

Factors Contributing to Internet Users' Participation in Digital Petitions

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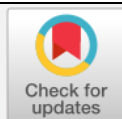
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ABSTRACT

This study tries to answer why citizens of the Republic of Indonesia continue to participate in digital petitions even though the government has not legalized this mechanism. To answer this question, the researchers used raw data from the World Value Survey (WVS) VII, which involved 3,000 respondents from Indonesia who were eighteen years old and randomly selected. The logistic regression technique examined the effect of fourteen independent variables on the dependent variable (internet user participation in digital petitions/Y). The final logistic regression model contains seven independent variables that can explain Y as much as 4.52% significantly, $X^2(7) = 169.60$, $p < 0.01$. The final model produces the characteristics of respondents who could participate in digital petitions: young people, not religious, having liberalism ideology, male, educated more than or equivalent to high school, distrust of government organizations, and unmarried. This study recommends that the government and parties related to digital petitions increase citizens' religiosity, increase the quantity, access, and quality of education levels of ideological education, and maintain citizens' trust in government organizations. Researchers also encourage the legislative institutions at the central and local levels to formally adopt the digital petition mechanism as an official channel for citizens to articulate their political aspirations.

Keywords: Digital Petition; E-Participation; Indonesia; Political Participation; World Values Survey

1. Introduction

One global problem that concerns many countries today is strengthening and expanding citizen participation in the political process. In Indonesia, citizens' political participation, especially electoral participation, fluctuates. As Figure 1 shows, in the period of half a century (1970 – 2020), the electoral participation of citizens in the legislative elections ranged from 94% to 70%. Based on this situation, it is not surprising that the United Nations (UN) includes the issue of political participation as part of the Sustainable Development Goals, especially Goal 16: peace, justice, and strong institutions. Two indicators of Goal 16 represent the issue of political participation: (a) ensuring a responsive, inclusive, participatory, and representative decision-making process at all levels of decision-making (indicator 16.7); (b) expanding and strengthening the participation of developing countries in global governance institutions (indicator 16.8) (United Nations, 2015).

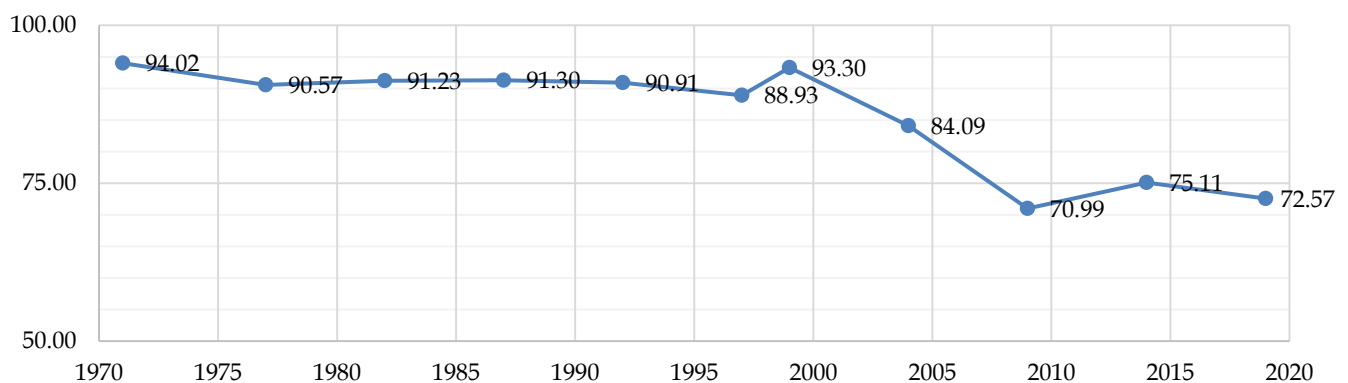


Figure 1. The Level of Participation of Indonesian People in Legislative Elections, 1971–2020

Source: (International IDEA, n.d.)

One form of political participation in the Internet era is digital petitions. According to the results of the World Value Survey (WVS) VII, only 76 (4.52%) people have ever participated in a digital petition, 333 (19.80%) stated that they might (participate or not participate) in a digital petition, and 1,273 (75.68%) people said will not participate. Respondents of WVS VII in Indonesia who consume news and political information via the internet reach 677 (40.39%) people, probably consume up to 388 (23.15%) people, and will not consume up to 611 (36.46%) people. This data confirms that those exposed to news and political information online do not necessarily participate in digital petitions. This phenomenon, of course, contradicts the results of previous research on the relationship between knowledge and political participation, which confirms a strong positive relationship between these variables (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006; Dimitrova et al., 2014; Kaufhold et al., 2010). Ideally, the more internet users are exposed to political information, the higher their chances of participating in digital petitions. However, this situation does not occur in Indonesia. This research is designed to elaborate on this phenomenon. It is expected to contribute to the global scientific debate about digital petitions that are starting to get the attention of researchers.

So far, empirical knowledge about digital petitions is quite mixed. Starting from the effect of digital media platforms on the participation of internet users in digital petitions (Harrison et al., 2021), the factors that influence citizen participation in e-petitions (Sheppard, 2015), the popularity of e-petitions (Clark & Lomax, 2020; Hagen et al., 2016), strong and good characteristics of e-petitions (Bochel & Bochel, 2017; S. Wright, 2012), the performance of e-

petitions (S. Wright, 2015, 2016), to the impact of e-petitions on the policy-making process (Ranchordás, 2017). Others analyze e-petitions with machine learning (Clark et al., 2018; Hagen, 2018; Suh et al., 2010; Wang & Zhong, 2020). However, most of this research comes from countries where petitions have been formally adopted as a political tool for citizens to voice political demands to formal political institutions. Not only that, in the UK, parliamentary institutions provide a special platform for citizens who wish to submit online petitions (S. Wright, 2012). However, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, no researcher has attempted to jointly elaborate on the effect of the variables of gender, age, marital status, education level, employment status, social class, religion, location of residence, trust in society, trust in government institutions, trust in parliament, religiosity, level of happiness, and ideological tendencies, partially or jointly, towards citizen participation in signing digital petitions.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Digital Petitions

In simple terms, a petition is a written document signed by many people and contains a request to a certain person or institution to take certain actions or change something (Anonymous, 2021a). Before the development of the internet, petitions were conducted offline. The petitioners will carry out a massive campaign to get their petitions signed by many people. The document is submitted to the relevant parties if many residents have supported the petition. Petitions are generally directed to government institutions, international organizations, and private corporations with certain authorities.

In the internet era as it is today, petitions are already in digital form. Digital petition is different from conventional (non-digital) petitions in several ways: (a) citizen participation in digital petitions occurs in an online situation (clicktivism); (b) clicktivism is a spontaneous action even though, to a certain degree, there is a gap for citizens to contemplate before filling out digital petitions; (c) clicktivism is not accompanied by long-term commitment; (d) clicktivism does not require special skills and knowledge. Citizens who want to participate only need to have the ability to interact in the digital world; (e) clicktivism is easier to replicate and reproduce so that it can reach a wider population (Halupka, 2014).

The United Kingdom (UK) is the first developed country to digitally petition as a channel for citizens to voice public aspirations. In the UK, if a citizen-initiated digital petition is successful: (a) is supported by a certain number of 10,000 signatures, the government (executive) will respond to the digital petition; (b) supported by 100,000 signatures, then the digital petition demands will be debated in the UK parliament. The UK parliament has prepared a special application for citizens who wish to initiate a digital petition (Anonymous, 2021b). The institutionalization of digital petitions, as practiced in the UK, has at least three basic functions: (a) providing a special channel for citizens who wish to communicate with representative institutions (legislative/parliamentary) and government institutions (executive); (b) inform policy developments and executive oversight; and (c) influencing policy change (Hough, 2012). However, how far the digital petition system can carry out these three functions together or separately is an empirical issue that needs to be revealed through empirical research.

Several researchers look at the phenomenon of digital petitions from a different perspective. Dolata & Schrape, for example, consider the practice of digital petitions to be one type of collective behavior in cyberspace (Dolata & Schrape, 2016). Due to the spontaneous nature of digital petitions, without contemplation, without a long-term commitment, citizen participation in digital petitions, citing George & Leidner, is like the behavior of the audience/observer who

is busy shouting with various verbal and visual expressions but unable to change the situation (George & Leidner, 2019). However, not all researchers agree with the arguments of George & Leidner. Some researchers have found that using technology has increased the quality and quantity of citizen involvement in the political process and the workings of political institutions (Dai & Norton, 2007; Ranchordás, 2017). In addition, the effectiveness and ability of digital petitions to change the desired situation are strongly influenced by various factors, ranging from the semantic quality, linguistics, and content of the petition (Bochel & Bochel, 2017; Clark & Lomax, 2020), positive emotions (Elnoshokaty et al., 2016), transparency, efficiency and transferability of petitions (S. Wright, 2012), and leadership in the petition movement (Ranchordás, 2017).

The researchers' debate is not only about the performance and effectiveness of digital petitions but also extends to the issue of predictors of citizen participation in signing digital petitions. So far, some of the factors that researchers have identified are access to and ownership of traditional resources (e.g., level of education, literacy, social status) and online resources (e.g., access to the internet, skills to use the internet) (Anduiza et al., 2010), gender and participation in community organizations (Sheppard, 2015), type of social network, personal involvement in social activism and issues raised, personal self-efficacy, personal technological efficacy, personal group efficacy (Nekmat et al., 2015), political awareness, political efficacy, and network recruitment (Oni et al., 2017), technological factors, political factors, and organizational factors (Susha & Grönlund, 2014), altruism, quality of argument, personal relevance (Ulo et al., 2019), and factors at the macro level, such as economic development and the experience of democracy (Stockemer, 2014).

In contrast to previous research, this study tries to elaborate on the influence of several independent variables that have not been identified by previous research as predictors of citizen involvement in digital petitions, such as social capital, social class, religiosity, level of happiness, ideological tendencies, and socio-demographic variables (gender, age, marital status, education level, employment status, religion, and location of residence). The theoretical relationship of these independent variables to digital petitions is described in the next paragraph.

2.2. Social Capital and Digital Petition Participation

Social capital is a communal resource or social resource that facilitates various individual actions within a particular social structure (Inkeles, 2000). Social capital can also be interpreted as social networks, formal and informal social norms, and trust at the individual, group, and community levels, enabling or facilitating citizen cooperation (Fukuyama, 1997; Putnam, 2002). Trust, as a proxy of social capital, could be divided into four conceptions: cognitive vs non-cognitive trust and dyadic vs embedded trust (Levi, 2015). Trust is a product of the cognitive process because it is informed by a rational expectation or a belief that the trusted will be trustworthy. The non-cognitive conception of trust perceived trust as having a moral, emotional, and personal basis. It cannot be easily regulated by the impersonal relationship embodied in bureaucracy, the market, or formal law. In dyadic conception, trust is relational and nested at the individual level. Finally, trust is embedded in a social network or institutional arrangement that permits expectations about or social bonds based on the social roles, categorization, and rules affecting others.

Several researchers have shown how social capital affects the process of adopting e-participation (Naranjo-Zolotov et al., 2019), the support of social media users on the political issues championed by digital petitions (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2011), and giving birth to the

different type of citizenship from citizenship in the real world (de Zúñiga et al., 2017). In the context of this study, the researcher expected that social capital (as measured by trust) would have a positive relationship with citizen participation in digital petitions. This is because digital petitions rely heavily on social networks (one of the elements of social capital) and citizens' trust in people connected to the internet. This means that the higher the social capital owned by the community, the higher the possibility of citizens participating in signing digital petitions. This logic is the basis for the researcher to formulate the 1st hypothesis (H1): trust in the community (X9) positively affects citizen participation in digital petitions.

Digital petitions are a form of expression by citizens that politicians, both in the legislature and executive, are not responsive to various socio-political problems that develop in society. Political elites are preoccupied with their agendas and ignore agendas that intersect with public interests. The presence of digital petitions is expected to attract the attention of the political elite to the issues raised by the movers and signatories of the digital petition. Implicitly, this process – to a certain degree – contains the trust of the petitioners and signatories to government and parliamentary institutions. Citizens involved in digital petitions believe the government and parliament will properly process them. This logic is the basis for the researchers to formulate the second and third hypotheses in this study: (a) trust in government institutions (X10) is positively associated with citizen participation in signing digital petitions (H2); (c) trust in parliament (X11) is positively associated with digital petition signing (H3).

2.3. Religiosity and Digital Petition Participation

Religiosity (X12) can be interpreted as a person's obedience to the teachings of their religion. These religious teachings include beliefs in teachings, commands, prohibitions, rituals, and so on (Koenig et al., 2015). Scientists have long considered the religiosity variable as one factor influencing political participation (Emmenegger & Manow, 2014). In the United States, for example, religiosity played a central role in determining the final choice of women voters in the 1996 United States Presidential Election (Greenberg, 2008). In India, Muslim voters tend to vote for Muslim candidates only if the chosen candidate is considered to have the potential to win (Heath et al., 2015). In the context of digital petitions, the similarity of religious identities triggers solidarity and reasons for signing digital petitions. In Indonesia, religion is not just a mere doctrine and ritual (Shadiqi et al., 2020).

On the other hand, religion is a socio-political force that plays an important role in every phase of Indonesia's political journey. Various citizens' political participation, including digital petitions, can be considered part of political *ijtihad* that aligns with God's call. Therefore, the researcher hopes religious respondents have a significant positive relationship with signing digital petitions (H4).

2.4. Happiness and Digital Petition Participation

Happiness is a person's subjective perception of the quality of his daily life. This perception is very diverse because different social, economic, and political environments, knowledge, points of view, experiences, and needs influence it. For example, when one walked in the desert alone, mineral water would probably be more valuable than a gold ring. The scientific debate about the quality of a good and happy life has given rise to various philosophical schools in ethical theory, such as hedonism, egoism, utilitarianism, Kantianism, and so on (Graham, 2004). In the context of political participation, happiness can be a dependent variable or an independent variable. Happiness is the dependent variable that citizens' political participation contributes to happiness as a quality dimension of psychological well-being (Chan et al., 2020).

Happiness is an independent variable that strongly predicts voters' electoral participation and election results (Ward, 2020). In this study, the level of happiness (X13) is positioned as an independent variable. Researchers suspect that happy respondents have a greater chance of participating in digital petition signing (H5).

2.5. Ideology and Digital Petition Participation

Ideology is a collection of ideas, thoughts, and concepts that are believed to be true and become a guide for thinking and acting for its supporters. Ideology is a source of value for every political action of individuals, groups, or modern political institutions. In the context of online participation, the role of ideology is still controversial. For example, those who favor online political participation are associated with conservative political ideologies (Šerek & Machackova, 2014). This finding differs from Best & Krueger's conclusion, which shows that online participation is associated with moderate liberal ideology (Best & Krueger, 2005). In the context of WVS VII, the orientation of ideology has adopted the dichotomy of the Left (socialism) and the Right (liberalism). Respondents will be on the Right if they agree with the values embodied in liberalism, such as competition, increased private sector ownership in business and industry, and hard work. On the other hand, respondents are on the Left if they agree with equal distribution of income, increasing the role of government in economic life, and the responsibility of the government in meeting everyone's needs.

Since the 1998 Reformation, Indonesia has adopted a liberal democratic system characterized by a multi-party system, election of executive officials through general elections, freedom of the press, neutrality of the military in the political sphere, and so on. The values of liberalism also hit the national economic sector. This situation causes the Indonesian people to become more familiar with the values of liberalism. Because digital petitions are part of a habit in a liberal democratic system, the researcher expects that the respondent with a liberalism orientation (X14) will be positively associated with citizen participation in digital petitions (H6).

2.6. Social Class and Digital Petition Participation

The discipline of sociology has long identified society as an inhomogeneous entity. On the other hand, society is a collection of individuals and groups that form a certain social stratification. The basis for the formation of social layers can be very diverse, starting from the economic point of view (e.g., poor vs rich), social (e.g., working vs not working), health (e.g., sick vs healthy), and so on. A person's social class position will greatly affect his interactions and behavior. Not surprisingly, theorists have long considered social class a predictor of voter behavior (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008).

WVS VII explores respondents' subjective perceptions of their position in social stratification in society, which is divided into five groups: upper class, upper middle class, lower middle class, working class, and lower class. These five categories were then divided into the upper and lower middle classes. In simple terms, the middle class is between the rich and the poor. They are educated, and most work in the private sector (Bonham, 1952). Several studies have shown how middle-class identity greatly influences the political behavior of voters. In Indonesia, especially in the 2014 presidential election, Prabowo is considered to be supported by the political elite and the middle class, while Jokowi is supported by the lower middle class (Pepinsky, 2017).

In the context of digital petitions, the role of social class in digital petitions is that those who participate in conventional petitions tend to be older, less educated, affiliated with certain parties, and are in the have-not group (Lee et al., 2014). In contrast, those in the have category

and have not participated in conventional petitions are more likely to participate in digital petitions. This finding is also corroborated by Yates & Lockley, which state that forms of social media usage correspond to socio-economic attributes and social class status (Yates & Lockley, 2018). This narrative is the basis for researchers to expect social class (X6) to be positively associated with citizen participation in digital petitions (H7).

2.7. Socio-Demographic Variable and Digital Petition Participation

Socio-demographic factors have long been considered by scientists as predictors of voter behavior (Carreras et al., 2014). In the context of e-participation, men are more willing to participate than women (Stockemer, 2014). Other research shows that e-participation is influenced by education level (Gibson & McAllister, 2013), socio-economic status (Best & Krueger, 2005), and location of residence (Isaksson, 2014). The findings of these researchers contradict the results of Šerek & Machackova's research, which confirms that socio-demographic factors do not significantly contribute to online participation (Šerek & Machackova, 2014). This debate became the basis for researchers to formulate hypotheses related to the influence of socio-demographic factors on respondents' participation in digital petitions as follows: (a) males are positively associated with participation in digital petitions (H8); (b) young respondents are positively associated with participation in digital petitions (H9); (c) married respondents are positively associated with participation in digital petitions (H10); (d) respondents with education >high school/equivalent have a positive association with participation in digital petitions (H11); (e) respondents who work are positively associated with digital petition participation (H12); (f) respondents who are Muslim have positive associations with digital petition participation (H13); and (g) respondents who live in cities have a positive association with digital petition participation (H14).

3. Research Methodology

This study uses a quantitative approach to find the direction and strength of the statistical relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The secondary data source comes from the results of the WVS VII, a longitudinal survey organized by the World Values Survey Association (WVSA) since 1981. Indonesia has just been included as one of the WVS research locations in WVS VII, with 3,000 Indonesian residents aged over 18 selected randomly. The WVS VII field data collection process was carried out in 2017 – 2021 in 60 countries (Haerpfer et al., n.d.). The dependent variable of this study is citizen participation in online/digital petitions (Y), defined as citizen involvement in signing online petitions. Variable Y was extracted from the WVS VII questionnaire, specifically the question item Q209: "Have you ever, maybe, or never/not likely to participated in signing an online/digital petition?". The respondent's answer will be converted into a binary variable: yes (coded 1) and never (coded 0).

The independent variables in this study consisted of 14 variables: gender (X₁), age (X₂), marital status (X₃), education level (X₄), employment status (X₅), social class (X₆), religion (X₇), place of residence (X₈), trust in society (X₉), trust in government institutions (X₁₀), trust in parliament (X₁₁), religiosity (X₁₂), level of happiness (X₁₃), and ideological orientation (X₁₄). The conceptual and operational definitions of independent variables are shown in Table 1. The data were analyzed by logistic regression using STATA 15 in the following three stages: univariate analysis, bivariate analysis, and multivariate analysis. After the bivariate analysis using the cross-tabulation, only independent variables with a $p < 0.25$ will be included in the multivariate analysis (Hosmer et al., 2013). In the multivariate analysis, the researcher used the Enter method.

Table 1. Research Variable

Research Variable	Indicator
Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	1 = Yes; 0 = No
Gender (X ₁)	1 = Male; 0 = Female
Age (X ₂)	1 = Young; 0 = Old
Marital status (X ₃)	1 = Married; 0 = Unmarried
Level of education (X ₄)	1 = >Senior High School; 0 = < Senior High School
Employment status (X ₅)	1 = Working; 0 = Not working
Social class (X ₆)	1 = middle-class; 0 = non-middle class
Religion (X ₇)	1 = Islam; 0 = Not Islam
Type of residence (X ₈)	1 = Urban; 0 = Rural
Trust in society (X ₉)	1 = Trust; 0 = Not trust
Trust in government institutions (X ₁₀)	1 = Trust; 0 = Not trust
Trust in parliament (X ₁₁)	1 = Trust; 0 = Not trust
Religiosity (X ₁₂)	1 = Religious; 0 = Not religious
Level of happiness (X ₁₃)	1 = Happy; 0 = Not happy
Ideological orientation (X ₁₄)	1 = Liberalism; 0 = Socialism

4. Results and Discussion

This section shows the findings of the research. The author starts with a brief description of Indonesia as the background, the contextual setting, or the research location of WVS VII. Next, the author shows a general picture of WVS VII respondents in Indonesia and the result of univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analysis.

4.1. The Setting

Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world because it has 17,508 islands with a total area of 1,904,569 km². Astronomically, Indonesia is located between 60°04'30" north latitude and 110°00'36" south latitude and between 94°05'21" to 141°01'10" east longitude and is passed by the equator or the equator is located at latitude 00. The Indonesian archipelago is located between the continents of Asia and the continents of Australia and is flanked by the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. In 2019, Indonesia's population was 268,1 million across 34 provinces or 511 regencies/cities, 7,217 sub-districts, and 83,344 villages/urban villages. The population growth rate reached 1.15 percent. Of this total population, the number of poor people in 2019 reached 25.1 million or 9.4 percent. Indonesia has a Human Development Index (HDI) score of 71.9 percent. The labor force participation rate is 67.5 percent, and the open unemployment rate is 5.3 percent (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2021).

4.2. Research Respondent

The total respondents of WVS VII in Indonesia are 3,200 people. Of the total, the number of male respondents (45.19%) is less than female respondents (54.81%). Many respondents are married (76.66%), and unmarried people only reach 23.34%. Respondents who graduated <Senior High School/equivalent reached 89.90%, and those who graduated > Senior High

School/equivalent were only 10.10%. Respondents who work 75.21% and only 24.79% do not work. Most respondents came from “middle to lower” social class (86.49%). Meanwhile, those from the “middle to upper” social class were only 13.51% of the respondents.

Most respondents are Muslim (83.19%). The non-Muslims are only 16.81%. Most respondents live in rural areas (74.06%), and only 25.94% live in urban areas. Many respondents (94.81%) think that the community is less trustworthy. On the other hand, those who think that government organizations can be trusted are 79.34%. Meanwhile, respondents' opinions on trust are relatively balanced (trustworthy: 49.98% and less reliable: 50.02%). Most respondents considered themselves religious (92.56%) and happy (93.90%). However, the proportion of respondents who tend to adopt the ideology of liberalism (56.19%) and socialism (43.81%) is relatively even because the proportion difference is not too big.

4.3. Univariate Analysis

The dependent variable in this study is citizen participation in online petitions (Y). Of the 3,183 respondents, only 914 (28.72%) stated that they had or may have signed a digital petition. The remaining 2,269 (71.28%) have not or will not sign the digital petition. Fourteen independent variables are identified as contributors to the dependent variable (Y). The summary of univariate analysis for the independent variable is shown in **Table 2**.

Table 2. Univariate Analysis

No.	Independent Variable (X)	Total (%)	Sample (n)
1	Gender (X ₁)		
	Male	1,446 (45.19%)	3.200
	Female	1,754 (54.81%)	
2	Age (X ₂)		
	Old	1,449 (45.28%)	3.200
	Young	1,751 (54.72%)	
3	Marital status (X ₃)		
	Unmarried	747 (23.34%)	3.200
	Married	2,453 (76.66%)	
4	Level of education (X ₄)		
	<Senior High School/equivalent	2,876 (89.90%)	3.199
	>Senior High School/ equivalent	323 (10.10%)	
5	Employment status (X ₅)		
	Not working	787 (24.79%)	3.175
	Working	2,388 (75.21%)	
6	Social class (X ₆)		
	Non-middle-class	2,708 (86.49%)	3.131
	Middle-class	423 (13.51%)	
7	Religion (X ₇)		
	Islam	2,662 (83.19%)	3.200
	Other	538 (16.81%)	
8.	Type of residence (X ₈)		
	Rural	2,367 (74.06%)	3.196
	Urban	829 (25.94%)	

No.	Independent Variable (X)		Total (%)	Sample (n)
9.	Trust in society (X ₉)			
		Not trust	3,033 (94.81%)	3.199
		Trust	166 (5.19%)	
10.	Trust in government (X ₁₀)			
		Not trust	658 (20.66%)	3.185
		Trust	2,527 (79.34%)	
11.	Trust in parliament (X ₁₁)			
		Not trust	1,584 (50.02%)	3.167
		Trust	1,583 (49.98%)	
12.	Religiosity (X ₁₂)			
		Not religious	235 (7.44%)	3.159
		Religious	2,924 (92.56%)	
13.	Level of happiness (X ₁₃)			
		Not happy	195 (6.10%)	3.199
		Happy	3,004 (93.90%)	
14.	Ideological orientation (X ₁₄)			
		Liberalism	1,798 (56.19%)	3.200
		Socialism	1,402 (43.81%)	

4.4. Bivariate Analysis

Cross-tabulation was used to analyze the statistical relationship between X and Y. The results of the two-variable analysis will determine whether an independent variable will be included in the multivariate analysis or not in the next stage. Only independent variables that have $p < 0.25$ will be included in the multivariate analysis. As shown in Table 4, of the fourteen independent variables, only eleven independent variables could be included in the multivariate analysis. Three variables do not have a significant relationship with Y: X₁₃, X₉, and X₇. Of these eleven variables, three variables are included because they have $p < 0.25$. At the same time, the rest are independent variables with a statistically significant relationship with Y. Table 3 has been sorted based on the X₂ score. The independent variable that has the largest X₂ will be entered first into the logistic regression. The sequence numbers of the independent variables in Table 3 show the order for including the independent variables in the based logistic regression.

Table 3. Summary of Bivariate Analysis

No.	Independent Variable (X)	Dependent variable (Y)	X ²	DF	p	V
1.	Age (X ₂)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	80.82	1 (3.84)	0.01	0.15
2.	Religiosity (X ₁₂)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	33.83	1 (3.84)	0.01	-0.10
3.	Ideological orientation (X ₁₄)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	26.70	1 (3.84)	0.01	0.09
4.	Gender (X ₁)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	24.20	1 (3.84)	0.01	0.08

No.	Independent Variable (X)	Dependent variable (Y)	X ²	DF	p	V
5.	Level of education (X ₄)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	16.75	1 (3.84)	0.01	0.07
6.	Trust in government institution (X ₁₀)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	14.23	1 (3.84)	0.01	-0.06
7.	Marital status (X ₃)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	11.32	1 (3.84)	0.01	-0.05
8.	Trust in parliament (X ₁₁)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	6.00	1 (3.84)	0.01	-0.04
9.	Social class (X ₆)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	3.04	1 (3.84)	0.08	0.03
10.	Type of residence (X ₈)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	2.64	1 (3.84)	0.10	0.02
11.	Employment status (X ₅)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	2.57	1 (3.84)	0.10	0.02
12.	Level of happiness (X ₁₃)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	0.53	1 (3.84)	0.46	0.01
13.	Trust in society (X ₉)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	0.40	1 (3.84)	0.52	0.01
14.	Religion (X ₇)	Citizen participation in digital petition (Y)	0.26	1 (3.84)	0.60	0.00

4.5. Multivariate Analysis

The multivariate analysis was carried out in eleven stages. Of the eleven independent variables considered as factors of Y, only seven independent variables significantly affect Y. The final logistic regression contains seven independent variables and significantly explains Y by 4.52%, $X_2 (7) = 169.60$, $p < 0.01$. Four of these seven independent variables had a positive relationship (X_2 , X_{14} , X_1 , and X_4) and can explain Y by 195%, 145%, 156%, and 143% significantly, $p < 0.01$. The other three independent variables (X_{12} , X_{10} , and X_3) had a significant negative relationship, $p < 0.10$, and could explain Y by 63%, 76%, and 80%, respectively. As shown in **Table 4**, all independent variables were significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. Only marital status (X_3) is significant at $p < 0.05$. The final model produces the characteristics of respondents who could participate in digital petitions: young, not religious, having a liberal ideology, male, educated >senior high school/equivalent, distrustful of government organizations, and unmarried. The final model produced by this study is in line with the field data. This is indicated by the X_2 count (186.75), which is smaller than the X_2 (190.52) at a significance level of 0.05, degrees of freedom equal to 60, and $p > 0.05$.

Table 4. Model of the Final Logistic

Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)
Age (X ₂)	0.670*** (0.0859)
Religiosity (X ₁₂)	-0.462*** (0.145)

Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)
Ideological orientation (X ₁₄)	0.377*** (0.0838)
Gender (X ₁)	0.450*** (0.0825)
Level of education (X ₄)	0.362*** (0.127)
Trust in government institution (X ₁₀)	-0.266*** (0.0977)
Marital status (X ₃)	-0.214** (0.0948)
Constant	-0.983*** (0.200)
Observations	3,128

Standard errors in parentheses

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

5. Discussion

In bivariate analysis, three independent variables cannot be included in the multivariate analysis: level of happiness (X₁₃), trust in society (X₉), and religion (X₇). Automatically, this finding rejects H1, H9, and H13. This finding is also contrary to research: (a) Naranjo-Zolotov et al. concluded that social capital influences the process of e-participation adoption (Naranjo-Zolotov et al., 2019); (b) Ward concludes that happiness is a strong predictor of voters' electoral participation and election outcomes (Ward, 2020); and (c) Shadiqi et al. found that the similarity of religious identity triggers solidarity and reasons for signing digital petitions (Shadiqi et al., 2020).

In the multivariate analysis, several independent variables had to be excluded from the final logistic regression model because they had an insignificant relationship with Y. These variables were X₁₁ (trust in parliament), X₆ (social class), and X₈ (type of residence). These results became the basis for researchers to reject H3, H7, and H14. This finding contradicts previous research which confirmed the link between social class (Lee et al., 2014; Lewis-Beck et al., 2008; Pepinsky, 2017; Yates & Lockley, 2018), social capital (de Zúñiga et al., 2017; Naranjo-Zolotov et al., 2019; Panagiotopoulos et al., 2011), and location of residence with political participation (Isaksson, 2014).

Why is trust in parliament (X₁₁) not significantly related to Y? Ideally, when citizens do not trust parliament for various reasons, they will look for other channels to channel their political expression, such as digital petitions. However, this argument is not supported by the results of this study, which shows that trust in parliament is not statistically associated with Y. In other words, participation in digital petitions does not depend on trust in parliament.

Social class (X₆) also does not significantly affect Y. In this study, social class is the respondent's subjective perception of their social position, whether in the middle-class group (code 1) or not in the middle class (code 0). This finding contradicts previous studies that confirmed a significant relationship between social class and political participation (Lee et al., 2014; Lewis-Beck et al., 2008; Pepinsky, 2017; Yates & Lockley, 2018). The researcher suspects that this is due to (a) respondent bias in the WVS VII data, which only involves 13.51% of

middle-class respondents and 86.49% of lower middle-class respondents; (b) the Indonesian government has not formally adopted the digital petition as a political channel, so it is not yet very popular among the middle class; and (c) there are serious problems among the middle class in Indonesia during the Reformation Order era. However, the loss of the influence of social class on citizen participation in digital petitions seems to strengthen the argument of Mujani & Liddle regarding the diminishing influence of social class in influencing the political behavior of citizens in Indonesia today (Mujani & Liddle, 2010).

The type of residence (X_8) also does not significantly affect Y . In the conventional analysis, X_8 affects political participation because urban areas have relatively better access to political information. In the internet era, explanations like this become irrelevant because conventional media is increasingly being abandoned by citizens who consume more political news via smartphones. That is, it is very logical if the type of residence does not affect Y .

Furthermore, only seven independent variables significantly affect Y : X_2 (age), X_{14} (orientation of ideology), X_1 (gender), X_4 (education level), X_{12} (religiosity), X_{10} (trust in government organizations), and X_3 (marital status). These variables produce characteristics of respondents who have a high probability of participating in digital petitions: young, having a liberal ideology, male, educated >senior high school, religious, trust in government institutions, and married.

The findings of this study indicate young people have a greater chance of being involved in digital petitions. This finding contradicts Best & Krueger's argument, which shows the opposite (Best & Krueger, 2005). According to Best & Krueger, the level of political involvement/participation of the younger generation is much lower than, the older generation, even though they have better individual competence than the older generation in using various information and communication technology tools (Best & Krueger, 2005). This is likely due to differences in motivational factors between the younger and older generations. The results of this research also refute the findings of Prihartini, which shows that the younger generation is less politically literate (Prihartini, 2018). However, our finding aligns with Lee et al. in Taiwan (Lee et al., 2014) and Stockemer at the global level (using WVS VII data) (Stockemer, 2014).

The results of this study also show that male respondents have a 156% probability of participating in digital petitions, $p < 0.01$. This result contradicts Stockemer's findings, which show that male respondents, when compared to female respondents, prefer to participate in demonstrations and boycotts rather than participate in digital petitions (Stockemer, 2014). This finding strengthens Verba's classic argument, which says that women are less interested in getting information about politics (Verba et al., 1997).

Furthermore, the level of education also very convincingly affects citizens' participation in digital petitions. This finding strengthens the argument of Flanagan, which says that the higher one's level of education, the longer one's experience in political socialization, and the higher the quality of one's understanding of the concept of a social contract that binds society in an imaginary way (Flanagan, 2003). The significance of the education variable is also in line with the findings of Gibson & McAllister in Australia regarding citizens' political participation on the internet (Gibson & McAllister, 2013).

The significance of ideology and religiosity in influencing citizen participation in digital petitions corroborates the results of previous research on the influence of ideology (Best & Krueger, 2005; Šerek & Machackova, 2014) and religiosity (Emmenegger & Manow, 2014; Greenberg, 2008; Heath et al., 2015; Shadiqi et al., 2020) in influencing political participation. Finally, the significance of trust in government organizations and marital status on political

participation is in line with previous research (de Zúñiga et al., 2017; Naranjo-Zolotov et al., 2019; Panagiotopoulos et al., 2011; Putra, 2017).

6. Conclusion

Of the fourteen independent variables identified as factors of citizen participation in signing digital petitions, only seven independent variables have a significant relationship with Y. Four variables have a positive relationship, and three independent variables have a significant negative relationship. All independent variables were significant at $p < 0.01$. Only marital status is significant at $p < 0.05$. This final model produces the characteristics of respondents who could participate in digital petitions: young, not religious, having liberalism ideology, male, educated >Senior High School/equivalent, distrust of government organizations, and unmarried.

Among seven independent variables that significantly affect citizen participation in digital petitions, four variables can be considered: religiosity, ideology, education level, and trust in government institutions. Meanwhile, the other three variables are respondents' socio-demographic attributes. This means that the government and parties concerned with digital petitions need to increase the religiosity of citizens, increase the quantity, access, and quality of education levels and ideological education, and maintain citizens' trust in government organizations.

The Internet penetration rate in the country, which continues to increase from year to year, encourages this research to recommend to the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, the Provincial People's Representative Council, the Regency/City Regional People's Representative Council to formally adopt the digital petition mechanism as the official channel for citizens to articulate their political aspirations. This step will encourage optimizing information and communication technology to increase citizens' political participation.

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