E-DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA: USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA AND CHALLENGES IN ENCOURAGING YOUTH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

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ABSTRACT. A survey released by CSIS in September 2022 showed an increase in internet access for young voters from 2018 to 2022. The survey release showed a significant increase in access to social media as a source of information for young voters 19.5 per cent. Moreover, the CSIS survey found a condition where the interest of young Indonesians is currently very low in politics. On the other hand, hoaxes and misinformation can threaten young voters if they are not equipped with adequate political literacy and understanding. This desk study research was conducted to get an explanation from existing literature of how to utilise social media as a medium for the development of e-democracy amidst young people's antipathy towards politics. Healthy social media free from intervention and arbitrariness of government policies can be a medium for young people's political participation to foster e-democracy. The results of the desk study show that social media is possibly a means of political participation for youth and at the same time provides space for the growth of e-democracy with the prerequisite that the government is not abusive and offensive towards the use of digital media in Indonesia. This shows empirically that growing e-democracy needs not only a technological medium but a regime policy that supports e-democracy because digital media has become a living space attached to today's young generation.

Keywords: E-Democracy; Social Media; Youth; Political Participation; Public Policy

INTRODUCTION

Information and communication technology development, especially the Internet and social media, has changed the landscape of communication and political participation in various countries, including Indonesia. Survey results released by CSIS in September 2022 revealed interesting trends related to internet access for young voters between 2018 and 2022 (Departemen Politik dan Perubahan Sosial CSIS, 2022). The survey indicated that internet access has experienced a significant increase, with a particular increase in access to social media as a source of information for young voters, reaching an increase of 19.5 per cent. This finding underscores the challenges in mobilising young people's political participation, which in turn could impact the sustainability of democracy in the country. Low political participation from young people can have a significant impact on the political system, democratic development, and the overall quality of life in society.

Low political participation of young people means that their voices and views will not be represented in the political decision-making process. (Departemen Politik dan Perubahan Sosial CSIS, 2022). This can result in public policies that do not reflect the needs and aspirations of the younger generation. If young people do not actively participate in politics, their representation in government institutions or parliament will be limited. This can lead to decisions that lack consideration of young people's interests and perspectives.

Not only that, low participation from young people can lead to policies that do not pay attention to issues that are relevant to them, such as education, employment, the environment, and so on. As a result, there is a risk that young people will face obstacles in achieving their full potential. Not to mention the possibility of a gap between the older generation and the younger generation. This can lead to intergenerational disagreements on certain policies, which in turn can disrupt social and political stability.

Young people often have new and innovative views on issues such as technology, the environment, human rights, and so on. If their participation is low, these issues may not receive the attention they deserve in political discussions. When young people feel disengaged from the political process and feel that their voices are not valued, they may become more apathetic towards the democratic system itself. This can have long-term implications for the stability and sustainability of the democratic system.

In addition, there are serious threats in the form of the spread of hoaxes and misinformation in the social media environment. (Departemen Politik dan Perubahan Sosial CSIS, 2022). Young voters, who tend to rely on social media as a source of information, are at risk of being exposed to inaccurate or even manipulative information. Given that Indonesia will face simultaneous elections in 2024, where social media is expected to be an important platform for discussion and participation in the political process, the presence of hoaxes and misinformation can compromise the integrity of elections and the quality of public participation.

In this context, the research aims to explore the potential of social media as a medium for the development of e-democracy. Despite young people's antipathy towards politics, healthy social media that is free from government interference can be a tool that allows young people's political participation to grow and flourish. In the run-up to the 2024 general

elections, social media has an important role to play in facilitating discussion, exchange of views, and democratic decision-making.

Addressing the challenges of young people's low interest in politics and the dangers of hoaxes on social media is one of the important keys to developing e-democracy through social media. By teaching adequate political literacy and understanding, and ensuring a healthy and quality social media environment, it is hoped that young people can play an active role in the political process, encourage meaningful participation, and strengthen democracy in Indonesia.

Theoretically, the development of Information Communication Technology has regarded as a driver towards the "third wave" of democratisation (Shirazi et al., 2010). This concept highlights the important role of ICTs in encouraging public participation in the democratic process. Balkin (2004) traces the effects of the "digital revolution" that brought elements of freedom of expression to the centre stage. This revolution has enabled the spread of cultural participation and interaction. He put forward the concept of cultural participation as a form of citizen participation in the production of culture, as well as in the development of ideas and meanings that shape individuals, societies and subcommunities within them. Through ICT, participation in the democratic process can be realised in the form of e-democracy.

This view was supported by Clift (2003), who defines e-democracy as the use of information and communication technologies and strategies by "democratic sectors" in the political processes of local communities, countries/regions, nations, and on a global scale. The utilisation of ICTs in e-democracy enables wider and more diverse participation of the public in the political process. Clift (2003) Clift argues that each democratic sector often conducts their digital or online development in isolation. They are relatively unaware of the online activities of other sectors. Ultimately, those working to use information and communication technologies to improve democratic practices face greater challenges in implementing e-democracy than simply speculating about its potential. This is why it is important to learn more about the best practices for implementing and building e-democracy itself.

In understanding e-democracy, this research refers to the e-democracy model proposed by Clift. (2003). This model includes five main components that play a role in building e-democracy, namely:

- 1. Information and Communication Technology (ICT): As a basic technological infrastructure that enables interaction and participation.
- 2. E-Citizens (Netizen): People who are actively

- involved in the democratic process through digital platforms.
- Government: A government that facilitates public participation and responds more quickly to citizens' aspirations.
- 4. Civil Society: Community organisations and groups that contribute to political and social processes.
- 5. Media: Mass media and online platforms are important channels of information and discussion.

Based on these components, it can be understood that the government plays a role in providing broad access to information and interacting electronically with citizens, political groups run online advocacy campaigns, and political parties also campaign online. Media and portal/search sites also play an important role by providing online news and guidance. All these are part of e-democracy according to Clift's simplified model. (2003).

But undeniably, e-democracy is not only limited to these sectors. Technological advancements and online trends from various places on the Internet continue to be adopted and transformed according to political and governmental purposes. If you look deeper, the one who experiences "e-democracy" is the "citizen." In countries with good Internet access, most citizens experience information-age democracy as "e-citizens" or citizens in various levels of government and public life. In developing countries, e-democracy is equally important but focuses more on inter-institutional relations. In all countries, the impact of "e-democracy" is felt more by the public through its influence on traditional media and communications from influential members of the public. (Parycek et al., 2017; Shirazi et al., 2010; Steven Clift, 2003).

In this research, the five components become a reference for researchers regarding the main components in the development of e-democracy. These components will be used as additional analytical tools to understand the potential of social media as a medium for the development of e-democracy, amidst the conditions of young voters whose interest in politics tends to decline. As the findings have been explained previously.

Concerning previous studies on the development of e-democracy in Indonesia, most of them still focus on e-voting as one of the mechanisms seen as a transition towards e-democracy. (Juaningsih et al., 2020; Karmanis, 2021; Ramadhan et al., 2022; J. H. Wijaya et al., 2019; W. Wijaya & Adriansyah, 2020). This makes studies on e-democracy only focus on electoral politics, whereas more than that, e-democracy is not only sufficient with the transformation of the electoral process but the

democratic process as a whole. There are also other studies related to e-democracy that focus on the dynamics of political communication on the Internet. (Alwajih, 2014; De Blasio & Sorice, 2018; Huffman, 2017; Hujran et al., 2020; Radkiewicz & Skarżyńska, 2019; Rezmer-Płotka, 2020; Saepudin et al., 2018; Toode, 2020). The focus of these studies was to explain the challenges of the e-democracy development process in Indonesia.

METHOD

Different from previous studies above, this research presents a novelty where the focus of the study does not only lie on electoral dynamics and political communication on the Internet but seeks to present the objectification of theoretical knowledge about e-democracy to be applied implementatively. Thus, it is expected to be part of the e-democracy development framework in Indonesia, both the development of studies on political literacy to studies on legal transformation that support the process of creating an environment that supports the development of a good e-democracy culture.

This research was conducted using qualitative methods presented in descriptive form. The data sources used include literature studies, documents, and visual materials. The data was gathered from relevant literature regarding e-democracy youth political participation. The collected data was then analysed to provide an overview of the case under study in this research. The data analysis process involves data reduction and interpretation. This research used data source validation to make sure that the data was reliable. Once the analysis is complete, conclusions of the study are drawn by the researcher.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Social Media as a Medium of E-democracy and Digital Activism in Indonesia

Social media and e-democracy are two inseparable variables. Both influence each other and cannot work separately, in other words, social media becomes the main medium for the creation of e-democracy, while e-democracy cannot work without the use of information technology such as social media and other online platforms. This is in line with what Macintosh (2004) stated that e-democracy is a political system that relies on the use of information and communication technology to reach citizens, support democratic decision-making processes, and strengthen representative democracy. Therefore, it can be concluded that the two variables strongly influence each other.

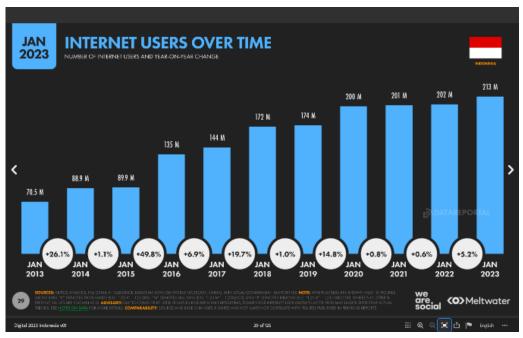
Moreover, Macintosh (2004) stated that e-democracy is a deliberative debate space consisting

of physical and virtual issues that become the axis of an initiative that involves all actors, such as political and non-political policymakers. Deliberation here is also defined as a long and careful consideration carried out to make a decision. Therefore, the discussion space created in e-democracy produces ideas and opinions that lead to the formation of an initiative as a form of community representation in responding to a problem or issue that is developing in society, the decision-making is certainly through a long and careful consideration process.

In contemporary times, advances in information and communication technology have become very familiar to the public. This is because people have used technology in almost all aspects of daily life such as ordering food, buying daily necessities, conducting financial transactions, and searching for information. Currently, based on data presented by We Are Social (2023), internet users in Indonesia are increasing significantly from year to year with the number of internet users reaching 213 Million users in Indonesia in 2023. Over a decade, the number of internet users in Indonesia increased by more than 100% from 70.5 Million users in 2013 to 213 Million users in 2023. Here's the detailed picture 1.

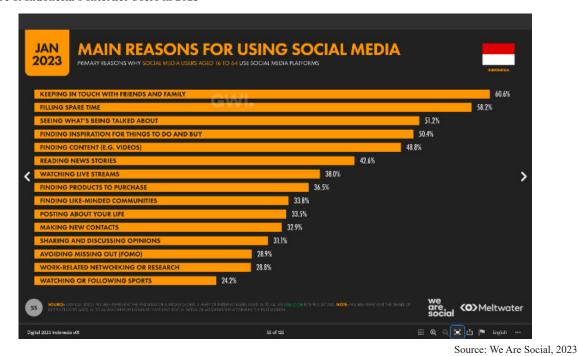
From the figure above, it can be understood that Indonesia is getting ready to enter the digital transformation era due to the massive number of internet users in Indonesia, although the disparity and gap in internet users in Indonesia is still quite high when compared to other countries in ASEAN. As per data released by the World Bank in 2019 (2022), there are around 94 million adults in Indonesia who do not have access and opportunity to use the internet through mobile devices and connect to cable-based internet networks. Approximately 80 per cent of those who cannot connect to the internet live in rural areas such as on the islands of Sumatra, Java and Bali, which are the most populous in Indonesia. On the other hand, around 60 to 70 per cent of Indonesians living in eastern Indonesia face challenges in obtaining adequate internet connection, due to variations in service quality.

The digital divide further reinforces socioeconomic disparities in Indonesia. This is reflected in the World Bank's Beyond Unicorn report in World Bank (2022) which shows that the younger generation is ten times more likely to use the internet via mobile devices compared to the older generation. At the same time, individuals with higher levels of education are five times more likely to be connected to the internet compared to those with only junior high school education or lower. In addition, family members with low-income levels are three times less likely to have internet access compared to children from more economically prosperous families.



Picture 1. Indonesia's Internet Users in 2023

Source: We Are Social, 2023



Picture 2. Reasons for using social media in Indonesia

The large number of internet users that Indonesia currently has, which is around 213 million users, is also accompanied by a gap in internet access among the community, which is caused by several factors, including adequate facilities and influenced by other factors such as the education level and economic level of each individual. (Picture 2)

The importance of social media in the development of information and communication technology is evidenced by how social media is used. according to the data released above, the majority of social media use is used for several reasons, including; communicating with friends and family;

filling spare time, looking for information and what is being discussed; looking for inspiration on what to do and buy; and so on. With the above reasons for using social media, social media is used as a basic platform for communicating and seeking information. Therefore, the wide and massive dissemination of information on social media can be utilised by individuals as a topic of daily conversation, so the initiatives of digital activism that are present today may be caused by ideas and opinions circulating in society through social media platforms.

Digital activism itself is also something that emerges due to e-democracy. Like a regular political

system, e-democracy gives rise to representations from digital society or netizens as a response to their distrust of the current political system or government institutions. This is because digital activism itself is implicated in digital activism as a result of campaign activities that affect the socio-political conditions that are the target of intervention by social movements. When it comes to how successful digital activism has been, the focus of implication analysis is on the impact that is visible in environments outside of the movement itself. In particular, this involves identifying the extent to which the activism triggers reactions from the general public and the authorities as the two most important groups in the activism. The public acts as an active participant in the movement, while the government is the main target of the movement. (Yayasan TIFA, 2022).

Moreover, Joyce (2011) said that analysing the implications of activism involves two important dimensions: first, the participation of citizens or the general public, and second, the political response of the government. For the general public, the impact of activism can go in two directions, namely stimulating engagement or generating apathy. Similarly, for the government, the response to activism can take the form of making concessions that support the movement or even repressive measures that undermine the movement. As such, digital activism serves as an enabling space for increased participation in the overall digital society environment.

Digital activism in Indonesia has seen a substantial increase, especially during the 2019-2021 period. Before this period, there was growth, but the increase was not as rapid as it was in the 2019-2021 period. As seen in the graph above, between 2016

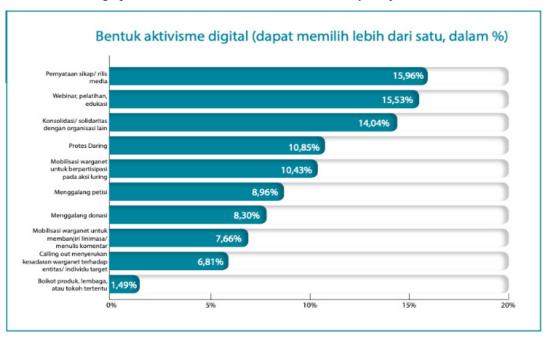
and 2017, there was a significant increase of 85 cases (75%). However, the most dramatic spike occurred between 2018 and 2019, with an increase of 397 cases (156%). This sharp growth reflects Indonesia's entry into a more intense era of digital activism.

The pandemic period (2020-2021) has also contributed to an increase in digital activism. This trend is not only happening in Indonesia but also in various countries affected by the pandemic. Della Porta (2021) argues that this activism focuses on criticising the government's handling of the pandemic, which is considered to have exacerbated the gap between citizens who already have access to digital infrastructure, health services, employment and education. This disparity then triggered a social movement to demand better handling and management of pandemic risks and policies that can reduce these disparities. As in other sectors, in conducting their protests, the shift from offline to online activities is a popular choice for social movement organisations. Based on the TIFA report above, issues that are often the focus of campaigns include politics and human rights (1,412 campaigns), gender equality (774 campaigns), and environmental issues (621 campaigns). During the 2016-2021 period, the public and the government were the two main targets of these digital activism campaigns. (Picture 3)

Challenges of E-Democracy as a Medium for Political Participation of the Young Generation

Disinformation Campaigns and Fake News

Campaign disinformation and fake news lead to reduced levels of trust among citizens, and undermine the reliability of journalism and media coverage.



Source: Yayasan TIFA, 2022

Picture 3. Forms of Digital Activism in Indonesia

(Citizen Take Over Europe, 2021). With a large number of internet users, 213 million according to data presented by We Are Social (2023), the widespread of fake news, hoaxes and disinformation can create an environment prone to disruption of political stability and the safety of ongoing e-democracy. Policies and measures need to be implemented to deal with this challenge, including public education on media literacy and wise use of the internet, as well as effective law enforcement against the spread of disinformation. Thus, the public can participate in intelligent discussions and decision-making within the framework of e-democracy without being trapped by false and harmful information.

Digital Divide

Implementing e-democracy requires devices and access to the internet. However, the gap in device users is still relatively large, resulting in many parts of society not having access to e-democracy. This is in line with data presented by Subianto (2021) that Indonesian people still face a wide digital divide. The percentage of adults with internet access in the country has quadrupled from 13 per cent in 2011 to around 62 per cent in 2021. According to the World Bank (2022) making the country one of the fastest-growing digital economies in Southeast Asia. However, it also means that 38 per cent of adults in Indonesia still do not have internet access.

Echo Chamber and Polarisation

Barbera (2020) made a point about the potential for "cyber balkanization" or the splitting of society into isolated groups as individuals with similar views congregate in an online environment. He hypothesises that technology can create a form of global village that brings people together, or conversely, causes divisions in society with conflicting views. The emergence of social media and content curation algorithms makes it easier for individuals to find and connect with likeminded people and thus form a place of speech that reduces exposure to diverse views, known as an echo chamber. Parallel to the concept of echo chambers, this phenomenon is reflected in the efforts of likeminded individuals to seek out and interact with each other, which in turn deepens polarisation.

Content Filtering Algorithm

The presence of filtering algorithms that prioritise content according to a user's preferences can further exacerbate this effect by limiting exposure to information that is different or opposite to what he or she prefers. While the internet and digital technologies have the potential to connect people from different locations, they can also contribute to the formation of isolated ideological communities.

This phenomenon presents a serious challenge to the democratic exchange of ideas as spaces for voice can reinforce existing beliefs and inhibit constructive dialogue between different groups.

Digital Protection Policy and Digital Crime Legislation

In e-democracy, digital security and vulnerability are some of the challenges that must be taken seriously. This is because e-democracy will be difficult to run on the threat of piracy and data manipulation. Therefore, the Indonesian government's regulations and policies in protecting this are very important. So far, Indonesia has gradually made efforts in digital protection by establishing the Personal Data Protection Law and the Electronic Information and Transaction (ITE) Law.

However, Febrinandes (2021) argued that the ITE Law has not been optimal in providing protection, especially for the flow of public criticism to the government, and vice versa, it has been used as a tool to suppress criticism. This can be seen in the number of cases related to the ITE Law. Based on data presented by SAFEnet, according to SAFEnet, the revision of the law has not succeeded in solving the problem.

Digital Literacy and Awareness

Promoting digital literacy and awareness is important to empower citizens to protect themselves from cyber threats and disinformation. In realising e-democracy, Digital Literacy and Awareness is still a challenge as Indonesia's digital literacy level is not yet optimal. Aviliani (2023) pointed out that the literacy rate in Indonesia is only around 62%, while other ASEAN countries are at 70%. On the same occasion, the Director General of Informatics Applications at the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, Samuel Abrijani Pangerapan, also mentioned that the digital literacy level of Indonesians is at an average of 3.54 out of an index of 1-5. The figure includes digital skills, digital security, digital culture, and digital ethics. According to him, of the four pillars of digital literacy, digital security is the lowest. This can also be seen in the number of people who easily become victims of digital crime. Meanwhile, to improve digital literacy, Samuel revealed that cooperation is needed from all parties, including the government, the industrial sector, and the public as users.

Lack of Accountability

As e-democracy is a complex and technologydependent process, establishing accountability for decisions made with actions taken on the platform can be challenging. Lack of transparency and accountability can lead to a loss of public trust in the democratic process.

Freedom of Democracy Issues on the Internet

According to the Freedom House report (2019), Internet Freedom in Indonesia falls into the partly free category. However, Indonesia continues to struggle with challenges including systemic corruption, discrimination and violence against some minority groups, separatist tensions in the Papua region, and the political use of defamation and libel laws.

Building Digital Spaces that Support E-Democracy

Indeed, the goal of e-democracy development is to have an e-democracy system that can be used by citizens and support citizen participation in democratic processes. (Funilkul & Chutimaskul, 2009). The main characteristics of e-democracy itself are the provision of better services with appropriate access times, reasonable costs in using appropriate information and communication technology, responsive government listening, and support for citizen participation. (Blumler & Coleman, 2001; Funilkul & Chutimaskul, 2009). Therefore, the development of e-democracy should be the focus of the government so that its vision, mission, strategies, plans and policies can be built appropriately. It cannot be denied that the rapid development of information and communication technology has led to the need to develop an e-democracy system that suits the needs of the country and becomes an adequate channel for citizen participation.

There are at least five main components that play a role in building e-democracy, namely Information Communication Technology, E-Citizens (Netizens or Warganet), Government, Civil Society, and Media. (Funilkul & Chutimaskul, 2009; Oni et al., 2016; Steven Clift, 2003). Based on these components, it can be understood that the government plays a role in providing broad access to information and interacting electronically with citizens, political groups run online advocacy campaigns, and political parties also campaign online. Media and portal/search sites also play an important role by providing online news and guidance. All these are part of e-democracy according to Clift's simplified model (2003).

Furthermore, the e-democracy components proposed by Clift (2003) were then developed by Funilkul (2009) into a sustainable e-democracy development model. Funilkul (2009) Funilkul mentions four main components in the development of e-democracy which has the main output in the form of an e-democracy system. The four main components are The stakeholder and policy, The methodology, The ICT, and The environment.

In the strategic design proposed by Oni et al (2016), the four main components and the e-democracy system can be realised through two strategic phases, namely the policy design phase and the implementation phase. Both phases are used to be able to transform theoretical understanding related to e-democracy development into more implementable strategic steps. Not only a matter of tactical implementation mechanisms but also about the design of supporting policies for the development and sustainable development of e-democracy.

In the policy design phase, this phase includes legal and political processes to support the implementation of e-democracy (Oni et al., 2016). This phase is an important point in the development of e-democracy because this phase will reflect how much political will the legislature has to adopt e-democracy and integrate public opinion in the decision-making process. This phase discusses the policy vision, strategic goals, and principles that guide the policy.

Referring to this phase, the e-democracy implementation process can be realised if it is supported by appropriate and appropriate policies. Appropriate and appropriate regulating policies will greatly impact the process of sustainable e-democracy development. There are at least two main issues related to what kind of policy is needed, namely operational and strategic. (Oni et al., 2016). Operationally, a sustainable e-democracy development process requires policies that provide legal protection as well as privacy security guarantees for e-democracy system users. There is also a need for policies regarding feedback mechanisms that are fast, credible, complete, and privacy preserved. In addition, the technical design of e-democracy applications or media must be appropriate and appropriate, have infrastructure support, affordable access costs.

Reflecting on the dynamics that occur in Indonesia, the existence of social media and the fact that the number of users continues to increase, especially among young voters, should be a valuable opportunity for the development of sustainable e-democracy. At least social media has become a tool that is easily accessible and has been widely used. However, to be able to make it a means of supporting the development of sustainable e-democracy, supporting policies and regulations are also needed such as laws which protect the freedom of speech and data protection.

Strategically, the sustainable development of e-democracy requires regional or national legal support covering the strategic vision and desired outcomes of e-democracy, the functions and responsibilities of relevant stakeholders, integration with decision-making processes, broader policy directions and off-line consultation processes, and the basis for participation. (Oni et al., 2016). Thus the supporting policies or regulations produced are not only in the operational area but also strategic.

On the one hand, the existence of policies that regulate the e-democracy implementation process is indeed very necessary, but these regulations must also have a strategic vision and target so that they not only regulate but also support the development and development of e-democracy. In formulating regulatory policies, both the ITE Law and other regulations in the future related to e-democracy activities, policymakers must shift their focus from creating social order to fulfilling the needs of society. This will result in policies that are appropriate and suitable for the sustainable development of e-democracy.

As stated by Mahfud MD (2009) in a democratic political system, legal products must be responsive and aspirational. In the sense that legal products must reflect a sense of justice and meet the expectations of the community so that the law becomes a crystallisation of the will of the community. Instead, it seems to be a political product that only aims to realise the political vision of the ruling government. Fase berikutnya adalah fase implementasi, dalam fase ini hal-hal yang perlu diperhatikan seputar area teknis atau mekanisme dari aktivitas *e-democracy* (Oni et al., 2016).

As previously understood, e-democracy is not only about e-voting but it also requires a comprehensive transformation to maintain all democratic values. In the context of this research, social media is one of the main areas of e-democracy activities. Discussions, publications, protests, and political campaigns can be found on social media. Thus, more serious attention is needed to the existence of social media and its influence on democratic activities.

If the presence of social media is to be maximised to support the sustainable development of e-democracy, strategic action is needed from the government and related elements. According to Oni et al. (2016), In the implementation phase, several aspects need to be considered. These aspects will affect the quality and sustainable e-democracy strategic plan.

Firstly, the level or extent to which citizens are involved. It is important to ensure and guarantee the extent to which citizens can participate in the policy formulation agenda. The extent to which their opinions or online activities can influence policymaking. Do not let people feel that their democratic activities on social media such as expressing opinions, criticising, and protesting have no impact

and ultimately kill the culture of e-democracy that will develop.

Second, the availability of infrastructure to facilitate online participation. In practice, the e-democracy mechanism must still be designed in a structured manner so that it will be easier to understand and easier to implement. It is necessary to design a clear online participation facility, not just capturing viral news circulating on social media but responding to real needs. Just as a 24-hour customer complaint service is ready to receive complaints from the public, it is necessary to have a facility that is focused on each participation required with consideration of the first point regarding the extent to which the public will be involved.

The third aspect is when to engage citizens and the tools and technologies that can facilitate the required level of engagement. There is a need to understand e-democracy as an ongoing democratic activity. It is not limited to e-voting, which is only done during elections or local elections.

The next aspect is who should be involved and by whom. This aspect relates to the existence of stakeholders or related parties whose existence is needed. As explained earlier, the main elements of e-democracy are Information and Communication Technology, E-Citizens (Netizens), Government, Civil Society, and Media. All of these elements have their respective portions and must be connected to create a good e-democracy system.

All these aspects ultimately lead to realising the essence of e-participation, which is to expand the level and volume of citizen contributions to public decision-making by utilising ICT developments. (Oni et al., 2016). The aspects in this implementation phase certainly cannot be separated from the previous phase, namely the policy design phase. The two phases are not separate things but rather a large series (framework) of a strategic plan for sustainable e-democracy development.

Thus it can be understood that to make social media a means of supporting sustainable e-democracy development in Indonesia, appropriate regulatory policies and implementation strategies are needed. Policies made must have a vision that is responsive and aspirational so that it becomes a crystallisation of community expectations and corresponds to what the community needs, not just talking about "social order" which in the end hurts the development of e-democracy. An appropriate implementation strategy is also needed where social media is not only used as a free area but further development is carried out so that there are more structured facilities to facilitate community involvement in online democratic political activities.

CONCLUSION

Based on the research that has been conducted, digital space and social media are possible means of political participation for youth and at the same time provide space for a sustainable e-democracy development process in Indonesia. However, this can be realised with several prerequisites, namely, in terms of policy and implementation as well as operationally and strategically, the government should not be abusive and offensive towards the use of digital media in Indonesia. Instead, the characteristics that must be raised by the government are responsive and aspirational. This research also shows that empirically the process of sustainable e-democracy development does not only require a technological medium but also requires policies that support e-democracy because basically, digital media has become a living space that is inherent and inevitable with today's young generation.

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