

Research Paper

The Urgency of Indonesia Social Media Regulation in the Vortex of Terrorism

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Abstract

Social media becomes a very important and strategic tool for terrorists to do propaganda, recruitment, funding, and facilitation of other terrorist activities. Both international level and national level, no regulation explicitly regulates the use of social media for terrorism. Since many incidents of terrorism using social media in Indonesia, the more vigorous terrorists' propaganda and recruitment through social media, and considering opened terrorist access to pursue their targets, especially the youth generation, it is vital to specifically regulate social media and terrorism. Although social media and terrorism issues need to be addressed by the increasing of local government's role in combating terrorism and the strengthening parental supervision in the use of social media by children, the need for social media and terrorism regulation is an urgent matter to do first, as a guide to tackling the social media use in the vortex of terrorism.

Keywords: Radicalism, Radicalization, Regulation, Social Media, Terrorism

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1. Introduction

"I remind to all of you, a message, an advice from me, do not live like a goat in an infidel country, but live your life, die like a lion. Run, press them, pounce them on their bases, spy on them in their camps. InsyaAllah if you are honest, then Allah will help all of you."
(Tribunnews.com)

Social media was employed by Nur Rohman (31 years), a resident of Semanggi Village, Surakarta City, to broadcast the words above to his friends. The network utilized was pro-ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) (tujuhinterior.com). His address encouraged the infiltration of infidel countries while still living the true faith, even to the point of fighting and dying for it. More directly, he urged them to attack and overwhelm Indonesian police headquarters. An expert in terrorism studies at the University of Indonesia, Ridlwan, believed that Nur Rohman was a devotee of the Khilafah of Al Bagdadi. In 2016, on July 11, true to his own words, Nur Rohman killed himself as the result of bombing the Surakarta Police Office while riding a motorcycle (rappler.com). A policeman was also wounded in the attack.

Soon after that, on August 28, Father Albert Pandiangan (60) was delivering a sermon in St Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Medan, Indonesia, when he was attacked by Ivan Armadi Hasugian (18), whose bomb had failed to explode. It was reported by General Tito Karnavian, the former Chief of Indonesia's National Police, that this youth had been in contact with a well-known Southeast Asian ISIS supporter, Bahrun Naim (antaranews.com). Suhardi Alius, the Head of the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme/BNPT), later confirmed that Ivan's radicalism had been incited by visiting several social media sites (radartegal.com). Ivan Hasugian used the internet to study religion independently and to make a bomb. The bomb that failed to explode was a product of his independent learning from the internet.

Prior to this, there had been a number of warnings. Weimann (2014) asserted that online media facilitated not only terrorist propaganda and extremism but actual recruitment. This was supported by Marcu & Balteanu (2014), who noted the promotion of terrorist ideologies via social media. Wu (2015) confirmed that such platforms were being used for terrorist publicity and recruitment. Nur Rohman and Ivan Armadi Hasugian became prophetic examples of their research, proving that forms of social media were instrumental to the witnessed acts of terrorism. Social media can encourage remote individuals to execute acts of terrorism physically (Droogan et al., 2018).

It cannot be denied that social media is an integral part of the digital industry, termed by Schwab (2016) as the Industrial Revolution 4.0. Social media collectively has a very important role in communication relations, information traffic, and data movement that is presently so fast. It can be stated that we live in a hyper-connected world when information, ideas, and people move so quickly (Schwab, 2016). Schwab (2016) predicts that a hyper-connected world can create a dangerous phase if it ultimately results in increased fragmentation and global segregation that can trigger violent extremism. This is in line with five clusters that will be affected by the 4.0 Industrial Revolutions, namely in the fields of economy, business, national-global relations, society, and individuals (Schwab, 2016). In the case of terrorism, social media has a real negative impact on the cluster of national-global relations, especially in national and international security. The spread of the ideology of terrorism, as echoed by ISIS, for example, including the distribution of bomb-making content, is cross-border, which of course endangers national security. According to Schwab (2016), Industrial Revolution 4.0 has played a role in increasing the scale of the conflict. For example, how ISIS operated in the Middle East was enabled it to recruit foreign fighters from more than 100 countries using social media facilities.

Based on this reality, as well as the fact that social media facilitates online radicalization in Indonesia, it has become necessary to regulate social media so that it cannot be used as a tool of terrorism. However, there are no regulations that integrally control social media in relation to terrorism, both at international and national levels.

2. Methodology

Since that online radicalization in Indonesia is facilitated by social media, regulating social media so it cannot be terrorism's tools has many complexities. In order to parse the intricacies, the qualitative method is used in this research. Initially, this research outlines the legal principles, rules, doctrines, and concepts at the international and national levels in the terrorism issues. An extensive literature study is conducted by studying relevant journals, books, news items, and reports as a foundation to analyze the

problem objectively. As terrorism is a cross-sectoral issue, so that it performs a comprehensive analysis, this research focuses on the interdisciplinary approach to analyze the law, legal phenomena, and relationships among these and the wider society.

3. Result and Discussion

Social media, radicalism, and terrorism

Understanding of terrorism today is very diverse and there is no standard consensus. However, in principle, there are three components that underlie any action or activity that can be categorized as an act of terrorism, namely: 1) there is an element of violence; 2) random casualties occur; and 3) fear or terror arises within the community for the sake of social and political change (BNPT, 2016). Based on Article 1 number 2 of Law Number 5 of 2018, which concerned an amendment to Law Number 15 of 2003 in regard to Stipulation of Government Regulations in lieu of Law Number 1 of 2002 concerning Eradication of Terrorist Crimes into Laws, terrorism is considered to be an act that employs intimidation or actual violence to create widespread fear. This can lead to the impairment or destruction of strategic international facilities, as well as the environment and public resources, causing ideological, political, and security interference.

BNPT (2016) expressly states that the embryo of terrorism is radicalism. Radicalism itself is an attitude and behavior that seeks a revolutionary and total change to match what is understood as truth, through violence (BNPT, 2016). The radicals, or people who have been radicalized, usually have the characteristics of intolerance (not respecting different beliefs), fanaticism (regarding what he/she believes to be absolute truth), exclusivity (elevating himself and his group to be the most correct), and revolutionary actions (accustomed to being violent) (BNPT, 2016). More explicitly, Precht (2007) explains the relationship between radicalism and terrorism. Precht (2007) divides the phase of radicalization into four stages, namely the stages of pre-radicalization, conversion and identification, beliefs and indoctrination, and action. In addition, Precht (2007) also explained the factors that influence each stage of radicalization, namely background, triggers, and opportunities.

Pre-radicalization involves a close relationship to personal background factors that lead to opportunities for an individual to be open to radical views before radicalization itself can take place. The conversion and identification phase is the phase of change in an individual, both in terms of behavior and identity. At this stage, the trigger factor and the chance factor appear to be dominant. The internet, including social media, is an opportunity factor that makes one enter radicalization. The stage of belief and indoctrination is the stage when a person begins to accept a militant view of radicalization. This stage closes with an action phase, which is when someone is ready to act. Precht (2007) describes that this action is not only manifested in attacks or bride bombs, but can include planning, selecting targets, making bombs, or funding terrorism.

As an opportunity factor in the stage of radicalization, the internet, including social media, is maximally utilized by terrorist groups. Weimann (2014) noted three reasons why social media is ideal for this purpose: 1) it is very popular among the target group; 2) it costs little and is very easy to use; and 3) it provides direct access to the target group, being a lot more personal than a general website. Social media is the fruit of technological advancements that can connect people with other people who already know each other, or even do not know each other. Social media crosses boundaries, generations and even ideologies. With enormous benefits, to communicate, to search information, to entertain, as a trend and others, social media is very attached and popular with young people. As stated by Weimann (2014), with the terrorists' recruitment target, which is youth people, it is appropriate for terrorists to use social media to approach their targets. In addition to be a popular medium and tending to be a necessity for young people, social media is also a very cheap and very easy tool to use. Most social media applications are free. Several social media set a certain premium category to get greater facilities and of course, it attracts certain fees, for example, is Line Business. But in general, social media applications are free applications, excluding the use of internet quotas. The vendors of social media applications are also competing to make it easy for users to use social media applications with abundant facilities such as telephone, video call, and even the confidentiality/security of private conversations. So, it is not surprising, social media is not only popular among young people, but also for children and the old generation. Finally, from the explanation of Weimann (2014), before the era of social media developed, terrorist network groups used websites as a means of propaganda. At that time, the website became a mainstay for terrorist groups to find their targets based on who visited the website. It could be that those who visit are those who

coincidentally visit the website or who intend to find the website. Of course, with website facilities, terrorist networks must wait for targets to enter their websites. This is certainly different from the era of social media when social media allows people to connect even though they do not know each other. YouTube became one of the most effective platforms when ISIS aired the lives of its fighters on the battlefield. This then moved many young people who were disturbed by the element of heroism and later joined ISIS. Social media paved the way, terrorist groups knock on the door of their target rooms freely.

The study of the media's role, including social media, and terrorism is extremely vital, concerning the rise of terrorism incidents (Fahmy, 2017). Social media has made the communication and distribution of terrorist propaganda so much easier. It is employed by around 90% of internet-active terrorist groups (cbc.ca). Even though Facebook has addressed the issue of propaganda crimes, other social media forms, such as Twitter, still permit the accounts of ISIS members to disseminate terrorist propaganda and endorse related crimes (Shaaban, 2015). If only a tiny percentage of their followers are 'turned', that is still many new acts of terrorism that would not otherwise have occurred. Additionally, Morris (2016) pointed out the danger of even children, in their own bedrooms, being indoctrinated by foreigners with extremist ideologies. Consequently, it is no shock that the stories of Nur and Ivan in Indonesia have been repeated around the globe. One example alone, from US State Department figures, is that ISIS has been joined in Syria by at least 12,000 foreigners from 50 different countries.

There are no mechanisms that integrally regulate social media and terrorism

There is a global legal framework to counter terrorism in place according to United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC, 2009). Despite these 16 conventions/protocols/amendments, no preventive measures have been initiated in regard to social media. Instead, as dealt with in Resolution Number 1373, they regulate international co-operation, they address the criminalization of support for terrorist groups, including financial support for terrorist acts as well as their actual perpetration, and they cover extradition. These are all focusing on dealing with crimes after they have been committed rather than trying to prevent them in the first place. Only Resolution Number 1624 (UNODC, 2012) provides rules about incitement to terrorist acts and their glorification, which can include the use of social media. However, UNODC (2012) provides the conclusion that there is no national or international mechanism for addressing the use of the internet by terrorists because crime, terrorism and social media are all regulated separately when, in fact, they are inter-connected. It is impossible to consider an action of intent as a crime when there is no specific regulation to cover that.

In May 2018, an amendment to Act Number 15 of 2003 of Anti-terrorism was ratified in Indonesia but, to date, this has not provided regulation of any preventive measures in relation to terrorist use of social media. Instead, it merely provides a better definition of terrorism and addresses issues such as military involvement in counterterrorism, application of the death penalty, utilization of phone-tapping, and locations of detention. It seems to have been enacted as an instant reaction to the church bombings in Surabaya and the riot at Mako Brimob (the Command Centre of the Mobile Brigade – a police section that handles terrorism). It was undeniable, the bombing incident in Surabaya that killed 14 people with a new terrorism model which involved all family members: a father, a mother, and children, as bombing perpetrators (tempo.com) and the riots of terrorism prisoners in Mako Brimob that killed 5 police officers (detik.com), became public pressure for the emergence of a new anti-terrorism law. It did not take a long time, that 17 days after the Surabaya bombing, the Law Number 5 of 2018 of Anti-Terrorism was enacted.

According to Law Number 5, Article 13A, in the Year 2018, it is regulated that, "Anyone who has a relationship with a terrorist organization and intentionally spreads words, attitudes or behaviors, writings, or displays with the aim of inciting people or groups of people to commit violence or threat of violence can result in (*the conviction of committing*) a criminal act of terrorism (*and*) being sentenced to a maximum imprisonment of 5 (five) years". This provision tries to ensnare the act of incitement through speech and writing for the crime of terrorism. However, these provisions do not specifically regulate what media are used. If what is used is cross-border social media this article is unlikely to ensnare propaganda from other countries aimed at inciting Indonesian citizens to carry out acts of terrorism.

In other laws, the matter of sedition has also been regulated. Article 28 Paragraph (2) of Law Number 11 in the Year 2008, concerning Information and Electronic Transactions, regulates prohibited acts, namely disseminating information intended to incite hatred or hostility of certain individuals and/or groups based on ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup. However, this provision only regulates the

prohibition of electronic information that spreads hatred. Social media falls within this regulation, but terrorism does not. In other words, it does not regulate social media or terrorism *per se*.

President Joko Widodo, in May 19, 2017, formed the National Cyber and Coding Agency, which is under the responsibility of the Coordinating Ministry for Politics, Law, and Security. One of the tasks of the National Cyber and Coding Agency is to filter online content (kominfo.go.id). The Act and the National Cyber and Coding Agency permit the restriction or prohibition of access to unlawful content, such as hate speech, defamation, or pornography, but amendments to such laws accommodate only violations in the aspects of pornography, defamation, and religious extremism rather than terrorism (torproject.org; freedomhouse.org).

In parallel, the Criminal Act covers actual violence as a crime, without deliberation as to its incitement. This is in contradiction to the way, for example, a hacker is deemed to be a criminal for using the internet to commit credit card fraud. The regulations are specific to separate issues. They cannot be applied in an uncomplicated manner to the coupling of social media with terrorism.

The above explanation confirms that both at the international and national levels, no regulation explicitly regulates the use of social media for terrorism. This is a gap that requires attention from policymakers, considering that terror acts using social media are still ongoing and occurs across national borders. For example, in 2020, two Indonesian women workers in Singapore were sentenced to two years in jail for being proven supporting Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), a terrorist group in Indonesia, by transferring around Rp. 1,300,000,- (kompas.com). Both women did that after being radicalized online. Social media is a means for Indonesian citizens to enter the vortex of terrorism and commit criminal acts related to terrorism.

Social media facilitates online radicalization

In 2016, the Wahid Foundation in collaboration with the Indonesian Survey Institute conducted a national survey entitled "Potential Intolerance and Social Radicalism of Indonesian Muslim Religion" (kompas.com). The survey involving 1,520 respondents aged over 17 years, or married, across the 34 provinces produced several survey results, one of which was that 7.7% of respondents were willing to take radical action if the opportunity arose. In his presentation of the survey results, Yenni Wahid as Director of the Wahid Foundation revealed that the 7.7% figure was quite alarming. When projected over a total of 150 million Muslims in Indonesia, according to Yenni Wahid, there are around 11 million Muslims who are willing to act radically. The projections made will certainly be very worrying to this very diverse country.

A research study was conducted by PPIM UIN Jakarta, covering 34 provinces of Indonesia in early 2018, on how the Z generation (those children born between 1996 and 2012) seek religion. The research drew upon the experiences of 2,181 people (1,522 high school pupils, 337 university students, and 264 teachers/lecturers in 34 provinces of Indonesia) and disclosed that the Z generation spent 3-5 hours per day using the internet. One third of the Moslem students believed that Jihad (holy war) refers to war waged upon non-Moslem infidels who must be killed. One in five students agreed that holy war includes suicide bombing. The fact that 50.89% of the respondents grew their understanding from social media highlights the situation that social media has a dramatic influence on the people who access it (Nisa et al., 2018). Radicalization is a stepwise process, initiated by an intolerant movement with a radical ideology and culminating in the extreme, behavior of a violent act (Ashour, 2009)

The respondent believes that intolerance is the foundation of any terrorism movement, but social media is the means by which people's perceptions can be poisoned by the violent and extreme contents that are posted by terrorist groups such as ISIS. This is particularly relevant in the case of children who could be accessing the information without adult supervision.

The findings of the two studies above illustrate that the problem of radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia is a problem that needs to be addressed immediately and effectively. The embers of terrorism reside in Indonesian society, among both adults and children. One thing that keeps the embers burning is the facilities provided by social media. The results of the PPIM UIN Jakarta research provide a quite frightening fact that students study religion and utilize radicalism to understand it because of learning from social media, blogs, and websites. Social media has become a powerful tool for terrorists or terrorist groups to create generations that initially recognize and then approve radicalism, which ultimately leads to a new generation of terrorists.

In this dilemmatic situation, when social media becomes a double-edged knife, on one side, social media is important for social and economic life, but on another side, social media is a powerful tool for

the development of radicalism that leads to terrorism. Responding to this issue, three things can be done to overcome this problem. These three things include increasing the role of local governments in combating terrorism, strengthening parents' supervision in the use of social media by children, and finally, enacting a regulation of social media and terrorism.

Increasing the role of local governments in combating terrorism

Based on Article 43E Paragraph (1) of Law Number 5 the Year 2018, the institution that has the authority in the field of combating terrorism is BNPT. Explanation of the duties and functions of the BNPT in Law Number 5 the Year 2018 tends to be "ministry-centric" in which coordination of combating terrorism is emphasized only to the affairs of BNPT and related ministries. There are no clauses in the amendments to this law about the role of local governments in combating terrorism. It is understandable that in terms of security, the central government holds primary control. However, given the terrorism prevention efforts stipulated in Article 43A of Law Number 5 the Year 2018 carried out in three components, namely national preparedness, counter-radicalization, and deradicalization, it is very naive if this law does not regulate the involvement or participation of regional governments in the implementation of prevention terrorism. National preparedness will certainly require the implementation of a national action plan and will then need to be followed up with regional action plans. The implementation of the regional action plan will certainly not be separated from the role of the regional government. Likewise, with the counter-radicalization which is the main prevention effort. Indonesia with a relatively large area would certainly not be able to be reached by BNPT institutionally given the limitations of human resources, let alone the third component, deradicalization, requiring extra supervision of ex-convicts of terrorism that spread throughout Indonesia.

Regions have a strategic role in combating terrorism. During this time, the region is the source of national scale terror events. The suicide bombers came from areas and carried out acts of terror in Jakarta, Bali, and so on. The regions have also been affected by terror incidents. The tragedy of the Bali bombings I and II are clear examples. The Bali bombings not only caused many fatalities but also resulted in the tourism sector which was the mainstay of Bali's source of income being destroyed. As a result, certainly, the negative multiplier effect of the event was felt by most Balinese people. Several terrorists who have died also left their families in the area. The family's social condition of the perpetrators of terror, the education of the children of this family, and the stigma of the community in such families is also a problem for the regional government. Former terrorism prisoners who have been released from prison and decided to return to the area, start life again, also leave homework for the local government.

Given the significant role of local governments in the "mosaics" of terrorism, the synergy between BNPT and local governments is a necessity. It is not enough just to synergize or advise as conveyed by the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security as well as the Minister of Home Affairs who stressed that regional governments must participate in combating terrorism (merdeka.com). This is like the central government attaching obligations to local governments but does not include the rights that should be owned by local governments in carrying out the mandated obligations. It would be more assertive and explicit if the synergy was set out normatively, namely the role of the regional government contained in the law on combating terrorism. This is important considering that local governments have limitations. When a law mandates the implementation of certain policies, local governments will be freer to move to create programs and allocate funding. If the role of the regional government in combating terrorism is contained in the law, the regional government will not be hesitant in taking the necessary steps, including increasing and empowering the participation of the community in the region in preventing terrorism together.

One example of initiatives in tackling terrorism by local governments that should be appreciated is the efforts of the Surakarta City Government to institutionalize the problem of radicalism and terrorism in a regional regulation. In Surakarta City Regulation Number 1 of 2019 concerning Amendment to Surakarta City Regulation Number 2 of 2010 concerning the Surakarta City Regional Long-Term Development Plan 2005-2025, the Surakarta City Government has explicitly formulated that the threats faced by the City of Surakarta in the context of realizing the conductivity of the city are also influenced by the influx of radicalism and terrorism. Of course, this can be understood given the existence of suicide bombers in Jakarta and terrorist prisoners who came from the city of Surakarta, including the suicide bombing at Surakarta Police Station by Nur Rohman in 2016. Although it has not been included in efforts

to combat terrorism that are explicitly implemented in programs and activities, because there is no legal umbrella for local governments in combating terrorism, the inclusion of a threat clause of radicalism and terrorism in a regional regulation can encourage the issuance of regulations that accommodate the role of local governments more technically in preventing terrorism.

The role of the regional government is nothing more than the role of preventing terrorism. After the terror attacks in Paris in November 2015, countries in Europe increased the role of local governments in the context of early detection of individuals who have the potential to commit extreme acts of violence (van de Weert & Eijkman, 2019). The role of local governments in Europe is limited to the supervision and early detection. However, given that regions in Indonesia have broader links to the terrorism dimension, particularly in terms of prevention, the role of local governments can be further explored. The effort to supervise residents is the capacity of the regional government through its long arms, namely sub-districts, sub-districts / villages, and neighborhoods. Early detection of suspicious persons who are at risk of being exposed to terrorism will be more effectively carried out by local governments compared to the BNPT or Special Anti-Terror Detachment (Densus 88) which from the aspect of human resources may be limited to reach all regions of Indonesia.

The involvement of local governments in preventing terrorism will also have an impact on the use of social media for the terrorism purposes. Local government programs and activities can be focused on increasing supervision in each community. The program can be started by increasing awareness in Youth Organization activities, children's forums, and Family Welfare Empowerment (Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga/PKK) activities. On a small scale, namely the community, supervision among the society will be effective. Vigilance efforts as a solid communal awareness will isolate the use of social media for terrorism purposes. Early detection of individuals who are at risk of being exposed to radicalism and terrorism will be relatively easier to do.

The importance of parental supervision in the use of social media by children

The popular saying that social media bring it closer and keep it closer. Many people are drowned in social media to communicate with people in other cities or countries than communicating with family members in their home. This phenomenon is one of the effects of the inevitable progress of digital technology. The use of social media could set up barriers for a family communication. One result of this obstruction of communication is that parents do not know who their children are chatting with. Parents do not understand what material their children are talking about on social media. This is a concern when communication partners and the material or content being discussed is negative, such as terrorism.

One example of obstruction of communication between parent and child due to the role of social media and terrorism is in the case of Rasheed, who was born on April 26, 1996, with his mother, Nicola Benyahia. The mother and child live in Birmingham, England. Rasheed who was once a funny and generous child turned into a lonely child in his room. Rasheed communicated through social media with ISIS and then solidified his intention to fly to Syria to fight with ISIS against Bashar al-Assad (nytimes.com). Rasheed, 19 years old at the time, was killed in fighting in Syria. Nicola Benyahia regretted why she could not prevent Rasheed from being connected to NIIS, which caused Nicola Benyahia to lose Rasheed forever. Moving on from his own life experience, finally, Nicola Benyahia together with parents who have the same story founded Families for Life, a non-profit organization that focuses on deradicalization and support for families.

The lack of communication within the family and weak supervision by parents over the use of social media experienced by Rasheed and Nicola Benyahia were also experienced by Ivan Armadi Hasugian, the suicide bomber in Medan in 2016, or Rofik Asharudin, the suicide bomber at the Kartasura police station, Sukoharjo, on 3 June 2019 (cnnindonesia.com), and other terrorists. The family plays an important role in this regard because the family is the first ring of supervision of children's behavior. When a family cannot reach out to their children, one of the biggest risks that may arise is the loss of the child as experienced by Nicola Benyahia, Ivan's family, and Rofik's family.

With a strategic role in supervising children over the use of social media so as not to deviate toward terrorism, parents become the first bastion. This big role requires parents to implement good communication with their children. With more open communication, it will be easier for parents to know who and what children usually communicate through social media. Parents have the most important position to keep their children away from the incitement of terrorists through social media. In addition to building more intense communication with children, parents also need to quickly learn technology that also develops quickly, so parents are not stutter in accompanying their children.

The urgency of social media regulation in the issue of terrorism

White (2016) stressed that the successes of counter-terrorism measures rely strongly on their preventive effects. It has been comprehensively demonstrated that social media interactions (through propaganda and recruitment) have been fundamental to the radicalization of future terrorists, including many of the lone wolves that have arisen in various countries. There is an urgent need to prevent the use of social media as tools for terrorism. This message of taking preventive measures has been reiterated by Richardson (2007), who emphasized that any fight against terrorism must address, and thus prevent, the underlying cause of the terror itself.

As a preventive effort that is quite important in the fight against terrorism, the next question is “What will be regulated in the rules of social media and terrorism?” The relevant scope is, of course, the ability of social media to be a tool for propaganda, recruitment, funding, and facilitation of other terrorist activities. It is also important to look at what level these arrangements are made, whether on an international scale (considering the character of social media across borders), nationally, or only in a private capacity (the social media provider itself). Who will be the subject of this regulation: recipient, sender, provider, and so on? Social media providers in using Artificial Intelligence to block terrorist content should be subject to regulations (Macdonald et al., 2019). How to prove terrorism’s propaganda and recruitment is a part that needs to be arranged in more detail.

Besides, it should also be discussed regarding restrictions on access to social media and social media tapping whether included in human rights violations or not. For example, the temporary closure of social media access (Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, YouTube, Snapchat, and Viber) by the Sri Lanka government after eight bombs exploded in churches and hotels in Sri Lanka, when Christians were celebrating Easter on April 21, 2019 (washingtonpost.com). The incident itself killed 290 people (cnnindonesia.com). The closure of social media by the Sri Lanka Government has the aim of avoiding social media being used by irresponsible people to spread rumors and misinformation. Restrictions on social media will certainly have huge implications for users who truly utilize social media as a means of business and friendship in earnest.

Dissemination of information or news on social media could be a regulatory component. Considering that one of the goals of terrorism is to cause public fear as well as propaganda of terrorist acts, the rejection of terrorism is not only done by the society, but also the government, even the media.

In this kind situation, Indonesia can learn from a terrorism case in New Zealand that shocked the world on March 15, 2019. Brenton Tarrant, 28, a terrorist who is an Australian citizen, carried out the shooting of worshipers who were worshipping at Al Noor Mosque and Linwood Mosque, City of Christchurch, Zealand Baru (cnnindonesia.com). The bloody terror resulted in 50 people died. They are citizens of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Turkey, and Jordan. While 50 people reported suffering from injuries (kompas.com). Before committing an act of terror, Brenton Tarrant had released a manifesto document, namely *The Great Replacement*, on his Twitter account. From the 73-page document, it was found that Brenton Tarrant deliberately attacked Muslims. He wants to create fear and incite violence against Muslims (cnnindonesia.com). Another reason for Tarrant’s motive was to revenge for the death of Ebba Akerlund, 11, who was killed in a terror attack in Stockholm by Rakhmat Akilov in 2017 (line.me). The worst was when Brenton Tarrant had broadcasted his live action on Facebook for about 17 minutes and the video was shared about 1.5 million times before finally being deleted by Facebook within 24 hours after the tragedy (theguardian.com).

When the Brenton Tarrant case entered the trial process, the media in New Zealand agreed not to provide news space for Tarrant, even for the trial process (cnnindonesia.com). The absence of a stage for terrorists in the media, sociologically, of course, extinguishes the terror propaganda itself. These efforts will make people free from negative and frightening news, as well as there is no access for terrorist supporters to be inspired or provoked to do the same. The steps taken by the New Zealand media are certainly not useful if they are not followed by the media in other countries. Action and the Tarrant trial process, for example, are not given space by the New Zealand media, but when in other countries it is still being reported, it is likely to cause a reaction from Tarrant supporters in other countries. Terrorism is the enemy of all countries. Therefore, a country’s efforts to fight terrorism will be more effective if it is carried out jointly by all countries as an international community. Social media also has an important role to play in this regard, as social media spreads the news more quickly. New Zealand media policy in the Tarrant case might be adopted in social media settings to disseminate information about terrorism.

After all the components have been identified and followed up in a legal framework, according to Walker (2017) then tested those views with criminal, administrative, and ideological approaches. These three approaches are very closely related to each other. Walker (2017) explains the three approaches in terms of examples of propaganda carried out by terrorists. First, the criminal approach aims to criminalize the messenger propaganda of terrorism. Second, the administrative approach, which is carried out to control the messages voiced by terrorists. In this case, it could be an action so that the terrorist message cannot reach a wider audience. This administrative approach could be a synergistic effort with social media providers to immediately delete terrorist messages. The consequence is that social media providers need to develop algorithms to track content related to terrorism such as images of violence, hate propaganda and extremist incitement (Asongu et al., 2019). The experience that has happened is that Facebook deleted the live record of Brenton Tarrant after 24 hours, even though it had lived 17 minutes, and was shared 1.5 million times. The last is the ideological approach which is an act as an effort to counter-narratives of the message conveyed by terrorists. The three approaches can be a guide in every component that is to be regulated in regulation, and certainly, it is in an effort for prevention. These three approaches will be good guidelines in seeking a more effective legal framework for social media to fight terrorism.

With the clarity of social media and terrorism regulation in advance, it will provide clear directions for local governments and parents in carrying out their role in responding to the use of social media in the interests of terrorism. This regulation is very urgent to be made immediately.

4. Conclusions

The Industrial Revolution 4.0, according to Schwab (2016), will have an influence on the escalation of conflict, one example of which is how social media plays a significant role in the conflicts in the Middle East, especially in the way ISIS is able to recruit thousands of foreign fighters from more than 100 countries. Social media also demonstrates its severity in terrorism cases in Indonesia. Meanwhile, Indonesia has not managed social media as an integral part of the terrorism issue, even though the threat is real.

Three things can be done to respond to social media and terrorism issues, namely increasing the role of local governments in combating terrorism, strengthening parents' supervision in the use of social media by their children, and finally the enacting of social media dan terrorism regulation. The last thing is an important step that needs to be done immediately, given that the regulation is made, it will provide clear guidelines and directions on how local governments and communities, in this case, people must take action in anticipating the use of social media in the interests of terrorism. Social media and terrorism regulation will strengthen two other things: giving authority to local governments in the domain of preventing the use of social media at the education/community level and strengthening or forcing parents to be able to provide more supervision to their children in the use of social media.

It is so complex to regulate social media and terrorism, given that social media has a regional dimension that crosses national borders and it is difficult to prove in determining a crime committed through social media. However, that is a gap needs to be studied in more depth. Further study will discuss privacy rights, human rights, international law and so on. That is the challenge in creating a comprehensive legal framework for social media and terrorism.

Online radicalization is burning many children of the nation and spreading the ideology of terrorism through an easy and free platform. It takes real efforts from policymakers to address this, including the work of researchers, to deepen an effective legal framework so that social media is no longer eroded in the vortex of terrorism.

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