

The Democratization of Social Media: A Critical Perspective in Technology¹

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Abstract

Social Media is part of contemporary technology that is the contentious subject matter within the society. It is paradoxical when social media should provide techniques and objects that serve human being in a positive way, but at the same time, it can dehumanize human being such as alienation. The main problem is because the lack of impact of public policy, which does not involve society in the democratic sphere. The article is about the possibility of democratization social media in the discourse of philosophy of technology. I refer to Andrew Feenberg's Critical Theory of Technology (CTT) for opening discourse and criticizing social media. Social Media should be changed by the critical view to analyze the internal contradictions in technocracy, which view social media merely as an instrument and value-free. In the other hand, CTT will lead into the discourse of instrumentalization theory, technological rationality, technical code and democratization of social media. I conclude this article by applying CTT to delineate extant approach and consideration of democratization of social media in Indonesian through critical thinking participation and emotional education in the public sphere.

Keywords: *Social Media, Critical Theory of Technology, Democratization, Technocracy.*

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A. Introduction

The development of communication and information technology in Indonesia is growing rapidly post-birth era of social networking website or better known as social media. The beginning of social media started with the existence of Friendster (2002), Myspace (2003), and Facebook (2004).³ The birth of social media in the midst of the post-reformation 1998 even took part in the process of changing the point of view of Indonesian society related to the capability of communication and information that broke geographic boundaries more quickly.

The massive power of social media cannot be underestimated. Various new phenomena emerge, starting from the phenomenon of social media revolution⁴ that is used to move collective activist of Arab Spring movement. In the wake of 'the Arab Uprisings'⁵, a considerable amount of attention has been focused on the role of social media and digital technologies for organizing demonstrations (both pro and anti-government).⁶ The freedom of expression in social media opens up opportunities for sharing good-knowledge but on the other hand, it can trap users who are dominated by youth into uniformed behaviors or the fantasies of social status.

The phenomenon of social media cannot also be separated from the mental disorientation as when netizens are easily trapped into the bias-provocative information and that they merely want to raise their social status. I think the problem is the simplification process of information. The blurring between the truth, the facts and the opinions rapidly arises after the *post-truth* era.⁷ The word shows when populism⁸ movement in public sphere emphasises the emotional opinion rather than emphasizing objective facts to spread information. Ironically, it becomes a new Indonesian

³See M. Amidon Lusted, *Social Networking: MySpace, Facebook & Twitter: MySpace, Facebook & Twitter*, (USA: Essential Library), pp. 8.

⁴ See S.Badoura, *The role of social media in the Arab Spring*, can be downloaded in https://www.sdu.dk/-/media/files/om_sdu/centre/c_mellemoest/djuco/young+scholars+conference+2013/badoura.pdf

⁵ See H. Marcovitz, *The Arab Spring Uprisings*, (USA: ReferencePoint Press, 2013).

⁶ See S. Bebawi and D. Bossio (eds.), *Social Media and the Politics of Reportage: The 'Arab Spring'*, (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Cf. R. Jamali, *Online Arab Spring: Social Media and Fundamental Change*, (Oxford: Chandos Publishing, 2015)

⁷See B. Tallis, "Living in Post-truth." *New Perspectives. Interdisciplinary Journal of Central & East European Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 24, Iss.1, 2016, pp.7–18. Cf. J. Harsin, "Regimes of Posttruth, Postpolitics, and Attention Economies". *Communication, Culture & Critique*. Vol. 8, Iss. 2. pp. 327–333.

⁸ M. Andre, "Populism", Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc, October 14, 2014. Web. October 25, 2017. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/populism>. Cf. C. Mudde and C. Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism : a very short introduction*, (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 1-20.

netizens' culture who tend to select information based on quantity when the number of like and share wins rather than the essence of objectivity of the facts expressed through the device.

Logical consequence with the existence of social media is the birth of hyper-reality⁹ as a major truth when something is viral and trending. The confusion between the real and the fantasy of social media also makes the netizen apprehensive in the process of recognizing his identity, so they do the *selfie*-narcissistic behaviour as a confirmation of themselves. In addition, the daily life of the netizen is always close to fomo (Fear of Missing Out).¹⁰ The condition when they are feeling afraid or anxiety if they are not updated on the latest information through social media.

These various phenomena have indirectly illustrated process the death of critical thinking from netizens. We should think deeply about the condition of dystopia in Orwellian¹¹ or Black Mirror¹² world when technology actually alienates human being. The discourses of the two works is the birth of technology which is inherently linked to political-technical interest rather than the values of humanity. Technology has become a tool used to silence, repress and even eliminate human critical reasoning. Technology is inherent with political dominance.

In addition, in the process of making technology the public is often neglected in its development. Society can only accept technology as a finished product. Technology is part of public consumption. Technology, in general, is always controlled by technocrats and the owners of capital that may always be related to the political interests behind it. Looking at the issue, I will try to look back the assumption of social media-itself through philosophy of technology with the framework from Andrew Feenberg's Critical Theory of Technology. Questions that arise include

⁹ In semiotics and postmodernism, hyperreality is an inability of consciousness to distinguish reality from a simulation of reality, especially in technologically advanced postmodern societies. Some famous theorists of hyperreality/hyperrealism include Jean Baudrillard, Albert Borgmann, Daniel J. Boorstin, Neil Postman and Umberto Eco. See: Y. Amir Piliang, "Opinion: Simulacra Republic", Editor's Choice, Kompas, January, 26 2017. Accessed January, 28 2017.

¹⁰ See A. K Przybylski, et al., "Motivational, emotional, and behavioral correlates of fear of missing out", *Computers in Human Behavior*, Vol. 29, Iss. 4, July 2013, pp. 1841-1848.

¹¹ Orwellian is an adjective describing a situation, idea, or societal condition from George Orwell's novel—*Nineteen Eighty-Four*.

¹² Black Mirror is a British science fiction television anthology series created by Charlie Brooker. It centres around dark and satirical themes that examine modern society, particularly with regard to the unanticipated consequences of new technologies. See Riff, "'Black Mirror' and the Horrors and Delights of Technology", *The New York Times Magazine*, January, 30, 2015. Accessed Oct, 25, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/01/magazine/black-mirror-and-the-horrors-and-delights-of-technology.html>

(1) How social media should be understood in the context of Indonesia? (2) Is it possible that social media can be democratized within the public sphere frameworks?

B. Discussion

In this discussion, I will explain some important points, inter alia, first, the condition of social media in Indonesia; secondly, critical reflection on the logic of technocracy in building social media systems; third, explain about a critical analysis the possibility of democratization of social media.

The Condition of Social Media in Indonesia

Social media are computer-mediated technologies that facilitate the creation and sharing of information, ideas, career interests and other forms of expression via virtual communities and networks¹³. From these definitions, it can be underlined the main elements of social media are technology, distribution, information, mediation and virtualization. The latest research results from We Are Social¹⁴ in January 26, 2017, and the Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII)¹⁵ in October 2016. The result of internet user penetration in Indonesia is still occupied by Java as the biggest internet user with 86.3 million people out of 132,7 million total with 52 million people from total 88.1 million people since 2014.

Moreover, Internet accessibility of Indonesian people is still dominated by mobile devices. Previously, users only amounted to 79 million. That number rose to 106 million accompanied by an increase in mobile devices as a medium for internet access. The report also said mobile social media use is growing faster, with global monthly active users numbers up 30% year-on-year, reaching more than 2.5 billion. Indonesia boasts the 3rd highest growth in that category, up 39% since January 2016. The composition of Internet users are in the range 25-44 years old.

Social media is becoming the most accessed content in addition to entertainment, news, education, commercial and public services. However, the tendency of excessive access to social

¹³ See J. A Obar and S. Wildman, 'Social media definition and the governance challenge: An introduction to the special issue', *Journal Telecommunications Policy*, Vol. 39, Iss. 9, 2015, pp. 745-750.

¹⁴ See <https://wearesocial.com/>. The file can be downloaded in www.slideshare.net/wearesocialsg/digital-in-2017-southeast-asia "Digital in 2017: Southeast Asia." In Slideshare. We Are Social Singapore, Jan 26, 2017. Web. 24 Oct. 2017.

¹⁵ Survey result APJII 2016, can be downloaded via e-mail <https://apjii.or.id/content/read/39/264/Survei-Internet-APJII-2016> or [https://www.slideshare.net/OyhonxdCalista/infografis-penetrasi-dan-perilaku-pengguna-internet-indonesia-2016-apjii](http://www.slideshare.net/OyhonxdCalista/infografis-penetrasi-dan-perilaku-pengguna-internet-indonesia-2016-apjii) Web. 24 Oct. 2017.

media often results in a variety of psychological disorders. According to Andrea C. Nakaya (2015), Internet Addiction Disorder (IAD)¹⁶ can also increase physical and emotional problems that have a strong effect on personal relationships and negative social development. In accordance with Hanyun Huang¹⁷ (2014) who investigates potential predictors of social media addiction, particularly the social dimension of personality traits (i.e., the need for affiliation and impression management) and the psychological dimension of personality traits (i.e., narcissism and leisure boredom).

Social media is also a barbaric courtroom¹⁸ that follows the law of the jungle: “those who are strong will win”. Netizens will build a case around the latest viral “news”, make their own trial, and become persecutor or defendant. Using their own values, both sides will declare whether the person in the case is guilty or not. They always make brutal judgment that is solely based on emotion criteria in the virtual crowd. Information becomes increasingly blurred. The emergence of a new populist movement is also a new issue for democracy in Indonesia.

The sound of the sentiment of the crowd that instead of upholding the values of universalism, but instead they defend particularism with fear of plurality. While in Europe and the United States there is a strengthening of nationalism, in Indonesia there is a narrowing on conservatism even Islamic radicalism.¹⁹ The boldness of Indonesia’s Islamist populist movement is striking, particularly its well-informed use of social media.²⁰ Social media is capable to stir up religious and racial sentiments as midpoints of seduction for the right populists to mobilize the masses. This momentum is used as a political agenda to produce small groups with their noisy minority but are able to create large horizontal conflicts.

The Myth of 'Neutrality' Technocracy

The complexity of reading social media can be drawn into two major debates on philosophy of technology namely between Instrumentalism and Determinism. Both have different

¹⁶ See A. C. Nakaya, *Internet and Social Media Addiction*, (USA: ReferencePond Press, 2015), pp. 20-30.

¹⁷ See H Huang, *Social Media Generation in Urban China*, (London: Springer, 2014).

¹⁸ See K. Andreas. “The barbaric courtroom called social media.”The Jakarta Post, Mon, August 21, 2017. Web. 24 Oct. 2017. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/08/21/the-barbaric-courtroom-called-social-media.html>

¹⁹ See M. Lim, *Islamic Radicalism and Anti-Americanism in Indonesia: The Role of the Internet*. (USA: the East-West Center Washington, 2005).

²⁰ See J. Umar. “Why Populist Islam Is Gaining Ground In Indonesia.”Huff Post, Huffingtonpost. 22 Sept 2017. Web. 24 Oct. 2017. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/08/21/the-barbaric-courtroom-called-social-media.html>

perspectives related to technology. Instrumentalism sees technology as merely an instrument or tool and is neutral, while determination views technology as having the power of influence over social and human culture.

Technology is	Autonomous	Humanly controlled
Neutral (complete separation of means and ends)	Determinism (e.g. traditional Marxism)	Instrumentalism (liberal faith in progress)
Value-laden (means form a way of life that includes ends)	Substantivism (means and ends linked in systems)	Critical Theory (choice of alternative means-ends systems)

Table 1. The Varieties of Theory (Feenberg, 1999: 9)

Apart from the two major definitions in the debate, Feenberg proposes his own views regarding the various phenomena that appear in social media as it is indirectly connected with the problem of technocratic rationale. Technocracy is a political authority in economic²¹. Technocracy is a system of governance where decision-makers are selected based on technological knowledge.²² The role of technocratic supports are scientist, engineers, technologist, or experts in any field, would compose the governing body, instead of elected representatives.

They have basic assumptions of neutrality when a technocrat does decision-making on every public policy. All practical and technical affairs must be left to the experts, not to the society because they are considered amateurs. Through technocracy, various forms of mastery in human and natural resources mean are possible, because they are making affiliation with capitalism which is able to accelerate the technical-decisions in any economic competition. Being against technocracy is an unreasonable action.

Technocracy has an operational autonomy²³ on a group of experts to take decisions that have vast impacts without responsibility to the society as long as its decisions are based on technical principles. Viewpoints of technological or technocratic thinking do not open democratic space for public participation in technical control. Technocracy also performs according to the

²¹ See A. Feenberg, *Questioning Technology*, (Newyork: Routledge, 1999), pp. 103. 'Technocracy is the use of technical delegations to conserve and legitimate an expanding system of hierarchical control'.

²² See "Who, What, Why: What can technocrats achieve that politicians can't?" Magazine, BBC News, Nov, 14 2011. Accessed Oct, 25 2017. www.bbc.com/news/magazine-15720438

²³ See A. Feenberg, *Op.Cit.*, pp.103, 113–114, 135.

laws held by logical positivism. Technological development laws that correlate with the laws of nature, as well as the efficiency and effectivity, It can only be initiated by experts.

According to Feenberg²⁴, Technocracy is an obstacle to technical democracy, because technocracy ignores the critical reason of society and makes society passive. Technocracy even enters many other technical areas, such as medicine, transportation, urban planning and workplace computing. Public debates are even indirectly replaced by technical expertise when it should be the people who determine their own policy actions direction. According to Ellul²⁵, the technocracy phenomenon begins with the increasing role of technology in the bureaucratization. Politicians ultimately depend completely on three types of people: experts, technicians and administrators.

Technocracy contains the views of technological instrumentalism, neutrality, universality and logical positivism.²⁶ The promise of technocracy does look very sweet. But on the one hand, it will be a paradox. Technocracy does not only work on the development of technological artifacts but has entered various aspects of human life. Humans serve as objects and are conquered in the shade of technological rationality.²⁷ This strategy culminates when technology is used to maintain the existing hierarchy of power (conservation of hierarchy) in both system of capitalist and technocratic in the technological societies.

Institutions in technocracy are further strengthening themselves with various supports and justifications for the technological neutrality features, as well as the depth of knowledge needed for society. The reasons are merely camouflage to conceal the biases of interest behind the inevitability of technological rationality which definitely dominates rather than liberates society.²⁸ If we are looking from the standpoint of social constructivism and critical theory, the foundation of technocracy looks only as a myth, because there can be no value-free policy, social and political factors always follow technical decisions.

²⁴ See A. Feenberg, *Transforming Technology: A Critical Theory Revisited*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.), pp. 16.

²⁵ See J. Ellul, *The Technological System*, (New York: The Continuum Publishing, 1980), pp. 57-59.

²⁶ See T.M. Soerjanto Poespowardojo and A. Seran, *Filsafat Ilmu Pengetahuan*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2015), hal. 35-39. 55-69.

²⁷ Technological rationality is a philosophical idea postulated by Herbert Marcuse in his 1964 book *One-Dimensional Man*.

²⁸ See A. Feenberg, *Op.Cit.*, pp.103: 'Technocracy thus succeeds in masking its valuative bias behind the facade of pure technical rationality'.

The internal contradictions and myths of 'neutrality' technocratic can be supported by Marshall McLuhan's notion that social media is becoming more important because it is capable of changing human life beyond the message.²⁹ Furthermore, Don Ihde's Postphenomenology³⁰ looks at technology as something that is not a neutral, through the approach of four phenomenological relations³¹. Ihde sees that technology and people are interrelated and cannot be separated from each other. Technology does have an independent power in the other meaning. The neutrality of technology is explained through the concept of multistability³² which leads to the different meanings when it is used in every culture because of technology *embedded* in cultures. Technology as intentionality relation that always exists essentially as the extension of human experience when technology is present and mediates with the world.

Social Media Democratization

The failure of people who tend to view social media as a neutral box only gives a negative determinism effect in the dimension of technological rationality. Andrew Feenberg's Critical Theory of Technology tried to deflect any myth of technocratic neutrality.

Andrew Feenberg tested the Critical Theory by continuing the Habermas and Marcuse projects.³³ He criticizes Habermas that tends to hide the structure of rationality behind the development of modern society, while Marcuse who only understands the technology itself. In Habermas's theoretical standpoint definitely but forgetting field testing, Marcuse is too ambitious with the technological rationality toward one-dimensional society dystopia. Then Feenberg sums it up in the new form of technical code³⁴ in which technological rationality is inherent to the technical culture.

²⁹ See M. McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, (New York: MIT Press, 1994), pp. 8-12.

³⁰ See Don Ihde, *Postphenomenology and Technoscience: Peking University Lecture* (SUNY Series in the Philosophy of the Social Science). (Albany, USA: State University of New York Press. 2009), pp. 41-44.

³¹ See Rosenberg and Verbek, *Postphenomenological Investigations*, (USA: Lexington Books: 2015), pp. 10-13.

³² See F. Lim, *Filsafat Teknologi: Don Ihde tentang Manusia dan Alat*. (Yogyakarta: Kanisius. 2008), pp. 137. Cf. B. Hartanto, *Dunia Pasca-Manusia: Menjelajahi Tema-tema Kontemporer Filsafat Teknologi*. (Depok: Kepik 2013), pp. 17.

³³ See A. Feenberg, "Marcuse or Habermas: Two Critiques of Technology", *Inquiry*, 39, pp. 45-70.

³⁴ See Feenberg, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 87-89. 'Technical codes define the object in strictly technical terms in accordance with the social meaning it has acquired. These codes are usually invisible because, like culture itself, they appear self-evident'. Cf., pp. 112. 'The technical code is the most general rule of the game, biasing the play toward the dominant contestant'.

Through the sociology of critical constructivism borrowed from Bruno Latour and Michel Foucault. Feenberg made a radical overhaul with the concept of ambivalence, social character, dialectics as well as the process of technological democratization³⁵ in the event of trans-communication through democratization participation concerning design and application of technology. To re-affirm the basic foundation of undermining technological rationality that tends to be universal and resides in the technocratic domain.

I tried to borrow Marcelo Vieta's inquiry who reads the dialectical and historical technological rationality movement as a critique of ideology and practice of advanced industrial societies. Marcelo divided the development of technological rationality into three, namely technological pre-rationality, technological rationality, and post-technological rationality.³⁶

The first condition is the condition before technological rationality or technological pre-rationality. In this condition, technology is still quite natural. Marcuse assumes the natural condition begins when humans are able to regulate nature to survive. The capacity of rationality is based solely on the ability to identify something and build something.³⁷ The origins of technological man have existed since ancient Greece when there were ideas of *techne* and *poiesis*.³⁸ Since *techne* was found, man has found his ability in the process of creating something that has a useful purpose to regulate something or commonly called *homo faber*.

In the condition before technological rationality, nature and human beings are seen as a way of becoming ever-moving together. Moreover, Marcuse's identification tensions between *logos* and *eros*, the two reciprocally negating principles, are not free and not just potential.³⁹ Then the conditions before technological rationality, no position of technology as oppressive or otherwise. This is supposedly due over the absence of modes of capitalistic system. The

³⁵ See T. J. Veak (ed), *Democratizing Technology: Andrew Feenberg's Critical Theory of Technology*, (Newyork: SUNY Press, 2006). Cf. A. Feenberg, *Between Reason and Experience*, (USA: MIT, 2010).

³⁶ M. Vieta. 2006. *Herbert Marcuse's critique of technological rationality: An exegetical reading*. Source: https://www.academia.edu/1064711/Herbert_Marcuses_Critique_of_Technological_Rationality_An_Exegetical_Reading. Retrieved 24 Oct. 2017.

³⁷ See H. Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 138-139.

³⁸ See *Ibid.*, pp. 238. In philosophy, *poiesis* (from Ancient Greek: ποιησις) is "the activity in which a person brings something into being that did not exist before." *Epistêmê* is the Greek word most often translated as knowledge, while *technê* is translated as either craft or art.

³⁹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 123-128. Marcuse tends to treat human beings as pure, abstract consciousness. The body and the passions are to be subdued by reason or Logos. Marcuse does not intend to subjugate Logos (reason) to Eros (desire). He simply wants to return Eros to its proper place as equal to Logos. It is Freud who recognizes the central role of Eros as a motivating factor in human action. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/marcuse>, Web. Oct. 25, 2017.

development of capitalism flows including advanced industrialization creates the loss of connections between logos and eros also other multi-dimensional relationships reduced into one-dimensional thinking. The pattern of technological rationality is formed by the structured hierarchy of power.

Technological rationality stands on a one-dimensional thinking model, The model is guided by logos that tend to suppress eros. One-dimensional man believed that cultural structure was built by the universality of formal logic. There is a logic of domination in technological progress. Technological rationality impoverishes all aspects of contemporary life, has developed the material bases of human freedom but continues to serve the interests of suppression. Human potential is merely desire and preference. Now even things seem rational when they are irrational, or objective but driven by specific interests.⁴⁰ The most possible way for overcoming the increasing domination and unfreedom of technological society is to improve and build the liberation system in new technological rationality.

However, Marcuse sees the possibility of a highly feasible alternative to break technological dominance and launch freedom over technological rationality.⁴¹ This is called post-technological rationality, the new hope of science and technology models. This idea must be formed through a negative dialectic that is able to compare the existence of the protest movement and reject the stability of life that actually has falsehood.

Post-technological rationality provides a new direction for technological processes to be able to cover disasters arising from previous circumstances. All the hidden potential of technology is maximized by the re-birth the critical reason in society. This is done to ensure the process of freedom of thought and imagination via art and aesthetic. According to Vieta, this position will build the unity of universal rationality between logos and eros in freedom of life from war and domination. Post-technological rationality gives the path to the direction of the affirmation of life.⁴²

⁴⁰ See *Ibid.*, pp. 151.

⁴¹ See *Ibid.*, pp. 47.

⁴² See M. Vieta. "Marcuse's "Transcendent Project" at 50: Post-Technological Rationality for Our Times. *Radical Philosophy Review*. Vol. 19, Issues 1 2016, pp. 143-172.

The technological democratization effort in the context of social media is possible when Marcuse's pessimistic thesis is converted into Feenberg's optimistic in view of democratization as an alternative of technological determinism or technological rationality which tends to be exclusive. Reflecting on the idea of post-technological rationality, social media can lead to bringing freedom to all users. It will be powerful by bringing back the netizen's critical reason for the massive movement in responding critically and rationally without eliminating the elements of humanity, including art.

According to Feenberg's the theory of two-level instrumentalization⁴³ divides into primary instrumentalization and secondary instrumentalization. The primary instrumentalization consists in four reifying moments of technical practice. The first two correspond roughly with important aspect of Heidegger's notion of enframing, and the latter two describe the form of action implied Habermas's media theory.⁴⁴ While secondary instrumentalization focused on the *realization* constituted objects and subjects in actual networks and devices.

The primary Instrumentalization (functionalization) in Social Media is functionally divided into four events as follows:

1. Decontextualization happens when transforming a natural object into a technical object or 'de-worlded', for example the socialization state has been pre-existing before decontextualized into a simulation world which means transformed into a digital world.
2. Reductionism refers to the process in which the de-worlded things are simplified and reduced technically into useless quantities which they can be enrolled in a technical network, for example face-to-face quality can be trimmed in achieving a formal technical program and quantification.
3. Autonomization is the subject of technical action that isolates itself as much as possible from the effects of its action on its objects. For example social media cut and mediate the distance between netizens. The user will never feel tired because have to travel far, but just social media can keep the user energy.

⁴³ See A. Feenberg, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 202-208.

⁴⁴ Heidegger and Habermas claim that there is a level at which instrumental action in modern societies can be considered as a pure expression of a certain type of rationality.

4. Positioning is technical action that controls its objects through their laws or internal law. For example, the law of social media should be connected with internet. Social media also has algorithms structure.

The Secondary Instrumentalization constitutes a *reflexive meta-technical practice* or realization divided into four events as follows:

1. Systematization, to function as an actual device, isolated, decontextualized technical objects must be combined with each other and re-embedded in the natural environment. Systematization is the process of the making these combinations and connections. For example, social media combines social media platform, computer, internet, power, netizen, and the large-scale organizations they make possible.
2. Mediation, etchnical and aesthetic mediations supply the simplified technical object with new secondary qualities that seamlessly embed it in its new social context. For example, *Line* and *Telegram*, young people prefer Line because it gives the impression of entertainment and not formal rather than Telegram even though its function is same as social media.
3. Vocation, technical subjects appear autonomous only insofar as its actions are considered in isolation from its life process. The subject is just as deeply engaged as the object but in different a register. The Instagram users take repeatedly selfie just to fulfill their own prestige. Social media user becomes famous/an actor in a movie because the viral/tranding post.
4. Initiative, strategic control of technical subjects in improvisation to support planning and control processing.

	Functionalization	Realization
Objectification	Decontextualization Reduction	Systematization Mediation
Subjectivation	Autonomization Positioning	Vocation Initiavite

Table 2. Instrumentalization Theory (Feenberg, 1999: 208)

Both primary and secondary instrumentalizations play their part and can be paired to provide a way out for technocracy's logical fallacy. Furthermore, instrumentalization can be run

as part of the democratization of social media. The application theories will emerge when technological democratization has a connection between participation and initiation in people.

I suppose we have cases and anomalies in the world of social media, so what should be needed is to read the collective experience at the local level.⁴⁵ From this local level we often do not get political support from certain regional representatives. So, they Initiatively create their own voting group and voice their opinions or interests in order to change the technical code. For example, some local places such as x, y and z where social media is used as a means of political propaganda and cultural violence which cause bad effects. The main reason why we should create new technical code that enables technical policy-making implementation. After building a new technical code, we still demand objectively censorship agency for avoiding the negative propaganda.

The process of social media democratization becomes possible if only there is an integration between a credible and transparent political medium. It would be better if this technical political representative became a technology expert. The technical political representative must be brave to re-think every decision-making in technical code specifically always avoid technocrats-populists⁴⁶ tendency. Logical consequences, when people are able to open dialogues and discourse will create openness and technological improvement that has emancipatory dimensions.

Actualization of Indonesian Social Media

In this last discussion, I will make a final critical reflection to see how social media should be understood in the Indonesian framework. Rethinking about Indonesia is simple because Indonesia has the spirit of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or Unity in Diversity. The spirit has developed from the context of social and cultural locality. We can make the reflection about an implementation of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika nowadays. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is still relevant because it will build unity without uniformity and diversity without fragmentation. Therefore, I can say that Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is the great idea of multi-dimensional human being aspect.

⁴⁵ See I. Maulana, in his dissertation '*Menggugat Nalar Teknologis, Memulihkan Kepelakuan Manusia, Pemikiran Andrew Feenberg Mengenai Demokratisasi Teknologi*'. Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Program Studi Ilmu Filsafat, Depok, 2015, pp. 104-202. He tried to criticize technocracy and problem of democratization of technology.

⁴⁶ See C. Bickerton and C. Invernizzi Accetti "Populism and technocracy: opposites or complements?" *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 20, Iss. 2, 2017, pp. 186-206.

The principal of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is enough to intensely re-understand Indonesian society with the spirit of unity, solidarity, and openness that all of us can meet in the life of deliberation and consensus (musyawarah-mufakat). In the rule of social media, society should be emerged, verifying the status quo without merely voting, however, revisiting what technical codes need to be built together in deliberation and in a consensual way. This model is a form of reinforcement of technical subjects by allowing technological post-rationality model through critical-emotional education and re-examine aesthetic elements in the human being.⁴⁷

Reconstruction of technical subjectivity can be exercised through emotional education. According to Karlina Supelli, the concept of emotional education is used to reduce the social apathetic properties to more open the deep heart and mind to solve current nationality problem.⁴⁸ Social and emotional education will be correlated with the social media users maturity because it is no longer connected to technical rationality.⁴⁹ Take an easy example for the effort to educate desire 'eros' and reason 'logos' in terms of morality, take the emotion of shame when they are doing wrong and take the sadness that comes from the misery of others. Both can certainly play a major rule in justification of moral choices. At the rawest level, emotions are instinctively driven by the functional needs of organisms to survive and multiply.⁵⁰

After the education program is over, it is time for social media democratization to be applied. When reason and sense-emotion can be incorporated there will be consciousness, awareness, openness, sympathy, sensitivity, and freedom in using and or developing social media in Indonesia. We should look the netizen that is a unique personality who has a multidimensional viewpoint. My expectation about an emotional education is to eliminate all acts of cultural unification and racial violence. Indonesians should be brave people to live peacefully, diversity is

⁴⁷ See M. Vieta, "Hope for Our Technological Inheritance? From Substantive Critiques of Technology to Marcuse's Post-Technological Rationality". *Strategies of Critique: A Graduate Journal of Social and Political Thought*, Vol. 1, Iss. 2, 2010, pp. 10-14. Cf. See V. Saeng, *Herbert Marcuse: Perang Semesta Melawan Kapitalisme Global*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2012), pp. 300-322. 'Concept of critical pedagogy and art is the way to build critical reason'.

⁴⁸ See K. Supelli, "Radikalisme, Fundamentalisme, Konservatisme: Sebuah Tantangan Aktual". Draft Seminar Bulanan Fakultas Teologi USD Yogyakarta. 27 September 2016.

⁴⁹ See K. Supelli, "Martha Nussbaum: Merawat Imajinasi dan Pendidikan Keadilan", *Majalah Basis*, No.5-6, Tahun Ke-64, 2015, pp. 15-21.

⁵⁰ See *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15. Cf. See A. Bagus Laksana, "Paulo Freire: Mendidik Hasrat", *Majalah Basis*, No.11-12, Tahun Ke-64, 2015, pp. 25-29.

a necessity, a sign of people's maturity and the formation of a civil society which form the basis of the true democracy. As Adorno says, democracy can only manifest in the mature society.⁵¹

Technically, technological democratization can be present when there is community participation in representative regulation. We should reject the thesis of technocracy, particularly the handover of technical issues facing society only to experts who have technical knowledge. Experts are often independent making-decision without permission from the wider community. We also have to reject the neutrality logical fallacy in technological rationality. In terms of technical codes, society has become a collective responsibility to constantly criticize, control and guide the development of social media.

The active role of trans-communication to trans-disciplinary⁵² in the world of academia should be included in guiding the consensus of technical code. Social media can be a place for activists to spread the virtues and knowledge that educate or be a venue for the old-fashioned/foolish crowd to constantly dominate social media as stage for hate-speech. It is a common option for all of us who become open societies-- the democratic public sphere. That is the key to achieve social media which is to humanize human as the spirit of developing the nation's intellectual life.

C. Conclusion

Andrew Feenberg's The Critical Theory of Technology can alternatively solve the technocrat's determinations. Critical Theory of Technology is able to divide social media into the theory of instrumentalization to prove that social media will never be value-free because that is always connected to the world of human life. In my opinion, the great promise of social media as a technology should have the principles of humanity which is freedom of expression, socialization and understanding each other. Ironically, On the other hand, ambivalence emerges, as the social media user's perspective improves to become silly, irrational, and individualist.

In Indonesia, social media's positive principles have not been achieved. The case is where netizens are still easily trapped into the fake crowd, losing their critical thinking in the judgmental

⁵¹ See A. Sudiarja, *Pendidikan Dalam Tantangan Zaman*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2014), pp. 99.

⁵² See T.M. Soerjanto Poespowardojo and A. Seran, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 335-340.

process about information. Therefore, the democratization of social media becomes an alternative by giving public discussion space related in technological problems. In that discussion, we also don't forget to mention social and emotional education including art and aesthetics as part of the post-rationality of social media.

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