Social Media and Youth Political Participation
at the Time of Political Polarization:
A Study on University Students in Indonesia
during the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

by
Wahyutama

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Abstract

Some studies theorized social media as fostering youth political participation by facilitating the development of online participatory cultures (Jenkins, 2009). Online participatory cultures provide young citizens with opportunities to discuss and gain information about political topics, create capacity for action by promoting digital skills and norms for group interaction, and facilitate recruitment into civic and political life (Kahne et al., 2013). Against the backdrop of this discourse, this research aims to investigate social media and youth political participation in Indonesia's context.

This project's research questions ask: How politics is experienced by Indonesian youth and how social media is used by them to engage with political activities? To answer those questions, this research conducted a survey (n=265) and interviews (n=29) with students from three universities in Jakarta. This research adopted grounded theory approach in analysing the data.

This research revealed that social media in general provides affordances for youth to engage with activities related to political conversation and social-political campaign (as indicated by the findings that social media attracts more numbers of youth participating in these two categories of activity). Thus, this research in part support propositions advocated by the thesis of online participatory cultures that social media facilitates youth political participation.

However, under the specific context of ethnic and religious-based political polarization which happened during this research, this research also revealed that the salient form of social media use by youth is in fact monitoring political conversation. This activity is driven by the sense of "kepo" (the drive to asses how others are thinking, feeling, and responding to certain political issues) and has the effect on youth's fear of social isolation (in the form of fear of breaking relationship with others). Eventually, this activity leads youth to the act of silence (in the form of refraining political expression on social media). In this case, this research (unintentionally) confirm the theory of spiral of silence proposed by Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann (1984).

Finally, this research contributes to the academic discourse by providing a critical insight into the way social media could lead its users to the process of spiral of silence i.e. by exacerbating the fear of social isolation obtained from the activity of social surveillance (in the form of monitoring political conversation).

Keywords: social media, online participatory cultures, youth political participation, political polarization, spiral of silence

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Overview

There is evidence of a worldwide trend in the decline of young citizens' participation in politics, especially in terms of voting. In the United States, for example, a study revealed that voter turnout of the 18–24 year-old citizens declined from more than 50 percent in 1972 to only about 35 percent in 2000 (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, and Carpini, 2006, p. 6). In Britain, voter turnout among young citizens under 25-years-old declined from 88.6% in 1964 to only 44.3% in 2005 (Phelps, 2005, p. 483). In Canada, voter turnout of citizens of age 18-24-year-old declined from 75% in 1988 to 60% in 2000 (Barnes and Virgint, 2013).

These trends are consistent with that for the general population. A study by International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) revealed that, on average, voter turnout is on a steady decline globally. For example, Japan had a decline from 72% in 1960 to 62% in 2000; France 77% in 1960 to 60% in 2000; Costa Rica 81% in 1960 to 67% in 2000; New Zealand 89% in 1960 to 77% in 2000 (Blais, 2010, pp. 166–167).

These trends were not always linear as voter turnout increased in some cases such as in the US elections in 1992 and 2004, the UK in 1987 and 1992, and Canada in 2015 (Hay, 2007, p. 13; "Voter Turnout Hits Highest Level In Over 2 Decades," 2015; Zukin et al., 2006, p. 6). However, data on the aggregate level show that the declining trend is the general pattern (Blais, 2010, pp. 166–167; Dalton, 2008, p. 37; Hay, 2007, p. 13; International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2002, pp. 76–77).

Based on IDEA's published report in 1999, young citizens (age less than 25 year-olds) are the group of voters with the lowest turnout rate in almost all countries studied (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2002, p. 111). Studies on specific countries such as the US and the UK also confirm this conclusion (Phelps, 2005, p. 483; Zukin et al., 2006, p. 6).

Research that attempted to uncover the causes of this decline led to various conclusions. Two main arguments are: 1) the decline of political participation is the reflection of the decay of civic values among today's citizens. The root of the decline of political participation can be

attributed to the growing apathy towards civic participation in general: that people are less interested in social activities, are less attached to group membership, and inclined more to individual activities (Putnam, 1995); and 2) the phenomenon of citizens' disconnection with politics is actually a sign of the transformation (rather than decline) of citizenship norms and values (Dalton, 2008, 2009; Inglehart and Welzel, 2007; Zukin et al., 2006). In other words, people are participating in different ways. In line with the second argument, Dalton (2008) proposes that the new trend of political participation is marked by the emergence of a new style of citizen politics. The current forms of political participation are marked by activities that are citizen-initiated, less constrained, more policy-oriented, and directly linked to the government. Some of these forms of political participation – now increasingly found in advanced industrial democratic countries – are participation in citizen lobbies, single-issue groups, citizen-action movements, and political consumerism activities (2008, p. 54).

The causes of this changing form of political participation, according to Dalton, are the increasing political sophistication of citizens (in terms of skills and knowledge) and the accessibility of participation resources (especially in terms of political information). As Dalton stated, a sophisticated and cognitively mobilized citizen places less dependence on traditional forms of political participation, such as voting and campaigns as the primary means of influencing the government (2008, p. 54). As a consequence, today's citizens would prefer to participate in certain forms of political participation and not others.

Some scholars specifically propose that the new communication technology, social media in particular, is responsible for this transformation of political participation. Loader and Marca, for example, argue that social media enable citizens to critically scrutinize the actions of government and corporations by providing them space to interact and collaborate in the production and the dissemination of alternative political information (2011, p. 759). Meanwhile Bennet proposes that social media has the capacity to activate a "small world phenomenon" (in which distant people are in close reach of individuals), making it useful to activists for coordinating large-scale, individualized collective action as in the cases of Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street movement, or the 15-M movement in Spain (2012, p. 28). In sum, these scholars point to the potential of social media to promote the emergence of the new forms of political

participation which are more direct, more issue-oriented, more elite-challenging, and less dependent on traditional political institutions such as political parties.

Based on the above descriptions, there is a suggestion that youth political participation worldwide is shifting into a new form of political participation, made possible by the emergence of social media. Social media is argued as a technology that goes hand-in-hand with the social changes that have happened (the growth of more sophisticated citizens, the rise of the new citizenship norms), which eventually led to the emergence of the new form of political participation.

However, it is important to note that the above literature (as well as many other literature in this topic) mostly refers to the cases in the advanced democratic countries, especially in western democratic countries. Explanations regarding the shifting form of youth political participation, facilitated by social media, are hardly found in the cases of the emerging democratic countries such as Indonesia.

Therefore, this research is interested in proposing explanations regarding the trend of youth political participation, especially in relation to the role of social media in affecting it in Indonesia's context.

1.2.   Statement of the Problem

Even though data on Indonesia's general elections across time show a slight decline in voter turnout, the level of voter turnout in each election cycle is still considered high. Based on the last four general parliamentary elections (Indonesia's general elections begin under the democratic government in 1999 and the presidential election in 2009), voter turnout for the respective election periods are 93.3% (1999), 84.09% (2004), 70.99% (2009), and 75.11% (2014) (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, n.d.).

More strikingly, a study by Transparency International Indonesia (TII) of the general election in 2014, found that the tendency for Indonesian youth to vote was also high; of 933 youth respondents in Jakarta, TII found that 63% respondents stated they would vote in the 2014 legislative election and 77% would vote in the 2014 presidential election (Transparency International Indonesia, 2014, pp. 14–15). These findings are intriguing, considering the study also found that the level of trust from youth for politics and political institutions is considerably

low. For example, 85% of respondents perceived that the corruption in Indonesia is worse (they believed that there are growing numbers of corruption cases) and 60% were dissatisfied with the government's efforts in curbing corruption (2014, p. 4). The research also found that only 15% of respondents were satisfied with the government's performance. In the follow-up group discussion, the study revealed that the respondents perceived politics as something dirty, not for the interest of people, and aimed only at achieving power (2014, p. 12). These contrasting data, the high level of youth political participation on one hand and the low level of trust in politics and political institutions on the other, demonstrate that the explanation behind citizen political participation in Indonesia, especially among youth, is not adequately understood.

In addition, the roles of social media in Indonesia's contemporary politics is worth mentioning. In some collective movements conducted by citizens, the central role of social media in enabling these movements was clearly evident. An example is the so-called "Coins for Prita" movement (2009). In this movement, citizens attempted to draw support for Prita Mulyasari, a middle-class housewife sentenced as guilty for an act of defamation against Omni International Hospital for posting her complaint about the hospital's poor treatment on social media. Using social media (especially Facebook), young activists who joined this movement launched "Coins for Prita" project to crowd source donations to recompense Prita's court-issued fine. As a result, the movement successfully raised US$ 90,000 for Prita, which was more than enough to pay the fine (Lim, 2011).

In the context of conventional political participation, several studies also suggest the important role of social media in affecting the election process. According to Tapsell, for example, Joko Widodo's (now President of Indonesia) successful campaign in the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2012 was significantly affected by his use of social-media platforms, which effectively appealed to young voters (2015, p. 38).

However, the dark side of social-media uses for politics in Indonesia should also be noted. In the 2014 presidential election, for example, negative campaigns containing religious provocations flooded social media and is believed to have a significant impact on the result of the election (Bollier, 2014) . Similarly, during the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017, social media also became a battlefield for supporters from each political camp to harshly attack

supporters from the opposing political camp (detailed further in the subsection 1.4. Research context).

The above descriptions suggest that in Indonesia, youth political participation may have unique explanations that differ significantly with those of other countries. Therefore, a further exploration is needed, especially regarding the way youth construct politics and consequently the way youth engage with politics. Considering the theoretical proposition that social media is affecting youth political participation worldwide, and also the fact that social media had indeed become an integral part of youth's daily lives, the exploration should place social media as the key phenomenon to be investigated. Therefore, this research aims to the way youth experience politics in Indonesia and the role that social media plays in affecting youth political participation in Indonesia.

1.3. Research Questions

The underlying research questions this research are: how does youth experience politics in Indonesia and how social media is used by youth to engage with political activities?

1.4. Research Context

This research was conducted during the course of Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 (the voting date was April 19, 2017). This event attracted great attention from the Indonesia's public in general (not only public in Jakarta) for two main reasons. First, the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election is seen by many as a stepping stone to Indonesia's national leadership, as is the case with the current president, Joko Widodo, who won the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election in 2012 before stepping up to the Presidential seat in 2014. Second, this election created sharp political polarization between supporters, fuelled by the narrative of ethnic-religious sentiment. This polarization created political tension that spread throughout Indonesia.

Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 nominated two candidates, namely the challenger Anies Baswedan and the incumbent Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (popularly called by his nickname Ahok). Anies, a former Minister of Education, drew support mainly from Muslim supporters while Ahok drew support from a mix of supporters (Muslims and religious-minority groups, especially Chinese-Christian). However, Ahok is the central story.

Ahok is a Chinese-Christian who was elected as Governor (formerly Vice Governor, and then stepped up to become Governor replacing Joko Widodo who was then elected as Indonesia's President) in the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2012. He was the first Chinese-Christian to ever sit in that position for almost 50 years. Ahok's ascendancy divided the public into those who adored him and those who hated him. Those who adored him saw Ahok as the leader who possessed a high level of integrity and performed well in governance. In comparison, those who hated him saw Ahok as an arrogant and disrespectful leader (in particular, his 'iron-fist' leadership style combined with his aggressive communication style).

The culmination of controversy around Ahok happened when he delivered a speech during his official trip to a remote area of Jakarta stating that he 'understood' if his audience wouldn't vote for him in the upcoming election since they were fooled by the misuse of Koran (the Holy Book of Muslim). Ahok's speech went viral in social media after a Jakarta-based lecturer (Buni Yani) uploaded Ahok's speech video (and added his own texts allegedly provoking Muslim to protest against Ahok) in Facebook on October 6, 2016. Groups of Muslim immediately responded to his speech, staging waves of street protests against him. One of the most iconic protest is the "212" street protest (held on December 2, 2016), attended by around 500,000 protesters(Franciska, 2016). These series of protests were then countered by Ahok's supporters with similar street protests (advocating the idea of pluralism, diversity, and rejection toward radicalism).

The fierce battles between supporters also took place on social media. Supporters from each political camp fiercely attacked supporters from the opposing camp with aggressive words and insults(Kresna, 2017). The ethnic-religious sentiment underlying this confrontation also unavoidably provoked the exchanges of religious insult on social media, which had made the political temperature strikingly high.

Eventually, Ahok was defeated by Anies in the election. Not long after that, Ahok was judged guilty by the court for religious blasphemy and served two years in prison[1] (Ahok was released on January 24, 2019). Meanwhile, Buni Yani who uploaded Ahok's video (and

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[1] Sidang Al Maidah: Dua tahun penjara untuk Ahok, langsung ditahan [Al-Maidah Court: Two years in prison for Ahok, immediately executed]. (2017, Mei 9). *BBC Indonesia*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39853373

triggered the Muslims' reaction) was also judged guilty by the court for spreading hate speech on internet and served one and a half years in jail[2].

It is under the above specific political circumstances that this research was conducted.

1.5. Definition of key terms

1.5.1. Social media

By social media, I refer to a particular type of communication services offered in the new communication technology environment (internet sites, mobile applications) which allow its users to create and share content with other users (families, friends, and acquaintances). This is in line with danah boyd's formulation that defines social media as, "*...the sites and services that emerged during the early 2000s, including social network sites, video sharing sites, blogging and microblogging platforms, and related tools that allow participants to create and share their own content*" (boyd, 2014, p. 6). Other scholars use the term social networking sites to refer to this type of new media. For example, Hughes, Rowe, Batey, and Lee define social networking sites as "...virtual collections of user profiles which can be shared with others" (2012, p. 561).

Current, popular social media or social networking sites are Facebook (1.55 billion users), Instagram (400 million users), and Twitter (316 million users) (Statista, 2015a). In Indonesia, a relatively similar figure can be found where Facebook is at the top with 67.7 million users (Statista, 2015b), followed by Twitter with 14.3 million users (Statista, 2015c), and Instagram with about 14 million users.

1.5.2. Political participation

This research adopts an open and flexible definition of political participation, as it attempts to explore the subjective understanding of politics and political participation from the participants' perspectives. As a guide, this research will define political participation broadly as citizens' involvement in political affairs. This definition can accommodate the classic definition of political participation as any attempts made by citizens to influence political outcomes as

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[2] MA: Vonis Buni Yani Tetap 1,5 Tahun Penjara [Supreme Court: Buni Yani remain sentenced 1.5 years in prison]. (2018, November 26). *CNN Indonesia*. Retrieved from https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20181126131844-12-349268/ma-vonis-buni-yani-tetap-15-tahun-penjara

proposed by many scholars such as Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978), Booth and Seligson (1978), Nagel (1987), Conge (1988), Brady (1999), and Anthony Birch (2007). But this definition can also accommodate scholars such as Castells (2009), Dahlgren (2012, 2013; Dahlgren and Alvares, 2013), or Mutz (2006) who emphasized the involvement of individuals in deliberation or the process of opinion formation. Dahlgren, for example, defines political participation as, "…fundamentally an expression of political agency, and as such takes on relevance in the context of the political" (2013, p. 18), while, Castells implied communication as a form of political action by stating that the ability to shape human mind is the most fundamental power, in which the communication process decisively mediates the way in which power relationships are constructed and challenged (2009, p. 4).

1.5.3. Youth

By youth, this research refers to a phase of age when a person transitioning from childhood to adulthood. This is in line with the definition of youth defined by UNESCO, "…a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood's independence and awareness of our interdependence as members of a community" (UNESCO, n.d.).

In terms of politics, studies of youth can be viewed from two perspectives. Zukin et al. (2006, pp. 11–12) called the two perspectives as generational versus life cycle perspective. The first perspective views youth as a generation who differs significantly from the other generations. In this perspective, contemporary youth refers to a specific generation born after a certain period of time (Russell Dalton, 2009, for example, used the term Generation Y for the current youth generation born between 1980s and 1990s). The second perspective views youth as a particular stage of age in which a person experiences identity transition (from childhood to adulthood). In this perspective, an adolescent stage is viewed as a period when a person is developing identities, dispositions, and values that will continue to stay in their adult age (Flanagan, 2013, p. 2).

This research considers both dimensions of the meaning of youth. Youth will be viewed both in terms of their distinct characteristics as a generation (especially as a generation who was raised under the internet-facilitated communication environment) and also as an age cohort of which a person is transitioning from childhood to adulthood.

This research specifically selects typical ages of college students (18–22-year-olds) as respondents, as this segment best reflects the phase when a person is transitioning to adulthood. In Indonesia's context, college life (most students enter the university when they reach the age of 18) marks a phase when a teenager leaves their compulsory education (high school), experiences a completely new learning environment demanding initiative and responsibility. It is also the start to living separately from their parents. In college life, they will receive requests to join various student groups that are not only offering activities but also identities (which are crucial for the formation of their own identity).

1.6.   Research Methodology

This research aims to find explanations about the role of social media in affecting youth political participation in Indonesia. To meet this objective, this research used the grounded-theory method. Grounded theory is a method of research that attempts to generate a theory from the data by devising systematic yet flexible guidelines of data collection and analysis (Babbie, 2010, p. 307; Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). The grounded-theory method was expected to suit this research since it allows the researcher to construct a theory that explain a phenomenon being studied in a specific context (in this case, the roles of social media in affecting Indonesian youth political participation). However, as will be explained later, at the final stage of analysis this research doesn't construct new theory but instead uses the existing theory (i.e. theory of spiral of silence) to explain the phenomenon being studied.

Grounded theory allows the use of various approaches and methods of data collection. Thus, this research will use interview and survey as its methods of data collection. The interview will be used to explore the subjective understandings of Indonesian youth about politics and youth's experiences of using social media to engage with politics. The survey will be used to generate data about youth political participation and social-media uses by youth for civic-political activities. Both datasets will be used to propose a thorough explanation about the roles social media play in youth political participation

Participants of the research were sampled from students in three universities in Jakarta: Universitas Paramadina, Universitas Mercubuana, and Bina Nusantara University.

1.7. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis has seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides the overview of the research, including the background, the research question, definition of key terms and research methodology. Chapter 2 presents existing literature discussions and debates regarding social media and youth political participation. Chapter 2 will also provide scholarly definitions about key concepts in this research (i.e. political participation) and the theoretical framework regarding the role of social media in fostering youth political participation. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology, including data collection procedures. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present the research findings and analysis. To be noted, even though this research takes a mixed-methods approach – a quantitative survey and qualitative interviews – this research does not present the analysis of these data separately. Rather, this research structures the data analysis based on the topics it address:Chapter 4 presents the analysis on youth's construction of politics (based on interview), Chapter 5 presents the analysis on social-media uses by youth to engage in civic-political activities (based on survey and interview), and Chapter 6 specifically addresses the most salient form of political participation conducted by youth based on interview, i.e. the act of monitoring political conversation and its consequences on youth political expression. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes with a summary of the project's contributions and limitations, and some recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Overview

This chapter explores relevant literature on political participation, youth political participation, and social media (in terms of its relationship with political participation). These literatures are expected to provide theoretical lenses for analyzing youth political participation in Indonesia and how the role of social media in affecting it.

2.2. Definitions of political participation

Political participation is one of the main themes in the study of politics. It is no surprise that there are many definitions of political participation available in the literature. In the descriptions below, the researcher presents definitions of political participation proposed by prominent scholars, followed by discussions regarding the conception of political participation in the changing environments.

One of the most cited definitions is the classical definition formulated by Verba, Nie, & Kim (1978, p. 1): "By political participation we refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions that they take". By this definition, political participation includes any actions taken by citizens to influence their government, particularly in terms of its political outcomes (which the authors specifically detailed as the election result and the government's policy). According to this definition, political participation mostly focuses on how citizens participate in the election (by voting) and how they involve themselves in the policy-making process.

The aspect of "citizen action to influence the government" in this definition reflects the view of many scholars in the field. For example, Booth and Seligson who defined political participation as, "behavior influencing or attempting to influence the distribution of public goods" (1978, p. 6). Also, Jack Nagel who posited, "Participation refers to action through which ordinary members of a political system influence or attempt to influence outcomes" (1987, p. 1).

And Brady who defined political participation as, "action by ordinary citizens directed toward influencing some political outcomes" (1999, p. 737). Or, Barnes & Kaase (1979) who defined political participation as, "all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence, either directly or indirectly, political choices at various levels of the political system" (Conge, 1988, p. 242).

However, the above definitions of political participation cannot accommodate a much more varied type of political participation in the current political environment. There are at least three conditions in the current political environment that affect the way citizens participate in politics.

The first is deinstitutionalization, i.e. the weakening of citizen ties with traditional institutions such as families, religious institutions (churches, clerics, etc), voluntary organizations, political parties, and other social organizations. This trend goes hand-in-hand with the individualization of society. Robert Putnam is one of the most cited scholars describing this phenomenon. Putnam stated that there is a growing apathy in the American public toward civic participation. Americans are less interested in social activity and tend to draw themselves into individual activities (symbolized by the Americans' preference to play bowling alone rather than playing as part of a team) (Putnam in Loader, 2007, p. 9) In the context of politics, this tendency toward individualization is indicated by the weakening attachment of citizens to political parties and traditional opinion leaders. Loader stated citizens are increasingly indifferent to social class, which was once a very strong determinant for political identity, owing to the decreasing numbers of members in this group (i.e. the working class; as the effect of deindustrialization). This has resulted in citizens' political identity changing from that of being previously based on social class to new identities based on various factors: gender, sexuality, race, and other social distinctions (Loader, 2007, p. 7). As as consequence, political participation is getting more personal and self-driven.

The second is the emergence of new citizenship norms, which are based on self-reflexivity. This phenomenon is likely to be the result of the process of individualization and globalization. Individualization lead citizens to become independent individuals who are able to self-determine their own identities. Meanwhile, globalization offers citizens with many different ideas of identity. As stated by Mark Warren, as a consequence of being exposed to many different ideas

of identity, individuals develop a sense of self-reflexivity (Warren, 2002, p. 686). People raise the basic questions: "who am I?" and "why?". This process, in turn, provides the space for ethical growth in politics.

The idea that citizenship norms are transformed as the result of societies changing at the current time is also proposed by Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. They argued that modernization is tied to the process of human development, producing increasingly humanistic societies that place growing emphasis on human freedom and self-expression.

As they put it,

Modernization is evolving into a process of human development, in which socioeconomic development brings cultural changes that make individual autonomy, gender equality, and democracy increasingly likely, giving rise to a new type of society that promotes human emancipation on many fronts. (Inglehart & Welzel, 2007: 2)

Self-expression values include: personal and political liberty, tolerance of others' liberty, and emphasis on subjective well-being (Inglehart & Welzel, 2007, p. 248). These values, which all emphasize protection of citizens' individual rights, in turn, lead citizens to engage in elite-challenging forms of political activity such as participating in demonstrations, boycotts, and petitions. This is because these activities reflect a critical citizenry whose members are able (i.e. understand their rights and know how to exercise them) and willing (embracing the self-expression values) to put incumbent authorities under pressure to respond to their demands (Inglehart & Welzel, 2007, p. 261). This is discussed further in subsection 2.4. (Youth and political participation: changing forms of participation?)

The third condition that has facilitated changes in the contemporary political environment relates to broader transformations within the communication environment shaped by the post-1970s rise in new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Since the mid-2000s, the advent of social media has contributed to these changes, altering the way citizens relate with governments and authorities. It had also changed the way power is exercised among social actors (Castells, 2009). Specifically in the area of political participation, many studies (Bennett, Segerberg, & Walker, 2014; Bode, Vraga, Borah, & Shah, 2014; Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux, & Zheng, 2014; Loader & Mercea, 2011; Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2012) have revealed the role of

social media in facilitating new forms of political action (especially the one characterized by. elite-challenging activity and involving the use of inclusive framing of action) which were carried out by citizens in many parts of the world. This will be further discussed in the subsection of social media and political participation.

To conclude, the changes in the political environment described above should be taken into account when analyzing citizen political participation at the current time. For example, political participation is now not limited to the activity of citizens "giving political inputs" to government, but also transforming political systems or even transforming society (Castells, 2010). Citizen participation is not necessarily driven by social class-influenced political interests, as suggested in the above classic definitions of political participation, but could also be driven by expression of identity or values.

In addition, to accommodate the broad scope of political participation in the current political environment, the framework proposed by Jan Teorell (2006) is found to be useful. He classified various definitions of political participation existing in the literature by relating them to the democratic ideals behind them. He argued that a certain perspective about democracy favors a certain conception about political participation since these two concepts are closely related. Teorell proposed three main categories of political participation definition: political participation as an influencing attempt, which corresponds to the idea of the representative model of democracy; political participation as direct decision making, which corresponds to the idea of the participatory model of democracy; and political participation as a political discussion, which corresponds to the idea of the deliberative model of democracy (Teorell, 2006, pp. 788–790).

First, political participation as an influencing attempt focuses on the equal protection of interests and the responsiveness of the political system to the demands and interests of the citizens. Definition of political participation in this way can be found in the works of many scholars as already mentioned: Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978), Booth and Seligson (1978), Barnes and Kaase (1979), Nagel (1987), Conge (1988), Brady (1999), and Anthony Birch (2007). Teorell claimed that this category dominated the empirical field of participation studies (Teorell, 2006, p. 789).

Second, political participation as direct decision making emphasizes the importance of citizens' involvement in the decision-making process in all spheres of life (not limited only to participation within the boundary of the representative democracy's mechanism such as voting or participating in a political campaign). Scholars defining political participation in this way believe that citizens' involvement in the decision-making process is not only important in terms of influencing political outcomes, but also in terms of the development of citizens' capacity themselves. As stated by one of the prominent scholars in this category,

> The existence of representative institutions at the national level is not sufficient for democracy… for democracy must take place in other spheres in order that the necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities can be developed. This development takes place through the process of participation itself. (Pateman, 2003, p. 41)

Third, the definition of political participation as a political discussion emphasizes the act of deliberation, i.e. the involvement of citizens in the opinion-formation process that precedes the decision-making process. Scholars defining political participation in this way argued that the demands and interests of the citizens should not be treated as something fixed; rather it should be treated as something developed through interaction and communication. Improving citizens' communication experience is crucial to developing them. Citizens need to be involved in the political discussion to help them better understand the issue, expose them to many different arguments about the issue, and enable them to identify their own needs from, and interests in, the issue. According to Teorell, citizens' participation in political discussion will enhance the legitimacy of the decision being made, since even citizens who are on the 'losing' side will be aware that their opinions and interests had been considered and weighed (2006: 797).

The above framework, proposed by Teorell, demonstrates that political participation has been defined in various ways by scholars. It can include a wide variety of activities, from voting to expressing opinion. What counts as political participation, according to scholars, depends on the concept of democracy to which those scholars refer.

Departing from the above descriptions, this research will not follow any strict definition of political participation. This research, in fact, will explore the concept of political participation according to the way participants in this research construct it. As a flexible guideline, this research will simply view political participation as citizens' involvement in political affairs.

2.3. Civic voluntarism model as predictors of political participation

This section describes several factors found to affect political participation. Explanations regarding these factors will provide theoretical lenses to analyze why youth are participating, or not participating, in politics. This research will specifically elaborate on the civic voluntarism model, one of many identified in the literature, as it provides the most comprehensive framework for analyzing factors that affect political participation.

Sidney Verba, Kay Scholzman, and Henry Brady (1995) propose a civic voluntarism model that identifies three factors enabling an individual's political participation: resources, engagement, and recruitment. In their formulation, people do not participate in politics "because they can't; because they don't want to; or because nobody asked" (1995, p. 15). "They can't" suggests a lack of necessary resources of participation which includes time (amount of spare time available to participate in politics), money (to contribute or donate), and civic skills (organizational and/or communication capacities to conduct political activities). "They don't want to" indicates the lack of political engagement which includes lack of political interest, political efficacy, and political knowledge. "Nobody asked" suggests isolation from the network of political recruitment (1995, p. 16). Verba et al. stated that political engagement (interest, efficacy, knowledge, partisanship) provides the desire, knowledge, and self-assurance that drive people to participate in politics while, resources (money, time, and civic skills) provide the capital without which such participation is meaningless (p. 354).

The first factor, resources, was developed by Verba et al. as a refinement for the socioeconomic status approach (SES model), which had previously been used in many studies to predict political participation (1995, p. 282). Based on the SES model, people with a higher SES (level of education, income, and job position) are more likely to participate in politics than people with a lower SES. Civic voluntarism model, according to Verba et al., can explain why SES can predict political participation: it is because people with a higher SES have more resources (money, spare time, and skills) to participate than those with a lower SES. Since the civic voluntarism model provides a more fundamental explanation of why people participate in politics, Verba et al. claim their model is much more advanced than the SES model. Moreover, the model can also explain the inconsistent results that sometimes occurs in the relationship

between SES factors and political participation (1995, p. 282). In particular, Verba et al. emphasizes civic skills as necessary resources to participate in politics. Civic skills are defined as "the set of specific competencies germane to citizen political activity" (1995, p. 305). These skills include organizational capacities (such as initiating, organizing, and participating in a meeting) and communication abilities (such as writing a letter, delivering a speech, and expressing an opinion). According to Verba et al., those who have better civic skills will have the higher confidence in exercising those skills in political activity and more capable of participating in a more effective way (1995, p. 305).

The second factor, political engagement, is the motivational aspect of political participation. The underlying assumption behind it is that politics is, basically, a voluntary activity. To participate in politics, people not only need abilities but also willingness to do so. Verba et al. specified components contributing to political engagement are political interest, political efficacy, political information or political knowledge, partisanship, civic values (a feeling of satisfaction from fulfilling duties as citizen), group consciousness (a sense that an individual's fate is linked to that of others), and commitment to support specific policies (1995, p. 272). However, in their study, they used only the first four components as political engagement indicators (1995, p. 345).

Political interest contributes to political engagement since citizens who follow politics, care about what happens, are concerned with who wins and loses and are more politically active (1995, p. 345). Political efficacy contributes to political engagement since it gives citizens a sense of confidence that the government officials will pay attention to their complaints and that they can influence the government's decisions (pp. 346–347). Partisanship or party identification contributes to political engagement as it demonstrates a person's attachment to certain political groups, thus influences their tendency to participate in politics. Political information or political knowledge – ranging from knowledge about issues of the day, actors involved in politics and government, the constitutional principles of the government, or the actual workings of the political system – contributes to political engagement because it influences the political attitude formation of an individual and their connectedness to the political process (p. 347).

The third factor, recruitment, is defined by Verba et al. simply as a request for participation, particularly from friends, families, and acquaintances. Verba et al. also mentioned

three types of institution where political recruitment is more likely to take place: church, workplace, and non-political organizations. These institutions, according to Verba et al., recruit citizens in two ways. First, by serving as the locus for recruitment in which citizens meet the friends or acquaintances who asked them to participate in politics. Second, by exposing citizens to political cues which include informal chats about politics with members of the organization, political messages communicated by religious leaders from the podium, and the stance of an organization on a political issue. Specifically, among the three types of institution, Verba et al. emphasized the important role of religious organizations in recruiting citizens to politics (1995, pp. 369–375).

2.4.   Youth and political participation: changing forms of participation?

The decrease of youth political participation in many advanced democratic countries (Barnes & Virgint, 2013; Phelps, 2005; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Carpini, 2006) attracted scholars to study this trend. There are at least two lines of argument. The first is that the decrease in youth political participation is caused by the declining civic values among younger generations. The second argues that instead of caused by the decline, the decrease of youth political participation is caused by the changing values of citizenship among younger generations.

According to the first line of argument, the decline of civic values among younger generations is rooted in the changing of social norms toward individualization, in which people become more self-oriented and ignorant to others. This argument is, for example, proposed by Robert Putnam (in Loader, 2007, p. 9) which has already been mentioned in the previous subsection. Putnam argued that the individualization of America's society showed a decline of social capital which is vital for the functioning of democracy. In the context of youth political participation, using this framework, it is theorized that youth are not participating in politics because they are disconnected from the community and society.

Meanwhile, according to the second line of argument, the cause of youth's disconnection with politics is the changing citizenship norms from the duty-based citizenship norms of the older generations to the self-expressive citizenship norms of the younger generations. Unlike the first group, scholars in this group view the changing citizenship norms among youth in a more

optimistic way. They reject the proposition that the current youth are less interested and less engaged with politics. According to these scholars, not participating in politics (especially in terms of traditional forms such as voting) is not the sign of the decline of interest, but reveals the critical thinking nature of this generation. Rather than attracted to electoral-related activities (which are less trustworthy in their eyes), youth prefer to focus their attention on broader social and political issues such as climate change or environmental campaign. Scholars in this group also see the potentials of the new forms of political engagement carried out by youth facilitated by the new media. This research explores this second line of argument further.

Russell Dalton is one of the scholars proposing the idea of the changing citizenship norms among today's youth. Based on his research in the US, Dalton concluded that the cause of the decline in youth political participation in the US is the shifting citizenship norms from the duty-based citizenship norms to the engaged citizenship norms. According to Dalton, duty-based citizenship norms are those which "...reflect the formal obligations, responsibilities, and rights of citizenship…." (2009, p. 5), while, engaged citizenship norms, "…emphasizes a more assertive role for the citizen and a broader definition of the elements of citizenship to include social concerns and the welfare of others" (2009, p. 5).

Citizens with duty-based citizenship norms view political participation as a citizen's obligation. Duty-based citizenship norms emphasize the virtue of political bonds (between citizens and the government as well as among citizens themselves) and social capital as crucial factors that strengthened democracy. Duty-based citizenship norms encourage citizens to vote and to participate in political process, not only in an effort to influence government policy but, more importantly, as an expression of a good citizen (Dalton, 2009, p. 164). Duty-based citizenship norms also tend to support the majoritarian view of democracy which maintains the view that individuals should conform to the will of the majority, that social order should be maintained, that dissidence is undesirable, and that unconventional groups (such as homosexual groups) should not be tolerated (Dalton, 2009, p. 164).

In contrast, engaged citizenship norms have a broader view of political participation. In particular, these norms emphasize civic action and more direct forms of political participation. Engaged citizens are disaffected with formal politics but tend to emphasize a deeper commitment to democratic values and principles such as freedom and equality. Citizens with engaged

citizenship norms are also more tolerant to dissidence, prioritizing civil liberties over social order, and have a more inclusive attitude toward minorities.

According to Dalton, the emergence of engaged citizens reflects the social change, especially in the US, that is moving toward individualism. One of the results of this social change is the rising numbers of citizens who are less allegiant to authorities but are, paradoxically, more compassionate to other fellow citizens. As Dalton puts it, "…this stereotype of the self-centered, even selfish new citizen does not jibe with the concern for others that is central to engaged citizenship" (2009, p. 165).

The shifting norms from duty-based citizenship to engaged citizenship norms, according to Dalton, is also the result of change in society's demographic profiles: the increase in citizens' average level of education (more college graduates), the increase in citizens' average level of income (more affluent and well-being), the shifting of occupation from blue collar to knowledge workers, the increase of female participation in the social and economic field, and the increase of social diversity. As Dalton stated, "Research in the United States and other advanced industrial democracies shows that modern-day citizens are the most educated, most cosmopolitan, and most supportive of self-expressive values than any other public in the history of democracy" (2009, p. 2).

These social changes, according to Dalton, are affecting citizens in two ways. First, they enable citizens to possess new skills and resources such as knowledge and information that enable them to better manage the complexities of politics. Second, they are also reshaping citizens' social and political values, making citizens more assertive and less deferential to authority, and more likely to participate in the decisions affecting their lives (2009, p. 4).

It is also important to note that, even though the study was mainly conducted in the US, the citizens' value shifting is not unique to Americans' experience. As Dalton puts it, "Generational change, educational effects, and the reshaping of life experiences are producing a similar norm shift across the affluent democracies" (Dalton, 2009, p. 171).

The above Dalton's claim is also supported by Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel (2007). Inglehart and Welzel proposed that the cultural shift toward self-expressive values is the global trend resulting from the modernization process. They argue that the process of socioeconomic development will increase people's material, cognitive, and social resources;

making them materially, intellectually, and socially more independent. In turn, it leads to the shift of cultural emphasis from collective discipline to individual liberty, from group conformity to human diversity, and from state authority to individual autonomy. These cultural shifts are giving rise to a syndrome called self-expression values (2007, pp. 2–3). Self-expression values are expressed in the citizenship norms which support personal and political liberty, civilian protest activities, tolerance of the liberty of others, interpersonal trust, and an emphasis on subjective well-being (2007, p. 248).

The above arguments on the changing citizenship norms (toward self-expressive values according to Inglehart and Welzel, or engaged citizenship norms according to Dalton) among today's citizens are also in line with the idea of personalized politics proposed by Bennet (2012). According to Bennet, personalized politics is the defining change in the political culture of the current era. In personalized politics, individual expression displaces collective action frames in the embrace of political causes as the result of social fragmentation and the decline of group loyalties. Personalized politics aimed at a variety of targets, from traditional political parties or government to direct engagement with corporations, brands, and transnational policy forums. It advocates a variety of issues; mostly around economic justice, environmental protection, or world peace.

The personalized politics is especially characterized by inclusive personal action frames (for example, "We are the 99%" rather than the Left slogan of "Eat the Rich") that lower the barriers to identification (2012, pp. 21–22). The examples of personalized politics include collective movements occurring in many different places around the world such as the Occupy Wall Street movement in the US, Arab Spring, the Spanish *indignados* or 15-M movement in Spain, and Icelandic financial crisis protest. All of these movements are framed as the action of individual citizens against the corruptive ruling elites, which provide an inclusive identification (as the most defining characteristics of personalized politics) for participants to join and support the movement.

In sum, from the above literature, there is a strong suggestion that today's youth political participation is transforming rather than declining. The transformation is a result of changing citizenship norms from allegiant or duty-based citizenship norms to self-expressive or engaged citizenship norms. The tendency for the current generation to adopt the self-expressive or

engaged citizenship norms is expressed through a new style of participating in politics called the personalized politics.

2.5. Social media and political participation

In the following section, the impact of social media on political participation is discussed. First, evidence of the general effect of social media on political participation is presented. Second, the impact of social media on the new forms of political participation is described. Third, theoretical explanations for the mechanism by which social media facilitates political participation are offered. Finally, some potentially unwanted impacts of social media on political participation are also discussed.

2.5.1 Evidence of the effect of social media on political participation

Evidence of the relationship between social media usages and political participation is provided by Bode, Vraga, Borah, and Shah (2014). Bode and colleagues propose the concept of "political SNS (social networking site) use" or social-media use for political purposes to uncover this relationship. Their research found that political SNS use mediates the relationship between news consumption and political participation. Drawing data from the two waves of the national panel survey (total respondents in wave 1: 1.039 and in wave 2: 627), the research found that political SNS use, together with online expression, is a strong predictor of teens' engagement in traditional political participation in the 2008 US election, while, political SNS use is influenced by online news consumption and blog use. Thus, these results demonstrate that political SNS use provides the link needed between news consumption and political participation.

Political SNS use is defined as, "using a social networking site for explicitly political purposes" (Bode et al., 2014, p. 415). Political SNS use includes activities such as displaying a political preference on the profile page or becoming a fan of a politician. Political SNS use is significantly different from traditional forms of expression as it involves a more public avowal of political leaning. The researchers also stated that the hybrid nature of political SNS use – which combines forms of expression, declaration of public affiliation, and participatory activity in itself – will offer a new pathway for young people to get involved in politics (Bode et al., 2014, pp. 415–416). They further argue that while political SNS use does not require interaction, it may

lead to interaction with others; making it even more likely to act as a bridge to political participation.

Research by Gil de Zúñiga, Molyneux, & Zheng (2014) provides further evidence of the relationship between social media use and political participation. Using data from a two-wave US national panel study of respondents over the age of 18, Gil de Zúñiga et al. found that social-media use, both for news consumption and social interaction, lead to offline and online political participation through social-media political expression. Social-media use for news influences political participation (offline and online) both indirectly through social-media political expression and directly. Meanwhile, social-media use for interaction influences political participation only indirectly through social-media political expression.

The link between social-media use for interaction and political participation is one of the most important findings in the research. It demonstrates that even non-political usages of social media (social media for social interaction) may motivate people to express themselves politically, thus leading them to political participation (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2014, p. 613). With reference to Papacharissi, researchers argue that a person's interaction with others in social media will motivate them to perform a demonstration of self with keeping in mind their specific audience in the network. As Gil de Zúñiga et al. stated,

> Each social group a person interacts with represents an audience for the demonstration of self (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998), including aspects of the self that exist only for or are presented only to a specific audience (Papacharissi, 2012). One of these notions of self could therefore be expressing your political self as one more aspect of people's digital personality and identity (2014, p. 626).

In turn, the political expression will enable political action by causing the expresser to alter their self-perception as observer to participant (2014, pp. 614–615).

Gil de Zúñiga et al. highlight two important elements of social-media platforms that allow the relationship between social-media usages and political participation to occur: First,1) social media provides a space for people to express themselves and create their own identity; and 2) social media introduces people to new social groups and maintain connections to many groups and individuals simultaneously; creating various opportunities for people's engagement with politics (2014, p. 627).

Research by Kim & Khang (2014) adds more evidence of the relationship between social-media use and political participation. In their research, they particularly proposed SNS political participation, i.e. using social media for political activities (such as campaigning, contacting officials, and signing petition), as a mediating variable between civic voluntarism predictors (resource, psychological engagement, recruitment) and offline political participation.

Using a web-based survey involving 348 students from several large universities in the US in 2012, they found that civic voluntarism predictors influence both offline and SNS political participation (i.e. psychological engagement is the strongest predictor for SNS political participation while recruitment is the strongest predictor for offline political participation). The research also found that SNS political participation predicts offline political participation. Thus, Kim & Kang conclude that civic voluntarism predictors influence offline political participation through SNS political participation (2014, p. 118). This result also leads them to conclude that SNS, with its interactive nature, revives communication and social networking, which were once proclaimed by Putnam as crucial to the health of civic society in a democracy (2014, p. 119).

To sum up, the above studies have demonstrated that various social-media uses (for news consumption, political expression, political activities, or interaction) correlate with political participation. They also demonstrated that social-media usages can act as a mediating variable between political participation and other variables such as news consumption or civic voluntarism predictors.

Another study worth noting is that of Copeland and Bimber (2015). They investigated the relationship between digital media use and each of the six forms of political participation (voting, displaying message, attending the event, working on the campaign, donating money, and persuading others), adding the role of context in influencing this relationship by using data from different US Presidential Elections (1996–2012).

They found that respondents who used digital media (accessed political information online) were more likely to vote in the 1996, 2000, and 2004 elections but not in the 1998, 2008, and 2012 elections. They also found that people who read political information online were more likely to: display political messages in 2012; work in the 2008 campaign; and donate money in 1996 and 2008 (2015, p. 84). These findings led the researchers to conclude that the relationship between digital media use and political participation is unique for each election event; the

relationship depends greatly on the context of the election. Thus, digital media should be viewed as part of the larger media context in which political communication occurs (2015, p. 84).

2.5.2 The impact of social media on new forms of political participation

There are several studies that reveal the influence of social media in facilitating the emergence of new forms of political participation. A study by Bennet (2012), for example, proposed that digital media enabled and facilitated the development of the new style of citizen politics, which he called personalized or lifestyle politics.

Personalized politics is characterized by several conditions. The first is an ethos of diversity and inclusiveness defined by tolerance for different viewpoints and issues. The second is the rise of crowd-sourced inclusive personal action frames that lower the barriers to identification. And the third is that participation is channeled through often dense social networks, over which people can share their own stories and concerns (2012, pp. 21–22).

According to Bennet, personalized politics is a result of the decline in individual's identification with social groups such as political party, social class, or religious institutions. As a consequence, individuals increasingly expressed their political action through personal lifestyle values (mostly centered on values such as economic justice, environmental protection, and human rights). Bennet argues that digital media plays a role in facilitating this political expression by activating small-world phenomena, a situation in which distant people are in close reach of individuals (2012, p. 28). The capacity of digital media has lent itself to being used by many activists to coordinate large-scale, individualized, collective action as in the cases of Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street movement, and 15-M movement in Spain.

The role of digital media in facilitating personalized political forms explored by Bennett, Segerberg, and Walker (2014) in the case of Occupy Wall Street movement examined the way in which digital media enabled the management of collective movement conducted by a large-scale group without the presence of any recognized leader, common goals, or conventional organization. Analyzing tweets that circulated during the Occupy Wall Street movement that took place in 2011-2012, Bennet et al. identified several key roles of social media's Twitter in facilitating and organizing the movement.

First, they found that Twitter played a central role as a platform that connected many different actors in the movement networks; they called this role "the stitching technologies". Twitter was also used for circulating and documenting all activities related to the movement, which made them easy for participants to follow. As they put it, "…in the case of Occupy, Twitter is central not simply because the data are 'there', or because Twitter data provided insight into all parts of the movement (which they do not), but because of their importance for dynamically connecting or stitching the multiple sub-networks into a large-scale movement." (2014, p. 239)

Second, they also revealed that Twitter facilitated peer-production processes, which were needed to support the organization's coherence. Those peer-production processes are: production (sharing of useful information, symbolic themes, identity frames, and resources for taking and coordinating action), curation (tools such as retweet, mention, and favoriting that were used by participants to monitor, filter, preserve, amplify, and endorse relevant content in the networks), and dynamic integration (circulation of content across platforms and forging of networks by allowing users to insert link and hashtag in the message). These three "Twitter-enabled" processes, in turn, ensure the capacity of the network to mobilize resources, respond to events, and adjust in periods of change (2014, p. 253).

Another study on the role of Twitter in facilitating collective movement was conducted by Papacharissi and Oliveira (2012). They highlighted the role of Twitter in mobilizing the Egyptians movement in the 2011 revolution by facilitating the creation and circulation of "affective news" among Egyptian Twitter users.

The concept of affective news, coined by Papacharissi and Oliveira, describes news collaboratively constructed out of subjective experience, opinion, and emotion within an ambient news environment (2012, p. 279). Explaining this, they refer to the contents of messages tweeted by Egyptians during the 2011 revolution that blend emotion with opinion, and drama with fact, reflecting the deeply subjective interpretation of events (2012, p. 277). They stated, during that period, prominent and popular tweets were reproduced and endorsed, frequently involving the same news repeated over and over again, with little or no new cognitive input. The main purpose was to engage the reader emotionally, not cognitively (2012, p. 278).

Papacharissi and Oliveira also posited, in combination with the networked and constantly connected character of social media, the affective news nurtured and sustained involvement, connection, and cohesion of people in the movement. These affective attachments, in turn, create feelings of community that may drive a movement and/or capture users in a state of engaged passivity. These affective attachments also function to boost the courage needed to express dislike, hatred, and anger toward the repressive regime (2012, pp. 279–280).

In sum, the above descriptions demonstrated the crucial role played by social media in the emergence of a new style of citizen politics, characterized by the collaborative participation of individuals in collective movements framed by personal identification (in contrast with group-based identification; mostly supporting inclusive values such as economic equality or human rights).

The above descriptions also suggest the heightened importance of individual citizens in contemporary politics. As Loader and Mercea (2011) stated, facilitated by social media, citizen-users act as the driver for democratic innovation through the self-actualized networking of citizens engaged in lifestyle and identity politics (2011, p. 758). They also stated social media facilitated this process by enabling political lifestyle choices to be informed by shared recommendations from friends, networked discussions and tweets, and direct interaction with political organizations (2011, p. 762).

Loader and Mercea further argued that the most obvious impact of social media on democratic politics is its disruptive capacity for traditional politics and institutions. Facilitated by social media, citizens are enabled to critically monitor the actions of governments and corporations (and also to organize action about it). Social media provides space for citizens to interact and collaborate in the production and the dissemination of alternative political information. Thus, social media has the potential to reconfigure communicative power relations, through which citizens are able to challenge the monopoly control of media production and dissemination (2011, p. 759).

2.5.3 Online participatory culture as the mechanism by which social media foster youth political participation

The above descriptions have presented evidence on the influence of social media on political participation. They have also demonstrated the role of social media in facilitating a new style of citizen politics, i.e. the personalized form or lifestyle politics. However, the mechanism by which social media fosters youth political participation has not been explained comprehensively by those studies.

Henry Jenkins (2009) proposed a useful framework to understand the mechanism by which social media fosters youth political participation. Jenkins' framework is grounded on the social determinism approach, which analyzes technologies in their interaction with the cultural communities that grow around them and the activities they support. Social determinism views social change as being determined by humans through social interaction, not by technology. This position is in contrast with the technological determinism approach that views technologies as the determiner of society's change. For social determinism, Jenkins stated, "The tools available to a culture matter, but what that culture chooses to do with those tools matters more" (2009, p. 7).

Jenkins proposed that digital media facilitates the development of participatory cultures among youth which then encourage youth's participation in civic and political life. Digital media foster participatory culture by allowing users to archive, annotate, appropriate, and recirculate media content (2009, p. 8) which are all supportive to the development of such culture.

Participatory culture itself is defined as "…a culture with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing creations, and some type of informal mentorship whereby experienced participants pass knowledge onto novices… members also believe their contributions matter and feel some degree of social connection with one another (at the least, members care about others' opinions of what they have created)" (Jenkins, 2009, p. xi). Thus, the main feature of participatory culture is the culture of sharing which is endorsed and facilitated by the affordances provided by the digital media.

Jenkins stated participatory cultures facilitated by digital media create participatory opportunities for users in terms of social interaction, politics, and economy through mechanisms such as peer-to-peer learning (users learn from other users using a sharing mechanism), a

changed attitude toward intellectual property, the diversification of cultural expression, the development of skills valued in the modern workplace, and a more empowered conception of citizenship (2009, p. xii).

Jenkins also highlighted the importance of the informal learning environment (peer-to-peer learning activity) provided by digital media since it allowed people from various backgrounds (age, class, race, gender, and educational level) to participate in various ways according to their skills and interests. It also motivates participants to acquire new knowledge through a peer-to-peer learning mechanism, and it allows participants to experience the feeling of being an expert while tapping into the expertise of others (2009, p. 10). This learning environment, in turn, supports youth involvement in social and political life since it enhances their skills to participate and restores their self-perception of disempowerment, which is argued by David Buckingham as the cause of their disconnection from politics.

Jenkins further theorized that such learning environments develop youth capacities in a broader aspect. As he stated, "We suspect that young people who spend more time playing within these new media environments will feel greater comfort interacting with one another via electronic channels, will have greater fluidity in navigating information landscapes, will be better able to multitask and make rapid decisions about the quality of information they are receiving, and will be able to collaborate better with people from diverse cultural backgrounds" (2009, p. 13)

Developing Jenkins' framework, Kahne, Lee, and Feezel (2013) designed a study on the civic and political significance of online participatory cultures. Using a national-scale panel survey of young adults (age 18–25 years) in the US (3,181 respondents in the first wave and 1,938 respondents in the third wave; data in the second wave was not used in the analysis; reason was not provided), Kahne and colleagues proposed that online participatory cultures facilitated by the new media fostered the development of their users' civic and political engagement. The research also divided online participatory cultures into three forms of online activities: politics-driven online activities (motivated by "a desire to engage with political issues"), interest-driven online activities (motivated by "interests that are not explicitly political"), and friendship-driven online activities (motivated by "a desire to socialize with friends").

The research found that, in general, the different forms of online activities (except friendship-driven ones) were associated with different kinds of civic and political activity. Specifically, the researchers found that the politics-driven online activity was associated with higher levels of offline political action/expression and campaign participation while the interest-driven activity was associated with the civic engagement activity (volunteering, engagement in community problem solving) and in some circumstances with the political activity (protesting and expressing political voice). Lastly, the friendship-driven online activity was found to be unassociated with any kind of civic and political activities (except voting for an unexplained reason).

Interpreting the results, the researchers explained possible mechanisms by which these online participatory cultures affect political participation. First, online participatory activities provide young citizens with opportunities to discuss and gain information about political topics, thus motivating interest (to participate in political life). Second, online participatory activities create capacity for action by promoting civically relevant digital skills and norms for group interaction. Finally, online participatory activities facilitate recruitment into civic and political life by joining social networks (Kahne et al., 2013, p. 12).

It is also important to note, from the research, the researchers emphasized that the role of the new media that affect political participation is facilitating the creation of community participation behavior (create, sharing, connecting with others). As a conclusion, the researchers stated that online non-political participatory activities can promote civic and political activities by teaching skills, developing tendency, and encouraging collective action. The affordability of the new media makes it even easier for young citizens to perform such activities.

2.5.4 The potentially unwanted impacts of social media on political participation

Alongside the potential of social media in promoting and facilitating citizen political participation, there is also the potential of unwanted impacts that should be noted.

The first is that social media potentially promotes polarization of opinions which can be harmful to democracy as it tends to exacerbate political cleavages in societies. Research by Tewksbury and Riles (2015), for example, revealed that the consumption of online news is associated with polarization of political perceptions and opinions. Even though their research did

not specifically address the impact of social media, their research is worthy of note as online news consumption is often facilitated by social media.

Using two series of panel research (conducted by the American National Election Studies) involving a total of 4,240 respondents (first series, 2008-2009) and 1,561 (second series, 2010), Tewksbury and Riles found that at higher levels of online news consumption, respondents' party identification (Democrat or Republic) clearly predicted opinions regarding issues that are debated between democrat and republican supporters i.e. taxation of the wealthy, support for increasing government intervention in healthcare, perception of the overall condition of the country, and tolerance for income inequality (2015, p. 393). Thus, these findings led them to conclude that Internet use can generally exacerbate political party-based cleavages in political perceptions and opinions.

The researchers proposed one possible mechanism that can explain these findings is selective exposure. Rooted in the theory of Cognitive Dissonance, selective exposure holds the idea that people want to avoid situations in which their predispositions might be threatened. People will avoid information that is incongruent with the perceptions and opinions they prefer (2015, p. 382). In the new media environment, the tendency for audience's selective exposure is supplemented with the affordances provided by the internet to select and filter media content. Thus, it enables people to consume a really narrow range of media content. As a result, audience polarization of opinions is very likely to occur in many instances.

However, it should also be noted, that there are studies suggesting a contradictory conclusion. Research by Brundidge and Rice (2009) for example, concluded that political discussion online contributes positively to political discussion network heterogeneity. Thus, the internet promotes the diversity of views. Using data collected by The Cornell University Survey Research in 2003 (440 respondents), the research found that people who engage more frequently in the online discussion also have a more heterogeneous political discussion network. This finding showed that the internet is able to expose its users to political diversity (2009, p. 154). Thus, this research contradicts the claim that the internet tends to facilitate the creation of like-minded person.

The second is that, rather than promoting political engagement, social-media use tends to distract users' political participation as it draws its users to entertainment-related activities. A

panel survey conducted by Teocharis and Quintelier (2016) involving 2,772 adolescents (15–16-year-olds) in Belgium provides such a conclusion. The research unexpectedly found that Facebook use does not affect both offline and online political participation. Facebook use correlated with civic participation, but with a reverse causal relation: a higher level of civic participation led to a higher level of Facebook use (not the other way around as expected). Facebook use was found to influence only the online entertainment-oriented activities such as chatting, buying or selling goods online or downloading music/film. These results led Teocharis and Quintelier to conclude that Facebook is an entertainment-oriented activity and even has the potential to distract adolescents from civic matters and public concerns (2016, p. 13).

The third is that social media tends to undermine the ideal norm of the public sphere as it is being used primarily for self-presentation. Zizi Papacharissi (2009, 2011, 2012), for example, it highlights the self-presentation nature of a person's online activities. This self-presentation motivated behavior is also apparent when a person participates in an online political activity.

According to Papacharissi, social networking sites (SNSs) provide properties such as texts, photographs, and any other multimedia capabilities that facilitate self-presentation. Papacharissi also mentions the unique ability of SNSs to facilitate the self-presentation of users by displaying their social connections or friends, i.e. SNSs simultaneously present and promote the individual and collective identities of their users (2011, pp. 304–305).

The process of self-presentation in SNSs is complicated by the fact that individual users are open to observation by a variety of audiences in their networks. Papacharissi noted that the individual must engage in "…multiple mini performances that combine a variety of semiological references so as to produce a presentation of the self that makes sense to multiple audiences, without sacrificing coherence and continuity" (2011, p. 307). One of the many identities that a person presents is their political identity. As Papacharissi noted, performances enable individuals to traverse from personal domain to political domain (2012, p. 1991).

Papacharissi also proposed the concept of self-narcissism as the psychological motivation behind a person's presentation of self on the internet. Papacharissi further pointed out that the narcissism is the cultural context within which blogs are situated. According to Papacharissi, political thoughts expressed in blogs are narcissistically motivated, in that they are not created with the explicit purpose of contributing to a public sphere, solving common problems, or

strengthening civic engagement (2009, p. 238). In fact, political expression is self-serving (fulfilling only personal satisfaction). Papacharissi's previous research on blogs, which found that blogs are largely self-referential and motivated by personal fulfillment, confirms this proposition (2009, p. 238).

Reflecting on this, Papacharissi suggests that the self-performance nature of self-expression on the internet has undermined the norm of the public sphere, which is characterized by rational deliberation (as the idealized model of democratic political expression on the internet). Thus, she concludes that the self-performance nature of self-expression acts as a moderating factor to the democratizing impact of the internet.

2.6. Social media, youth, and politics in Indonesia

Indonesia is a country with highly active social-media users. In 2014, Indonesia is ranked fourth in the world for the most Facebook users (60.3 million) (Statista, 2014). Another study showed Jakarta as the city with the most active Twitter users in the world, surpassing Tokyo, London, Manchester, and New York (Belot, 2013). These data are in line with a finding from a large-scale study by the Association of Internet Service Provider of Indonesia and University of Indonesia – which involved 2,000 internet users from 42 cities around Indonesia – that 87% of respondents said their main activity when using the internet was accessing social media (APJII and PUSKAKOM UI, 2015, p. 30).

Indonesia is also a country with a predominantly youth population. According to a national demographic survey in 2005, the three largest age groups in Indonesia are 5–9-year-olds (10.1 %), 10–14-year-olds (9.98 %), and 15–19-year-olds (9.36 %). Combined, citizens in the 10–34-year-old age group comprise 45.37 % of the total population (compared to those in the 35–year-old age group, comprising 35.36% of the total population) (YKAI, n.d.). Other data also shows that the median age of Indonesia's population in 2010 was 28.2 years-old (Indonesia Investments, n.d.), and the population of under 25-year-olds was 44 %, supporting the claim that Indonesia is a youth-oriented society (Belot, 2013).

Youth was also the majority age group of internet users in Indonesia; 49% of internet users in Indonesia are from the 18–25-year-old group and 33.8% internet users are from the 26–35-year-old age group (APJII and PUSKAKOM UI, 2015, p. 12). That Indonesia's population is

dominated by youth who are highly active in social media, suggests the potential of social media in affecting social and political dynamics in Indonesia. Studies below support this proposition.

A study by Tapsell (2015) revealed the role of social media in Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2012 where the winning candidate Joko Widodo successfully gained popularity through a video advertisement created and posted by his volunteers on Youtube. The video showed a modified version of popular boy band One Direction's video clip to convey Joko's political message of a clean government. This video successfully reached one million hits within a few weeks and, more importantly, received a lot of attention from TV stations and newspapers. The success of the video, according to Tapsell, by borrowing the concept coined by Axel Bruns, revealed the role of "prod-user", i.e. the media user who produces content as well as consumes it. The "prod-user" in Joko's video is an urban middle-class Jakartan youth who is actively participating in the production of campaign material, and sharing alternative forms of locally produced political content on numerous social-media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Path (Tapsell, 2015, pp. 38–39). Thus, Joko's success in the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2012 was significantly affected by youth's participation in the campaign using social media.

A study by Lim (2013) explains the role of Facebook in mobilizing mass support for collective movements in Indonesia in the case of KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) versus POLRI (National Police) and Prita Mulyasari (a middle-class housewife) versus Omni International Hospital. In these two cases, collective movements facilitated by Facebook have successfully drawn massive popular support and granted victories to "the weaker and the oppressed side" in each case (KPK and Prita).

However, Lim warned that not all social-media movements in Indonesia would gain as popular support as the two cases above. Lim even proposes that social-media movements in Indonesia are only likely to succeed if they embrace the principles of contemporary culture of consumption. First, the movements should have "a light package", which means messages communicated by the movements can be enjoyed without spending too much time on them, can be understood without deep reflection, and have a hype-based component. Second, the messages communicated by the movements should also have a headline appetite, i.e. short, condensed, or compact. Third, the messages communicated by the movements should have a trailer vision, i.e. an oversimplified, hyped and sensationalized story rather than a substantial one, or the

oversimplified representation of actual information (2013, p. 638). In addition, the movements should not challenge dominant ideological meta-narratives (i.e. religiosity and nationalism) and should not be challenged by dominant competing narratives generated by mainstream media. Thus, Lim concluded that these "oversimplified narratives" would be likely to make a social-media movement win support since they offered participants low-risk activism.

As shown, the above studies indicate the potential of social media in promoting youth political participation in Indonesia. However, the role social media plays in Indonesia's youth politics engagement has not been fully explored. Neither has the question of what drives Indonesia's youth's engagement with politics, which is essential to understanding how they use social media to engage with this activity; thus, it will also be crucial to uncover social media's role in youth's engagement with politics. Lastly, the above studies were conducted under specific political circumstances. Therefore, different political circumstances could reveal a very different social media role affecting youth's political engagement.

2.7. Perspectives on the role played by technology in affecting human action

This section will present discussions around technology and its impact on human action, and on social behaviour in a more broad level. The purpose is to provide a framework to analyse the role of social media (as a form of technology) in affecting youth political participation.

The first subsection will present the debate of technological determinism vs social constructivism which each give different angle on seeing the factor that is responsible for the shaping of human behaviour. Briefly stated, technological determinism sees technology by itself has the capacity to shape human action; whereas social constructivism sees social processes as the determinant factor that shape human action and even as the force that construct the technology itself.

In the second subsection, the concept of media affordances will be presented. This concept takes into account both the materiality of technology and the idiosyncrasy of human agent in shaping the practice of technology use by human. Therefore, this concept act as the middle-ground between the two contrasting perspectives.

2.7.1. Contrasting perspectives on the relation between technology and human action: technological determinism vs social constructivism

In general, there are two competing perspectives regarding the relation between technology and the dynamics of human action. The first is technological determinism who argues that technology plays a determinant role in affecting social change. The second is social constructivism who argues that, rather than determining social change, the technology itself is a product of social processes. Those two perspectives will be explained in more details below.

Technological determinism is a popular perspective in the discourse about technology and society (Hutchby, 2001, p. 442). These views for example are expressed by prominent figures such as Alvin Toffler, Joshua Meyrowitz, Marshall McLuhan, and Neil Postman. Although varied, theorists in this perspective in general advocate that technology plays a deterministic role in social transformation. Technology impacts social changes.

For example, Toffler postulated that the history of human civilization can be divided into phases based on the dominant technology that drive human activities at each of those phases (or wave, as he prefers to call it). According to Toffler, the invention of computers promoted a 'Third Western Culture' following the First Wave brought by agricultural revolution and the Second Wave brought by industrial civilization (Hutchby, 2001, p. 442). Toffler further predicted that the introduction of computer in the Third Wave would radically transform government, business practices, education, and even social lives in the future (Toffler, 1980, pp. 26–27).

Another example is Neil Postman. He advocated that the character of a medium used by a society shapes the form and content of public discourse that dominates that society. Postman contend, each medium makes possible a unique mode of discourse by providing a new orientation for thought, expression, and sensibility (Postman, 1985, p. 10). Medium directs people to organize their minds and their experiences about the world. Thus, medium influence the way people learn about the world.

Another Postman's provocative idea is his contention that medium influence the ways people define and regulate ideas about truth (Postman, 1985, p. 18). He is grounding his argument from the fact that during the oral communication era, proverbs and speech were regarded as the form of communication containing truth. Whereas in modern era, in which

typography becomes the dominant medium, written and published words turn to be the standard for credible information.

Specifically, Postman highlighted the shift of dominant medium from typography to electronic (television) in American public which he claimed has transformed the discourse from generally coherent, serious, and rational into absurdity (Postman, 1985, p. 16). Television, according to Postman, has made the structure of public discourse incoherent and trivial; serving only as an amusement for its users (Postman, 1985, p. 80). Based on the above argument, Postman postulated, "the media of communication available to a culture are a dominant influence on the formation of the culture's intellectual and social preoccupations" (Postman, 1985, p. 9).

Similar view is expressed by Joshua Meyrowitz, another prominent figure in this stream of thought. He coined the term medium theory to describe the view of scholars (including himself) that emphasizes the potential influences of communication technologies in the shaping of social interactions and social structure (Meyrowitz, 1997, 2002). The word 'medium' is used to emphasize its focus on the characteristics of each individual medium rather than on media content (Meyrowitz, 1997, p. 61).

Using medium theory, Meyrowitz contend that the concept of space has shifted along with the changes of medium used by societies from three different eras that he observed: oral traditional society, modern print society, and the postmodern electronic society. Meyrowitz argues that the shift of medium from oral to print and then to electronic have stretched the geographical boundaries that framed human interaction. It caused the changing of human conception about social identity (age, sex, class, ethnicity, etc.) of which people felt the decreasing relevance of place in defining who they are. In postmodern electronic era in particular, Meyrowitz observed a paradox phenomenon in which there is an increasing sense of global familiarity on one hand and the increasing strangeness of local others on the other hand. In his words, there is a changing conception of "us" vs "them" (Meyrowitz, 1997, p. 69).

The above views which envisioned technology as a determinant factor in the shaping of society is in contrast with the views expressed by social constructivist intellectuals. According to this group, rather than shaping social interactions, both the technological artefacts and their relationship with social structures are socially constructed/ shaped. They are the result of a whole range of social factors and processes. Scientists in this stream of thought hold the view that the

so called 'social effects of technology' is not to be separated from social factors such as the ideologies informing its design or the division of labour within which it is deployed (Hutchby, 2001, pp. 442–443).

Technology is further viewed as 'texts' which are 'written' by their designers; hence it must be 'read' by their users (Grint and Woolgar in Hutchby, 2001, p. 445). The designers of technologies might impose certain meanings (uses, values, or even ideologies) when they design technological artefacts, but users of technologies (or 'readers') could make completely different interpretations about those meanings based on ideas that they have. This dynamic between designers and users in the construction of technology is the focus of interest for social constructivists (Hutchby, 2001, p. 445).

Another scholar, Roger Fidler, proposes that the analysis toward the development of a new media technology needs to consider social, political, and economic factors which provide an environment in which that technology is created. In his analysis, the development of a new technology would experience a delay to materialize (if not failed to materialize at all) not because of the technical properties inherent to that technology, but because of the influence of social-political-economic factors surrounding it. Those factors include the needs of companies, requirements of other technologies, regulatory and legal actions, and general social forces (Fidler, 2002).

This research fully respect the position of each of the above two perspectives. The researcher sees the above two perspectives have their own merits and limitations. However, rather than focusing on one certain aspect, either technology or social processes, as the determinant factor in the social-technology relations, this research prefers to embrace pragmatic approach by using concept which could accommodate those two aspects. The researcher views both of the characteristics of technology (social media) and social processes (in this case is the specific social-political contexts experienced by youth) play significant roles in affecting that relation.

This research sees both social media as a form of technology and specific social processes experienced by youth jointly shape the practice of social media uses by youth to engage in political activities. The technical characteristics of social media frame what can and can't be

done using it. However, specific social contexts surrounding youth also play important role in affecting the way they use social media to engage with political activities.

In that regard, the researcher will use the concept of affordances which serves as 'a middle-ground' in the technological determinism - social constructivism debate. In the subsequent section, this concept will be further explained.

2.7.2. The concept of media affordances as the middle ground between technological determinism and social constructivism

The concept of affordances was originally proposed by James Gibson in the field of psychology to describe the possibilities of actions offered by objects to humans as well to other animals. For example, a rock provides affordance for a reptile of being a shelter from the heat of the sun; as it provides affordance for an insect of being a disguise from a hunter (Hutchby, 2001, p. 447). Hutchby further developed this concept to explain the mechanism by which technical properties of a given technology offer possible frame of actions to human agents. By doing this, technology plays a role in the shaping of social behavior.

Hutchby stated,

"What I am proposing is a shift in analytic focus for the sociology of technology: a change in empirical footing…. we need to pay more attention to the material substratum which underpins the very possibility of different courses of action in relation to an artefact; and which frames the practices through which technologies come to be involved in the weave of ordinary conduct" (Hutchby, 2001, p. 450).

By coining this concept, Hutchby criticizes the social constructionism account that over-emphasizes the role of social processes in the construction of technology on one hand and completely disregard the materiality aspect of a given technology itself on the other hand (especially by assuming technology as tabula rasa).

Using the concept of affordances, Hutchby proposes that technology plays a role in **framing the possibilities of actions taken by human agents, by both enabling and constraining certain actions** to be carried out. Thus, "In this way, technologies can be understood as artefacts which may be both shaped by and shaping of the practices humans use in

interaction with, around and through them" (Hutchby, 2001, p. 444). Hutchby called the above "enabling and constraining" capacities of technology as **the functional element** of affordances.

He also mentions the second equally important element of affordances: **the relational element**. By this, he points to "…the way that the affordances of an object may be different for one species than for another" (Hutchby, 2001, p. 448). Considering the relational aspect of affordances means considering **the variability of the possible actions offered by a given technology to its observers,** relative to the observers' subjective perceptions and capacities. Hutchby mentions the example of water surfaces that do not have the affordance of walk-on-ability for a lion or a crocodile as they have for a water bug (Hutchby, 2001, p. 448). In line with Hutchby, the researcher also views technology offers different affordances to different individuals, relative to their capacities, purposes, values, cultures, or other contexts of uses.

Specifically in the context of social media research, the concept of affordances also has some elements that need to be highlighted (Bucher & Helmond, 2018).

The first is the level of abstraction according to which the concept of affordances has high level and low level of abstraction. Low level abstraction conceptualizes affordances in a more or less concrete term by locating it in the materiality of the medium (e.g. conceptualizing affordances in the specific features or buttons of a social media platform). Using its low-level of abstraction, the concept of affordances take a look at the technical features of a platform, such as Twitter's affordances of providing 140-character limit of space to express ideas or enabling users to share link using a tweet button (Bucher & Helmond, 2018).

Whereas high-level of abstraction conceptualize affordances in a more abstract account by looking at the kinds of dynamics and conditions enabled by technical devices, platforms and media (Bucher & Helmond, 2018). Using this high-level of abstraction, researchers are enabled to view affordances as something that go beyond the technical properties of a social media platform, but focus instead on the patterns of social interaction or communicative behaviour made possible by that social media platform.

As stated by danah boyd,

"The design and architecture of environments enable certain types of interaction to occur…. The particular properties or characteristics of an environment can be understood as affordances because they make possible—and, in some cases, are used to encourage—

certain types of practices, even if they do not determine what practices will unfold." (boyd, 2014, p. 10)

Using the above perspective, boyd argues that social networking sites affording their users persistence (the durability of online expressions and content), visibility (the potential audience who can witness their expressions), spreadability (the ease with which content can be shared), and searchability (the ability to find content) (boyd, 2014, p. 11).

The second element is the perceptibility of affordances. In particular, Bucher & Helmond mention the concept of 'the imagined affordances' which implies its contrast meaning to the 'manifest' affordances. Imagined affordances is users' perceptions, beliefs, and expectations of what the technology does or what the platform suggests (Bucher & Helmond, 2018). According to them, the imagined affordances has real impact on how users approach and behave toward social media platforms. Thus, like other kinds of affordances, it has the power to suggest certain actions to users (framing the possibility of actions taken by users).

Previously, Bucher used the concept of imagined affordances in her research to describe the way users' perception of Facebook algorithm (or as she called it 'algorithmic imaginary') affect the way they use Facebook for example by clicking likes on a friend's post to help his visibility or by deliberately clicking various sources of information to avoid being exposed to certain newsfeeds) (Bucher, 2017).

The third is the empirical aspect of affordances. Bucher and Helmond called it as 'the vernacular affordances'. By this, they mean the way people themselves understand and experience affordances in their daily encounter with technology. They contend, affordances of a given technology cannot be determined once and for all. In fact, affordances are vary greatly according to the subjective experiences of people who are interacting with technology. Thus, this aspect of affordances highlights the need to ground the analysis of affordances (i.e. the action possibilities offered by technology) in people's own perceptions and experiences (Bucher & Helmond, 2018) of technology.

The concept of affordances and its properties (elements) as mentioned are used in this research to analyze youth's uses of social media and its implications on youth political participation. The concept of affordances enables the researcher to consider both the technical properties of social media and the idiosyncrasy of youth in this research (which were conditioned

by specific social and political contexts) when analyzing their uses of social media to engage with political activities.

Two properties of this concept are particularly highlighted. First, in terms of its functional element, the concept of affordances allows the researcher to explore forms of political participation which are enabled and are constrained by social media. Second, in terms of its relational element, the concept of affordances allows the researcher to explore specific affordances offered by social media to different users.

Additionally, in terms of its level of abstraction, this research also attempts to explain the broader youth's communicative and political behavior (high-level abstraction) resulted from youth's political activities facilitated by social media.

Finally, it is expected that, by revealing the dynamic interaction between technical properties (the materiality) of social media and the distinctive uses of social media by youth in this research, the concept of affordances is capable to answer the main research question posed i.e. how does social media affect youth political participation in Indonesia.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter will outline the methodology that will be used in the research which includes the research approaches, methods of data collection, and techniques of analysis. Briefly stated, this research will use grounded theory methodology and will combine interview and survey in terms of its data collection.

3.1. Research question

The underlying research question addressed in this research is how youth in Indonesia experience politics and use social media to engage with civic-political activities?

3.2. Research paradigm

3.2.1. Prevalent research paradigm

Research paradigm or worldview is an embedded element in any research, whether or not the researcher declares it. It is an invisible part in the research, but it determines the whole design of the research since it shapes what a researcher sees and how he or she understands it (Babbie, 2008, p. 34). A paradigm can be defined as a general organizing framework for research which includes basic assumptions and methods for seeking answers (Neuman, 2014, p. 96). Or as John Creswell stated, it is "…a general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to a study" (2014, p. 6). Paradigm is basic assumptions about the truth (what is the nature of the truth, how to approach the truth, and how to 'use' the truth) that the researcher hold in doing the research.

There are several paradigms commonly known in social research. Creswell (2014) for example identifies 4 paradigms: the post-positivist; the social constructivist; transformative paradigm; and pragmatist paradigm. Babbie (2008) identifies 7 paradigms: positivism, conflict, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, structural functionalism, feminist, and critical paradigm. Meanwhile, Neuman (2014) proposes only three paradigms: positivist, interpretive, and critical approach. In this section, only 4 paradigms will be explained i.e. positivism,

interpretive, critical/ transformative/ conflict, and pragmatist. I suggest, each of these 4 paradigms has distinct characteristics that make them can easily be separated from each other. Meanwhile, the other paradigms share more or less similar characteristics with one of these paradigms, thus they can be merged into one of those paradigms (for example symbolic interactionism can be merged into the interpretive paradigm and feminist can be merged into the critical paradigm).

The positivism is the paradigm that emphasizes the objective observation about the truth which clearly draws the line between 'the knower' and 'the known', similar to the approach used in the natural science. It holds assumptions about knowledge similar to the natural science, such as the belief in the existence of general patterns of human behavior, the law of causality, and the importance of deductive logic with precise empirical observations in conducting the research (Neuman, 2014, p. 97). Positivism holds a deterministic philosophy in which causes determine effects or outcomes (Creswell, 2007, p. 7).

The interpretive is the paradigm that stresses the role of the researcher's empathy or *verstehen* in analyzing socially meaningful action (action of which the meaning attached to it is constructed through social interaction) in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds (Neuman, 2014, pp. 103–104). This paradigm believes humans develop subjective meanings toward certain objects or things based on their experiences. As Creswell stated, "These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas" (Creswell, 2014, p. 8). The objective of this paradigm is to understand as accurate as possible the meanings of events or social situations according to the perspective of the participant of the research. Interpretive paradigm includes varieties of other paradigms such as hermeneutics, constructionism, ethnomethodology, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, and subjectivist (Neuman, 2014, p. 103)

The transformative or critical social science paradigm is the paradigm that aims to uncover the unbalanced relationships of power in society. This paradigm aims to challenge that domination by developing awareness and empowering people that are in the powerless position (Babbie, 2010, p. 36). As stated by Neuman, the primary purpose of the research in this paradigm is not simply to study the social world but rather to change it. Critical researchers

conduct studies to critique and transform social relations by revealing the underlying sources of social control, power relations, and inequality (Neuman, 2014, pp. 110–111).

Lastly, the pragmatism is the paradigm that stresses the practical solution to the problem. What matters most for this paradigm is what works to answer the research problem. Creswell states, "Instead of focusing on methods, researchers emphasize the research problem and use all approaches available to understand the problem…" (2014, p. 10).

3.2.2. The research paradigm endorsed in this study

This research uses grounded theory which combines multiple paradigms, especially positivism and interpretive. Historically, grounded methodology originated from the collaboration of sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss who brought together two main traditions of research i.e. Columbia University's positivism and Chicago School's interactionism (Babbie, 2010, p. 307; Charmaz, 2006, pp. 6–7). Thus, grounded theory is influenced by both positivism and interpretive or interactionism paradigm.

The influence of positivism on grounded theory is manifested in its utilization of systematic procedures of data collection and analysis. Barney Glaser, one of the grounded theory's founders, even intended to make grounded theory as the codification of qualitative research methods similar to Paul Lazarsfeld's codification of quantitative research (2006, p. 7). Specifically, grounded theory utilizes systematic procedures of coding and the so-called constant comparative method as its methods of analysis.

The influence of interpretive paradigm on grounded theory is reflected in its view of human beings as "…active agents in their lives and in their worlds rather than as passive recipients of larger social forces" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 7). Grounded theory views human subject actively construct meanings about the world. Thus, the aim of a grounded theory's researcher is to see the world through the eyes of human subjects. In addition, grounded theory also acknowledges the presence of a researcher's own subjective view in shaping the interpretation of a studied phenomenon. As stated by Charmaz, "…grounded theory journey relies on *interaction emanating* from your worldview, standpoints, and situations, arising in the research sites, developing between you and your data, emerging with your ideas, then returning back to the

field or another field, and moving on to conversations with your discipline and substantive fields" (2006, p. 179).

3.3. Research approach and method

3.3.1. Prevalent research approaches and methods

Research approaches and methods are two related elements in a research. A certain research approach will consequently prefer certain research methods. Creswell defines research approaches as, "…plans and the procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation" (2014, p. 3). Research approach mostly deals with the type of data a researcher plans to collect and how he/ she will use it in the research. Meanwhile, research method is defined as an element in research that involves the forms of data collection, analysis, and interpretation that researchers propose for their studies (Creswell, 2014, p. 16).

Regarding research approach, there are three commonly known research approaches in the social research. They are quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods approach.

The quantitative approach is defined as, "…an approach for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables" (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). This definition implies the use of deductive logic as the distinct character of this approach (in contrast to the qualitative approach that emphasizes inductive logic). Another defining characteristic of this approach is that it collects and analyzed numeric data. It will then devise statistical techniques to analyze the data.

The qualitative approach is defined as, "…an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). The qualitative approach seeks for non-numeric data such as words and images to analyze. Rather than the quantity of data, qualitative approach emphasizes the quality (the depth, the completeness) of the data.

The third approach, the mixed methods research, is defined as, " an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks" (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). A mixed-methods is not committed to collect and analyze only a certain

form of data. Instead, it opens to all forms of data that can answer the research questions posed. Mixed methods assume that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approach will provide a more comprehensive picture of the problem studied than using only one particular approach.

Within each research approach, there are several options of research methods. 2 research methods, survey and experiment, are commonly used in quantitative approach. Whereas 5 research methods (narrative research, phenomenological research, grounded theory, ethnography, and case studies) are commonly used in qualitative approach. Mixed methods use combination of methods both from quantitative and qualitative approach.

3.3.2. The research approach adopted in this study

This research mainly used a qualitative approach, especially by devising grounded theory method (further explanation is provided in the next section). This research aims to uncover the distinctive uses of social media by youth to engage with political activities by exploring their understanding of politics as well as their experiences of using social media to engage with politics. Thus, the qualitative approach will work best to meet that purpose since it enables the researcher to tap into participants' thoughts, feelings, and experiences.

However, this research also utilizes a quantitative approach to generate supplementary data for analysis. The quantitative approach is used mainly to describe various types of social media uses by youth to engage with political activities. Using quantitative data, this research also compares youth's participation in political activities using social media and youth's participation in similar political activities without social media. From these comparisons, this research attempts to find suggestions regarding the roles of social media in facilitating political activities conducted by youth.

Using both quantitative and qualitative approach is welcomed in grounded theory research since grounded theory is not tied to any particular method of data collection or even to any particular paradigm. Grounded theory is open for the use of qualitative method in conjunction with quantitative ones (Babbie, 2010, p. 308).

3.3.3. The research method adopted in this study

This research adopted grounded theory approach as its research method. As has already mentioned, grounded theory is a method of research that attempts to generate a theory from the data by devising systematic yet flexible guidelines of data collection and analysis (Babbie, 2010, p. 307; Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). Grounded theory can be used both by quantitative and qualitative approach, even though it is almost exclusively used by the latter (Babbie, 2010, p. 308). Grounded methodology also need not necessarily be tied to a single method of data collection or a single epistemology (Charmaz, 2006, p. 178),

Two aspects are particularly highlighted in grounded methodology.

The first, the main goal of a grounded theory research is generating theory from the data collected in the field. Grounded theory challenges the previous domination of positivist tradition which gave too much emphasis on deductive logic and testing a theory. Rather than finding data to confirm or reject a theory, grounded theory attempts to generate a new theory from the data. "A key idea is that this theory-development does not come 'off the shelf,' but rather is generated or 'grounded' in data from participants who have experienced the process" (Strauss & Corbin in Creswell, 2007, p. 63).

The type of theory produced by grounded theory research is the so-called substantive theory (in contrast with the general or formal theory). The substantive theory is a type of theory that is specifically tailored to a specific context or a circumstance in daily life settings (Merriam, 2009, p. 30; Neuman, 2014, p. 70). The grounded theory does not attempt to formulate a general theory that will apply universally, but rather to propose a theory that works in a specific particular context. As Charmaz stated, "Most grounded theories are substantive theories because they address delimited problems in specific substantive areas such as a study of how newly disabled young people reconstruct their identities" (2006, p. 8).

The second is that grounded theory research utilizes systematic procedures of data collection and analysis. In particular, grounded theory uses systematic coding and constant comparative method to analyze the data. Systematic coding is an attempt to assign labels on specific pieces of data so that they can be analyzed. Thus, systematic coding is the first step of conceptualizing the data. Meanwhile, constant comparative method "…involves comparing one

segment of data with another to determine similarities and differences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 30). It aims to identify patterns in the data which would lead to the formulation of a theory.

This research aims to explain the way social media is used by youth to engage with politics in Indonesia. This research was initially built from the assumption that youth political participation globally is transforming from conventional forms of political participation spirited by the duty-based or allegiant citizen norms to more personalized forms of politics inspired by self-expressive or engaged citizen norms. Social media, according to the existing literatures, are facilitating these more personalized forms of politics. This research asks whether such trend also takes place in Indonesia. This research attempts to propose explanations (theories) regarding the way social media is used by youth to engage with politics in Indonesia, specifically in the specific social-political contexts under investigation. Therefore, the use of grounded theory – which will lead to the construction of substantive theory – is suitable for this research.

3.4. Procedures for data collection
3.4.1. Qualitative

For the qualitative part, this research used interview in terms of its method of data collection. An interview enables the researcher to tap into participants' thoughts, feelings, and experiences. Thus, it will serve the purpose of this research i.e. to explore youth's experiences of participating in politics and using social media.

Interview in the qualitative research context is defined as, "…an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry including the topics to be covered, but not a set of questions that must be asked with particular words and in a particular order." (Babbie, 2008, pp. 335–336). Thus, the interview is basically a technique to collect particular information from respondents through an interactive way. In a qualitative interview, a researcher might use a guideline but not a fixed and definitive set of questions. A qualitative researcher more often than not adjusts the questions to responses received from participants. By using interview, a researcher aims to collect certain information that is not possible to be collected by other means (usually thoughts, opinions, feelings, or experiences of participants).

Based on the way the questions are structured, this research utilized a semistructured interview. In a semistructured interview, the wording and the order of questions are flexibly structured. Most parts of the interview are guided by a list of questions (even though they are used flexibly) or issues to be explored. Usually, this type of interview attempts to collect specific information from respondents.

As suggested by Charmaz, it is better for a grounded theory researcher to adopt a few broad open-ended questions to encourage unanticipated statements and stories to emerge from the interview (2006, p. 26). Thus, the researcher interviewed participants using only a guideline containing themes that were explored in the research. The researcher prepared a list of interview questions, but it was used flexibly. The wording and the order of questions were not strictly determined; they were adjusted based on participants' responses (the list of questions and the general interview guideline are attached in the appendix section).

The researcher recorded the interview using a tape recorder (after informing it to participants and obtain their permissions). The recorded interviews were then transcribed. As Merriam suggested, "Ideally, verbatim transcription of recorded interviews provides the best database for analysis" (2009, p. 110). Interviews that are recorded gave the researcher opportunities to attend closely to respondents' feelings and views both during the interview and after the interview (Charmaz, 2006, p. 32).

Participants were recruited using the combination of snowball and theoretical sampling.

Snowball sampling, i.e. selecting samples by "identifying cases from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich" (Creswell, 2007, p. 127), was used at the initial stage. The researcher started the process of selecting participants by asking recommendation from authorities (Head of Department) and lecturers at the sites of data collection. In particular, the researcher requested them to name students who are active in various student organizations. As negative cases, the researcher also requested them to name students who were not active in any organization at campus.

Next, the pattern of data began to emerge after interviewing these initial participants. In particular the researcher found that participants were overwhelmed by identity-based political polarization which happened during the course of the research. This particular event had been found affecting greatly the way participants perceived and talk about politics. In response to this

development, the researcher switched to theoretical sampling in selecting the subsequent participants. In doing so, the researcher deliberately varied the type of people interviewed based on their ethnic and religious identities to uncover their various standpoints about politics (Taylor, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2016, p. 108). As suggested by Glaser & Strauss, in theoretical sampling, a researcher should focus on what groups or subgroups he/ she turn to next in data collection; and what is the theoretical purpose behind this selection (Glaser & Strauss, 2006, p. 47). In this case, the researcher was focusing on participants' ethnic and religious identity since the initial analysis found that politics is strongly related to participants' expression of identity. Theoretical sampling thus directed the researcher to collect data that are relevant to the emerging concepts and theory.

Theoretical sampling itself is the recommended sampling technique in grounded theory. Theoretical sampling provides the researcher with the opportunity to let him/ herself driven by the data. In this way, the data collected are a reflection of what is occurring in the field rather than speculation about what should have been observed (Goulding, 2002, p. 68).

By using both snowball and theoretical sampling, this research interviewed in total 29 participants (14 females and 15 males; 22 Muslims, 5 Christians, 1 Catholic, and 1 Hindu). All interviews were conducted in one-on-one setting to ensure participants convenience in expressing their opinions freely (especially considering that some topics, such as the role of religion in affecting political participation, could be sensitive for some participants). Participants were also informed that their identities would be made anonymous in the final report. The interviews were conducted between week 4 of April 2017 until week 3 of July 2017. On average, each interview took about 1 hour. The questions in the interview had been reviewed and approved by Human Ethics Committee of Victoria University of Wellington.

3.4.2. Quantitative

In addition to the qualitative, this research also collected quantitative data through survey. Grounded theory offers flexibility in using both quantitative and qualitative approach to collect data (Babbie, 2010, p. 308; Charmaz, 2006, p. 178). This flexibility is needed to pursue the main goal of the grounded theory research which is to discover "the phenomenon" and to propose explanation regarding that phenomenon. However, the use of quantitative data in this research is

mainly descriptive in nature. Specifically, the quantitative data in this research is used for two purposes.

First, to identify social media uses for civic-political activities popularly conducted by youth. The findings was used to discover the salient social media activity conducted by youth that were then further elaborated in the analysis.

Second, to make comparison between youth's uses of social media for particular civic-political activities and youth's tendency to participate in similar civic-political activities without social media. These comparisons were used as starting point in analyzing the roles of social media in facilitating youth civic-political activities.

The survey was conducted using self-administered questionnaire distributed to respondents from three private universities in Jakarta i.e. Bina Nusantara (BINUS) University, Mercu Buana University, and University of Paramadina. These three universities were selected since they were expected to provide relatively diverse demographic characteristics of students, especially in terms of socio-economic status. Majority of students at BINUS University were expected come from upper-middle-class families[3]; most students at Mercu Buana University were expected come from lower-middle class families[4]; and majority of students at University of Paramadina were expected from middle-middle class families[5]. The survey later confirmed these suggestions[6] as the table below demonstrates.

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[3] Based on personal communication with Marko Sebira, BINUS Head of International Business Department, October 23, 2016

[4] Based on personal communication with Afdal Makkuraga, Mercu Buana's Vice-Head of Broadcasting Department, October 23, 2016

[5] Based on personal communication with Aris Subagio, Paramadina's Director of Academic Administration, October 24, 2016

[6] Based on survey, group of respondents with low level of monthly expenditures (less than IDR 500 thousands/ USD 35.5) consist of 56.7% Mercu Buana, 26.7% Paramadina, and 16.7% BINUS. Group of respondents with middle level of monthly expenditures (IDR 0.5 million – IDR 1.5 million/ USD 35.5 – USD 107) consist of 35.8% Mercu Buana, 38.8% Paramadina, and 25.4% BINUS. And group of respondents with high level of monthly expenditures (more than IDR 1.5 million/USD 107) consist of 20% Mercu Buana, 22.4% Paramadina, 57.6% BINUS.

Table 3.1.

Respondents Monthly Expenditures

	Less than IDR 500 thousands	IDR 0.5 million – IDR 1.5 million	More than IDR 1.5 million
UMB	56.7%	35.8%	20%
Paramadina	26.7%	38.8%	22.4%
Binus	16.7%	25.4%	57.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%

In total, 500 questionnaires were distributed to the sampled respondents. However, the researcher only managed to receive 265 replies (response rate 53%). Most of questionnaires were distributed in classrooms during the teaching session (after the researcher obtained permission from the lecturers). 62 questionnaires (in particular the ones that were distributed in Paramadina university) were distributed online via email. Respondents received small souvenirs (NZ fridge magnet) as appreciation for their contribution.

In Mercu Buana University, the questionnaires were distributed to 117 respondents from the population of 605 students in level 1, 2, and 3 of Broadcasting Department. The population was based on the list of students who were enrolled in the three mandatory courses selected for the purpose of the research. The questionnaires then were distributed in 3 sampled classrooms (one classroom was selected for each level). 89 replies were received.

In Bina Nusantara International University, the questionnaires were distributed to 131 respondents (from the population of 256 students in level 1, 2, and 3 of International Business Department; based on those who were enrolled in the three selected mandatory courses). 92 replies were received. The questionnaires were distributed in 2 classrooms at level 1 (out of 4 classrooms available in that course), 2 classrooms at level 2 (out of 3 classrooms), and 1 classroom at level 3 (out of 2 classrooms). The number of classrooms was determined based on the classroom's size (the number of students in the classroom).

In Paramadina, the questionnaires were distributed to 252 students (total population of students at level 1) via email (from the list that the researcher received from the University). In an effort to raise the number of respondents recruited for the survey, the researcher also

distributed the questionnaires in classrooms where students at level 1 were enrolled. From this, the researcher received an addition of 23 respondents. Thus, in total 85 replies were collected from students of level 1 in Paramadina.

Table 3.2. Respondents' Demographic Profiles

No	Demographic Variables	Frequency	Percentage
1	Gender		
	Male	141	53.2
	Female	124	46.8
	Total	265	100.0
2	Religion		
	Islam	186	70.2
	Protestant	35	13.2
	Catholics	20	7.5
	Buddha	12	4.5
	Hindu	2	0.8
	Confusianism	2	0.8
	Others	6	2.3
	Missing Values	2	0.8
	Total	265	100
3	Ethnicity		
	Jawa	89	33.6
	Tionghoa	54	20.4
	Betawi	29	10.9
	Sunda	28	10.6
	Batak	13	4.9
	Minang	21	7.9
	Others	25	9.4
	Missing Values	6	2.3
	Total	265	100.0

The characteristics of respondents recruited in the survey can be summarized in the above table. In general, the respondents are predominantly Muslim (70.2%), ethnically Javanese (33.6%), and male (53.2% compared to 46.8% of female). These figures more or less reflect the characteristics of Jakarta's population in general. For examples, data from several official reports during the period of 2010-2014 showed that Jakarta's population are predominantly male (50.26% compared to 49.74% of female)[7], Muslim (83.3% compared to 8.62% Christian, 4.04% Catholics, 3.84% Buddhists, 0.19% Hindus, and 0.01% Confucius)[8], and Javanese (35.98% compared to Chinese 6.59%, Betawi 28.14%, Sundanese 14.53%, Bataknese 3.4%, and Minang 2.8%) (Na'im & Syaputra, 2011).

Regarding the instrument, the questionnaire basically measured two categories of activity. The first is general civic political activities conducted by youth. The second is civic-political activities (more or less similar to the general ones) which were conducted by youth using social media. The two sections (general civic political activities and social media-facilitated political activities) were ordered sequentially in order to make respondents clearly follow the logic behind the questions i.e. to compare their experiences in conducting civic-political activities without and with social media.

In terms of civic-political activities variables, the instrument measured various forms of activities ranging from voting, participating in campaign, contacting officials and politically influential persons, participating in community activities, volunteering for non-profit organization, protesting/ demonstrating, signing a petition, boycotting, and expressing political opinions. Except the last, all of those activities reflect the concept of political participation as "any attempts of citizen to influence political outcomes". Meanwhile, the last activity (expressing political opinion) reflects the aspect of deliberation in political participation as highlighted by some scholars such as Peter Dahlgren (2012, 2013) and Manuel Castells (2009). This aspect is also highlighted in recent studies, especially in the context of political participation in new media environment (Bode et al., 2014; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2014).

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[7] https://jakarta.bps.go.id/linkTabelStatis/view/id/91

[8] http://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2016/09/06/83-persen-penduduk-dki-jakarta-beragama-islam

Questions in this variable were presented in Likert scale format. Likert scale is, "a scale often used in survey research in which people express attitudes or other responses in terms of ordinal level categories (e.g., agree, disagree) that are ranked along a continuum" (Neuman, 2014, p. 230). Likert scale can utilize up to 9 categories of response at most. The number of responses can be even or odd, however, some scholars debated the use of neutral response such as "don't know", "undecided", or "no opinion" for the question. Thus, the even number of responses is usually preferred (Neuman, 2014, p. 232).

Using Likert scale format, respondents were given four options of response toward statements in the questionnaire to indicate their level of engagement in certain civic political activities. Their level of engagement is measured by asking their past actual experience of participating in those civic political activities i.e. have done it more than once, have done it once, have not done it but might do it in the future, and have not done it and would never do it in the future. The researcher argues respondents' actual experience is a more or less reliable measure to assess youth's civic-political engagement since it shows activity that they actually do rather than, for example, their perception of activity that they want to do.

These options of response also accommodate the logic of civic voluntarism model which consider both opportunity and motivation as factors influencing one's participation in politics. Therefore, it also provide the option of 'have not done it but might do it in the future' to take into account those who have not participated (because they haven't had the opportunity yet) but have the intention to do it in the future.

In terms of social media uses variables, there are two main parts that are measured. The first is platforms of social media that are used by respondents, both for general uses (news consumption and social interaction) and for political activities. The second is the level of social media uses by respondents for news consumption and participating in civic-political activities. These categories of activity of using social media imitate the types of social media uses in the context of political participation proposed by previous studies (Bode et al., 2014; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2014).

In the first part, the questions asked platforms of social media that respondents mostly used in each category of activity: news consumption and participating in civic-political activities (such as campaigning, signing the petition, expressing political opinions, discussing politics, etc). The

questions used semi open-ended format in which choices of answer are given, but respondents were allowed to write their own answers other than the given choices (to accommodate all of respondents' answers).

In the second part, the questions asked the frequency of respondents in using social media for each category of activity: news consumption and participating in political activities. The questions used the Likert-scale format in which respondents were given four options of answer: never, rarely, often, and regularly.

3.5. Procedures for data analysis

Quantitative section of this research is analyzed using descriptive statistics (frequencies). Since it is quite clear and straightforward, no further explanation need to be presented.

Whereas the qualitative part, in which the main analysis of this research is based on, is analyzed using the grounded theory procedure. In the section that follows, the grounded theory procedure carried out in this research will be described in details.

In grounded theory, analysis of the data is developed using the so-called constant comparative method. Using this technique, as its name implies, the researcher constantly compares a newly collected data with the previously collected ones. Comparisons are continuously made throughout the research process until a theory can be formulated (Merriam, 2009, p. 200).

There are 4 critical elements in grounded theory analysis: categories, properties, core category, and hypotheses. Categories are conceptual elements constructed from the data. Properties are concepts that describe a category (or dimensions of a category). The core category is the central concept to which all other categories and hypotheses are connected. Hypotheses are the tentatively proposed links between categories and properties (Merriam, 2009, p. 200).

Using the principles of grounded theory, the analysis of this research was conducted in the following steps.

The first is open coding. Open coding is the process of attaching labels to units of data assumed to be relevant to the study. The purpose is to discover major categories of information in the data (Creswell, 2007, p. 67; Merriam, 2009, p. 200). Thus, in this step the researcher assigned codes to participants' statements that are considered relevant (and significantly

meaningful) in answering the research questions. The initial draft of properties and categories which were emerged from this step were then continuously refined until proper constructs were discovered.

The researcher discovered several themes and categories from this step. The primary themes found were meanings associated with politics, general feelings generated by politics, forms of political activities, and social media uses for political activities. In regard to the theme of social media uses for political activities, three sub themes were found: engagement with political conversation, supporting organizational activities, and mobilizing political support.

Next, the above themes and sub-themes were further reevaluated. Some of them i.e. forms of political activities, social media uses for supporting organizational activities, and social media uses for mobilizing political support were removed from analysis. This decision was made after the researcher found that those themes were only remotely connected to the core category i.e. social media uses for political conversation. Thus, they would not help the researcher in focusing the analysis. As will be explained later in Chapter 6, the variable of social media uses for political conversation (specifically in the form of monitoring political conversation) was discovered as the most salient finding of the research.

From these primary themes, the researcher then developed categories and their properties. Categories and properties for each theme in details are shown in the following table.

Table 3.3. Categories found related to youth's construction of politics

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories	Properties
Meanings associated with politics	Politics as an expression of identity	Politics as the expression of community's pride (among exclusive Muslim)	
		Politics as the expression of solidarity toward other religion (among Inclusive Muslim)	
		Politics as the advocation of identity acknowledgment (among religious minority)	
		Politics as a threat of social cohesion emanating from conflict of identities (among participants with mixed identities)	

	Politics as an unprincipled battle for power and fortune		Perception toward means of achieving political goals
			Perception about goals pursued in political activities
			Perception about the nature of political activities
	Politics as a distorted reality		Trustworthiness toward sources of political information (mainstream media, political elites)
	Politics as an omnipresence force		The encounter with "politics" in daily experience
	Politics as a flow of influence		Tendency to perceive politics as having influence over others
			Tendency to perceive politics as receiving influence from others
General feelings generated by politics	The sense of being pressured to conform		The fear of social disintegration (the fear of violating social cohesion)
			The sense of being overwhelmed by politics (the pervasiveness of politics into daily lives)

Table 3.4. Categories found related to social media uses by youth to engage with politics

Themes	Categories	Sub-categories	Properties
Social media uses for engaging in political conversation	Attitudes (about using social media to participate in political conversation)		Willingness to express thoughts
			Willingness to 'hear' others' expression

	Types of engagement	Contributing to conversation	The tendency to contribute to political conversation
		Monitoring conversation	The tendency to monitor political conversation
	Motivation for engaging in political conversation	Motivation for contributing	The need to release emotion
			The need to achieve instrumental goals/ purpose
		Motivation for monitoring	The need for being updated with information about social environment ('kepo')
			The need for cognitive surveillance
	Consequences from engaging in political conversation	Consequences from contributing	Receiving feedbacks from other users
		Consequences from monitoring	Fear of breaking relationship with others
			Feeling aroused by hate speech

The second stage is axial coding. It is a process of relating categories and properties to each other (Merriam, 2009, p. 200). According to Creswell, in axial coding, the researcher assembles and presents the data using a visual model in which he or she identifies a central phenomenon (a central category about the phenomenon), causal conditions (factors that influence the phenomenon), specific strategies (actions taken in response to the core phenomenon), contextual and intervening conditions (broad and specific situational factors that influence the strategies), and consequences (outcomes from using the strategies) (2007, p. 67).

In this stage, the researcher first determined the central category to which other categories are connected. As noted earlier, the researcher discovered the variable of monitoring political conversation as a salient finding emerged from the interview with participants. This variable connects other salient categories and properties emerged from the interview such as *'kepo'*, fear of breaking relationship with others, and tendency to refrain themselves from expressing thoughts/ opinions on social media. The relationships among these categories/ variables are shown in the following diagram.

Diagram 3.1. Relations among categories
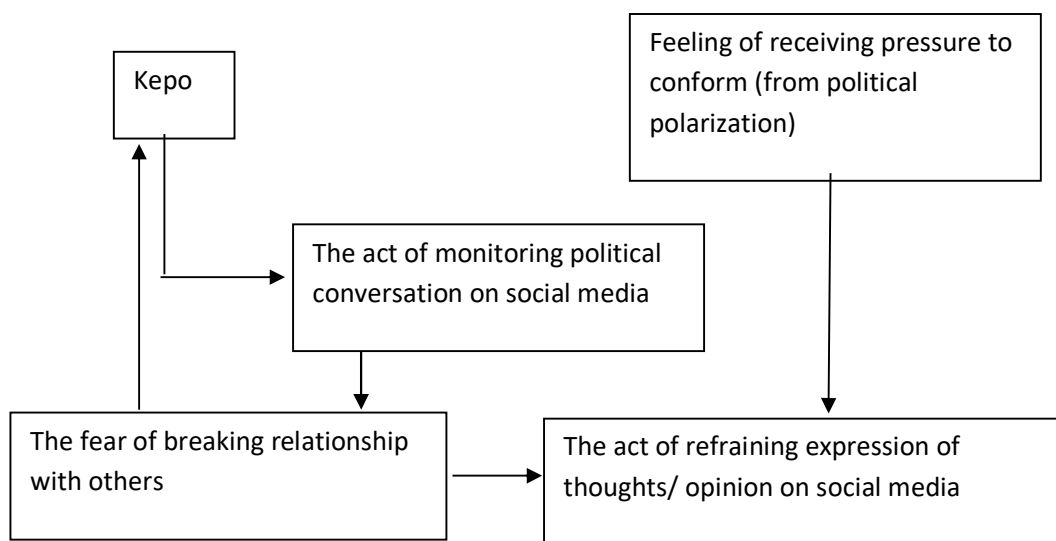
As shown in the diagram, the act of monitoring political conversation plays a role as a core category to which other categories are connected. Whereas 'kepo' and the fear of breaking relationship with others are connected to the core category as a causal condition and as a consequence respectively.

The analysis also revealed another prominent category i.e. the act of refraining expression on social media which connects to the fear of breaking relationship with others and the sense of receiving pressure to conform. The act of refraining expression, thus could also be theorized as an indirect consequence of the act of monitoring political conversation via the fear of breaking relationship with others.

The third stage is selective coding. At this stage, the researcher takes the model and develops *propositions* (or hypotheses) that interrelate the categories in the model or assembles a story that describes the interrelationship of categories in the model (Creswell, 2007, p. 65). At this point, a substantive-level theory, i.e. a theory customized to a specific context being studied in the research, was produced. Propositions that explain the interrelationships among categories are presented below.

First, the act of monitoring political conversation is encouraged by 'kepo'. 'Kepo' is an Indonesian slang word which means the drive to know information about others (for the case studied in the research, it is specifically information about others' opinion). 'Kepo' drives youth to monitor political conversation on social media by which youth assess the climate of opinion about particular political topics. This assessment helps youth to behave themselves in the political discussion taking place on social media. As will be revealed later, this assessment in fact led youth to refrain themselves from expressing their own opinions.

Second, the act of monitoring political conversation indirectly affect youth's tendency to silence (i.e. the act of refraining expression on social media) through the fear of breaking relationship with others. The act of monitoring political conversation exposes youth to the exchanges of insult (between the battling political camps) which increases youth's fear of getting into conflict with others. This sense of fear eventually lead youth to refrain their own expression on social media.

Third, the act of refraining expression on social media, while it is caused by the fear of breaking relationship with others, is also caused by the sense of receiving pressure to conform (to others' opinion) arisen from the heated political polarization. This sense of receiving pressure to conform is indicated by youth's feeling of experiencing social disintegration and youth's feeling of being overwhelmed by politics which both were saliently found in the interview.

Fourth, 'kepo' itself is driven by the fear of social isolation which includes the fear of breaking relationship with others. Youth felt the need to search for information (i.e. 'kepo') because of their fear of not being socially updated with information which would make them isolated in social interaction. Therefore, 'kepo' reflects the youth's need to be socially connected and not being socially isolated.

At this point, the researcher found the model resemble the already established theory of spiral of silence, something that was completely unexpected by the researcher. However, this research revealed one additional element, i.e. the role of social media, in the process of spiral of silence. Specifically under the circumstance of political polarization, this research proposes that social media facilitates the act of monitoring political conversation which eventually leads to the process of spiral of silence. Thus, the model proposed in this research updates the theory of spiral of silence, particularly in term of its application in social media environment.

Chapter 4

Youth's Construction of Politics

This chapter explains how youth construct politics, based on meanings with which youth associate politics. Through this, this chapter attempts to describe the opinions and feelings of youth in this research about politics that reflect social and political contexts in which they were in. By this way, this chapter attempts to provide context to understand the way youth in this research using social media to engage with politics. Referring to social determinism perspective, rather than dealing with technology in isolation, the interrelationship among technologies and the cultural communities that grow up around them should be taken into consideration when analysing the impact of technology on society (it will be discussed later in the final subsection).

As this chapter will explain, youth's construction of politics quite obviously reflects the specific context of political polarization which was experienced by youth at the time of this research was conducted. This ethnic-religious based political polarization made youth saliently construct politics as part of their identity. Other constructions of politics included: a) amoral practices, leading youth to feel distrustful of politics, political actors, and even fellow student activists; b) distortion where the reality of politics was manipulated by either political actors or mainstream media; c) its presence in many contexts of human relationship; and lastly, d) an act to influence others. The implications of these constructions of politics will be further discussed in the conclusion.

4.1. Meanings associated with politics

4.1.1. Politics are related to the expression of identity

The most revealing finding regarding the construction of politics was that politics were a part of the participants' identity. Identity in this sense was predominantly group identity. Thus, in this regard, participants interpret politics as something related to the expression of affiliation with a particular group identity (in particular ethnic or religious).

In general, in varying degrees, this tendency can be found in most participants but, specifically among Muslim participants, there is a sharp division between those who expressed their inclination toward a somewhat exclusive Muslim identity (i.e. viewing themselves as an

entity with its own specific interests and aspirations) and those who expressed their inclination toward a more inclusive national identity (i.e. viewing themselves more as citizens in Indonesia's pluralistic nation). Meanwhile, among religious-minority participants, there was a similarity found in terms of their perspective about the relation between identity and politics: politics was viewed as a mirror to see whether their minority identities were accepted as political equal within the Indonesian Muslim-majority society. In addition, the research identified participants who felt "trapped" in a mixed-identities environment, thus experiencing extreme discomfort from the ongoing political polarization.

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4.1.1.1. Expression of identity among "exclusive" Muslim participants: defending "the pride" of Muslims by giving support for a Muslim leader

The notion of politics as an expression of identity is explicitly held mostly by participants who are affiliated with Islamic organizations. It is reflected in participant's statements below.

> Life cannot be separated from values. Anyone, whoever he is, will have his life and politics shaped by his values…. It also applies in my case. For me, politics is an instrument to contribute [based on the values that shaped me] for the communities…. To elect a leader, because I am a Muslim, his religion is my first consideration…. I think people from other religion will do the same, they will elect a leader based on their faith. People would even prefer a leader with a similar regional background with them, let alone a similar religion. I think it is just something natural. (Hanafi)

According to Hanafi, who was a regular participant of Islamic lectures held by Mosque in his neighbourhood, by electing a Muslim candidate, he would have a leader that would show a higher commitment for the embodiment of Islamic values in society. Having said that, the participant couldn't explicate what sort of "pro-Islamic values policies" he expected from a Muslim candidate who he supported. Instead, his argument was that having a Muslim leader was important for preventing disrespectful treatment of Muslim. He further stated that in his observation, Muslim in Indonesia were politically marginalized and Muslim clerics (*ulama*) and the teachings of Islam were discredited. The disrespect against Muslim, he argued, was also

shown from the way Muslim politicians were labelled corruptor or incompetent leader, while a non-Muslim figure like Ahok[9] was highly praised as a good leader.

The disrespect against Muslim, according to Hanafi, was even more obvious when Ahok insulted the Holy Koran in his speech.

As he mentioned,

> The example is like in the current situation. Since Muslims in Indonesia didn't have [political] awareness, the consequence is like this [Muslims are disgraced].… Now we have a situation [religious insult by former Governor Ahok] that made us united. Thanks to God, it was God's will [to made Muslims united].... He had given back our pride. (Hanafi)

The perception that Muslims were being discredited was also stated by Farid, a former leader of Islamic student organization. He referred to the incidence of insult by a Chinese-descent Indonesian to a Muslim politician Zainul Majdi, who was also a governor in West Nusa Tenggara province. In this incidence, the Chinese-descent Indonesian reprimanded Zainul for allegedly queue jumping at Changi Airport Singapore (Nursyamsi, 2017). In what became a viral event, the Chinese-descent Indonesian called Zainul "Indo", "indigenous" (*pribumi)*, and "dirty rat" (*tiko*). Farid viewed the action of the Chinese-descent Indonesian as a strong signal for racism against the indigenous/Muslims[10].

He said,

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[9]Ahok (Basuki Tjahaja Purnama): a first Chinese Christian elected as a Governor (formerly Vice Governor, replacing Joko Widodo who was then elected as Indonesia's President) in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, after 49 years. Ahok's candidacy created a heavy polarization of supporters during the course of the election. Ahok's supporters viewed Ahok as the ideal figure to lead Jakarta: possessing a high level of integrity and performing well as a leader. On the contrary, his opponents viewed him as someone who had disrespected Muslim (especially through his blatant choice of words when criticizing the misuse of religion by Muslim politicians). Some of his controversial words that finally cost him the election were his remarks that he understood if people couldn't vote for him because of being fooled by (the misuse of) Koran. In response to his remarks, millions of Muslim staged waves of street protests against him. His supporters also responded by staging counter mass-gathering campaigning for Indonesia's diversity.

[10] The relation between the so-called "indigenous" Indonesians and Chinese-descendant Indonesians has been highly complex even since the era of pre-independence Indonesia. The most frequently proposed explanation of these racial tensions is the perceived economic gap between the two, in which the Chinese are perceived to be the more advantaged group (Dhani, 2016).

They say we [the indigenous/Muslim] are dirty rats! It shows that in grass-roots they might hide something [racism sentiment toward Muslim/the Indonesian indigenous].… Thus, the "defend Islam" movement[11] is a kind of declaration, that we also have power. (Farid)

In the above statement, Farid relates his perception about the existence of racism toward "indigenous" and Muslim with his support to the "defend Islam" street protest. This indicates expression of identity as a strong motivation behind his political activities. It also corroborates the notion of politics as an expression of identity.

Another interesting finding of this research is that Muslim participants who were not affiliated with an Islamic organization also expressed the influence of religious identity on their political action. One example is Rifa, who expressed her preference for a Muslim leader quite explicitly. She stated,

Since I am a Muslim, and my family are also Muslims, so we would just prefer to have a Muslim leader. (Rifa).

Rifa was not affiliated with any Islamic organization. She also did not express strong adherence toward Islamic rules such as wearing a headscarf. She further revealed that she was brought up in a multicultural living environment (she spent most of her childhood in an exclusive residential neighbourhood populated largely by expatriates). Yet, despite all of the facts, she acknowledged ethnic-religious identity played an important role in forming her political preference. Even though there was no further explanation from Rifa why religious identity played such an important role in her political preference, it is reasonable to argue that the heated ethnic-religious based political polarization, which happened during the election, might just have "forced" her to take sides with the political camp that represented her identity.

4.1.1.2. Expression of identity among "inclusive" Muslim participants: advocating Indonesia as a pluralistic nation

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[11] The "defend Islam" movement is a series of street protest organized by Islamic organizations protesting governor Ahok for his action of allegedly insulting Quran.

Other Muslim participants, however, expressed their political identity in different ways to the "exclusive" Muslim participants. These participants advocated that the identity as Indonesian should stand above any ethnic or religious identity. Indonesian Muslims are no different than any other Indonesians regardless of their ethnic and religious identity..

For example Ananda, who stated,

> Our ideology is Pancasila [the Five Principles][12].... So I think we should not bring religion [into politics]. Pancasila should be at the top [of consideration].... In fact, the first thing that Indonesian should have is nationalism.... We couldn't choose the parents that gave us birth. We couldn't choose our cultural or religious identity.... Indonesia is a mandate for all of us [to be protected]. (Ananda).

Ananda joined Ahok as a volunteer during the course of the Jakarta Gubernatorial election 2017. She and her parents have been attracted to politics since the Jakarta Gubernatorial election 2012 when the current Indonesia's President Joko Widodo's popularity began to flourish. Joko Widodo was the running candidate (paired with Ahok) who eventually won the election. Ananda's mother also contributed as a volunteer for Joko Widodo in the election.

For Ananda, the basic foundation that needs to be followed by an Indonesian citizen when engaging with politics is Pancasila, which lays out nationalism and diversity as its primary principles. Hence, religion should not be brought into politics since it could potentially harm these principles.

Johan, another participant, also expressed his concern regarding the use of ethnic-religious identity in politics. He stated,

> Today's biggest problem is... so many political figures label themselves as the representation of Islam. So many of them! .... I want to change the way we behave [in politics].... By stop labeling others based on races or religion.... that is the most important thing. Because Islam actually teaches the value of peace. (Johan)

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[12] Pancasila or the Five Principles is the official ideology of Indonesia. As it name suggests, it consists of five principles: (1) the belief in the One God, (2) humanism that is just and civilised, (3) the unity of Indonesia, (4) populism that is guided by the inner wisdom of deliberations amongst representatives, and (5) social justice for all of the people of Indonesia. Pancasila was created by Indonesia's founding fathers, one of the most popular names includes the first Indonesia's president Sukarno, as the consensus for the three competing ideologies at that time: nationalism, Islamism and communism. As a product of dynamic power relations among political factions in Indonesia, the interpretation about Pancasila is often contested. For example, the nationalist camp often emphasizes the principle of unity in diversity. Meanwhile the Islamist camp often emphasizes the principle of the belief in One God as an acknowledgment of the role of religion in politics (Iskandar, 2016).

Johan argued that the problem with politics in Indonesia at the moment is the claim made by certain Muslim figures that they are the representatives of Muslims to justify their own opinions or actions while, in fact, they behave contrary to the values of Islam. Therefore, according to Johan, these Muslim figures are the ones who have given Islam a bad name.

Criticism of the emergent ethnic-religious sentiment in politics was also expressed by Imran. Imran asserted that the use of religious sentiment in politics was unacceptable since it was a form of intolerance that contradicted the very spirit of Indonesian people.

Imran stated,

> Religious tolerance is a very important thing…. Because, since its early development, Indonesia has always been a pluralistic society. We shouldn't transform Indonesia into a country devoted to any single particular religion. Now, sadly, we even witness more and more radical groups carrying the flag of religion, to make religion as a label for their political activities. These groups are the ones who ruined the image of Islam. (Imran)

Strong words against the interference of religious sentiment in politics were also expressed by Iswara, a university student who also joined the board of one of the political parties in Indonesia. As she stated,

> Honestly, I really don't like religious sentiment brought into the public domain. I always think that religion should stay at private domain, as our private relationship with God. I truly regret that people in Indonesia are still buying this kind of thing. (Iswara)

As shown, the above Muslim participants also emphasize identity expression as the basis for their political aspiration and activity. However, these Muslim participants advocate the importance of national identity rather than the group-oriented Muslim identity.

4.1.1.3. Expression of identity among participants with ethnic-religious minority background: voicing "the rights" to be considered as politically equal

The construction of politics as an expression of identity was also clearly voiced by participants from minority ethnic or religious groups. Participants from this group indicated that their minority identity had influenced them to acquire acknowledgment of their political rights. For example as stated by Kara, who has a Chinese-Christian background of identity.

[my greatest political concern] in Indonesia is still that old problem, but it returns to the surface nowadays, racism…. Representation means [a leader] should serve the interests of all groups. So, as member of a society we [a leader] should think about how to make betterment for all members of society. Not only to certain groups of people…. (Kara)

Joseph, another Chinese-Christian student, said,

For me personally, politics was not something important. But I do think it is important now, because it definitely affects us. Now I have preferences about the leader that I want to support…. I didn't think about that before. But I think about it now [after Governor Ahok's case].... (Joseph)

Joseph, emphasized that he became aware of politics only after a Chinese-descendant Governor Ahok came into popularity. The success story of Ahok becoming Governor of Jakarta stimulated his interest in politics. He further revealed his intention to follow a political career one day to represent minorities like him, just like Ahok did. He stated,

Since I am a minority, if I can represent the voice of the minority [by taking part in politics], why not [nominating himself as a leader in the future]?" (Joseph)

It is also worth mentioning that he expressed his stressful feeling when the controversy regarding Ahok's religious defamation case became heated. During the situation, he described that he felt as if there was "a big wall" that separated him and others. He stated, "It is as if we [me and others] were something that could never be united" (Joseph).

Another participant from a minority religious background also indicated the influence of identity on political activities in which she participates. Made, who comes from a Hindu Balinese background, said she supported a political party that, in her view, was in line with her cultural values. She also said that she had even volunteered for that particular political party by performing Balinese traditional dance in one of its campaign event.

In the interview, Made also showed a great passion for politics. However, she felt her identity, as a minority, would eventually stop her from going any further in politics. She stated,

….I have an ambition that is maybe too high for me. I had always wanted to be a mayor. But, when I saw politics in reality is more like an aggression toward others, I made a second thought…. Moreover, I come from a minority group [Hindu]. I don't think I can challenge the opinion of the majority. (Made)

The above statement also suggests the participant's identity awareness as a minority affected her motivation for politics in a complex way. On one side, she indicated the desire to express her cultural identity through her political activities. On the other side, her awareness of her minority status also hindered her from going further in politics.

The role that minority identity awareness plays in participants' motivations for politics is also hinted at by another participant. Nita stated that when she took charge of the student senate, she felt she was being targeted by some of the students because of her identity as a Chinese descendant. Nita recounted that when she got elected as Head of Student Senate, she often received verbal attacks from her opponents. She felt that her identity both as a Chinese descendant and as a woman made her an easy target for her opponents (because she was perceived as weak).

Reflecting on her experience, Nita asserted that what happened to Ahok and herself was an indication that racial sentiment still exists in Indonesia, especially in terms of politics. She argued,

> From that experience, I see that in Indonesia, in terms of leadership, ethnicity does still matter. A person is judged by their cultural background. You [would] see me as a Chinese, as a minority. And that is what (also) had happened to Governor Ahok. (Nita)

4.1.1.4. Expression of identity among participants with mixed and complex identities: politics as something to avoid since it threatens social cohesion

Another group of participants worth mentioning in relation to the construction of politics as an expression of identity is those who could not identify themselves with any political camp. These participants are a mix of Muslims and non-Muslims who have families or close friends from different religion and ethnicity. Therefore, they felt extremely uncomfortable with the ongoing political polarization and expressed their frustration at the continuing situation.

One example is Dania who was from a multi-ethnic, multi-religious background. Her father's family are Muslim while her mother's family are Christians. She recounted how the Jakarta Gubernatorial election had polarized her family. Her Muslim family supported a Muslim candidate, while her Christian family supported a Christian candidate. As she stated,

They would make mocking comments [about the candidate I supported], [which made] me then react .... That was what usually happened. It's all right. But I also think that it's not supposed to happen that way." (Dania)

This situation at times had created tension between her mother's family and herself. This tension appeared in the form of ridiculing each other's candidate on a whatsapp chat group. This, in turn, had made her uncomfortable with political topics. Hence she opted to avoid conversations about politics.

Another participant, Utami, also expressed her uncomfortableness toward political polarization occurring in people around her. She explained that despite being a Muslim, she is on the neutral side of the polarized public. Therefore, she felt irritated at the aggressive comments made by both sides of political supporters.

When I read the web page of Habib Rizieq [Islamic cleric who is well known for his hostile attitude toward non-Muslims], he said Christians are like this and like that, Chinese are like this and like that, I hate it. Why did he say that? But when I read comments from Ahok's supporters [in social media], there are things that I also don't like…. For example, they claim themselves as the more advanced citizens compared to Anies' [one of the Muslim candidate in Jakarta Gubernatorial election] supporters.... Saying that Anies' supporters are bigot, conservative.... (Utami).

Meanwhile, a Chinese-descendant student, David, stated that he would not say that Ahok was purely innocent in the recent religious defamation controversy but, he was disappointed with the anti-Chinese reaction from some people responding to this issue. However, he was also aware that differences in political opinion, including among his own best friends, is a must-accept reality. He stated,

I can accept if people say he [Ahok] had made a mistake. But surely his ethnicity as a Chinese should have not been brought into this. Just focus on what he did. Don't bring other things that have nothing to do with it…. But at the end, rather than we make conflicts with our own friends, we prefer not to discuss about it [politics]…. Since gathering with friends should be about doing fun things. (David)

Another participant, Bertha, recounted how Jakarta Gubernatorial Election had divided her friends into two camps. Her friends from each camp spiritedly attacked supporters of the other camp when they engaged in discussion. Bertha, who is a Bataknese-Christian but has many

Muslim friends (in addition, she also knows the candidate supported by the Muslim camp), felt trapped in the middle. Therefore, she opted to avoid any discussion about politics. Bertha stated,

> I think it is because the issue of religious identity…. I am a Christian, and many of my friends are Chinese, and they felt really angry. So they are fiercely attacking Mr. Anies [the candidate supported by Muslim camp]. But I also have many Muslim friends, and they are fiercely attacking Ahok [the ethnically Chinese Christian candidate]. Thus, I am trapped in the middle. Both sides are my friends. So for me personally, it was distressing. (Bertha)

To conclude, political polarization that happened during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 made the above participants opt to avoid conversations about politics with others. In this particular situation, where society was heavily polarized based on ethnicity and religion, they felt politics had become a sensitive topic. In addition, they also witnessed their own friends split because of politics. Hence, avoiding politics is a better option for them, at least for the moment, in order to maintain the friendships they have.

4.1.2. Politics is an unprincipled battle for power and fortune

Another salient finding regarding participants' construction of politics is that politics are heavily associated with battle, conflict, or fighting for power. The most common response from participants to the question "what is the meaning of politics to you?" are the words "propaganda", "power struggle", "taking over power from others", or "bringing someone down from power". As can be found in statements made by the participants below.

> For me politics is a strategy to take over power from other…. That's the way it is…. (Aldo)

> It's like in the last student senate election, in which politics means to topple each other…. Fighting for the votes.... It reached the point where our own friends could turn into enemies, [it all happened] just because of politics. (Aldo)

> In my opinion, politics is the means used by someone to obtain power…. The various ways by which one can win power. (Ananda)

> Politics is a thing that can make people split [because of fighting each other]. (Nita)

> Politics is actually a science of governing. But [in reality] it is more like a skill of propaganda and bringing others down from power …. (Made)

Politics as a battle subsequently followed by its direct consequence, i.e. politics as amoral practices which justify all means, including the dirty ones, to win power, is expressed below.

> When I heard the word politics, the pictures of someone lying or cheating always come to my head…. I know that is not entirely true…. But that is the image that I have" (Utami).

> The bad thing from politics is that people use all means to win. By bringing something that should not have been brought into politics. Spreading hate…. That made politics become hard to be trusted in my eyes. (Joseph)

Both the meaning of politics as battle for power/fortune and politics as amoral practices underline "the evil" side of politics. In youth's perception, politics is expected to involve conflict among parties (political actors) and would also involve unethical or amoral practices. The unethical political practices were viewed as "normal" because of the hostile nature of politics.

The unethical practices found by participants when they engaged in what they termed "campus politics" (competition to win seats in the students' organization). Some participants recalled their experience of falling into political trickeries when they engaged in these activities. These participants also learned from their experiences that, in politics, bargaining and negotiation of interests (which might compromise their principles) are inescapable, as shown by the following statements.

> It's like when I held a position [as Head of Student Senate]…. Both [student] political parties were clashing each other to win the election, by using all means…. by denigrating my party, provoking other students to boycott the election [in order to attack the legitimacy of her leadership].... (Nita).

> People think about politics at the moment as an instrument. Frankly speaking, there is no free lunch in politics. I have made you happy, now what I can get from you? (Aldo).

> So I can't be stubborn. Negotiation with other parties is a must. That's how this campus give me lessons in politics and organization. (Rosyid)

It is reasonable to argue that youth's perception of politics as an amoral battle for power and fortune consequently leads youth to feeling distrust (toward political institutions, political actors, and political system as a whole). This research indeed found a widespread distrust among participants toward politics. Participants, in general, perceived politics as predominantly used by political actors to serve their own interests rather than serving the public.

Participants also had very little faith that, by maintaining their integrity, political actors could act ethically when performing political action. Participants lost faith in the trustworthiness, i.e. something that "assures potential trusters that the trusted party will not betray a trust" (Levi & Stoker, 2000, p. 476), of political actors, as shown by the following statements.

> I imagine it's different in Australia, New Zealand, or even in the USA…. Government in those countries educate their citizens well about politics. Maybe there are political trickeries, but not as massive as in Indonesia…. So it's difficult for the people to have a mature thought about politics here, since the government themselves present politics as something bad. (Hanafi)

> In Indonesia I see politics as a means for someone to achieve individual's glory. I can become rich here…. Or I can live from this. (David)

> I don't know if there are any politicians who are 100% clean or really want to voice the aspiration of the people. I mean, among those 500 parliament members, are they really serving us? Or at the end they are only serving the interests of their own? (Utami)

> For now, it can be said that I am not interested [in politics]…. I mean many things we see from the news about politics are, this person gets caught in a corruption case, that person switch his political support [by betraying his old political party].... It is just like only a game for them. (Bertha)

This lack of political trust is not only oriented toward political elites at national level, but also toward fellow student activists. For example, some participants expressed that they did not fully trust the genuine intention of fellow student activists who carried out political action such as a street demonstration. In their eyes, these student activists advocated their own personal goal (e.g. personal political career) with their actions.

Banu, for example, said that student's street demonstration had been corrupted by what he called "demonstration brokers". "A demonstration broker" is a person who acts as a bridge between student leaders and political elites (e.g. figures in political parties). These demonstration brokers are who Banu suspected masterminded many students' street demonstrations in Indonesia.

> Many student movements now are mobilized by brokers. This is what had destructed our image [as students]…. They are called as demonstration brokers…. Usually they are very senior students in campus, so they can influence others…. Many legislative members in the parliament at the moment were student activists in 1998 [the era of Indonesia's reform movement], so I think they understand very well how to mobilize these students. (Banu)

The above statement indicates that street demonstrations staged by students can actually provide opportunity for students to earn material benefit, or even to develop a future political career. Therefore, the genuineness of the motivation of those who were involved in such actions could also be reasonably questioned. As another participant said,

> There is no such thing as genuine student movement at the moment. We are suspecting each other. Who back you up? We suspect that you get paid but you give us none. That what makes me personally pessimistic with the current student movement…. From what I have observed in the past, in every political moment they (some student leaders) were competing to dominate the stage. Because some of student activists in the past earned position in the government…. So, we are suspecting that they are also looking for job position [in the political office] now. At the end of the day, our aspiration would go nowhere. (Rosyid)

Another participant, Amal, shared his experience of being "betrayed" by his fellow student activists (from other universities) when he was plotting a street demonstration together with them to protest the government's policy on the chili price hike. Amal said some student leaders were, unexpectedly, moving toward the government's side near the agreed date of action. Amal stated,

> One night before the date (of an agreed collective action) they were invited for a dinner by the Palace [President's Office]. We were not invited. And the day after that, there was no student demonstration at all…. most of student movements nowadays are without [adequate] knowledge [of the issues]. The most important thing in their head is that they can speak, they can make a show. Too much focus on getting themselves on the stage. (Amal)

As a consequence of their lack of trust toward political actors, participants expressed their unwillingness to engage with many political activities, such as participating in street demonstrations, volunteering for political parties, or attending political campaigns events, as stated by the following participants.

> Maybe it sounds selfish, but the system itself is not worthy to begin with [getting involved in politics]. To put yourself in that situation, that's very risky…. Why not participating in other kind of activities? The ones that are clearly positive for us? That would be better than I put myself into a situation in which all my peers would give me pressure to do corruption, whereas I'll get marginalized if I refuse to do so. (Kara)

> Some of my friends said they are actually interested in politics, but they hate the way it is being carried out…. Observing the reality of politics involve the act of tricking or attacking others, they soon withdrew themselves. (Banu)

A more cynical statement comes from Broto. Broto, who is actively engaged in youth community activities in his neighborhood, said he often received offers from several political parties to join their campaign team. Since Broto leads youth communities in his neigborhood, he is seen as a vote-getter by political parties. However, he said he always turned invitations down, even after he was offered material rewards. As he said,

> Yeah, I received that (invitation to join political campaign team).... often actually. But I reject it. Even though they promise me money, but I just don't want it.... (Broto).

He further said that he is "afraid of God" more than he is attracted to that kind of invitation; suggesting joining political party is something that would require him to do unethical things. He strongly suggested that politics should never been allowed to interfere with community activities; clearly demonstrating the negative image of politics in his eyes.

4.1.3. Politics is "a distorted reality"

Another participant perception associated with politics was that of "distorted reality". By this, participants perceived information or knowledge about politics as twisted or manipulated either by political actors or media; thus, reality about politics is a distorted one. This perception had made participants doubt their own understanding of politics since they couldn't really tell what political information was true or false. This suggestion can be found in the following participants' statements.

> In my eyes, politics is always ambiguous, always gray. It is like what we see in the media is not what it is like in reality. For example, Ahok is now put in jail to silence the public's anger. But, I am suspecting there's a game behind it.... I feel it is just too complicated.. (Utami)

> Sometimes I feel politics is exciting to watch.... But, the problem then becomes complicated, so I decided to walk away from it.... It is like an unending circle of problem.... It's like too much information.... This one say this, that one say that.... But not a single information is true.... So it is too much information which makes it hard to understand which one is correct and which one is incorrect. (Dania)

> There's something played by the government. TV stations also making spin to news in certain cases, which make the real problem is hidden from attention. (Gibran)

It is complicated, hard to understand, and provoking people to fight each other…. But, as a student, we need to know it though…. So when we talk to others we are not becoming someone who is 'not up-to-date'…. It's enough that we know what is happening. (Nita)

In my opinion, politics is complicated and gives you headache. (In politics) people talk about many things, but none of them mirroring reality…. From what I have experienced, every time we have a new governor or even a new president, nothing happened in my neighborhood. So I don't get over excited about it…. In TV news they say the governor is working hard to clean the water drainage. But I don't see it in my neighborhood…. (Zaenab)

According to participants, it was politicians who distorted politics. They stated political actors act differently in front of the public where they carefully manage their words and behavior to create a positive impression. While out of the public eye, their behavior contradicts their public persona, as stated by participants,

Politics and image-fabricating are inseparable. When people do politics, they are fabricating their images. (Utami)

For me politics is theatrical…. All about politics is a lie. (Gibran)

Another party guilty of distorting reality about politics, according to participants, is mainstream media. They saw mainstream media as being captured by the political interests of their owners. Media owners' involvement in politics biased news toward their respective political groups. As a consequence, participants could not really trust political news, as stated below,

Regarding the mainstream media, their partisanship is so obvious. But, again, I can criticize them now because I am a student. Maybe when I become a media person in the future, I will be just like them. Because, when I became a student journalist myself, I also often received pressure to publish 'an ordered' news. (Aldo)

I think [the concept of] media balance is confusing [in reality]. It is because one media support Ahok. But another media support Anies [the opposing candidate]…. Both of them are national TV stations who claim themselves as news channel, but they didn't present news in comprehensive way…. So it's like they are dividing the society into two [political] camps. (Bertha)

"Student organizations are actually quite active [in voicing protest to government]. But no coverage from the mainstream media. Last time for example there were thousands of students protesting in front of Presidential Palace. But no one gave us coverage…. I don't

know who were playing behind the scene. They [the mainstream media] made us as if we were silent[13]. (Rosyid)

This situation (distrust of mainstream media) made youth's distrust of politics even worse. Participants felt they could not find any reliable source of information to which they could refer to formulate their political opinion. Each media outlet was seen by participants as advocating its own version of political reality.

Media's blatant support for a certain political candidate competing in the election was viewed by participants as complicating the political polarization. The participants even accused the mainstream media of dividing society since it fed each political camp with biased and partial political information that only strengthened their pre-existing political attitudes.

As a consequence of this perception about politics (i.e. politics is a "distorted reality"), some participants expressed that they were not confident about their own knowledge of politics. They felt politics was too complicated to understand. Some participants even expressed that they were not confident expressing their political opinion since they worried that their understanding of politics was not "comprehensive", as stated by participants below.

No, I haven't [written an article about politics on social media]. I am still afraid. I'm afraid that my writing is weak [in argument].… I actually have the idea, but I am afraid if it is not a comprehensive one…. (Farid)

When my friend talk about politics, I prefer not to get involved. Because I am afraid my opinion is wrong. (Indah)

The participants' statements above indicate that they lack confidence in expressing political opinion; thus they opt to refrain from expressing their opinions. This lack of confidence might be caused by many factors (for example participants' psychological trait). However, this research argues one of the significant factors is their doubt about political information that they consume from the mainstream media.

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[13] In this statement, the participant referred to the street protest staged by several different universities across Indonesia on May 20, 2017. The researcher attempted to verify the participant's statement (i.e. no mainstream media gave them coverage), and in fact found coverage about this event in some news media outlet (even though not in the headline).

4.1.4. Politics as an omnipresence force

Participants also construct politics as something they experienced in various contexts of power relationships, not confined only to their relation with political actors or political institutions. They stated that they experienced "politics" in student organizations, in relationships with friends, and even in their relations with family members at home. In other words, in participants' eyes, politics is everywhere.

> Many people think that politics is all about government. For me, politics include anything that involves choices…. [Making] choices is politics. So we can't escape from politics actually…. I mean it is something related to independency in making choices…. Me for example, I feel myself as an easily persuaded person. I don't want to be like that. I want to declare that I have my own choices. But it why I found it so difficult hahaha (Indah)

> Even at home, kids like to fight each other for toys or ice cream. It is actually also politics. (Ananda)

The above participants demonstrated politics were inherent in their relationships with others. Politics can take many forms in their daily interactions and relationships with others. As one of the above participants suggests, politics may come into play when someone feels the pressure of others' persuasion. Politics may also present in conflict with others over possession of materials. In the above two scenarios, "politics" is present when there is tension between individuals, arising from conflicting wills.

However, the context most referred to by participants when discussing politics is organization (especially student organization), as stated by participants below.

> Politics can be defined not merely as an activity in a government, but also in an organization. And it doesn't necessarily a political organization, but any other type of organization. Because organization of any kind will have political aspect in it…. For example, in student senate there is an election process in which we vote. They [the candidates] are also campaigning. So I think it is politics…. There is [an element of] competition. (Kenny)

> For me politics doesn't necessarily about thing in the government, but can also be found in corporate or anywhere. I mean…. politics could means relation between government and people, and it could also means relation between people and corporate and so forth. It is all-encompassing in my opinion.... politics is the way we use our position [in organization] to influence others who are under our supervision. We call something as political activity

when we can finally influence others around us so they conform to our idea or vision. (Bertha)

Politics is actually point to the way we manage interests. Talking about politics, there are two levels. At the government level, we talk about things happening around the state. But at the personal level, our entire life is politics…. We join an organization is politics, because there is a goal that we want to achieve.... It is multidimensional.... (Rosyid)

Based on the participants' statements above, there were various forms of organizations where the presence of politics was strongly felt since, in these places, they found competition (among members to be the leader of the organization), mismanagement of interests (the interests of individuals, the interests of faction within organization), and flow of power where individuals in better positions within the organization influence others. With these "political elements", organizations also provide participants with a model to understand the way politics works at a broader level.

In conclusion, participants' construction that politics is everywhere shows that participants did not see politics as if it is something in distance. Politics was viewed as something that they experienced on a daily basis and existed in many human relationship contexts. They might even consider politics at this micro-level of human relationship to be much more relevant to them since it instantly and concretely affects their lives. The consequence is that since one of the political aspects they mentioned involved exercising power over others (by influencing others), their political activity might not necessarily be oriented toward "the distant" government or political elites, but rather toward people with whom they interact.

4.1.5. Politics as a flow of influence

Another construction of politics saliently found from participants in the interview is that it is associated with the flow of influence. By this, participants point to the idea that politics means having an influence over others' will, opinions, values, or behaviour. However, participants also mean this as resisting influence from others.

Politics as having influence over others is expressed by participants' statements below.

Politics is more like methods. Methods of speaking, communicating, setting up a meeting (to voice aspiration) with decision makers…. All of them are actually political processes…. If I don't understand politics properly, then I can be easily fooled by others. Because those who understand politics know how to dominate others in the forum. (Amal)

[We can call something as] political activities when we can influence others to accept the purpose that we set…. I see what I am doing [volunteering in World Vision Indonesia] as politics. I am doing politics albeit in a different way…. I am not targeting [my political activities to] large amount of people, but to small amount of people that I help directly through World Vision Indonesia. In that sense, I influence people, directly or indirectly, with what I have done or said to them." (Bertha)

For me personally as a Muslim, it is important to get involved in politics…. Muslim need to do their best, in preventing the replacement of Islamic values with Western [secular] values in our society…. That's why we get involved in politics, by propagating Islamic values on social media…. (Fahrul)

Maybe it's a bit strange for others why I include discussion as a political activity…. But for me it is a means to convince others…. The majority of people in Indonesia are Muslim, then the question is how we as the majority can finally have the opportunity to experience the implementation of Islamic values in our daily lives. (Hanafi)

At the moment, clearly I am not able to directly get involved in [politics]. But at least I can do what I can do best as a student, which is learning knowledge and educating others [politically]…. Things that I have learnt, then I share it to my closest friends or my juniors. I usually correct their understanding [about politics] based on my knowledge. (Arya)

As demonstrated by the above statements, the kinds of influence to which participants refer are varied. Participants affiliated with Islamic group like Fahrul and Hanafi emphasize influence over values (by propagating moral and religious values to others). Participants who are student activists like Amal emphasize the ability to win approval of others for their proposed ideas or goals. Whereas participants like Arya emphasize their influence over others in terms of opinions about certain specific issues.

The construction of politics as an act of influencing others can also be inferred from participants who emphasized expressing opinion as their form of participation in politics. For example, as expressed by Iswara.

Most of these [moderate] people just kept quiet. [They are] the silent majority. Those who speak are those who are small in numbers but very loud, noisy. And harsh…. Therefore this silent majority need to come out and speak. Don't just be quiet or being defensive against this bunch of [radical] people. (Iswara)

Iswara emphasized the importance of "speaking out", or expressing opinion, as necessary political action taken by public (who have moderate view of Islam) to combat radicalism. She argued it was the only way to stop the growth of radicalism in Indonesia. From this statement, it is clear that she understands politics in relation to influencing others' opinion.

This suggestion was reinforced by Zaenab who stated she used to have "argument fights" with her friends about political issues. She stated that she usually confronted her friends directly if they had disagreements over certain political issues by sharing articles or video clips (that negated her friends' arguments) in social media. By doing this, Zaenab tried to influence the political opinion of her friends. As she stated,

> Iswara and I often have different preferences, (for example) the political figures [who we support].... So when I received [negative] news about Ahok [political candidate which was supported by Iswara] in Instagram, short video clips, I shared it to her.... [in order] to have her response. (Zaenab)

However, youth's perception of politics as an act of influencing others doesn't necessarily mean that many participants perform this activity in their daily lives. Specifically in the context of expressing political opinion (i.e. influencing others opinion about politics), they were largely found to be reluctant, opting to avoid it (unless in the relatively few cases of participants whose statements are cited above). They were highly concerned about the consequence of this activity with regard to their relationships with others. For these participants, politics is in fact perceived as a struggle to resist influence (in the form of pressure to conform) from others. This will be further discussed in the next chapter (sub section 5.3.1. Roles of social media in facilitating political conversation).

4.2. Conclusions

This chapter has described the way youth perceive and construct politics, particularly at the time this research was conducted. The interview found five notable constructions of politics made by youth, i.e. politics were related to the expression of one's identity, politics is an amoral battle for power and fortunes, politics is a distorted version of reality, politics is "omnipresence" (or capillary in Foucault's term; this will be further discussed in Chapter 6), and politics is related to having an influence over others. All of these construction of politics indicate that youth in this research perceived politics as mostly related to negative things (serving personal interests, fragmenting/dividing society, manipulative) on one hand and pervasive in one's daily live (i.e. existing in any context of human relations and manifesting itself in the flow of influence from one individual to another) on the other hand.

The above construction of politics implies the following general feelings experienced by youth.

First, there is a widespread distrust toward politics among youth. As has already been extensively described, youth perceived politics as unavoidably involving unethical practices and perceived political actors as self-serving agents (including their fellow student activists). This political distrust eventually led youth to distance themselves from politics.

Second, there is an overwhelming sense of social disintegration caused by ethnic-religious based political polarization, which happened during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017. Youth generally felt a hostile attitude from "the other group". Some felt "the other group" had disrespected their beliefs; others felt "the other group" had discriminated against them. This sense of social disintegration had eventually fueled the fear of conflict with others among youth.

Third, there is an over-penetration of politics into youth's lives. Youth felt politics penetrated their daily lives through the flow of influence from others, which took place in various contexts of their relationships with others. This feeling is especially made prominent by the heated political polarization during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017. In that particular situation, in which each competing political camps attempted to exert influence over individuals, youth perceived politics as social pressure i.e. power exercised by others on them.

Under the above specific social and political circumstances, youth in this research used social media to engage with politics. Taking into account specific social and political context is important in analyzing social media's role in youth political participation since the specific social and political context determine the way social media is used and therefore also determine the role that social media play in that context.

According to social constructionist/ determinism perspective, socio-cultural and political context heavily determine the way technology is used. As stated by Jenkins, the question regarding what a culture chooses to do with any particular technology matters more than the question regarding the mere presence of technology for a given culture (2009, p. 7). Jenkins even further stated that together with communication technologies, socio-cultural and political contexts are integral parts of a media system. This is what he called as an ecological approach.

> "Rather than dealing with each technology in isolation, we would do better to take an ecological approach, thinking about the interrelationship among different communication technologies, the cultural communities that grow up around them, and the activities they

support. Media systems consist of communication technologies and the social, cultural, legal, political, and economic institutions, practices, and protocols that shape and surround them" (2009, p. 7).

Under the specific social and political context investigated in this research, social media was not found as fostering youth political participation, in contrast with the suggestion made by many studies in the literature (see subsection 2.5. Social media and political participation).

In fact, in the environment in which inter-groups relation was hostile as found in this research (since the election has turned into the contest of influence among social groups), social media was used as a battle ground for each groups to win influence over voters, including youth. On social media, these groups throwing harsh words and insults to each other which eventually spread out across social networks and finally were received by youth. This made social media operating as a channel for the flow of influence from the battling groups to youth. It eventually created pressure to youth which made them suppress their expression of opinion (out of fear of conflict with others).

Social media was also used in a way that support the pervasiveness of politics into youth's daily lives i.e. to connect with various conversation forums (such as family chat group, student organization chat group, or community chat group) in which political topics emerged sporadically. In the interview, some participants stated that many group chats that they were participated in often turned into political conversation forums in which members were forwarding articles or link to articles containing political contents, comments, political memes, or any other political messages. In this sense, social media facilitates individuals to act as political agents who bring in politics into daily social interactions by disseminating political information in their social networks.

Finally, social media was used by youth as an alternative channel of political information amidst distrust to the mainstream media. Youth turned to social media since the mainstream media was perceived as biased and partisan. Therefore, this act indicated youth's attempt to obtain a more balanced information. However, in a heavily polarized political situation based on group identity which happened in the studied case, alternative political information sought by youth might not necessarily the objective and the biased free one. As suggested by the theory of cognitive dissonance, people tend to maintain the harmonious state of their psychological

condition by adjusting what they know with what they believe (Festinger, 1962, p. 93). In line with this suggestion, rather than searching for more balanced information, youth might have turned to social media to find information which could confirm their pre-existing opinion and attitude (which were dominantly shaped by their affiliation with certain social groups). In this way, social media potentially fragmented youth's perception about politics even further, which eventually also trapped youth in the endemic atmosphere of political polarization.

In the subsequent chapters, the way youth use social media to engage with politics at the time of political polarization which happened in the studied case will be further elaborated. In short, under specific political circumstances studied in this research, social media didn't provide youth with environment supportive for participation. Instead of growing youth's confidence to participate in civic-political activities by providing an informal learning environment (Jenkins, 2009), social media in fact stimulated youth's insecure feeling by exposing them to the threat of receiving insults and social isolation from others. And instead of facilitating youth's collaboration with others via the behaviour of sharing and making connections (Kahne et al., 2013), social media in fact facilitated youth's confrontation with the hostile others.

Chapter 5

Social Media-Facilitated Political Participation

This chapter will present analysis on the roles of social media in facilitating youth political participation. In order to do so, this chapter will first describe the findings from survey regarding popular civic-political activites participated by youth using social media (those activities will be ranked based on the number of respondents participated). Secondly, this chapter will compare youth's participation in civic-political activities using social media and their participation in similar civic-political activities without social media (based on survey). The purpose is to find suggestion about the roles of social media in facilitating youth participation in those civic-political activities. The analysis will be complemented by data from the interview.

In doing the analysis, the researcher uses the concept of media affordances (Hutchby, 2001) and the lens of civic voluntarism model proposed by Verba et al. (1995) and its developed version for social media context proposed by Kahne et al. (2013).

5.1. Youth participation in social media-facilitated political activities

Based on survey[14] majority of respondents had participated in activities related to involvement with political discourse using social media, such as expressing opinion, sharing information or forwarding articles, clicking likes, or engaging in discussion[15]. However, other activities were found to be participated by only a few respondents.

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[14] The questions regarding civic-political activities and social-media uses for civic political activities initially provide four options of answer based on an ordinal scale. Those four options are: never, never but I am likely to do it in the future, have done it once, and have done it more than once. However, for the purpose comparison among these activities, the researcher merged respondents' responses and transformed them into just two nominal measures: have participated and have never participated.

[15] Specifically for these four questions, the questionnaire provides answers with different wording compared to the other questions about social media-facilitated political participation. The wording of answers for these questions are: never, seldom, often, and always. This is to accommodate the different characteristics of these four activities compared to other social media-facilitated political activities (respondents have the daily opportunity to carry out these four activities compared to other activities which are more occasional).

The survey found that civic political activities mostly participated by respondents on social media was expressing opinion about politics (73.6%) followed by endorsing political contents posted by others by retweeting or clicking likes (69.4%), and sharing information or forwarding articles containing political contents (67.2%). However, it is also important to note that in terms of frequency, large number of respondents identified themselves as "seldom" participating in these activities (43.8% of respondents seldom express opinion about politics on social media, 32.8% respondents seldom endorse political contents posted by others on social media, and 37% respondents seldom forward articles containing political contents on social media).

Meanwhile, civic political activities least participated by respondents on social media was contacting influential figures in which only 18.5% reported they had done this at least once. It is followed by persuading others to vote for a certain candidate/political party (26.8%) and connecting with local community activities (30.6%).

The complete list of respondents' participation in social media-facilitated political activities is provided in the table below.

Table 5.1. Youth's participation in civic-political activities using social media

No	Activities	Percentage of respondents who have participated
1	Using social media to express opinion/thoughts about politics	73.60%
2	Using social media to endorse political contents posted by others (by retweeting, clicking likes, etc.)	69.40%
3	Using social media to share information or link to information containing political content	67.20%
4	Using social media to engage in political debates/discussion	62.60%
5	Using social media to connect with student association	55.90%
6	Using social media to support a certain cause (by subscribing, liking page, or following news update from an advocacy group)	46.80%
7	Using social media to display support to a certain candidate or party	41.10%

8	Sign an online petition circulated in social media	33.50%
9	Using social media to connect with community activities (for example joining neighborhood chat group)	30.60%
10	Using social media to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party	26.80%
11	Using social media to contact influential figures (politicians, political analysts/commentators, religious leaders, social media influencers, journalists)	18.50%

Graphic 5.1.
Youth's participation in civic-political activities using social media
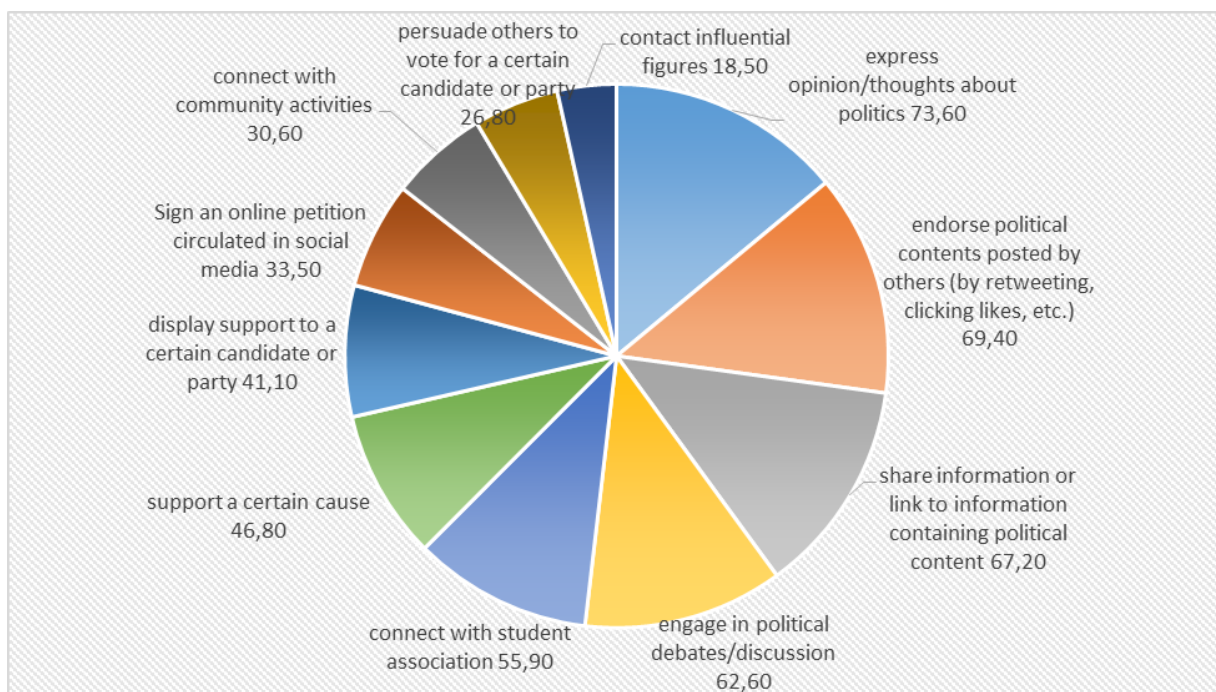
As a comparison, the researcher also measured youth's participation in similar civic-political activities conducted without social media. These comparisons were then used as a starting point to analyze the roles of social media in affecting youth's participation in those activities (this will be elaborated further on subsection 5.3. Roles of social media in facilitating youth political participation). The results are summarized in the table below.

Table 5.2. Youth's participation in general civic-political activities (without social media)

No	Activities	Percentages of respondents who have participated
1	Participating in events/ activities organized by student association	56,30%
2	Expressing your thoughts about politics	51,30%
3	Participating in activities organized by religious organizations (mosque, church, etc)	45,30%
4	Participating in voluntary groups (such as NGO, community foundations, etc)	40,40%
5	Participating in local community activities (such as events in your neighborhood)	32,50%
6	Giving charity or donating money to a cause	35,20%
7	Persuading others to vote for a certain candidate or party	29,50%
8	Participating in activities supporting a cause	29,10%
9	Signing a petition or work with others to advocate an issue	24,20%
10	Doing anything else to help out a party or candidate running in the election	19,30%
11	Contacting news media	12,40%
12	Participating in political campaign such as attending campaign's meeting/ gathering/ rally, displaying campaign button, etc	15,50%
13	Contacting government, politicians, or elected officials at any level (including the leaders of local neighborhood unit)	13,60%
14	Attending a demonstration or a street protest	9.40%
15	Buying or not buying a product for a political reason (boycotting)	9,40%

Graphic 5.2.
Youth's participation in general civic-political activities (without using social media)
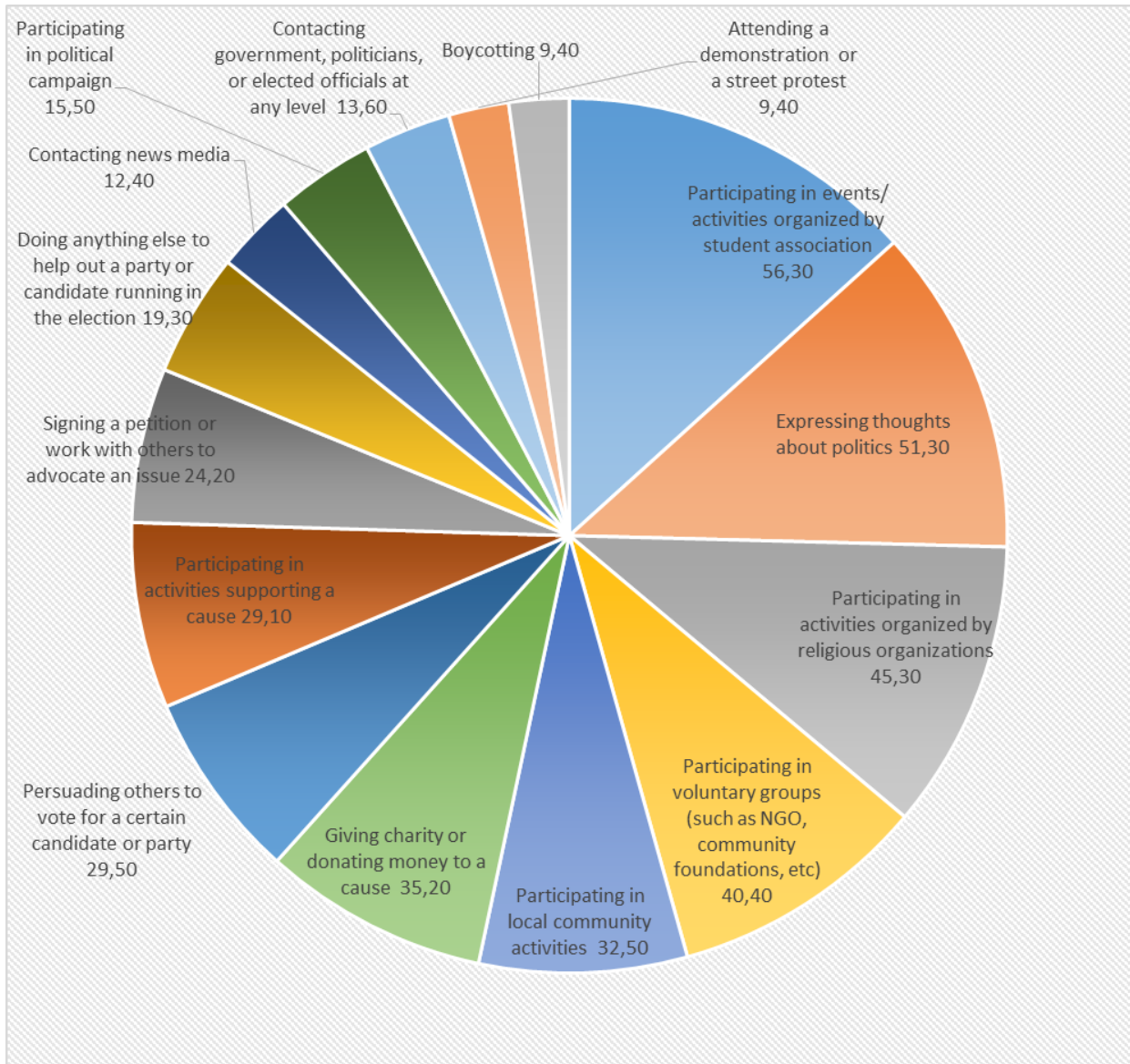
5.2. Roles of social media in facilitating youth political participation

This section will propose an analysis regarding the roles of social media in facilitating civic-political activities conducted by youth. This analysis is based on the comparison between

youth's participation in civic political activities without using social media and youth's participation in similar activities with social media. To simplify the analysis, the researcher classify the analysis into three categories of social media activity i.e. social media uses for political conversation, social media uses for supporting social and political campaign, and social media uses for connecting with communities/ organizations. Therefore, the analysis regarding the roles of social media in facilitating youth's civic political activities are grouped into those three categories of activity.

5.2.1. Roles of social media in facilitating political conversation

The category of political conversation contains four most popular activities participated by youth (in terms of number of respondents who have participated), i.e. expressing opinion about politics (73.6%), endorsing political contents posted by others by retweeting or clicking likes (69.4%), forwarding articles or sharing information/link to information containing political contents (67.2%), and engaging in political discussion/debates (62.6%).

All of these activities are higher than respondents' participation in expressing political opinion without social media. From the survey, only 51.3% respondents reported they had engaged in expressing political opinion without the use of social media(see table 5.2.). These higher numbers of social media activity compared to similar activities conducted without social media are arguably a consequence of the affordances that social media offer to users in carrying out conversation in more diverse and efficient ways (including providing the option of activity that requires less effort such as forwarding articles or clicking 'likes').

However, it is also important to highlight that in terms of frequency, these activities were carried out by respondents of whom the majority reported they seldom participated in these activities. The details are in the table below.

Table 5.3. Frequency of respondents participating
in social media-facilitated political conversation

Social-media uses	Never	Seldom	Often	Regularly
Endorsing political content posted by others (by retweeting, clicking likes, etc.)	81 (30.6%)	87 (32.8%)	74 (27.9%)	21 (7.9%)

Expressing opinion/thoughts about politics	70 (26.4%)	116 (43.8%)	55 (20.8%)	22 (8.3%)
Sharing information or link to information containing political contents	87 (32.8%)	98 (37%)	57 (21.5%)	20 (7.5%)
Engaging in political debates/ discussion	99 (37.4%)	98 (37%)	43 (16.2%)	23 (8.7%)

Interestingly, the interviews further revealed that participants emphasized their reluctance to participate in any activities related to social media-facilitated political conversation. Participants tend to refrain from expressing political opinion on social media, but keep their engagement with politics via the activity of monitoring political information (this will be elaborated on in the subsequent chapter).

From the interviews, the main reason for participants' reluctance to participate in these activities was to avoid conflict with others. Participants viewed politics had become sensitive topics to talk about in Indonesia, as a result of political polarization that occurred. In participants' observation, others around them are becoming more and more susceptible to anger when discussing politics. Thus, they opted to refrain from participating in political conversation on social media.

This tendency to 'remain silent', can be seen in the following participants' statements.

People now are easily triggered by emotion [of anger]. I understand that there is something [in politics] that they are passionate about. But if we misspeak, even for only a bit, others would attack us…. Lot of problems could come from misspoken of words at the moment. (David)

In the eyes of public, I want to be seen as completely neutral. I don't want to show any indication. Because everyone is sensitive at the moment, conflict is easily happened. That's why I prefer to show that I am neutral. (Dania)

[If I posted any political contents on social media] it would just make me being 'politically identified' by others…. That's why I don't display [any political contents] on social media. Maybe I am still considering to express it in other spheres. (Rosyid)

As indicated by statements made by Dania and Rosyid above, some participants were not even considering clicking likes or forwarding articles containing political content. This is because, despite these activities only subtly expressing their opinions, they were concerned

others would still be able to recognize their inclination toward certain political camps. Thus, these examples illustrate the level of participants' reluctance in giving away their opinion on social media well.

Some participants also revealed that they felt more comfortable expressing their opinions face-to-face. Participants felt that they could 'control' conversation better face-to-face. They could, for example, select people whom they wanted to receive their messages. They could also better 'read' people's reactions to their messages, so they could quickly adjust to that reaction. They could also better clarify their ideas, considering they could use more communication cues face-to-face compared to social media.

> I am willing to discuss politics only with friends. Because if I made mistake, I can quickly apologize. With others that I don't know [on social media], that would be very complicated haha (David)

> I am typical of person who prefer to discuss things directly face-to-face rather than using social media. Because for me, it [social media] is very limited. Effective communication is when everything is open. I mean, on social media, we can type a laughing icon but we don't really laugh. Or we might say something that look rude [on text], but we are actually just joking, but others had already found it offensive. (Aldo)

> Having a debate on social media is useless. If I want to have a debate, it is better to meet [face-to-face] in a forum. For me, doing debate on social media is just useless. (Nita)

The other reason provided by participants for not participating in social media-facilitated political conversation is the threat of legal suit. Based on Indonesia's Law of Electronic Information and Transaction, anyone who posts content that contains insult or defamation toward other individuals or posts content that contains hostility toward other individuals or groups based on their religious, ethnicity, race, or social groups could face six years' imprisonment and a fine for a maximum of one billion rupiah (about NZD 100,000)[16].

In fact, since its inception in 2008, this law has processed 52.6% of cases from the total of 245 cases reported to authorities. From the cases that had been processed, only 6.12% of the charges were dropped[17]; demonstrating the threat posed by this law to its violator. One of the

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[16] Based on Law Number 19 of 2016, article 45A point (2). Document accessed (in Indonesian) from Government's official website at https://web.kominfo.go.id/sites/default/files/users/4761/UU%2019%20Tahun%202016.pdf.

[17] https://tirto.id/betapa-kecilnya-peluang-untuk-lepas-dari-jerat-uu-ite-cVUm ["the very small chances of escaping the Law of Electronic Information and Transaction"]

person put in prison based on this law is Buni Yani, a lecturer who posted a video clip of Ahok's speech (and added his own text allegedly inciting Muslims to protest Ahok) on social media.

Participants concerned about this regulation for example was expressed by Aldo,

> Since the sphere in social media is getting more and more reduced, anything could lead to the accusation of rebelling, anything could end up with detention and the likes, so I really filter out things [that I post on social media].

Interestingly, other participants said they were not too concerned about this regulation. According to them, the regulation is needed to limit the circulation of hate speech and fake news on social media. Some participants also stated that people should indeed be legally accountable for what they post on social media. This is shown, for example, by the following participants.

> In my opinion, someone who is a real activist would not be afraid (of any legal threat). As long he has a valid data [before he express his opinion], I don't see it would be a problem. I mean, any content should be accountable right? (Farid)

> Up to now, I support the regulation. The reason is, even though we have the rights to express opinion, there should be a limit [of freedom of expression]…. Especially to combat fake news. In my opinion, if the fake news proliferate on social media, it would only make youth apathy to politics…. The fact is, even with the enforcement of regulation, there are still many irresponsible accounts on social media who spread slander or aggression toward others (Utami)

> I think it is the right thing…. If we want to express ourselves, that is still allowed. But we also need to understand what content that we can publish. We should not publish content, which eventually affect society negatively…. We don't need to be afraid [to the threat of regulation]. (Bertha)

The above descriptions show that there are mixed responses from participants regarding their concern of legal threat in relation to its impact on their motivation to express opinion on social media. Some said the law made them worried while others said it didn't bother them.

In contrast, there was less disagreement in participants' perception about the negative impact on their social interaction with others in expressing opinion on social media. Participants generally felt that discussion about politics with others on social media could lead to conflict since people were heavily polarized. Moreover, the polarization was centered on the issue of religious identity, which matters deeply for most of the people around them. This fear of creating conflict with others eventually led participants to suppress their expressions on social media.

In sum, this research concludes, from the survey, there is an indication that social media actually had the potential to encourage youth participation in political conversation, as suggested from the higher number of respondents who have participated in activities of opinion expression using social media than those who have participated in opinion expression without it. Using the concept of media affordances, this research sees social media provide youth with greater opportunity to engage with political conversation activities.

However, a heavy political polarization that occurred during the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 is suspected had suppressed youth's willingness to express their political opinion on social media. The interview revealed that participants were less willing to give away their opinion on social media compared to in face-to-face situation. This research identifies two main reasons for youth's disfavor of using social media to express their political opinion compared to doing it face-to-face. First, social media doesn't give youth a 'sense of control' when they engage in political conversation. Youth generally felt they couldn't control who the recipients of their messages were, could not properly read the reaction of others to their messages, and couldn't convey what they really meant by their expression. Second, social media, in fact, gave youth a 'sense of being watched' by others who constantly pressured them to conform to their opinion, or face the risk of receiving a hostile reaction.

In the first case (social media doesn't give youth a sense of control), it is demonstrated that social media does not only provide affordances for youth to perform certain actions, but also, in contrary, could impose constraint on certain actions to be taken. In this case, social media impose constrain to perform complex communication (engaging in political discussions) which requires the ability to use various communication cues.

In the second case (social media gave youth a 'sense of being watched' by others), social media provide youth with an 'imagined affordances' that it enables others to perform surveillance on them. This 'imagined affordances' in turns affect the way youth approach social media, specifically in relation to the activity of expressing opinion.

As a conclusion, based on the above propositions, the researcher proposes that despite social media technically making political expression easier for youth, it also provides youth with a vulnerable environment for opinion expression that eventually suppresses their willingness to perform this activity.

5.3.2. Roles of social media in facilitating social and political campaigns

In the category of social and political campaign, there are using social media to support a certain cause (ranked 6th out of 11), using social media to display support to a certain candidate or party (ranked 7th out of 11), signing online petitions circulated on social media (ranked 8th out of 11) and using social media to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party (ranked 10th out of 11).

Compared with similar activities (participating in social and political campaign) effected by respondents without social media (see table 5.2. Participation in civic-political activities without social media), the above social media-facilitated activities are quite clearly participated in by more respondents. As shown in the following breakdown.

1. Using social media to support a certain cause had more participating respondents (46.8%) than giving to charity or donating money to a cause (36.2%) or participating in activities supporting a cause (29.1%).

2. Using social media to display support to a certain candidate or party had, by far, more participating respondents (41.1%) than participating in a political campaign by attending meeting/gathering/rally or wearing a campaign button (15.5% participated) and other activities relating to contributing to a party or candidate running in the election (19.3%).

3. Signing an online petition circulated on social media had more participating respondents (33.5%) than advocating an issue by signing a petition or working with others (24.2%).

Based on the above comparisons, it is reasonable to say that social media has facilitated youth participation in social-political campaign activities as indicated by its ability to draw a larger number of youths participating in these activities through social media compared to doing them without social media. Using the concept of media affordances, the researcher argues that social media facilitates youth's involvement in social-political campaign activities through two ways.

First, social media provides affordances by offering options of activity that are less of an effort compared with similar activities conducted offline. This is, for example, exhibited by the activity of supporting a certain cause by clicking a button of support (liking page, retweeting),

which is less of an effort compared with participating in the event supporting the same cause. The same argument could be applied on the uses of social media to display support for a certain candidate or party, which is less of an effort compared to attending a meeting or any other events of political campaign. Unfortunately, the interview did not find enough evidence from participants to support this claim. However, there was a subtle indication that participants turned to social media as a much more "doable" option for participating in this kind of activity.

In the interview, participants, generally, demonstrated their willingness to participate in activities related to social campaign as a gesture of their willingness to contribute for the betterment of community/society. However, for "some reasons", they hadn't been involved in these activities except the ones conducted using social media.

> Actually, I am not often participating in social campaign [offline].… Just sharing [information about] social campaign on social media sometimes. (Kara)

> Yes, I did participate in that kind of activity [supporting campaign on social media], but it was not related to politics.… I forgot what exactly the issue was, but it was a kind of social awareness campaign.… For any other activities [of supporting social campaign carried out in offline environment], no [I have never participated in]. (Dania)

Second, social media enables youth participation by bringing opportunities of doing these activities closer for youth. This is suggested by some participants stating they took part in signing a petition online just because they 'found it' on social media.

> I think social media is very useful for us. To share information and knowledge. Helping us to open our mind. To think more critical. For example, just recently I found change.org. I think it is something very good. Involving us in signing petition. I don't know whether it would have effect, but I did take part in signing the petition. I hope it will make change. (Kenny)

> I signed petition on social media for example on the issue of 'Sari Roti' (the bread factory which was accused of discriminating against Ahok's protesters).… And also on the issue of 'Metro TV' (National TV Station, which was accused of broadcasting biased news in its support for Ahok). Since those petitions were there on social media (Zaenab)

Nonetheless, social media was not found helpful in terms of persuading others to vote for a certain candidate/political party in which a relatively equal number of respondents participated (26.8%) compared with persuading others to vote without the use of social media (29.5%; see

table 5.2. Participation in offline civic-political activities). Hence, social media does not increase the number of youth participating in this type of activity.

In fact, the interview revealed that participants preferred face-to-face than using social media when performing this activity. One participant stated that he felt persuasion was more effective if it was carried out face-to-face. He felt that he could influence others better in face-to-face communication since he could use non-verbal cues better compared with doing it through social media. Therefore, specifically for the activity of persuading others to vote for a candidate/political party, social media does not make this activity easier and even limits youths' ability to do so by providing much more limited communication cues compared to face-to-face.

Using the concept of media affordances, in the above case social media constrain activities relating to persuading others to be carried out. Persuading others, just like engaging in political conversations, is a complex communication activity that require communicator to use any available communication cues. Social media provides very little of these communication cues to be used.

As stated by Kenny,

In my opinion, the capacity of social media is not enough to accommodate me in influencing others. For that [persuading others], I have to communicate directly [to others] eyes-to-eyes. (Kenny)

As a conclusion, this research suggests that social media, in general, does encourage youth participation in social and political campaign activities, with the exception of persuading others to vote for a candidate/political party. Social media does that by providing options of activity that are less of an effort compared with similar activities without using social media, and also by bringing the opportunities to participate in these activities closer for youth. Specific to the activity of persuading others to vote for a candidate/political party, the affordances provided by social media could not compensate the need for 'eyes-to-eyes contact' required by youth in carrying out this activity.

5.3.3. Roles of social media in facilitating youth connection with communities/organizations

Activities included in this group are social-media uses for connecting with student organizations and social-media uses for connecting with local community activities. The purpose

of including these activities in the analysis was to understand the role of social media in facilitating youth participation in community activities. Communities and organizations (including student organizations) are the locus in which individuals develop their sense of awareness about the interests of the community and receive invitations to participate in activities advocating these interests (Verba et al., 1995, p. 369). Thus, engagement with communities and organizations is expected to closely relate to youth participation in civic-political activities in the broader contexts.

Social media was expected to make youth engagement with organizations and communities more likely by allowing them to be connected virtually via social media. In relation to that, this research compared social media uses by youth to connect with communities/organizations and youth participation in activities/events organized by communities and organizations without social media. The expectation was that the activities (of connecting with communities/ organization) with social-media would be higher than the ones without social media (suggesting that social media enables more youth to connect with organizations/communities). However, the findings did not support the above proposition. The number of respondents who had used social media to connect with organizations/communities was not higher than those who had participated in events organized by organizations/communities. In fact, the paired variables were almost identical in terms of the number of respondents who participated in the paired activities. This holds true for both student organizations and local communities.

Table 5.4. Engagement with student organizations with and without social media

No	Activities	Never and are not likely to do it in the future	Never, but I am likely to do it in the future	Have done it once	Have done it more than once
1	Participated/involved in activities organized by student association	38 (14.3%)	67 (25.3%)	69 (25.7%)	81 (30.6%)
2	Using social media to connect with student association	54 (20.4%)	59 (22.3%)	67 (25.3%)	81 (30.6%)

Similar results were also obtained in terms of youth connection with local communities. The number of respondents who had participated in local community activities (32.5%) is relatively equal to those who used social media to connect with communities (30.6%) . Therefore, this result suggest that it is very likely that social media facilitates youth connection with local communities only for those who have already participated in the community.

Table 5.5. Engagement with local communities with and without social media

No	Activities	Never and are not likely to do it in the future	Never, but I am likely to do it in the future	Have done it once	Have done it more than once
1	Participating in local community activities (such as events in your neighborhood)	65 (24.5%)	100 (37.7%)	55 (20.8%)	33 (12.5%)
2	Using social media to participate in community activities (for example joining neighborhood chat group)	88 (33.2%)	92 (34.7%)	49 (18.5%)	32 (12.1%)

The above findings indicate that despite providing affordance for youth to be connected online with student organizations and communities, social media in fact does not increase the number of youth engaging in these activities online through social media compared to the ones engaging with these activities offline without social media.

One possible explanation for the above findings is that to connect with student organizations or local communities online through social media, respondents were required to make an initial offline engagement such as attending events or registering for membership. This offline engagement is sometimes demanded by the organization's committee from a new member as a gesture of his/ her commitment to engage with the organization.

This is for example as demonstrated by participant's statement below.

Social media is only a virtual world, not the real world. Precisely because of that, I prefer members to prove their commitment in real world first, then we can talk about connection in the online world later. Because in my neighborhood, they (members of the local community organization) live quite scattered. So, I want those who live far away to come close. (Broto)

As a conclusion, based on the above findings from the survey and interview, this research conclude that social media doesn't found to be encouraging nor discouraging youth to be more participative in communities/ organizations. .Even though there is a suggestion that social media facilitates youth who have already connected offline with organizations and communities to be connected online. However, due to lack of evidence, this research could not offer a solid explanation regarding the role of social media in affecting youth's engagement with the communities/ organizations.

5.4. Conclusions

This chapter had presented the analysis regarding the roles of social media in facilitating youth civic political activities by comparing those activities conducted by youth with and without social media. Both the concept of media affordances and the lens of civic voluntarism model were incorporated in analyzing the findings generated from survey and interview. Using those two, this research investigated the roles of social media by asking what actions are enabled (by providing resources and opportunity to participate, or eliminating the barrier of participation) and are constraint (by impoverishing required resources to participate) by the use of social media.

The analysis is grouped into three categories of activity: political conversation, social and political campaign, and connection/engagement with organizations/communities. With the exception of some activities, in general, social media was found to broaden youth participation in these civic-political activities. However, social media played a distinct roles in each of these activities.

First, social media invites more youth to participate in activities related to political conversation compared to similar activities carried out without social media, as demonstrated by a higher number of respondents who had participated in political conversation activities through

social media compared to those who had participated in similar activities without social media. Therefore, social media provide affordances for youth's participation in political conversation by enabling this action to be carried out online through social media. Kahne et al. (2013, p. 3) previously posited that online participatory cultures facilitated by social media provide young citizens with opportunities to discuss and gain information about political topics, thus motivating interest to participate in political life. In line with that proposition, this research proposes that social media facilitates political conversation by providing youth with opportunities and stimulation to get involved in political conversation carried out by other users (especially friends) in their social networks.

Borrowing both the concept of media affordances and the civic voluntarism model, this research also argues that social media enabling participation by eliminating the barrier of resources which are required inoffline political conversation. Civic voluntarism model formulated that resources, in particular civic skills, provide the capital without which such participation is meaningless (Verba et al., 1995, p. 354). Verba et al. further stated that those who have better civic skills, which include organizational and/or communication capacities to conduct political activities, would have the higher confidence in exercising those skills in political activity and be more capable of participating in a more effective way (1995, p. 305). Social media has made the skills required to contribute to political conversation much more accessible for youth by providing options of action such as giving brief comment on comments section, forwarding articles, or clicking endorsement button (e.g. 'likes' button).

However, the low rates of these political conversation activities carried out by respondents (the mode of respondents' answer to the question of participating in debate on social media was 'never', meanwhile the mode of respondents' answers to the other three social media-political conversation activities was 'seldom'), in line with the results of the interview, which saliently portrayed participants' reluctance to express their political opinion on social media, suggest a factor specific to the context of the research needs to be considered. The interview revealed that a specific context is the heavy political polarization that occurred in the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017, during which this research was conducted. Political polarization was found profoundly impacting youth motivation to express their political opinion on social media (as well

as expressing it in other spheres). Political polarization had made youth worried that they would be involved in conflict with others should they express their political opinion.

In the circumstance of political polarization, social media was even found to be exacerbating youth's fear of expressing opinion. Social media was found to be providing youth with a vulnerable environment for opinion expression in which youth sensed 'a lack of control' in engaging in political conversation (couldn't control the recipients of their messages, couldn't properly read the reaction of others to their messages, and couldn't convey what they really meant by their expression) and experienced the 'feeling of being watched' by others.

Second, social media also draws more youth to participate in social-political campaign activities (i.e. supporting a certain cause and signing petition) compared with similar activities carried out without social media (with the exception of persuading others to vote for political candidates/parties). This research proposes, social media provides affordances by giving more doable options for youth to participate in social-political campaign compared with similar activities carried out offline without social media. As suggested by participants in the interview, the light and effortless characteristic of social media activities helped them to participate in supporting a cause via social media, that they wouldn't have managed to do it offline. In this regard, social media facilitates youth participation in social-political campaign activities not by elevating youth capacity to perform these actions as proposed by Kahne et al. (2013, p. 12), but by eliminating the barrier of resources (time, money, effort) normally demanded by these activities in an offline environment (Verba et al., 1995, pp. 16, 354).

This research also proposes that social media brings opportunities to participate in these activities closer to youth. As the interview revealed, participants participated in signing petitions online since they 'found' these petitions on social media. Thus, this research provides support for the proposition made by Kahne et al. (2013, p. 12) that social media facilitates recruitment into civic and political life.

The only exception was the activity of persuading others to vote for political candidates/parties in which there were slightly more respondents who hade participated in these activities offline compared to those who had participated online through social media. The interview provided one possible explanation for this: social media constrain participants' ability to carry out this activity by providing only impoverished resources, i.e. communication cues

(participants especially mention the lack of 'eyes contact' on social media), to be used. It is interesting to note that participants associated the act of persuading others as the activity that needed 'intimate communication', for which face-to-face interaction is viewed as the most ideal medium.

Third, social media didn't found to be increasing nor decreasing the chance of youth engaging with communities/organizations. This category of activity is participated by more or less equal number of respondents either using or without using social media. Therefore it is concluded that social media didn't found to be facilitating nor inhibiting youth's participation in organizations/ communities' activities.

Finally, the researcher highlights political conversation activities facilitated by social media as the findings worth further elaboration. This is because findings in these activities present a stark contradiction. On one hand, these activities were found to be the activities participated in by most respondents. Activities related to political conversation were also dominantly referred to by participants (all participants talked about the way they did, or did not do, activities related to political conversation such as sharing articles, giving comments, posting status) in the interview when they were openly asked about their uses of social media for political activities. However, on the other hand, these activities were also saliently mentioned as activities to be avoided on social media (supported by the respondents' low rates of engagement in these activities, based on the survey). The interview further revealed that youth participation in these activities was suppressed by the political polarization that occurred during the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 (during which time this research was conducted).

This made the researcher bring the thesis proposed by Henry Jenkins into discussion. Earlier, Jenkins proposed that digital media facilitates the development of participatory cultures among youth, which essentially points to the culture of sharing, collaboration, and informal mentorship, creating a supportive environment for youth to develop their civic skills and restore their perception of self-disempowerment (Jenkins, 2009). These cultures, Jenkins stated, will eventually foster youth participation in civic and political life. However, this research found precisely the opposite: social media provides youth with a vulnerable environment in which they are exposed to the threat of social isolation, hostile attitudes from others, and even racial and religious abuse, which are all harmful for youth participation.

In fact, the interview further revealed another form of political activity that was saliently mentioned by participants, concomitant with youth reluctance to engage in political conversation. That activity is the act of monitoring political conversation. This will be discussed at length in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 6

The Act of Monitoring Political Conversation on Social Media

as an Alternative Form of Political Participation

The previous chapter reported the finding that youth's tendency for participating in various forms of social media-facilitated political participation is considerably low. This chapter will explain another form of social media-facilitated political participation - the act of *monitoring political conversation* – which emerged from the interviews as a salient but unanticipated finding, thus untapped by the survey. This action is actually part of the broader activity of *monitoring politics*. However, given the greater relevance of the act of monitoring political conversation over monitoring politics generally (i.e. the act of monitoring political information), this chapter focuses mainly on the former activity.

The researcher is fully aware that calling the act of monitoring politics a form of political participation could raise many criitiques. However, the researcher argues that the act of monitoring politics is a form of involvement in political affairs. More specifically, it is a form of citizen participation in political discourse, and thus involvement in the process of public opinion formation. This definition of political participation corresponds to the idea of deliberative democracy (Teorell, 2006, pp. 788–790), and can therefore be regarded as a form of political participation in its own right.

6.1. The act of monitoring politics as the preferred form of social media-facilitated political participation

A dominant theme revealed by the interview about participants' use of social-media for civic-political related activities is what they generally called as "monitoring issues". This research found two forms of monitoring political action: first, the act of monitoring political information or surveilling the political environment; second, the act of monitoring political conversation.

The first form of action, the act of monitoring political information or surveilling the political environment, means youth actively monitor or surveil political events or situations as they happen. The term 'surveillance' in this sense is similar to the one commonly refered to in uses and gratification studies, which means the scanning of information about the surrounding environment (McQuail, 2010).

> I prefer to read rather than to post anything [on social media]. So my actvitiy is more like monitoring information about current situation. I prefer monitoring rather than commenting. Or post anything about my self, which I almost never do. But, I do read [on social media] very often. Observing situation. Reading the news that are trending today. And keep monitoring the trend on the following day. (Rosyid)

> I watch YouTube, I observe news…. Basically [to see] what's trending. (Kenny)

> Twitter is the app that I frequently open everyday. I use twitter to monitor news, political news, sports, and others. (Banu)

As indicated by the above participants' statements, youth scan the political situation happening in their immediate environment to make them aware of any updates. Even though this activity might look passive, it prepares youth with the knowledge and awareness necessary for carrying out political actions in the future. The act of monitoring can be also considered a substitution for youth engagement with politics in the environment of extreme political polarization that suppresses youth's motivation to participate in politics (this will be further elaborated later).

Furthermore, the act of monitoring political information or surveilling the political environment could potentially lead youth to fulfil Michael Schudson's (2002) conceptual model of "the monitorial citizen".

> The monitorial citizen engages in environmental surveillance more than information-gathering. Picture parents watching small children at the community pool. They are not gathering information; they are keeping an eye on the scene. They look inactive, but they are poised for action if action is required. The monitorial citizen is not an absentee citizen but watchful, even while he or she is doing something else. (Schudson, 2002, p. 311)

According to Schudson, the monitorial citizen is a modified form of the informed citizenship model. Different from the informed citizenship model, which idealizes the knowledgeable citizen who is cognitively able to process various complex political information, the monitorial citizen only requires a general awareness about the ongoing dynamics of the

political situation, which prepares them for taking required political action if needed. This proposition makes the monitorial citizen as a more realistic model compared to the informed citizen. As stated by Schudson,

> Monitorial citizens scan (rather than read) the informational environment in a way so that they may be alerted on a very wide variety of issues for a very wide variety of ends and may be mobilized around those issues in a large variety of ways. (Schudson, 2002, p. 310)

However, as has already mentioned, the focus of analysis in this chapter is the second form of monitoring politics i.e. the act of monitoring political conversation. This typically involves the active surveillance of the opinion of others, especially peers, over social media. Youth surveil political conversations to understand the way people in their surroundings think, feel, and react to the political events/situations that happen. Young people then use this information to self-navigate their own way through future political conversations (online or offline) especially with the people that they observe. Thus, youth surveil opinion of others in order to 'conserve' their social interaction with others, especially during times of extreme political polarization, such as when this research was conducted. In fact, the act of surveilling the opinion of others was eventually found to be repressing youth political expression (this will be extensively discussed later).

Youth's tendency to surveil the opinion of others through monitoring political conversation on social media are expressed by participants in the examples below.

> [By browsing social media] I just want to know the opinion of certain people that I follow [on social media] (Utami).

> Yes, I read them [expressions about politics made by her friends on social media]. Sometimes I read even the whole thread of comments. That way I can see the various responses made by others. The ones who support Ahok. The ones who made insult. That's why I don't want to put my comment on social media. Because it's too public. We also don't know whether it [a certain argument] is really true or not. So enough for me just to know. I don't want to take any part. (Zaenab)

While monitoring politics is a common political practice for youth looking to navigate their political environments, the participants in this study offered a distinct way of framing this activity that is specific to the Indonesian cultural context. Many participants discussed the

activity of monitoring politics, especially the activity of monitoring political conversation, in terms of 'kepo' which is commonly understood as the drive to stay up to date with social trends. This is significant since it provide a hint about the nature of their engagement with politics. The following section discusses the role of 'kepo' in more detail, suggesting that this culturally distinct concept is a central, yet underrepresented driver, of youth political conversation monitoring.

6.2. 'Kepo' as the driver of youth's monitoring of political conversation

Based on the interviews, one particular word frequently expressed by participants when they discussed their act of monitoring political conversation on social media is 'kepo'. 'Kepo' is an Indonesian slang word that has been used by Indonesian youth since around 2012[18]. There is no credible up-to-date source that provides a direct translation or meaning for this word. However, from the way this word is used in daily conversation, the researcher subjectively understands it to mean curios or curiosity ('kepo' is used both as a noun and as an adjective). The use of 'kepo' appears in the following examples:

> Yeah what's trending you can say. What is happening. (Feeling of) *kepo*. We want to know right? There is curiosity in us. (Kenny)
>
> I indeed had tracked others' comments in details. I just want to know how people respond (to a particular political matter).... Just for me to know.... I felt *kepo* to follow the comments into the details. (Zaenab)
>
> What has intrigued me the most (from news in social media) is the comments, it is the 'netizen's' (responses) that make me feel *kepo*. (Indah)
>
> You mean if I am *kepo* about something? I usually go to Instagram and Twitter.... Moreover there's explore menu on Intagram. (Utami)

Based on the way participants used this word in the interview, 'kepo' can be understood in at least two ways.

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[18] Based on researcher's observation on several blogs and discussion forums. However, the researcher couldn't find any single credible source that can be used to explain the origin of this word.

First, the use of 'kepo' suggests an obsession with keeping up with what others are talking about – especially one's peers. This meaning of kepo is, for example, expressed by Kenny above as a desire to know information about 'what's happening'. This is also demonstrated in the Utami's remarks, as well: "How Instagram caught me is like, for example, when I am kepo and then by accident I find something on the 'Explore' menu, and then I go check it out."

As Utami explained, social media (specifically Instagram) facilitates her 'kepo' through the 'Explore' feature. Using this feature, she explores information about trending events or issues, especially amongst her friends. Thus, 'kepo' in this sense includes an impulse to know what people in their surrounding know (and talked about).

Second, it can also be defined as an obsession to know information about others' personal lives, i.e. their activities, their feelings, or the situation that they are facing. This meaning of 'kepo' can be found in the following participants' statements.

> So sometimes I feel like I need to know what happen to others that are not by my side. If they are [by my side], surely I don't need to *kepoin* them on social media. (Amal)

> Moreover on Instagram…. It is my impulse to see the lives of others. (To know) what they are doing. Doing *kepo*. That way I can learn new information. (Ananda)

> In that regard [posting something on social media], I am a conservative person haha. I only have two posted photos on Instagram. But I like doing *kepo* on others (on social media) haha. (Kenny).

In the particular context of participants' engagement with politics on social media, the researcher found a similar motivation or impulse (i.e. motivation to know what others are saying, thinking, and feeling) drives participants' behavior in monitoring political conversation. This is suggested in the following statements:

> On social media, for example, on the issue of Al Maidah [the Koran defamation case] or about the street rally [protesting the defamation against Koran], I often stalk some accounts who are provocative on social media. Not because I agree with them. But I just want to understand what really happened. (Indah)

> Why do I read comments? Because I just feel curious about the arguments that they have…. Then I will find out that the comments are just stupid. What are their rationales for that? It's like they are just letting it out of their head…. So yes I feel irritated. It's a mixed feeling actually. (Banu)

> The comments usually caught me. Many of them are attacking each other. It makes me think how on earth people talk like that? But it's entertaining somehow, haha. (Vina)

Thus, in the context of social-media uses for political activities, 'kepo' can also be defined as an impulse to know what others (not necessarily friends) are saying, thinking, feeling and responding to certain political issues. Driven by 'kepo', participants monitor political conversation on social media, mostly by reading comments sections in news articles that participants found on their timeline. This 'kepo' impulse is motivated by the curiosity to observe 'the battle' of opinion among social-media users about certain political issues. Sometimes, this impulse is also driven by motivation to entertain one's self by observing the exchange of insults among the fighting social-media users.

6.3. 'Kepoin' or the act of monitoring political conversation as a form of social surveillance

Some participants also stated that they 'kepoin' the political opinion of friends or other people they know on social media. 'Kepoin' is the verb form of 'kepo' (the addition of "-in" here serves a similar function as the addition of "-ing" to a noun in English in order to transform it into a verb), which generally means spying, stalking or surveilling others. As expressed by the following participants:

> …to get the whole picture why are their opinions like that. And actually I personally don't mind whether their opinions are the same as me or not. But it also doesn't necessarily mean that I will not further question why do they think like that. (Kara)

> I usually open Twitter to see topics that are trending among people. Or sometimes I just want to know the opinion of certain peoples, since I am following them. (Utami)

> Yes, I read [political expressions made by my friends on social media]. Sometimes I read even the whole thread of comments [which responded to the expression]. That way I can see the various responses made by others. The ones who support Ahok. The ones who made insult. That's why I don't want to put my comment on social media. Because it's too public. We also don't know whether it's really true or not. So enough for me just to know. I don't want to take any part. (Zaenab)

The act of 'kepoin' in which participants engaged is intriguing since it shows that the political opinion of others matter to them. Participants such as Kara used 'kepoin' to compare the opinions of her friends with her own. Whereas participant such as Zaenab suggested that she

carried out the act of 'kepoin' to learn 'the political opinion climate' so she could navigate herself into political conversation when she interacted with her friends in the future.

In the literature, the act of 'kepoin' is similar to the concept of social surveillance (Marwick, 2012), interpersonal surveillance (Trottier, 2011), or lateral surveillance (Andrejevic, 2005), which generally means a form of surveillance practiced by an individual over other individuals. This form of surveillance is different from traditional surveillance, especially in terms of the actor who performs the act of surveillance. Whereas traditional surveillance is conducted by authoritative institutions (such as government), social/interpersonal/lateral surveillance is conducted by individuals. However, both traditional and social/interpersonal/lateral surveillance share a similar characteristic involving "the focused, systematic and routine attention to personal details" (Marwick, 2012, p. 380).

For the purpose of this research, for the remainder of the analysis, I will use the concept of social surveillance coined by Marwick (2012) in analyzing the act of "kepoin". Marwick defines social surveillance as:

> The ongoing eavesdropping, investigation, gossip and inquiry that constitutes information gathering by people about their peers, made salient by the social digitization normalized by social media. It encompasses using social media sites to broadcast information, survey content created by others, and regulating one's own content based on perceptions of the audience. (Marwick, 2012: 381)

According to Marwick, social surveillance assumes three conditions.

First, there are power flows in all social relationships. Adopting Foucault's concept of "capillaries of power," social surveillance conceptualizes power as flowing from everywhere at all times, between networks and individuals alike. In this perspective, power is seen as something present in all human relationships. Power differentials inherently exist between individuals in any kind of relationship. Thus, power is ever present, fluid, and at work in the mundane day-to-day activities (Foucault in Marwick, 2012, p. 382).

In the context of social surveillance, power relations are at work even as individuals engage in reciprocal surveillance with other individuals. Interestingly, unlike traditional surveillance in which power flows from the surveilling institutions to the surveilled individuals, power flows in social surveillance primarily from the surveilled individuals to the surveilling individual. Through the observation of others, the surveilling individuals formulate the view of

what is normal, accepted, or unaccepted in the community. Thus, social surveillance facilitates the internalization of power by individuals. In this way, social surveillance explains how power is used for self-discipline and impression management (Marwick, 2012, p. 384).

Second, unlike traditional surveillance in which the relationship between the one under surveillance and the surveillant is in a vertical hierarchy (e.g. between government and citizens), social surveillance takes place between individuals in a horizontal hierarchy. However, Marwick noted that this does not necessariliy mean individuals involved in social surveillance are equal since power differentials in terms of social status, race, gender, or social roles always exist in any human relationship. As a consequence, power flows in even the seemingly horizontal relationship between individuals who engage in social surveillance.

Third, the reciprocity mechanism applies in social surveillance, which means the surveillers are aware that they are also being surveilled simultaneously. Trottier (2012, p. 320) called this condition 'peer visibility.' In this situation, people manage their actions on social media with an imagined audience in mind. In a study conducted by Trottier on young social-media users, peer visibility led users to monitor their online presence for content that they believed others (especially parents) would find objectionable (Trottier, 2012, p. 324). Thus, reciprocity indicates a mechanism by which social surveillance "forces" individuals to make behavior modifications. In this sense, social surveillance facilitates the process of internalization of power within individuals who engage in this action (as explained previously).

Based on these three assumptions, the researcher highlights two important conclusions. First, social surveillance will lead to behavior modification in the form of self-management and direction on the part of social-media users (Marwick, 2012, p. 381). Second, in social surveillance, social media serves as a type of capillary through which power flows between users and across networks (Marwick, 2012, p. 383).

Combining the above two conclusions, for the purpose of the analysis of this research, the researcher advocates the idea that social media play a key role in social surveillance as a channel, or, using Foucault's term 'a capillary', through which power flows between users, which eventually forces behavior modification of the individual users through the process of internalization of power (by accepting what is viewed as normal or accepted in the community).

6.4. Suppressing political expression as behaviorial modification

Using the lens of social surveillance, the researcher found that 'kepoin', or the act of monitoring political conversation on social media, eventually 'forces' youth to one primary form of behavior modification: suppressing their own political expression.

This form of behavior modification was strongly evident for almost all participants. Participants generally felt that, based on their observations of others (i.e. the act of monitoring political conversations or 'kepoin'), the political climate on social media was not conducive for them to express their own opinion. Their perception of extreme political polarization is that it has led to the overwhelming appearance of aggressive words, insults, and even racial/religious abuse on social media. As a result, participants felt it was better for them to suppress their own political expression on social media.

The suppressing of political expression as a result of monitoring political conversation, for example, was found in Utami's case. She stated,

> You see, I am a type of person who actually doesn't like to express opinion about politics on social media. I am just the one who read posts about politics. (Utami)

She further explained that, based on her observations around the time this interview was conducted, political conversation on social media in Indonesia was inundated by harsh words expressed by supporters from each of the competing camps. This environment made it inconvenient for her to express her own political opinion on social media. Therefore, suppressing her political expression was the best option for her. Utami stated:

> When I see [comments on] the fan page of Habib Rizieq, they said Christians are this and that. Chinese are this and that. I hate it. Why did they say that? But when I see [comments on] Ahok's side, there are expressions that I also don't like. It's like they too blatantly attack others and claim they are the most advanced citizens just because they support Ahok …. So maybe in communication theory I am the one who experiences spiral of silent. For me, being silent is the most appropriate choice at the moment. (Utami)

Similar to Utami, Rosyid also actively monitors political information and conversations on social media. Especially because of his position as a leader in the student senate, he felt he needed to be aware of the political opinion dynamics in his surroundings. Thus, he actively read status and comments posted by his friends on social media.

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Mostly I am just reading instead of posting. I am more on monitoring information rather than giving my comment. I am the one who post very rarely. But I am very actively reading [information posted on social media], monitoring the situation. Everyday, I keep on monitoring [political information on social media]. That way I will have something to discuss with my friends at the student senate. Especially about politics. (Rosyid)

Despite actively monitoring political conversation, Rosyid stated he wasn't keen to post his political comments on social media. He asserted, in a heavily polarized political situation that happened around the time of the interview, whatever he says will elicit a negative response from his friends who are fighting each other. As he stated:

I prefer just watching others [on social media].... My friends, this one and that one, are fighting each other. I prefer just watch [them fighting] rather than joining [in the debates] or even trying to cool them down. It's useless. In terms of [debates in] social media, everything I say will be judged as wrong.... So I prefer to distance myself [from debates on social media]. (Rosyid)

Another participant, Kara, stated that she suppressed her political expression on social media because she felt that dispute over political matters, especially with friends, could cost her social relations and friendships. Kara stated:

The reason [for not being keen to express political opinion in social media] is, in the case of Indonesia, expressing a certain opinion is still perceived like "if your opinion is different from mine, then we cannot relate to each other." Which is not the case. But, that's happening in society at the moment. So I feel difficult to really express my political views on social media. (Kara)

Kara further recounted her experience when observing political debates on social media conducted by her friends. Based on her observations, she concluded that disputes in political opinion could break one's relationship with friends. Therefore, she opted to refrain from her own political expression in order to avoid the breakdown of her relationship with her friends.

When my friend uploaded something that support a certain candidate, and my other friends disagreed, that felt awkward. It's like both of them have their own views. Ok, in that case it wasn't a problem because both of them were mature and understand that everyone has their own choice. But, what if others wouldn't understand that? Maybe a discussion would still happen, but a bad kind of discussion. (Kara)

However, Kara has strategies to cope with this delicate situation. When she feels she wants to express herself politically, she sets privacy settings on her social media account so her posts can only be accessed by selected friends. "I only post my opinion several times on social media. And I set it private, so it can only be accessed by certain peoples [who obtained my permission]."

The above descriptions demonstrate that observation (i.e. the act of monitoring political conversation) by participants on social media eventually formulates the perception that dispute or disagreement in political matters potentially threatens the relationships they have with others. As a result, participants opted to suppress their own political expression while actively continuing to monitor the political conversation.

Based on this proposition and incorporating the lens of social surveillance, the researcher argues that the act of youth monitoring political conversation on social media has exposed them to a set of social pressures to conform to each of the competing political camps (through the threat of relationship break up, threat of receiving aggressive words/insults/abuse, threat of experiencing social isolation), resulting in behavior modification in the form of suppressing political expression. In other words, social surveillance facilitates power flows from each of the competing political groups to individual youths, which ultimately incentivizes silence.

At this point, the act of monitoring political conversation eventually led individuals to experience the process known as the spiral of silence (Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004). The following section will conclude the analysis by further elaborating on this process.

6.5. The unintended role of social media in youth political participation: contributing to the process of spiral of silence

This section elaborates on the process of 'spiral of silence' experienced by Indonesian youth as a consequence of monitoring political conversation on social media. Proposed by Noelle-Neumann (1984), spiral of silence theory explains the situation in which individuals experience social pressure to conform to dominant public opinion, eventually forcing those individuals to conceal their own opinion in order to avoid social isolation.

For the purpose of analysis, the researcher sums up this theory into the following three main ideas.

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First, the nature of humans to fear social isolation and to fear receiving disapproval or rejection from others. Humans have the basic need of receiving acknowledgment, acceptance, and respect from others. Borrowing the concept coined by George Herbert Mead, Noelle-Neumann proposed this predisposition led individuals to perform symbolic interaction in which individuals imagine what others are thinking about them and how others will judge them for certain behavior without really having any interaction with them. Subsequently, people model their own behavior on their perceived expectations of others. In terms of expressing opinion differently from others, this theory posited that "Because most people fear isolation, they tend to refrain from publicly stating their position when they perceive that this would attract enraged objections, laughter, scorn, or similar threats of isolation" (Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004, p. 349).

Second, scholars have long noted the way that social cohesion is maintained via public opinion, which pressures individuals to conform to society's norms. In this sense, public opinion is viewed as an instrument of social control. John Locke (in Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004) even positioned public opinion on par with divine and civil laws in terms of its power over individuals in society. According to Locke, "The disapproval of their environment: this is the punishment that awaits those who infringe against the law of opinion, reputation, and fashion, and," Locke maintains, "this disapproval is feared more than divine punishment or punishment by civil law enforcement authorities" (2004, p. 342).

Using the above concept of public opinion, Noelle-Neumann formulated her theory of spiral of silence. She stated:

> The power that public opinion exerts can be explained only by returning to the traditional view of public opinion as it has been understood for centuries, i.e., public opinion in the sense of social control. In other words, we must assume that public opinion derives its power from man's social nature, which has developed over the course of evolution, from the modes of behavior that promote social life—and these are not based on rational or logical thought but on emotional, reflexive, subconscious reactions. (2004, p. 341)

Third, the spiral of silence process typically happens within controverisal issues, or those that possess a strong moral component; that is, situations that create a public opinion climate in which individuals are strongly pressured to conform in the threat of social isolation. Noelle-

Neumann also added the issues that triggered the spiral of silence process usually possess a particularly great threat to social cohesion. As she stated,

> In extreme cases, the spiral of silence culminates in a situation where certain topics either can only be broached using a specific vocabulary (political correctness) or cannot be mentioned at all (taboo), lest people wish to be the target of extremely harsh signals of social isolation. (2004, p. 350).

The spiral of silence process begins when an opinion is voiced loudly by supporters in the dominant camp, posing a threat of social isolation to individuals in the opposing camp by reinforcing a sense that they are standing alone. As a consequence, individuals outside the dominant camp experience an increasing pressure to conceal their opinions. This will eventually lead to a spiraling process in which the voice of the dominant camp become even louder and the voice of the opposing camp is silenced (2004, p. 349).

In this research, the evidence of spiral of silence is saliently found. The interview findings revealed that almost all participants experienced some pressure to conform to what they perceived as the dominant political opinion. Participants felt this so strongly, they found it very hard to express their own perspectives on political matters or to engage in civic debate out of fear it would threaten their relationship with others. In other words, there is a threat of social isolation for participants, which forces them to conceal their opinion from their social networks and wider public – especially over social media.

Having said that, unlike the original spiral of silence scenario, in the case of this research, participants experienced pressure from two combating opinions rather than one single dominant opinion. Each opinion exerts its power over individuals by posing the threat of stigmatization to those who don't conform. The Ahok's supporter camp, for example, threatened the opposing individuals with the stigmatization of "anti-diversity" *(anti-bhinneka)*, "terrorist supporters", or "anti-ideology of the state" (*anti-Pancasila*). Meanwhile, the anti-Ahok's camp threatened the opposing individuals with the stigmatization of "the religious blasphemers" (*penista agama*) or "the traitor of religion" (*golongan munafik*). These stigmas powerfully label those who don't conform as individuals who damage social harmony – a status that is directly antithetical to

Indonesia's constitutional principles of [what is it again?]. Unsurprisingly, these threats worked well in silencing participants in this research.

The threats of stigmatization posed by each camp, for example, can be inferred from the following participants' expressions.

> For example, my friends told me that I talked about religion too much, that I am not supporting diversity. What are they talking about? Not supporting diversity means not respecting each other right? Clearly that's not the case with me. I am supporting diversity, but I am also supporting my religion. (Fahrul)

> On my social media account I saw many people make claim of themselves as the ones who are championing *Pancasila*, the ones who are championing state's unity. (Amal)

> I think the ones who are against Ahok are not many. But many people feel fear [the threat] of religion [posed by those who are against Ahok, such as] they will be cursed to go to hell, they will not be prayed for [by the Islamic community] when they die…. (Iswara)

> For me, the problem at the moment is [the perception] that the similarity of identity in terms of religion, ethnicity, and culture is the most important thing. If we come from the same ethnic or religious background, than I will support you even if you are wrong. But if we have different background, then you will always be wrong…. There is no such thing as tolerance anymore…. (Nita)

This research has therefore established an interaction between the youth behavior of "kepo" and social media in contributing to the spiral of silence process in this case. This research suggests that the act of monitoring political conversation by youth on social media (driven by "kepo") had made youth not only internalize power of the public opinion voiced by the competing camps but also amplified the strength of that power. Online exposure to the exchanges of aggressive words and insults about this topic on social media merely contributes to the same social pressures they already experience in their offline social networks, as well. These findings suggest that the communications environment in contemporary Indonesia reflects the political polarisation happening elsewhere, thus threatening to undermine youth engagement in an emerging democracy.

Finally, the cultural practice of 'kepo' should be recognised as a significant driver of online political activities amongst Indonesian youth. That these participants repeatedly referenced the act of monitoring political conversation in these terms speaks to the way in which social surveillance can be understood as a popular cultural practice amongst young people tied to

other aspects of identity and self-formation. Youth are not citizens that we could unfairly expect of conducting political action rationally, but they are also social creatures who take into account their need of having harmonious social relationships with others while they perform any political actions.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

7.1. Research Summary

The main purpose of this research is to understand the role of social media in facilitating youth political participation. This research began from the suggestion in the literature, as outlined in Chapter 2, that social media has the potential to facilitate the emergence of new forms of political participation conducted by youth (i.e. the personalized form of politics) (W. L. Bennett, 2012). This research also began from the suggestion that social media facilitates the development of online participatory cultures (i.e. essentially the culture of sharing that lowering barrier of participation) (Jenkins, 2009) which would eventually foster civic and political engagement by promoting the motivation and capacity to act and by increasing the likelihood of being recruited into action.(Kahne et al., 2013).

For that purpose (i.e. to investigate the role of social media in facilitating youth political participation in Indonesia's context), as described in Chapter 3, this research conducted a survey (n=265) and interviews (n=29) with students from three universities in Jakarta. The research used the grounded theory approach to analyse the data. However, rather than discovering new theory, the researcher in practice found that the key phenomenon (i.e. the act of refraining from expressing political opinion) was pointing to the situation explained in the theory of spiral of silence. The findings of research are explained in three chapters of analysis (chapter 4, 5, and 6).

Chapter 4 revealed five salient constructions of politics made by youth i.e. politics is related to the expression of one's identity, politics is an unprincipled battle for power and fortunes, politics is a distorted version of reality, politics is everywhere, and politics is related tothe flow of influence. These construction of politics indicate three general feelings experienced by youth. First, there is a widespread distrust toward politics among youth. Second, there is an overwhelming sense of social disintegration among youth caused by the ethnic-religious based political polarization emerged in the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017. Third, there is an over-penetration of politics into youth's lives through the flow of influence from others which made youth perceived politics as if it is equal to pressure from others. Overall, these constructions of

politics reflect the social and political context experienced by youth which was generally unsupportive for their engagement with political activities.

Chapter 5 further explained social media uses by youth to engage with civic-political activities. The research discovered three categories of social media-facilitated political participation i.e. social media-facilitated political conversation, social media-facilitated social and political campaign, and social media-facilitated engagement with communities/organizations. Based on survey, the research found that in general, social media has increased youth's propensity to participate in civic-political activities. Adopting the online participatory cultures perspective, social media is proposed to encourage youth political participation by:

1. Stimulating youth political engagement, especially by exposing youth to political conversation take place on their social network

2. Eliminating the barrier of resources (skills, effort, money, time) in carrying out civic-political activities by providing options of activity requiring less effort, such as clicking endorsement button or forwarding articles

3. Bringing opportunities to participate in civic-political activities closer to youth by connecting youth with the invitations to participate in those activities (such as supporting social/political campaigns, signing online petitions, getting involved in political discussion) provided through various channels on social media.

However, further elaboration (based on interviews) also revealed that the specific context of political polarization, which happened during the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017, greatly influenced youth's willingness to engage with political activities, especially expressing political opinion. Under this circumstance, youth were greatly concerned about the consequences of expressing political opinion to their relationship with others.

Finally, Chapter 6 revealed that under the specific circumstance of political polarization, the act of monitoring politics on social media emerged as the preferred form of youth involvement with politics. The act of monitoring politics appeared to be youth's safest alternative for engaging with politics in the middle of a heated political polarization that happened. In this situation, youth's interest with politics was highly stimulated since it involved the issue of

identity (which matters for most of them) but at the same time they felt too insecure to express themselves politically.

Chapter 6 further revealed that the act of monitoring politics has two forms: the act of monitoring/surveilling the political environment and the act of monitoring political conversation. However, given its greater relevance to the other findings in the research, especially its impact on youth political expression, this research focus its analysis only on the latter form.

Finally the researcher arrived at the key finding of this research: the act of monitoring political conversation eventually led youth to discipline their own behavior by suppressing their political expression. In this sense, the activity of monitoring political conversation led youth to the process of spiral of silence. This key finding will be the focus of discussion in the following subsection.

7.2. Discussion

The specific context of political polarization during the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017, which took place when this research was conducted, greatly played a role in shaping youth political behaviour. The Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 was an event marked by a heavy political polarization, largely based on ethnic and religious identity, among supporters of the competing political candidates. "The war" between these supporters mostly took place on social media in which the exchange of insults and aggressive words (not infrequently involved mutual insults among religious groups) bombarded the pages of social media users on a daily basis. This situation consequently overwhelmed political discourse during the time of the research. In fact, participants were largely reluctant to express their political opinion during the interview.

In this particular situation, rather than providing a conducive environment that fosters youth political participation, as theorized by scholars who celebrate the political and civic affordances of participatory culture (Jenkins, 2009; Kahne et al., 2013), social media in this case provided a vulnerable context that exposed youth to the threat of social isolation, insults, and even racial and religious abuse by others. Social media also gave youth the insecure feeling of "being watched by others" on one hand, and not being able to fully control their own conversation on the other. To this latter point, participants felt that they could not control their imagined audience, and could not "read" the reaction of their audience properly in order to

redress a miscommunication when it happened (which they felt they could do in a face-to-face conversation). It is little surprise, then, that youth suppressed their political expression in this situation.

Under this circumstance, monitoring political conversation thus emerged as the most salient and preferred form of political engagement. By this, this research points to the activity of monitoring the opinion of others to understand the way people in the surroundings think, feel, and react to political events/situations that happen. The main purpose of youth conducting this activity is to navigate themselves when interacting with others, especially when discussing politics, so they can behave "appropriately" in the heated context of political polarization.

This research also revealed that youth were mainly driven by *kepo* in the act of monitoring political conversation. *'Kepo'* is the urge to know what others are thinking, feeling, or their responses to certain political issues, but as a discursive concept is tied to youth cultural practice. *'Kepo'* shows that the opinion of others matter for youth. Thus, it also shows that youth political behavior is hardly separated from their social behavior. Therefore, this research argues youth's social needs should be taken into consideration when analyzing their political behavior.

'Kepo' also gives a hint about youth tendency to perform symbolic act of internalizing 'the generalized other'. The generalized other is a concept coined by George Herbert Mead that point to the attitude of the entire community (Ritzer, 2011, p. 365) as perceived by the individual in that community. According to Mead's symbolic interaction perspective, the generalized other is crucial for one's development of the self since it teaches the individual what the community expects from them. This expectation acts as 'a compass' for a person, ensuring they behave "appropriately" according to how their community expects them to behave. In this sense, the generalized other (through its adoption of the 'me' aspect of the self in Mead's conception) plays a role as an instrument of social control. Through 'me', "individuals carry society around with them, giving them the ability, through self-criticism, to control themselves" (Ritzer, 2011, p. 367). In politics, the generalized other helps individuals to understand the way people in the community think and feel about politics, and consequently to understand the expectation of the community on how to behave in political matters.

The role of *'kepo'* in leading individuals to the act of internalizing the generalized other is in line with the concept of social surveillance proposed by Marwick (2012). Social surveillance

is defined as the activity of "information gathering by people about their peers, made salient by the social digitization normalized by social media" (Marwick, 2012, p. 381). Social surveillance postulates that power flows between individuals (who are involved in social surveillance) and the social network connected to them. However, unlike traditional surveillance, power flows in social surveillance primarily from the surveilled individuals to the surveilling individual. This is because through the act of social surveillance (observing others), the surveilling individuals formulate the view of what is normal, accepted, or unaccepted in the community (or in Mead's term, internalizing the generalized other). Thus, social surveillance facilitates the internalization of power by individuals, which eventually forces behavior modification on the side of that individuals (Marwick, 2012: 381).

In the context of political polarization which was found in this research, the researcher argues social media had facilitated youth to perform social surveillance (through monitoring political conversation) through which they learn how others think, feel, and respond to certain political matters. This subsequently led youth to experience the pressure to conform or, at least, not to confront the political campaigns of each combating groups (who framed their political campaigns with the issue of social-religious identity) or facing the consequence of social isolation and even religious abuse. Eventually, this forced youth to modify their behavior in the form of suppressing their political expression. Social media, in this case, played a role in facilitating the power flows from communities (which were battling for influence) to individuals.

Finally, this has led this research to arrive at the most revealing yet unexpected finding: silence as the modified behaviour resulted from the act of monitoring political conversation on social media. Participants were found to be highly concerned of social consequences (especially ruining relationships with others) that they would face from expressing opinion. In the political polarization that happened, they observed that each of the competing political camps exerted pressure via social media so people would willingly conform to their political stance. In this situation, they didn't have any better option than to keep silent.

This situation is precisely what Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann had described in her theory of spiral of silence. This theory posited that individuals tend to conceal their opinion if they perceived they were in the minority. This act is taken to avoid social isolation from others. In this

situation, individuals receive pressure to conform to the dominant opinion in society (Matthes, Knoll, & von Sikorski, 2018; Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004; Pang et al., 2016).

Therefore, to conclude the discussion, this research revealed three crucial variables that create a spiral of silence amongst Indonesian youth under the investigated political context.

First, exposure to an issue that is controversial, possesses a strong moral component, and threatens social cohesion. The issue that created political polarization in the case studied in this research is the issue of religion in politics, which is supporting a political candidate on the basis of religion versus supporting a political candidate on the basis of secular-nationalist values. This issue has all the attributes required to create the spiral of silence process as theorized by Noelle-Neumann and Petersen (2004, pp. 349–350). The controversial nature of the election is evident by the way fierce debate heavily polarized the public. The discourse surrounding the election also possessed a strong moral component as each camp stood on relatively equal firm moral ground: religious belief *vis-a-vis* the values of secularism as the foundation of national ideology. Combined, this issue posed a serious threat to social cohesion as it opened up the classic debate regarding national ideology and identity in Indonesia.

Second, pressure from public opinion also encouraged the spiral of silence in this context. Almost all participants interviewed revealed they experienced pressure from others' opinions on social media as if those opinions forced them to give their approval. Otherwise, they would face consequences such as receiving insults, aggressive words, or even racial and religious abuse. However, the consequence that they mostly avoid is having their relationships with others broken, especially with their close ones.

Third, youth's fear of social isolation also informed their decision to remain silent. Pressure from public opinion work well on participants since they had a fear of social isolation. Participants in this research in a quite obvious way expressed their concern of experiencing social exclusion, isolation, or, most commonly, disconnection with friends and close ones. This feeling eventually made them opt for silence so they could avoid conflict with others.

Finally, this research proposes that at the time of political polarization, the dominant form of political activity conducted by youth is the act of monitoring political conversation on social media which eventually lead to the spiral of silence process.

7.3. Research Contributions

The purpose of this research was to explore the role of social media in facilitating youth political participation in Indonesia's social and political environment. This research initially expected it would discover some 'new' forms of political participation by youth, particularly in the form of "personalization of politics" as suggested in many studies, which are facilitated by social media on one hand and driven by the changing norms of citizenship on the other. The researcher, in particular, expected that this study would discover how the model of online participatory cultures works in, or applies to, contemporary Indonesia.

However, the political polarization that overwhelmed participants during the research made the project moved to an unanticipated direction. As indicated in the previous subsection, the most significant finding in this research, in fact, social media's role in driving participants towards the process of spiral of silence. Therefore, the researcher proposes the main contribution of this research is that it provides evidence that social media, in certain social and political context (in this case is ethnic and religious-based political polarization), had the potential to suppress youth political participation by exacerbating youth's fear of social isolation (through facilitating social surveillance) which eventually lead youth to silence.

The mechanism by which the process of spiral of silence experienced by youth can be explained as follow. First, political polarization stimulated youth's fear of social isolation which motivated them to perform social surveillance (monitoring political conversation) using social media. This act of social surveillance is driven by 'kepo' or the impulse to know others' opinion which reflects youth's need to internalize 'the generalized other' that would be used to guide their own behaviour (especially in relation to the situation of political polarization that they experienced). In this way, social surveillance facilitates the internalization of power by exacerbating youth's fear of social isolation which eventually leads youth to silence.

In the following sections, the researcher will further elaborate the way key findings in this research contribute to the discussion regarding the spiral of silence theory in the existing literature.

7.3.1. Contribution to the discussion about issue that create the process of spiral of silence

As has already been mentioned, the issue of religion in politics in the case has all the attributes of the issue hypothesized by Noelle-Neumann and Peterson (2004) as creating the process of spiral of silence, i.e. controversy, strong moral component, and a serious threat to social cohesion. Thus, this research simply provides evidence to confirm that theory.

In addition, this research also provides evidence to support the role of the issue's obtrusiveness in creating the spiral of silence process. Obtrusive issues are issues that "most people have or had personal experience with and/or issues that have significant consequences for most people's personal lives" (Matthes et al., 2018, p. 14). The obtrusiveness of an issue elevate people's involvement with that issue. As a consequence, the obtrusiveness of an issue also increase the intensity created from people's disagreement about this issue; thus, it also create more pressure to the ones who hold minority opinion. A meta-analysis conducted by Matthes et al. (2018) on the spiral of silence studies for example found that the silencing effect is stronger when the issue is obtrusive rather than unobtrusive. As they stated, "The fear of being socially isolated due to minority views is stronger for issues that are relevant to the life of most people" (Matthes et al., 2018, p. 23).

The issue of religion in politics found in this research was highly obtrusive for youth. The debate surrounding this issue which include topics such as religious tolerance, inter-group relation (relations among diverse ethnic and religious groups), respect for religious beliefs all resonated with participants' personal experience. Chapter 4 extensively discussed the influence of ethnic-religious based political polarization during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 on youth's construction of politics (i.e. politics as an expression of identity). Some participants reported their belief was disrespected by others. Others stated they had been discriminated because of their minority status. Others were concerned to the breaking up of relationship among their friends or relatives because of this political polarization. All of these indicate the issue of religion in politics which cause political polarization deeply matter for them. In fact, since participants were also aware of the significance of this issue to many people around them (where disagreement could cause conflict), most of them became reluctant to express their political opinion.

7.3.2. Contribution to the discussion about pressure from public opinion

In the original spiral of silence scenario, pressure came from dominant opinion (i.e. opinion that is held by majority of people) toward individuals who held minority opinion. When this dominant opinion is loudly voiced by others, individuals experience an increasing pressure to conceal their own opinion, out of fear of social isolation (Noelle-Neumann & Petersen, 2004, p. 349). Hence, this theory assumes individuals actively assessing the opinion climate by counting in a "quasi-statistical sense" people who share similar opinions (Nekmat & Gonzenbach, 2013, p. 737).

However, this research suggests that, in the social media environment, pressure is applied in many ways. This research revealed that individuals experienced public opinion pressure in the following ways.

First, by the uncivil climate of debate on social media. Participants revealed that during the course of the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election 2017 campaign, supporters from both camps insulted each other on social media with inappropriate, aggressive, and abusive words. Many even insulted others' religious/cultural identity and beliefs. This situation made participants felt uncomfortable in just indicating their 'presence' on the debate. Some participants also stated that they felt useless participating in such a debate. This finding is in line with other studies (Matthes et al., 2018; Pang et al., 2016) that found a debate's civility affected an individual's willingness to express opinion.

Second, by "judgement of others" who might see their opinion expressed on social media. Participants were saliently found to be concerned that others would label them as part of either political camp if they expressed their opinion on social media. There was a clear tendency that most participants wanted to be seen as neutral.

This concern about "judgment of others" is worth further elaboration. In the interview, participants didn't explicitly specify who "the others" to which they referred necessarily were. Considering the overlapping of social network (offline and online) that individuals have in the current environment, "others" may not refer to specific persons that participants could define, but rather a whole collective community imagined by participants. Thus, "judgment of others" may point to the expectation of the whole community as imagined by participants. In this sense, participants performed what symbolic interaction perspective termed as the act of taking role of

"the generalized other" (Mead in Ritzer, 2011, p. 365). In this case, this act of role taking was carried out through the act of monitoring political conversation on social media

Evidence regarding the pressure of "judgement of others", perceived by individuals from the activity of monitoring opinion on social media, which eventually led individuals to silence, was also provided by other studies, for example, by the Pew Research Center. In its study about the willingness of the American public in expressing opinion about the Snowden case, the Pew Research Center found that if people thought their friends and followers on social media disagreed with them, they were less likely to express their opinion on that issue in online spheres as well as in other contexts, such as gatherings of friends, neighbors, or coworkers (PEW Research Center, 2014, p. 72).

Third, by the public character of social media which complicate youth's ability to imagine the audience of their message. When participants engage in opinion expression on social media (for example when they negatively reacted to comments from a supporter of an opposing political camp) they failed to imagine the unintended recipients of their messages (for example their friends who also support that opposing political camp). They also failed to imagine other users who might react to their opinion expression. This is why participants mentioned social media as "too public" or "too open", which consequently making them feel prone to aggression or insult from others. Therefore, they opted to avoid opinion expression on social media.

Pressure emanating from the public character of social media also previously suggested by Matthes et al. (2018). In their study, they found that the silencing effect did neither disappeared nor weakened in the online environment since online media allows direct interaction which expose users to reactions by others. As they stated, "If, for instance, a user posts a dissenting view in a political forum, she or he may have to fear a so-called "Shitstorm," rude comments, and personal attacks, which are perceived as highly unpleasant to many users, despite anonymity," (Matthes et al., 2018, pp. 22–23). Therefore, this public character of online environment may very well amplify the power of public opinion's pressure to individuals.

7.3.3. Contribution to the discussion about fear of social isolation

The spiral of silence theory emphasizes the fear of social isolation as the main factor behind individuals' tendency to conceal their opinions when they perceive they are in the minority. This research indeed found evidence for such a proposition. Bearing in mind that political polarization in the case being studied is based on religious and ethnic identity, it is unsurprising that participants with ethnic and religious minority backgrounds (particularly Chinese and Christian) clearly demonstrated that fear of social isolation in the interview. These participants, in general, worried that their political stance would ostracize them from their social environment; let alone the fact that their identity as a minority already made it easy to label them a supporter of a particular political candidate (i.e. the Chinese-Christian candidate who shares a similar identity background with them).

Having said that, this research also revealed that social networks in which participants are embedded are complex. And social media makes it even more complicated. Participants' positions as majority or minority are varied according to each context. A Muslim participant, for example, indicated she experienced "the minority situation" on her family chat forum since her family members are mostly Christian (thus, she experienced the pressure to be silent in that forum). In addition, the opinion of the Muslim community is also divided on this issue. Participants' positioning on the majority-minority scale varies according to the social environment in which they belong. Meaning, a Muslim youth could also have the fear of social isolation since their identity as a Muslim (which is the majority in terms of religious identity) doesn't automatically warrant their enjoyment of the majority in terms of opinion climate.

7.4. Research Limitations

The first limitation of this study is the research methodology that use grounded theory approach only partly. This research initially planned to use grounded theory approach to analyse the data. However, in the analysis, the researcher found that the phenomenon discovered was actually point to the situation explained in spiral of silence theory. Two key constructs that saliently emerged in the analysis were the act of monitoring politics on social media and the act of refraining from expressing political opinion. The researcher noticed that these two constructs were pointing to the two concepts in the theory of spiral of silence i.e. monitoring others' opinion

(which eventually created the social pressure to conform) and the behaviour of concealing opinion out of fear of social isolation. Therefore, the researcher finally turned to this theory to analyse the findings rather than constructing new theory.

Another obvious limitation of this study is the samples, which includes only university students. University students are relatively homogenous in terms of socioeconomic status, thus they might not be an accurate representation of the youth population in general. Future studies that take into account a more diverse youth population may produce a very different result. However, this research made the effort to compensate the homogenous characteristic of the samples by including participants from a diverse socioeconomic and cultural background in the interview. The three sampled universities were also chosen for their relative diversity in terms of their students' socioeconomic background.

This research also did not explore the role of specific social media platforms on youth behaviour of monitoring political conversation and its impact on youth tendency to refrain from voicing their political expressions. The researcher acknowledges that treating social media as a monolithic entity is problematic as each comes with its own set of techno-social affordances and cultures of participation. Different social media platforms might be used differently by youth in relation to the act of monitoring political conversation, and thus they might also have a different impact on youth's expressions of opinion (see for example boyd, 2014; Marwick & boyd, 2011).

Another limitation of this research is the absence of analysis regarding the role of mainstream media in affecting the spiral of silence process experienced by youth. According to the theory, mainstream media plays a substantial role in influencing the direction of opinion (mainstream media strongly determines which opinion would be the dominant one in society). As Noelle-Neumann and Petersen themselves stated, "Thus far, we know of no instances in which there was a spiral of silence that ran contrary to the media tenor" (2004, pp. 349–350).

Lastly, this research also did not provide validation for the proposed main proposition i.e. the act of monitoring political conversation on social media influences youth's propensity to remain silent. This is because the survey and interview were conducted at the same time (due to technical reasons), thus instruments used in the survey did not anticipate the results of the interview. It is possible that a better result would have been achieved if the survey had been conducted after the interview. In this way, the survey could develop more relevant instruments

based on findings from the interview and the survey could be used as a validation for the hypothesis constructed from the interview (for example by testing the multiple correlation between youth's activity of political conversation monitoring on social media, youth's perceived hostility of opinion environment, youth's fear of social isolation, and youth's willingness to express political opinion on social media).

7.5. Future Research

In this final sub section, departing from both research contributions and limitations, the suggestions for future research are as follows:

First, future research should further elaborate the potential role of social media in giving pressure to individuals which would lead them to the process of spiral of silence. As this research revealed, there are suggestions that social media had forced youth to conceal their opinion by exposing youth to the uncivil climate of debate, giving youth the sense of being judged or monitored by others, and putting youth to the risk of receiving aggression from the indefinite public. Future research should test empirically these suggestions (for example by testing the influence of factors such as perception about the civility of debate climate, perception about one's visibility on social media, and perception about the risk of receiving negative feedback on social media on youth's willingness to express opinion on social media).

Second, the researcher would encourage other researchers to explore the process through which perception about "the generalized other" is constructed by individuals in social media environment. In particular, they should investigate the potential role of social media in providing "a distorted environment" for individuals in the construction of "the generalized other", since certain voices (for example the ones who mock or attack others) could be more dominant than others on social media and the identity of individuals who speak may have been manipulated. Future research should also consider incorporating the perspective of symbolic interaction in the research. Given the fact that the spiral of silence theory originally drew one of its main idea from this perspective, it is surprising that I found very little research on the spiral of silence, if any, utilizes this perspective in the research.

And lastly, future research should also elaborate the way specific social media platform is used by youth for political conversation monitoring, political information monitoring, and political opinion expression. Based on survey, this research actually found that Instagram is the most preferred social media platform by youth for news consumption. However, the researcher haven't had a chance to further explore the way youth use this specific social media platform for the above mentioned activities. There is a suggestion (see for example Hannan, 2018[19]) that specific social media platform present political discourse differently to its users, thus also affect their behaviour of expression differently. Therefore, it would be very interesting to examine the way specific social media platform such as Instagram, which heavily favour visual format (pictures and videos), is used by youth for political learning and political expression.

Finally, this research had demonstrated that social media is perhaps not the great democratising force that some scholars have theorised it to be. This research shows that within the context of Indonesia's society (in which the culture in general is collectivist; individuals are highly affiliated with their identity group), rather than empowering individuals to overcome their barriers and limitations (in terms of resources, motivation and opportunities) to engage in civic-political lives, social media in fact lends power to society to exert influence over individuals (through the act of internalizing "the generalized other" facilitated by social media). More specifically under the circumstances of a heated ethnic and religious based political polarization, social media channel power flow from the battling political camps into individuals, which eventually lead them to silent.

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[19] He argued that Twitter, with its limited space of expression (140 characters), had promoted the form of uncivil political discourse in which trolling is seen as a normal behaviour of expression (since users are stimulated to attack others' argument with short but 'punchy' statements).

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List of Interview Questions

1. Can you please describe how you use social media in your daily life (e.g. your "daily routine" of using social media, social media platforms that you use, kind of activities that you enjoy the most when using social media, things that you can rely social media for)?

2. What kind of political participation have you ever conducted through social media (which can include whole range of activities such as signing petition, supporting an online cause, persuading others to vote certain candidates, persuading others to support a cause, sharing political news to others, etc)? Could you please explain what had caused or motivated you in doing those activities? How do you compare your experience of participating in politics through social media and in the offline settings?

3. Have you ever used social media to express yourself politically (for example posting political contents or commenting on political discussions)? What motivate or hinder you to do that? If you had expressed yourself politically using social media, how do you feel afterwards? How do you compare this experience to the ones you did in the offline settings (for example in face to face situation)?

4. In your opinion, what had caused people to use social media for expressing themselves politically and participating in certain political activities?

5. In your opinion, can social media get people (especially youth) to be involved in politics? How? What about your own experience?

6. How do you learn and get information about politics (e.g. regularly reading newspapers, watching TV, browsing in the internet, or reading timeline in your social media account)? Can you give some examples of topic that interest you? How do you compare social media and other types of media (newspapers, TV, magazine, etc) as the source of political information?

7. Based on your experience, what social skills (or any other skills) you had learnt or acquired from using social media thus far (for example socializing with new people, expressing yourself verbally, managing your self-image, etc)? What skills do you think people can learn from social media?

8. Some people say today's youth are less attached to community and civic life. What do you think about this? What about yourself?

9. In your opinion, what motivate some people to join a particular non-profit organization? What about yourself? Do you join any organization? Why?

10. What is the meaning of politics for you?

11. What kind of political activities that you had ever participated in thus far? What kind of political activities that you had never participated in and will not likely to take part in the future? Why?

12. Some people say that today's youth don't care too much about politics. What do you think about this statement? Why? What roles should the youth play in politics in your opinion?

13. How do you see your own role in politics? What role do you consider to play in politics?

14. In your opinion, what attributes should a good citizen have? Why?

15. At the moment, what are social and/or political issues (can be at local, national, or global level) that you mostly concern? Why?

16. In your opinion, what make people have different opinions about politics? What determine their stances? What about yourself?

Do you consent to this questionnaire?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

1 Gender

☐ Male   ☐ Female

2 Age

3 Religion

☐ Islam   ☐ Protestant   ☐ Catholic   ☐ Others………

☐ Buddhist   ☐ Hindu   ☐ Confusianism

4 Ethnicity

☐ Javanese   ☐ Chinese   ☐ Betawi   ☐ Sundanese

☐ Batak   ☐ Minang   ☐ Others………

5 Monthly expenditures

☐ Below IDR 500,000   ☐ IDR 500,001 - IDR 1,000,000   ☐ IDR 1,000,001 - 1,500,000   ☐ Above IDR 1,500,000

What social media platform do you mostly use to perform these activities?

6   To stay informed and get news about current events and public affairs
☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Others:

7   To chat or keep in touch with friends and relatives
☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Others:

8   To post or share your thoughts about politics
☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Others:

9   To post or share news, expert's analysis, or any other information about politics
☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Others:

10 On average, how much internet data do you use?

☐ < 1 GB/ month ☐ 1 GB - 2 GB/ month ☐ 2.1 GB - 3 GB/ month ☐ > 3 GB/ month

11 Please tick all communication devices that you currently have

☐ Smartphone ☐ Tablet ☐ PC ☐ Laptop/ notebook ☐ Others:

12 What is the device that you mostly use to access the internet?

☐ Smartphone ☐ Tablet ☐ PC ☐ Laptop/ notebook ☐ Others:

13 How frequent do you read news in daily newspapers?

☐ Never ☐ Once in a week or a few days in a month ☐ A few days in a week ☐ Regularly or most days in a week

14 How frequent do you read news in magazines?

☐ Never ☐ Once in a week or a few days in a month ☐ A few days in a week ☐ Regularly or most days in a week

15 How frequent do you watch news in TV?

☐ Never ☐ Once in a week or a few days in a ☐ A few days in a week ☐ Regularly or most days in a week

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☐   ☐   month   ☐   ☐

16   How frequent do you discuss politics with families or friends?

☐ Never   ☐ A few times in   ☐ A few times in   ☐ Everyday or
                 a month   a week   almost
                                                                    everyday

17   Which category of groups below that you feel mostly affiliated with (please tick all that apply to you)?

☐ Political party
☐ Religious organization/ group
☐ Hobby group
☐ Gaming/ sport/ music group
☐ Professional group
☐ Academic group
☐ I don't belong to any group
☐ Others
   please specify

18   Did you vote on the last Jakarta Gubernatorial Election (1st round)?
      a. yes   b. no   c. not eligible to vote

19   Will you vote on the upcoming Jakarta Gubernatorial Election (2nd round)?
      a. will   b. most   c. unlikely to vote   d. will not   e. not eligible
      vote   likely to   vote   to vote
                    vote

How frequent are you participating in these political activities?		Never and will not likely to do it in the future	Never, but I am likely to do it in the future	Have done it once	Have done it more than once
20	Participating in political campaign such as attending campaign's meeting/ gathering/ rally, displaying campaign button, etc	1	2	3	4
21	Persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party	1	2	3	4
22	Do anything else to help out or work for a party or candidate running in the election	1	2	3	4
23	Contacted government, politicians, or elected officials at any level (including the leaders of local neigborhood unit)	1	2	3	4

24	Contacted news media	1	2	3	4
25	Participating in local community activities (such as events in your neighborhood)	1	2	3	4
26	Participating in activities organized by religious organizations (mosque, church, etc)	1	2	3	4
27	Participating in voluntary groups (such as NGO, community foundations, etc)	1	2	3	4
28	Get involved in a student association	1	2	3	4

How frequent are you participating in these political activities?		Never and will not likely to do it in the future	Never, but I am likely to do it in the future	Have done it once	Have done it more than once
29	Sign a petition or work with others to advocate an issue	1	2	3	4
30	Attend a demonstration or a street protest	1	2	3	4
31	Buying or not buying a product for a political reason (boycotting)	1	2	3	4
32	Participate in activities supporting a cause	1	2	3	4
33	Giving charity or donating money to a cause	1	2	3	4

34	Expressing your thoughts about politics	1	2	3	4

How frequent are you using social media for these activities?	Never and will not likely to do it in the future	Never, but I am likely to do it in the future	Have done it once	Have done it more than once
35	Persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party	1	2	3	4
36	Display support to a certain candidate or party	1	2	3	4
37	Contact influential figures (politicians, political analysts/ commentators, religious leaders, social media influencers, journalists)	1	2	3	4
38	Support a certain cause (by subscribing, liking page, or following news update from an advocacy group)	1	2	3	4
39	Sign an online petition circulated in social media	1	2	3	4
40	Participate in community activities (for example joining neighborhood chatgroup)	1	2	3	4
41	Get involved in an event organized by a student association	1	2	3	4

	How frequent are you using social media for these activities?	Never	Rarely (once or a few times a month)	Often (once or a few times a week)	Regularly (everyday)
42	Express opinion/ thoughts about politics	1	2	3	4
43	Engage in political debates/ discussion	1	2	3	4
44	Share information or link to information containing political contents	1	2	3	4
45	Endorse political contents posted by others' (by retweeting, clicking likes, etc)	1	2	3	4
46	Access information about politics from news sites that I subscribed to	1	2	3	4
47	Read news about politics that are posted by friends/ relatives/ acquaintances	1	2	3	4
48	Read comments/ opinions about politics posted by friends/ relatives/ acquaintances	1	2	3	4
49	Engaged in a group conversation with friends or families in social media	1	2	3	4
50	Add new friends to your social network	1	2	3	4
51	Monitor what other people are doing or saying	1	2	3	4
52	Give comments on a friend's status/ timeline	1	2	3	4

How would you rate the importance of these attitudes/ actions?	Not important	Less important	Important	Very important
53 Supporting the government's programs (for example paying taxes, registering for state's health insurance, etc)	1	2	3	4
54 Being ready to serve in a national defense program if asked to do so	1	2	3	4
55 Obeying all the state's rules and law (including for example traffic rules)	1	2	3	4
56 Participating in general elections (voting)	1	2	3	4
57 Adopting Pancasila (the five principles/ the state's ideology) into your life as an Indonesian citizen	1	2	3	4

How likely are you…	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Very likely
58 to support a cause such as animal or environmental protection	1	2	3	4

59	to donate money or give charity to those in need	1	2	3	4
60	to engage in local community activities	1	2	3	4
61	to actively monitor and be critical to the actions of the government (including the government's policies)	1	2	3	4
62	to feel convenient in making friend with others who have different religions	1	2	3	4
63	to feel convenient in making friend with others who have different political beliefs/ ideologies/ affiliations	1	2	3	4
64	to express solidarity toward people around the world whose human rights have been violated	1	2	3	4

	How likely are you….	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Likely	Very likely
65	to express the values that you hold through the way you present your self (e.g. through the way you dress/ appear, through the way you present yourself in social media, etc)				
66	to express the values that you hold through your activities in politics (e.g. by supporting a certain party/ candidate in election, supporting a certain cause, etc)				

67	to confront or challenge values (e.g. by debating others) that are different with the values that you hold				
68	to feel the pressure from the dominant values toward the values that you hold				
69	to generally feel that the values that you hold are being threatened				

Saya memberi persetujuan terhadap kuesioner ini

☐ Ya ☐ Tidak

1 Jenis Kelamin

☐ Laki-laki ☐ Perempuan

2 Usia

3 Agama

☐ Islam ☐ Protestan ☐ Katolik ☐ Lainnya………

☐ Buddha ☐ Hindu ☐ Konfusianisme

4 Suku

☐ Jawa ☐ Tionghoa ☐ Betawi ☐ Sunda

☐ Batak ☐ Minang ☐ Lainnya………

5 Rata-rata pengeluaran per bulan

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☐ Di bawah Rp 500,000   ☐ Rp 500,000 - Rp 1,000,000   ☐ Rp 1,000,001 - Rp 1,500,000   ☐ Di atas Rp 1,500,000

Situs jejaring sosial apakah yang paling sering kamu gunakan (dua pilihan; berikan peringkat untuk masing-masing pilihan) untuk melakukan aktivitas-aktivitas berikut?

6   Memperoleh informasi dan kabar terbaru mengenai peristiwa yang terjadi di sekeliling kamu
     ☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Lainnya:

7   *Chatting* atau menjalin komunikasi dengan teman, kerabat, atau keluarga
     ☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Lainnya:

8   Mem-"posting" atau membagikan pendapat/ pikiran kamu mengenai politik
     ☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Lainnya:

9   Mem-"posting" atau membagikan berita, artikel opini, atau informasi lain mengenai politik
     ☐ Facebook   ☐ Twitter   ☐ Instagram   ☐ Whatsapp   ☐ Lainnya:

10   Secara rata-rata, berapa banyak kuota data internet yang kamu gunakan?
     ☐ < 1 GB/ bulan   ☐ 1 GB - 2 GB/ bulan   ☐ 2.1 GB - 3 GB/ bulan   ☐ > 3 GB/ bulan

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11 Beri tanda centang pada semua perangkat komunikasi yang kamu miliki saat ini

☐ Smartphone   ☐ Tablet   ☐ PC   ☐ Laptop/ notebook   ☐ Lainnya:

12 Perangkat komunikasi apa yang paling sering kamu gunakan untuk mengakses internet?

☐ Smartphone   ☐ Tablet   ☐ PC   ☐ Laptop/ notebook   ☐ Lainnya:

13 Seberapa sering kamu membaca berita di surat kabar harian?

☐ Tidak pernah   ☐ Sehari dalam seminggu atau beberapa hari dalam sebulan   ☐ Beberapa hari dalam seminggu   ☐ Setiap hari atau mayoritas hari dalam seminggu

14 Seberapa sering kamu membaca berita di majalah?

☐ Tidak pernah   ☐ Satu atau dua edisi dalam sebulan   ☐ Beberapa edisi dalam sebulan   ☐ Setiap edisi atau secara rutin

15 Seberapa sering kamu menonton berita di TV?

☐ Tidak pernah   ☐ Sesekali dalam seminggu   ☐ Beberapa kali dalam seminggu   ☐ Rutin atau hampir setiap harinya

16 Seberapa sering kamu *ngobrol* atau berbincang mengenai politik dengan teman atau keluarga?

☐ Tidak pernah   ☐ Beberapa kali dalam sebulan   ☐ Beberapa kali dalam seminggu   ☐ Setiap hari atau hampir setiap hari

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17   Kelompok mana di bawah ini yang paling kamu rasakan dekat dengan kamu (dua pilihan; beri peringkat untuk
      masing-masing pilihan)?

	Partai atau organisasi politik tertentu
	Organisasi keagamaan tertentu
	Perkumpulan hobi atau minat tertentu
	Perkumpulan olahraga/ musik/ atau online game tertentu
	Perkumpulan atau asosiasi profesi tertentu
	Perkumpulan peneliti atau keilmuan tertentu
	Saya tidak merasa dekat dengan kelompok manapun
	Kelompok lainnya

      (Mohon jelaskan)

Seberapa sering kamu berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan-kegiatan di bawah ini?	Tidak pernah dan tidak akan melakukannya di kemudian hari	Tidak pernah tapi mungkin akan melakukannya di kemudian hari	Pernah melakukannya sekali	Pernah melakukannya lebih dari sekali

29	Menandatangani petisi atau bergerak bersama orang lain dalam mengadvokasi sebuah isu	1	2	3	4
30	Menghadiri demonstrasi atau protes jalanan	1	2	3	4
31	Membeli atau memboikot produk tertentu karena alasan politik	1	2	3	4
32	Berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan mendukung kampanye sosial	1	2	3	4
33	Memberi donasi untuk sebuah kegiatan kampanye sosial	1	2	3	4
34	Mengekspresikan pikiran kamu mengenai politik	1	2	3	4

Seberapa sering kamu menggunakan media sosial untuk aktivitas-aktivitas di bawah ini?		Tidak pernah dan tidak akan melakukannya di kemudian hari	Tidak pernah tapi mungkin akan melakukannya di kemudian hari	Pernah melakukannya sekali	Pernah melakukannya lebih dari sekali
35	Mengajak atau mempengaruhi orang lain untuk memilih partai politik atau kandidat tertentu	1	2	3	4
36	Menunjukkan dukungan terhadap partai politik atau kandidat tertentu (seperti dengan men-"share" status, me-"retweet", dsb)	1	2	3	4
37	Mengontak figur berpengaruh (politisi, pengamat/ akademisi, aktivis, tokoh agama, wartawan, selebriti, atau social media influencers lainnya)	1	2	3	4

		Tidak pernah	Jarang (sekali atau beberapa kali dalam sebulan)	Sering (sekali atau beberapa kali dalam seminggu)	Rutin (setiap hari atau hampir setiap hari)
38	Mendukung gerakan kampanye sosial tertentu (dengan me-"like" page, men-"subscribe" akun kelompok advokasi tertentu, dsb)	1	2	3	4
39	Menandatangani petisi online yang beredar di media sosial	1	2	3	4
40	Berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan kemasyarakatan di lingkungan kamu (misalnya bergabung dalam whatsapp grup RT/ RW/ karang taruna di lingkungan rumah)	1	2	3	4
41	Terlibat dalam kegiatan-kegiatan yang diselenggarakan oleh organisasi kemahasiswaan di kampus kamu (seperti misalnya bergabung dalam grup FB/ whatsapp senat mahasiswa/ himpunan mahasiswa jurusan untuk ter-update dengan informasi kegiatan mereka)	1	2	3	4
Seberapa sering kamu menggunakan media sosial untuk kegiatan-kegiatan di bawah ini?		Tidak pernah	Jarang (sekali atau beberapa kali dalam sebulan)	Sering (sekali atau beberapa kali dalam seminggu)	Rutin (setiap hari atau hampir setiap hari)
42	Mengekspresikan pendapat atau pikiran mengenai politik	1	2	3	4
43	Terlibat (misalnya dengan ikut mengomentari) dalam diskusi atau perdebatan politik yang terjadi	1	2	3	4
44	Berbagi informasi atau link informasi mengenai politik	1	2	3	4

45	Memberi dukungan terhadap informasi atau status bermuatan politik yang diposting orang lain (dengan me-"retweet", memberi "likes", dan sebagainya)	1	2	3	4
46	Membaca atau mengakses informasi mengenai politik dari situs berita yang kamu *subscribe*	1	2	3	4
47	Membaca informasi/ berita mengenai politik yang diposting teman/ kerabat/ keluarga	1	2	3	4
48	Membaca komentar/ pendapat mengenai politik yang diposting oleh teman/ kerabat/ keluarga	1	2	3	4
49	Terlibat dalam percakapan grup (group chat) mengenai berbagai hal bersama teman, keluarga, atau kerabat di grup media sosial	1	2	3	4
50	Menambah teman baru ke dalam jaringan pertemanan di media sosial	1	2	3	4
51	Mencari tahu apa yang sedang dipikirkan atau dikerjakan teman-teman, kerabat, atau keluarga kamu di media sosial	1	2	3	4
52	Memberi komentar terhadap status yang diposting teman kamu	1	2	3	4

Menurut penilaian kamu, pada saat sekarang seberapa penting memiliki sikap di bawah ini?	Tidak penting	Kurang penting	Cukup penting	Sangat penting
53	Memberi dukungan terhadap program yang dicanangkan pemerintah (seperti misalnya membayar pajak, ikut serta dalam program BPJS, dsb)	1	2	3	4

No					
54	Siap sedia untuk mengikuti program bela negara (wajib militer) jika diminta	1	2	3	4
55	Mematuhi semua peraturan perundangan (termasuk mematuhi peraturan lalulintas)	1	2	3	4
56	Memberikan suara (mecoblos) dalam pemilihan umum baik di tingkat lokal maupun nasional	1	2	3	4
57	Mempraktikkan nilai-nilai Pancasila dalam kehidupan sehari-hari sebagai warga negara	1	2	3	4
Seberapa besar kecenderungan kamu untuk melakukan, merasakan, atau memiliki hal-hal di bawah ini?		Sangat kecil	Kecil	Besar	Sangat besar
58	Mendukung gerakan kampanye sosial seperti perlindungan satwa atau lingkungan	1	2	3	4
59	Memberikan sumbangan terhadap kelompok masyarakat yang kurang beruntung	1	2	3	4
60	Terlibat dalam kegiatan kemasyarakatan di lingkungan tempat tinggal kamu	1	2	3	4
61	Secara aktif mengawasi dan bersikap kritis terhadap kebijakan dan tindakan yang diambil pemerintah	1	2	3	4
62	Merasa nyaman untuk berinteraksi dan bekerja bersama dengan orang lain yang berbeda agama	1	2	3	4
63	Merasa nyaman untuk berinteraksi dan bekerja bersama dengan orang lain yang memiliki perbedaan pandangan politik	1	2	3	4
64	Berempati dan menunjukkan kepedulian terhadap orang di berbagai penjuru dunia yang dilanggar hak asasi manusianya	1	2	3	4

	Seberapa sesuai pernyataan-pernyataan berikut dengan diri kamu….	Sangat tidak sesuai	Tidak sesuai	Sesuai	Sangat sesuai
65	Kamu cenderung mengekspresikan nilai-nilai yang kamu miliki melalui cara kamu menampilkan diri (melalui cara berpakaian, menampilkan profil di media sosial, dan sebagainya)				
66	Kamu cenderung mengekspresikan nilai-nilai yang kamu miliki melalui kegiatan politik yang kamu ikuti (misalnya dengan mendukung partai politik atau kandidat tertentu, mendukung gerakan kampanye sosial tertentu, dan lain sebagainya)				
67	Kamu sering terdorong untuk memberi sanggahan terhadap nilai-nilai yang berbeda dengan kamu (seperti misalnya dengan mendebat orang lain, mengunggah informasi yang membantah nilai/ keyakinan orang lain, dsb)				
68	Kamu cenderung merasakan tekanan dari nilai-nilai dominan terhadap nilai yang kamu anut (misalnya kamu merasa dihambat untuk mengekspresikan nilai yang kamu miliki)				
69	Kamu cenderung merasakan bahwa nilai yang kamu miliki menghadapi ancaman dari pihak lain (bahwa nilai-nilai lain berusaha menggeser, mendelegitimasi, atau bahkan merendahkan nilai yang kamu miliki)				