Deliberative Democracy in Digital Era

Epin Saepudin, Karim Suryadi, Elly Malihah

Abstract—The development of science and technology communication that takes place very quickly has changed the patterns of citizen life, including in the exercise of democracy. The aim of study is capture the model of deliberative democracy which takes place in digital era, where social media presence has been facilitating the occurrence of their citizens without discussion limited to space and time. This research using phenomenology method with the subject of research is social media users. The results showed that the model of deliberative democracy in digital era provides a new understanding that networking aspirations, build participation and public engagement in development can occur in a more effective and efficient. The presence of digital media into new means of delivering the creation of government policy in tune with the expectations and citizen needs.

Keywords: Democracy, Social Media, Citizen Participation

----- **♦** -----

1 Introduction

The journey of democracy in Indonesia shows its existence increasingly. Democracy as long as it is considered as the best system because it presents the freedom of speech, equality, a guarantee of human rights, and others have undergone various updates, especially with the existence of a virtual based communication channels as the aspirations of the citizens.

Social media presence gives new shades in the praxis of democracy, in which their citizens can interact, exchange ideas, as well as to give advice and criticism over the situation and condition of the nation without the limited time and space. This phenomenon is a deliberative democracy, i.e. when the issues that occur can be resolved through deliberation by dialogical (Habermas, 1991).

Further, it states that in the deliberative democracy, enclosed spaces such as the Houses of Parliament are no longer the only means for the State to determine policy, but civil society who conveys ideas through media had a significant influence in the formation process of a development policy. Connection with it, social media become a tool of social control that is very productive for the creation of public spaces and means of citizen participation.

The results of studies that have been done regarding the participation of the public in China show that the various issues that informed citizens via the internet have developed into a collective action that could affect the Government in decision making (Bivens and Li, 2010). This shows that the existence of social media has brought the positive impact on citizens daily life.

So thus, it is no wonder if deliberative democracy becomes a growing trend in developed countries as an effort to increase citizen participation in public decision-making. Deliberative democracy has provided opportunities for citizens to engage actively in a political discourse with others, even discussions with policy makers (Bulling, et al, 2013). Nevertheless, application of this deliberative democracy does not mean not having negative implications. At the time when the emergence of various fake news (hoax), bullying, blasphemy, and hostilities often occur in practice.

The implications of this arise because the dialogue that occurs is very open and free. In addition, lack of knowledge and experience will be the social issues, values propriety to consider, as well as the ability of the negative consequences that would have emerged from an information disseminated in social media (Ryan, 2010; Wolff & Crockett, 2011; Bulling, et al, 2013).

Regardless of negative implications cause by social media in linking the aspirations of citizens, practitioners of deliberative democracy put great hope to digital media as a forum for discussion between citizens (Bennett, Wells, & Freelon, 2009; Levine, 2007a; Olsson, 2007; A. Von Burg, R. Von Burg, Mitchell, & Louden, 2012). Things to note nowadays is how deliberative democracy can be done orderly, substantial, and uphold the values in a digital culture that might not have been avoided its existence.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Deliberative Democracy

In the life of a nation and state context, democracy is concerned with the management of a shared life. Terminologically, democracy comes from the two words "demos" means people and "kratein" means power, therefore democracy defined as the power was in the hands of the people (Welzel & Inglehart, 2008; Canovan, 1999; Laclau, 2001). In the context of the pluralistic society in Indonesia, a model of democracy developed and not embraced the majoritarian model, but rather a model consultative (consensus) that inclusive (Latif, 2009) or in other words can be compared with the model of deliberative democracy (Habermas, 1991).

In a deliberative democracy, the State is no longer determining the law and other political policies in a closed

[•] Epin Saepudin is Lecture in Faculty of Arts and Design, Institut Teknologi Bandung, and Postgraduate Student at the School of Postgraduate Studies, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, email:epin.saepudin@itb.ac.id

Karim Suryadi, Lecture in Faculty of Social Sciences Education, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesia

[•] Elly Malihah, Lecture in Faculty of Social Sciences Education, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesia

comfortable room (splendid isolation), but through the media and civil society organizations that the vocals played a very significant influence in the process of establish a legal and political policies. The people have a voice in the process of determining the formulation of Government policy through the available channels such as political parties, interest groups, public opinion, and suppressor. The basic principles of democracy include equations, respect for human values, respect for civil rights and freedom, as well as fair play (Freeman, 2000; Habermas, 1991). Deliberative democracy is trying to create the conditions of decision-making through deliberations that provide opportunities for the public to engage actively in a political discourse with others, even also conduct discussions with policy makers (Bulling, D, et al, 2013)

The involvement of citizens in making public policy in tune with public choice theory looks at the policy formulation process as a collective judgment of the individuals concerned over the decision (Pasolong, 2007). This theory assumes that humans is *homo economicus* who have interests that must be satisfied. Its substance, any public policy that made the Government should be a representation of hope and fulfillment of the needs of the community, because true development must demonstrate a collaborative culture (Saepudin, 2014). Participatory government is intended to change the political culture and give citizens a wide range of new experiences that will encourage their active involvement in the affairs of Government.

2.2 Digital Media and Cyber Space

The development of the cyber world was inspired by two streams, namely cyber paternalist and cyber-libertarian (Murray, 2007). Cyber-paternalist stream stresses that cyberspace is but an electronic form from ordinary spaces that we know so far. This contrasts with a cyber-libertarian stream that thus rejected all attempts to leveler cyberspace with the world or in other words like they feel their world disturbed by the existence of the analogy concept.

The Internet as electronic mass media plays a role in improving the discussions actively and continuously for the users. Research performed Karasar (2002) indicates that respondents felt that they could create social reality through discussions/chat on social media. The Internet's early appearances were just as one-sided information media, it's been transformed into a means of two-way communication. The Internet as an electronic network system is the basis of the occurrence of virtual communication is global because it facilitates the occurrence of communication between people from all nations of the world (Kaye & Medoff, 1999; Karasar, 2002).

Active discussions between members of social networks often lead to collective action which in the end action on a number of conical support againsta policy or even opposition to a policy. Social media in this case, provide a space for the community to become a journalist or commonly known as citizen journalism. Citizen journalism has a number of advantages not possessed by traditional media, among others;

audience control, nonlinearity, and interactivity (Foust, 2005).

Social media opens up greater opportunities communication for democracy (McQuail, 2000). It became the key concept 'citizen journalism' which is basically used for direct communication between the citizen with countries that are governed by the mainstream media who describes himself as a pillar of democracy. Analogous to McQuail, Gripsund (1992) argues that the "The press, in particular, was to function as an instrument or a forum for the enlightened, rational, critical, and unbiased public discussion of what the common interests were in matters of culture and politics".

Research results Zuniga et al (2012) revealed that scholars in the United States who use digital media contribute to creating a social capital in building democracy "political constructs (knowledge and efficacy), and frequency and size of political discussion networks, seeking information via social network sites is a positive and significant predictor of people's social capital and civic and political participatory behaviors, online and offline".

3 METHOD

This research on the model of deliberative democracy in digital era used a qualitative approach with a phenomenological method. Location of the study is in Bandung City with research subject is users of social media amounted to 27 people. The techniques of collecting data were interviews, observation and documentation study. The data were analyzed using Milles and Huberman model, including; data reduction, data display and verification (Milles and Huberman, 1992). To increase the degree of trust on the research data, triangulation based on the data collection techniques and triangulation based on data sources were used.

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Social Media as Digital Public Space

In the era of technology and information that is currently afflicting the world, the position of the media is considered as one of the pillars of democracy (Stier, 2015; Van der Eijk, 2000). The existence of social media in terms of occupies the position as the public space (Habermas, 1991; McNair, 2003). Public space that is meant as a face-to-face, began to shift into a digital public space that whenever and wherever everyone can interact and communicate with the help of an internet connection. Connection with it, social media is very strategic in raising the participation of citizens to communicate the idea without limited time and space.

Social media as public space is attempting to push a sourced opinion thoughts netizen. Social media is becoming a means of exchange of ideas their citizens questioning the reality of social life they experienced (Pusey in McNair, 2003). Though if opinion delivered individually, when it is done through the canals of the information can be accessed easily by the public so it can be stimulating and became the forerunner of public opinion formation within the framework of social solidarity.

Social discussion in social media among citizens can

culminate in a consensus, where the individual accumulates ideas into one. Social media provides the opportunity for all walks of life (without distinguishing the majority and minority) to deliver construction details because as already explained that very democracy upholds freedom and equality. Democratic Government adheres to the principle of majority power without leaving a minority voice in making policy as output legitimacy (Larsson, 2007). The following image shows the docking between majority and minority power protection in the culture of democracy.

The Democratic focus of the system
High degree of

Majority Rule Minority
Protection

Majoritarian Power-Sharing

Result (output)

Consensual Deliberative

Figure 1. The Ideal Type of Democratic Government (Larsson, 2007)

Citizens, in this case, are no longer only as individuals, but it has been incarnated as a public body when the discourse happens their citizens through the ways of the infinite time and space, i.e. a guarantee of freedom association and assembly as well as in an atmosphere that is free to express their respective opinions. Same as public space in the real world, social media as public space also presents the debates. Debates that happened are 'snowball', where when there is one topic that contains the pros and cons, pros continue to collect ammunition and a counter continues to find fault.

Things that need to be understood here is one person's thoughts on the construction of social media it only as text, in the sense of having an opportunity for misinterpretations. Therefore, maturity and wisdom in the disparate opinions on social media are must, otherwise, it will not encounter any intersection and even leads horizontal conflict.

4.2 Deliberative Democracy in Digital Era

Currently, we are experiencing what is called a "digital democracy", where the information is scattered in social media was influential in creating a strong public opinion that culminate in a collective action. The conception of deliberative democracy in the digital age is present when ideas are constructed by residents and submitted through the digital space (cyberspace). As a digital citizenship, social media can be used as a means the consensus of the citizens in building a consensus, though without meeting face-to-face.

This development is in line with the transformation of web 1.0 into 2.0 which has given space to all citizens (netizen)

to expression and to convey his opinion related to the public interest (Papaioannou, 2013). Social media has created a social change, where 'face-to-face' interaction has been replaced with "face" without interaction. Internet presence is the basis of the occurrence of virtual communication is global because it facilitates the occurrence of communication between people from all nations of the world (Kaye & Medoff, 1999; Karasar, 2002).

Related to this, solidify when social media contribute to deliberative democracy building in the digital age. Digital media as a means of sharing information to contribute to fostering the process of democracy and the creation of social capital (Zuniga, et al, 2012). Research findings indicate that the use of online media to contribute positive and significant in enhancing the political behavior of participatory citizens.

The participation of citizens in the form of Westernization through social media woke up when their fellow citizens give the stimulus and response in the form of thought which is poured in a text that contains a view of the social situation will occur. In the schematic process of deliberations that occurred in social media can be seen in Figure 2 below.

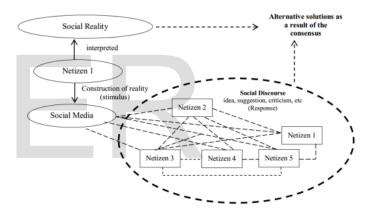


Figure 2. Model of Deliberative Democracy in Digital Era

Based on the above picture, it can be explained that the deliberative democracy in the digital age happens like in the real world. The thing that distinguishes is when the process of discussion and interaction is not done face-to-face. Nevertheless, the substance of deliberative democracy is when their citizens could be consulted in addressing problems that occur, and then offers an alternative solution to problem-solving as a conclusion.

Social media as the implications of advances in information and communication technology positively impact against the maturity democracy in Indonesia, especially when it plays as a means of ideas exchange between people. The results of studies of the political development in the countries that already enjoy political stability and social harmony demonstrate that freedom of information and the right of the people to get the information of the central role it plays in the overall political process (Lay, 2006).

In addition, the existence of a deliberative democracy in the digital age shows a transformation to democracy. Social media as a public entity had been popular in linking the aspirations of citizens through the process of virtual communication each other mutually connected.

Social media in the context of democratic life, which provides a framework for developing a "collective reasoning" on digital societies, which is a process in which everyone worked together and seek common goals to decide the strategic policies. However, participation in decision making in deliberative happening in social media may only be employed depending on the process that promotes interaction that takes place on an ongoing basis, indicating critical and reflexive actions, as well as dialogue and discourse that tolerate the sound of authentic (Chambers in Jun, 2006).

Democracy is an entity of the Government 'from, by, and for people', therefore the whole citizen is expected to support and be involved in maintaining a democratic way of life (Schneider and Ingram, 2007). The implications of social media as a means of building democracy is deliberative in this digital age is increased public participation in providing alternative options for Government in taking and deciding public policy.

5 CONCLUSION

Deliberative democracy in the digital age happened when their citizens mutually interact, communicate with each other, exchange ideas, give each other's comments as a form of suggestion or criticism, and others submitted through the canals of digital information (social media, website, blog, etc) without limited time and space. Digital democracy model provides a new understanding that networking aspirations, build participation and public engagement in development can occur in a more effective and efficient. The presence of digital media into new means of delivering the creation of Government policy in tune with the expectations and needs of the citizens.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Thanks to all respondents by users of social media who are giving opportunity for researcher to interviews. In addition, thanks to members of online group Sora Rakyat Bandung for the assistance during data collection process

REFERENCES

- Bennett, W., Wells, C., & Freelon, D. (2009). Communicating Citizenship Online: Models of Civic Learning in The Youth Web Sphere. Seattle, WA: Center for Communication and Civic Engagement
- Bivens, R., & Li, C. (2010). Web-Oriented Public Participation in Contemporary China. Web Journalism://a new form of citizenship, 275-288.
- Bulling, D, et al. (2013). Deliberation Models Featuring Youth Participation. Public Policy Center University of Nebraska: *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, 409–432.
- Canovan, M. (1999). Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy. *Political Studies*, 47 (1), 2-16.
- Foust, JC. (2005). Online Journalism: Principles and Practices of News for the Web. United States: Holcomb Hathaway

- Publishing
- Freeman, S. (2000). Deliberative Democracy: A Sympathetic Comment. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 29 (4), 371-418.
- Gripsund, J. (1992). *Journalism and Popular Culture*. London: Sage
- Habermas, J. (1991). "The Public Sphere" in Mukerji and Schudson (eds), Rethinking Popular Culture. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jun, JS. (2006). The Social Construction of Public Administration: Interpretive and Critical Perspectives. Albany: State University of New York Press
- Karasar, S. (2002). Virtual Construction of Social Reality Through New Medium-Internet. *Turkish Online Journal of Distance Education-TOJDE*, 67-73
- Kaye, B., Medoff, N. (1999). The World Wide Web: A Mass Communication Perspective. CA: Mayfield Publ. Company.
- Laclau, E. (2001). Democracy and the Question of Power. Constellations, 8(1), 3-14.
- Latif, Y. (2009). Introduction Readers in Hardiman, B. (2009). Demokrasi Deliberatif: Menimbang Negara Hukum dan Ruang Publik dalam Teori Diskursif Jurgen Habermas. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Larsson, T. (2007). Committees and The Nature of Deliberative Supranationalism in The EU 12. In The Role of Committees in the Policy-Process of the European Union: Legislation, Implementation and Deliberation. Thomas Christiansen and Torbjörn Larsson (Ed). Massachusett: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
- Lay, C. (2006). *Involution of Politics: Essays The Transition Indonesia*. JIP-PLOD Fisipol-UGM: Yogyakarta.
- Levine, P. (2007a). The future of democracy: Developing the next generation of American citizens. Medford, MA: Tufts University Press.
- McNair, B. (2003). *An Introduction To Political Communication Third Edition*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- McQuail, D. (2000). *Mass Communication Theory*. California: SAGE publication ltd.
- Miles, M & Huberman, AM. (1992). *Analisis Data Kualitatif*. Jakarta: UI-Press
- Murray, AD. (2007). The Regulation in Cyberspace :Control in the Online Environment.UK: Routelage & Cavendish
- Olsson, T. (2007). An Indispensable Resource: The internet and Young Civic Engagement. Dalam P. Dahlgren (Ed). Young Citizens and New Media: Learning for Democratic Participation. London: Routledge
- Papaioannou, T. (2013). Media and Civic Engagement: The Role of Web 2.0 Technologies In Fostering Civic Participation Among Youth. In D. Lemish (Ed), *The Routledge international handbook of children, adolescents and media studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Pasolong, H. (2007). *Teori Administrasi Publik*. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- Ryan, M. (2010). Productions of space: Civic participation of young people at university. *British Educational Research Journal*, 37 (6), 1015–1031
- Saepudin, E. (2014). Penguatan Nilai Kesukarelaan dalam Membangun Ekonomi Kewarganegaraan melalui Situs Kewarganegaraan (Studi Kasus pada Komunitas *Bandung*

- Creative City Forum). Thesis in Civic Education Departement Postgraduated Studies Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia. Bandung: Unpublished
- Schneider, AL & Ingram, H. (2007). Public Policy and Democratic Citizenship: What Kinds of Citizenship Does Policy Promote?. In Fischer, F, et al (Ed). *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis Theory, Politics, and Methods*. New York: CRC Press
- Stier, S. (2015). Democracy, autocracy and the news: the impact of regime type on media freedom. *Democratization* 22(7), 1273-1295.
- Van der Eijk, C. (2000). The Netherlands: Media and Politics Between Segmented Pluralism and Market Forces. Democracy and The Media: A Comparative Perspective, 303-42.
- Von Burg, A., Von Burg, R., Mitchell, G., & Louden, A. (2012). Emerging Communication Technologies and The Practices of Enhanced Deliberation: The experience of Benjamin Franklin Transatlantic Fellows Summer Institute. *Journal of Public Deliberation*, 8(1).
- Welzel, C., & Inglehart, R. (2008). The role of ordinary people in democratization. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(1), 126-140.
- Wolff, J., & Crockett, L. (2011). The Role of Deliberative Decision Making, Parenting, and Friends in Adolescent Risk Behaviors. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 40(12), 1607–1622
- Zuniga, HG, et al. (2012). Social Media Use for News and Individuals, Social Capital, Civic Engagement and Political Participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*. 17, 319–336.

