ORIGINAL ARTICLE

From Memes to Activism: A Bibliometric Analysis of Digital Democracy Research in Indonesia (2014-2024)

Suwandi Sumartias [1], ***Evie Ariadne Shinta Dewi*** [2] , ***Diah Fatma Sjoraida*** [3], ***Heru Ryanto Budiana*** [4]& ***Eny Ratnasari*** [5]

Abstract

This study aims to provide an overview of research trends on digital democracy in Indonesia from 2014 to 2024. A bibliometric analysis was conducted on 835 studies obtained through the Google Scholar database using VOSviewer software. The analysis revealed 10 topic clusters with various research topics related to digital democracy, dominated by critical discourse analysis, hate speech, community behavior in the digital realm, memes, Generation Z communication, perception, representation, websites, analysis of digital democracy channels, the president, and Islam. The most influential researcher based on citation count is YE Rachmad. The findings emphasize the influence of information technology development on digital democracy in Indonesia. Memes emerge as a form of expression for Indonesian citizens to voice their opinions in a political context, reflecting their affinity for comedy and humor. Generation Z's communication in the context of digital democracy is closely tied to their preferred influencers, journalists, musicians, and actors. The study highlights the need for academics to analyze digital democracy channels, as research until 2024 has primarily focused on Twitter due to the ease of data crawling, despite it being an echo chamber representing only a small part of Indonesian society. Further research should expand the scope to other platforms and reputable international publication databases.

Keywords: Bibliometric analysis; Digital democracy; Indonesia; Google Scholar; Research trend; Science mapping; VOSViewer

Introduction

Indonesia is the third-largest democracy in the world. Unfortunately, Indonesia's democracy index continues to decline annually (Siahaan, 2024a). From 2006 to 2024,

1 *Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia*
Email: suwandi.sumartias@unpad.ac.id
2 *Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia*
Email: evie@unpad.ac.id
3 *Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia*
Email: diah.fatma@unpad.ac.id
4 *Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia*
Email: heru.ryanto@unpad.ac.id
5 *Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Tidar, Magelang, Indonesia*
Email: enyratnasari@untidar.ac.id

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Indonesia's highest democracy score index was in 2015 with a score of 7.03. Furthermore, by 2021, Indonesia's score had decreased to 6.71 (Siahaan, 2024a).

In 2022, Indonesia was stuck with the same score; thus, it was assessed as a country with a flawed democracy (Siahaan, 2024a). Approximately 36.6% of Indonesians in Indonesia are dissatisfied with the democracy (Siahaan, 2024b). The decline in the democracy index in Indonesia in 2023 was followed by the weakening of several state institutions such as the Corruption Eradication Commission and the Constitutional Court (Widodo & Purwaningsih, 2024).

In 2024, Indonesia held a democratic election to elect its president and vice president. In this presidential election, Indonesians hope that the problems of job availability (77.9%), corruption (73.3%), and poverty (71.2%) will be resolved immediately by the elected leader (Siahaan, 2024). Job availability is a significant concern because the number of workers in Indonesia is growing, as is the informal work sector. Job availability is closely associated with overcoming poverty in Indonesia (Siahaan, 2024c).

Not all levels of society feel the narrative regarding the problems, and only some Indonesians do. This is because Indonesian people are struggling to survive by focusing on meeting their primary needs. Meanwhile, those with the privilege to echo the challenges faced by the nation choose to them in the digital world. Echoing existing problems is a form of online public participation in the political realm (Bastos et al., 2018; Fletcher et al., 2021; Karlsen et al., 2017).

Online public participation is a crucial element in thriving digital democracy since there is a consultation during the decision-making process. Participatory processes also include voluntary activities, social capital, and individual motivations, which can help to understand citizen engagement using electronic participatory platforms (Naranjo-Zolotov et al., 2019).

Digital democracy can be understood as the use of information technology (ICT), communication, and computer-mediated communication (CMC) in all types of media that aim to improve political democracy and public participation in democratic communication (Lindner & Aichholzer, 2020). Digital democracy is a collection of efforts to practice democracy without the limits of time, space, and other physical conditions, using ICT or CMC as an addition but not as a substitute for traditional 'analog' political practices. There are several other terms for digital democracy: electronic democracy, teledemocracy, cyber democracy, internet democracy, virtual democracy, or electronic participation (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014).

In recent years, Indonesia has opened up space for public participation between lawmakers and the public. The government uses various channels for applications, ranging from websites to social media. Unfortunately, these channels have never been evaluated in terms of digital citizen participation. These channels still need to involve citizens effectively in governance and policy formulation (Setyasih, 2023). Additionally, the lack of community involvement in policymaking continues to be a problem in Indonesia. The vastness of

the region, distance, access, and population also challenge the government in engaging in public participation. The blockage of formal participation channels encourages the public to channel their aspirations through social media, sometimes called viral-based policy, to urge a response from the government. Although the viral method, occasionally, is effective in provoking corrective efforts from the state, there are other better forms of citizen participation. .

In addition to the threat of criminalization of netizens by the ITE Law, on many occasions, government intervention appears only after an incident. The detrimental policies have already been affected before corrective efforts are made. To overcome this, the government must accommodate digital activism through online participation portals, often called e-participation, to create a meaningful debate between the public and policymakers (Hermawan, 2022).

Political participation includes the ability to express political opinions and exert political influence in the real world and in cyberspace. Political participation can be divided into two types: conventional and online. Online political participation is defined similarly to conventional political participation but occurs online with different behaviours and activities (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2014). With the increasing use of social media, online political participation has increased significantly. Four main factors encourage online political participation, one of which is political efficacy. Political efficacy refers to individuals' belief that political actions can influence political processes and outcomes. Individuals who believe in their political capabilities tend to be more active in their participation in politics (Reichert, 2016).

A previous study found that the exciting behaviour of Indonesian political participation is choosing to remain anonymous. They chose anonymous political participation to avoid the legal consequences of their social media behaviour. This shows that the public knew the legal boundaries of their activities on social media. At the same time, it was worrying that respondents continued to feel anxious about potential backlash from other users. This shows that the overall climate of online political participation in Indonesia still needs to be more favourable. The existence of online threats, attacks, and hostility may discourage public participation or prevent people from participating in online political discussions (Perbawani et al., 2018).

Other studies have found a transformation in the behaviour of social media users in Indonesia politics due to the pandemic. There has been a shift in public perception which assumes that there is no justice if an issue is not made viral on social media. Until hashtag #noviralnojustice emerged, it was initially just a hashtag that turned into a campaign movement of concern over law enforcement in Indonesia. Until 2024, this phenomenon continued to roll like a snowball. This campaign mobilized public movements and increased public participation in the digital realm. Hashtag #noviralnojustice emerged in 2021 after the Multatuli Project published a rape case in North Luwu in 2019. This hashtag initially expressed public dissatisfaction but, then, developed into pressure on the police to reinvestigate the on-going legal case with accountability (Siregar & Sorik, 2024).

Another example was the formulation of the Job Creation Law in 2019, which reaped pros and cons for very large actions. The Job Creation Law, the law that the community protested, was previously replaced with #tolakRUUCilaka. “Cilaka” or calamity can be interpreted as something that causes a disaster. This action was also enlightened by the violence; however, the government still passed this law and reissued it along with the Job Creation Law.

The hashtag phenomenon, which developed into a campaign movement, shows the public’s increasing dependence on social media. Social media are considered a strategic instrument for fighting justice. In simple terms, using social media platforms to spread hashtags such as #noviralnojustice is a form of public distrust of the justice system in Indonesia. The public presses the police to handle legal cases immediately, fairly, and transparently through social media. Social media is considered more effective than formal channels, which are often hampered by bureaucratic processes. (Siregar & Sorik, 2024).

Social media can be an effective tool for shaping and sharing values with society and for increasing public participation. In the context of social media, political content is influenced by planned and unplanned behaviour. Unanimous opinions expressed by social media users result from planned behaviour (Dwivedi et al., 2018; Garett & Young, 2023). Other factors also influence the topics and platforms used to disseminate information (Huang et al., 2019).

Furthermore, the online disinhibition effect explains the reason behind their choice of anonymity. This section addresses the question posed by anonymity in online political participation regarding how it affects the practice of digital democracy. Further studies are required to examine the influence of anonymity on the quality of digital democracy. Buzzers’ existence as political actors and the potential risk of new problems that their unpredictable behaviour may pose only exacerbates the difficulty of concluding whether anonymity is good or bad (Perbawani et al., 2018).

Three prerequisites make public participation meaningful: the right to be heard, the right to be considered, and the right to receive an explanation or answer to the given opinion (right to be explained). The channels built by the Indonesian government have succeeded in accommodating public inputs. Meanwhile, their effectiveness still needs to be improved by considering opinions and providing explanations or answers. Most platforms created by ministries and institutions are formalities, one-way, and temporary. No permanent platform provides the public with the freedom to monitor input and obtain feedback from the input they provide (Fuller, 2023).

Furthermore, there has been a transition from e-government practices that place citizens as customers throughout the world to we-government practices that place citizens as partners. This transformation can be successful if public participation increases digitally and electronically (Bashar et al., 2011; Liu & Hao, 2010; Masrom et al., 2013). E-participation or electronic participation can be understood as online or electronic community involvement with information and communication technology, so that citizens

can participate in government-related processes. Its implementation includes the process of making public policies, supervision, and public complaints. E-participation is expected to connect two-way communication between citizens and their representatives in the legislative and executive sectors (Rohayati et al., 2022; Yusmanizar et al., 2023).

We-government, better known as e-governance, can be understood as the scope of e-government that emphasizes the role of communication and information technology in the democratic process, active citizen involvement, focus on transparency of governance, and quality of collaborative governance. It also prioritizes two-way communication, namely interaction between the government and citizens (Al-Kaabi & Hattab, 2009; Chu et al., 2017; Oleśków-Szlałpka & Przybylska, 2008; Potra et al., 2015).

This research is motivated by two reasons. First, as the third largest democracy in the world and with a democracy index that continues to rise, Indonesia's democracy in the digital realm has not been fully effective. The government owns many channels, but it needs more time to be ready to accept aspirations from the community. Digital democracy should be inclusive in that all citizens have the same right to voice their aspirations regarding policies made by the government.

Second, there is a need to explore the literature on digital democracy in Indonesia in the last decade (2014-2024). This is intended to reveal the knowledge structure of digital democracy in Indonesia. Based on the results of the researcher's pre-test, there has been no research that maps research related to digital democracy in Indonesia that has been published in reputable international journals. Research related to digital democracy was conducted by Kusumasari using a qualitative method (B. Kusumasari, 2018). Kusumasari found that technological innovation supports the practice of digital democracy, especially political information between the government and its public (B. Kusumasari, 2018). Other research related to digital democracy has been conducted using a bibliometric approach in the period 2019 to 2024 (Ali et al., 2024), e-democracy from 2001 to 2020 (Syahputri et al., 2023), digital government transformation from 2018 to 2022 (Hadmar et al., 2024). These studies still have limitations, namely the range of data collection that is less up to date with current conditions. This study addresses these limitations by mapping research related to digital democracy in Indonesia from 2014 to 2024 using a bibliometric study.

The following research questions are addressed in this study:

1. What are the current research trends of digital democracy in Indonesia?

2. What are the most cited authors in digital democracy in Indonesia research?

3. What are the thematic clusters based on keyword co-occurrence analysis?

4. What unexplored areas can be recommended for the future research in the domain?

This study extracted data from the Google Scholar database about digital democracy research in Indonesia. It is expected to have theoretical and practical implications for better digital democracy practices.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Digital democracy is unrelated to a particular model of democracy (Berg & Hofmann, 2021; Legard & Hovik, 2022; Molnár & Urbanovics, 2020; Schneider, 2020). Various forms of digital democracy are related to a particular model of democracy, for example, direct democracy (Legard & Hovik, 2022), liberal (Dahlberg, 2011) and representative democracy (Črnič, 2012; Hofmann, 2019), or participatory democracy (Balduzzi & Siclari, 2024). Therefore, digital democracy does not apply a particular technology but technically mediates practices. In this case, it can be understood that specific models and ideas of democracy have been realized. Digital democracy is based on the dialectics of technology and politics. van Dijk (2000) distinguished four democratic information processes: (1) distribution and allocation of information, (2) registration of information, (3) consultation, and (4) conversation (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014). Then, van Dijk distinguished three models of digital democracy based on the form of the communication and communication technology used. The first is a market model of digital democracy. This model can be understood as the distribution and allocation of political information by central actors, such as the government, ministries, parties, and parliaments, through computer networks. This model expresses liberal and elite democracy when the emphasis is on political institutions and leaders, and legal democracy when the private sector character of digital media organizations is emphasized (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014).

The second is an infocratic model of digital democracy. This model describes information registration through computer networks, for example, filling out online forms, submitting applications online, online services provided by public authorities, online surveys, online voting, or agreeing by pressing the “like” or follow button on social media. This model expresses plebiscite and legal democracy models (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014).

The third model is the digital democracy network model. This model includes two keywords: consultation and conversation. This illustrates that the political issues citizens discuss through computer networks are online consultations between political institutions and citizens. This model expresses the plebiscite and legal, pluralist, and participatory democracy models (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014).

Digital democracy can be divided into several models based on this information. The first is political information (cognition in the digital representative democracy model). Examples of its applications are party websites, politicians, parliaments, ministries, and government institutions. In addition, government information campaigns are conducted through online applications of state bureaucracy and public authorities, online forms, and online channels. Politicians and party users, as well as parties, use Facebook, Twitter, Yon campaigns, and daily political life (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014).

The second is political information (cognition in the plebiscitary digital democracy model). Its applications include online voting, online elections, electronic referendums, online polls, registration as followers of politicians or parties on social media, and registering political preferences by clicking the approval button. Third, political communication in a

deliberative digital democracy model. Its applications include online discussion forums, political email discussion lists, political teleconferences, e-town halls, and e-meetings. Fourth, political cooperation in the participatory digital democracy model. Its applications include cyber protests, online petitions, and computer-mediated participatory budgeting. Additionally, computer-mediated decision-making systems can be applied in political, economic, and cultural contexts. The development of participatory political information and principles, demands, programs, and political laws with the help of wikis and other computer-based collaborative systems (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014).

RESEARCH METHODS

Bibliometric approach

The bibliometric method was used in this study. The bibliometric method analyses a large amount of scientific data from various bibliographic databases, such as Web of Science (WoS), Scopus, PubMed, and Dimensions (Donthu et al., 2021). Its popularity can be attributed to the emergence of bibliometric software, such as VOSviewer, Leximancer, and Gephi. Bibliometric reviews instil rigor in measuring objectivity in scientific literature to reduce researcher bias by combining various opinions of scholars in a particular field (Zupic & Čater, 2015).

The bibliometric approach complements quantitative meta-analysis and qualitative systematic literature review (SLR) methods. A limitation of meta-analysis and SLR is that the number of publications in the analysis must be below 100 (Smith & Sarabi, 2021). Because the bibliometric approach does not require articles to be removed from the analysis, this method reduces the subjectivity bias. Based on the objectives of this study, two bibliometric analyses were presented to reveal research trends related to digital democracy regarding current and future political communication.

In the first stage, the researcher combined the bibliographies. This analysis evaluated the relationship between the two publications based on a third publication. Bibliographic merging applies similarities between reference lists to establish relationships between paper references by building the strength of paper coupling (Budler et al., 2021). Bibliography merges these publications into groups to determine themes based on a specific period (Zupic & Čater, 2015).

The second stage is the co-word analysis. Co-word analysis focuses on words that appear in the publication title, abstract, and author keywords, to generate the assumption that frequently appearing words form thematic relationships (Donthu et al., 2021). Co-word analysis can also be applied to evaluate network themes and relationships that represent conceptual field spaces (Zupic & Čater, 2015).

Data collection

We conducted an initial document search on the Google Scholar database using keywords in Indonesian: “Digital Democracy”, “Cyber Democracy”, and “Cyper Politic Democracy”. We use Google Scholar as the primary database for collecting bibliometric data with using tools Publish or Perish. The selected data range was from 2014 to 2024. The types of documents selected were journal articles, proceedings articles, and book chapters. Data collection was conducted on July 7, 2024. Google Scholar was chosen because it focused on Indonesian research.

Data cleaning

The search results on the Google Scholar database were limited to three stages, and the inclusion and exclusion criteria were utilized to produce a collection of the most relevant articles related to the topic being studied. Documents were limited to journal articles, proceedings, and book chapters. First, it was limited to journal publications, conference proceedings, and book chapters, excluding books, editorials, and other publications without peer review.

The second exclusion criterion was to eliminate more articles from unrelated backgrounds and specializations were excluded from this study. All the selected documents were manually reviewed and checked for relevance to the study topic. Finally, a final dataset consisting of 835 documents was selected for this study. The final output consisted of 835 documents that were saved and exported to .csv, .txt, and RIS format.

Data analysis

The researchers then analyzed the data using Microsoft Excel, Publish or Perish (Windows GUI Edition) 8.12.4612.8838, Covidence, and VOSviewer 1.6.20. To conduct the science mapping analysis, we used VOSviewer version 1.6.20. VOSviewer is a scientometric bibliographic analysis software used for general bibliographic analysis, performance analysis, and scientific mapping analysis (Ranjbar-Sahraei & Negenborn, 2017). VOSviewer is used as the main analysis tool in this study because it can visualize various types of bibliometric networks, including citation networks, bibliographic mergers, co-citations, and co-authorship (Babyr, 2024; McAllister et al., 2022a; Sallam et al., 2024). Thus, researchers can map and analyze relationships and interactions in scientific literature effectively. In addition, VOSviewer can construct and visualize important words that often appear. These words are extracted from scientific literature datasets (Yan & Zhiping, 2023). By constructing this, researchers can identify digital democracy research trends in Indonesia.

The research analysis is written systematically based on objectives of this study. First, it presents research trends in the ProTVF Journal from 2017 to 2024. Next, it presents research trends according to the research focus, both television and film. Next, it presents research trends based on the methods and techniques used in the research. Fourth, it discusses the most influential researchers. Then, it discusses the most influential articles. It discusses the most interesting research topics and the most widely used keywords. Finally, this study discusses existing trends while presenting predictions for future research trends.

Interpretation, reporting, and visualization

This study used VOSviewer for data analysis, reduction, visualization, and mapping. Figure 1 shows the selection process of articles included in the bibliometric analysis, which was adapted from the PRISMA 2020 statement (Page et al., 2021).

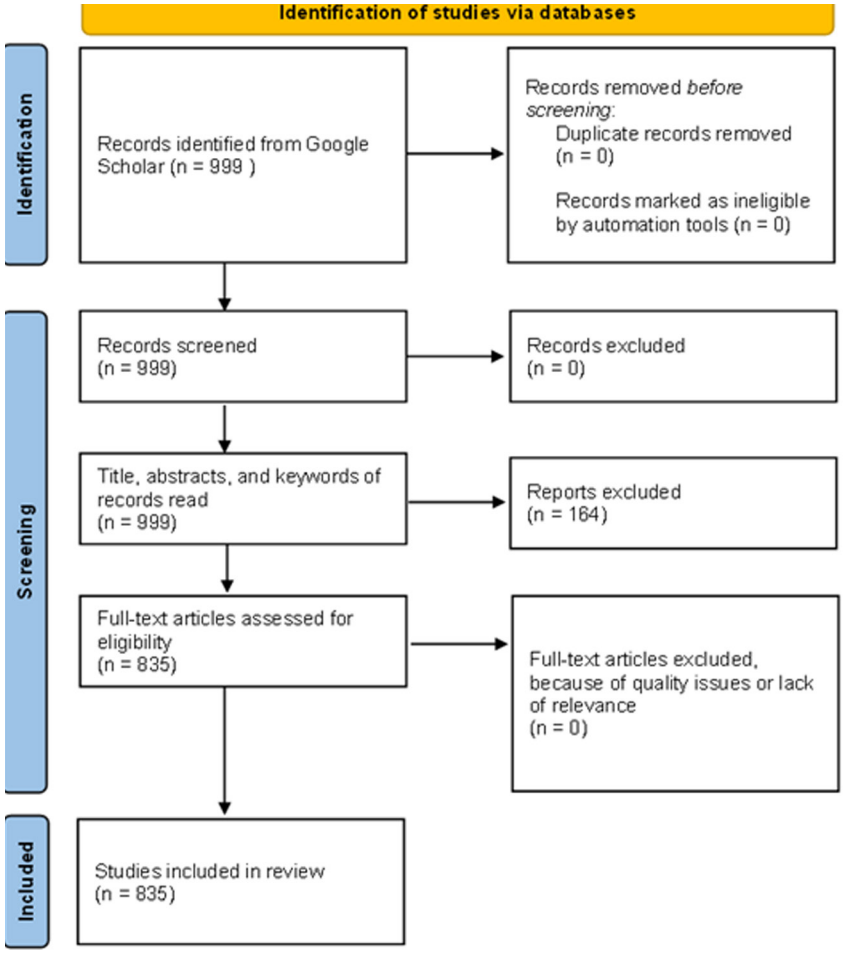


Figure 1: The Selection Process of Articles for Included in Bibliometrics Analysis

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Digital democracy is the collective use of information and communication technology for political and democratic practices, both online and offline (Hacker & van Dijk, 2014). The aspects of digital democracy include transparency, accountability, participation, and education. In addition, there are stages in the policy cycle, namely agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision-making, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. This section discusses several aspects of digital democracy, including bibliometric network analysis, top-cited articles, co-authorship by author, clustering concept items, and co-word analysis. Research on digital democracy in Indonesia from 2014 to 2024 amounted to 835 articles with a total of 5,615 citations. Table 1 presents the citation matrix.



Figure 2: Research on Digital Democracy in Indonesia (2014-2024)

Figure 2 shows the increase in research related to digital democracy in Indonesia. The lowest was observed in 2014 (10 studies). It then crept up from 2015 to 2021. In 2022, there was a significant increase in 117 studies. The peak occurred in 2023, with 130 studies. In the current year, namely, 2024, until July 2024, 77 studies have been conducted.

Top Cited Articles

Based on the 835 documents that have been analyzed, Table 2 shows the 10 articles with the highest citations throughout 2014-2024. First, there is an article entitled “Citizens and Cyber-Space: The New Frontier in Indonesian Democracy” written by YE Rachmad. This study has received 539 citations. In second place is Y Fahrimal, with an article entitled “Netiquette: Social Networking Ethics of the Millennial Generation in Social Media”, with

161 citations. (Fahrimal, 2018). I Syahputra's "Virtual democracy and cyber warfare in social media: Indonesian Netizen Perspectives" is on the third place with 133 citations.

A high number of citations from each research article indicates a significant influence of the cited research article on other research. This is because the topic and derivatives of the digital democracy discussion are strategic issues today. The research was conducted by YE Rachmad (2023) entitled "Citizens and Cyber-Space: The New Frontier in Indonesian Democracy" (Rachmad, 2023). This article discusses the digital space in Indonesian democracy along with the behaviour of the digital community.

Table 2. Top 10 Most Cited Articles 2014-2024 about Digital Democracy

Author	Title	Year	Number of Citations
YE Rachmad	Citizens and Cyber-Space: The New Frontier in Indonesian Democracy	2023	539
Y Fahrimal	Netiquette: Social networking ethics of the millennial generation in social media	2018	161
I Syahputra	Virtual democracy and cyber warfare in social media: Indonesian Netizen Perspectives	2017	133
J Postill	The rise of nerd politics	2018	125
LLK Perangin-angin, M Zainal	Political participation of new voters in the framework of social networking in social media	2018	106
C Juditha, J Darmawan	Use of Digital Media and Political Participation Millennial Generation	2018	88
S Allifiansyah	Youth, memes, and digital democracy in Indonesia	2016	76
Y Pradana	Attribution of digital citizenship in digital literacy	2018	73
E Jurriens, R Tapsell	Challenges and opportunities of the digital 'revolution in Indonesia	2017	73

Bibliometrics Network Analysis

In conducting bibliometric network analysis, researchers used the co-occurrence feature in VOSviewer to create a graphical map based on authors and search for keywords to understand the structure of the relationship with the concept cluster of digital democracy. Figure 3 shows the co-authorship analysed using VOSviewer (McAllister et al., 2022b; Van Eck & Waltman, 2011b, 2011a; Wong, 2018) with a minimum threshold of two. Furthermore, Khaerah often conducts research with other authors such as I Malik, AL Prianto, and H Hamrun. An example of this collaborative research result is " virtual political education in the era of digital democracy in vocational high schools" (Malik et

al., 2020).

Figure 3 shows the names associated with the same reference document, and the authors have interrelated references.

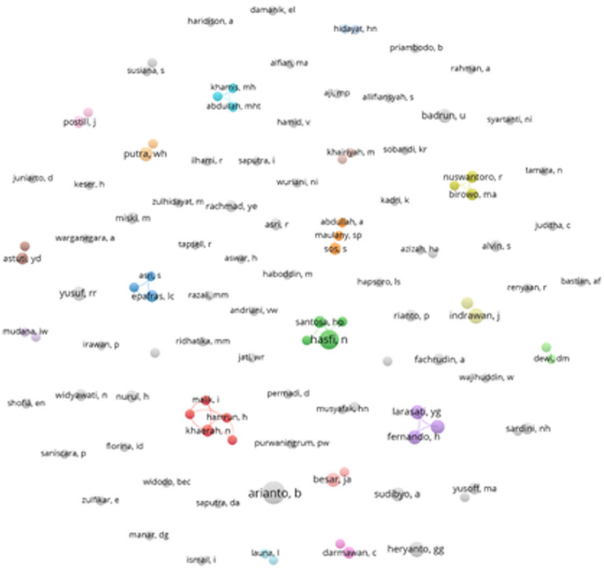


Figure 3. Co-authorship based on Digital Democracy Researchers in Indonesia (2014-2024)

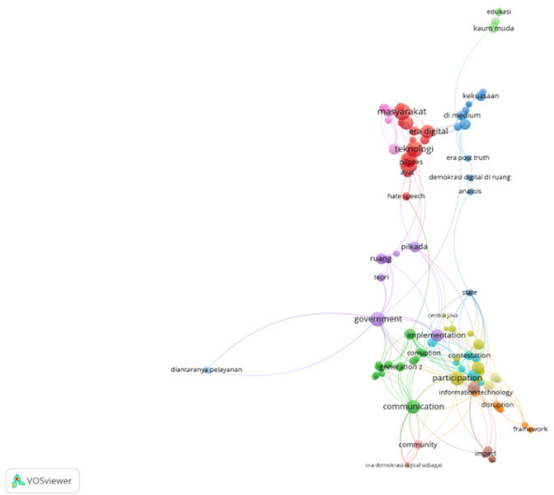


Figure 4. Clustering Concept of Digital Democracy Research in Indonesia (2014-2024)

The researcher obtained 12 items and 22 clusters based on the analysis and visualization results using VOSviewer. The researcher only wrote up to 10 clusters, as shown in Table 2.

Table 3. Clustering Concept Item by VOSviewer

Cluster	Concept Items	Color	Number of Item	Research Trend
Cluster 1	1. Critical discourse analysis 2. Verse 3. Digital today 4. Digital as 5. Economy 6. Digital era 7. Hate speech 8. Human 9. Society 10. Political meme Setya Novanto 11. Development 12. Presidential election 13. Technology	Red	18	Critical discourse analysis, hate speech, social behavior in the digital realm, memes
Cluster 2	1. Communication 2. Corruption 3. Wave 4. Generation Z 5. Honesty 6. Idea 7. Image 8. Individual 9. Influence 10. Meaning 11. Memes 12. Perception 13. Representation 14. Website	Green	14	Generation Z communication, memes, perception, representation, website

Cluster	Concept Items	Color	Number of Item	Research Trend
Cluster 3	1. Analysis 2. Digital democracy in space 3. In the medium 4. Digital that 5. Post-truth era 6. Power 7. Man 8. Technological development 9. Legal politics 10. President 11. State 12. Islamic political studies	Blue	12	Analysis of digital democracy channels, president, Islam
Cluster 4	1. Ability 2. Central java 3. Challenge 4. Communication technology 5. Dynamic 6. Effort 7. Globalization 8. Opportunity 9. Participation 10. Political education 11. Regional head election	Yellow	11	Communication technology, public participation, political education, regional head elections (Pilkada)
Cluster 5	1. The coming of the era 2. Government 3. Implementation 4. Concept 5. Pilkada 6. Public sphere 7. Space 8. Theory 9. Theology	Purple	9	Government, Pilkada, public space

Cluster	Concept Items	Color	Number of Item	Research Trend
Cluster 6	1. Contestation 2. Group 3. Millennial 4. Music 5. Prohibition 6. Religion 7. World	Light Blue	7	Political contestation and the millennial generation
Cluster 7	1. Disruption 2. Framework 3. Future 4. Information Technology 5. Paper 6. Popular Culture 7. Relationship	Orange	7	Information technology and popular culture
Cluster 8	1. General election 2. This indicates 3. Impact 4. Mainstream media 5. Traditional media 6. The medium becomes 7. Trend	Brown	7	General elections and the impact of media
Cluster 9	1. Not a pandemic event that 2. From us is a 3. Pandemic event 4. Covid pandemic period 5. Since 6. Strategy	Violet	6	COVID-19 pandemic and politics
Cluster 10	1. Community 2. The era of digital democracy as 3. For the implementation of e-voting 4. Industry 5. Carrying out online-based election houses	Pink	6	Social behavior

Research on digital democracy has consistently increased every year since its first appearance in 2014. . In 2014, only ten studies discussed this topic. Since social media began to emerge in 2014, Internet access increased, and people began to voice their opinions in the digital space. Among the ten articles, the article that received the most citations was by Alwajih (2014), with 17 citations.

In 2014, the topic of digital democracy became relatively new. This was evidenced by the number of published articles, which was only 10. In addition, the titles of the articles convey new hopes for democracy in the digital space. Such as "Twitter as a Media for Public Figures 'Figures' Self-Show through Tweets with the Theme of the 2014 Presidential Election Issue", "Discourse Politics on Twitter Social Media."(Alwajih, 2014; Belawati, 2014; Rahmawati et al., 2014).

Furthermore, in 2015, there was a 2-fold increase in research (23 studies). They were dominated by research related to the Indonesian General Election in 2014. Among them was a study by Arianto entitled "Creative Campaign in the 2014 Presidential Contest" with 71 citations (Arianto, 2015) and then followed by research that began to examine the behaviour of young people in digital democracy, such as Utomo (2015) with 18 citations.

Some studies have focused on the media, politics, and public participation. Among them are studies by Lindawati (2015) with 12 citations, Heryanto (2015) with seven citations and Saridewi, (2015).

Furthermore, in 2016, the research object was still related to the 2014 election for it was still in a post-general election atmosphere. The study with the most citations was by Allifiansyah (2016) which received 76 citations.

Political memes and social media cannot be separated. Political memes are a safe way to convey opinions, criticism, and suggestions to the government. Political memes are inseparable from the culture of Indonesian society, similar to something that smells of comedy and humor. In addition, activism began to become an important topic after the 2014 election. Among them are studies by Jati (2016) and Arianto (2016) which received 59 and 14 citations, respectively.

In 2017, the topic of digital democracy was reduced to several derivative topics, such as cyber warfare, political participation, memes, anonymity, digital activism, hate speech, hoaxes, the ITE (Electronic Information and Transactions) Law, and its relationship to religion. The research with the most citations belongs to Syahputra (2017) with 133 citations. Then followed by Jurriens & Tapsell (2017) and Listiyorini (2017) with 73 and 67 citations respectively.

Exciting research in 2017 belongs to Hasfi et al. (2017) cited 32 times and Galih (2017).. Anonymity in the context of political communication began to emerge in 2017 due to the increasing phenomenon of hate speech and hoaxes on social media. Many spreaders of hate speech and hoaxes use anonymous accounts.

In 2017, research touched on the ITE Law or Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions. Such as Ikramina's research entitled "The Impact of the ITE Law on Digital Democracy: A Case Study of Digital Campaigns in the 2017 Jakarta's Regional Head Elections"(Ikramina, 2017). Regional head election (Pilkada) topics were dominated on 2017. Jakarta's 2017 Regional Head Elections was one of the phenomenal cases because it's the first momentum for many hate speeches, digital verbal violence, and hoaxes. These topics, then, are studied by Agustina et al. (2017) and Raenaldy (2017). Religious topics also began to appear in several studies in 2017. Among them are studies by Miski, (2017) and Hasfi (2017).

Furthermore, in 2018, public participation in politics was a dominant topic. Influential studies include Perangin-angin & Zainal, (2018) with 106 citationsJuditha & Darmawan's (2018) with 88 citations and Damanik's (2018) with cited 9 times.

In 2018, research on hate speech, hoaxes, and anonymity in the digital realm developed into research related to netiquette in Indonesian society in the digital world. This research was conducted by Fahrimal (2018) with 161 citations, (. Exciting research in 2018 has focused on online petitions by Simamora (2018) that received 24 citations. . Research related to online petitions is one implementation of democracy in the digital world, primarily related to policy advocacy.

In 2019, research on digital democracy was dominated by research on political memes. These studies include Adhityakusuma & Mahadian (2019); Andriani(2019); Astuti et al., (2019); Erawati et al. (2020); Juliana & Satyawan, (2019); Mahadian & Hashim, (2022); Mulyani (2019); Puteri & Mahadian (2019); Saniscara (2019) and Syahridawaty & Qudsy (2019).

Exciting research in 2019 is the beginning of research criticizing the position of Indonesian society in the digital space. Research on hate speech is also an interesting topic. This time, the subject is not an anonymous account, but a buzzer. The word "buzzer" began to appear in research on digital democracy in the context of political communication in 2019. This research was conducted by Arianto (2019) with 12 citations.

Based on the analysis conducted by the researcher, the research trends in 2020 were diverse and related to the COVID-19 pandemic. Derivative topics included social media, memes, women, and online petitions. Uniquely, even though the General Election took place in 2019, only four studies touched on the 2019 General Election in 2020. In 2020, the study with the highest number of citations, (D. Kusumasari & Arifianto, 2020), discussed hate speech on social media.

A study in 2020 began to touch on big data as a trend in political communication research. The study was titled "Utilization of the Drone Emprit Academic Application in Analyzing Public Opinion on Social Media"(Arianto, 2020). Research on online petitions associated with advocacy in 2020 have increased, and Purwoko (2020) Addiputra et al. (2020) and (Rahman, 2020) studies are among them.

The 2021 research related to digital democracy is also diverse and is still dominated by political memes and the COVID-19 pandemic. The most influential research is Hidayati's (2021) which received 23 citations.An exciting research topic in 2021 is the discovery of echo chambers in social media. Dani (2021) discovered this in his study.

The difference between the 2021 research and previous years is that there is research with certain hashtags (#). Research using hashtags is characteristic of digital democracy research. Related research can be classified as big data or content analysis. One influential study is the research of Wuriani (2021), entitled "Hashtag Activism # percumalaporpolisi as the Zeitgeist of Cyber Democracy in Indonesia". The hashtag #percumalaporpolisi means that it's useless to report to the police, was echoed on Twitter. It was a form of disappointment for Indonesian people regarding the performance of the police institution.

The research on 2022 is also diverse. The most influential research in 2022 belongs to Karo (2022) which has cited 24 times. Another influential research belongs to Fernando et al., (2022) Furthermore, research related to political parties, whose existence is considered visible in the digital world, is PSI (Indonesian Solidarity Party). Alvin's research entitled "The Evolution of Political Parties in Indonesia: PSI towards a Digital Party" received 12 citations.

Although there were only two studies, discussions on digital activism emerged in 2022. Among them is Arianto's (2022). This study aims to elaborate on Twitter's role as a channel for civil society movements. Hashtag #reformasidikorupsi attracted the most public attention in 2019. This occurred because of the discussion regarding the revision of the RKUHP (Draft Criminal Code Bill). People's voices were heard loudly on social media and in the real world. Another study that also portrayed digital activism was research by Dewi et al. (2022).

The research trends of 2023 are decorated with various topics. It started with hashtag activism on social media, such as Twitter and Instagram, and continued to TikTok. Research also criticizes ITE Law and digital conflict resolution in Indonesia (Ningrat & Nulhaqim, 2023). Throughout 2023, the most influential research was by Noorikhsan et al. (2023), cited 18 times, and was followed by research from (Noak, 2023) and (Boestam et al., 2023).

In 2023, there was a shift in the research subjects. If previous studies used more millennial generation as research subjects, by 2023, research will begin to be conducted on Generation Z. For example Ariestuti, Purnawan, and Pradipta, titled "Utilization of the Welcome to Indonesia Hashtag Trend on TikTok as a Means of Social Criticism of Generation Y and Z" (Ariestuti et al., 2023). They found that the use of #welcometoindonesia is a form of sarcasm from Indonesians. The content displayed on this hashtag is related to problems that occur in Indonesia.

Still related to Generation Z, the uniqueness of this 2023 research is the examination of Generation Z's ethics in expressing opinions on social media. The research by Miskal et al. (2023) discusses this matter. Research related to digital activism by 2023 has penetrated

this policy. Among them are “Digital activism in policies to prevent and handle sexual violence” and “#savenoviawidyasari Hashtag Activism on Twitter.”

In 2023, political criticism of social media also developed. Not only were they wrapped in humor in the form of memes, but critical communicators developed into comedians. This was conveyed in the research by Meydiawati & Alamiyah (2023) and Arif & Aprillya (2023). . Research in 2023 also utilized big data research, such as “Sentiment Analysis of Hashtag Activism on Twitter” (Sidharta et al., 2023). Research related to sentiment analysis is required to determine the tonnage of tweets, including positive, negative, and neutral tweets. This is useful for communication practitioners to determine the opinions of the public represented in tweets. However, it should be remembered that Indonesia has a high-context culture, meaning that what is tweeted by Indonesian people on Twitter may have a different meaning. There is also a study by Djamaluddin et al., 2023) that analyze digital activism on Twitter.

As of July 2024, 77 studies on digital democracy have been conducted. Social media, communication strategies, political participation, and digital activism dominate emerging topics. The most influential study were those by Zulhidayat et al. (2024), followed by Tamrin et al. (2024) and Kamindang & Amijaya (2024).

The social media used for political communication in previous years was dominated by Instagram. From 2023 to 2024, TikTok social media became a research subject. In 2024, three studies were related to TikTok. The studies included Kamindang & Amijaya (2024); Lestari et al. (2024). Besides, research related to digital activism throughout 2024 includes Hapsari et al., (2024) and Ulya & Indainanto, (2024).

CONCLUSION

Researchers have found that the number of publications related to digital democracy in Indonesia over the past decade has continued to increase from 2014 to 2024. By conducting a bibliometric analysis related to the topic of digital democracy with the help of VOSviewer, researchers analyzed 835 studies obtained from the Google Scholar database. This study found ten topic clusters with various research topics related to digital democracy.

The research topics are dominated by critical discourse analysis, hate speech, community behavior in the digital realm, memes, Generation Z communication, perception, representation, websites, analysis of digital democracy channels, the president, and Islam. Based on the number of citations, the most influential researcher in research related to digital democracy is YE Rachmad. This study provides an overview of research trends for researchers interested in digital democracy in Indonesia.

The findings of this study further emphasize that the development of information technology influences digital democracy. Memes are a form of expression used by Indonesian citizens to voice their opinions in a political context. Indonesian people like things related to

comedy and humor. Another interesting finding is the Generation Z communication in the context of digital democracy. In the subsequent political developments in Indonesia, Generation Z cannot be separated from influencers, journalists, and even musicians or actors. In addition, the analysis of digital democratic channels needs to be a concern for academics. Until 2024, research related to digital democracy had always focused on Twitter because of the ease of crawling data. Twitter is an echo chamber that represents only a small part of Indonesian society. Therefore, researchers should conduct research on platforms other than Twitter.

This study has limitation in data sources that only use one database, Google Scholar. It is because this study focuses on describing research trends in Indonesia. Further research could expand to Scopus, Web of Science, and Clarivate Analytics databases. Besides, further research needs to focus about citizen engagement, digital divide, public participation, and cultural and social barriers. It would be interesting for future research to discuss about digital activism with different political context, such as evolution of digital activism practices, impact of social movements, youth and digital activism and online and offline activism integration.

This research has implications for political communication practitioners. It can provide an overview of increasing political participation, especially among young people, and the challenges and potential of digital platforms for political conversations. For policymakers, it has implications for increasing public trust by prioritizing transparency in communication. Policymakers must also be aware that the digital divide continues to be a challenge today. In addition, policymakers also need to improve technology use in public participation in public policy-making continuously.

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