Social Media and Terrorism in Era of Uncertainty

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Abstract: Indonesia is the third largest Facebook user country in the world after India and the United States of America. Indonesia is also the fourth largest country of Instagram users. Meanwhile, many Indonesians are caught in a circle of terrorism through social media today. If previously complicit involvement in radical groups has been hidden, social media has spawned unregistered members, supporters, and new sympathizers of the radical groups. This situation poses a threat to Indonesia security as Indonesia is a protracted social conflict country. The open access to social media makes it more difficult to monitor the development of the radical group. It opens a transitional path way used by radical groups in recruitment while the government does not have a proper law enforcement system related to terrorism in social media. The threat itself is not only for the Indonesians who live in Indonesia. The migrant workers are also prone to this threat. They also become the target of radical groups who do the recruitment through social media. Hence, this becomes a global threat. Some Indonesian migrant workers are involved in planning terrorist acts in Indonesia even when they are abroad. They got to know Indonesian radical groups from the social media. Looking at this the phenomenon, this paper discusses how the development of terrorism and social media become a new security threat in the era of uncertainty. Because terrorism is not only a threat to uses a qualitative approach an observation of the case was formulated by using the perspective of globalization and security approach.

1 INTRODUCTION

Al Qaeda was once the most influential non-state military organization in the world. It was inseparable from the role of Osama bin Laden as the highest leader of Al Qaeda. The 9/11 incident was a direct decree from the Middle East conglomerate. Since 1980 Al Qaeda has also spread the Salafi-jihad ideology and made semi-military education with Islamic education as its cover. The alumni spread and made educational institutions affiliated organizations in the Arab Peninsula and Southeast Asia.

In the mid-2000s, groups operating in the Middle East and Africa formally pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) for example, pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda in 2004. Previously this group known as the Tawhid wal Jihad emerged in 2002. After the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, this organization developed under the leadership of Abu Musab al Zarqawi and was renamed to Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) in 2006. However, after Zarqawi's death, his successor was rejected by the leaders of Al-Qaeda. Because of this, the ISI later developed into ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), separated itself from the Al-Qaeda. Following that, on July 2014, declaring itself as the Islamic State (IS) under the leadership of Al Baghdadi.

ISIS took control of the territory to conflict areas such as Mosul and Raqqa where the conditions of Iraq and Syria were in a period of crisis. They take good opportunities and present themselves as heroes to people who are full of life uncertainties. Their presence was initially regarded as a solution by the community even though later they actually destroyed the civilization with religious arguments. This strategy was carried out by the Taliban and still carried out by Hamas. However, if the Taliban and Hamas defend the country while IS tries to expand the territory and instead tries to do a new occupation by inviting many people there to fight with them.

Furthermore, the development of IS is faster than the development of Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda and its affiliates have a reasonably complicated recruitment process. For example, as told by Mubarok (Bali bomber) in a book by Noor Huda Ismail entitled My friend is a Terrorist, he had to go through several stages before being involved in an action. Mubarok

initiated the process in the Al Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Ngruki, Sukoharjo, Central Java owned by Abu Bakar Baasyir and pledged the allegiance to Darul Islam. After that, Mubarok traveled to Malaysia, Pakistan and Afghanistan to explore the Islamic religion and learn about war material such as using weapons, assembling bombs and driving tanks. The similar process was also experienced by many members of the Jamaah Islamiyah group from the Ngruki Islamic boarding school.
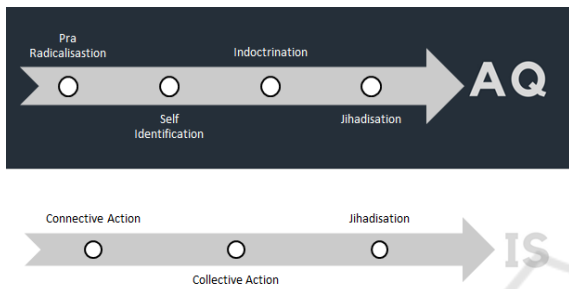

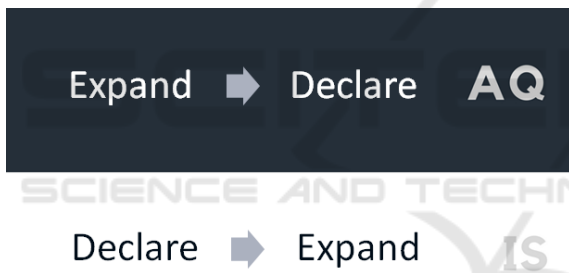Figure 1. Differences in the Process of Radicalization of Al Qaeda (AQ) and Islamic State (IS)

Figure 2. Expansion Differences in the Effects of Al Qaeda (AQ) and Islamic State (IS)

On the other hand, the prospective members outside the pesantren have the different stages of radicalization, which includes pre-radicalization, self-identification, indoctrination, and jihadization (Silber & Bhatt, 2008). Pre-radicalization begins with halaqoh where prospective members must understand about Islam. What Halaqoh carried out for years depends on the readiness of the members. Machmudi Haryono alias Yusuf relates that he experienced the process until the third year. After the third year, he began to be approached by his seniors and was introduced to several influential people in the Jamaah Islamiyah group in Ngruki and Al Islam, Lamongan. At this stage, Yusuf entered the stage of Self-Identification. After getting to know these figures then Yusuf himself began to experience a process of indoctrination in the fourth

year. Yusuf showed a rapid development, so he was immediately offered to go to Sulawesi for a further jihadization process.

Differ to the method used by Al-Qaeda; the IS shortened the process of jihadization. They spread radical narratives randomly on social media without directly meet the target. IS does have a particular platform to accommodate their mission by also utilizes the existing social media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram and Facebook as well as the Telegram networks. This type of recruitment was experienced by Ika and Dian, two women migrant workers who experienced the jihadization process of social media without recitation, halaqoh or even meetings. This random and short process creates new security threats for many countries in the world. Nowadays, following the growth of globalization, the threat of terrorism does not only focus on countries or states. Therefore, this paper will discuss how the new threat of terrorism in this era of uncertainty by using the concept of globalization and connective actions by using the life history method. (JN, 1992)

2 SOCIAL MEDIA AND TERRORISM

Globalization is understood as social processes in which geographic obstacles to social and cultural arrangements lose importance and people are becoming increasingly aware of that. The era of globalization leads humans to the term world without limits. The state boundary is no longer a barrier for the citizen to carry out economic transactions, to move places for education, traveling and various other activities. Indonesia also feels the impact of globalization.

Globalization is not a completely new term because some aspects of "change" of globalization itself actually existed before the term globalization was global. Globalization bears a resemblance to modernization theory because both are industrialization processes that have an impact on politics, economics, and social which are characteristics of pre-modernization. Globalization avoids war, as well as the main idea of liberal democracy despite the fact that the globalization of democracy in the case of Arab Spring triggered coflict in the Middle East. (Smith and Baylis, 2011)

The exalted role of the nation-state is faded because it is replaced by the role of non-governmental organizations and multi-national companies. If previously the price was determined

by the state, then the private company can now determine prices based on the market. Globalization makes the country only becomes the administrative mediator to bring order to the citizens of the world.

The main strength of the development of globalization is the technology. The Internet has become one of the unseen modes of communication due to the presence of globalization. Everybody can reach almost as much information as they want through the internet by forgetting the nation's borders. The development of technology removes the definition of communication which is initially limited to the face-to-face, real and virtual two-party relationships.

The main force of globalization is slowly becoming a boomerang for the world that undermines the security, economy and social life in various nations of the world. Many problems occur because cyber security of particular individuals or groups is often more sophisticated than those owned by the state.

Previously, nation-states that practiced diplomacy and warfare could easily reach an agreement at the end of the round. For example, the P5+1 Nuclear Deal between six countries with Iran. Iran agreed to the agreement even though both parties were known as eternal enemies. The term no eternal in politics has been proven. Likewise, what happened to North Korea and the United States that ended their hostilities a few months ago.

On the contrary, IS has a different practice, the efforts of diplomacy and politics and war cannot paralyze IS. This is not similar to the situation faced by the communist countries, after the collapse of the Soviet Union the communist-socialists were no longer widely circulated. However, in the case of IS, despite the fall of Al-Qaeda and the attack launched by the US and Russian block, IS developed sporadically through the internet. It remains a threat to world countries that can explode at any time even when its size is way smaller than the Soviet Union.

IS as a self-claimed state is aware of its position that does not have official territory and recognition from other countries. The well propagated religious spirit made the collapse of their territorial became insignificant to their group. IS was able to transform terrorism from only emphasizing on the "action" to be a more massive idealism with no need to establish such educational institutions, stable funding and without the need to prove its existence. IS made it possible for many to join and voluntary support their mission. If previously the threat was only a group, however nowadays, the threat is the individual. The growing insecurity among the society made the

optimism of lasting peace seems to be harder to be achieved.

IS spread its ideology via Facebook, Instagram or YouTube as a products of globalization and strengthen its impact by utilizing personal conversations on the Telegram. IS uses the pretext of religion like Islamic Law in its implementation even though many Islamic scholars of the world do not approve its ideology. The justification for violence and hostility due to social problems built by IS is delivered well to the target so that it attracts more people to join the movement.

The radicalization process is also carried out by distributing radical narratives randomly on their social media. They prepare propaganda tools to deal with various social segments so that they do not seem to have specific targets. This makes many people netted in the IS network starting from young people, mothers, fathers and various problems in full. Many propaganda was carried out before the IS declaration through the IS networks such as Al-Qaeda alumni, affiliates and supporters. After the declaration, their agency office, Al Hayat, distributed digital magazines with the name 'Dabiq' as the official IS magazine in various languages.

This digital magazine is indeed more efficient and effective because anyone can access it. The cost is not expensive because it can be distributed through chatting networks and social media without printing.

This random and widespread distribution made IS gains many sympathizers and supporters. In addition to religious arguments, the advertising of violence by their enemies is also the primary tool for IS propaganda. For example, IS distributes videos or images of Syrian government torture or war violence. After that, IS said that those who would remove all torture. IS is present as a new hero with the strengthening of religious arguments that fulfill the Muslim imagination to establish a state according to Islamic Law.IS also uses social problems as a loophole to attract supporters and sympathizers as they do to the migrant workers. The employers often exploit migrant workers. Migrant workers also often experience work boredom because they are working far away from their family. The anxiety was successfully utilized by IS by offering alternatives solution to their problems and boredom such as companion, appreciation and religious teaching.

Ika Puspitasari is an example of migrant workers in Hong Kong who was involved in terrorism cases. Ika spent adolescence as a migrant worker. Ika left for Malaysia at 16 years old when she was supposed

to enter high school. Ika moved to work in Hong Kong in 2004 and found something more interesting there. Ika joins several communities to fill her free time and look for her identity. Eight years in one community, it seemed that Ika had not yet got self-satisfaction, Ika still felt there was something empty in her life. She has not found her identity. Ika then used Social Media as an escape tool from saturation. Social media makes Ika feel accepted, recognized and finds an identity.

Many migrant workers leave for overseas countries at a young age. So this development can happen to many other women migrant workers. Like Ika who then took on the role only for her group after finding her identity. She keeps away from her friends, including her community and then is selective in making friends only for those who have one vision. It is possible to invite her family because they feel the way is the most correct. This stage, she began to think about love and marriage. Ika for example, she found a man with the same vision and they married even though they had never met.

Self Development that Ika feels quite late. When she entered the adolescence stage, Ika was burdened with things that had not been carried out by her peers. She spent her teenage age as the backbone of the family. She has responsibility for the survival and future of her younger siblings. She continued to enter this stage with her community. But in 2012, Ika discovered something different from her community so far and felt she got her identity. At this stage, Ika starts entering the Young Adult stage.

Besides that, while in Hong Kong Ika also had the opportunity to actualize themselves. She follows several communities that are in accordance with her interests. Ika can do whatever she wants in Hong Kong. She did not get that while in Malaysia because of minimal free time. Her friends appreciate him and Ika becomes a leader in her community.

There was a side to Ika who was disappointed when her brother failed the National Examination, her other brother did not want to go to school and there was also her sister who chose to marry before her. That made Ika feel unappreciated and there was no thank you. Personally, we can understand this because Ika is not a 'supposed' backbone. In 2014, Ika then took the opportunity to pledge allegiance, Ika tried to become the first group to join ISIS. Furthermore, Ika married in 2015. Ika even gave up her material for the actions of ISIS. This Ika sacrifice was then highly appreciated by the group. According to Ika, funding for charity will get a reward as well as those who do amaliah. This period

seems to be an achievement for Ika for his achievements so far behind his disappointment.

In a period of self development, Ika is reaching for the needs of self esteem. Ika felt she wanted to be appreciated by others for what she had done. Reputation, attention, appreciation also felt that it was needed to be Ika's needs at that time when Ika felt she had fulfilled her needs. After the wedding, Ika felt loved by her husband. She got the love she had never gotten. Ika also feels safe being part of her group. The ideals of ISIS make Ika feel part of a group that survives the world and the hereafter. In addition, Ika's material needs have been fulfilled well.

IS also opened the opportunity to anyone who is ready to fund their plans. Ika, who need appreciation from the family and in personal crisis declared herself to be ready to fund the IS violence which they calledas amaliah in 2015. Ika even offered her fund for those who wanted to carry out suicide bombings. Then, the plan was that the action would be carried out by her online husband. Ika disbursed funds several times to her group in Tasikmalaya, West Java until finally, the Hong Kong government found out. Ika was deported in October 2016 and instead later registered as a suicide bomber because of her despair.The suicide bombing plan failed because she got arrested before the actionwas commenced in December 2016.

As for Dian Yulia Novi, she likes to spend her free time by surfing on social media. Dian became acquainted with a woman on social media from Ciamis, West Java who seemed to understand her well. Despite the distance, the woman managed to teach her about amaliah and jihad, and then invited her to pledge allegiance to IS in early 2016. The woman also offered her to become a potential suicide bomber. Dian agreed with the condition to get married before the action.The case of Dian and Ika is the example of victims of social media propaganda. Although Dian was in Taiwan and Ika was in Hong Kong, it did not stop them from being thetarget of the radical groups in Indonesia. The personal problems they facedmade it possible for the IS to spread their ideology.

3 WHO INCREASE TERRORISM?

W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg wrote a book entitled The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of

Contentious Politics, Bennet and Segerberg explained that in a movement of revolution or action, human effort is called the collective action.This action is usually driven by a particular group to carry out a movement. Today, digital media has moved people to act through new ideas called connective actions. These connective actions almost equate organizational functions. Digital media users will feel connected to the whole world for an idea that is driven on social media such as hashtag, slogans or other forms of ideas. The idea then affects the emotions or the interests of the followers.

World wide movement #kamitidaktakut initiated at the beginning of January 2016 after the Sarinah Bombing or Jakarta Bombing is an example of the connective action. Many people are moved to type the hashtag as resistance from acts of terrorism. Hashtag began with the words of President Jokowi regarding this response to terrorism at the Traffic Police Post on Jalan Thamrin, Jakarta. This greeting then dominated worldwide for two days. Even a lot of interest is given by people passing on location.

In late 2016, the Demonstration 212 was a mixture of collective actions with connective actions. Several large organizations organized motorbike demonstration attended by 7 million people. However, simultaneously, many of the people among the 7 million demonstrators joined the movement because of the feeling of connectivity to those who share the same identity, this type of demonstrators outnumbered the real member of the organizations.

The best example to illustrate the collective actions and connective actions that have been successfully carried out by IS is the idea of building a Khilafah Islamiyah. Initially, ISIS carried out collective actions as an organization and controlled Mosul, following that, at the time when ISIS believed that their supporters in Iraq and Syria were already strong enough, ISIS then changed its name to IS and claimed to be a Muslim representation of the world. At the same time, IS conducts collective actions in the form of propaganda through social media with the slogan "Daulah Islamiyah Al Baqiyah," which means the Eternal Islamic State).

The role of globalization that is utilized by IS exists in both material and immaterial forms. Material forms are social media, and immaterial forms are Islamic concepts. Social media is used by IS as a mean of spreading ideas. Regarding the Islamic concept, national circumstances are related to the international stage. For example, when we talk about Syrian politics, the issue will revolve around Syrian domestic politics between Assad and the Syrian people. IS can use this to foster their connectivity with more people by spreading the issue of war between Sunni Islam which is corrupted by Shia Islam, and promote IS as the solution for the Islamic world everywhere.

Through social media, IS also makes those who have seen their messages through videos, memes or articles become connected. This connection makes millions of people willing to leave their homeland and move to Syria. The connection used by IS is not only about ideology, but more into emotion. The emotions of the target are influenced by using the issue such as the will to do revenge against the West, the massacre of Muslims by Westerners, hostility to the West, the concept of a nation-state which is considered an attempt to fool the West, discrimination against Muslims and other emotions.

Revenge, hatred, feelings of intimidation or emotion that burns enthusiasm to be the light of many people's hate toward the IS' opposition. Some Indonesians who were deported from Turkey was on their way to cross to Syria stated that they hated Indonesia's state system. This informant describes Indonesia as a country that discriminated the Muslims. Also, there is a disappointment because the spread of corruption makes poverty becomes worse in Indonesia. According to my observation, hatred of the system is based on the anger over discrimination and disappointment that makes them then connected by the imagination of the dream state of IS.

In another case, a former thug in Solo also experienced deportation when he intended to commence hijrah. He equipped himself with an understanding of the Quran and had read the Quran since childhood. His parents' inheritance made him one of the richest figure in the village. He was tired of being a criminal and wanted to return to the right path. However, it seemed that he was ashamed of his gangster friends.

Moreover, he was the leader of the group. He then studied Islam through Islamic social media because the shame of being judged by others if he got caught studied with the cleric directly. Through social media, he was introduced to someone who took him to the IS group network and then he decided to take his family to Syria.

The connection distributed by IS attracts many people to be part of IS. In addition to social media, there is a follow up through telegram personal chat. This generally happens to those who are too busy and hard to reach, such as the migrant workers. The next question that arises is whether the migrant workers are targeted by the IS or do they try to find

the IS themselves? Regarding this question, it seems that other approaches are being used by the organization to attract the migrant workers. One of the approaches is through ukhuwah or the brotherly ties among Muslims.

One of the previous examples revealed that the target began her connection to IS when she accidentally found the news of a suicide bombing in Kepunton Church, Solo. She was amazed by what the perpetrators did. She was angry as she often heard about the discrimination by the Non-Muslims and she was interested in the reward gotten by the perpetrators. As she was bored with her job, she then slowly searched for an opportunity to migrate. She got connected to the IS network for the first time at the end of 2012. Since then she became an active member of the network.

Similar to Ika, Dian was interested in IS because of the execution video or qishosh. Dian then asked everything through personal chat and continued with the process of radicalization. Dian's willingness to become a suicide bomber emerged because she wanted to save her family in the afterlife. However, on the other hand, she wanted to get married, so she made marriage a requirement of action.

Interpersonal emotional connections reinforce the emotional connection in public. This connection can be planned carefully by considering the need of the target and started to develop it from that point. However, in general, interpersonal emotional connections are created to support the common social narratives.

Radicalization occurs with instruments provided by IS as producers of things that attract someone involved in radicalism. This is produced by IS via Facebook through thousands of accounts and content that is continuously transmitted via telegram. In addition, the community environment, the past and the surrounding conditions also produce push factors (The problem of self-development in Ika, for example). This happens in the process of providing instruments or in this case I call the provider process. Then the individual unites pull and push factors and processes, in this case he can still choose to participate or not in radical groups. This process calculates gains and losses based on their emotions and the help of reason that might have been influenced by the narrative consumed before. However, if he chooses to join radical groups, he will have the potential to carry out acts of terrorism. All processes occur on social media.

Not only those who are inmates of terrorism, but this connection has also spread to millions of people. Hence, IS do not only have members (who have been allegiance) known as anshor daulah (IS troops/members) but also have supporters and sympathizers who are quite strong. This is what all parties need to think about because everyone has emotions and social media has succeeded in igniting these emotions. Emotions will also be very easily connected by any narrative that is continuously echoed.

The IS propaganda effort uses more humane approach that can connect many people globally. IS enters the private domain that is difficult for any government to enter such as marriage, love, emotion, family and others using the pretext of religion. IS also gives appreciation in the form of promises to get heaven and after the action is taken, they usually also appreciate the perpetrators through amaaq.

The threat of terrorism today cannot lead to a particular group. A radical group can only be involved in thought but not involved in acts of terrorism but open potential. The brief process of radicalization through the internet opens up the possibility of anyone being involved in acts of terrorism.

The social media logarithm that allows users to consume the same news is also a direct or indirect pull factor besides there are push factors that make it involved. IS provides space and the internet as its mediator, but it will not be integrated with individuals if there are no personal factors. Religion is then used as a justification by IS which attacks one's private sphere.

Unfortunately, many parties prefer the understanding of terrorism as a heretical understanding in religion not a social phenomenon in society. This then made the paradigm of terrorism increasingly a matter of religion which only became the business of priests and religious leaders.

The governments of several countries also do not innovate and evaluate the handling of terrorism so that it is easier to be read by radical groups such as IS. Handling terrorism as a responsive effort from actions that will and has taken place, they have not made efforts at the early prevention stage.
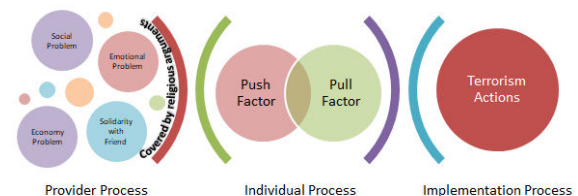

Figure 3. Radicalisation Process

Non-religious and ideological factors were ruled out and considered as complementary not the main factor so that de-radicalization also focused on this. Even though de-radicalization can be quite utopian to change one's thinking through economic assistance alone. The fact is that many sympathizers and IS supporters now come from the upper middle class and are highly educated.

Seeing the above cases, terrorism must be seen as a shared problem not just a failure of the government in security. Increasing family, social and family functions in particular is one of the efforts that can begin to prevent terrorism.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Social media as a product of globalization that has also been used by IS. IS realizes that they can not draw sympathy from the Middle Eastern Muslims only. They then use the justification of religious propositions to attract sympathizers from different countries. Learning from Al-Qaeda, IS expanded the conflict area and declared itself as a state even when they do not have de jure territory yet.

What IS has done which has not been done by other organization is maximizing the use of existing social media to spread its propaganda. Propaganda is created with many media from writing, memes to videos on various social media platforms. Interestingly, IS has no official account on any platform, but the content is created by sympathizers who shared IS propaganda to others. This effort is then deepened by using a personal approach through chat applications. Again they do not use personal applications, but take advantage of an application called Telegram. This platform allows them to cut the cost and make the process easier. Propaganda spreads quickly through hashtags, themes or keywords that are widely accessible to many people.

In addition to the threat of propaganda, those who have sworn or vowed to IS also pose a threat to every individual. IS doing wide-range doctrinization by influencing one's way of thinking and making them militant without meeting. Supporters will be able to take action if inspired by others without orders.

If previously we can detect how threats arise groups or those involved in network terrorism with a clear look. The increasingly massive Islamic spirit in Indonesia makes uncertainty about the security of terrorism. Supporters and sympathizers can be a threat even though they are not hierarchical members.

Many countries still take a security approach in handling terrorism where it often piles up new grudges and conflicts. It is evident that human involvement in violence is increasing and recidivists often re-engage with the radical group. The repressive approach is not the solution to terrorism because basically they are involved because of personal emotions. This evaluation must be well thought out by the stakeholders so that terrorism is no longer an issue that is ruled out seeing the threat of terrorism currently in individuals.

The world government must be more sophisticated than radical groups by making prevention efforts in various sectors. Prevention also cannot be done conservatively, but should also be done in a creative way which means, involving interpersonal from the grassroots and giving no restrictions, so everyone feels connected to the issue.

As one of the largest instagram and facebook users and the largest Muslim in the world, Indonesia must have innovative prevention efforts. The handling and prevention of terrorism must be seen from how the person is involved, chooses to remain there and how he might come out. Everyone will have different reasons and processes for how he is involved and why he is in a radical circle, but they may have the same reason to get out of the circle of violence.

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