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The Construction of Digital Solidarity through Social Media Mediation: A Digital Ethnographic Study of the Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) Community

Eva Jessica[1a)], Annisa Fikri Nabila[2)], Hidayat Purwanto Jamil[3)] Ananda Syafitri[4)]

[1,2,3,4)] **Indonesia University**

[a)] author correspondence : eva.jessica@ui.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

The development of information and communication technology has fundamentally transformed the landscape of social solidarity. Social media has become a new space for the formation of collective bonds that transcend geographical boundaries. This study aims to uncover the construction of digital solidarity through social media mediation in the virtual community of Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ). ICJ is a community based on a public Facebook group that actively discusses public service obstacles and traffic conditions in the Yogyakarta area. This study employed a qualitative approach with a digital ethnography strategy, using the follow the user and connective ethnography methods. Data were collected through observation across Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and X platforms, as well as in-depth interviews with the founder, regional coordinators, and community members. The findings reveal that ICJ's digital solidarity is constructed through three mechanisms: the formation of a universe of discourse grounded in shared experiences, the development of adaptive cross-platform digital communication infrastructure, and the production of trust through repeated collective practices. The solidarity that emerges is hybrid in nature, simultaneously combining mechanical and organic solidarity while transcending the dichotomy between digital and physical space.

Keywords: *Info Cegatan Jogja; digital solidarity; social worlds; virtual community*

ABSTRAK

Perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi telah mengubah lanskap solidaritas sosial secara fundamental. Media sosial kini menjadi ruang baru bagi terbentuknya ikatan kolektif yang melampaui batas geografis. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengungkap konstruksi solidaritas digital pada komunitas virtual Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) yang termediasi melalui media sosial. ICJ merupakan komunitas dalam bentuk grup publik Facebook yang aktif mendiskusikan kendala layanan publik serta lalu lintas di wilayah Yogyakarta dan sekitarnya. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode etnografi digital, melalui teknik follow the user dan connective ethnography. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui observasi pada grup Facebook serta wawancara mendalam dengan pendiri, koordinator wilayah, dan anggota komunitas ICJ. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa solidaritas digital ICJ terkonstruksi melalui tiga mekanisme: pembentukan universe of discourse berbasis kesamaan pengalaman, pengembangan infrastruktur komunikasi digital lintas platform, dan produksi kepercayaan melalui praktik kolektif yang berulang. Solidaritas yang terbentuk bersifat hybrid, memadukan solidaritas mekanik dan organik secara simultan serta melampaui dikotomi ruang digital dan fisik.

Kata Kunci: Info Cegatan Jogja; solidaritas digital; dunia sosial; komunitas virtual

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INTRODUCTION

Communication and information technology continue to evolve with the times. These developments have not only brought about media integration in the digital age but have also fundamentally restructured the landscape of human social interaction. In the digital age, media has become an ingrained and inseparable part of people's daily lives and social contexts (Hine, 2020). The space for human interaction is no longer limited to the physical realm but has also expanded into virtual spaces. Social media has the potential to become a new public sphere that mediates the formation of social bonds, collective identities, and forms of solidarity that differ from those of the pre-digital era. In the digital public sphere, discourse can be produced on a massive, rapid, and participatory scale. A wide variety of information spreads in a short amount of time, leading to an information overload. This information overload occurs ceaselessly and becomes a force capable of fostering interaction among users (Trisilowati, 2017). Constant interaction, easy access to communication, extensive networks, and community groups that are not bound by geographical or temporal boundaries have ultimately sparked the emergence of a new form of solidarity, even on a transnational scale (Nadhifa et al., 2026).

The concept of solidarity has existed ever since humans began living side by side. When individuals are willing to contribute and share resources through collective action, solidarity is formed (Stjernø, 2005). According to Emile Durkheim (in Bulanov et al., 2026), solidarity is a normative mechanism that integrates members of society into the social system, thereby creating order. Durkheim (in Achmad, 2022) divides solidarity into two forms, corresponding to the development of human civilization. Durkheim refers to solidarity in more traditional and homogeneous societies as mechanical solidarity. A homogeneous social environment leads people within it to share the same awareness and way of thinking. Society is united by the moral values and collective identity that emerge within it. As time went on, more modern societies became characterized by a complex and specialized division of labor. These differences create a high degree of interdependence among members of society. Durkheim (in Stjernø, 2005) refers to this type of solidarity as organic solidarity. Organic solidarity emerges in societies with more complex and diversified social structures. The bonds between individuals are not based on similarity, but rather on interdependence resulting from the differences in each person's specialization.

In a more modern society that is integrated with the internet, the concept of solidarity extends beyond geographical and temporal boundaries. In the virtual realm, solidarity transforms into digital solidarity through the mediation of the internet and social media. Digital solidarity holds great potential, but it also faces challenges unique to this era. Emotional bonds and closeness in the digital age are very weak due to the decline in the frequency of face-to-face meetings (Bulanov et al., 2026). Furthermore, the digital age is also characterized by the rise of individual

egocentrism and the high potential for the spread of misinformation. This can lead to clashes of opinion among members of society due to "echo chambers." Society's orientation toward building relationships has also shifted and is undergoing a transition due to increasingly complex social differentiation. These conditions have the potential to cause personal interests to override collective interests. This reality underscores the need for more in-depth research to further understand digital solidarity. Digital solidarity is evident in several virtual communities, one of which is a community called Info Cegatan Jogja.

Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) is a virtual community established on the Facebook platform. The ICJ community is a public group, so all Facebook users can join. Discussions within the ICJ Facebook group revolve around traffic information, accidents, crime, lost items, and other incidents in the Yogyakarta area and its surroundings. The community has continued to evolve from a digital bulletin board into a space for intensive interaction among its members. These interactions make use of various features available on the platform, such as liking posts, commenting, sharing content, and even the emergence of the distinctive greeting "Salam Aspal Gronjal." The interactions that take place among members of the public Facebook group "Info Cegatan Jogja" form "social worlds." The concept of social worlds refers to a flexible form of social organization that is not constrained by strict geographical, territorial, or formal boundaries (Unruh, 1980).

Social worlds are formed from shared practices—such as collective activities—that serve as the binding force among participants. Unruh (1980) asserts that social worlds are not formal organizations or communities bounded by geographical boundaries, but rather social arenas that thrive through communication and ongoing voluntary participation. These mechanisms ensure that social worlds are always dynamic and never truly closed off or airtight. Social worlds are continuously constructed, reproduced, and maintained as long as participants remain engaged in shared practices. These mechanisms have evolved into the digital age and transformed into new spaces. Nevertheless, the development of social worlds in the digital era demonstrates that digital and physical interactions are intertwined. The online and offline worlds are not separate entities; rather, they complement one another (Pink et al., 2016).

The dynamic and non-airtight nature of the ICJ's social worlds also appears paradoxical when contrasted with the concept of solidarity—which is typically associated with cohesion, interdependence, and more stable membership boundaries. However, shared practices and common experiences serve as important binding factors for the ICJ community. Community members often share experiences regarding obstacles in public administrative services and traffic challenges. These interactions open up spaces for discussion, allowing members to exchange information. Each member brings different forms of access and expertise to address the needs of other members. These interactions then spark concrete action in the material public sphere. Members help one another and share tips when facing difficulties obtaining a driver's license (SIM), encountering barriers to accessing

healthcare, or supporting one another to address issues of street crime. These collective activities occur consistently. It is this consistency that keeps the ICJ intact as a "social world," while simultaneously fostering collective consciousness and social bonds among its members. The collective consciousness and social bonds constructed through the mechanisms of "social worlds" ultimately give rise to digital solidarity.

The collective activities of Info Cegatan Jogja have drawn many researchers in the social sciences in Indonesia to explore the role and composition of this community. Previous research has examined the advocacy efforts of the Facebook public group Info Cegatan Jogja in response to thuggery (Surwandono & Bahari, 2020) and the role of social media in shaping transformative citizenship (Arnaz & Setiadi, 2022). However, no study has yet uncovered and explored the construction of digital solidarity through social media mediation. This research gap is a crucial starting point for unpacking the concept of digital solidarity as a recent development in communication studies and media sociology.

The digital solidarity fostered within the ICJ community has emerged through a complex and lengthy organic process. Therefore, the research question posed in this study is, "How is the construction of digital solidarity within Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) mediated by the social media platform Facebook?" This study was conducted with the aim of uncovering the construction of digital solidarity through social media mediation. This study will use digital solidarity and social worlds as its main concepts. Digital ethnography—which involves tracing the key actors within this community—is used as a method to explain the construction of solidarity that has formed over time.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach to understand the context or environment of the Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) community in constructing digital solidarity through social media. The qualitative approach facilitates this mission because it allows for a deeper understanding of the context in which research participants discuss a problem or issue (Creswell, 2017) The use of digital ethnography in this study serves to understand the dynamics of technology-mediated human relationships by positioning social media as a digital living environment and a space where social practices continuously evolve (Pink et al., 2016). The subject of this study is the Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) community. ICJ was chosen as the subject of this study because the community actively interacts and disseminates information regarding traffic, accidents, crime, lost items, and other events in Yogyakarta and the surrounding areas. Furthermore, this community—formed through the mediation of Facebook—also features intensive interactions via "likes," comments, content sharing, and concrete actions to assist ICJ members or the broader Yogyakarta community.

Data collection in this study was conducted using the "follow the user" technique (Caliandro, 2025) and connective ethnography (Leander & McKim, 2003). The use of the "follow the user" technique allowed the researcher to track the flow of interactions and social relationships, both across geographical boundaries and across social media platforms. This study traced the members of the Facebook group "Info Cegatan Jogja," leading to the identification of the key actor, Yanto Sumantri, as the group's founder. By applying the "follow the user" approach to track Yanto Sumantri's account, this study was able to conduct an interview with the founder of the "Info Cegatan Jogja" Facebook group. Additionally, this approach enabled the study to reach Rini, an active member of the "Info Cegatan Jogja" Facebook group.

The "follow the user" technique allowed this study to go beyond the limitations of algorithms by contacting Yanto Sumantri and Rini via direct message. This would not have been possible if the study had focused solely on monitoring the timeline. The "follow the user" technique proved crucial in tracing the construction of digital solidarity within the Info Cegatan Jogja virtual community. This technique also guided this study toward the next community node, namely the Info Cegatan Jogja Jabodetabek (ICJ Jabodetabek) subgroup. In addition to "follow the user," this study also employed the technique of connective ethnography. Connective ethnography enables the tracking of the dynamic flow of interactions within the ICJ community, ranging from digital spaces (social media) to various offline activities.

The presence of the name "Jogja" within the ICJ community serves as a deeply ingrained identity that unites all members, even those located outside the geographical region of Yogyakarta. The connective ethnography approach helped this study trace ICJ members in the Greater Jakarta area and the formation of the ICJ Greater Jakarta chapter. These techniques were applied through observation and interviews conducted in accordance with ethical approval letter No. KET-24/UN2.F9.KEP/PPM.00.02/2026 issued by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Indonesia. These two processes took place from April 2026 through May 2026. Observations were conducted on all social media platforms using the name "Info Cegatan Jogja," namely Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and X. The results of the observations showed that there was only one authentic "Info Cegatan Jogja" account, established by Yanto Sumantri.

The account is named "Info Cegatan Jogja" and includes the description "Group by Yanto Sumantri." Meanwhile, the Facebook and other social media accounts were created and managed by different people. Following an in-depth analysis of each social media platform, this study conducted an interview with the founder of Info Cegatan Jogja, Yanto Sumantri. This in-depth interview with the founder of ICJ subsequently led to a further interview with the ICJ Jabodetabek regional coordinator, Widiyono (Nino). When planning the interview, Nino, as the ICJ Jabodetabek regional coordinator, brought along his wife, Wulan. Wulan's role as an active member of ICJ Jabodetabek led her to become an informant in this study as well. The pool of informants for this study expanded to include active members of

Info Cegatan Jogja and ICJ Jabodetabek. Interview sessions were held with Rini, a member of Info Cegatan Jogja, and Rendy, a member of ICJ Jabodetabek.

The interview sessions in this study were conducted in-depth to understand the social worlds formed within virtual communities. Initial interactions within the ICJ community did indeed take place through Facebook. However, the intense interactions within the ICJ Facebook group led to the formation of digital solidarity among members, both online and offline. The use of interviews also aimed to demonstrate that the ICJ constitutes a real social world that exists both online and offline. The next phase following data collection involved iterative-inductive data analysis (O'Reilly, 2012). The data obtained were then processed through two coding stages: open coding and focused coding.

Open coding is used to analyze data inductively by exploring various phenomena that emerge from the field data. The next stage is focused coding, a process of developing ideas, categories, and insights that emerge from open coding by linking related codes into broader categories, thereby producing clearer analytical arguments or narratives. Focused coding also involves selecting key themes for further development during the research writing process (O'Reilly, 2009). The operational implementation of focused coding in this study is carried out through axial coding to link categories more systematically. The process then proceeds to selective coding to integrate core categories into the main conceptual framework prior to the stage of writing up the research findings. The coding process is carried out iteratively, continuously comparing the data, categories, and interpretations that emerge as the research progresses.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Info Cegatan Jogja was founded in 2013. Its founder is Yanto Sumantri, a cell phone repair service provider. The idea originated from interactions on a buy-and-sell forum on Kaskus, one of Indonesia's most popular online forums, in mid-2010. These interactions eventually shifted to discussions about barriers to accessing public services, prompting Yanto Sumantri to create a separate discussion space in the form of a Facebook group. Yanto Sumantri stated:

"At first, most of our discussions actually took place on buying-and-selling forums. So, there were newcomers and there were owners. Basically, we just interacted with each other like that. But over time, as we interacted more often, our interactions weren't just about transactions anymore. We'd sometimes talk about personal matters—even to the point where the moms would open up to us. Their concerns were mostly related to public services."

The first "Info Cegatan Jogja" group was temporarily taken down by Facebook, and in 2024, Yanto Sumantri created a new Facebook group with the same

name. Currently, there are many fake accounts with similar names on Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and X. These accounts were created and are managed by third parties, not Yanto Sumantri. The ICJ Facebook group created by Yanto Sumantri—which is the subject of this study—is named "info cegatan jogja" (with the username icjereborn) and includes the description "Group by Yanto Sumantri."



Figure 1. Facebook Group: Info Cegatan Jogja
(Source: facebook.com/groups/icjreborn)

Research data collected through observation and in-depth interviews reveals the existence of a construct of digital solidarity formed through social media mediation within the Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) community. The ICJ's social worlds are shaped through mutually supportive processes that collectively generate digital solidarity. The foundation of ICJ is built upon a universe of discourse rooted in shared experiences of accessing public services. Second, the development of digital communication infrastructure that enables interaction and coordination among members beyond geographical boundaries. Third, the production of collective identity and trust through repeated and consistent shared practices. Together, these three processes generate a hybrid form of digital solidarity that transcends the online-offline dichotomy.

Universe of Discourse n the Social World: Info Cegatan Jogja

The interactions among members within Info Cegatan Jogja are driven by a shared sense of solidarity and a common struggle. Members engage in discussions about their experiences dealing with unresponsive public services: difficulties with administrative procedures, falling victim to illegal fees (pungli), confusion in finding public service information that should be easily accessible, and the feeling that their voices and opinions are never truly heard by any institution. Yanto Sumantri, founder of Info Cegatan Jogja, stated:

"So, it turns out that after we dug around and tried reaching out to people, we found that almost everyone had had complaints about public services. Well, the most common complaints were indeed about traffic, because almost everyone has experienced some form of mobility—whether walking, biking, riding a motorcycle, or driving a car. Almost everyone has run into problems, ranging from not having a

driver's license, not wearing a helmet, violating traffic signs, and so on, including issues with administrative services."

This sense of shared fate serves as the seed of the "universe of discourse" (Unruh, 1980). The universe of discourse refers to the boundaries of social worlds defined by communication and the discourse within them. These boundaries extend beyond geographical regions, formal membership, or even physical presence. Shibutani (in Unruh, 1980) argues that members of modern society can adopt the perspective of a particular group without ever being physically present within it, as long as they are connected through the same channels and framework of communication. In the context of the ICJ, that communicative framework is the narrative of the "little people." Ordinary people identify as "little people" because they feel powerless in the face of an unjust and unresponsive system. This narrative serves as a shared language that unites individuals who did not previously know one another, while also providing the fundamental reason why each member feels the need to continue interacting.

Facebook was chosen as the platform because nearly all individuals involved in the discussion already had Facebook accounts. Members were also accustomed to the platform and found its features easy to use. Accessibility and familiarity were the primary considerations. The shift from Kaskus to Facebook marked the initial formalization of a "universe of discourse" that had previously existed only in informal conversations. At that point, the ICJ's social worlds gained a platform recognizable to a broader public, even though the boundaries of its membership remained fluid. Yanto Sumantri also explained how easily accessible Facebook is to the public in the following statement:

"Back in 2013, I created a Facebook account. In early 2012–2013, I remember that Facebook was really taking off and making its way onto everyone's devices. For example, many telecommunications providers were offering access to Facebook. So, as we (the founding members of the ICJ) observed, large numbers of people were flocking to Facebook."

This aligns with Unruh's (1980) conception that social worlds are not formal organizations precisely bounded by spatial, territorial, formal, or membership boundaries. Members join voluntarily because they find their experiences reflected in the discussions and discourses that take shape within the group. Interactions among ICJ members are also not closed off from the outside world. Each ICJ member brings external influences into the community and vice versa. This fluidity reflects a defining characteristic of social worlds: while their boundaries can be technically identified, they are never truly isolated from other social worlds (Pink et al., 2016).

The fluidity of members—who can join, leave, participate, or not participate in ICJ interactions—also characterizes "voluntary identification" within the concept of social worlds (Unruh, 1980). Participation in social worlds is voluntary, and precisely because of this voluntary nature, the bonds formed possess a more authentic

depth than membership in formal organizations. People join the ICJ because they share similar experiences with public service issues or traffic problems on the roads. Members come to realize that they are not alone in facing these concerns. The ICJ Facebook group has thus become a space that facilitates collective activities to help one another and share information on how to overcome these obstacles. Yanto Sumantri stated:

"It starts with a Facebook group, and it stays within the Facebook group at first. Then, if something comes up—like an issue that can't be resolved through discussion—our local ICJ activists will usually conduct a site visit. They'd survey the location. If not, they'd visit. If not, we'd try to mediate the situation. From there, we'd continue the process—discussing, negotiating, or trying to find a solution."

Yanto Sumantri's statement, which implied collective efforts to find a solution, was consistent with Rini's account. As an active member of the Facebook group "Info Cegatan Jogja," Rini explained the diversity of perspectives among the members. Rini stated:

"At the ICJ, there are a lot of people who… I wonder what they're thinking. Anyway, they're all kinds of people—some are really open-minded. There are a lot of them, you know."

The ICJ's universe of discourse is not limited to a single theme. Although it initially centered on concerns regarding public services and traffic, the ICJ's organizational focus (in Unruh's terminology, 1980) is fluid yet cohesive. Members who joined because of their experiences with extortion may participate in discussions about traffic, while members who initially sought only information may evolve into active contributors. This flexibility allows the ICJ to survive and thrive, as the community evolves in response to the needs and priorities of its members. Unruh (1980) himself emphasizes that one of the defining characteristics of social worlds is their ability to continually redefine themselves, negotiate spontaneously, and even shift their organizational focus without losing the fundamental cohesion that unites their members.

The Dynamics of Communication Infrastructure: Info Cegatan Jogja

The ICJ social world would not have formed without adequate communication infrastructure. Unruh (1980) emphasizes that a communication center is one of the most important structural features of a social world. The communication center serves as the place where members' engagement is focused, coordinated, and distributed, as well as the place where discourse regarding the direction and character of a social world is formed. Facebook served as the initial venue for interactions among ICJ members.

However, as the community grew in size and members' needs became more

diverse, Facebook's capacity as the sole communication center began to feel limited. Urgent coordination needs—such as requests for help accessing healthcare, reports of lost items, or traffic updates—could no longer be adequately handled through Facebook, which is slow and open to the public. The community naturally shifted to WhatsApp groups as a faster and more personal channel for coordination.

"Nino, the ICJ Jabodetabek regional coordinator, said, "Mr. Yanto created a link, right? So each regional coordinator has a WhatsApp group. Mr. Yanto posted it in the ICJ group. For the Jakarta region, this is the Bantul area—Mr. Yanto posted it there. Quick response." Nino also explained the purpose of the WhatsApp group, saying, "It's just for exchanging information on WhatsApp. It's more about sharing information, or when someone needs info. For example, if someone needs… (conversation paused)." Then Nino continued, adding, "A wheelchair."

Although there is a WhatsApp group, Facebook continues to serve as an information hub for inactive or semi-active members. This shift in platforms reflects the ICJ's social worlds, which require more differentiated communication channels. The platform adaptation occurring within the ICJ demonstrates that communication infrastructure is an active medium that shapes how communities organize and show solidarity. The pattern of functional differentiation between Facebook and WhatsApp is known as "platform ecology"—the simultaneous use of various platforms according to the community's communicative needs (Zhao et al., 2016). Unruh (1980) himself emphasized that social worlds are not airtight; there is always permeability, openness, and the capacity to change in response to surrounding conditions. ICJ demonstrates this by responding to internal communication needs and opening itself up to broader community developments.

It was this non-exclusive nature of the ICJ that eventually led to the formation of ICJ Jabodetabek. ICJ Jabodetabek is a sub-community formed by ICJ members residing in the Jabodetabek area. Most members of the ICJ Jabodetabek are migrants who maintain an identity tied to Yogyakarta, even though they no longer live there. The ICJ Jabodetabek has its own coordination structure and WhatsApp group. This platform enables faster and more personalized coordination, particularly regarding urgent matters such as natural disaster relief or the distribution of basic food supplies during the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, ICJ Jabodetabek remains oriented toward Yogyakarta as a center of reference and symbolic gravity—or what Unruh (1980) refers to as a "geographical center." Yogyakarta is not a requirement for membership but rather a point of reference that unites all layers of the ICJ community.

Another characteristic of the ICJ is the pattern of partial and layered involvement among its members. Each member is involved only in some activities, according to their capacity and needs. This partial involvement actually indicates that the ICJ's social world is so vast that no single member can fully participate in it. The involvement of each ICJ member depends on their motivation and diverse reasons for joining, which actually enriches the social world by fostering role specialization.

Specialization within the ICJ virtual community is divided into several roles: (1) members who serve as content moderators in Facebook groups; (2) members who serve as regional coordinators; (3) those who serve as confidants for fellow ICJ members; and (4) those who are content simply to share traffic information.

This diverse spectrum of involvement aligns with Unruh's typology of participants: strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders (1980). Participants in social worlds may include (1) "insiders" who focus on creating and sustaining activities; (2) "regulars" as loyal participants who are integrated into the daily activities of the ICJ's social worlds; (3) tourists who are involved solely out of curiosity, without long-term commitment; and (4) strangers outside the main focus of the social world who are still considered reference points for the ICJ—for example, those seeking traffic information through the public group "info cegatan jogja." This differentiation of roles does not weaken the cohesion of the social world but rather strengthens it, as each role contributes to the overall functioning of the community.

Building Trust Through Repetitive Practices as the Foundation of Digital Solidarity

The ICJ's social world mechanism that has the greatest impact on the formation of digital solidarity is the process of building trust through repeated and consistent practices. Trust within the ICJ is not formed instantly, but is built gradually through structured community activities. Monthly in-person meetups (kopdar), casual coffee gatherings (kopsan), community service, independent patrols, and fundraising through the "koin peduli" program serve as venues where members meet, get to know one another, and demonstrate their commitment to the community. Every time a planned activity is successfully carried out, the members' trust in one another grows stronger.

One example that illustrates this situation is when a member working abroad regularly sent financial contributions to the ICJ board. This member had never participated in in-person activities or met with the ICJ board. All communication took place online, but the member entrusted the management of the funds to one of the administrators because of the ICJ's strong track record. A similar situation was experienced by another member who actively engaged with the community to obtain information on accessing traffic accident assistance services. Although this member ultimately did not gain the access they sought, they remained in the ICJ community because they felt they gained other benefits from the discussions taking place there. This trust was built as a result of consistent, routine collective actions. Trust would be difficult to build without repeated, tangible activities; it is this routine that serves as the glue that binds the community together and fosters solidarity.

These findings reinforce the argument that, within digital communities, solidarity is, in fact, a matter of consistent collective practice. Digital spaces are capable of creating and supporting collective action that has an impact in the real world (Simi & Futrell, 2006). Trust within the ICJ is fostered through consistent collective action, which serves as a hallmark of a virtual community that has moved beyond the initial phase of experimentation and entered a stage of maturity. Online and offline interactions within the ICJ framework do not exist as two separate realms but are interconnected and coexist within the same world. Solidarity practices that take place on social media manifest as social actions in the real world. These real-world experiences are then brought back into the digital space to be shared, thereby strengthening solidarity among members (Greijdanus et al., 2020).

Organic community moderation further strengthens this trust-building mechanism. Moderation within the ICJ community is still done manually. Administrators review posts and curate content deemed to violate community values (discussions of politics, ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup issues [SARA], as well as buying and selling transactions are prohibited), while community members also independently play a role in upholding ethical standards for social media interaction. Knowledge of the community's values and norms spreads organically from long-standing members to new ones. This knowledge forms an unwritten agreement that keeps the ICJ cohesive without it having to become a rigid, bureaucratic organization. Although it has built relationships with several government agencies, the ICJ consistently refuses to be used as a political vehicle or to be formalized as a civil society organization. This refusal is a pragmatic strategy to maintain neutrality and the trust of all levels of membership. It ensures that the ICJ's organizational focus remains on the concrete, everyday issues faced by residents.

A shared identity within a virtual community can also serve as a substitute for physical closeness in fostering social cohesion (Fuchs, 2007). The phrase "Salam Aspal Gronjal," which emerged organically from members' initiatives, is a linguistic artifact that encapsulates the community's philosophy: keep moving forward even when the road isn't always smooth, and stay united toward a common goal even when the path is winding. This collective identity transcends regional origins, social class, and personal backgrounds. It is this identity that allows the ICJ's social world to remain cohesive, even though its members are scattered across Yogyakarta, Magelang, Jombang, and even the Greater Jakarta area. The ICJ's collective identity is also expressed through community merchandise. All ICJ community merchandise is produced and distributed from Yogyakarta, in accordance with a decision by Yanto Sumantri, the founder. The existence of these physical items seems to affirm that the ICJ's digital solidarity does not exist solely in virtual space but also requires material markers in the physical world. The nature of the ICJ's digital solidarity—produced in digital space but consumed in physical space—aligns with the argument by Pink et al. (2016), who state that social worlds in the digital age are intertwined through digital-material interactions.

Digital Solidarity as a Network of Capabilities

The ultimate manifestation of ICJ's digital solidarity is its transformation into a structured, cross-border, and mutually complementary network of capabilities in the offline world. Each individual builds a functional support system that makes a real impact by sharing their expertise and access with other members. For example, a member who also works at an airport provides technical travel information and accompanies other members who are traveling through the airport. There are also members who provide up-to-date information on public services such as taxes and driver's licenses, as well as recommend auto repair shops or transportation routes based on personal experience. This network was not created by the board or founders; rather, it grew organically from the principle that every member brings capabilities and potential that are useful to other members.

This network of capabilities reflects the simultaneous fusion of Durkheim's two forms of solidarity (as cited in Achmad, 2022) within a single community. Mechanical solidarity manifests as a collective consciousness built upon shared identity and shared experiences. Meanwhile, organic solidarity takes the form of an organic differentiation of roles, such as content moderators, regional coordinators, traffic information contributors, fundraisers, confidants, and even passive members of the community. This differentiation strengthens community cohesion by creating a meaningful system of interdependence. Each distinct role complements the others and supports the system as a whole.

Ultimately, the solidarity forged within the ICJ community transcends the dichotomy between the digital and physical spaces. This hybrid nature is the most distinctive hallmark of mature digital solidarity. Discussions on Facebook subsequently evolved into a series of concrete collective actions that had a direct impact on real life, such as renovating the homes of low-income residents, providing clean water to communities in need, conducting independent patrols on public roads, and distributing aid to residents affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. This transformation demonstrates that the ICJ's social world mechanisms have successfully fostered tangible solidarity. This solidarity even transcends rigid membership boundaries, as it is often felt by people who have never had direct contact with the ICJ's digital world. This reinforces the argument that online and offline interactions are not separate but interconnected, since solidarity practices on social media can manifest as social actions in the real world (Greijdanus et al., 2020).

Yanto Sumantri's leadership as the founder serves as another crucial pillar in maintaining this hybrid solidarity. Although the ICJ is not a formal organization and lacks a standardized governance structure, the community functions because there is a figure whose authority is voluntarily recognized by all members. Yanto Sumantri did not claim this position through formal procedures, but rather through a track record of contributions and consistent commitment over the years. This pattern aligns with the concept of informal leadership in online communities. Legitimacy is built

through trust and contributions, not structural positions (Vidolov et al., 2022). Major community decisions still refer to Yanto Sumantri because all members implicitly recognize that Yanto is the community's moral and symbolic reference point.

The existence of ICJ has also sparked the emergence of similar communities in other cities, such as Info Cegatan Solo and Temanggung. Journalists and public institutions have also turned to ICJ as a credible source of information, recognizing the community's authority as the authentic voice of the people. ICJ has grown into a reference point, a model, and a collective voice for residents—built from the ground up without formal power, but rather through trust and shared concern accumulated over the years. ICJ's expansion beyond community boundaries further underscores the hybrid nature of the solidarity it has fostered. This phenomenon of expansion confirms that successful mechanisms within the social world will also drive the replication and diffusion of solidarity to new communities outside the ICJ. The ICJ's social world has evolved from a local-regional context to one that is increasingly spatially dispersed, comprising semi-autonomous subworlds that remain connected within a shared universe of discourse. In a broader context, the ICJ serves as empirical evidence that digital solidarity—built upon shared everyday challenges—actually possesses significant resilience and reach within Indonesia's digital social landscape. This finding contributes to the conceptualization of digital solidarity as a phenomenon that cannot be fully understood through the framework of pre-digital solidarity. Conceptualizing digital solidarity requires an approach that is sensitive to the mediating role of technology in the formation of social bonds. This is an urgent theoretical agenda that needs to be developed as digital platforms penetrate deeper and deeper into the lives of communities.

CONCLUSION

This study reveals that digital solidarity within the Info Cegatan Jogja (ICJ) virtual community is constructed through three mutually reinforcing mechanisms. First is the formation of a "universe of discourse" based on shared experiences of unresponsive public services; second is the development of adaptive, cross-platform digital communication infrastructure; and third is the building of trust through repeated and consistent collective practices. Its hybrid nature is evident in the transformation of online interactions into a network of mutually supportive capabilities that have a direct social impact on the offline world.

The practical implications of these research findings are that the ICJ can serve as a model for social media-based community empowerment, as well as evidence that effective civic participation can emerge from the grassroots without formal authority. However, the community's reliance on its founder and on moderation based on informal values makes it structurally vulnerable. Beyond practical implications, the existence of the ICJ also has the potential to influence policy because it highlights gaps in the responsiveness of formal institutions. Formal institutions can respond by

treating digital communities as strategic partners.

This study also enriches our understanding of digital solidarity as a phenomenon that cannot be fully understood through the framework of pre-digital solidarity. The simultaneous interplay of mechanical and organic solidarity within a single virtual community represents a tangible contribution to the development of solidarity theory in the digital context. Methodologically, the combination of "follow the user" and "connective ethnography" techniques has proven effective for tracing the dynamics of virtual communities that transcend platform and geographic boundaries. This approach can serve as a methodological reference for communication researchers studying digital community phenomena—including both cyber solidarity and social media-based social movements—in Indonesia and other Global South contexts.

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