


# **Transforming Democratic Policing in the Digital Era for Law Enforcement Accountability in Indonesia**

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## **Abstract**

The phenomenon of “No Viral No Justice” illustrates how legal justice is increasingly shaped by social media exposure, where only viral cases tend to receive serious attention from law enforcement agencies. This article analyzes the relationship between social media virality and the concept of Democratic Policing (DP), introducing a new conceptual framework termed Digital Democratic Policing (DDP). Through a literature review of 18 scientific journal articles, this study integrates five primary theories: (1) Social Movement Theory, (2) Public Sentiment Analysis, (3) Media Exposure Theory, (4) A Theory of Justice, and (5) Democratic Policing. The findings indicate that digitalization has enhanced DP practices by making them more transparent, participatory, and open to public scrutiny. However, digitalization also creates challenges, including trial by social media and the spread of disinformation. Within this context, the DDP framework is positioned not only as a response to the digital era but also as a medium for legal reform, emphasizing technology-based transparency, public participation in digital spaces, and accountable police governance. By embedding DDP into broader law enforcement reforms, policing can move beyond reactive measures toward a proactive system that restores legal certainty and strengthens democratic legitimacy. This study

expands the scope of DP research into the digital domain and recommends adaptive policing policies grounded in justice, democracy, and reform-oriented practices. Generally, the DP approach shifts law enforcement from a coercive model to one that is collaborative and responsive, where legal legitimacy is primarily built upon public trust, forming the core of democratic security systems.

### Keywords

*Social Media, Virality, Law Enforcement, Democratic Policing, Digital Democratic Policing.*

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## Introduction

Justice is one of the main pillars of the legal system, serving to protect individual rights and maintain social order. However, various studies have shown that access to justice is often shaped by multiple structural factors such as social status and public influence,<sup>1</sup> economic deprivation,<sup>2</sup> and discrimination against marginalized groups.<sup>3</sup> Individuals from higher social classes generally enjoy better resources—qualified lawyers, legal information, and strong social networks—while those from lower socio-economic backgrounds face barriers ranging from limited legal literacy, restricted access to services, to distrust in law enforcement institutions. Moreover, minority groups, women, and LGBTQ+ communities often experience discriminatory treatment in both law enforcement processes and court proceedings.

The rise of the digital age has introduced a new dimension to these long-standing challenges: the phenomenon of *no viral, no justice*.<sup>4</sup> This term describes a condition in which law enforcement appears to respond more effectively only after public pressure builds through viral exposure on social media. In Indonesia, several cases exemplify this dynamic, including the acid attack against senior investigator Novel Baswedan,<sup>5</sup> racist violence against Papuans<sup>6</sup>, and the imprisonment of a farmer in Riau for land burning<sup>7</sup>. These cases reveal how virality increasingly

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<sup>1</sup> Syed Rizvi, *Justice and Social Inequality* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2019), 22.

<sup>2</sup> Scott Leckie, *Housing, Land, and Property Rights in Post-Conflict Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 55.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey Fagan and Garth Davies, "Street Stops and Broken Windows: Terry, Race, and Disorder in New York City," *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 28, no. 2 (2000): 460.

<sup>4</sup> Genevieve Callahan, "Viral Justice and the Law," *Social Media & Society* 7, no. 3 (2021): 4; Maria Martinez, *Digital Protests and Social Justice* (London: Routledge, 2020), 89; Peter Anderson, "Trial by Social Media: The Future of Justice in the Digital Age," *Yale Law Journal* 131, no. 2 (2022): 310.

<sup>5</sup> "Acid Attack on Novel Baswedan," *The Jakarta Post*, April 12, 2020, <https://www.thejakartapost.com>.

<sup>6</sup> "Racist Violence against Papuans," *Kompas*, August 20, 2019, <https://www.kompas.com>.

<sup>7</sup> "Petani Riau Dipenjara karena Pembakaran Lahan," *Tempo*, June 15, 2020, <https://www.tempo.co>.

shapes legal processes and outcomes, raising ethical and institutional questions about justice and accountability.

Globally, similar phenomena have been observed. The killing of George Floyd in the United States<sup>8</sup>, the death of Mahsa Amini in Iran<sup>9</sup>, videos of police torture in Nigeria<sup>10</sup>, and the Unnao rape-murder case in India<sup>11</sup> all demonstrate how social media virality can spark protests, influence judicial processes, and even trigger legislative reforms. These examples underline the global relevance of viral justice while highlighting local variations in how state institutions respond to public pressure.

The transformation of democratic policing has become increasingly important in the digital era due to significant shifts in the patterns of relations between society, the media, and law enforcement institutions. The principle of democratic policing emphasizes that the police are not merely law enforcers, but also public servants who uphold transparency, accountability, participation, and respect for human rights. In the digital age, these demands have intensified as social media has created new spaces for the public to monitor, criticize, and even pressure law enforcement through the phenomenon of virality.

In Indonesia, the rise of viral justice coincides with declining public trust in law enforcement and raises critical questions about the practice of democratic policing—a model that emphasizes transparency, accountability, and public legitimacy. The central problem is whether digital transformation, particularly the viral dynamics of social media, is strengthening democratic accountability or merely substituting institutional mechanisms with “trial by social media.” This tension demands closer examination, especially in a context where the police are expected to balance authority with legitimacy.

Cases of “no viral, no justice” in Indonesia and elsewhere illustrate that the public now demands openness of information and rapid

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<sup>8</sup> “The Killing of George Floyd,” *The New York Times*, May 26, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com>.

<sup>9</sup> “Death of Mahsa Amini,” *CNN*, September 17, 2022, <https://www.cnn.com>.

<sup>10</sup> “Nigeria Police Torture Videos Spark Outrage,” *The Africa Report*, October 10, 2020, <https://www.theafricareport.com>.

<sup>11</sup> “Unnao Rape-Murder Case,” *India Times*, December 19, 2020, <https://www.indiatimes.com>.

institutional responses. This indicates that police legitimacy no longer relies solely on formal procedures, but also on their capacity to build public trust through transparent and responsive interactions. Failure to undertake such transformation carries the risks of declining institutional legitimacy, the rise of trial by social media, and the widening gap between formal law and the public's sense of justice. Thus, the transformation of policing towards a democratic and adaptive model in the digital era is not only normative but also strategic for ensuring that the law is substantively upheld. Police institutions capable of responding to digital dynamics will be better prepared to maintain the balance between social order, the protection of citizens' rights, and public trust in a fair and transparent legal system.

Based on these considerations, this study aims to critically analyze the intersection between social media virality, democratic policing, and police accountability in Indonesia. The research specifically addresses the following questions: (1) Why do certain legal cases gain traction only after going viral? (2) To what extent does virality influence public trust in law enforcement institutions? (3) How do police organizations in Indonesia respond to the challenges of viral justice within the framework of democratic policing? By conducting a literature review of 18 national and international studies and employing a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, this study seeks to provide theoretical insights as well as practical implications on how social media can be harnessed constructively to support law enforcement while mitigating the risks of populist or mob-driven justice.

To provide a conceptual foundation for this study, several theoretical perspectives are employed to analyze the relationship between social media virality, public opinion, and democratic policing. First, Social Movement Theory highlights how social media functions as a tool for mobilization and advocacy, amplifying marginalized voices to demand legal action<sup>12</sup>. Second, Public Sentiment Analysis explains how online sentiments shape public perceptions of police legitimacy<sup>13</sup>. This is closely linked to Media Exposure Theory, which shows how repeated

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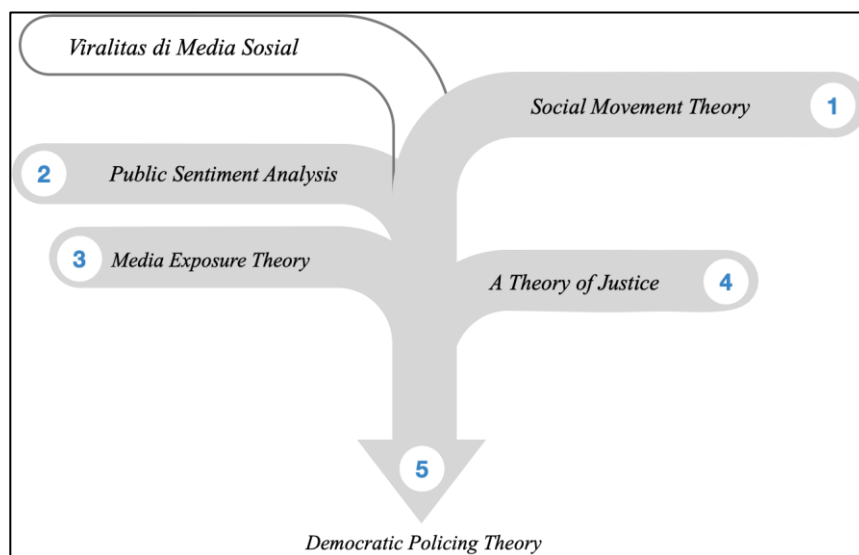
<sup>12</sup> Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768–2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2004), 55.

<sup>13</sup> Jonah Berger and Katherine L. Milkman, "What Makes Online Content Viral?" *Journal of Marketing Research* 49, no. 2 (2012): 192.

coverage in both digital and traditional media reinforces public attention and compels institutional responses<sup>14</sup>. Fourth, Rawls's *Theory of Justice* emphasizes the need for fairness and equal access to justice, framing virality as a tool for addressing inequality in the legal process<sup>15</sup>. Finally, Democratic Policing Theory underscores transparency, accountability, and community participation as essential to maintaining police legitimacy, particularly when handling viral cases<sup>16</sup>.

Together, these perspectives provide an interdisciplinary analytical lens to understand how virality influences law enforcement accountability in Indonesia. They guide this study in assessing whether social media serves as a constructive means of advancing justice or risks reducing law enforcement to “trial by social media.” The process is shown in Figure 1 below.

**Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of the Study**



(Source: Processed by the Author, 2025)

<sup>14</sup> Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 177.

<sup>15</sup> John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 63.

<sup>16</sup> Judith Greene, “Police Accountability and Democratic Policing,” *Social Justice* 33, no. 3 (2006): 32.

This framework illustrates how the five theories are integrated to analyze the phenomenon of virality in relation to democratic policing in Indonesia. Social Movement Theory explains how social media mobilizes the public<sup>17</sup>, while Public Sentiment Analysis shows how opinions are shaped in the digital sphere<sup>18</sup>. Media Exposure Theory reinforces public perceptions by amplifying issues<sup>19</sup>, and A Theory of Justice emphasizes the principle of fairness as the ultimate goal<sup>20</sup>. Democratic Policing Theory then serves as the normative framework to evaluate police legitimacy in the digital era.<sup>21</sup>

This study adopts a literature review design, referring to Creswell and Creswell<sup>22</sup>, to examine the relationship between social media virality and democratic policing in Indonesia. The research began with the identification of keywords—social media, virality, law enforcement, democratic policing—which were then used to search for relevant academic sources in databases such as Scopus, Taylor & Francis, and Google Scholar. A total of 18 journal articles published between 2015 and 2024 were selected based on criteria of relevance, novelty, peer-reviewed status, and direct connection to the research topic.

The analytical process was carried out through several steps: (1) organizing the selected literature by themes, theories, and chronology; (2) synthesizing and evaluating the quality of each article to ensure validity and reliability; (3) applying five theoretical perspectives—Social Movement Theory, Public Sentiment Analysis, Media Exposure Theory, A Theory of Justice, and Democratic Policing—to interpret the findings; (4) identifying research gaps, particularly in relation to the phenomenon of virality and police legitimacy in Indonesia; and (5) conceptualizing the

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<sup>17</sup> Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768–2004* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2004), 55.

<sup>18</sup> Jonah Berger and Katherine L. Milkman, “What Makes Online Content Viral?” *Journal of Marketing Research* 49, no. 2 (2012): 192.

<sup>19</sup> Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 177.

<sup>20</sup> John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 63.

<sup>21</sup> Judith Greene, “Police Accountability and Democratic Policing,” *Social Justice* 33, no. 3 (2006): 32.

<sup>22</sup> John W. Creswell and J. David Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2022), 45

role of democratic policing in the digital public sphere. While this approach provides a comprehensive theoretical synthesis, it is limited by the absence of primary data and potential bias in source selection, which should be addressed in future empirical studies.

Referring to Creswell and Creswell<sup>23</sup>, this study employs a literature review approach through stages that begin with identifying keywords—social media, virality, law enforcement, and democratic policing. A total of 18 journal articles were selected based on methodological, theoretical, and practical considerations. This number was deemed sufficient to provide comprehensive coverage without becoming overly diffuse, while also ensuring analytical feasibility. The selected works encompass global studies (Tufekci<sup>24</sup>, Harlow & Guo<sup>25</sup>, Boulianne<sup>26</sup>), normative-conceptual discussions (Cohen<sup>27</sup>, Benjamin<sup>28</sup>), and contextual research in Indonesia (Yusuf & Anwar<sup>29</sup>, Semadi<sup>30</sup>, Rahmawati & Putra<sup>31</sup>). Covering the period 2013–2025, these studies enable longitudinal analysis of the evolving role of social media in law enforcement and social movements.

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<sup>23</sup> John W. Creswell and J. David Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2022), 45.

<sup>24</sup> Zeynep Tufekci, “Social Movements and Governments in the Digital Age: Evaluating a Complex Landscape,” *Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (2013): 1–18.

<sup>25</sup> Summer Harlow and Lei Guo, “Will the Revolution Be Tweeted or Facebooked? Using Digital Communication Tools in Immigrant Activism,” *Journalism* 15, no. 3 (2014): 302–318.

<sup>26</sup> Shelley Boulianne, “Social Media Use and Participation: A Meta-Analysis of Current Research,” *Information, Communication & Society* 18, no. 5 (2015): 524–538.

<sup>27</sup> Jean L. Cohen, “Civil Society and Globalization: Rethinking the Categories,” *Political Theory* 48, no. 3 (2020): 431–460.

<sup>28</sup> Ruha Benjamin, *Viral Justice: How We Grow the World We Want* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022).

<sup>29</sup> Muhammad Yusuf and Arif Anwar, “Digital Policing and Social Trust in Indonesia,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 54, no. 2 (2023): 215–233.

<sup>30</sup> I Wayan Semadi, “Media Sosial, Polisi, dan Demokrasi: Studi Kritis tentang Legitimitas di Era Digital,” *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia* 9, no. 1 (2024): 55–70.

<sup>31</sup> Dina Rahmawati and Bagus Putra, “Virality, Justice, and Public Opinion: Democratic Policing in Indonesia’s Digital Sphere,” *Indonesian Journal of Criminology* 3, no. 1 (2025): 12–28.



Following the selection, the literature was organized thematically, theoretically, and chronologically to facilitate analysis and writing. The review process aimed not only to map existing knowledge but also to identify research gaps (Cooper in Creswell<sup>32</sup>), particularly concerning the nexus of virality and democratic policing. To systematize this process, the researcher: (1) reviewed the 18 selected journals; (2) formulated hypotheses to identify gaps; (3) analyzed findings through five theoretical frameworks; (4) linked virality with democratic policing; and (5) conceptualized democratic policing in the digital public sphere. This figure illustrates the stages of the literature review process: (1) reviewing 18 selected journals; (2) formulating hypotheses to identify new research gaps; (3) analyzing findings using five theoretical frameworks; (4) linking virality with democratic policing; and (5) conceptualizing democratic policing in the digital public sphere.

The 18 selected articles were examined narratively with attention to the role of social media, research findings, and relevance to this study. Early works highlight the mobilizing power of digital platforms. For instance, Tufekci notes that social media accelerates protest organization while exposing movements to misinformation risks.<sup>33</sup> Harlow and Guo, through their literature review, emphasize that while social media amplifies visibility of justice issues, it can also marginalize certain voices and challenge movement sustainability.<sup>34</sup>

Various studies have highlighted the role of social media in social movements and law enforcement from various perspectives. Zeynep Tufekci emphasizes that social media facilitate rapid and widespread mobilization in political protests, despite challenges in controlling narratives and the risk of spreading misinformation.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, Harlow and Guo identified how social media increases the visibility of

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<sup>32</sup> Harris M. Cooper, *Synthesizing Research: A Guide for Literature Reviews* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2010), 7.

<sup>33</sup> Zeynep Tufekci, "Social Movements and Governments in the Digital Age: Evaluating a Complex Landscape," *Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (2013): 1–18.

<sup>34</sup> Summer Harlow and Lei Guo, "Will the Revolution Be Tweeted or Facebooked? Using Digital Communication Tools in Immigrant Activism," *Journalism* 15, no. 3 (2014): 302–318.

<sup>35</sup> Tufekci, "Social Movements and Governments in the Digital Age," 5.

justice issues, but can also lead to the marginalization of certain voices as well as difficulties in maintaining movement momentum.<sup>36</sup>

In a meta-analysis conducted by Boulianne, social media was found to play an important role in increasing political and social participation, particularly in law enforcement issues.<sup>37</sup> Digital platforms not only expand the reach of information but also create discussion spaces that encourage active community engagement. Meanwhile, Cohen provides a consequentialist perspective on the role of social media in the criminal justice system, highlighting its positive and negative impacts on public perception and criminal policy.<sup>38</sup>

In the context of social justice and education, Kleanthous and Koeria examined the role of social media in global governance and law enforcement, showing that apart from being an advocacy tool, social media also serves as a watchdog for government actions.<sup>39</sup> Ruha Benjamin, in *Viral Justice: How We Grow the World We Want*, explores how social injustice can spread like a virus, but also how small actions towards justice can have a big impact collectively.<sup>40</sup> Tyson E. Lewis, in *Educative Justice in Viral Modernity: A Badiouan Reading*, examines justice in education through the perspective of philosopher Alain Badiou.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile, Yusuf and Anwar discuss the role of social media as an important tool in strengthening public participation on legal issues in Indonesia, coining the expression “No Viral No Justice.”<sup>42</sup> Lu Sudirman

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<sup>36</sup> Harlow and Guo, “Will the Revolution Be Tweeted or Facebooked?,” 310.

<sup>37</sup> Shelley Boulianne, “Social Media Use and Participation: A Meta-Analysis of Current Research,” *Information, Communication & Society* 18, no. 5 (2015): 524–538.

<sup>38</sup> Jean L. Cohen, “Civil Society and Globalization: Rethinking the Categories,” *Political Theory* 48, no. 3 (2020): 431–460.

<sup>39</sup> Andreas Kleanthous and Lina Koeria, “Social Media, Global Governance, and Law Enforcement,” *Global Media Journal* 19, no. 2 (2021): 77–94.

<sup>40</sup> Ruha Benjamin, *Viral Justice: How We Grow the World We Want* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022).

<sup>41</sup> Tyson E. Lewis, “Educative Justice in Viral Modernity: A Badiouan Reading,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 54, no. 2 (2022): 123–136.

<sup>42</sup> Muhammad Yusuf and Arif Anwar, “The Role of Social Media as a Tool for Achieving the Voice of Justice in Law Enforcement in Indonesia: No Viral No Justice,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 54, no. 2 (2023): 215–233.

and Antony also highlighted this phenomenon in Indonesia, emphasizing both the potential and risks of social media participation in law enforcement.<sup>43</sup> Anak Agung Gde Putera Semadi analyzed the empirical role of social media in law enforcement efforts, particularly transparency and accountability.<sup>44</sup> Eleazar Josiah Tirtakusuma and Andreas Eno Tirtakusuma explored viral culture as a form of self-defense but warned of possible legal risks under Indonesia's ITE Law.<sup>45</sup>

Arthur Josias Simon Runturambi, Munarni Aswindo, and Eliza Meiyani critiqued *No Viral No Justice* from the perspective of progressive law and criminology, noting its contradiction with substantive justice.<sup>46</sup> Angela Audreana Artha Safira Saragih further argued that virality may foster double standards and "trial by press"<sup>47</sup> Afif Sulaiman, adapting Bennett & Segerberg's *Logic of Connective Action*, showed how digital platforms enable flexible mobilization for justice issues.<sup>48</sup> Sari and Widodo highlighted the dual role of netizen interventions in promoting accountability but also spreading biased

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<sup>43</sup> Lu Sudirman and Antony, "The Role of Social Media as a Tool for Achieving the Voice of Justice in Law Enforcement in Indonesia: No Viral No Justice," *Indonesian Journal of Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (2023): 44–62.

<sup>44</sup> Anak Agung Gde Putera Semadi, "The Role of Social Media in Law Enforcement Efforts in Indonesia," *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia* 9, no. 1 (2024): 55–70.

<sup>45</sup> Eleazar Josiah Tirtakusuma and Andreas Eno Tirtakusuma, "Viral as a Means of Self-Defense (A Study of the Possibility of Criminal Prosecution in 'No Viral No Justice')," *Indonesian Journal of Criminal Law* 2, no. 2 (2024): 88–104.

<sup>46</sup> Arthur Josias Simon Runturambi, Munarni Aswindo, and Eliza Meiyani, "No Viral No Justice: A Criminological Review of Social Media-Based Law Enforcement from the Perspective of Progressive Law," *Jurnal Hukum Progresif* 12, no. 1 (2024): 33–49.

<sup>47</sup> Angela Audreana Artha Safira Saragih, "No Viral No Justice: Between Justice, Sensation, and Legal Ethics in the Social Media Era," *Jurnal Etika Hukum* 7, no. 1 (2024): 14–29.

<sup>48</sup> Afif Sulaiman, "Digital Media and Social Movements: A Logic of Connective Action Analysis," *Journal of Digital Society* 6, no. 2 (2024): 121–140.

information.<sup>49</sup> Nurhadi and Setiawan emphasized the need for clear regulations to prevent misuse of social media in law enforcement.<sup>50</sup>

Rahmawati and Putra, through the lens of Social Justice Theory, showed that viral cases can pressure authorities but also risk undermining fair process through trial by social media.<sup>51</sup> Hidayat and Siregar likewise examined how social media accelerates information flow and public accountability but remains limited in addressing deeper structural injustices.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, the integration of democratic policing principles in law enforcement is crucial to ensure that the law is not only enforced procedurally but also substantively supports democracy, justice, and human rights.

## Results and Discussion

Starting from the description of the 18 journals above, it can be emphasized that the digital era has brought significant changes in the practice of democratic policing, especially in the aspects of transparency, accountability, and public participation. Various studies analyzed in this study show that social media has become an effective tool in increasing information disclosure and allowing the public to be more active in monitoring and assessing the performance of law enforcement officers. In the context of *digital democratic policing*, the use of social media provides opportunities for the public to participate in the legal process, safeguard justice, and ensure that the police are more accountable.

However, behind the benefits, there are major challenges that need to be overcome. *The No Viral No Justice* phenomenon shows that public

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<sup>49</sup> Dian Sari and Budi Widodo, "Netizen Intervention in Law Process and Enforcement in Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Communication* 10, no. 1 (2024): 65–82.

<sup>50</sup> Nurhadi and Adi Setiawan, "The Role of Social Media in Law Enforcement Efforts in Indonesia," *Jurnal Sosial dan Hukum* 11, no. 2 (2024): 201–219.

<sup>51</sup> Dina Rahmawati and Bagus Putra, "No Viral No Justice Phenomenon in the Perspective of Law Enforcement Theory," *Indonesian Journal of Criminology* 3, no. 1 (2025): 12–28.

<sup>52</sup> Ahmad Hidayat and R. Siregar, "The Role of Social Media in Enforcing Law in Modern Times," *Jurnal Pengakuan Hukum Indonesia* 8, no. 1 (2025): 44–61.

attention to a legal case often depends on its virality on social media. This can lead to inequality in law enforcement, where cases that do not go viral tend to be overlooked. In addition, the risk of *trial by social media* can harm the principle of legal justice, where public opinion formed through social media has the potential to influence the legal process unobjectively.

In various studies, it has been found that social media not only increases transparency but also creates new complexities in law enforcement mechanisms. Public participation in overseeing the police can be a positive force that encourages legal reform and suppresses corrupt practices or abuse of authority. However, without clear regulations and adequate digital literacy, social media can also be misused to spread biased information or even hoaxes that can disrupt legitimate legal processes. Therefore, to ensure the success of *Digital Democratic Policing*, a balanced approach is needed. Stricter regulations on the use of social media in legal advocacy should be accompanied by improved digital and legal literacy for the public. The police also need to adopt a more open and responsive communication strategy to the issues raised on social media, to strengthen public trust in the legal institutions. Thus, the transformation of democratic policing in the digital era can be effective in realizing more inclusive, transparent and accountable justice.

### **A. Synthesis of Literature Review Findings**

The results recorded as a synthesis of the gaps in the 18 scientific journal articles are as follows. In terms of the theories used, the 18 journal articles used 19 theories which include the theories of: (1) Social Movements; (2) Media and Communication; (3) Political Participation; (4) Social Justice, (5) Rule of Law, (6) Public Oversight, (7) Procedural Justice, (8) Progressive Law Progressive Law; (9) Accountability; (10) Public Transparency; (11) Legal Protection; (12) Cyberlaw; (13) Trial by Media; (14) Social Communication; (15) Digital Participation; (16) Logic of Connective Action; (17) Badiou Education; (18) Consequentialism; and (19) Responsiveness of Law Enforcement Officials. Of the 19 theories used in the 18 journal articles, only the Social Movement theory is the same as the draft research theoretical framework. This means that the gap of novelty can be seen from the use of the theory

that the author uses. Meanwhile, in relation to research methods, there is a similarity in one journal that uses the literature review method.

Empirically, existing studies show that social media has become a catalyst in accelerating case disclosure and encouraging legal action by the authorities. However, this creates an imbalance of justice because cases that do not go viral tend to be overlooked.<sup>53</sup> Field data indicates that public participation through social media increases pressure on law enforcement officials to be more transparent and accountable. However, this pressure often leads to reactive responses rather than comprehensive investigations.<sup>54</sup> The trial by media phenomenon is a serious threat because it can affect public perceptions of the legal process and undermine the presumption of innocence.<sup>55</sup>

Theoretical analysis concludes that democratic policing is relevant in the context of social media because it emphasizes the importance of transparency, accountability and public participation in law enforcement.<sup>56</sup> Social communication theory and the logic of connective action explain how social media enables communities to form digital

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<sup>53</sup> Angela Audreana Artha Safira Saragih, *No viral no justice: Antara keadilan, sensasi, dan etika hukum di era media sosial* (2024), <https://fkphbrawijaya.or.id/docs/no-viral-no-justice-antara-keadilan-sensasi-dan-etika-hukum-di-era-media-sosial>; Lu Sudirman and Antony, "Peran media sosial sebagai alat pencapaian suara keadilan dalam penegakan hukum di Indonesia: No viral no justice," *Paulus Law Journal* 5, no. 1 (2023), <https://ojs.ukipaulus.ac.id/index.php/plj/article/view/513>.

<sup>54</sup> Anak Agung Gde Putera Semadi, "Peran media sosial dalam upaya penegakan hukum di Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Law Research* 2, no. 1 (2024), <https://journal.tirtapustaka.com/index.php/ijolares/article/view/42>; Rahayu Hidayat and Muhammad Siregar, "Peran media sosial dalam menegakkan hukum di zaman modern," *Jurnal Warta* 19, no. 1 (2025), <https://wartajournal.id/index.php/warta/article/view/3456>.

<sup>55</sup> D. Tirtakusuma and T. Tirtakusuma, "Viral sebagai sarana pembelaan diri (kajian kemungkinan penuntutan pidana dalam 'No viral no justice')," *Selisik* (2024), <https://journal.univpancasila.ac.id/index.php/selisik/article/view/7036>; Aswindo Runturambi and Meiyani, "No viral no justice: A criminological review of social media-based law enforcement from the perspective of progressive law," *Jurnal IUS* (2024), <https://jurnalius.ac.id/ojs/index.php/jurnalIUS/article/view/1361>.

<sup>56</sup> Tito Karnavian and Hermawan Sulisty, *Democratic Policing* (Jakarta: Pensil, 2017); L. Ralph and P. Robinson, "Assessing police social media practices through a democratic policing lens," *International Journal of Police Science & Management* 25, no. 3 (2023).

solidarity to advocate for justice.<sup>57</sup> Procedural justice and rule of law theories remind us that while public pressure is important, legal principles must be maintained to avoid abuse of power and mob justice.<sup>58</sup> Progressive legal theory emphasizes that the law must be responsive to social developments, including adaptation to digital technology, while maintaining legal integrity.<sup>59</sup>

In relation to the gap hypothesis to find areas of research that can be filled, it is known that there is no established concept of democratic policing associated with digitalization by integrating the use of social media as an instrument of democratization of policing in Indonesia.

## B. Theoretical Integration Analysis

Based on the description of the synthesis of the study findings above, it is the basis for the author to establish a new area in analyzing social media issues, especially those that highlight the policies of law enforcement agencies through virality which have implications for the concept of democratic policing. For this reason, the next analysis is the integration of five theories: Social Movement, Public Sentiment Analysis, Media Exposure, *A Theory of Justice*, and Democratic Policing to seek empirical and theoretical novelty in relation to the conceptualization of democratic policing in the digital era through a review of research results in 18 national and international journals.

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<sup>57</sup> Zeynep Tufekci, "Social movements and digital communication: Analyzing the role of social media in political protest," *International Journal of Communication* 7 (2013): 1972–1989, <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2190>; José van Dijk, Thomas Poell, and Martijn de Waal, *The Platform Society: Public Values in a Connective World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>58</sup> John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); J. Fagan and P. Davies, "Fairness and disproportionate minority contact: An examination of the impact of racial and ethnic disparities in judicial outcomes," *Yale Law Journal* 109, no. 2 (2000): 623–687.

<sup>59</sup> Aswindo Runturambi and Meiyani, "No viral no justice: A criminological review of social media-based law enforcement from the perspective of progressive law," *Jurnal IUS* (2024), <https://jurnalius.ac.id/ojs/index.php/jurnalIUS/article/view/1361>; Rahmawati and Putra, "Fenomena 'No Viral No Justice' perspektif teori penegakan hukum," *Ranah Research Journal* 7, no. 2 (2025), <https://ranahjournal.com/index.php/research/article/view/5678>

*Social Movement Theory* (Charles Tilly, 2004)<sup>60</sup> is relevant to explain the role of social media as a social mobilization tool in promoting justice and transparency in law enforcement. Analysis of the findings of 18 research journals using Social Movement theory confirms that social media is an effective social mobilization tool to pressure law enforcement officials to act quickly. Public participation increases along with the virality of legal issues on social media, but the inequality of attention to viral and non-viral cases creates dissatisfaction. Social media strengthens public scrutiny of the authorities, although the risk of spreading hoaxes can worsen the situation. Public mobilization through social media encourages collective action to fight for social justice. Virality on social media accelerates the dissemination of information, giving voice to marginalized groups, but can also lead to trial by social media that puts excessive pressure on the authorities. Conclusions regarding the social mobility aspect can be explained in Table 1 below.

**Table 1:** Conclusion of Social Mobilization Analysis of 18 Research Journals

No	Researcher	Year	Conclusion: Social Mobilization Context
1	Tufekci	2013	Mobilizing the public for justice
2	Harlow & Guo	2014	Increase visibility of legal issues
3	Boulianne	2015	Increase public participation
4	Cohen	2020	Suppressing the apparatus and strengthening legitimacy
5	Kleanthous & Koeria	2021	Promoting transparency
6	Benjamin	2022	Sparking social justice action
7	Lewis	2022	Raising legal awareness
8	Yusuf & Anwar	2023	Strengthening participation, but unequal
9	Sudirman & Antony	2023	Suppressing authorities through virality

<sup>60</sup> Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1760–2000* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2004).



10	Semadi	2024	Strengthening public scrutiny
11	Tirtakusuma & Tirtakusuma	2024	Encouraging self-defense actions
12	Runturambi, Aswindo, & Meiyani	2024	Triggers public discontent
13	Saragih	2024	Worsen perception of the authorities
14	Sulaiman	2024	Creates collective action
15	Sari & Widodo	2024	Strengthens surveillance but risks hoaxes
16	Nurhadi & Setiawan	2024	Encourages accountability of officials
17	Rahmawati & Putra	2025	Triggers excessive public pressure
18	Hidayat & Sirega	2025	Accelerate information dissemination

Source: Processed by the author (2025)

The use of Public Sentiment Analysis Theory (Berger & Milkman, 2012)<sup>61</sup> examines how public opinion is formed based on sentiments that appear on social media. Public sentiment can be a positive, negative or neutral response to an issue or institution and can influence perceptions of police legitimacy. According to the public sentiment analysis framework, digital interactions generate sentiments that shape public opinion towards the police. The success of legal institutions in maintaining legitimacy depends on their ability to respond adaptively and transparently to public sentiment on social media. The results of the analysis of the findings of 18 journals using the public sentiment approach show that negative sentiments are formed due to the slowness of the authorities to crack down on non-viral cases, trial by social media, and the spread of misinformation that creates distrust of the police. Sentiment is mixed between positive and negative when legal issues receive attention, but there has been no significant impact on

<sup>61</sup> Jonah Berger and Katherine L. Milkman, "What Makes Online Content Viral?," *Journal of Marketing Research* 49, no. 2 (2012): 192–205, <https://doi.org/10.1509/jmr.10.0353>.

institutional change. It appears that social media plays a crucial role in shaping public sentiment regarding law enforcement.

Media Exposure Theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972)<sup>62</sup> helps explain how the intensity of coverage and repetition of issues on social media shape public priorities in assessing law enforcement. When certain legal cases go viral, public attention becomes heavily concentrated on those issues, thereby compelling law enforcement agencies to respond swiftly to maintain legitimacy. Conversely, issues without exposure risk are being neglected, creating a gap between public expectations and institutional action.

In addition, Rawls's Theory of Justice (Rawls, 1971)<sup>63</sup> provides a normative framework for assessing fairness in law enforcement practices. The principle of justice as fairness emphasizes equal treatment and transparency, which are increasingly demanded by society in the digital era. Social media virality amplifies calls for justice when law enforcement is perceived as unequal, thus challenging institutions to uphold legitimacy based on Rawlsian principles.

Finally, the concept of Democratic Policing (Karnavian & Sulisty, 2017; Ralph & Robinson, 2023)<sup>64</sup> emphasizes accountability, transparency, and responsiveness of the police in a democratic society. In the digital age, these principles intersect with the dynamic pressures of social media virality, which can either strengthen or weaken the legitimacy of policing practices depending on institutional responses.

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<sup>62</sup> Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 176 – 187, <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>.

<sup>63</sup> John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

<sup>64</sup> Tito Karnavian and Hermawan Sulisty, *Democratic Policing* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017); Jason Ralph and Jennifer Robinson, "Democratic Policing and the Challenge of Social Media," *Policing and Society* 33, no. 2 (2023): 123–141, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2022.2057890>.

**Table 2:** Conclusion of *Public Sentiment* Analysis of 18 Research Journals

No	Researcher	Year	Conclusion Sentiment Context
1	Tufekci	2013	Negative
2	Harlow & Guo	2013	Negative
3	Boulianne	2015	Positive
4	Cohen	2020	Mixed
5	Kleanthous & Koeria	2021	Mixed
6	Benjamin	2022	Positive
7	Lewis	2022	Positive
8	Yusuf & Anwar	2023	Mixed
9	Sudirman & Antony	2023	Negative
10	Semadi	2024	Positive
11	Tirtakusuma & Tirtakusuma	2024	Negative
12	Runturambi, Aswindo, & Meiyani	2024	Negative
13	Saragih	2024	Negative
14	Sulaiman	2024	Positive
15	Sari & Widodo	2024	Mixed
16	Nurhadi & Setiawan	2024	Positive
17	Rahmawati & Putra	2025	Negative
18	Hidayat & Siregar	2025	Mixed

Source: Author's Processed (2025)

Media Exposure Theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972)<sup>65</sup> explains how mass media coverage can shape public perceptions of an issue or institution. According to Media Exposure Theory, the virality of the issue expands the reach of information, increases public pressure, and demands a quick response from the police to maintain legitimacy and

<sup>65</sup> Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 176–187, <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>.

public trust. Public support arises when the authorities respond to issues fairly, and excessive pressure can trigger trial by social media and public dissatisfaction with the legal system. The results of the analysis of 18 research journal articles using Media Exposure Theory can be concluded that social media exposure has the power to shape public opinion as a public pressure, public pressure and support, and public support. This can be seen from Table 3.

**Table 3:** Conclusion of *Media Exposure* Impact Analysis on 18 Research Journals

No	Researcher	Year	Impact of Media Exposure
1	Tufekci	2013	Public Pressure
2	Harlow & Guo	2013	Public Pressure
3	Boulianne	2015	Public Support
4	Cohen	2020	Pressure & Support
5	Kleanthous & Koeria	2021	Pressure & Support
6	Benjamin	2022	Public Pressure
7	Lewis	2022	Public Support
8	Yusuf & Anwar	2023	Public Pressure
9	Sudirman & Antony	2023	Public Pressure
10	Semadi	2024	Public Support
11	Tirtakusuma & Tirtakusuma	2024	Public Pressure
12	Runturambi, Aswindo, & Meiyani	2024	Public Pressure
13	Saragih	2024	Public Pressure
14	Sulaiman	2024	Public Support
15	Sari & Widodo	2024	Pressure & Support
16	Nurhadi & Setiawan	2024	Public Support
17	Rahmawati & Putra	2025	Public Pressure
18	Hidayat & Siregar	2025	Pressure & Support

Source: Processed by the author (2025)

A Theory of Justice by John Rawls (1971)<sup>66</sup> explains the importance of fair distribution of resources and protection of individual rights. This is because unfair legal processes can exacerbate social inequality. In relation to the phenomenon of virality on social media, public awareness can serve as a tool to advocate for justice for victims who do not have the power to get attention from law enforcement. The results of the analysis of 18 research journals show that social media has helped reveal cases of injustice that were previously overlooked due to the victims' limited access to legal institutions. In addition, social media provides space for the public to oversee the legal process, thus encouraging transparency and reducing the potential for abuse of power. Public advocacy through social media can help victims get legal aid and moral support, especially for those who are economically or socially weak. However, there is also a risk of new injustices due to excessive pressure of public opinion, thus disrupting the principle of presumption of innocence in the legal system.

**Table 4:** Conclusion of *A Theory of Justice*: Analysis of 18 Research Journals

No	Author Name	Year	<i>A Theory of Justice</i> Context Conclusion
1	Tufekci	2013	Social media mobilizes justice but creates information inequality.
2	Harlow & Guo	2014	Social media expands access to justice issues but marginalizes other groups.
3	Boulianne	2015	Public participation in policy increases, in line with Rawls' justice.
4	Cohen	2020	Social media influences perceptions of formal and substantive justice.

<sup>66</sup> John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971).

5	Kleanthous & Koeria	2021	Legal transparency is increasing, but not yet fully fair.
6	Benjamin	2022	Justice as a collective process in line with Rawls' principle of difference.
7	Lewis	2022	Equal access to education supports social equality.
8	Yusuf & Anwar	2023	Social media justice struggles face inequality of attention.
9	Sudirman & Antony	2023	'No Viral No Justice' shows that justice depends on the public.
10	Semadi	2024	Social media supports public discussion but risks distorting information.
11	Tirtakusuma & Tirtakusuma	2024	There is a gap in access to legal protection on social media.
12	Runturambi, Aswindo & Meiyani	2024	Viral-based law enforcement challenges the equality of opportunity.
13	Saragih	2024	Viral and non-viral cases demonstrate procedural injustice.
14	Sulaiman	2024	Participation in social movements is important for social justice.
15	Sari & Widodo	2024	Netizens' interventions have the potential to strengthen or weaken democracy.

16	Nurhadi & Setiawan	2024	Legal transparency is increasing, but regulation is still needed.
17	Rahmawati & Putra	2025	'No Viral No Justice' increases pressure and breaks legal procedures.
18	Hidayat & Siregar	2025	Social media accelerates information but does not eliminate structural injustice.

Source: Processed by the author (2025)

*Democratic Policing* theory (Greene, 2006)<sup>67</sup> emphasizes the importance of transparency, accountability, and public participation in building police legitimacy. The main principles of democratic policing are closeness to the community, cooperation, and equal service to all groups. The phenomenon of virality on social media, such as no viral, *no justice* highlights the importance of democratic policing principles in building public trust. The problem of virality related to law enforcement reflects public dissatisfaction with the performance of law enforcement officials, where attention and legal action are only obtained after the case goes viral on social media. This phenomenon indicates a gap between the principles of democratic policing and practices in the field. An analysis from a *democratic policing* perspective of the findings and conclusions of the 18 research journals is shown in Table 3 below.

<sup>67</sup> Jack R. Greene, *Community Policing and Accountability* (New York: Springer, 2006)

**Table 5:** Conclusions of *Democratic Policing* Analysis of 18 Research Journals

No	Author Name	Year	Conclusion: <i>Democratic Policing</i> Context
1	Tufekci	2013	Social media accelerates protest mobilization and challenges police accountability.
2	Harlow & Guo	2014	Transparency is increasing, but police are not ready for public scrutiny.
3	Boulianne	2015	Digital participation strengthens public scrutiny, but does not necessarily lead to reform.
4	Cohen	2020	Social media affects police perceptions, legitimacy and accountability.
5	Kleanthous & Koeria	2021	Digital platforms support democratic governance, but also have the potential for excessive control.
6	Benjamin	2022	Digital advocacy drives policing reform, dependent on public participation.
7	Lewis	2022	Public education is important to increase police accountability.
8	Yusuf & Anwar	2023	Social media demands justice, but is prone to misinformation.
9	Sudirman & Antony	2023	Public scrutiny is increasing, but there is no formal follow-up mechanism.
10	Semadi	2024	Transparency increased, but regulation remains a challenge.
11	Tirtakusuma & Tirtakusuma	2024	Case virality can pressure police, but risks trial by social media.
12	Runturambi, Aswindo, & Meiyani	2024	Public pressure influences police response, but substantive justice is still needed.



13	Saragih	2024	“No Viral No Justice” shows the inequality of police response.
14	Sulaiman	2024	Digital media supports advocacy for police reform, but long-term effectiveness is unclear.
15	Sari & Widodo	2024	Netizens become police watchdogs, but interventions are not always positive.
16	Nurhadi & Setiawan	2024	Police need a digital communication strategy to build public trust.
17	Rahmawati & Putra	2025	Virality pressures police to act quickly, but risks creating populist justice.
18	Hidayat & Siregar	2025	Transparency increases, but structural injustice persists.

Source: Author’s Processed (2025)

### C. Integrative Analysis of the Expansion of the Democratic Policing Concept

From the 18 journal articles analyzed, the authors found several main patterns: (1) most studies still focus on community policing in the physical context without considering digital transformation; (2) some articles acknowledge the role of social media in increasing transparency, but do not formulate a comprehensive theoretical framework related to the digitalization of democratic policing; (3) no research specifically develops new concepts that explain how digital technology affects democracy in policing; (4) research that discusses digital policing tends to focus only on technological aspects, not on the integration of democratic values in digital policing systems.<sup>68</sup>

From these findings, it is clear that there is no concept in previous research that connects digital transformation with democratic policing principles holistically. Therefore, there is room to conceptualize

<sup>68</sup> Greene, “Community Policing and Democratic Policing,” in *Democratic Policing and Accountability: Global Perspectives*, 27–45.

democratic policing (DP) in the digital era by adding the word “digital” to digital democratic policing (DDP) as the only way to expand the research area in this field.<sup>69</sup>

This conceptualization of DDP is, of course, not only about the adaptation of policing to the digital world but also offers a new approach that addresses the theoretical and practical gaps in previous research. Within this concept, there are three main reasons why DDP is the only opportunity for research expansion: First, conventional DP focuses on direct interactions between officers and citizens. In the digital era, interactions occur online through social media, complaint platforms, and digitally-based public participation.<sup>70</sup> Second, conventional DPs rely on direct reports, external audits, and physical surveillance by the police. Digitalization enables real-time oversight by the public through social media, video footage, and open data policing.<sup>71</sup> Third, traditional DP is based on legal regulations and social norms that are bound to physical boundaries. In the digital space, policing faces new challenges such as disinformation, manipulation of public opinion, and threats to free speech. No research has formulated how democratization in policing can be maintained in a risky digital environment. DDP offers a concept that can bridge democratic principles and the challenges of the digital era.<sup>72</sup>

By analyzing 18 research journals, it can be concluded that no concept explicitly develops a new paradigm of democratic policing in the digital context. Existing research is still fragmented in that studies on digital policing focus more on technology without considering democratic principles. Studies on democratic policing do not comprehensively accommodate changes due to digitalization.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> David Bayley, *Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>70</sup> James R. Greene and Stephen D. Mastrofski, *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality* (New York: Praeger, 1988).

<sup>71</sup> Todd Clear and Anthony A. Braga, “Police Legitimacy and Community Policing,” *Annual Review of Criminology* 3 (2020): 77–100.

<sup>72</sup> Clifford Shearing and Jennifer Wood, “Nodal Governance, Democracy, and the New ‘Denizens,’” *Journal of Law and Society* 30, no. 3 (2003): 400–419.

<sup>73</sup> Peter K. Manning, “Information Technology and the Police,” *Crime, Law and Social Change* 30, no. 4 (1999): 217–239.

## D. Conceptualization of Democratic Policing in Digital Space

Referring to the explanation of the areas described above, the author determined that the conceptualization of Digital Democratic Policing (DDP) is the only opportunity to expand the research area because: (1) it fills the gap in the theory and practice of democratic policing in the digital era; (2) it offers a new paradigm that is more relevant to the development of technology and social media; (3) it is the basis of research to understand how policing can remain democratic in a digital environment. Thus, DDP is not just an adaptation of DP, but also a new approach that addresses the challenges of modern policing.<sup>74</sup>

## E. Naming Digital Democratic Policing

Naming digital democratic policing (DDP) is not a mere combination of terms, but has a scientific and logical basis that reflects the fundamental transformation in the concept of democratic policing in the digital era. The evolution from democratic policing (DP) to digital democratic policing (DDP) refers to a policing model that is oriented towards accountability, transparency, public participation, and respect for human rights. However, in the realities of the digital age, police interactions with society have changed drastically. Digitization affects the way the police carry out democratic principles, so a new nomenclature that reflects these changes is needed.<sup>75</sup>

A substantial difference with the DP concept is that if only the term digital policing is used, then the focus is only on the use of technology in policing, such as AI-based monitoring systems, data analytics, and response automation. However, the DDP concept is broader as it maintains democratic principles in every aspect of police digitization. On the other hand, using the term democratic policing does not adequately capture the impact of technology and social media on transparency, accountability and public participation. Therefore, DDP

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<sup>74</sup> Bayley, *Changing the Guard*.

<sup>75</sup> Greene, "Community Policing and Democratic Policing."

reflects the balance between democracy and digital transformation in policing.<sup>76</sup>

Under the name digital democratic policing, the concept is more inclusive than conventional approaches as it reflects: (1) digital-based transparency (public access to police information); (2) public participation in digital spaces (oversight through social media, complaint platforms, and online petitions); (3) police governance that is more adaptive to technological developments.<sup>77</sup>

The DDP's concept is also consistent with global academic and practical trends. At the global level, many countries have begun to develop technology-based policing models that maintain democratic principles. For example, the Smart Policing concept developed in the United States and Community-Oriented Policing are based on public participation. However, no concept explicitly balances the digitalization of policing with democratic principles in a holistic manner.<sup>78</sup>

Therefore, DDP is a more representative term to describe a modern policing model that is digitally based without losing its democratic values. Naming Digital Democratic Policing (DDP) has a strong academic justification as it represents a new paradigm in democratic policing in the digital era. The name avoids technology bias (as in digital policing) and maintains the principles of public participation and accountability that characterize democratic policing. Therefore, DDP is the most appropriate term to describe a future policing model that is digital-based and still upholds democratic principles.<sup>79</sup>

## F. Key Characteristics of Digital Democratic Policing

There are several main characteristics associated with the transformation from DP to DDP based on the analysis of 18 research

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<sup>76</sup> Peter K. Manning, *Democratic Policing in a Changing World* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2010).

<sup>77</sup> Christian Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (London: Sage, 2017).

<sup>78</sup> Ethan Zuckerman, *Digital Cosmopolitans: Why We Think the Internet Connects Us, Why It Doesn't, and How to Rewire It* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2013).

<sup>79</sup> David Bayley, *Democratizing the Police Abroad: What to Do and How to Do It* (Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, 2001).

journals and based on five main theories: (1) Social Movement Theory, (2) Public Sentiment Analysis, (3) Media Exposure Theory, (4) A Theory of Justice, and (5) Democratic Policing. These changes can be explained in 5 (five) aspects: First, changes in the public engagement model, in which traditional DP focuses on public engagement through direct interaction, while DDP allows for broad public participation through social media and digital platforms.<sup>80</sup> Second, the dynamics of transparency and accountability, DDP accelerates police transparency through information disclosure on social media, but also increases public pressure that can impact instant accountability without a clear legal process.<sup>81</sup> Third, patterns of public sentiment and social mobilization, in DP, social mobilization is limited to physical actions and community forums, whereas in DDP, policing issues can quickly go viral, triggering immense pressure on law enforcement officials.<sup>82</sup> Fourth, media influence and information exposure, social media in DDP is not only an information tool but also a means of wider public scrutiny. However, this also increases the risk of trial by social media and hoaxes that can inaccurately shape public opinion.<sup>83</sup> Fifth, Opportunities and Challenges in Digitalized Policing – DDP presents opportunities for innovation in data-driven law enforcement and AI, but also faces challenges such as information manipulation and bias in digital systems that can exacerbate inequality of justice.<sup>84</sup>

The author then summarizes and compares to see the main differences between Democratic Policing (DP) and Digital Democratic Policing (DDP) based on the consideration of five main aspects, as follows.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Zeynep Tufekci, “Social Movements and Social Media,” in *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 1–30.

<sup>81</sup> McCombs and Shaw, “The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 176–187.

<sup>82</sup> Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas*.

<sup>83</sup> Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*.

<sup>84</sup> Manning, *Democratic Policing in a Changing World*.

<sup>85</sup> Greene, “Community Policing and Democratic Policing.”

**Table 6:** Comparison of *Democratic Policing* and *Digital Democratic Policing* to show DDP characteristics

Aspects	<i>Democratic Policing</i>	<i>Digital Democratic Policing</i>
<b>Definition</b>	A policing model that emphasizes transparency, accountability, and public involvement in the law enforcement process.	Transformation in the digital space by utilizing technology to increase participation, transparency, and accountability.
<b>Transparency</b>	Police-related information is delivered through conventional media (public reports, press conferences).	Information is published in <i>real-time</i> through social media, websites and digital platforms.
<b>Accountability</b>	Accountable through legal mechanisms and independent oversight institutions.	It can be questioned directly by the public through social media and digital platforms.
<b>Public Participation</b>	Participation is limited to local communities through public forums or hearings.	Broad, global, interactive participation through social media, online petitions and digital discussions.
<b>Information Dissemination</b>	Limited to print media, television, and direct communication.	Information spreads fast through social media, content virality, and digital algorithms.
<b>Monitoring Police</b>	Conducted by official institutions such as Kompolnas, Komnas HAM or Ombudsman.	The public conducts oversight through social media and digital data publications.
<b>Response to Issues</b>	Slow due to bureaucracy and legal procedures.	Faster and more direct, due to public pressure in the digital space.
<b>Public Perception</b>	Shaped by mainstream media and people's direct experience.	Influenced by digital trends, issue virality, and technology-based data analysis.
<b>Legitimacy</b>	Dependent on public trust and recognition by legal institutions.	Determined by police engagement and response to digital public demands.

Source: Author's Process (2025)

## Conclusion

Based on an analysis of 18 research journals using five main theories, the concept of Democratic Policing (DP) has been transformed into Digital Democratic Policing (DDP). This change reflects how digitalization changes the pattern of interaction between police officers and the community, especially in terms of transparency, accountability, social mobilization, and the influence of the media in shaping perceptions of justice. The empirical conclusions include three things: (1) changes in the interaction between the public and the apparatus, where digitization allows for greater public involvement in police oversight, but also increases public pressure on the apparatus through social media; (2) the influence of virality on law enforcement, that cases that go viral on social media often get priority in law enforcement, creating the No Viral No Justice phenomenon; and (3) the risk of misinformation and trial by social media, where the dissemination of information in the digital space accelerates transparency, but also presents challenges related to hoaxes and public opinion that can distort substantive justice.

The theoretical conclusions are as follows: (1) Social Movement Theory suggests that DDP enables faster and broader social mobilization, but can also create excessive pressure on the authorities; (2) Public Sentiment Analysis confirms that public sentiment on social media influences police policies, but is often biased towards viral issues only; (3) Media Exposure Theory explains that the police must adapt to increased information exposure, which can accelerate transparency but also risks manipulation of public opinion; (4) A Theory of Justice states that the concept of justice in DDP is becoming more dynamic, but also challenges the principle of equality due to inequality of digital access and unequal legal responses; and (5) Democratic Policing underlines that digitalization strengthens the principle of democratic policing, but needs clearer regulatory mechanisms to maintain a balance between transparency, accountability, and individual privacy rights.

Beyond the Indonesian context, this study also situates DDP within a broader international discourse to highlight its global significance.

## International Discussion

The transformation from Democratic Policing (DP) to Digital Democratic Policing (DDP) is not only relevant in the Indonesian context but also resonates with global policing challenges in the digital era. Across different jurisdictions, police institutions are increasingly confronted with the double-edged nature of digitalization: while it opens space for greater transparency and public participation, it also exposes law enforcement to unprecedented levels of scrutiny, misinformation, and algorithm-driven biases.

Comparative experiences show that the No Viral No Justice phenomenon is not unique to Indonesia. In the United States, the case of George Floyd (2020) demonstrated how viral videos could accelerate legal responses, but also fueled polarization and social unrest. In Iran, the death of Mahsa Amini (2022) sparked international outrage and protests, showing how digital virality can transcend borders and challenge authoritarian policing practices. Similarly, in Nigeria's #EndSARS movement, viral evidence of police brutality mobilized citizens to demand systemic reforms, while in India, digital activism has influenced both legal proceedings and legislative changes. These cases underline that DDP reflects a broader global trend in which public legitimacy of law enforcement is increasingly mediated by digital platforms.

From a theoretical standpoint, DDP contributes to the international discourse on democratic policing by expanding the principle of accountability beyond formal institutions to include digital publics. This challenges traditional notions of police legitimacy, since effectiveness is no longer measured solely by internal performance indicators but also by responsiveness to public sentiment articulated online. Moreover, the growing role of social media algorithms and AI technologies in shaping public opinion raises transnational questions about fairness, access to justice, and the risks of digital inequality.

Therefore, DDP should be understood as a global paradigm shift rather than a localized adaptation. Future international collaborations are crucial to develop comparative frameworks, harmonize regulatory standards, and sharing best practices in balancing transparency, accountability, and protection of individual rights. In this sense, Indonesia's experience provides valuable insights into how emerging



democracies navigate digital pressures in law enforcement, contributing to a broader understanding of how democratic policing can be sustained in the age of digital virality.

In particular, DDP has important implications for law enforcement in the digital era. This concept asserts that the effectiveness of law enforcement no longer depends solely on institutional procedures, but also on the extent to which the apparatus can build public legitimacy through openness, participation, and sensitivity to the aspirations of the people voiced in the digital space. In this context, DDP strengthens the relationship between the police and citizens as partners in enforcing fair, responsive, and transparent laws amidst the fast and uncontrollable dynamics of digital communication.

## Suggestions for Future Research

As the concept of *Digital-Democratic Policing* (DDP) develops, further studies are needed to understand the implications, challenges and opportunities offered by this approach. Some aspects that could be the focus of future research include:

1. **Development of DDP Regulatory Framework** - Regulations governing digital policing must be able to balance transparency with the protection of human rights. Therefore, further research is needed to design a legal framework that is effective and adaptive to technological developments and community demands.
2. **Analyze the Influence of Social Media Algorithms on Policing** - The role of social media in policing is increasingly significant, especially in shaping public perception and influencing policy. In-depth studies are needed to explore how social media algorithms influence policing decisions, both in operational strategies and in community relations.
3. **Global Comparative Study on DDP** - Each country has a different policing system with unique challenges and policies. Therefore, cross-country research can provide insights into how different policing systems apply DDP principles as well as the obstacles they face in their implementation.

4. **Use of AI in DDP** - Artificial intelligence is increasingly being used in various aspects of policing, from crime monitoring to public engagement. Further studies are needed to understand the extent to which AI can enhance police effectiveness without introducing bias or threats to individual rights.
5. **Evaluating the Effectiveness of DDP on Police Reform** - DDP is often associated with police reform efforts. However, there is still a need for longitudinal research to assess whether this approach actually contributes to systemic change or is just a momentary response to public pressure.

With more in-depth research on these aspects, it is hoped that DDP can evolve as a more effective, equitable, and adaptive policing model to social dynamics, as well as technology. This conclusion confirms that *Digital Democratic Policing* (DDP) is not just a technological adaptation, but a new paradigm in the policing system that requires further research to ensure its implementation is in line with the principles of democracy and social justice and the rule of law.

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