# SOCIAL MEDIA USE: RETHINKING CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN GOVERNMENT<sup>\*)</sup> Achmad Nurmandi Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta nurmandi\_achmad@ymail.com or nurmandi\_achmad@umy.ac.id

### Abstract

Information communication technology use has tremendeously changed the relationship between citizen and government in term of method and intensity. Social media, a product of information technology revolution, has unique and socially interactive and intense between those. This paper tries to explore social media use and how civic engagement is changing over time. Citizenship in social media as free deliberation over public decisions in a community may endorse the new form organizational, community and relationship change of organization and community. **Keywords: social media, organization, civic engagement, social media activism.** 

### Introduction

Politicians and government agencies in the United States of America are using social media extensively to interact with and to inform its citizenry. In the United States social media use boosted Barack Obama's grassroots presidential campaign (by using the Facebook page http://www.facebook.com/barackobama and the Twitter handle @BarackObama) in the year 2008. However, former US Congressman Anthony Weiner's career collapsed after it was revealed he had sent lewd photographs and messages to at least six women online (Srivastava, 2013,). In the last few years UK Councils have started to use blogs, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube to engage local communities. From deploying Yammer for policy and program support, to creative use of YouTube for recruitment, to using QR codes to create the world's first Wikipedia town, the UK's Monmouthshire County Council is a leading example of how local government can move beyond social tech to social communication for internal and external engagement (Srivastava, 2013)

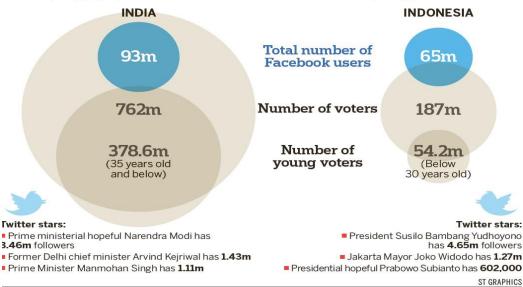
Meanwhile in Canada, Glen Murray, the Minister of Research and Innovation for the province of Ontario, wanted to find a way to bring the public into the discussion. Murray and two other ministers created a crowd sourced wiki to help create an official policy paper on what the government's approach to social innovation should be. Like Wikipedia, any

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user can add articles or edit submissions in a collaborative effort to create official policy.Gov.politwitter.ca is a companion tool to Politwitter that tracks social media activity by Canadian governments institutions & organizations (Srivastava, 2013). In Rusia, all items on the agenda of the presidential commission are available for online discussion via the official website i-Russia.ru, where those interested in what is happening can post their comments via social networks such as Facebook, Twitter and VKontakte id). Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has a Facebook page at www.facebook.com/dr.manmohansingh that is frequently updated with both political and personal updates. It has around 382,223 likes which suggests that the citizens are interested in engaging in political and policy discourses. The PMO maintains the Facebook page and all information regarding important bills, legislations, PM statements, press releases, official visits, and photographs are regularly updated. PMO India has a twitter handle too http://twitter.com/pmoindia (Srivastava, 2013). In researching the use of social media by Regional Police in Jakarta, Lestarie (2013) found that the use of social media achieved its intended goals by serving as an efficient and effective tool for information dissemination, providing easier information access to citizens, and encouraging public participation and collaboration in government work.

According to the Ministry of Communication and Information, as of November 2013 Indonesia had 20 million Twitter users and 65 million Facebook users. Of the estimated 187 million voters, about 12% will be first-time voters aged 17 to 20, according to Central Statistics Agency data. They swell the total youth vote\_(those aged below 30) to about 54 million, or a third of the electorate. At least six out of 10 of these young voters are plugged into social media, according to a Jakarta Post report.

#### Facebook face-off



<sup>2</sup>oliticians in India and Indonesia, two countries with among the fastest-growing number of Facebook users n the world, are paying unprecedented attention to the use of social media for the upcoming elections.

Fig.1. India and Indonesia Social Media Role in Election Source: http://www.stasiareport.com/the-big-story/asia-report/indonesia/story/indonesiascramble-online-followers-20140301#sthash.6gmQeZdE.dpuf

In the government influence sphere, the Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, or SBY as he is known, joined Twitter last year. Within two weeks, SBY had over 1.7 million followers and a spike in his popularity. In Malaysia, Prime Minister Najib Razak has been tweeting since 2008. Najib had about 1.3 million fans on his Facebook page, while opposition leader Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim has only 428,371. There is a clear correlation between political popularity and social media usage in South East Asia. The Cambodian government has been able to use this as a propaganda tool in the same way that it uses traditional media, and it has accelerated the adoption of Facebook and other social media platforms. Philippine President Benigno Aquino directly answered a Facebook question by a critic, which was an unprecedented direct engagement with the masses by a national leader. During the 2011 floods in Thailand, social media was an important tool and surpassed the mainstream media's efforts in providing emergency relief (Gardezi Saadla, http://www.idgconnect.com, 1 July, 2014)

General election of Indonesia's Presidents 2014 has elected Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla, President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for the period 2014-2019. Those candidates have successfully gained popular support and voluntary political movement

(outside political parties). Once elected, Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla launched a new form of communication with social media (Facebook Jokowi Center) to build a new-populist Cabinet. In this way, Jokowi-Jusuf Kallas want to get public responses and complaints from the community in order to provide input on the proposed ministerial candidates. Indonesia, particularly Jakarta, is one of the places most densely colonized by social media; Jakarta reputedly generates more tweets than any other of the world's big cities. In a nation of 240 million people, Facebook has more than 60 million active users, but creativity only goes so far. Merlyna Lim (2014), a digital media expert at Canada's Carleton University, said while Jokowi's online supporters are funny and innovative, Jokowi's opponent has outmanoeuvred him online. "Prabowo has been better in mobilising [online support]," she said. "They're more systematic ... they have more organised attempts to attack [Jokowi] (al Jazeera.com). Katapedia, the research center for social media noted that the winning pair of Jokowi-JK has shown in the last ten days before election that those Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla were shared in social media 770,491 times comparing with 709,294 times for (2014). Voting for Prabowo Hatta Rajasa Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla via hashtag #AkhirnyaMilihJokowi (#finally vote for Jokowi) has become a trending topic.

#### Theoretical Debate on Social Media and Citizen Engagement in Government

Essential to the concept of open governance is citizen participation which creates the crucial nexus between the community and the policymakers, namely through community policing, elections, and financial accountability (Paz, 2014 PAR Newsletter). Community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which supports the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime (U. S. Department of Justice Office). The key feature of these new governance structures has been the engagement of citizens, users, and voluntary and community sector organizations in consultation arenas and as part of the decision-making process (Sullivan and Skelcher, 2002; Newman *et al.*, 2004). There is still considerable uncertainty about the role of citizens and users in citizen-centered governance. Are they there as individuals to provide their views and expertise as people who live in a community, as people who have particular needs or interests, or as people who use specific public services? Are they there to represent a wider community, and to speak

for and be accountable to this constituency? A key task for those designing and managing citizen-centered governance, and a challenge for citizens and users who are involved, is to establish the balance between these roles and how they play in at different points (Barness, et al, 2008). The way in which their role is defined – whether it is by those individuals themselves, the rest of the management committee or the wider community – can enhance or limit effective engagement in local governance.

Local accountability must be enhanced in order to improve decentralized performance. Local residents and organizations—local administrations, the private sector, and civil society best know and understand local problems via social media. Their feedback, through civic fora and payment of local taxes and charges, is necessary to assure high-quality, local decisions. Local administrations must both incorporate this collective wisdom into their decision making, and help these groups to participate more effectively in public affairs by increasing their access to and understanding of public information (including local budgets and development plans.) (Weis, 2001). At present, in Thailand, local officials are not fully aware of their responsibilities and functions, especially in light of the legislated changes in local administrative organization acts. Direct election of all local officials would enhance local accountability; local elections are in process for local administrations except for provinces (Weis, 2001).

Since 1998, Indonesia experienced drastic social, economic and political change. To overcome the political reform in 1998, the Habibie administration issued some reform acts regarding local autonomy, military reform, political party reform, mass media liberation, and reformed the relationship between the central government and local governments. The Habibie administration promoted a big bang autonomous model through Law No. 22/1999. This law stipulated several radical changes: the declaration of regency/city government; election rights of local legislative bodies for regents, mayors, and governors; and strong power of local councils. Article 4 (1) Law 22/1999 stated that in the context of the implementation of the decentralization principle, province, regency and city shall be formed and authorized to govern and administer in the interests of the local people according to their own initiatives based on the people's aspirations. Article 18 (1) states that the local council (DPRD) shall elect regional government heads.

Since the Local Government Act of 2005, South Korea has required a party nomination system for basic tier-councilors, member of parliaments have had massive power over the nomination process of local candidates and 47% of local officials found bribery in promotion (Jong-soo, 2007). In Thailand, accountability is also a crucial problem in implementing decentralization policy. While very little outcome data is currently collected, the performance budget reform underway at the national level will encourage more outcome/impact-oriented budgeting on the local level.

The main problem in enhancing local accountability is the low level of citizenship at the local level. Social media could improve government accountability in public sphere. From a citizenship perspective we are concerned not only with instrumental political behavior but also with the opportunities for full participation in public life, including participation in voluntary associations and in social media for public discussions. From this perspective, participation in political discussions, political engagement and political efficacy are interesting in their own right and not only as resources for political participation; in principle, they might even be considered the key dependent variables (Andersen and Hoff, 2001). In a patronage democracy, obtaining control of the state is the principal means of obtaining both a better livelihood and higher status. Elected office or government jobs, rather than the private sector, become the principal sources of employment (Kischelt, et al, 2007). Competitive mechanisms make politicians responsive to special interests, but also restrain their pursuit of predatory practices, such as clientelism, concentrating most of the benefits on a small economically and politically dominant group of unimaginably wealthy asset holders, while paying off everyone else with very small benefits to avert an imminent insurrection (Kischelt, et al, 2007). Empirically, the studies rely on qualitative cross-national assessments (e.g., contributions by Kitschelt, Levitsky, Muller, and van de Walle), on unique subnational quantitative measures not available in a cross-national framework (such as in Magaloni, Diaz-Cayeros, and Est'evez, Wilkinson, Lyne, or in Scheiner), or on observationbased narratives (Kischlet, et al, 2007). A framework of local governance that embodies these principles is called *citizen-centered governance* (Andrews and Shah 2005). The distinguishing features of citizen-centered governance are the following: Citizen empowerment through a rights-based approach (direct democracy provisions, citizens' charters): Bottom-up accountability for results; Evaluation of government performance as the facilitator of a network of providers by citizens as governors, taxpayers, and consumers of public services (Shah, 2005).

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Stoke (2002: 44) conventionally proposes a framework on citizenship, with which he tried to show a link between democracy and citizenship, and also accountability, legitimacy, and participation with four models of citizenship: liberal minimalism, civic republicanism, developmental democracy and deliberative democracy.

	Liberal	iberal Civic		Deliberative
	minimalism	republicanism	democracy	democracy
Nature of citizenship	Citizenship as a bundle of rights or utilities	Citizenship as participation in a community, involving obligations toward the public (or civic) good	Citizenship as a dense network of interpersonal relationship in society for individual and social flourishing	Citizenship as free deliberation over public decisions in a community
Basis for citizenship	Legal and political status	Legal and political status Process of participation	Legal and political status Process of participation	Legal and political status Process of participation
Nature of participation by citizens	Extremely limited; mostly by electrical choice of governing elite	Obligationtogovernmentsandsharinggovernancewith elitesPressuregroupactivityDirectparticipationin governing	Fulfillment of obligations to society (rather than just to government) and enactment of direct relations to fellow citizens	Direct involvement in collective problem-solving on basis of equality and plural values to address complex problems
Potential as metaphors for corporate citizenship	Offers no space for CC: Corporations do not share status of citizens	Corporate lobbying of government New governance's business as partner of civil society actors	Corporate involvement with all stakeholders beyond the bottom line rationale for societal and corporate flourishing	Corporations assume deliberative role in societal governance Corporations enable and open up to processes of deliberations by members of society: development

Table 1. Four Model of Citizenship

	towards 'stakeholder democracy'.
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Source: Stokes 2002, in Wayne Hudson and Steven Slaughter (Ed), *Globalization and Citizenship, the transnational challenge*, Routledge, London, 2007.

In the context of citizen-centered governance, the main issue is citizen participation in local government. All of the above models propose a level of citizen participation from limited role to broad role: direct involvement in collective problem-solving on the basis of equality and plural values to address complex problems. Cooper, et al (2006) identifies five factors that may influence the degree of success of each approach: the size, scope, purpose, location, and process employed to engage citizens. In dealing with the size and scope, Cooper (2006) sees how many citizens are involved in the engagement, as well as one dealing with the breadth of citizen diversity involved in the engagement, ranging in both income and ethnic diversity. The location refers to where civic engagement takes place in terms of the level of government (Cooper, et al, 2006). A fifth dimension of civic engagement is the process that is employed (Cooper, et al, 2006).

Citizen responsibility is expressed in the form of 'earning' one's citizenship to convert to a nation that is held as a sacred and bounded community of values (van Houdt, et al, 2011). Citizen-centered governance has particular relevance for individuals and communities living in areas of disadvantage, and for those managers and policy-makers committed to tackling poverty, social exclusion and inequality (Barnes, et al. 2008). Many new policy initiatives have been targeted at these areas over the past decade. They offer new ways for citizens and users to engage in shaping and deciding local public policy, but also create a complex governance landscape of statutory agencies, partnerships, boards and other structures (Barnes, et al., 2008). In their study, Lawton and Macauday (2014) found three modes of citizen engagement in local government, namely external engagement, internal governance, and organizational learning. The citizens engage in liaising with town council, training and development and planning.

Good Governance Theme	Notable Practice
External engagement	Liaising with town and parish councils
External engagement	Community engagement

Table 2. Citizen Pa	rticipation in l	local Context

External engagement	Training and development	
Internal governance	Member development	
Internal governance	Recruitment and retention	
Internal governance	Joint standard and audit committees	
Organizational learning	Knowledge transfer	
Organizational learning	Embedding standards	

Alan Lawton and Michael Macauday, "Localism in Practice: Investigating Citizen Participation and Good Governance in Local Government Standards of Conduct", *Public Administration Review*, No. 74, No1, p. 79.

Citizen involvement in governance is a focal point to ensure better governance accountability through broad space for public participation. Some current research found that local democracy in Indonesia is essentially shifting locally-based coalitions of predatory power rooted in the now demised New Order (Hadiz, 2011). When the potential for capture of local governments is serious, decentralization programs have to focus a great deal of attention to strengthening local accountability mechanisms (Bardhan, 2002).

Social media is defined as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content (Kaplan & Michael Haenlei, 2010) "Web 2.0" refers to Internet platforms that allow for interactive participation by users. "User generated content" is the name for all of the ways in which people may use social media. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) specifies three criteria for content to be classified as "user generated:" (1) it should be available on a publicly accessible website or on a social networking site that is available to a select group, (2) it entails a minimum amount of creative effort, and (3) it is "created outside of professional routines and practices." (OECD, Participative Web and User-Created Content: Web 2.0, Wikis, and Social Networking18 (2007) [hereinafter OECD Report] (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010: 61)

There are different types of social media: collaborative projects, virtual worlds, blogs, content communities, and social networking. Joseph (2012) noted the advantages of social media: first, it has expanded access to information in an important new way; secondly information is spreading faster and farther and outside the social media field; thirdly social media expands access to evidence of human right abuses beyond that offered by the mainstream media or NGOs; fourthly, social media amplifies the message of its users, and finally an

important new platform for information access is taking shape with the emergence of WikiLeaks. Another type of opportunity for social media in openness and anticorruption is through the increased opportunities for citizen journalism. Through social media, citizen journalism can report when the traditional media fails, when the media are strongly influenced or controlled by the state or those in power, or when the media provide insufficient coverage of a story (Bertot et al.,2010).

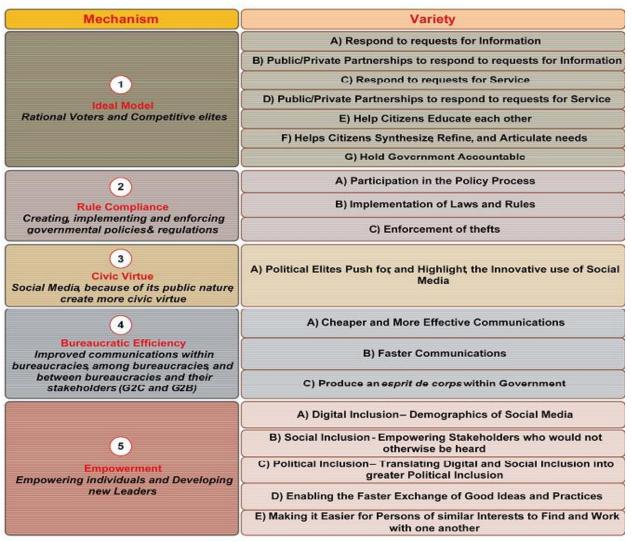


Fig. 2. Mechanisms by which social media tools can realize Government 2.0

Source: Mohamad Tariq Banday and Muzamil M. Mattoo, Social Media in e-Governance: A Study with Special Reference to India, , Social Networking, 2013, 2, 47-56.

Essential to the concept of open governance is citizen participation which creates the crucial nexus between the community and the policymakers, namely through community policing, elections, financial accountability (Paz, 2014 PAR Newsletter). Community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that ve rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime (U. S. Department of Justice Office).

Social media tools have created opportunities for collaborative government and have the potential to facilitate governments to reach its citizens, to shape online debates and e-participation, to empower citizens, groups and communities and even to revive or demand democracy or *e-democracy* (Banday and Mattoo, 2013). Each type will explore in following section.

### Civic-social media citizenship and New Form of Governance

## Virtual Citizen

Since Joko Widodo and Basuki Cahayaputera have become governor and vice-governor in Jakarta Metropolitan Area, Indonesia, they introduced e-participation through social media. One method that they used to keep citizen participation is YouTube. In their research on the YouTube presence of Jakarta's government, Chatfield and Brajawidagda (2013) analyzed 250 government-generated videos on YouTube, which were viewed and liked by 7.8-million of Jakarta's net-savvy citizens. These videos were then classified into seven categories namely (1) High-Level Political Meetings, which refers to high-level internal meetings with internal and/or external stakeholders (e.g. policy makers, politicians, decision makers and senior public administrators) to discuss key political issues of interest to the public from perspectives of "The New Jakarta" reform visions; (2) Community Engagement activities, which aim to promote informal social interactions and exchanges between the Governor (or less frequently, the Deputy Governor) and local citizens through community events; (3) Site Visits, which are defined as direct observation activities for face-to-face fact-finding with citizens and government officials alike, engaged by the Governor (or on rare occasions by the Deputy Governor) outside his Executive Office (4) Press/Media Conferences, which refer to news media interviews given by either the Governor or the Deputy Governor; (5) Ceremonies, which include activities of the government officials who represent the local government in sponsoring an official ceremonious event; (6) Public Speeches, which include invited keynote speeches delivered by the Governor or the Deputy Governor at seminars and workshops (6) Making/Hosting Honorary Visits, which include official gubernatorial visits to a place or an event to represent the government to interact with other parties or agencies, as well as official gubernatorial receptions for other parties or age. The 250 government-generated YouTube videos attracted a total of 7,815,549 viewers during the 80-day data collection period of this research. They found that the High-Level Political Meetings, the Community Engagement, and the Site Visits categories attracted the highest

(48,773), the second highest (29,161) and the fourth highest (21,022) average number of viewers. The use of social media in combination with open government data has been promoted as a new way of enabling and facilitating transparency (Bertot, J, et al, 2010).

The second case studied by Lim (2013) is the Facebook movement to support the Corruption Eradication Committee, also known as the "Gecko vs. Crocodile" case. This case exemplifies the convergence of participatory culture and civic engagement that resulted in two of the most successful online collective movements in the last decade in Indonesia. The Gecko vs. Crocodile case (or KPK case) started in April 2009 when Susno Duadji, the National Police chief of detectives, found that the Corruption Eradication Commission (Komite Pengentasan Korupsi, or KPK) had tapped his phone while they were investigating a corruption case. Furthermore, Lim (2013) noted that the KPK had indeed armed itself with tools such as warrantless wiretaps to confront the endemic corruption among high rank public officials. In a press conference, Duadji expressed his anger and compared the KPK to cicak, a common house gecko, fighting buaya, a crocodile, which symbolised the police. In September 2009 two KPK deputy chairmen Chandra Hamzah and Bibit Samad Rianto, who had been suspended in July, were arrested on charges of extortion and bribery (Lim, 2013). The two men denied the charges, saying they were being framed to weaken the KPK. Most Indonesians perceived these charges as fabricated ones; some showed their support through an online campaign. In July 2009 immediately after the case against KPK appeared in the mainstream media, especially television, Movement of 1,000,000 Facebookers Supporting Chandra Hamzah & Bibit Samad Riyanto)was launched (Lim, 2013). By August 2009, the group had surpassed its goal of one million members in support of Bibit and Chandra. That particular Facebook support page was not the only one. YouTube videos about the case quickly emerged, including one with a Javanese rap song that was also distributed as a downloadable ring-tone. Online cartoons, comics and posters with depictions of "gecko vs. crocodile" soon proliferated online. When the Indonesian Corruption Watch organised a street rally online, 5,000 people showed up on the streets of Jakarta showing support for "the gecko." This was followed by demonstrations in several other cities in support of the two men. On December 3, 2009, this public pressure saw charges against Bibit and Chandra dropped (Lim, 2013).

Abboot (2013) showed that Lewis's study of China provides an exploration of how the Internet is leading to an expansion of a deliberative public sphere that is increasing political opportunity in a single-party authoritarian system. At the other end of the political regime continuum, Lim and Hamayotsu explore how social media is being used in one of Asia's most vibrant democracies, Indonesia. civil society organizations such as the Center for Orangutan Protection, the Indonesian Coral Reef Foundation Terangi (Yayasan Terumbu Karang) the Indonesian Coalition for Women (Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia), World Wildlife Fund Indonesia, Muhammadiyah, Flora-Fauna Indonesia, Telapak, Project Indonesia, and Imparsial use of the internet in their work to communicate with fellow activists, share information, and expand their networks. (Ambardi, et al, 2014). However, the Indonesian National Police (Polri)'s Cybercrime Division, announced in October 2011 that it had discovered and stopped massive frauds by criminals using social media, notably Facebook (Utama, 2012). In another word, social media increases opportunities for citizen journalism. Through social media, citizen journalists can report when the traditional media fails, when the media are strongly influenced or controlled by the state or those in power, or when the media provide insufficient coverage of a story (Bertot, J, et al, 2010).

It is no doubt that social media introduces a new model of citizen participation in political life and public administration. Citizen engagement in political affairs creates a new model of governance which acts as a two-way interactive platform for discussions and interactions with the governments through a common infrastructure of ICTs, and is the backbone of a networked government. The management and control of this ICT infrastructure will serve the role of the infocracy. The remaining organizations of the public administration will be restructured in the coming decades to meet new organizational and technological demands, and are draped like flesh around this backbone (Dick and van-Beek, 2008).

### The Role of Government and Its Organization Type

Social media may create non-routine tasks and use sophisticated information technology via virtual organization. Each unit of government organization uses mutual adjustment as a means of coordination, and either maintains selective patterns of decentralization or with its structure tends to be low in formalization and decentralization. However, the technostucture is small because technical specialists are involved in the organization's operative core. The support staff is large to support the complex structure (Minzberg, 1997). Public service being done by government is not only responsibility of one unit organization, but responsibility of many others or organization

crossing in a dynamic and complex organization environment situation and condition (Nurmandi, 2009).

#### Method of Communication and Interaction

In situations from which government could be involved in complex environments, its bureaucracy may handle stress management. Top management absorbs uncertainty through rich media, thereby enabling other employees to concentrate on production efficiency (Daft and Lengel, 1983). As the point of contact in the organization, the bureaucrat responsible for feedback would need to be familiar with the different functions of the organization and would need a significant amount of information at her disposal to respond. Depending upon the priority that management places on this response function, a significant level of cross unit cooperation would be needed to place the responsible bureaucrat at the nexus of an information network from which can manage responses she can manage responses (Fulla and Welch, 2002). Social media push the new form organizational, community and relationship change, the form and extent of the change will be determined by a set of organization and community based intervening variables that include organizational structure, culture, size, resources, issue, management values, community access to use of technology, and citizen attitudes and values (Fulla and Welch, 2002).

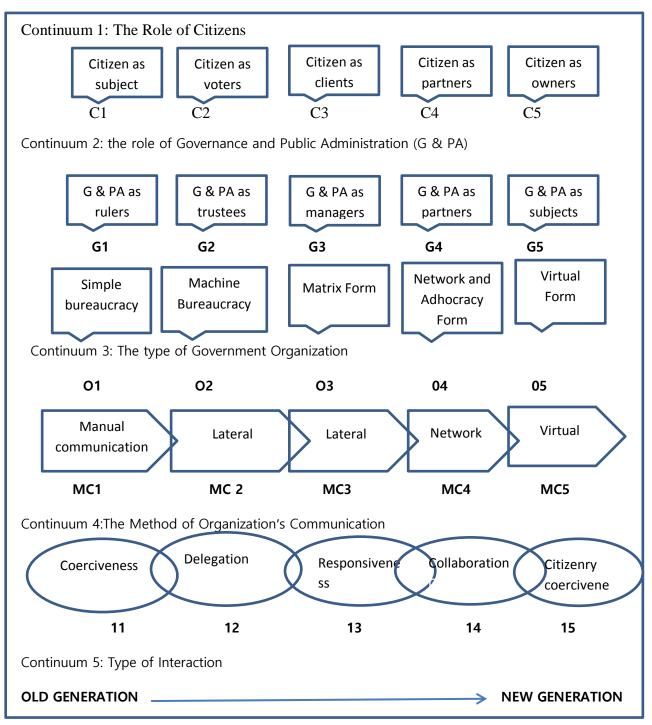


Fig. An Evolutionary Continuum of Government-Citizen Interaction

Source: Modified from Eran Vigoda, From Responsiveness to Collaboration: Governance, Citizens and the Next Generation of Public Administration, *Public Administration Review*, 62, 5 (September /October 2002).

### Conclusion

The use of social media by governments can be made more open, more transparent, more responsive and accountable for its act and can provide a quick, cost effective and two-way interactive platform for discussions and interactions of the governments with its local people, which will eventually help in better policy formulation and its effective implementation. By evolutionary movement, the use of social media may introduce virtual organization that occur as a result of virtual communication in organizations, communities and their relationships, it should also begin to develop more explicit causal models (Fulla and Welch, 2002).

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