

# Social Science in Action: A Study of the Paradox of Democracy in Civil Liberties in the Digital Era

Ubedilah Badrun<sup>1</sup> and Airlangga Pribadi<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Doctoral Candidate in Social Sciences, Universitas Airlangga,, Dharmawangsa Dalam Street, Surabaya, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Universitas Airlangga, Dharmawangsa Dalam Street, Surabaya, Indonesia

**Keywords:** Digital Democracy, Civil Liberties, Digital Literacy, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).


**Abstract:** This study analyzes the decline of civil liberties in the digital democracy era by examining Indonesia's democracy paradox. Using a qualitative approach and Van Dijk's (1993) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this research explores the connection between digital democracy and social criticism. While digital democracy theory suggests that technology enables greater public participation in expressing aspirations and government criticism, the case of Indonesia shows the opposite. Indonesia's democracy index dropped by 0.18 compared to the previous year, indicating that increased social media use has not strengthened democracy or civil liberties. The findings reveal that the rise in social media users does not correlate with an improved democracy index. This highlights the need for wisdom in using digital platforms to foster meaningful democratic progress. Furthermore, the government appears to lack sufficient digital democracy literacy, which hinders its ability to harness technology for improving civil liberties. Therefore, while internet penetration grows, efforts must focus on responsible use of social media and strengthening digital literacy to enhance Indonesia's democratic quality.


## 1 INTRODUCTION

Claim euphoria to dominate digital democracy by using digital direct democracy and listening to aspirations online (Hilbert, 2009). As such, digital democracy is evolving with a more objective approach to breaking the dichotomy of direct and representative democracy in a democratic but digital way. Levy (2021) introduces digital media or new media as content in the form of a combination of data, text, sound and various types of images stored in digital format that can be disseminated through broadband optical cable-based networks, satellites or microwaves. Digital media has unique characteristics compared to traditional media. This is because digital information is easily changed and adapted in various forms. In addition, digital media is a new way for someone to gain new experiences in relation to media technology. Digital media also has the ability to determine the public agenda by selecting and emphasising certain issues.. Van Dijk (2012) said that the role of digital participation initiatives from civil society can outweigh government initiatives,

although their influence on political decisions is debatable. In addition, the government does not yet have adequate mechanisms and capacity to deal with increased digital participation (Judhita, 1925). Digital participation in this society has negative and positive impacts according to the theme raised. In addition, not all countries are open to digital media. The paradox in digital democracy in China is seen through the use of technology for social surveillance. This is supported by the study of Zhang and Fung (2013) shows that there was propaganda by a Chinese media TV station on one of its citizens who had the initiative to organize Shanzai online. Unfortunately, the site could not appear because it was blocked by the government. While digital platforms offer spaces for public participation, many are also used to monitor and restrict free speech, creating a tension between individual creativity and government control. Thus, such public participation is better known as digital democracy.

Digital democracy is the participation of citizens in the political process through digital platforms such as online voting, online petitions and discussion

<sup>a</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0000-0000-0000>

<sup>b</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0000-0000-0000>

forums. Digital media encourages transparency and accountability in government by facilitating access to information and public scrutiny. Therefore, digital democracy provides new opportunities for participants in digital media to actively participate in decision-making, and increase their voice in the political process. Several previous studies have shown that various digital democracies can enable easier participation. One of them is the hashtag of #MahsaAmini. The hashtag is an attempt by protesters through social media such as X to oppose several points of criticism about the government in Iran, one of which is the use of the hijab (Kermani, 2023). #MahsaAmini shows the integration of technology in the process of digital democracy. Thus, campaigns are not only conducted directly in the field but also through social media. According to Nyoka and Tembo (2022) Digital democracy became an alternative for people making collective efforts to demonstrate against the government such as #ThisFlag during the Tajamuka riots in Zimbabwe. Lutscher and Ketchley (2023) shows the other side of digital democracy, where many anti-regime social media users in Egypt have new accounts by hiding their information to avoid online codes of conduct. Tseng (2023) also introduced gamification democracy as digital democracy through the application of game elements to increase engagement and participation. These gamified democracies include DecideMadrid and vTaiwan. Both initiatives focus on public participation and the use of technology to improve decision-making processes. DecideMadrid is a platform developed to engage the citizens of Madrid in proposing ideas and participating in discussions on important issues. In addition, vTaiwan is a tool developed by an online platform with the aim of allowing citizens to provide input and participate in the legislative process.

In Japan, their government is able to integrate information and communication technology as an instrument of citizen participation, and it seems that local governments are more capable than the central government (Takao, 2004). Therefore, there is an attempt to build a new form of participatory democracy that can complement the government representation system. On the other hand, people in South Korea were able to influence the cancellation of beef imports by lighting candles and sharing the event on the internet (Kim and Kim, 2009). In contrast to Malaysia, research of Majid (2010) shows that the state civil apparatus is not fully prepared and trusts public aspirations conveyed through digital technology. Studies of digital democracy in these countries generally illustrate that ideas, criticism or control can be easily conveyed to political elites or those in power in today's digital society. If the government does not immediately respond to

criticism and aspirations, the issue can develop into a digital-based protest movement. In Indonesia, there has been a feud between the *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* or Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and the police. Then, a narrative emerged in the public arena about 'lizard versus crocodile' (*cicak versus buaya*) (Lim, 2013). The KPK is symbolized like a lizard, and the police is symbolized like a crocodile. This community protest movement spreads through digital means with the hashtag #saveKPK. Thus, in 2012 this movement protected the KPK from weakening effort.

The emergence of public criticism using digital media continues to occur in Indonesia. The most recent example was the student and people movement in September 2019 using the hashtag #Reformasidikorupsi (reform is corrupted) to reject the weakening of the KPK. The KPK is about to be weakened by revising the KPK Law by the DPR (People's Representative Council). This student and people protest movement received wide support nationwide in almost all provinces in Indonesia, although it was later not heard by the DPR and the President. The digital-based movement also occurred in October 2020, which also occurred widely in all provinces; the people and students expressed their rejection of the ratification of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation (Anggraeni and Rachman, 2020). or half-heartedly, this movement is also supported by Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah Islamic organizations in Indonesia. This movement also uses hashtags on social media with the hashtag #MosiTidakPercaya. That means motion not believe from people who had become the top Twitter trending topic in Indonesia. The government and the DPR did Protest social movements have also emerged massively because of digitalization. This happened in the Arab Spring phenomenon, which brought down power in Egypt (Kubbara, 2019).

Digital-based aspirations and digital-based protest social movements in political literature can be categorized as a digital democracy phenomenon (Nelson et.al, 2017). Ruby (2014) shows that digital democracy also affects policies in Tunisia and Egypt. The Arab Spring events in the two countries revealed that the accessibility and rapid dissemination of information through new social media have made it easier to channel opinions and spread ideas (Coşkun, 2019). Thus, these events increase the ability of citizens to influence government policies or political elites. Freeman dan Quirke (2013) concluded that in this digital democracy situation, there had been a big leap for the government to consider the aspirations of citizens in the decision-making process directly. In addition, digital democracy is used by citizens as a tool to pressure the government to make changes (Rhue and Sundararajan, 2014). In Taiwan, political

forums conducted digitally are more visible in a discursive manner by offering the possibility of practicing deliberative democracy (Fen, 2010). Although the practice of deliberative democracy has not yet concluded that this phenomenon can be called the digital public sphere, where the discourse process on public issues occurs more deeply.

A number of studies above show that the digital democratic era allows easy access to express aspirations. The right to express opinions is more easily channelled and responded to more quickly than using conventional methods. This means that citizens' civil liberties should be better in this digital era than before entering the digital democracy era. Since civil liberties are one of the indicators to assess a country's democracy index, it is in this digital democracy era that a country's democracy index should have progressed (Miller and Vaccari, 2020). According to The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) (2020), Indonesia's democracy index score is 6.30, civil liberties score is 5.59, and political culture score is 4.38. These scores have decreased since 2016. Meanwhile, technological advances that continue to develop should be able to encourage public participation through digital democracy. Therefore, democracy in Indonesia has regressed and is leading to a worsening democracy. The decline in the condition of democracy is a challenge for social science in finding solutions that can improve digital democracy in Indonesia. Therefore, this research aims to analyse the actual phenomenon of democracy in Indonesia, especially in the face of worsening civil liberties in the era of digital democracy.

## 2 METHOD

This research was conducted using a qualitative approach (Lune and Berg, 2017). In a qualitative approach, discourse analysis was chosen by researchers to reveal the phenomenon of digital democracy in Indonesia. Discourse analysis is a method to examine the discourse contained in communication messages both textually and contextually (Van Dijk, 1993). Thus, the analysis used to connect the phenomenon with social criticism related to digital democracy uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this research, the researcher uses a qualitative approach with the Van Dijk (1993) model of discourse analysis research. Therefore, this study describes three dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context. The unit of analysis used is the internet user index from We Are Social data and the democracy index from The EIU data.

The types of data collected are the results of research and books related to digital democracy in Indonesia.

Analysis of text data in this study uses three stages of Van Dijk; namely, the researcher collects texts related to Civil Liberties, digital democracy, and paradoxical democracy. Then describe and classify the text according to the structure of the discourse elements of Van Dijk model. Furthermore, an explanation is carried out by analyzing the text according to the technical analysis of the Van Dijk model, which refers to six elements: thematic, semantic, schematic, syntactic, stylistic, and rhetorical. The data collection technique used in this research is documentation. The documentary method is data collection by tracing social cognition, ideology, community situation, micro and macro dimensions of society, socio-political actions, and actors who have institutional roles. After that, analyze the structure of society. In the macro-structure aspect, we identified global meanings related to democracy through themes in the Economist Intelligence Unit Report. In addition, the researcher schemes the text in digital media related to the *#MosiTidakPercaya* hashtag. Thus, the meaning to be emphasised in this research is the paradoxical democracy that exists in Indonesia.

## 3 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 Result

Along with the development of information technology and the high number of digital media users, theoretically democracy in Indonesia should increase from year to year. This is because the presence of digital media and the advancement of technology provides freedom for the public to control the government openly. Coleman (2015) shows that communication technologies are emerging at the right time to address the challenges posed by the crisis of confidence in democracy. This condition can be seen from various cases in Indonesian digital media such as the hashtag *#MosiTidakPercaya* (Motion of No Confidence). In 2020, there was an Omnibus Law on Job Creation that provoked reactions from various groups of people in Indonesia. Public disappointment emerged through social media Twitter (currently changed to X). The sense of disappointment was shown by giving the hashtag *#MosiTidakPercaya*. In democratic principles, accountability and transparency come first. However, the formation of the omnibus law ignores the principle of transparency, which is not in line with Law No.

12/2011 on the formation of laws and regulations (Khozen et.al, 2021). Thus, people are protesting through social media. Optimism about digital democracy is due to a more inclusive and effective society. Therefore, this research provides an overview of paradoxical democracy in Indonesia. Paradoxical democracy leads to the democratic principle of providing freedom of expression and voting rights to balance individual freedom with the collective need to maintain stability and justice. When the internet first came into use, and cable TV came into being, Shambert (1971) argue that people's skills in using information technology can restore democracy. This happened in the United States fifty years ago. Therefore, Shambert believes that the development of information technology is an opportunity to make democracy better. Reflecting on the current conditions in Indonesia, data on internet users has continued to surge since 2013.

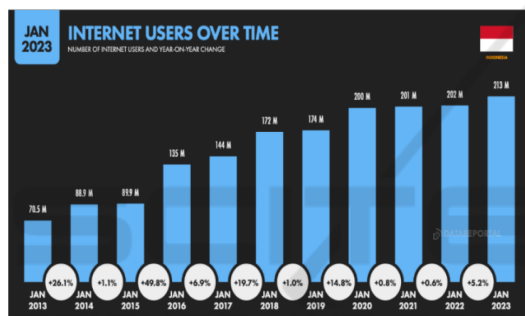


Figure 1: Internet users over time.  
Source: We are Social (2023)

We are social is an agency that focuses on social media. We are Social's Digital Indonesia 2023 report provides an overview of social behaviour in online communities, cultures and subcultures in Indonesia. The data in **Fig. 1** shows that in 2016 there was a significant increase in internet users reaching 49.8%. However, from 2020 to 2022 the increase in internet users was not very significant. In 2023, there was a 5.2% increase in internet users.

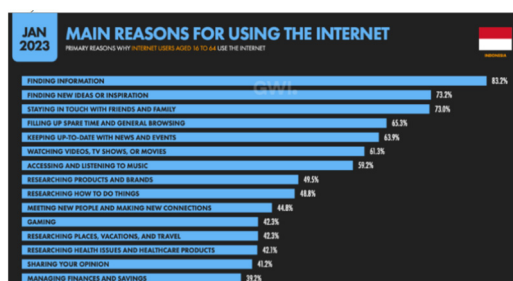


Figure 2 : Main reasons for using the internet.  
Source: We are Social (2023)

**Fig.2** shows the various reasons for using the internet in Indonesia. With regard to the conditions of digital democracy, generally 83.2% of internet usage is done to find information. However, 41.2% of internet users share their opinions. In contrast, 31.1% use social media to share and discuss their opinions. Instagram is one of the social media platforms used by internet users at 18.2%. Furthermore, Tiktok (14.9%), Facebook (14.2%) and Twitter (8.2%). Although twitter users are not as numerous as on Instagram, but various layers of society use X or twitter to show freedom of speech.



Figure 3 : Hashtag #MosiTidakPercaya.  
Source: Twitter

**Fig.3** reflects the challenges and dynamics of democracy in the digital age. Therefore, the democratic process has evolved into digital democracy. In other words, digital democracy makes information and communication technology support the democratic process, increase public participation and improve transparency in government. The *#MosiTidakPercaya* hashtag is a form of public scrutiny of government performance to improve accountability. Unfortunately, the increasing number of internet users has not had a significant impact on Indonesia's democracy index.



Table 1 : Indonesia's democracy index 2020 - 2023.

YEAR	2020	2021	2022	2023
Overall	6.30	6.71	6.71	6.53
Score				
Rank	64	52	54	56
Electoral	7,92	7,92	7,92	7,92
process and				
pluralism				
Functioning of	7,50	7,86	7,86	7,86
Government				
Political	6,11	7,22	7,22	7,22
Participation				
Political	4,38	4,38	4,38	4,38
Culture				
Civil Liberties	5,59	6,18	6,18	5,29

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit (2024)

Based on the Democracy Index Report from The Economist Intelligence Unit (2024), the democracy index in Indonesia has decreased in score and rank. Table 1 shows that the civil liberties index value increased in 2021 and stabilised in 2022. However, in 2023, the civil liberties index decreased by 0.89%. Civil liberties are basic rights that must be protected by law as a form of individual protection from abuse of power by the state. In addition, from 2014 to 2023, Indonesia's democracy index has always experienced an increase and decrease. The Economist Intelligence Unit (2024) in its report indicates that democracy in Indonesia is flawed.

### 3.2 Discussions

The phenomenon of increasing social media users logically and based on a number of studies that have been presented allows civil liberties, for example in terms of expressing opinions and associating, to increase which has an impact on the high number of Indonesia's democracy index. But in fact, amidst the increasing number of internet users and social media users, Indonesia's civil liberties rate is low. This condition is supported by the researcher's findings through discourse analysis of *#MosiTidakPercaya* on social media regarding the enactment of the Omnibus Law. This research is in line with Mahy (2022) Whereas, there has been a decline in democracy in Indonesia. One of these setbacks is shown through the amendments made to the enactment of the omnibus law. Thus, the 2023 democracy index data issued by The Economist Intelligence Unit is in line with current conditions. The existence of discourse through social media does not have a significant impact. Theoretically, when entering the digital era, few scientists believe that the presence of new communication technology will bring better democracy (Coleman, 2015) (Halbert, 2016). Without a doubt, digital communication has emerged at the right time to answer the challenges that arise due to the crisis of trust in democracy[33]. However, the existing technology in Indonesia has not been able

to increase the index of a good democracy. Therefore, the democracy index presented by Halbert (2016) and Coleman (2015) does not show significance. This is because, empirically based on reports from research institutes and previous studies, democracy in Indonesia has worsened in the last four years.

As revealed in the research findings, it concludes that democracy in Indonesia leads to an illegal situation (an increasingly illiberal situation). These findings are in line with the study results by Diprose et al. (2019). In addition, the research of Kusman and Istiqomah (2021) positioned Indonesia in the new despotism political situation, which refers to the theoretical terminology put forward by Keane (2020). Diprose et al. (2019) also added that the illiberal tendency is growing, however, alongside economic and resource nationalism agendas. Nevertheless, the "illiberal turn" has been driven by the deepening inequalities in Indonesian society. Thus, this study shows a strong trend towards the growth of an illegal situation in Indonesia. Factors that drive the illegal conditions include the increasing inequality in society, especially in terms of civil liberties and other democratic rights. It is not surprising that democratic freedom in Indonesia appears to be shackled by political dynasties and oligarchs. Hadiz (2017), in his research, also adds that the failure factor of the state and market in dealing with social injustice is the factor being analyzed. Therefore, the results of this study indicate that the declining democracy index is a factor that encourages the emergence of illegal practices.

The research findings reveal that during the last 14 years, there has been an increase and decrease in the Indonesian democracy index. In addition, civil liberties and political culture are not considered to be in good condition. Thus, it is undeniable that the decline in the democracy index reveals the phenomenon of illegality and new despotism in Indonesia. The worsening of civil liberties occurs when digital social media is growing in Indonesia. In addition, the increasing increase in social media users does not indicate an increase in the democracy index. This is possible because of the discovery of new theoretical problems from the practice of digital democracy in the case of Indonesia.

## 4 CONCLUSIONS

This study concludes that the theory of digital democracy believes that the development of information technology allows the wider public involvement in conveying aspirations and criticisms of the government; in fact, in the case of Indonesia, it is the opposite. This is because Indonesia's democracy index fell 0.18 compared to the previous year. Therefore, there is a phenomenon in Indonesia that shows that digital democracy cannot encourage better democracy and increase civil liberties in a country. The results of this study are expected to be a concern for the government to formulate digital democratic governance. Because if the government is not ready to enter the era of digital democracy where criticism occurs very quickly and it is easy to become a public conversation on social media. This will lead to new conflicts and reduce the people's civil liberties. In addition, this research is expected to be a guide for future research related to new digital-based political behavior. Considering the condition of civil liberties has always been a problem when expressing their aspirations. Especially with the Electronic Information and Transaction Law which can be used to reduce civil liberties through digital democracy. Therefore, it takes wisdom in the use of social media. Thus, an increase in the number of internet users can boost the democracy index in Indonesia

## REFERENCES

- A. K. Kusman and M. Istiqomah, "Indonesia's 'new despotism,'" *Melb. Asia Rev.*, vol. 5, pp. 1–8, 2021, doi: 10.37839/mar2652-550x5.13.
- B. L. Lune, H. & Berg, *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (9th Edition). 2017.
- C. Fen Pai, "Deliberative Democracy via Cyberspace: A Study of Online Political Forum @Taiwan," Cardiff University, 2010.
- C. Judhita, "Interaksi Komunikasi Hoax di Media Sosial serta Antisipasinya Hoax Communication Interactivity in Social Media and Anticipation," *J. Pekommas*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 31–44, 1925, [Online]. Available: <https://www.neliti.com/publications/261723/hoax-communication-interactivity-in-social-media-and-anticipation-interaksi-komu>
- C. Ruby, "Social Media And Democratic Revolution: The Impact of tNew Forms of Communication Democracy," Cuny City College, 2014.
- D. Curran, "Risk, innovation, and democracy in the digital economy," *Eur. J. Soc. Theory*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 207–226, 2018, doi: 10.1177/1368431017710907.
- D. Halbert, "Intellectual property theft and national security: Agendas and assumptions," *Inf. Soc.*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 256–268, 2016, doi: 10.1080/01972243.2016.1177762.
- E. R. Coşkun, "The role of emotions during the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt in light of repertoires," *Globalizations*, vol. 16, no. 7, pp. 1198–1214, 2019, doi: 10.1080/14747731.2019.1578017.
- H. Kermani, "#MahsaAmini: Iranian Twitter Activism in Times of Computational Propaganda," *Soc. Mov. Stud.*, pp. 1–11, 2023, doi: 10.1080/14742837.2023.2180354.
- I. Khozen, P. B. Saptono, and M. S. Ningsih, "Questioning Open Government Principle within the Law-Making Process of Omnibus Law in Indonesia Article Info," *J. Soc. Sci. Humanit.*, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 2021, 2021.
- J. A. G. M. van Dijk, "Digital Democracy: Vision and Reality," in *Public Administration in The Information Age: Revisited*, I. Snellen, M. Thaens, and W. van the Donk, Eds., Netherlands: IOS Press, 2012, p. 63.
- J. Freeman and S. Quirke, "Understanding E-Democracy Government-Led Initiatives for Democratic Reform," *JeDEM - eJournal eDemocracy Open Gov.*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 141–154, 2013, doi: 10.29379/jedem.v5i2.221.
- J. Keane, *The New Despotism*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2020.
- J. L. Nelson, D. A. Lewis, and R. Lei, "Digital Democracy in America: A Look at Civic Engagement in an Internet Age," *Journal. Mass Commun. Q.*, vol. 94, no. 1, pp. 318–334, 2017, doi: 10.1177/1077699016681969.
- L. Rhue and A. Sundararajan, "Digital access, political networks and the diffusion of democracy," *Soc. Networks*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 40–53, 2014, doi: 10.1016/j.socnet.2012.06.007.
- L. Zhang and A. Fung, "The myth of 'shanzhai' culture and the paradox of digital democracy in China," *Inter-Asia Cult. Stud.*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 401–416, 2013, doi: 10.1080/14649373.2013.801608.
- M. Hilbert, "The maturing concept of E-democracy: From E-voting and online consultations to democratic value out of jumbled online chatter," *J. Inf. Technol. Polit.*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 87–110, 2009, doi: 10.1080/19331680802715242.
- M. L. Miller and C. Vaccari, "Digital Threats to Democracy: Comparative Lessons and Possible Remedies," *Int. J. Press.*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 333–356, 2020, doi: 10.1177/1940161220922323.
- M. Lim, "Many Clicks but Little Sticks: Social Media Activism in Indonesia," *J. Contemp. Asia*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 636–657, 2013, doi: 10.1080/00472336.2013.769386.
- M. Shenberg, *Guerrilla television*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1971.
- N. M. A. Majid, "Digital Democracy in Malaysia: Towards Enhancing Citizen Participation," University of Melbourne Australia, 2010.
- O. A. Kubbara, "International actors of democracy assistance in Egypt post 2011: German political foundations," *Rev. Econ. Polit. Sci.*, vol. ahead-of-p, no. ahead-of-print, 2019, doi: 10.1108/revs-04-2019-0043.
- P. M. Lutscher and N. Ketchley, "Online repression and tactical evasion: evidence from the 2020 Day of Anger

- protests in Egypt,” *Democratization*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 325–345, 2023, doi: 10.1080/13510347.2022.2140798.
- P. Mahy, “Indonesia’s Omnibus Law on Job Creation: Legal Hierarchy and Responses to Judicial Review in the Labour Cluster of Amendments,” *Asian J. Comp. Law*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 51–75, 2022, doi: 10.1017/asjcl.2022.7.
- P. Nyoka and M. Tembo, “Dimensions of democracy and digital political activism on Hopewell Chin’ono and Jacob Ngarivhume Twitter accounts towards the July 31st demonstrations in Zimbabwe,” *Cogent Soc. Sci.*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2022, doi: 10.1080/23311886.2021.2024350.
- R. Anggraeni and C. I. L. Rachman, “Omnibus Law in Indonesia: Is That the Right Strategy?,” in *International Conference on Law, Economics and Health (ICLEH 2020)*, 2020, pp. 180–182. doi: 10.2991/aebmr.k.200513.038.
- R. Diprose, D. McRae, and V. R. Hadiz, “Two Decades of Reformasi in Indonesia: Its Illiberal Turn,” *J. Contemp. Asia*, vol. 49, no. 5, pp. 691–712, 2019, doi: 10.1080/00472336.2019.163792.
- R. Levy, “Social Media, News Consumption, and Polarization: Evidence from a Field Experiment,” *Am. Econ. Rev.*, vol. 111, no. 3, pp. 831–870, 2021, doi: 10.1257/AER.20191777.
- S. Coleman, “Digital Democracy,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, G. Mazzoleni, K. G. Barnhurst, K. Ikeda, R. C. M. Maia, and H. Wessler, Eds., New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2015.
- T. Van Dijk, “Principals of Discourse Analysis,” *Discourse Soc.*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 249–283, 1993.
- The Economist Intelligence Unit, “Democracy Index 2020 : In Sickness and in Health.” Accessed: Feb. 10, 2021. [Online]. Available: <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2020/>
- The Economist Intelligence Unit, “Democracy Index 2023: Age Of Conflict,” 2024. [Online]. Available: [www.eiu.com](https://www.eiu.com).
- V. R. Hadiz, “Indonesia’s year of democratic setbacks: towards a new phase of deepening illiberalism?,” *Bull. Indones. Econ. Stud.*, vol. 53, no. 3, pp. 261–278, 2017, doi: 10.1080/00074918.2017.1410311.
- We Are Social, “Digital 2023 Indonesia,” 2023. [Online]. Available: <https://wearesocial.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Digital-2023-Indonesia.pdf>
- Y. C. Kim and J. W. Kim, “South Korean Democracy in the Digital Age: The Candlelight Protests and the Internet,” *Korea Obs.*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 53–83, 2009.
- Y. S. Tseng, “Rethinking gamified democracy as frictional: a comparative examination of the Decide Madrid and vTaiwan platforms,” *Soc. Cult. Geogr.*, vol. 24, no. 8, pp. 1324–1341, 2023, doi: 10.1080/14649365.2022.2055779.
- Y. Takao, “Democratic Renewal by ‘Digital’ Local Government in Japan,” *Pac. Aff.*, vol. 77, no. 2, pp. 237–262, 2004.