

## Research Paper

**Digital Group Solidarity: Rethinking the Typology of Beckert's Moral Embeddedness in the Contemporary Market Arena****Lora Luayya<sup>1</sup>; Sudarsono Hardjosoekarto<sup>1\*</sup>; One Herwantoko<sup>1</sup> and Nur Muhammaditya<sup>1</sup>**<sup>1</sup>*Department of Sociology, Universitas Indonesia, Indonesia*\*Corresponding author: [soekarto@ui.ac.id](mailto:soekarto@ui.ac.id)**Abstract**

This study explores digital group solidarity as a new typology in the theory of moral embeddedness by Beckert (2005). Digital group solidarity is understood as a form of group solidarity that is constructed through digital interactions in a market arena. This study is different from that of Scott (2020) which more focuses on censorship policies on homosexual movies. It is also in contrast with a study by Nurmajesty et al. (2022) which is in reference to Beckert (2009) regarding the mechanism of commodity valuation of the *jamu* (Indonesian herbal medicine) market in Indonesia based on physical and symbolic values. The description of the characteristics of moral embeddedness, particularly group solidarity exchange, in the digital realm of the homosexual movie industry is mapped through TNA and SNA using the Netlytic and Gephi software and supported by polls via Twitter and observations in several chat groups of homosexual movie lovers. Referring to the conducted survey, 71.85% of consumers of homosexual movies use Twitter to communicate with each other instead of chat groups and offline meetings. Beckert (2005) argues that the formation of group solidarity is primordial based, while this study discovers that digital group solidarity is relatively unrelated to primordial ties. In contrast to Beckert (2005) who observes group solidarity from only one side of the market (either producers or consumers), this study reveals that digital group solidarity can occur in both arenas and places more emphasis on the preference side. Digital group solidarity is also revealed as a slice of cooperation and group solidarity in Beckert (2005), since both ego and alter ego in digital group solidarity tend to be observed as benefits.

**Keywords:** Digital group solidarity, Group solidarity, Homosexual movie market, Moral embeddedness, SNA, TNA.

## Introduction

The number of consumers of LGBT movies in Indonesia has experienced an increase from 2001 to 2016. This increase is evident from the number of viewers of a movie entitled *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* (2016), reaching 8,082 viewers in the second week of its release in contrast with only 3,045 viewers of *Lovely Man* which was released on September 30, 2001<sup>1</sup>.

A total of 17 LGBT movies is recorded to have been produced by Indonesian directors from 1978 to 2019 to enliven the national movie market share. This figure is obviously far different compared to the number of other movies outside of the LGBT theme. In 2019, Indonesian directors managed to produce 136 movie titles<sup>2</sup>. The first LGBT-themed movie produced by Indonesia is *Betty Bencong Slebor*, directed by Benjamin. Meanwhile, the latest LGBT movie, entitled *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* and directed by Garin Nugroho, was released in 2019.

Studies on LGBT movies, particularly homosexual movies, tend to emphasize socio-cultural aspects such as prevailing values and norms, including dissecting elements that depict homosexuality. A study by Scott (2020) focuses on censorship policies on homosexual movies in Australia. Other studies by Kaya (2016), Arsyandi (2015), and Gunawati et al. (2020) analyze the representation of homosexuals in *The Imitation Game*, *Cinta yang Dirahasiakan*, and *Moonlight*.

In the context of Indonesia, LGBT-themed movies have both their pros and cons. Analyzed from a regulatory perspective, an explicit prohibition on the production of LGBT movies is non-existent. It is evident in Law Number 33 of 2019 on Indonesian Movies, the Government Regulation Number 18 of 2014 on Film Censorship Institution, and the Regulation of the Ministry of Education and Culture Number 14 of 2019 on Censorship Guidelines and Criteria. However, LGBT movies produced in Indonesia frequently receive a series of rejections and controversies, including *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku*. On Monday, April 29, 2019, the official website of Tempo reported that a petition containing an appeal to boycott *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* as a movie that supports LGBT in Indonesia had been signed by more than 5,800 people as of Friday, April 26, 2019.

LGBT movies are basically a “non-mainstream” product. Thus, various studies on “non-mainstream” products tend to emphasize their analysis on the demand or consumption side. For example, Rippon (2012) explains the motivation of people to decide to sell their organs, namely a need for cash and the basic necessities of life, Collins and Judge (2009) write about the potential for a married man to be involved in the sex market due to low sexual satisfaction in their marriage, and Cotti et al. (2015) describe an increase in the demand for alcohol in a household related to the social activities of the household.

---

<sup>1</sup> <https://hot.detik.com/movied-4525553tayang-sejak-18-april-kucumbu-tubuh-indahku-raup-8-ribuan-penonton>

<sup>2</sup> <http://filmindonesia.or.id/movietitlelistyear2019130#.YvyZ0lmyS5c>

Unlike previous studies, this study examines the indications of digital group solidarity in the market arena of boy love movies. In our opinion, digital group solidarity is a new typology that contributes to enriching the typology of moral embeddedness by Beckert (2005). In the perspective of Beckert (2005), the morality of group solidarity in the market arena does not necessarily have to be in line with the general norms of the community. Beckert (2005) states that group solidarity emphasizes the boundaries between actors bound and actors not bound by morals. In other words, the concept of group solidarity has ingroup and outgroup limitations. Therefore, the opinion of Beckert (2005) that solidarity is a form of moral attachment is not universal.

Jens Beckert has a significantly great contribution in various topics in the studies of economic sociology and organizational sociology. In a general sense, the topics are grouped into the moral embeddedness of markets (Beckert, 2005), the social order of markets (Beckert, 2009), the interrelations of institutions, networks, and cognition in the dynamics of markets (Beckert, 2010), institutional isomorphism and divergence (Beckert, 2010), illegal markets and economic sociology (Beckert & Wehinger, 2012), and others.

However, specifically for the opinion of Beckert (2005) about moral embeddedness, group solidarity remains depicted in a conventional form, in which producers and consumers meet directly in the real world. He illustrates how garment shop owners and leather craftsmen in Ecuadorian villages choose to convert to Protestantism in order to avoid the family obligations imposed on men in Catholicism. The group solidarity described by Beckert is a picture of solidarity in the real world where the male entrepreneurs in Ecuadorian villages live in the same area as well as supported by the same religion.

In our opinion, the conventional perspective regarding group solidarity as stated by Beckert needs a renewal, particularly in the digital era. Group solidarity is no longer limited by space and time in the sense that it no longer requires the similar physical and geographical space. According to sociologists Hunt and Benford (2004) in Rahbari (2019), solidarity in the digital world is important due to the increasingly massive development of digital media.

Based on the aforementioned description, this study has two objectives. First, exploring the phenomenon of digital group solidarity in the market arena of boy love movies. Second, identifying the characteristics of the phenomenon of digital group solidarity which is a new typology of moral embeddedness of markets by Beckert (2005).

The boy love movies have various titles, including *Not Me*, *Bad Buddy*, and *Paint with Love*. This study selected these three series since they have relatively a large number of fans. Information searches for *Not Me* and *Bad Buddy* are higher on Google than the *Baker Boy* series, despite their same release month. *Paint with Love* also has a higher search on Google compared to *Loveless Society*. Furthermore, @babiisid, a Twitter fan page account created in 2020 for Off and Gun, the main characters in *Not Me* series, has 7,430 followers. This figure is higher than that of followers of Peraya Indonesia (a Twitter fan page account created in 2018 for Singto and Krist who play in the *SOTUS* series with a total of 6,215 followers.



the censorship of homosexual movies in Australia has no age limits. In fact, homosexual movies contain explicit scenes related to sexual life of gays and lesbians, which are depicted as common and part of the interaction of social life.

Another study on homosexual movies is carried out by Kaya (2016), entitled *The Representation of Homosexuals in “The Imitation Game”*. This study reveals the attempts to break the negative stereotypes of the existing homosexual activities in the community. The homosexual character in the movie is portrayed as a hero who contributed to the victory of Britain in World War II. A similar topic is also found in an article written by Arsandy (2015) entitled *The Representation of Gay Identity in “Cinta yang Dirahasiakan”* as well as a study by Gunawati et al. (2020) entitled *The Representation of Gay in “Moonlight”*.

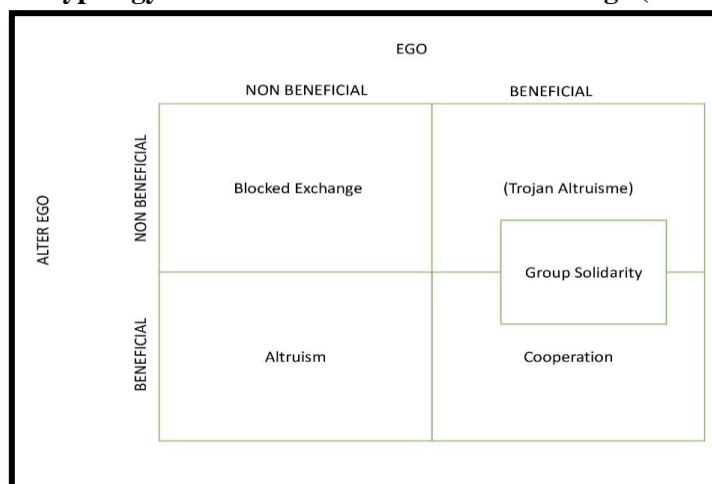
### Moral Embeddedness of the LGBT Movie Market

In contrast to previous studies, this study further explores homosexual movies as a traded product in the market. The exchange of homosexual movies is examined from the perspective of economic sociology. This study explores the social conditions that occur in the homosexual movie market.

As previously mentioned, morality in a market is essential as it provides efficiency for actors for operating their economic activities (Beckert, 2005). Weber (1984) in Beckert (2005) emphasizes morality as the main foundation in macroeconomic development.

Morals in the market, according to sociology, is crucial (Luhmann 1986, 1988 in Beckert, 2005). Beckert (2005) argues that morals are economic actions with various principles. Morals in the market are divided into five types, namely cooperation, group solidarity, blocked exchange, altruism, and trojan altruism. This study specifically focuses on group solidarity.

**Figure 2: Typology of Moral Action in Market Exchange (Beckert, 2005)**



Group solidarity is a form of market created for self-interest or common interests, yet limited to a particular group (Beckert, 2005). Positioned between trojan altruism and cooperation, group solidarity is considered capable of providing benefits for the ego. Meanwhile, group solidarity is able and unable to provide benefits for the alter ego. As

a matter of fact, the exchanged commodities in group solidarity are not commodities that are prohibited or violating the applicable norms in the community. Ethics are the explanation why commodities in group solidarity are only exchanged within the group.

Morals in group solidarity only apply to the members of the group. The morals are divided into two, namely morals within the group and morals outside the group. The solidarity is also purely for self-interest rather than for the interests of others outside the group.

Building solidarity in the digital world requires similarities based on group identification. A study by Rahbari (2019) on digital solidarity in relation to World Hijab Day illustrates the similarity among fellow Muslim women that establishes solidarity in the digital world as a form of World Hijab Day campaign. The campaign is considered to be successful due to the collective promotion on social media by each member. Group members unite because they are driven by a common identity. In this regard, similarity in identity in digital solidarity is much more valued than similarity based on location.

The members of a digital group in the homosexual movie market are spread in various geographic areas. They have similarities that unite them into one community. Despite having freedom of access, the homosexual movie market is only consumed by particular audiences because this product is considered uncommon to be traded openly in the community and even deemed taboo, particularly in Indonesia.

The binding aspect in the homosexual movie market is identified by each actor. Referring to sociologists Hunt and Benford (2004) in Rahbari (2019), solidarity in the digital world based on a common identity is established through identification by the group itself. Each member will identify themselves individually whether they belong to the group or not.

The phenomenon of group solidarity, according to Beckert, offers numerous illustrations of market conditions in the same geographical area. Beckert does not further discuss industry or markets in the digital world network despite a great number of businesses conducted in the digital world in this era. Business in the digital era allows producers and consumers to meet in cyberspace without having to meet in person. Physical mobility is much lower, though the mobility of the virtual network is much broader. Kamal and Apriani (2022) state that the current growth of technology provides support to allow more effective businesses, an illustration of effectiveness in the business world in the digital era. Digitalization also presents business opportunities for higher transnational mobility.

Observing the current market phenomenon, this study offers an overview of the existence of a market in the digital world and its characteristics from the point of view of group solidarity. This study can be a reference in exploring other types of markets based on the morals proposed by Beckert.

Referring to Figure 2, Beckert (2005) only discusses group solidarity. In fact, the development of group solidarity in the current market arena occurs not only in physical and geographical space, but also in digital space. Related to this, Rahbari (2019) argues that cyber activity that arises as a result of the accelerating digital media transformation

enables transnational mobility. In addition, Khamal and Rani (2022) also state that current technological growth has a significant impact on the economic development of a country and provides support to achieve a more effective business world. Digitalization in the business world implies a wider exchange opportunity geographically.

Therefore, the market arena currently develops to become increasingly fluid and transcend the boundaries of nation-states. As a consequence, it is possible for group solidarity in the current market arena to cross national borders and be formed digitally. This is one of the reasons for introducing a new typology of moral embeddedness of markets.

In summary, this study is different from Nurmajesty et al. (2022) who explore the symbolic valuation of a product based on Beckert (2009). By employing Beckert (2005), we attempt to verify the existence of digital group solidarity as a new typology of moral embeddedness of markets. As a result, this study contributes to the understanding that the market arena in a sociological perspective is not only empirically related to symbolic valuation, but also to the issue of moral attachment, particularly in the digital era.

## Methodology

This study employed a similar method to Nurmajesty et al. (2022), namely digital research, but used data from different sources. Nurmajesty et al. (2022) utilized data from online media articles and YouTube videos taken from January 2019 to September 2021, while this study obtained the main data from crawling through Twitter using the Netlytic application. Another similarity is the application of Textual Network Analysis (TNA) and Social Network Analysis (SNA) to process the obtained data.

### Methodology

This study is categorized as a digital study with a mixed method approach as a development of Bolibar (2016), which is part of digital and computational sociology as described by Ignatow (2020). The operationalization of the method is developed and modified from Nurmajesty et al (2022). First, SNA is applied to display the existence of digital group solidarity and to map the network structure of actors (proximity, characteristics/strength). Meanwhile, TNA is employed to describe narratives related to digital group solidarity among actors within the network. In addition, polls are conducted to strengthen the elaboration of the digital group solidarity phenomenon.

### Data Collection

Prior to data collection, we joined the Facebook group for Thai produced boy love movie lovers. Not everyone can join this group. Prior to joining the group, we were requested to answer several questions that lead to the statement that the new member of the group is a boy love movie lover and will not freely share the group link.

Subsequent to joining the group, we decided to try to communicate with the administrator to be able to distribute the questionnaires. Two administrators were contacted to request for permission, but we were refused and removed from the group. A more open group was found on Telegram. It did not ask specific questions as a prerequisite for becoming a member of the group. However, we encountered an obstacle when the questionnaires distributed did not receive a response from the group administrator. Nevertheless, we were not excluded from the group.

We also attempted to join the WhatsApp chat group of boy love movie lovers. In this group, we attempted to observe the topic of the chat and occasionally engaged in small talk with other members. We communicated with boy love fan accounts on Twitter and obtained a good response from the administrators. We pretended to be fans of homosexual movies. By implementing this strategy, we managed to disseminate covert questions related to the contents of the questionnaire. Two mini polls were also successfully disseminated actively and openly on Twitter by tagging the fan clubs of homosexual movie lovers.

Data collection for TNA and SNA using the Netlytic application on January 25, 2021 is presented in detail in the following table.

**Table 1: List of Keywords**

Method	Keyword	Data Criteria
TNA	#paintwithlove #badbuddyseries #notmeseries	Twitter accounts that mention the three keywords.
SNA	#paintwithlove #badbuddyseries #notmeseries	Tweets from accounts that mention the three keywords.

*Paint with Love*, *Bad Buddy*, and *Not Me* are three boy love or homosexual series produced by a production house from Thailand. The series aired from late 2021 to early 2022. *Paint with Love* and *Not Me* are not the first boy love series played by the actors. Prachaya Ruangroj, the main actor of *Paint with Love*, has previously played in the boy love series entitled *SOTUS: The Series*. Meanwhile, Atthaphan Phunsawat and Jumpol Adulkittiporn, the main actors of *Not Me*, have also played a couple in the boy love series entitled *Theory of Love*.

### Data Analysis

TNA and SNA were used to analyze the data obtained. TNA is a method that combines content analysis and word network analysis (Segev, 2020). Meanwhile, SNA is a method that displays a network of actors in a structure to display the position of the actors (Borgatti et al., 2014).

The data were taken from Twitter using the Netlytic application with the three predetermined keywords. Each keyword generates 2,500 gross data containing the names of the accounts that post the tweets, the content of the tweets, the accounts tagged in the tweets, and several other statistical calculations. The various data were then



filtered to obtain the required data. TNA data retrieved are in the form of a collection of tweets posted by the filtered accounts, while the SNA data retrieved are the accounts that post the tweets and the accounts that are mentioned.

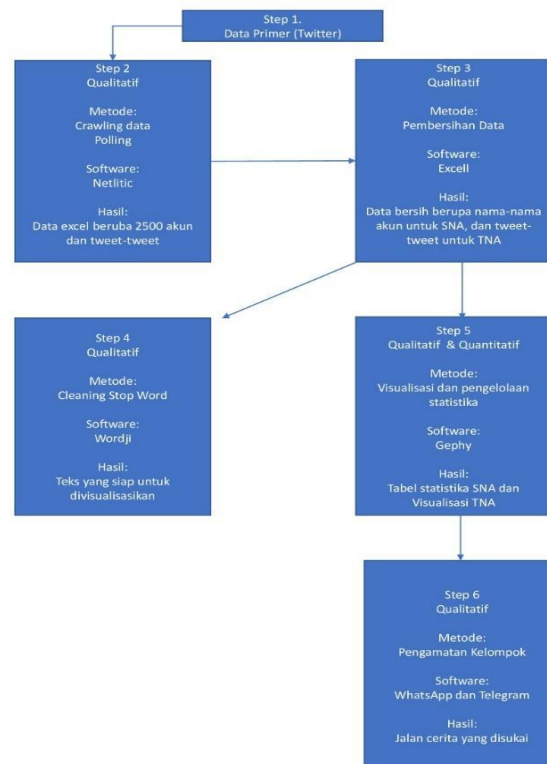
The process in TNA following the collection of tweets was translating them into proper and correct bahasa Indonesia (mother tongue of Indonesia) according to the improved spelling. The next step was to clean the data from stop words using Wordij. The data generated by Wordij were then visualized using the Gephi application to obtain precise and appropriate visualizations.

The process in SNA was carried out following data collection of the accounts that post the tweets and the accounts that are mentioned. The data were then visualized through Gephi. In contrast to TNA data which focus on the available visualizations, SNA data focus on statistical values generated from statistical measurements. Four measurements (tools) were used for analysis in this study, namely: density, betweenness, eigenvector, and degree. The following are the details of the four functions.

**Table 2: List of Tools in SNA**

Tools	Description
<i>Density</i>	The number ranges from 0 to 1, in which close to 1 means that the network is getting denser (Eriyanto, 2014)
<i>Betweenness</i>	The degree of an actor acting as an intermediary of the relationship between actors (Eriyanto, 2014)
<i>Eigenvector Centrality</i>	The actor with the most influence on the existing network
<i>Degree</i>	The most popular actor in the network

**Figure 3: Concept Map of the Methodology adopted and modified from Nurmajesty et al. (2022)**



To answer the two research questions, in addition to using TNA and SNA, this study also implemented polls via Twitter and group observations. The concept map of the application of the methodology in this study is illustrated in Figure 3.

## Results

Homosexual movies are relatively easy to access, considering that the community as the movie market has numerous facilities to obtain them. International and domestic movies are easily accessible through various digital sites. However, to obtain access to the homosexual community is not as easy. It is different from the narcotics market which tends to be difficult to access in terms of product and community. The homosexual movie market has two opposite sides, in which the product is easy to access yet the community is difficult to access.

The results of this study will provide an overview of the movement within the homosexual movie community. The data used in this study originated from digital applications as market representatives in the digital world. Thus, the results will be an illustration of digital group solidarity in the digital world market, particularly the homosexual movie market.

The calculation of network density on social networks of *Not Me*, *Bad Buddy*, and *Paint with Love* indicates that the density of each series is in the range of 0.003 to 0.001. The highest density obtained is in the network structure of *Paint with Love* with a value of 0.003 or 0.30%. Meanwhile, the lowest is in the network structure of *Bad Buddy* with a value of 0.002 or 0.10% (see Table 3). It proves the existence of digital group solidarity in the network structure of the market arena of these three series, albeit relatively weak (below 0.5).

**Table 3: Value of Density**

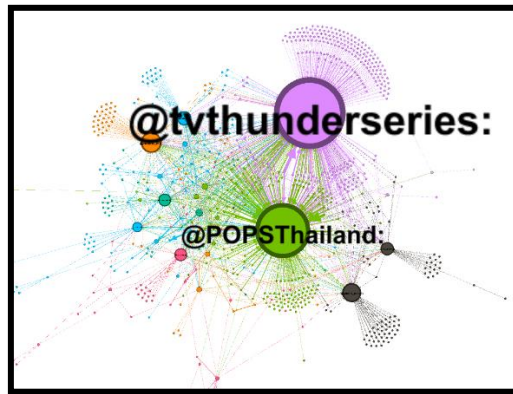
	Network Density		Betweenness
Paint with love	0.003	0.30%	0
Bad Buddy	0.001	0.10%	0
Not Me	0.002	0.20%	0

Meanwhile, the value of eigenvector centrality obtained indicates that the @tvthunderseries account is the actor with the strongest influence in the social network of *Paint with Love* (see Table 4). Visualization of social networks related to the high value of eigenvector centrality of @tvthunderseries is presented in Figure 4.

**Table 4: Value of eigenvector**

	Eigenvector	Value
Paint with love	@tvthunderseries	1.0
Bad Buddy	@xiwpat	1.0
Not Me	@SirikamonAk	1.0

**Figure 4: SNA Visualization of the Social Network of Paint with Love**



The Twitter account of @tvthunderseries belongs to a production house that posts the trailers of *Paint with Love*. This account is influential since its posts are frequently retweeted. One of its post obtained a total of 703 retweets (see Figure 5).

Nodes occupying the second position in SNA following @tvthunderseries is @POPSThailand (see Figure 4). It is a Twitter account of a television company that broadcasts *Paint with Love*. Similar to @tvthunderseries, during the broadcast of *Paint with Love*, @POPSThailand post trailers from the series (see Figure 6). One post had been shared by 271 people (see Figure 6).

**Figure 5: Post by @tvthunderseries**

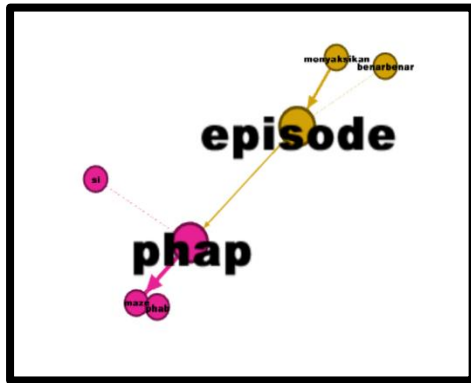


**Figure 6: Post by @tvthunderseries**

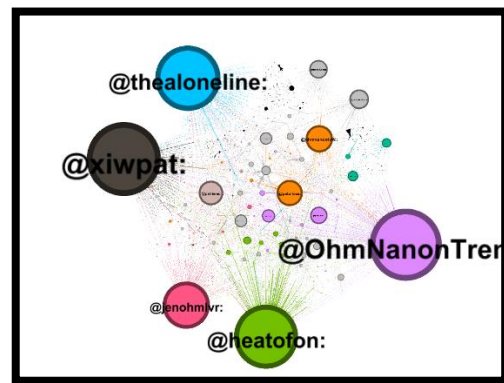


The TNA visualization displayed in Figure 7 also reveals that the narratives related to *Paint with Love* tend to talk about 'episode' and 'phap' (the name of the main characters in the series). This means that the thrillers released by the @tvthunder account have succeeded in building related narratives, either the episode or the characters in the series.

**Figure 7: TNA Visualization of Paint with Love series**



**Figure 8: SNA Visualization of Bad Buddy**



Meanwhile, in the Bad Buddy series, the actor who has the biggest influence is the @xiwpat account, as seen in Table 4 and Figure 8. Currently, the account @xiwpat has changed the account name to @ohmpawat. This account is influential because it often posts on Twitter the activities behind the production or “behind the scene” series Bad Buddy (see Figure 9) which has been retweeted 16.7 thousand times.

Another account in the SNA with nearly a similar position as @xiwpat is @ohmnanontrends (see Figure 8). It is a fan club account for Ohm and Nanon (the main characters). The account was created in November 2021 and managed to collect 3,343 followers in a year. In line with the purpose of the account, namely to promote Ohm and Nanon on the international stage, the account advertised the Bad Buddy series during its broadcast (can be seen in Figure 10), the post was liked by 128 people and has been shared by 96 people. These accounts tend to post reviews regarding the success of the Bad Buddy series.

**Figure 9: Post by @Ohmpawat**

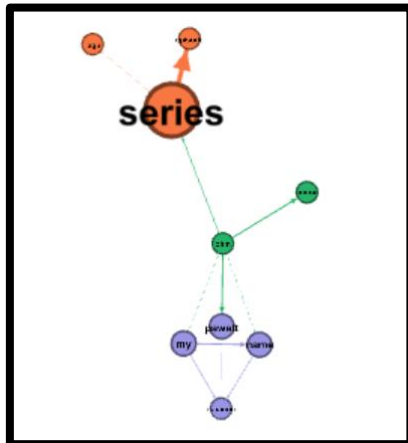


**Figure 10: Post by @ohmnanontrends**

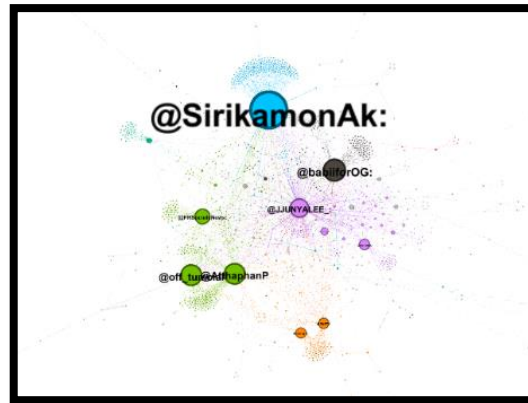


The TNA visualization in the *Bad Buddy* series (see Figure 11) implies that the narratives built are related to "series". It indicates that behind the scenes posted by the @xiwpat account succeeded in inviting its followers to discuss and build narratives related to *Bad Buddy*.

**Figure 11: TNA Visualization of Bad Buddy**



**Figure 12: SNA Visualization of Not Me**



The most influential actor in the *Not Me* series is the @SirikamonAk account, as displayed in Table 4 and Figure 12, because it frequently posts snippets of scenes from the series. They are posted after the series is aired (See Figure 13). Unlike production houses, @SirikamonAk as a fan page account does not have access to trailers, hence the snippets. Figure 13 indicates that a snippet of a scene on February 27 was retweeted 1,478 times. The TNA visualization in Figure 14 also disclose that posting snippets of scenes has succeeded in building narratives related to "episode".

**Figure 13: Post by @SirikamonAk**



**Figure 14: TNA Visualization of Not Me**



Furthermore, the actors (the accounts with high eigenvector centrality values) also have a high level of popularity as shown in Table 5. It plays a role in the success of narrative formation as well.

**Table 5: Value of Degree**

	Degree	Value
Paint with love	@tvthunderseries	436
Bad Buddy	@xiwpat	193
Not Me	@SirikamonAk	370

The aforementioned findings are strengthened by the data obtained from polls conducted via Twitter. The first question is 'What is the main reason for fans watching the boy love movie series from Thailand?', in which 52.4% of respondents answer that they love the storyline. Meanwhile, the second question is 'How do fans usually communicate?', in which 71.85% of respondents communicate via Twitter. It further strengthens the findings from TNA related to narratives concerning 'series' and 'episode' as well as characters in the series on Twitter.

**Table 6: Results of Polls regarding Reasons for Watching Boy Love Movies from Thailand**

Reason	Percentage
Handsome actors	23.8%
The plot is to their liking	52.4%
The skinship scenes	14.6%
Supporting LGBT	10.2%

**Table 7: Media Where Fans Communicate**

Media of Communication	Percentage
Offline communication	5.1%
Via WhatsApp chat group	23.1%
Mentioning each other on Twitter	71.85%

Communication in social media chat groups such as in WhatsApp for homosexual movie lovers is encouraged by the role of group administrators. They regularly share various spoilers from the currently-airing series as well as the activities of the actors who play in the series such as the schedule of shows, social media posts of the actors, the achievements of the actors, and commercials starring the actors.

This activity of the group administrators is one of the internal promotional activities to ensure that the members of the group continue to actively enjoy the series until the end of the series. The administrators also regularly send chats related to the currently-airing series to maintain the consistency of fans in enjoying the series. In addition, the administrators frequently persuade the members to watch the boy love series from official websites as a form of appreciation to the actors playing in the series.

## Discussion

Referring to the aforementioned explanation, it can be said that the phenomenon of digital group solidarity does exist in the market arena of the three boy love movies. However, digital group solidarity is relatively weak since the network structure focuses on actors with great influence or popularity. In other words, interactions between actors outside interactions with the main actors in the network are relatively less intense. It is indicated by the existing number of edges. The number of edges in the network of the three series range from 2,065 to 2,478 (see Table 8). Based on our calculation, network density will reach a value of 1 supposing the edges reach 100 times the nodes.

**Table 8: The Number Nodes and Edges**

	<b>Nodes</b>	<b>Edges</b>
Paint with love	909	2,292
Bad Buddy	1,581	2,065
Not Me	1,350	2,478

Another indication of a converged network structure is a significantly low betweenness value. The betweenness value of the three series is 0. It indicates the absence of an actor acting as a bridge of information or an intermediary between actors. Interaction patterns tend to be direct to actors with relatively high eigenvalues or degrees of centrality.

**Table 9: Value of Betweenness**

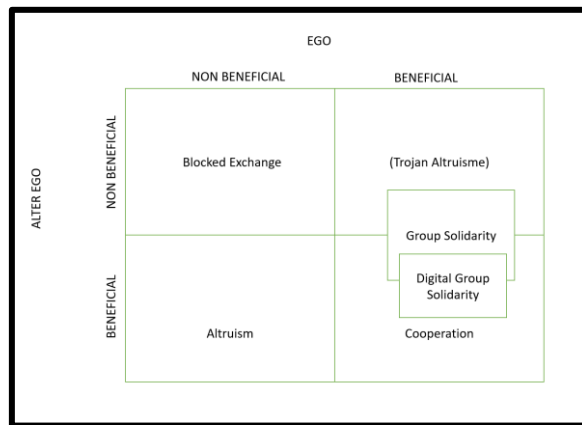
	<b>Betweenness</b>
Paint with love	0
Bad Buddy	0
Not Me	0

The structure of interactions in the network tends to converge because digital group solidarity is formed around product promotion efforts. This study discovers that each main actor in the network has a different way of promotion. The production houses build promotions by posting trailers prior to the release of the series. The actors playing the main characters in the series build promotions by posting behind the scenes, while fan page accounts build promotions through post-show engagement. Therefore, it can be said that the existing digital group solidarity tends to be based on economic motives related to product marketing. In our opinion, even though it reveals a weak level of digital group solidarity, this type of solidarity has the potential to strengthen with each increase in the interactions between consumers in the network.

In relation to this finding, Beckert (2005) tends to observe the examples of group solidarity in a primordial manner or merely from one side (either producers or consumers). For example, group solidarity from the perspective of producers among trade unions or group solidarity within the boundaries of communal-primordial identities such as ethnicity, religion, or kinship. On the other hand, this study discovers that digitally-formed group solidarity is relatively unrelated to primordial ties and is not merely focusing on one side of the market. Digital group solidarity has characteristics that bind producers and consumers and places more emphasis on the aspect of preference. Thus, digital group solidarity has a completely different characteristic from conventional group solidarity.

To sum up, we view the typology of digital group solidarity as a slice of cooperation and conventional group solidarity as presented in Figure 15. The reason is because digital group solidarity tends to be observed from the internal perspective of the group (Beckert, 2005), thus digital group solidarity is equally perceived as benefits by both ego and alter ego.

**Figure 15: Position of Digital Group Solidarity in Moral Action in Market Exchange**



## Conclusions

This study discovers the phenomenon of digital group solidarity in the homosexual movie industry. The digital group solidarity is weak, as indicated by the number of edges which is not much different from the number of nodes. Based on the calculation on density, digital group solidarity will strengthen when the number of edges is 100 times the number of nodes. The small number of edges is caused by communication between consumers which is low compared to communication between consumers and producers. Digital group solidarity in the homosexual movie industry will increase when communication between consumers increases.

Digital group solidarity in the homosexual movie industry has several distinctive characteristics. First, the digital group solidarity is concentrated on actors carrying out promotional activities. Second, each main actor has a different way of building promotions, evident from the different types of posts of each actor. Third, the most popular actor is also the actor with the most influence in the digital group solidarity.

Beckert (2005) observes the formation of group solidarity in a primordial manner, yet digital group solidarity is relatively unrelated to primordial ties. Beckert (2005) also views group solidarity merely from one side (either producers or consumers), yet digital group solidarity binds both (producers and consumers) and focuses more on the preference side. Digital group solidarity is revealed to be a slice of cooperation and group solidarity, perceived as benefits by the ego and the alter ego.

This study analyzed statistical data obtained digitally. The SNA (Social Network Analysis) process using the Gephi application and the TNA (Textual Network Analysis) process were used in data processing. The data obtained from the crawling on Twitter for three predetermined keywords through the Netlytic application were then processed using Excel and WORDij. Additional data to support statistical data were obtained through observations and polls on Twitter.



## Practical Implications for Asian Business

The global film industry experiences an increasingly promising development with the constantly changing market arena in line with the digital transformation process in various fields. Movies that previously could only be watched in cinemas can now be enjoyed through various available applications such as Netflix, iQiyi, WeTV, and Viu.

The easy access to movies provides great advantages for both producers and consumers. Consumers are facilitated in terms of access, while producers are facilitated with a much longer and more flexible airtime compared to cinemas.

These latest applications, in addition to being capable of showing movies from various countries, also provide subtitles in local languages. Therefore, every new movie has a significantly high chance, and even with extraordinary speed, to be able to penetrate the inter-country market with a wider and more diverse consumer reach. This digital transformation of the movie market arena is also utilized by Thai homosexual film producers to bring their films to enter the contest in the global film market arena.

The homosexual movie industry has opportunities in the Asian movie market, particularly in the digital market. It has been proven that homosexual movies from Thailand are not only consumed by local consumers, but also by foreign consumers such as those from Indonesia. These consumers join fan clubs on social media such as Twitter.

Digital market does not require real space for transactions, thus increasing the opportunity to expand the market. In addition, the digital space in this business also offers efficiency both in terms of distribution time and production costs, particularly in financing advertising. The broad digital space that is easily accessible by various groups has a great potential for further market expansion, particularly when the actors in the market play an active role in promotional activities.

This study discovers that promotional activities are not only performed by production houses as producers, but also by the actors and fan clubs. They have different promotional methods: production houses post trailers from the series, the actors post behind the scenes, and fan clubs post snippets of scenes from the series. All these posts have proven to be successful in attracting consumers globally.

Thai homosexual movie producers can also take advantage of the established and constantly growing network to expand their market reach to certain national market arenas that culturally have norms that are not in line with homosexual values, such as the movie market arena in Indonesia. Fan club activities, particularly in the digital world, can be a new method of promotion. Fans who actively post spoilers and the activities of actors are likely to attract people other than the fans to enjoy homosexual movies. In conclusion, this study also provides a practical contribution to how producers can broaden the range of new and diverse consumers who are interested in enjoying homosexual movies.

Active promotion to popularize homosexual movies should be balanced with producers who take into account consumer tastes concerning the products, particularly their market share. Supposing the producer owns a large market share in Indonesia, then

homosexual movies can be released by considering the storyline favored by fans in Indonesia. Fans in Indonesia have an affinity for happy endings as opposed to sad endings.

This study can also be an illustration for movie production houses in Indonesia. The considerably strong social control in Indonesia does not affect the increase in the number of viewers of *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* (2018) which is higher than *Lovely Man* (2001). Moreover, Indonesia has no official legislation that prohibits the making and showing of LGBT movies.

This study is also crucial to be considered by the government, specifically the government of Indonesia, in regulating business movements in the digital world. These movies are analogous to imported goods consumed by Indonesian consumers. Good management from the government in this matter may generate income for the state coffers. On the other hand, movie producers must also rigorously protect their products. Easy access to products in the digital world allows for various kinds of plagiarism. Foreign movies with various unofficial languages are not rarely found. It is important for producers to be able to create and reproduce subtitles in every product they produce to prevent certain people from providing subtitles in certain languages and selling them for free in the market.

## References

- Adriaenssens, S. and Hendrickx, J., (2012), "Sex, price and preferences: Accounting for unsafe sexual practices in prostitution markets", *Sociology of Health and Illness*, vol. 34, no. 5, pp. 665–80, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9566.2011.01400.x>.
- Arsandy, L.W., (2015), "Representasi identitas gay dalam film *Cinta yang Dirahasiakan*", *Commonline Departemen Komunikasi*, vol.4, no. 1
- Beckert, J., (2005), "The moral embeddedness of markets", *MPIfG Discussion Paper, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies*, no. 05/6.
- Beckert, J., (2009), "The social order of markets", *Theory and Society*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 245–69, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-008-9082-0>.
- Beckert, J. (2011). "The transcending power of goods: Imaginative value in the economy", in: Beckert, J. and Aspers, P. (Eds.), *The Worth of Goods. Valuation and Pricing in the Economy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 106-128, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2464454>.
- Beckert, J., (2019), "Markets from meaning: Quality uncertainty and the intersubjective construction of value", *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, pp. 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.1093/cje/bez035>
- Berg, H., (2017), "Porn work, feminist critique, and the market for authenticity", *Signs*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 669–92, <https://doi.org/10.1086/689633>.
- Beckert, J. and Wehinger, F.P., (2012). "In the shadow: Illegal Markets and Economic Sociology", *Socio-Economic Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 5-30, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2464041>
- Borgatti, S.P., Brass D.J., and Halgin D.S., (2014), "Social network research: Confusions, criticisms, and controversies", *Contemporary Perspectives on Organizational Social Networks*, vol. 40, pp. 1–29, [https://doi.org/10.1108/S0733-558X\(2014\)0000040001](https://doi.org/10.1108/S0733-558X(2014)0000040001)
- Böhme, C., (2015), "Showing the unshowable: The negotiation of homosexuality through video films in Tanzania", *Africa Today*, vol. 61, no. 4, pp. 63–82, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2979/africatoday.61.issue-4>.

- Bolíbar, M. (2016) “Macro, meso, micro: broadening the “social” of social network analysis with a mixed methods approach”, *Quality and Quantity*, vol. 50, no. 5, pp. 2217–2236, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-015-0259-0>.
- Collins, A. and Judge, G., (2009), “Differential enforcement across police jurisdictions and client demand in paid sex markets”, *European Journal of Law and Economics*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 43–55, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10657-009-9107-9>.
- Cotti, C., Dunn, R.A., and Tefft, N., (2015), “The great recession and consumer demand for alcohol: A dynamic panel-data analysis of US households”, *American Journal of Health Economics*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 297–325, [https://doi.org/10.1162/AJHE\\_a\\_00019](https://doi.org/10.1162/AJHE_a_00019).
- Detik.hot.com, (2019), “*Tayang Sejak 18 April, Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku Raup 8 Ribuan Penonton*”, <https://hot.detik.com/movie/d-4525553/tayang-sejak-18-april-kucumbu-tubuh-indahku-raup-8-ribuan-penonton>
- Dr. Vladimir, V. F., (1967), “*濟無*No Title No Title No Title.” *Gastronomía Ecuatoriana y Turismo Local*, vol. 1, no. 69, pp. 5–24.
- Filmindonesia.org (2019). “*Daftar Film Berdasarkan Tahun 2019*”, <http://filmindonesia.or.id/movie/title/list/year/2019>
- Gunawati, E., Alamsyah, F.F. and Jayawinangun, R. (2020), “Representasi gay dalam film Moonlight”, *Jurnal Penelitian Sosial dan Ilmu Komunikasi*, vol.4, no 1
- Ignatow, G. (2020) *Sociological Theory in the Digital Age, Sociological Theory in the Digital Age*, Routledge, London, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429292804>.
- Kamal, M.F. and Apriani, R. (2022), “Pengaruh perkembangan teknologi di era digital terhadap investasi dan pasar modal”, *Justitia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum dan Humaniora*, no. 9.
- Kaya, J.B., (2016), “Representasi homoseksual dalam film *The Imitation Game*”, *Jurnal E-Komunikasi*, vol.4, no.1
- Marino, S., (2021), “*Mediating the refugee crisis. Digital solidarity, humanitarian technologies and border regimes*”, Palgrave Macmillan Cham, London, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-53563-6>
- Martin-Anatias, N., (2020), “Code-switching or bahasa gado-gado in discussion of homosexuality in Indonesian films”, *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 67, no. 11, pp. 1542–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2019.1601436>.
- McKinnon, S., (2020), “Restricted to adults only: Homosexuality and film censorship reform in 1970s Australia”, *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 134–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01956051.2020.1733465>.
- Nurmajesty, H., Hardjosekarto, S., Herwantoko, O., Ramadhani, D. C. and Salsabila, S. A., (2022), “Symbolic and material valuation of jamu: Economic sociology of Indonesian jamu market”, *Asian Journal of Business Research*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 99–123, <https://doi.org/10.14707/ajbr.220122>.
- Mendikbud, (2019), “Pedoman dan kriteria penyensoran, penggolongan usia penonton, dan penarikan film dan iklan film dari peredaran”, *Salinan Permendikbud Nomor 14 Tahun 2019*. Retrieved from <https://lsf.go.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Permendikbud-Nomor-14-Tahun-2019.pdf>.
- Rahbari, L., (2019), “In her shoes: Transnational digital solidarity with Muslim women, or the hijab?” *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, vol. 112, no. 2, pp. 107–20, <https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12376>.
- Redford, A. and Dills, A. K., (2021), “The political economy of drug and alcohol regulation during the COVID-19 pandemic”, *Southern Economic Journal*, vol. 87, no. 4, pp. 1175–1209, <https://doi.org/10.1002/soej.12496>.
- Redonnet, B., Chollet, A., Fombonne, E., Bowes, L. and Melchior, M., (2012), “Tobacco, alcohol, cannabis and other illegal drug use among young adults: The socioeconomic context.” *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, vol. 121, no. 3, pp. 231–39, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2011.09.002>.
- Rippon, S., (2012), “Imposing options on people in poverty: The harm of a live donor organ market.” *Journal of Medical Ethics*, vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 145–50, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/medethics-2011-100318>.

- Segev E., (2020), “Textual network analysis: Detecting prevailing themes and biases in international news and social media”, *Sociology Compass*, <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12779>
- Sonnekus, T., (2013), “‘We’re not faggots!’: Masculinity, homosexuality and the representation of Afrikaner men who have sex with men in the film *Skoonheid* and online.” *South African Review of Sociology*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 22–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2013.784446>.
- Verbič, M., Čok, M., and Perić, P., (2019), “An economic analysis of the illegal marijuana market in Slovenia.” *Economic Research-Ekonomska Istrazivanja*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 657–72, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1331677X.2018.1561321>.
- Wheaton, E. M., Schauer, E. J., and Galli, T. V., (2010), “Economics of human trafficking”, *International Migration*, vol. 48, no. 4, pp. 114–41. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00592.x>.
- Yu, K.T., Lu, H.P., Chin, C.Y. and Jhou, Y.S., “Box office performance: Influence of online word-of-mouth on consumers’ motivations to watch movies”, *Social Behavior and Personality*, vol. 47, no. 10, pp. 1-17, <https://doi.org/10.2224/sbp.8162>.



All papers are published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0). For more details, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>.