

The Role of Second Screening in Online Political Participation in Jakarta and Islamabad

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This study aimed to investigate the direct and indirect impacts of second screening on online political participation in Indonesia (Jakarta) and Pakistan (Islamabad). The results showed that second screening had a significant effect on citizens' online political participation in Jakarta directly or mediated through social media elaboration and political efficacy. However, the practice did not have any effect in Islamabad, and the differing results might be attributed to sociocultural distinctions inherent in the two countries. The study confirmed that second screening significantly impacted online political discussion and elaboration on social media. Further studies could be carried out to examine the degree of acceptance accorded to news disseminated through these platforms.

Keywords: second screening, political participation, social media use, television use

The use and integration of various forms of media have been rapidly developing in recent years. Traditional media platforms, such as television and modern social networking services (SNS), are used simultaneously (Bruns, Enli, Skogerbo, Larsson, & Christensen, 2015). Social media serve as a platform through which users can actively participate in shared experiences during live televised events, enhancing a sense of community (Hambrick, Simmons, Greenhalgh, & Greenwell, 2010). Furthermore, the use of hashtags has enabled the establishment of dedicated pages for the discussion of political content on SNS. The practice of dual screening, characterized by the use of television and social media, represents a relatively recent phenomenon. Social networking service platforms are continuously innovating to enhance user engagement and connectivity, contributing to the evolving landscape of social media.

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According to a study by Gil de Zúñiga, Garcia-Perdomo, and McGregor (2015), engaging in second screening of news is strongly linked to increased political activity, particularly online participation. This suggests that incorporating second screening of news into daily routines can have a significant positive impact on the lives of citizens. In a hybrid media system, it is important to evaluate which channels are most effective at influencing political events or processes, making second screening an important indicator of group activity (Chadwick, Dennis, & Smith, 2016). In underdeveloped countries, there are significant disparities in access to ICT (Hilbert, 2016). These inequalities are particularly relevant when adopting new media practices that require access to various devices and digital literacy skills. Even though second-screen applications can facilitate participation in public discussions, their implementation in developing countries such as Indonesia and Pakistan raises significant challenges.

The practice of second screening is prevalent in Islamabad (Pakistan), where the use of new technological devices has significantly impacted the civil and public sectors of Pakistani society (Government of Pakistan, 2023). People with access to the latest information technologies can obtain news stories from mainstream media sources. Individuals can create, disseminate, and engage with social and political issues from anywhere using information technologies (Masiha, Habiba, Abbas, & Ariadi, 2018). During television viewing, many people obtain additional political information by visiting the official Twitter accounts of political organizations and mainstream media outlets such as *Dawn*, *The News*, *Nawa-e-Waqt*, *Dunya*, and *Samaa*, as well as news sites of international news organizations like British Broadcasting Corporation, Cable News Network, Associated Press, and Agence France-Presse. Google searches are also done to obtain more information related to political news acquired from mainstream television (Ricchiardi, 2012). Additionally, people often check their WhatsApp groups to obtain comprehensive political information. Facebook is used by Pakistani women, as well, thereby increasing their electoral inclusion and likelihood of casting a ballot and leading to more diversified representation (Shehzad, Yousaf, Mahmood, & Ogadimma, 2021). In terms of entertainment, television users commonly engage in second screening by using YouTube to obtain more detailed information on celebrity-related content in showbiz or sports.

In Jakarta (Indonesia), the practice of second screening is common, where people verify information received from television by checking social media or other online media. Social media are used to obtain detailed information on issues and interact with their social networks. Politicians and political parties also use these accounts to clarify news from television and engage with the audience. Even political debate programs on television allow comments from the audience through social media accounts managed by the admins (Yoedtadi & Hapsari, 2020). This phenomenon reflects how political polarization occurs in physical reality and cyberspace. Pakistan and Indonesia are two countries experiencing political polarization. In Pakistan, the country is divided into two groups, and the situation has become increasingly heated after a recent vote of no confidence. In Indonesia, political divisions continue to persist in the lead-up to the 2024 election. Citizens must participate in unity between the government and the opposition.

Previous studies have predominantly examined second screening procedures in developed countries (Gil de Zúñiga & Liu, 2017; Guo, 2020; Nee & Dozier, 2015; Schaap, Kleemans, & Cauwenberge, 2018). However, the present study addresses the gap by investigating the practices and their effects in two underdeveloped countries. The engagement of citizens in Indonesia and Pakistan was compared in the second screening with the implications of their online political participation. These two countries were

selected due to their low gross national income and shared characteristics, including political polarization and a predominantly Muslim population in Asia. The scarcity of studies about second screening activities and online political participation in underdeveloped countries further shows the need for this analysis. An analysis of the direct and indirect relationships between online political participation and second screening in Jakarta and Islamabad was carried out. Indonesia and Pakistan are the fourth and fifth most populous countries globally that are experiencing political polarization. Hypothesis testing was carried out to determine a positive relationship between second screening for news during political TV consumption and online participation. This evaluated the mediating role of political efficacy, social media elaboration, online discussion, and knowledge.

Second Screening, Online Political Discussion, and Online Political Participation

Second screening includes the amalgamation of information and conversation, and the order of occurrence signals elaboration, a critical mediator between news consumption and political participation. Eveland, Shah, and Kwak (2003) proposed a cognitive mediation model that integrated information processing and self-reflection activities into the comprehension and learning of news media. This study adopts the cognitive mediation model by developing the effect of news consumption on political participation. The cognitive mediation model concerns activity during and after media consumption. Additionally, the nature of user activity investigated is consistent with concepts in the audience literature, such as cognitive participation and elaboration (Perse, 1990). This is in addition to the concepts arising from the product on media information processing scheme (Kosicki & McLeod, 1990). According to the model, information processing mediates between the influence of desired gratifications and media effects (Eveland et al., 2003).

Second screening comprises additional news consumption, debate, and elaboration, which are interconnected behaviors capable of influencing the impact of news media on online political activity. The variable refers to the practice of watching television while using other electronic devices to access SNS on the Internet. This allows individuals to obtain more information and engage with the viewed program. The study focuses exclusively on TV viewers who practice second screening during news and political debates. The process includes using electronic devices to access social media sites while watching television, providing viewers with immediate access to information, direction, and discussion related to the live news broadcast. The hypothesis is that second screening may lead to online political activity through Internet-mediated devices. The positive association is attributed to the encouragement of information-seeking behavior facilitated by using two screens. Previous studies suggested that individuals who consume media for informational purposes (Jung, Kim, & Homero, 2011) and actively search for online information (Xenos & Moy, 2007) engage in political discussions. By using media to gain information, individuals are exposed to various facts, novel concepts, and alternative viewpoints, which can stimulate political debates (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2006).

People who actively engage in dialogue can participate in politics (Gil de Zúñiga, Bachmann, Hsu, & Brundidge, 2013). Furthermore, seeking information through various online sources is a strong predictor of political participation (Valenzuela, Kim, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2011). Even though the impact of news media on political participation is multifaceted, online platforms primarily serve as an amplifier of political discomfort, encouraging citizens to participate in protests and other forms of engagement (Xia & Shen,

2018). According to Syarwi (2022), the use of identity politics resulted in polarization and damaged the sense of national unity during the 2019 presidential election in Indonesia. The presence of political buzzers, who receive material rewards for attacking opponents on social media, has further increased this issue. Citizens must reach a consensus and commit to refraining from using narratives related to identity and sensitive issues to preserve the order of life, unity, as well as integrity of the nation. Although buzzers can be considered a necessary political instrument in the digital era, their damaging activities on social media, including spreading hoaxes, engaging in black campaigns, and disseminating hate speech, can disrupt social harmony (Sholihah, 2023). To mitigate these negative effects and promote healthy political participation, cooperation and unity of all stakeholders are essential. This includes the government, political parties, political elites, and public education efforts aimed at reducing the influence of political buzzers. The political climate in Pakistan is characterized by polarization, leading to an unpleasant environment in social media interactions. During the presidential election campaign, two opposing camps resorted to ridiculing each other, with name-calling being the most prevalent form of insult. Followers of different political parties often use derogatory slang words such as *patwari* (government official), *youthia* (stupid), *jayala* (brave), and others to insult each other. In some cases, social media users even use offensive emojis under posts. The use of this complementary medium to television should be as a forum for constructive political participation. The relationship between the use of social media as part of second screening process and political life is well established. This leads to the proposition of a positive correlation between online political participation and second screening for news consumption.

H1: Second screening for news consumption is positively associated with online political participation.

According to Mutz and Martin (2001), second screeners encounter opposing political viewpoints through discussions. This is particularly true since social media have the potential to expand and diversify information and news networks. Bakshy, Messing, and Adamic (2015) have shown that the connections often transcend ideological boundaries, with the majority of users being linked to networks with diverse ideologies (Barberá, 2015). The use of social media for news consumption transforms political communication (Barnidge, 2015). Therefore, second-screen practitioners who use social media to explore news encounter a wider range of information and perspectives. Participating in real-time online chats while watching politically related television programs shows social cues and other factors capable of motivating people to participate in online discourse. The concept of second screening includes explicit discussions on political content that individuals watch on TV. These discussions can lead to other forms of discourse, including conversations unrelated to the topic. For example, someone who watches a political program about an election campaign on TV tends to discuss the candidate of a particular party on WhatsApp. This discussion leads to other themes in different online discourse spaces. Therefore, second screening phenomenon can trigger more online conversations, positively predicting engagement in political discussions. The divisive political climate in Indonesia and Pakistan has resulted in uncivil remarks during debates on social media platforms like Facebook, YouTube, and WhatsApp groups (Abid, Shami, & Ashfaq, 2021; Ibrohim & Budi, 2023). However, political discussions can facilitate the use of social media for engagement, as supported by the phenomenon of second screening.

Digital technologies and social media have forced people to view political communication as interpersonal communication within a social context (Holbert & Geidner, 2009; Shah et al., 2017). Most

studies are focused on the discourses of ordinary citizens, owing to the origins of political communication in top-down propaganda and rhetorical results, as well as the challenges associated with studying informal interpersonal communication (McNair, 2011). Political communicators have long been interested in studying discussion and deliberation (Eveland, Morey, & Hutchens, 2011; Wojcieszak & Mutz, 2009). This investigation contributes to the field by incorporating cognitive factors such as social media elaboration.

H2: Second screening during political TV consumption is positively associated with online political discussion.

Elaboration on Social Media

Elaboration is a type of cognitive activity that comprises processing information (Eveland, 2004). The process mentally links new information to previously acquired knowledge and personal experiences, enhancing the understanding of the subject matter. Elaboration also uses the thinking skills of people to integrate and synthesize information (Eveland, 2001). For example, while watching a political debate on television, viewers may evaluate the candidates and recall information related to the issues discussed. The viewers can also draw on their own life experiences and prior knowledge to form opinions. These activities are part of the elaboration process, which is crucial in increasing political knowledge, promoting cognitive and behavioral changes such as learning and knowledge growth (Eveland, 2002), modifying attitudes, and enhancing critical thinking skills (Shah et al., 2017). Cognitive elaboration also mediates online discussions regarding political persuasion through social media (Venus, Intyaswati, & Prihatiningsih, 2023). People particularly interested in environmental issues often turn to media as a source of information and engage in elaboration to achieve the desired results. According to Nee and Dozier (2015), audiences can engage in incidental learning when there is a shift between social media and television. Exposure to unexpected information increases the likelihood of quicker elaboration; thus the speed of second screening is another unique characteristic. The users collect, process, and review the information during TV broadcasts. Westerman, Spence, and Van Der Heide (2013) found a positive relationship between cognitive elaboration and the immediate nature of information from social media. Furthermore, rapid updates lead to increased elaboration, and TV viewers who use second screening tend to contribute more to this variable. In Indonesia, sensitive issues, such as political identity, are commonly exploited in false information circulating on social media, particularly Facebook (Iswanto, Putra, & Paramita, 2023). The users must critically assess and elaborate on the information received. Filtering out misinformation is necessary to promote information harmony in the communication process.

H3: Second screening during political TV consumption is positively related to elaboration on social media.

Political Knowledge and Political Efficacy as Mediation Variables

Political efficacy is the belief that every citizen has a role in bringing about social and political change (Schulz, 2005). This variable can be categorized into two types, namely external and internal political efficacy. Previous studies have described political efficacy as the self-assessment of the ability of people to understand and impact current politics. However, Jung and colleagues (2011) proposed a different

perspective, suggesting that the variable could also be measured by how people perceive political officials and the government as responsive to their needs. Chen and Chang (2017) stated that political efficacy is often used as a mediator and predictor of positive civic outcomes such as increased knowledge, participation, and interest when examining the effects of political media use. According to Gil de Zúñiga and Liu (2017), the practice of second screening, which includes using a second device to consume media content while watching TV, is mainly carried out through social media. Pingree (2007) suggested that the concept of consideration, referring to the bidirectional effects between the communicator and receiver of information, should be applied. Additionally, Oeldorf-Hirsch and Sundar (2015) stated that second screeners who shared information on social media and received comments and likes experienced a greater sense of influence and a higher tendency to face embarrassment. Jung and colleagues (2011) reported that elaboration had a solid empirical foundation for its impacts on political efficacy.

Gil de Zúñiga and colleagues (2015) studied gratification theory and stated that media usage could have a behavioral effect. This study specifically examined the direct effect of second screening on political participation and explored the role of cognitive mediation. A mediated process model was proposed to confirm the role of mediation, with evidence of the positive impact provided on online political participation through efficacy and social media elaboration.

H4: Political efficacy and elaboration on social media mediate the effect of second screening on online political participation.

Second screening increases TV viewers' sense of influence by suggesting discussion on social media and learning of information. Furthermore, second screening can improve users' political knowledge (Eveland, 2004). According to Chen (2019), the indirect effects results showed that second screening facilitated political participation through knowledge and discussion.

H5: Online political discussion and knowledge mediate the effect of second screening on online political participation.

Method

This study was conducted using a survey method with a purposive sampling technique drawn from two different regions, namely Jakarta and Islamabad. The sample comprised members who had engaged in second screening practice in the last six months and resided in the area. Furthermore, data were collected using a questionnaire distributed through social media links in July 2022. The sample size met Fisher's formula criteria with a 95% confidence level as well as a 5% and 7% margin of error for Jakarta and Islamabad, respectively. The final sample included 411 and 205 respondents from Jakarta and Islamabad, respectively.

Table 1 shows that respondents (who experienced second screen) taken randomly produced a higher percentage of women (67.6%) in Jakarta and of men (51.7 %) in Islamabad. Additionally, the average age of respondents in Islamabad (24.76 years) was higher than in Jakarta (22.63 years). In terms of education, the sample from Jakarta was relatively balanced, with 57.18% having education

above undergraduate and 42.82% with undergraduate or less education. In Islamabad, most respondents (88.75%) had education above undergraduate, while a small proportion (11.22%) had undergraduate or less education. The data were analyzed using the structural equation model with AMOS 25 software.

Table 1. Respondent Characteristics.

Respondent	Jakarta	Islamabad
Sex:		
Male	133 (32.4%)	106 (51.7%)
Female	278 (67.6%)	99 (48.3%)
Age:		
Mean	22.63	24.76
Standard deviation	4.49	5.76
Education:		
Undergraduate or less	176 (42.82%)	23 (11.22%)
> Undergraduate	235 (57.18%)	182 (88.78%)

*N*₁ = 411 (Jakarta), *N*₂ = 205 (Islamabad).

Measurement

This second screening study refers to previous studies (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015; Mcgregor, Mourao, Neto, & Angeluci, 2017), and the variable is the simultaneous use of television as the primary source of information and Internet-based media to access related content. These activities were measured from the participation frequency of respondents in the last six months, including using the Internet as a second source of information for (a) the latest news, (b) watching political discussions, (c) conveying opinions related to television news, (d) discussing topics related to television news, and (e) transmitting opinions related to political discussions watched on television. Meanwhile, the answer-optional rates were graded from "never" (1) to "always" (5).

Elaboration on social media is seen as a consequence of second screening activity (Eveland, 2004). This variable was measured by asking respondents questions related to (a) accessing political information, (b) expressing opinions, (c) influencing others, (d) making their voices heard by others, and (e) fulfilling the qualifications necessary for political inclusion. Respondents were asked to rate the frequency of their engagement in these activities on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always). Online political discussion was measured by the frequency of discussion on social networks owned (Valenzuela et al., 2011). Respondents were classified based on their relationship with the respondent, including (a) individuals who held the same views, (b) individuals who held different views, (c) family members, (d) friends, and (e) strangers. The questions were answered with an answer rated from "never" (1) to "always" (5).

Political efficacy was measured based on the level of efficacy possessed by respondents (Valenzuela et al., 2011) related to (a) government policy, (b) qualification for participation, and (c) understanding of political issues. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with statements related to these

areas on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). According to Liu, Zhou, and Zhang (2020), online political participation measures the frequency of activity on social media in six months. The activities included (a) providing voice-related political issues, (b) expressing opinions, (c) contacting a figure or organization, (d) signing online petitions, and (e) donating funds to public activities. Respondents were asked to rate the frequency of their engagement on a scale from "never" (1) to "always" (5). Political knowledge was measured using a set of six questions that covered the latest news as well as knowledge about the president and legislature of Jakarta and Islamabad regions, respectively. Each correct answer was assigned a value of "1," while the incorrect ones were denoted with "0," to obtain a total possible value of 6 for each respondent.

Table 2. Characteristic of Variable.

Variable	Jakarta			Islamabad		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
Second screening	3.281	1.016	0.907	3.059	0.794	0.797
Elaboration on social media	2.977	1.011	0.851	3.259	0.476	0.704
Online discussion	2.843	1.049	0.903	2.976	0.629	0.703
Political efficacy	2.875	1.021	0.856	2.763	0.477	0.703
Online participation	2,492	1.124	0.917	2.235	0.785	0.854
Political knowledge	3.523	1.625	0.701	4.648	0.084	0.701

*N*₁ = 411 (Jakarta), *N*₂ = 205 (Islamabad).

Table 2 shows the average and standard deviation measurements for each variable, as measured by a validated instrument. The Cronbach alpha value, which shows reliability, exceeded the acceptable threshold of 0.7. Therefore, citizens in Jakarta engage in second screening activities more frequently than those in Islamabad. Online political discussions occur more often in Islamabad, but citizens in Jakarta show higher levels of political efficacy and online participation.

Validity Test

A validity test was conducted using confirmatory factor analysis to obtain a measurement model comprising six variables, as shown in Table 3. The model fit was evaluated based on three criteria, namely absolute (Browne & Cudeck, 1992; Joreskog & Sorbom, 1984), incremental (Bollen, 1989; Hu & Bentler, 1999), and parsimonious fits (Marsh & Hocevar, 1985). The initial instrument used was the same for both measurements conducted in Jakarta and Islamabad. However, during the Islamabad measurement, one of the indicators related to the impact of television news was found to be invalid. The social media elaboration variable had two invalid indicators, namely, acquisition and expression of political information and opinions, respectively. Discussing political matters with family and friends was considered an invalid indicator for online political discussion variables.

Table 3. The Fitness Indexes of the Measurement Model.

Goodness of fit index (GFI)	Jakarta	Islamabad	Criteria
Absolute fit			
• GFI	0.903	0.901	Good fit (> 0.900)
• Root mean square of error approximation (RMSEA)	0.067	0.077	Good fit (< 0.080)
Incremental fit			
• Adjusted GFI	0.902	0.901	Good fit (> 0.900)
• Comparative fit index (CFI)	0.935	0.916	Good fit (> 0.900)
• Tucker-Lewis index (TLI)	0.915	0.909	Good fit (> 0.900)
• Normal fit index (NFI)	0.904	0.915	Good fit (> 0.900)
Parsimonious fit			
• Chi-square/ <i>df</i>	2.851	2.906	Good fit (< 3)

*N*₁ = 411 (Jakarta), *N*₂ = 205 (Islamabad).

Results

The study model depicting the relationship between second screening and online political participation is shown in Figure 1. The model describes how these two variables are connected directly or indirectly through online political discussion, knowledge, efficacy, as well as elaboration on social media.

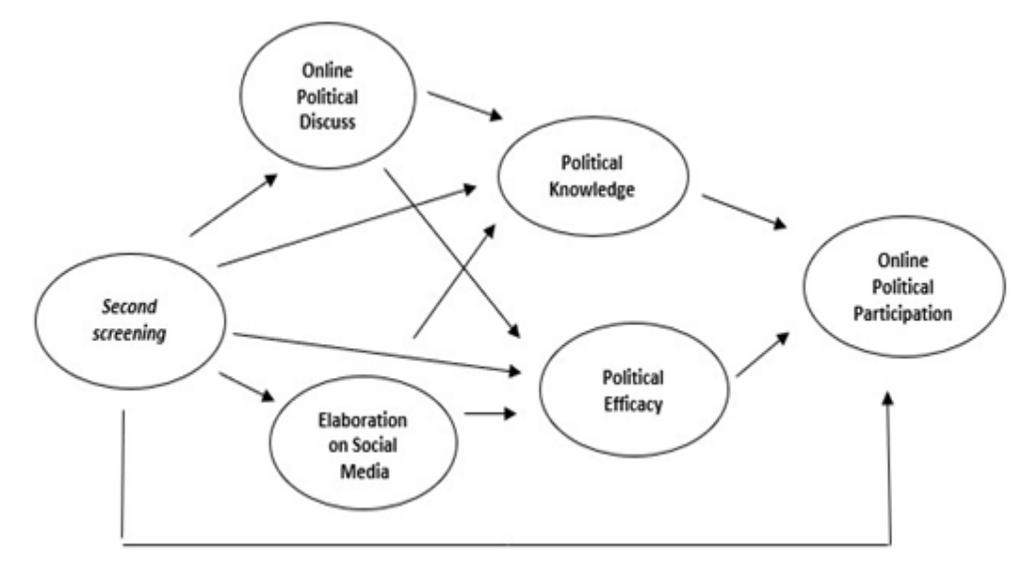


Figure 1. Model of second screening and online political participation.

A structural equation model was used to evaluate the study model, and the resulting fit indices values met the predefined standards. Table 4 shows that all GFI values fulfilled the standard set; GFI, TLI,

CFI, and NFI each have a value greater than 0.90, while RMSEA and chi-square/*df* were less than 0.08 and 3, respectively.

Table 4. The Fit Indices of the Study Model.

	RMSEA	Chi-Square / <i>df</i>	GFI	TLI	CFI	NFI
Model 1 (Jakarta)	0.071	2,952	0.901	0.915	0.927	0.906
Model 2 (Islamabad)	0.079	2.960	0.905	0.908	0.915	0.910

N1 = 411 (Jakarta), *N2* = 205 (Islamabad).

Based on Model 1 (Jakarta) shown in Table 5, second screening had a direct effect on online political participation ($\beta = 0.430, p < .05$), and this supports H1. Second screening of news consumption was positively associated with online political participation. The variable also had a significant and positive effect on elaboration on social media ($\beta = 0.792, p < .05$) and online political discussion ($\beta = 0.881, p < .05$), confirming H3 and H2, respectively. Therefore, H1, H2, and H3 are accepted, suggesting a positive relationship between second screening during political information consumption on TV and online participation, discussion, and elaboration on social media.

The results show that online political discussion significantly influenced knowledge ($\beta = 0.040, p = .029$). Additionally, knowledge had a positive and significant effect on online political participation ($\beta = 0.140, p < .05$). Table 6 shows the mediating test results of the relationship on second screening \rightarrow online political discussion \rightarrow political knowledge \rightarrow online political participation. The estimated value is 0.053 ($p > .05$), with an interval of 0, showing that online political discussion and knowledge did not act as mediating variables (thus H5 is rejected).

The results show that elaboration on social media significantly affected political efficacy ($\beta = 0.620, p = .010$). Similarly, political efficacy had a significant impact on online participation ($\beta = 0.617, p < .05$). The study also tested the mediating relationship on second screening \rightarrow elaboration on social media \rightarrow political efficacy \rightarrow online political participation. Table 6 shows an estimated value of 0.337 ($p = .001$), with the interval not containing 0, suggesting that elaboration on social media and political efficacy acted as mediating variables (thus H4 is supported).

Based on Model 2 (Islamabad) in Table 5, second screening did not significantly affect online participation ($\beta = -0.039, p = .228$), implying the rejection of H1. This means that second screening for news consumption was not directly or indirectly associated with online political participation. The variable significantly influenced elaboration on social media ($\beta = -1.744, p < .05$) and online political discussion ($\beta = 2.348, p < .05$). Therefore, H3 is accepted, showing that second screening during political information consumption on TV was related to elaboration on social media but had a negative relationship. Hypothesis 2 is accepted, stating that the variable was positively related to online political discussion. Furthermore, online political discussion had a significant negative effect on political knowledge ($\beta = -0.124, p < .05$), which did not affect online participation ($\beta = 0.210, p = .073$). Hypothesis 5 is rejected, showing that online political discussion and knowledge did not mediate the effect of second screening. Lastly, political efficacy significantly influenced online participation ($\beta = 0.214, p = .048$), while elaboration on social media did not

have a significant effect ($\beta = -0.090$, $p = .142$). Hypothesis 4 is rejected, suggesting that the effect of second screening on online political participation was not mediated.

Table 5. Regression Weights of Study Model.

Items	Jakarta			Islamabad		
	Estimate	SE	<i>p</i>	Estimate	SE	<i>p</i>
Discussion <--- Screening	0.881	0.048	***	2.348	0.298	***
Elaboration <--- Screening	0.792	0.053	***	-1.744	0.223	***
Knowledge<--- Discussion	-0.086	0.040	.029	-0.124	0.024	***
Efficacy <--- Elaboration	0.620	0.240	.010	-0.090	0.061	.142
Knowledge <--- Screening	0.062	0.085	.466	-0.200	0.070	.004
Efficacy <--- Screening	-0.337	0.232	.145	-3.750	2.609	.151
Efficacy <--- Discussion	0.591	0.103	***	2.206	1.057	.037
Knowledge<---Elaboration	-0.002	0.085	.984	-0.009	0.008	.262
Participation<---Knowledge	-1.002	0.140	***	0.210	0.117	.073
Participation <--- Efficacy	0.617	0.058	***	0.214	0.108	.048
Participation<--- Screening	0.430	0.048	***	-0.039	0.032	.228

*N*₁ = 411 (Jakarta), *N*₂ = 205 (Islamabad). *** $p < .05$.

Table 6. Indirect Effect of Second Screening on Online Political Participation.

	Estimate	Lower	Upper	<i>p</i>
Second screening → online political discussion → political knowledge → online political participation	0.053	-0.012	0.144	.096
Second screening → elaboration on social media → political efficacy → online political participation	0.337	0.136	0.699	.001

*N*₁ = 411 (Jakarta). *** $p < .05$.

Discussion

The results showed that second screening activity among younger citizens from Jakarta had a significant impact on online political participation. This result was consistent with Gil de Zúñiga and colleagues (2015), who suggested the predictive role of news in online political participation. Social media platforms have become the primary source of information outside of television programs. This is due to the timely and up-to-date nature of the content and the support of owned social networks. Additionally, elaboration on social media and political efficacy mediate the relationship between second screening and online political participation among Jakarta citizens. These findings support previous studies that suggested the indirect existence mechanism effect of second screening politics (Liu et al., 2020). The political inclusion of second screeners is due to their greater inclusion with social media content (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015). Information previously received from television was analyzed by seeking related social media content and confirmation from their networks. These platforms offer a range of content formats that are both powerful and unique. Multimedia formats, such as pictures and videos in news, can lead to increased levels of elaboration (Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2011). Furthermore, searching for desired information on specific topics

is more convenient by using specific keywords or hashtags (Doughty, Rowland, & Lawson, 2012). Social media users can easily access television content through various applications. The policies promote mainstream television entertainment programs, including maintaining relationships with viewers through platforms such as Twitter and Facebook (Yoedtadi & Hapsari, 2020).

There is a need for further investigation into the validity of political knowledge concerning online political participation in line with previous studies (Intyaswati & Fairuzza, 2023). According to Agerberg (2019), high levels of corruption in social conditions can lead to apathy toward formal political institutions among citizens with varying education levels, which affects patterns of political participation. However, this study confirms the significance of online political discussion and second screening activity in enhancing political knowledge (Intyaswati, Simanihuruk, Supratman, & Fairuzza, 2023). Lee, Nan, and Heiss (2021) reported that the influence of social media on political participation varied across different platforms and elaboration needs. The citizens of Islamabad tend to engage in second screening than those from Jakarta with the average age being higher, and the majority having completed education beyond an undergraduate degree. There was no significant correlation between second screening and online political participation. Given the current political polarization, many Pakistanis use their mobile phones to access official news websites and respond to fake news. In this new media environment, misinformation is corrected quickly since other users provide correct information and refute false claims. The respondents from Islamabad showed good education compared with others. However, due to the unfavorable conditions of political polarization on social media, there is reduced participation in online political engagement. The results showed that second screening did not impact knowledge and efficacy. Political polarization on social media resulted in low online engagement among Islamabad residents, as confirmed by the rejection of the hypothesis 4 and hypothesis 5 that knowledge and efficacy mediate the influence of second screening. Regulation from the government is needed to reduce the political polarization. Results among Jakarta residents show the role of online discussion, due to which increased understanding raises awareness to reduce polarization and create an attitude to engage positively in online participation. Group discussions that pay attention to norms can also reduce polarization (Strandberg, Himmelroos, & Grönlund, 2017).

According to Barnidge, Gil de Zúñiga, and Diehl (2017), the practice of second screening and online political discussions are closely related to political inclusion. People who frequently access news on social media and engage in discussions with other users tend to be more open (Barnidge et al., 2017). In Islamabad, the practice has a negative relationship with elaboration, meaning that knowledge or learning about politics is not increased. Therefore, second screening practice among Islamabad citizens does not have a significant impact on their attitude or contemplation. Social media use is limited to adding information and engaging in political discussions. Future study needs to investigate the level of trust people have in social media news or information related to politics. Online political discussions do not necessarily increase the political knowledge of citizens from Islamabad who practice second screening. This negative effect on factual recognition could be attributed to the different presentation modes of the practice (Schaap et al., 2018), and the effect is stronger in countries with higher levels of freedom of expression (Huber, Gil de Zúñiga, Diehl, & Liu, 2019). Pakistan has a lower civil liberties score (4.71) than Indonesia (6.18), affecting the freedom of expression level. In Zimbabwe and Kenya, social media enable citizens to participate in political content through passive listening, with access to affordable Internet influencing the levels of online

participation (Bosch, Admire, & Ncube, 2020). In 2022, Pakistan had an average Internet penetration rate of 36.5% of its population (227.3 million). This is lower than Indonesia, which reaches 73.7% of the population (277.7 million). The low level of Internet usage in Pakistan may be due to the preference for using television media to support learning. The government provides educational television programs, and household coverage is significant compared with other devices (World Bank, 2021). For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the TV programs, *TeleSchool* and *Taleem Ghar*, were launched in the federal area and the Punjab province for student learning. Since then, television has been a great source of education and a remote-learning tool in Pakistan. State television (PTV) was accessed by approximately 90% of people as the most influential tool for learning compared with other devices such as mobile and ICTs. Naviwala (2020) stated that only 36% of Pakistanis used mobile Internet, and due to literacy and language barriers, very few could use other devices effectively.

Conclusion

This study was conducted to analyze the effect of second screening on online political participation in Indonesia and Pakistan. In Jakarta, second screening had a direct and indirect effect on online political participation, while in Islamabad, it had no significant influence. The variation in Internet access and social communities between these two cities resulted in differences in second screening effect. However, the results showed that engaging in the activities had a beneficial impact on online political conversations in both countries. These results strengthened the uses and gratification theory discourse, where social media could impact user behavior. Even though a significant portion of users in Islamabad were well-educated, their behavior did not have an impact on political engagement. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the effects, future studies should investigate the specific platforms or tools used during this activity. Additionally, expanding the geographic scope of the study could yield more insightful results.

The study model was used to investigate the effects of two different broadcasting and Internet media types on political communication while considering the social context perspective and mediating cognitive aspects of the users. The results obtained showed that (a) Jakarta needs to focus on enhancing second screening activities among its citizens to promote their political inclusion. The hybrid media system supported the model concerning existing social conditions; (b) in Islamabad, even though second screening activities did not have a direct impact on political participation, the practice served as a mediator for online political discussion activities. Parties, institutions, and governments should facilitate productive online discussion forums to increase political knowledge and efficacy of the citizens as well as encourage participation. Meanwhile, political polarization among Jakarta residents was reduced because of the impact of second screening on increasing knowledge and the role of online discussion, which allowed for the exchange of discourse. For the citizens of Islamabad, government regulations are needed to reduce political polarization because there was no impact of additional knowledge and positive attitudes on political inclusion. The limitation of this study was that only one sample from one city was used in each country. Therefore, results could not be generalized to other regions in Pakistan and Indonesia. There were differences in the sociocultural contexts between residents of both countries allowing variations in online political behavior. The news criteria were not specifically stated, and bias could be caused.

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