense informal network structures within this movement. Persons who choose to be part of the #stopaudism online community adopt shared collective identities and coordinate their actions, aligning with Jenkins' concept of participatory culture (Jenkins, 2016). This participatory culture emphasises inclusivity, multiplicity, and the adaptability of protest identities, with online platforms blurring the lines between the inside and outside of the movement, reflecting the values of inclusiveness and direct participation (Gerbaudo & Trere, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Based on the data analysis, there is a notable increase in the usage of the hashtag #stopaudism from 2 December 2021 to 7 December 2022. The analysis reveals that the trend for the hashtag #stopaudism experienced a significant spike on December 2 and 3, 2021, followed by a gradual decline in usage. Furthermore, the research has identified key actors within the disability community who garnered the highest likes and comments on their posts while engaging in hashtag activism under the @stopaudism hashtag.

The hashtag activism undertaken by persons with disabilities using #stopaudism demonstrates their active digital engagement within the framework of a participatory culture. These everyday activists utilise hashtag activism to challenge societal norms and bring about change. However, it is important to note that their numbers remain relatively small compared to non-disabled groups, which have a significantly higher level of digital engagement. This highlights the ongoing digital divide experienced by persons with disabilities, indicating that full digital accessibility for this community has yet to be realised.

Several significant obstacles must be overcome to achieve digital inclusion for persons with disabilities. Programs and initiatives to support digital accessibility for this community are urgently needed to enhance their digital participation and competence. The advancement of information and communication technology must go hand in hand with efforts to promote inclusion and full participation for people with

disabilities. Furthermore, the limited involvement of non-disabled persons in the #stopaudism hashtag activism highlights that disability issues have not yet gained substantial attention from the broader community. This suggests that people with disabilities still struggle to find their place in society, and the issue of disability remains marginalised.

Thematic analysis of the #stopaudism hashtag activism carried out by persons with disabilities reveals that the most dominant theme is education. In addition to education, there are five other identified themes: self-disclosure, declaration of hashtag activism, expression of anger or disappointment, evidence/media coverage, and invitations to sign petitions. The educational narratives within these posts aim to raise awareness and knowledge among the general public about disability issues, particularly addressing misconceptions and discriminatory behaviours towards Deaf persons, to promote understanding of Deaf culture.

While hashtag activism has faced criticism for being perceived as a fleeting and superficial form of engagement, it is important to recognise that some hashtag activism campaigns have successfully translated into real-world impact. Regardless of the ongoing debates surrounding its effectiveness, hashtag activism has raised awareness and encouraged participation in important social issues, which is commendable and meaningful.

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