



Online civic engagement through social media: An analysis of Twitter's big data

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ABSTRACT

The development of social media and internet networks has stimulated new scientific interest in online civic engagement, resulting in a redefinition of deliberative politics and the public sphere. On the other hand, all aspects of human life today have been translated into big data and recorded in their activities on social media. The shift from using humans as the unit of study to using algorithms creates a new problem for academics in social science. This online civic engagement research aims to find out the topic of discourse for digital citizens in the discourse of moving the nation's capital city (IKN) and what the ideology behind the discourse is by utilizing Twitter's big data. This study used a mixed method with a sequential explanatory design type. The quantitative method used is topic modeling with the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) technique. In contrast, the qualitative method used is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method from Norman Fairclough, who sees language as a practice of power. The topic modeling analysis revealed four themes in the IKN discourse: agreeing to move the state capital, objecting to move the state capital, supporting the discourse on moving the state capital, and the fourth theme, law, and eradication of corruption. From the results of critical discourse analysis, it is known that there is a diametrical division in the IKN issue due to identity politics that emerged after the 2014 Presidential Election. In every discussion on the IKN discourse, there is a conflict between Islamic populism and Nationalist-Secular populism.

Keywords: online civic engagement, digital citizenship, social media, big data

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INTRODUCTION

Social media users in Indonesia have increased significantly from year to year. Based on data released by *We Are Social* entitled *Digital 2022: Indonesia*, Indonesian social media users in January 2022 reached 191.4 million, up 12.6% from the previous year. This number is 68.9% of the total population of Indonesia, which means that the majority of citizens are connected to social media, with an average time spent of 3 hours, and 17 minutes a day (Kemp, 2022). This data indicates that social media and the internet have ingrained themselves into people's daily lives, influencing not just how they communicate but also how they shop online and engage in civic life by expressing their political aspirations.

The development of social media and internet networks has stimulated new scientific interest in online civic engagement, resulting in a redefinition of deliberative politics and the public sphere (Uldam & Vestergaard, 2015). Conventionally, civic engagement is defined as individual and collective behavior to solve social problems in society, both through political and non-political means (Delli Carpini, 2000; Ehrlich, 2000; Zukin et al., 2006). Activities include reading newspapers, volunteering for civic organizations, contacting public officials, attending protests, signing petitions, engaging with the community, or writing articles, etc. (Keeter et al., 2002; Nishishiba et al., 2005; Putnam, 2000).

However, several academics have recently proposed the importance of civic engagement being carried out through online platforms such as social media (Bennett et al., 2011; Skoric et al., 2016; Valenzuela, 2013; Warren et al., 2014) because new media has provided space for different participation than before. Online civic engagement is a civic engagement activity that is specifically carried out by young people and involves digital media of several types (Bayraktar, 2021). The categories include three activities that become the meeting point of the intersection of civic engagement facilitated by technology: (1) acquiring and processing information; (2) voicing and debating opinions and beliefs; and (3) taking action (Gordon et al., 2013). At this level, citizen political discourse, which previously took place in real public spaces, has shifted to digital public spaces. At that point, the conceptualization of citizenship has shifted to the concept of digital citizenship.

Some literature mentions digital citizenship as behavioral norms in the use of technology such as ethical awareness, empathy, and responsibility (Ribble et al., 2004, p. 7). But nowadays, digital citizenship has evolved into a form of online engagement and participation (Jones & Mitchell, 2016; Mossberger et al., 2008). This activity is considered an extension of the range of citizenship needed in real life to digital life through appropriate communication and decision-making processes (Bennett et al., 2009). One of the characteristics of digital citizenship is the high level of activity in responding to public issues by citizens, especially through social media.

The development of information technology, social media, and the internet has ushered in the era of computing social science (Zúñiga & Diehl, 2017). For social science academics, big data poses a challenge for changing the unit of analysis from humans to algorithms (Rumata, 2016). Nowadays, every aspect of human life has been translated into data stored in their activities on social media. For this reason, the challenge for social scientists in the current era of information technology proliferation is to take advantage of the big data that is abundantly available in the digital space, especially social media. The same challenges also occur in citizenship studies, where big data and social media are also special challenges (Schäfer, 2016).

Big data is data with high volume, high velocity, and great variety (Foster et al., 2017). The use of big data is not only the exclusive domain of computer science but can also be used to understand social processes that occur in the digital space. The problem is that there are not many researchers who use big data, especially social researchers. The lack of literature that combines the use of big data with social science is one of the obstacles faced. For this reason, this research seeks to combine methods that utilize big data from social media through machine learning with methods from social science disciplines, namely critical discourse analysis, to explore online civic engagement through social media.

One of the popular social media platforms in Indonesia is Twitter, which is a social networking and microblogging service that allows users to send and read text-based messages called "tweets". Twitter is one of the popular social media used by 58.3% of social media users in Indonesia (Kemp, 2022). One advantage of Twitter over other social media platforms is that it is generally text-based, with a character limit of 280, allowing people to focus on what is being said and voiced. Social media, like Twitter, is the right tool for citizens to debate public issues.

The focus of this research is to reveal forms of online civic engagement through social media on public issues that become the discourse of digital citizens. One of the public issues that has received great attention from digital citizens is the issue of moving the country's capital city (IKN) from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. Digital citizens participate in the IKN discourse, which is triggered by a series of events, including the ratification of the Draft State Capital City Law (RUU IKN) into law and the adoption of "Nusantara" as the IKN's official name by the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) and the government on January 18, 2022. The national news media extended the discussion over transferring the capital to the general public, and then digital citizens took it up by discussing and debating it in the online world via social media.

METHOD

The method used in this study is a mixed method with a sequential explanatory design (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The quantitative method used is topic modeling with the Latent

Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) technique, a machine learning approach with a statistical methodology that aims to identify topics in large unstructured document sets (Blei, 2012). Blei represents the LDA method as a probabilistic model visually as Figure 1.

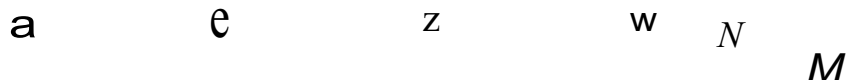


Figure 1. LDA Probabilistic Model

Description:

- α is the *dirichlet* parameter of the topic distribution in the document
- β is the topic distribution parameter at the corpus level
- θ is topic distribution for a specific document
- z represents the topic of a particular word in a document
- w represents words related to certain topics contained in the document
- N is a group of words
- M is the document set

Meanwhile, the qualitative method used is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method from Norman Fairclough who sees language as a practice of power (Fairclough, 2010). Fairclough's discourse analysis system has three dimensions because discourse is simultaneously seen as: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 2010). The research procedure carried out is as Figure 2.

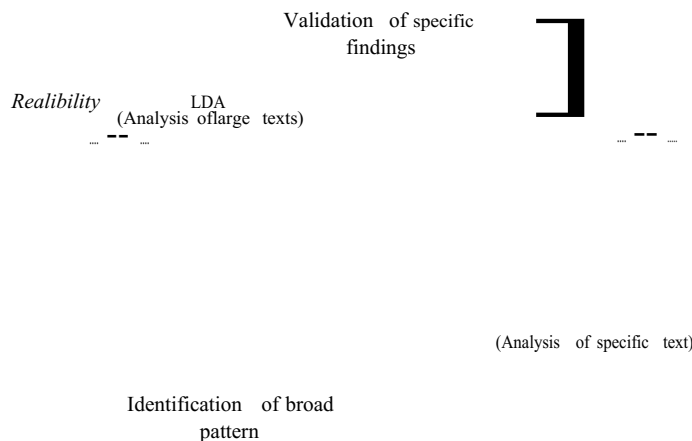


Figure 2. The Research Procedure

First of all, the data obtained from the crawling results will be processed in large text analysis or LDA topic modeling, which consists of three stages: The first stage is data preprocessing, which is the initial stage in processing input data to prepare text for topic modeling processing and turn it into more structured data (Alasadi & Bhaya, 2017). Data preprocessing steps include: 1) applying functions, namely the deletion of symbols, emoji, punctuation, URLs, mentions, and hashtags; 2) lower case, which is changing all capital letters contained in text data

to lower case; 3) remove duplicates, i.e. delete the exact same tweets, responses, and opinions; 4) tokenization, namely the conversion of sentences or paragraphs into single words; 5) stopwords removal, which is the removal of unimportant words or terms that have no meaning and are irrelevant; 6) the formation of a dictionary and corpus, which is changing data in the form of text into numbers from the bag of word references so that they can be read in computer language. The second stage is data processing, namely the topic modeling process in LDA after previously cleaning the data in the data preprocessing process, and the last stage is the evaluation of the LDA results by analyzing the perplexity and coherence values.

The topics generated from the LDA topic modeling will then be analyzed specifically using the CDA method from Norman Fairclough which includes: 1) text analysis or description analysis focusing on three elements, namely, representation, relation, and identity; 2) discourse practice analysis or interpretive analysis focusing on how texts are produced and consumed; and 3) sociocultural practice analysis conducted at three levels: situational level, institutional level, and social level.

Data was collected between January 4 and February 5, 2022, with the crawling technique, a technique for collecting data on a website by entering a Uniform Resource Locator (URL) and utilizing the Application Programming Interface (API) from Twitter. The data is mined from Twitter big data with the keywords “ikn”, “ibu kota”, and “nusantara”. The crawling results are stored in Tab Separated Value (TSV) format, and the data obtained is 359,221 data.

In conducting topic modeling, the coding process is carried out using the *Python* programming language, which is a type of high-level programming language created by Guido van Rossum and available for free from the Python Software Foundation. In running Python code, the tool used is the *Google Collaboratory* application, which is an executable document that can be used to store, write, and share programs that have been written via Google Drive. The license used is *Google Collaboratory Pro+*, which is the highest license in *Google Collaboratory*.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Finding

LDA

This study group covers topics in digital citizen discourse or online civic engagement through social media on the issue of IKN. The following data were obtained from the process of topic modeling experiments with a value of 20 topics (Figure 3).

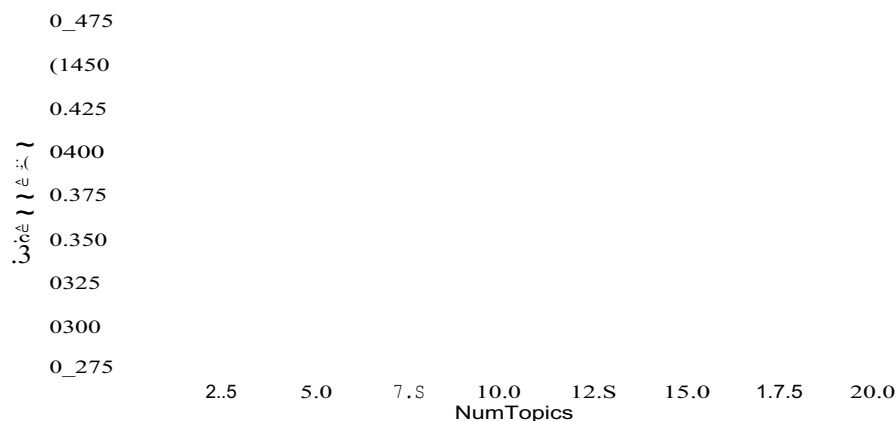


Figure 3. Coherence Score

After experimenting with 20 topics, the highest coherence score was in num topics 4 with a value of 0.4686 and a perplexity value of -7.9461. This means that topic 4 is the best of all the topics because it has better model accuracy. The next 4 topics become references in the LDA model and visualization. The LDA results are as Figure 4.

Based on Figure 4, it is known that the results of the topic modeling are obtained in as many as four groups of topic clusters, where cluster 1 (topic 0) is shown in blue and looks dominant and

solid. Cluster 2 (topic 1) is shown in orange, which also looks solid but has a smaller composition. Then, cluster 3 (topic 2), which is green, and cluster 4 (topic 3), which is red, are seen mixed with topic 3, which is more dominant.



Color Description:

Topic 0: -. Topic 1: -. Topic 2: -. Topic 3: -. .

Figure 4. t-SNE Visualization

To learn more about the conversations surrounding each topic, it is necessary to display the dominant terms in each topic in the word cloud as Figure 5. The ten most dominant terms in the topic are clearly visible in Figure 5.



Figure 5. World Cloud Visualization

In topic 0 (Table 1), the terms “*pindah*”, “*jakarta*” and “*kepala*” became the most dominant terms among other terms. From the arrangement of terms seen, it can be interpreted that topic 0 talks about “the attitude of digital citizens who agree with moving the country’s capital city” from Jakarta. This is reinforced by the emergence of the word “*setuju*” and the term “*pindah*” as well as terms that refer to the current capital city of Jakarta, namely “*jakarta*” and “*dki*”. To see the details of the discourse in topic 0, it can be seen from the following examples of tweets in topic 0.

Table 1. Examples of Tweets contained in topic 0

Examples of tweets contained in Topic 0	Account name	Post time
<i>"dewan pengarah ikn mbz investornya uni emirat arab yang dituduh kadrun china kan pekok"</i>	Shafa Yunita	25/01/2022 08:06
<i>"ngotot menolak keras pemindahan ikn berarti kelompok ini hilang mata pencarian di dki sebab jika pindah ibu kota ke kalimantan kelompok ini akan susah jual agama sebab kalimantan sudah menunjukkan tarungnya ketika kasus edy yang menghina Kalimantan"</i>	yanrz11	04/02/2022 18:18
<i>"jadi tau kenapa bohir kadrun dan gerombolan kadrun pada g mau pindah ke ikn g bisa demo lagi spt di jakarta takut sama masyarakat kalimantan rupanya bravo borneo bravo Indonesia"</i>	Maryono Suryatmadja	26/01/2022 17:55

While in topic 1 of the 10 most widely used terms, the term "uu" which refers to the word law, "rakyat", and "proyek" is the most dominant term among others. From the wording contained in topic 1, it can be interpreted that topic 1 highlights the "rejection attitude towards the issue of moving the country's capital city" because it is considered a government project, let alone carried out during a pandemic that has not yet ended. Examples of tweets in topic 1 are as Table 2.

Table 2. Example of Tweets contained in topic 1

Examples of tweets contained in Topic 1	Account name	Post time
<i>"joko kembali berkhayal bangun ikn di tengah ekonomi sedang nyungsep"</i>	POPOLE Tv	02/02/2022 11:56
<i>"yang muslim dari mana suaranya ayo ikutan naikin tagar &gt;&gt; ikn proyek oligarki"</i>	Suwarni	27/01/2022 06:07
<i>"ceritanya bangun ikn pake ngutang dulu dong oom"</i>	🇮🇩GandiL	20/01/2022 07:41
<i>"yang muslim dari mana suaranya ayo ikutan naikin tagar &gt;&gt; ikn proyek oligarki ikn proyek oligarki"</i>	Suwarni	27/01/2022 06:07

Next to topic 2 (Table 3), the most dominant terms are "kota", "pembangunan" and "negara" compared to other terms. By reading the existing term structure, it can be interpreted that topic 2 discusses "supportive attitudes about moving the national capital" as an effort to equalize development. Table 3 are some examples of tweets from topic 2.

Table 3. Example of Tweets contained in topic 2

Examples of tweets contained in topic 2	Account name	Post time
<i>"masyarakat kalimantan mendukung penuh pemindahan ibukota ikn sejahterakan bangsa"</i>	dabriel	27/01/2022 02:08
<i>"pembangunan ikn akan bersinergi dengan masyarakat kaltim ikn sejahterakan bangsa"</i>	Aurelia Ayudia	26/01/2022 10:56
<i>"ikn pemerataan pembangunan"</i>	Papa Antar	21/01/2022 08:38

While on the last topic, namely topic 3 (Table 4), the dominant terms are "pemerintah", "korupsi", and "kpk". Another arrangement of terms is "ketua", "firli", and "bahuri" which refer to the chairman of the KPK Firli Bahuri, then there are the terms "hukum", and "pencegahan". By looking at the structure of terms in topic 3, it can be interpreted that topic 3 discusses "corruption and legal issues."

The characteristic of the tweet in topic 3 is that the sentences used in the text tend to reveal many things, but at the end of the sentence, they are in the form of support for or rejection of moving the national capital. Most of them are uploads from the KPK and the Prosecutor's Office regarding the development of corruption cases, but at the end of the sentence there is a statement of support for the relocation of the national capital are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Example of Tweets contained in topic 3

Examples of tweets contained in Topic 3	Account name	Post time
<i>"lembaga pemerintah semakin berani dan profesional dalam penegakan dan memberantas korupsi di indonesia pertahankan dan tetap semangat menindak koruptor dukung ikn nusantara"</i>	Edwar Allo	26/01/2022 03:21
<i>"terpidana korupsi bank mandiri rp120 miliar ditangkap ikn pemerataan pembangunan"</i>	Talenan	26/01/2022 03:22
<i>"kinerja lembaga pemerintah polri kejaksaan ri & kpk semakin efektif berani dan profesional dalam memberantas korupsi ikn sejahteraan bangsa"</i>	Janis	26/01/2022 13:25

CDA

From the results of the previous analysis using the LDA technique, it was found that there were four topics that were discussed by digital citizens regarding the issue of moving the country's capital. The four topics are as Table 5.

Furthermore, the four topics were analyzed qualitatively and in depth using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method from Norman Fairclough, are presented in Table 6.

The first stage in Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is the text dimension, also known as descriptive analysis. Text analysis will focus on three elements: representations, relations, and identities contained in the text. Then, the second stage is carried out, namely the analysis of discourse practices that focus on the intertextual dimension. The results of the two stages of analysis are as follows:

In cluster 1 or topic 0, it is interpreted as a topic that discusses digital citizens' agreement with the discourse of moving the nation's capital, with the dominant terms being *"pindah"*, *"jakarta"* and *"kepala"*. However, to express agreement with the discourse on moving the state capital, the text representations used include the terms *"kelompok"*, *"kadrun"*, and *"jual agama"*. Meanwhile, the relationship formed in topic 0 is the relationship between residents who agree to move the country's capital city and the group identified as "dissidents" by the group contained in topic 0. Moreover, the identity attached to topic 0 is the government buzzer. In the intertextual analysis, it is known that the use of the terms *"kelompok"* *"kadrun"* and *"jual agama"* is part of the polarization that occurred during the 2017 DKI Pilkada process, which was thick with identity politics with the exploitation of religious issues.

Cluster 2 or topic 1, which is interpreted as a topic that discusses the attitude of rejecting the discourse of moving the state capital, has the most dominant term, *"uu"* which refers to the word law, *"rakyat"*, and *"proyek"*. The textual representations used to express rejection of the discourse of moving the national capital are *"proyek"*, *"oligarki"*, and *"muslim"*. From the textual representation, there is a relationship between citizens who think critically and oligarchic rulers. Thus, the identity inherent in topic 1 is the government's opposition. From the results of the intertextual analysis, it is known that the use of the terms *"proyek"* and *"oligarki"* is often coupled with the spotlight on the national economic condition, which has slumped due to the pandemic, so that the relocation of the national capital is considered a project of a handful of oligarchs in times of bad economic conditions. Meanwhile, the term *"muslim"* is used as an identity attached to topic 1 in the hope of getting support from Indonesia's predominantly Muslim population.

Cluster 3 or topic 2 is interpreted as digital citizens who support the discourse of moving the nation's capital city, with the dominant terms being *"kota"*, *"pembangunan"* and *"negara"*. However, the representations used to express support for the discourse of relocating the nation's capital are *"dukung ikn nusantara"*, *"ikn pemerataan pembangunan"* and *"ikn sejahteraan bangsa"*. From the analysis of the representation, there is a relationship between digital citizens who support the discourse of moving the state capital and policymakers or the ruling government. Thus, the identity attached to topic 2 is that of citizens who are pro-status quo. The results of the intertextual analysis show that the use of the terms *"ikn pemerataan pembangunan"* and *"ikn*

sejahteraan bangsa" is used as the theme of support for IKN because of the economic and development inequality between Java and outside Java, or what is called Java-centric.

Table 5. LDA topic modelling results and interpretation

Topic	Term	Interpretation
0	0.044*"pindah" 0.034*"jakarta" 0.012*"kepala" 0.011*"dki" 0.010*"orang" 0.008*"anak" 0.008*"menolak" 0.007*"otorita" 0.007*"ahok" 0.006*"setuju"	the attitude of digital citizens who agree with moving the country's capital city
1	0.063*"uu" 0.037*"rakyat" 0.026*"proyek" 0.022*"negara" 0.020*"mk" 0.019*"bangun" 0.014*"cepat" 0.013*"pandemi" 0.013*"dana" 0.012*"dpr"	rejection attitude towards the issue of moving the country's capital city
2	0.147*"kota" 0.057*"pembangunan" 0.044*"negara" 0.041*"nusantara" 0.035*"pemindahan" 0.026*"kalimantan" 0.024*"dukung" 0.023*"indonesia" 0.023*"masyarakat" 0.019*"presiden"	supportive attitudes about moving the national capital
3	0.055*"pemerintah" 0.048*"korupsi" 0.047*"kpk" 0.020*"ketua" 0.016*"terkait" 0.014*"pencegahan" 0.013*"bahuri" 0.013*"lazio" 0.013*"hukum" 0.013*"firli"	corruption and legal issues

Table 6. Results of critical discourse analysis

LDA Topics	Representation	Relation	Identity	CDA Intertextual	Situational Level	Institutional Level	Social Level
Topic 0	“kelompok” “kadrun” “menjual agama”	Digital citizens who agree with moving the nation's capital vs groups considered dissident	Government buzzer	The use of the words “kelompok” “kadrun” and “menjual agama” strongly indicates that the occurrence of polarization is a derivative of the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada process, which is thick with identity politics and the exploitation of religious issues.	- Pandemic situations have social restrictions	- Government - Opposition	- People's income is reduced
Topic 1	“proyek” “oligarki” “muslim”	Digital citizens who are critical vs oligarchic rulers	Government opposition	The use of the terms “proyek” and “oligarki” is often coupled with the spotlight on the national economic condition that is not doing well. The term “Muslim” is used as an identity attached to topic 2 in the hope of getting support from the Muslim community, which is the majority in Indonesia.	- the economy is down, and there are many layoffs	- Buzzer	- activity switch to social media
Topic 2	“dukung nusantara” “pemerataan pembangunan” “sejahterakan bangsa”	ikn Supporters vs policymakers	Pro status quo	The use of words “pemerataan Pembangunan” and “sejahterakan bangsa” is used as the theme of support for IKN because of the economic and development inequality between Java and non-Javanese, or Java-centric.	- The price of basic necessities has increased while the income of residents has decreased		- there is a diametric cleavage due to identity politics
Topic 3	“kpk, kejaksaan, polri” “dukung ikn nusantara, ikn sejahterakan bangsa, ikn pemerataan pembangunan”	Citizens are campaigning for legal issues than driving by supporting the move of the nation's capital	Law enforcement supports buzzer	Public perception of law enforcement and corruption eradication is at a low point.			- a political buzzer appears

Cluster 4 or topic 3 is interpreted as digital citizens discussing the topic of law and corruption, with the dominant terms being “*pemerintah*”, “*korupsi*”, and “*kpk*”. The representations used to express the topic of law and corruption are “*kpk, kejaksaan, polri*”, “*dukung ikn nusantara, ikn sejahterakan bangsa, ikn pemerataan pembangunan*”. What's interesting about topic 3 is the relationship that is formed, namely among digital citizens who campaign for achievements and success in law enforcement and eradicating corruption, but with support for the discourse of moving the country's capital. Thus, the identity attached to topic 3 is a legal buzzer.

From the results of the intertextual analysis, it is known that topic 3 does not fully discuss the discourse of the state capital but discusses the achievements and successes of law enforcement and the eradication of corruption. The use of sentences of support for the discourse of moving the country's capital is only intended as a sweetener or to complement the IKN issue. This is because the public's perception of law enforcement and corruption eradication is at its lowest point.

After knowing the results of text analysis and the analysis of discourse practice, the next step in Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is the analysis of sociocultural practice, also known as explanatory analysis. Fairclough (Fairclough, 2010) explains that the dimensions of sociocultural practice of textual relationships formed in discourse will be seen through social changes that are incorporated by the media into discourse by looking at situational, institutional, and social levels.

The results of the situational analysis show that when the discussion on moving the capital occurred in January 2022, the situation that occurred was the COVID-19 pandemic, which had not subsided and had even entered the 3rd wave phase. In a report from the Central Statistics Agency, it was stated that the two years of the pandemic resulted in a decline in national economic growth to -2.7 in 2020. Due to this factor, there were also waves of layoffs in many economic sectors. On the other hand, commodity prices for public needs are increasing. Due to these difficult conditions, the discourse of moving the country's capital city is considered a lighthouse project, which is inversely proportional to the economic conditions of the community.

In analyzing the institutional level that has a major influence on shaping discourse in the media, it is known that there are three institutions involved in the production, reproduction, and distribution of discourse: the government, the opposition, and the buzzer. The government, as an interested party, discusses the importance of discourse and supports relocating the nation's capital city. Meanwhile, the government's opposition, as the party opposite the government, produces and distributes the discourse of rejection of the issue. Lastly, the buzzer as cyber tropsserves as a catalyst for government supporters and government opponents to support or reject the discourse of moving the nation's capital. At the social level of analysis, it is known that as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and the social restriction policies carried out by the government, there has been a decline in people's income. On the other hand, people's activities have shifted to social media so that the discourse about moving the nation's capital has finally become a hot topic of discussion among digital citizens. However, the constellation of the digital citizen debate has changed from a critical attitude to an opportunist one. This is due to the existence of political buzzers supporting both the government and the opposition. Thus, the debate over relocating the nation's capital does not lead to the actual condition.

It must be admitted that the attitude of digital citizens represented in the debate on moving the nation's capital was affected by the diametrical division during the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections. So, ideologically, it is known that the digital citizen debate leads to the populism movement, which is a method of political approach that aims to attract support from people who feel that their aspirations are not being heard by the government. In brief, Mudde & Kaltwasser (2017) call populism a "political buzzword" in the 21st century. The essence of populism is the rejection of the existence of pluralism in society; therefore, populism is dangerous for democracy (Müller & Pappas, 2019).

Populism in Indonesia is closely related to religion, especially Islam on the one hand and secular nationalism on the other (Hadiz & Robison, 2017). In the IKN discourse, this can be seen in the many rhetorics that emerge from the political segregation of populist movements such as “*buzerrp*”, “*cebong*” and “*kadrun*” “*kampret*” as shown in the following Table 7.

From these data, it can be seen how the narratives of secular-nationalist populism and Islamic populism are formed from terms that each have their own characteristics. The data also shows that secular-nationalist populism is more dominant and aggressive than Islamic populism. This is because the current government is seen as a representation of secular nationalism, which means it has greater resources to maintain militancy than its cyber troops.

Table 7. Data on the use of terms containing populism

Populism	Expression used	Total	Total Data
Nationalism-Secular Populism	“ <i>kadrun</i> ”	3505	4033
	“ <i>anti nkri</i> ”	264	
	“ <i>anti pancasila</i> ”	252	
	“ <i>kampret</i> ”	12	
Islamic Populism	“ <i>aseng</i> ”	2244	3834
	“ <i>buzzer</i> ”	1071	
	“ <i>cebong</i> ”	403	
	“ <i>buzzerrp</i> ”	92	
	“ <i>anti islam</i> ”	20	
	“ <i>kriminalisasi ulama</i> ”	4	
		TOTAL	7867

Discussion

The populist ideology behind the IKN discourse

Understanding the ideology behind discourse is very important because with discourse, one can understand how reality is constructed in the form of texts and actions. In a more conceptual language, Fairclough (Fairclough, 2010) emphasizes that discourse is articulated as language and as part of social practice. As in Gramsci's perspective on hegemony (1971), through language we want to describe power and power struggles that rely on agreement rather than coercion, meaning a form of consensus organizing that is a process of subordination of consciousness built without violence (coercion), but based on culture and intellectual persuasion.

Winning discourse battles, especially in political communication in digital public spaces, is a crucial point in how hegemony is won and controlled. One form of the power of hegemony is the ability to create a certain way of thinking or discourse that is dominant and considered correct, so that people conclude that the discourse is right or wrong. On this basis, the owner of the discourse will spread as much information as possible on social media in accordance with the ideological frame that overshadows it. Manuel Castel, in his book *The Rise of the Network Society* (2010), states that the main struggle of society is to win people's minds. Therefore, every communication actor has different interests and ideologies in interpreting a reality that is wrapped in public issues. In addition to ideological interests, the interests of the target audience who will receive the message also influence the individual's strategy in constructing reality and disseminating it on social media.

From the results of critical discourse analysis on the issue of moving the nation's capital, it is known that online civic engagement practiced by digital citizens on IKN issues has transformed from a critical attitude to an opportunist attitude. This transformation occurred because of the political buzz from the parties involved in the public debate about IKN. Political buzzer is unavoidable when the issues discussed involve political interests or representations of the political policies of the rulers. Political analysis almost always pairs the party in opposition to the one in power, in this case the government. As a result of the buzzers' behavior, which consists of blindly warding off and disseminating discourse on social media, a populism movement against the parties involved in the IKN discourse emerges.

Populism movements appear in many countries, so academics see populism as a phenomenon of modernism resulting from the spread of democracy both as an idea and as a government regime. Therefore, populism enters countries that have a good history of democracy,

such as America and Europe. Populist actors can come from anywhere, including from parties that clashed, such as left vs right, conservative vs progressive, and religious vs secular (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). The existence of populism has a negative impact on democracy since it causes one of its followers to unilaterally declare themselves the only party legitimate to represent the people, while other competitors are viewed as external to or even opposed to the will of the people. Based on the results of critical discourse analysis, it is known that the IKN issue is embedded in the ideology of secular-nationalist populism on the one hand and Islamic populism on the other. This result corroborates the previous research conducted by Hadiz & Robison in 2017 entitled *Competing Populisms in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia*, which stated that the populism competition in Indonesia after the New Order was between secular-nationalist populism and Islamic populism (Hadiz & Robison, 2017). After the 2019 election, the segregation of nationalism-secular populism and Islamic populism was evident. This can be seen in the various forms of rhetoric used, such as the terms criminalizing ulama, anti-Islam, anti-NKRI, and anti-Pancasila, which are powerful enough to dominate public discourse, particularly in the digital public space. Even though the election process is part of political education (Sunarso et al., 2022), if this process is carried out through divisive political segregation, the political education that citizens receive will be inappropriate.

Populism and social media, on the other hand, have a theoretical connection. Even in their study, Engesser, et al. (2017) argue that the internet has the potential to restructure the direct political power of populist actors and promote communication without intermediaries between politicians and the people. Therefore, populist actors shift their communication to social media rather than mass media in general. The goal is that populist messages can be delivered without having to follow strict news value guidelines in selecting ideas. Social media can be used to spread ideas that manifest themselves in a more personal frame of personal action to reduce low-level ideological complexity and even more comprehensively. In addition, populist actors can keep populist ideology well-ordered by taking advantage of the inclusiveness of "personal action" (Engesser et al., 2017). This shows that social media gives populist actors the freedom to articulate their ideology and spread their message.

The emergence of the populist movement in the IKN issue shows a sharp polarization in society. The trend of polarization is indeed difficult to ignore in an era where the flow of information is so fast and out of control. According to Ralph Kayes (2004), the current era is referred to as "post-truth" or "truthiness," which is defined as something that appears to be true even though it is not. In the Oxford dictionary, it is explained that post-truth is a condition in which objective facts are less influential in the formation of public opinion than emotional appeal and personal beliefs.

In the post-truth era, many people seek affirmation and support for their personal beliefs rather than looking for the truth of the facts, so that facts and data become useless when they contradict their personal beliefs. The post-truth era is certainly marked by the spread of hoax news in society, which is amplified by information technology such as social media. Therefore, it requires skills that are not only literate but also could sort and choose which information is suitable for consumption and dissemination.

From online civic engagement to digital activism

The digital revolution has enabled important changes in the political lives of citizens, especially digital citizens. Opportunities to engage in participatory politics have expanded significantly, especially through social media. This change requires a response from civic education (Kahne et al., 2016). Because the main purpose of civic education is to assist students in promoting civic engagement (Krutka, 2014), as well as developing civic engagement at the school and community level (Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE et al., 2003; Lin, 2015). The new paradigm of citizenship education also focuses on empowering civil society by enabling citizens to actively participate in democratic governance (Suryanto et al., 2018) Civic engagement and civic education are also considered the basis for the active involvement of the younger generation in the policy process (Dolan & Brennan, 2016). One of the responses from the citizenship study is to use digital spaces as a new participatory space, especially for digital

citizens to be involved in public discourse with the online domain of civic engagement. This new form of civic engagement is in line with Shirky's (2011) optimism about the use of social media as a catalyst for significant political change. Social media is an effective alternative medium for channeling the aspirations of citizens when conventional media are considered unable to accommodate the general will. With social media, users can choose their own political issues according to their interests. In fact, an issue can become a trending topic and last long enough even though conventional mass media no longer report it. This proves that digital technology allows for an open area with public and private accessibility. This area combines public and private interests simultaneously so that there is a convergence rather than the opposite (Papacharissi, 2010).

The practice of online civic engagement through social media is reflected in how digital citizens are involved in the discourse on moving the nation's capital. From the analysis of the topic modeling, it is known that digital citizens who are involved in the discourse on moving the nation's capital are divided into four topics, namely: 1) Topic 0 is digital citizens who talk about their agreement with the discourse of moving the state capital; 2) Topic 1 is a topic that discusses disapproval of the discourse on moving the nation's capital; 3) Topic 2 discusses the support of digital citizens towards the discourse of moving the national capital; and 4) Topic 4 discusses the topic of corruption and law.

The four topics reflect different political positions in the discourse on relocating the nation's capital. So in the end, online civic engagement leads to digital activism, which Denning defines as “...the use of the Internet in support of an agenda or cause” (Denning, 1999). The purpose of digital activism is to shape public opinion, plan action, and mobilize action (Joyce, 2010). Digital activism has proven to be a powerful vehicle for grassroots political mobilization and provides new ways to engage the public. With this activity, digital activism through social media in citizenship studies has entered the realm of online civic engagement. With this condition, citizen involvement through social media becomes an alternative to citizen involvement online and brings politics and citizens closer together as objects as well as subjects of democracy.

CONCLUSION

Online civic engagement has proven to be a new means of conveying public aspirations, social criticism, and citizens' political voices in the era of advances in information technology. The use of social media as a means of online civic engagement also allows anyone to be involved online because of the minimal risk and low cost. Young citizens are no exception. The younger generation displays a more expressive style of actualizing citizenship as defined by content sharing and social media. This is in stark contrast to the previous model of compliant citizenship based on one-way communication managed by the authorities (Bennett et al., 2011). The younger generations, as “digital natives”, have switched to a new form of civic engagement that is friendly to themselves, namely online civic engagement; therefore, the younger generation is at the forefront of promoting participatory media in a new form of engagement in public life. Online civic engagement through social media has also provided a new analytical space for social science academics, especially in the area of digital citizenship, which is more attractive, especially in researching the activities of digital citizens in the cyberspace.

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