CYBER TROOPS IN SOCIAL MEDIA PROPAGANDA AND THREATS TO INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

Information Technology in casu internet on the one hand brings benefits but on the other hand creates new legal problems. For example, the presence of cyber troops or cyber troops in Indonesia is a tool to manipulate public opinion propaganda on social media for certain interests. The main condition for the success of propaganda is their monopoly on information. Cyber troops are often used by the political elite as well as the economic elite for their interests. One example is in digital campaigns in the presidential election, gubernatorial election, regent election and others. Cyber troops are used to spread rumors that are not true, weaken public debate. In various forms, especially social media, it has an impact on users. However, the use and dissemination of information through media that can be done very freely has not been able to provide a high level of trust and even the information is a hoax. Hate speech that spreads in activities on social media arises because of the euphoria of freedom of expression in a democratic country. The hate speech was effectively used as a negative campaign during the general election. This study aims to analyze cyber troops in hate speech and cyber warfare on social media which is a threat to Indonesian democracy. In relation to information technology, especially cybercrime, the role of law is to protect weak parties against exploitation from strong or malicious parties, besides that the law can also prevent the negative impact of the discovery of a technology, namely the internet and internet actors, namely cyber troops in social media.

Keywords: Democracy, Social Media, Cyber Troops

I. INTRODUCTION
I.1 Background Of The Problem

The development of technology, especially information and communication technology, is currently globally around the world has been so rapidly. The growth of internet users in Indonesia itself has grown rapidly in recent years. These developments have had a significant impact on the conditions of human life in various fields, including political, economic, social, educational and other fields.

The rise of cybercrime cases that are happening today shows that, like other technologies, Information Technology in casu internet on the one hand brings benefits but on the other hand also creates new legal problems. With regard to the new legal issues, concerns arise that the existing law is inadequate or inadequate with the development of Information Technology so that it is feared that it can disrupt order and justice in society.

The development of propaganda in Indonesia today can be said to be thriving in line with the enactment of policies on information disclosure from the government since post-reform. This phenomenon is considered very reasonable, because the theory is that media propaganda always grows in direct proportion to the information disclosure policy of a country. Although on the other hand it is also accompanied by the impact of pluses and minuses. Propaganda launched through social media does have a very powerful impact. Propaganda can instantly shape the target audience of the news into camps, fight, and can even cause chaos if it is intended for negative purposes. However, apart from that, for positive purposes, propaganda can also be used

to direct the public to do good things. The power of propaganda is like the sharp edge of a knife, it has two positive and negative sides that can be used by the holder for good and for bad.

The main condition that supports the success of propaganda is the monopoly of cyber troops or cyber troops. The presence of cyber troops or cyber troops in Indonesia is a tool to manipulate public opinion propaganda on social media for certain interests. Cyber troops are often used by the political elite as well as the economic elite for their interests. One example is in digital campaigns in the presidential election, gubernatorial election, regent election etc. Cyber troops are used to spread untrue issues, weaken public debate.

The large number of social media users and the democratic climate that provides freedom of expression in Indonesia makes the activity of internet users, especially social media, so high, fast, and real time. The height and magnitude of activity on social media often triggers and spurs tensions between social media users, such as Twitter and Facebook. This tension is driven by the work of actors known as cyber troops or cyber troops who make

167

opinions on social media. Opinion makers on social media stand alone but are connected to each other. The idea of an opinion maker refers to the concept of an opinion leader in the Two-Step Flow Communication theory proposed by Ellihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld (Katz, 1957) to describe the transfer of information or messages through two stages. In the first stage, information or messages that spread through mass media are received by an opinion leader who has access to the source of the information or message. The second stage, the information or message received by an opinion leader is then spread to the public.

In a broader sense in the context of today's cyber world, the term opinion leader in cyber troops can then be understood as a person who influences or can influence their followers (followers) on a particular issue that is being discussed on social media. In this changing context, an opinion leader is no longer the party that conveys their opinion because they have access to a number of sources of information, but can turn into an opinion maker. The highly dynamic context of social media allows anyone to be someone who designs the opinion they want.

Such social media portraits are called by Klein (in Porta, 2013) as 'web like images'. Activities on social media are like spider webs. Within the network there is a core part (network center) as the center of all social media activities. The network core centers (hubs) are connected by cyber troops from an actor as an intermediary (bridge). These intermediary actors pass it on to other network actors. Actors who act as intermediaries in a weak bond with other actors. Even though they are weak, they are intensively related on social media. Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell (2011) assess actors as intermediaries who create dynamic social media activities that stimulate each other. Mutual stimulation between actors in one interest group with other actors doing the same thing in different groups at a certain point can trigger a cyber war. Cyber war can be understood as a situation where there is a process of denial, destruction, various modifications of information with the purpose specified by the sender, such as attack, manipulation, counterattack, through various cyber, psychological means, which will influence/disturb the enemy in their actions. infrastructure and decision-making aspects. In

addition, it can be done by means of fraud, denial, denial, disinformation, including threats (both soft and rough) on the actual information that has been submitted by the government, for example or other relevant parties (Hutomo, 2016). In contrast to conventional warfare, cyber warfare does not require a place, but requires space (Rid, 2013).

The background, context and some of the results of these studies encourage research on cyber warfare in social media and the polarization of netizens in Indonesia to be important. This is intended so that social media audiences who are commonly referred to as netizens have literacy in their activities on social media. This is important to research so that the status war on social media between netizens does not fall into the delivery of sharing hate speech statuses.

I.2. Research Method

This study uses a normative method to seek knowledge or understanding of various interrelated relationships behind a reality in the era of social media. The materials needed in this research are normative materials as primary data. Researchers will focus

more on analyzing normative data because it involves activities and dynamics that occur within a virtual culture. This research is not intended to obtain external validity, but rather aims to gain an understanding of a reality in a specific context. This gives the researcher breadth and flexibility in interpreting and analyzing the data obtained. This research also uses documentation and literature study techniques.

II. DISCUSSION

An act of cybercrime will be classified as cyberterrorism if the action threatens the government or citizens, including cracking into government sites. Usually, political hackers or political activists destroy websites to campaign for themselves and their programs or even post false or false information to discredit their political opponents. One of the motives for committing cyberterrorism is propaganda (H.M. Arsyad Sanusi, 2011). Propaganda can be defined simply as a systematic and planned effort that is carried out repeatedly in spreading messages to influence a person, audience or nation to change attitudes, views, opinions, and behavior

so that they carry out certain activities with their own awareness without being forced or coerced. . Propaganda activities can be carried out for various purposes. Laswell (1927) discusses four main objectives of propaganda, namely;

1. To cultivate hatred towards the enemy.

2. To preserve the friendship of allies.

3. To maintain friendship and, if possible, to cooperate with neutral parties.

4. To destroy the spirit of the enemy.

In a democratic system, because the administration of the state relies on public participation, the government (state) basically has a role as an arbiter who regulates the will of the citizens. The presence of the state through a government that is formed based on the public will only regulates individuals as citizens and groups vying to maximize their interests. In these relations and positions, the media (both conventional mass media and social media) can play a role in shaping public opinion. So that in today's social media life, the strength of a country's resilience and politics is often pitted against, tested and opposed on social media by online people (netizens) (Fuchs and Trottier, 2015). The context of democracy also influences citizens in expressing their views on social media, especially Twitter, Facebook and other social media in stimulating hatred. In this case, there are two key defining characteristics. These characters are specific forms of various types of social media. First, each specific form has the ability to mobilize various supports if used according to its specific character. Twitter and Facebook are the types of social media that have the most influence on political change through the formation of public opinion because Twitter has a hashtag facility, while Facebook has the facility of marking a friend's account to a friend who has a Facebook account. The hashtag has three strengths at once, localizing topics, focusing topics and facilitating internet-based search systems. Second, because it takes place virtually with limited sentence capacity, status content on Twitter and Facebook has the ability to arouse netizens' anger.

Various content containing hate speech with dynamic social media characteristics has become a limited conversation on other types of social media such as WhatsApp groups or Facebook groups. Because they were limited in nature, previous

conversations containing hate speech ignored ethics, morals and attitudes on open social media such as Twitter and Facebook, were re-discussed with full of anger, ignoring ethics, morals and attitudes. Thus, morals, ethics and attitudes can also influence social media conversations or in closed groups (James, 2014; McNeal and Holmes, 2016). The anger then turned into a virtual crowd. These virtual crowds in turn can trigger each other and encourage the production of hate speech on social media. Hate speech is a form of insult (Wolfson, 1997). Neu (2009) explains, as an insult, hate speech is also used to show superiority and dominance. The superiority and domination are not directly related to the majority and minority relations. In social media, the majority group does not necessarily become superior and dominant over the minority. In Indonesia, superiority and domination through hate speech on social media has more to do with controlling access to the center of power and discourse.

Therefore, before the general election, various hate speeches can increase, massively, intensively and openly into extreme conversations. Referring to Pohjonen and Udupa

(2017), various extreme and sharp hate speeches do not only occur in Indonesia, but also in India and Ethiopia. In Indonesia, the social factor of people who like to gather, gather and gossip to discuss certain rumors or issues is one of the factors for the hectic activity on social media such as Twitter and Facebook.

According to the Informant, one of the opinion makers on Twitter social media, the hate speech was originally just an expression of euphoria for freedom of speech because of the democratic climate in the new channel on social media. The hate speech is considered effective as a negative campaign in the general election, then used as a technique in cyber warfare. Political factors have become one of the virtual arenas that have the potential to encourage a netizen to convey hate speech through social media. To spread hatred for political gain.

These political buzzers narrowly defend their political interests and revile to their heart's content those who are their political opponents. Submission of various hate speeches becomes a political desire. Because the political interests are personified in the candidate for governor, for example, the defense

and resistance that occurs are also personal. The mutual disdain between these political buzzers has flooded and polluted the social media timeline. The debate becomes shallow because it is full of anger, insults, insults and insults. The debate is far from issues or information that will enlighten the public because what is being discussed is not the vision, mission, achievements or track record of the candidate for governor who is being fought for.

This bad activity on social media then gave rise to hoax information. Referring to the classic work Hoaxes by Curtis D. MacDougall (1985), hoaxes can be understood as untruths that are deliberately produced to disguise a truth. Hoax in this sense will be largely determined by the motives and intentions of the maker. Therefore too,

become somewhat unclear and blurred between lies, fraud, crime, hoaxes and truth. The spread of hate speech and hoaxes on social media allows it to spread more quickly and spread widely because of the specific characteristics of social media. The specific characteristics of social media are (Nasrullah, 2014) :

1) *Intertextuality*, meaning that each text and several other texts can be linked and 'talk' to each other. Therefore, sometimes one text can only be 'read' and its meaning understood if the other texts are read first. Furthermore, the network between the texts can create context.

2) *Nonlinearit*y, meaning that every movement of speech cannot be predicted in a straight and linear manner. One topic of conversation can develop and give birth to other new topics.

3) *Blurring the reader/writer distinction*, This means that there is a blurred distinction between the reader and the writer. It could be a netizen initially as a consumer of information. However, the information is repackaged and then redistributed into new content. At the same time the reproduction of the information becomes a subtle barrier between consumers and producers of information.

4) *Multimedianess*, meaning that social media is a convergence that can contain

text, audio, video and so on.

5) *No Gatekeeper*, meaning that in social media there is no 'gatekeeper' that functions to

select incoming and outgoing information on social media as is the case with

mainstream media.

6) *Ephemerality*, meaning that the text on social media is unstable. At their own will, a

text on social media can be deleted either intentionally or unintentionally.

With these characteristics, activity on social media provides the possibility for everyone to share access to mastery of technology and knowledge of the socio-political influence of social media is the initial trace of hate speech starting. The various hate speeches that were spread in the early days of social media entering Indonesia can be described in a cyber war on social media. On the type of social media twitter and facebook, the picture can be in the form of twitwar or status wars on twiter. In this context, twitwar is the most violent and real form of cyber warfare on social media. On social media, a war does not need a place, does not know time, and does not even know who the warring parties are (Rid, 2013). The social media is included in the cyberspace category because it is a type of media developed based on the internet. In political activity, space in social media and physical space in real life has an interdependent relationship (Lim, 2006). Cyber warfare in social media is information that is broad or limited to the people it wants.

Through the characteristics of the channel, social media can identify the direction of the message (Kent, 2010) or use special tools such as Facebook or Twitter to show the interaction model (Howard, and Parks, 2012). Interaction and dissemination of information can be obtained from various sources on the internet or produce it yourself. These activities have become more dynamic because Indonesia is a democratic country that gives everyone the freedom to express their opinions on social media. Thus indirectly, netizens and media questions can act as social agents of political change (Gordon, 2017).

Activities on social media with various situations and factors are exacerbated by the weak self-control of netizens. Suller's study (2004) explains how people can convey something in the world of social media that in real life they are not possible to do. He explained this phenomenon as the online disenhibition effect. This is an impact because there is no control on social media users to freely convey whatever they want to convey.

Hate speech spread through social media by cyber forces is used for campaigning in the context of general election politics. Cyber warfare on social media has a systematic pattern as a campaign strategy carried out by actors in the same political interest group. On the one hand, there are actors as social media opinion makers who are known to think liberally, but they are actually in the fundamental group. On the other hand, there are also actors who are identical to the fundamental group in a liberal position.

Likewise, there are figures who are known to be in modern groups, but gather in traditional groups. On the other hand, there are figures from traditional groups who are in modern groups. The same applies to the use of Muslim and non-Muslim, nationalist and socialist categories. So that it is really not easy to identify these movement groups dichotomously based on only one category of social identity, religious identity, or the ideology they are fighting for. However, if you look at the discourses, opinions, issues and rumors in the rapid flow of information in the era of social media that are presented and the main ideas or substance contained in them, the two groups can be categorized as conservative groups and liberal groups. In general, conservative groups refer to groups who believe in the prevailing system, or follow a previously established tradition of thinking. On the other hand, liberal groups refer to groups who doubt the prevailing system and reject the previously established tradition of thinking.

III. CLOSING

Social media has become a major group communication asset in the era of globalization. With the power of propaganda through social media, netizens from the cyber troops group can counter cyber war. Initially, the freedom to express opinions through social media in a climate of democracy was used by netizens as a function of social control. Without exception, the social control is also aimed at the activities of religious groups that are considered disturbing social order. In the early days, the control function of social media was controlled by a group of netizens who had access to internet-based communication technology. The various freedoms in this democratic

climate stimulate netizens' desire to convey hate speech. these hate speeches are effectively used as negative campaigns. These various hate speeches circulated and spread so quickly on social media, causing a status war on Twitter (Twitwar) and Facebook. *The tweet took place quickly, so there was no time gap (deadline) for netizens to make corrections or judge the truth. These various conditions then formed the polarization of netizens on social media. The polarization can be identified as a conservative group and a liberal group in cyber troops. Both groups are active in producing discourses, opinions, information, issues and rumors through social media.*

This research theoretically has implications for changes or shifts in the concept of opinion leaders in the two-step communication theory that developed in the conventional mass media tradition to opinion makers who developed in new media traditions such as social media. This theoretical concept shift can be used by future research in the scope of social media. The concept of an opinion maker in the emerging new media tradition allows anyone to anonymously become an opinion leader. The shift in theoretical concepts cannot be separated from the context of advances in communication technology in producing and distributing messages or information.

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