

YouTube as digital public sphere: Controversary over Indonesia's Military Reform Law

Lutfiani Sayyida Eka Putri^{1*}, Kalimah Wasis Lestari², Nadia Payo³, Marsha Ambardo⁴,
Syalsabila Amalia Nareshwari⁵, Ratu Sakinatul Aqila⁶, Eylin Intan Regita Cahyani⁷, Berliana
Elsa Sahara⁸

^{1,2,4,5,6,7,8}Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia

³Faculty of Political Science, Prince of Songkla University, Thailand

*E-mail: lutfiani.sayyida.eka-2022@fisip.unair.ac.id

Article History: Received 5 October 2025; Accepted 18 November 2025

Abstract: The issue of revising the TNI Law has been considered an offense against the principles of democracy and civil supremacy, triggering fears of the military's dual function (including involvement in socio-political affairs), as seen during Suharto's New Order era. This research aims to analyze the pros and cons of the audience of the Bocor Alus Politik YouTube channel towards the Revision of the Indonesian National Army Law (RUU TNI) through the comments of the content titled "Actors & Lobbies behind the Revision of the TNI Law". This research employs a quantitative approach, utilizing a sentiment analysis method to classify netizen comments. The research data consisted of 4,209 comments collected from the YouTube content. The analysis results indicate dominance of positive sentiment (3,694 comments) over negative sentiment (512 comments), with an accuracy rate of 86.20%. The positive group used appreciative words such as "support", "brave", and "media", which showed support for civil supremacy and independent media. Meanwhile, the negative group employs diction that delegitimizes the media, using words such as "stooge" and "slander", reflecting skepticism towards media objectivity and support for military involvement in the civilian sector. This research demonstrates that YouTube serves as a digital deliberation arena, showing the political polarization of Indonesian society regarding civil-military relations.

Keywords: Civil-Military relations, digital democracy, digital politics, sentiment analysis, Youtube.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid advancement of technology over the past decade has created a trend of digital transformation in communication (Handayani et al., 2025). The evidence of massive development of technology in the modern era is the internet and easy access to the digital-virtual world, known as cyberspace (Jordan, 1999), which is applied in social media, and cyberspace is not limited to the use of social media and the internet, but also in politics, which is known as cyberpolitics. Cyberpolitics is concept as a political process based on human interaction in cyberspace, and political actors seek to influence or controlling others resources and behavior by relying on cyberpower, and rule an important role in political activities in cyberspace (Choucri, 2012, in Akdağ, 2025), it also change people's behavior and habits in getting information, interact, or giving aspirations.

Social media has become a strategic platform to implement cyberpolitics, as social media relying on effective connective action to increase public engagement and participation, which has a significant influence on politics (Moats & Tseng, 2024; Ramis-Moyano, 2025). YouTube is becoming increasingly popular, because it's not limited to being an entertainment provider, but also presents content in various

fields including investigations related to crucial issues (Fathoni et al., 2025) One of the social implementations in cyberpolitics is deliberative democracy.

Habermas (1996) emphasizes that deliberative democracy is not merely intended to ensure the ethical validity of statutes, but to be a complex effort to purposefully consider the particular interests that are strategically aligned with common interests, and to present universal principles of justice in social life that still incorporate particular values. The concept was then developed by emphasizing the novel concepts of information and communication technology, align with the concept of cyberspace by Rheingold's which emphasizes individual freedom and the way virtual communities to realize experience of the real-world as an utopian goals and the democratic potential of digitalization as a form of reaction to emergence of the media-elite that dominating communication industry (Calhoun, 1993).

The application of deliberative democracy based on social media, such as YouTube (Koswara, 2025), could be freely discussed and became a viral issue, for example, the revision of Indonesia's Military Law (RUU TNI) that provoked reactions from the people because it was considered to be abusing the principles of democracy and civilian supremacy over the military. This reaction intensified as Bocor Alus Tempo released a content titled "Aktor dan Lobi-lobi dibalik Revisi UU TNI" that was uploaded on 22 March 2025, and became viral. This content demonstrates how investigative content on YouTube can spark debates and disagreement on public digital media.

Military involvement in various political elements in Indonesia began due to the failure of civilian government and politicians to formulate an ideology on the constituent assembly during the Soekarno era, and was exacerbated by the enactment of the dual function of ABRI (Dwifungsi ABRI). Huntington in Fathoni et al. (2025) explains that civil and military relations are divided into subjective control and objective control. Subjective control is a military concept that is integrated with the political and social system. On the other hand, objective control puts the military in the realm of professionalism, so the subjective model is considered less professional (Nix, 2018). At the beginning of reformacy, the political role of military was abolished, so TNI perform a military reformation (Angela, 2024) and focused as defense apparatus, which makes TNI earn high public score of trust. However, at the beginning of the Prabowo-Gibran government, the placement of military personnel in civilian positions, following the revision of the TNI Law, led to the possibility of the dual function being re-enacted, triggering both pros and cons from the public.

Civil-military dynamics are described in the concept of Security Sector Reform (SSR), which encompasses aspects of good governance, including transparency, accountability, the rule of law, and public participation. Morrice (2021) explains that implementing SSR without the aspects above can result in ineffective implementation and provides opportunities for abuse of power and corruption.

However, if applied appropriately, the SSR can serve to encourage military professionalism by separating the role of the military from that of civilians.

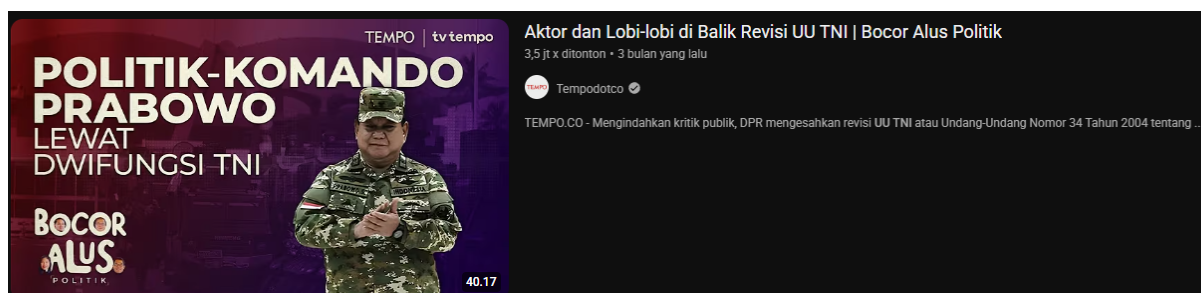


Figure 1 The Look of Bocor Alus Politik Tempo Content

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3QRoNY-nYDTNSv-1dR0P-g>

One of Bocor Alus Politik's video content titled “Aktor dan Lobi-lobi di Balik Revisi UU TNI” discussed the existence of military power that is considered unfair to civil society, and it concerns the dual function of TNI, as well as issues of power, militarism, and democracy. Besides the topics of Bocor Alus content, Tempo has already become a controversial topic because of the act of terror, and received a pig's head that was sent to the Tempo office on March 18, 2025, as a form of intimidation against press freedom in criticizing the government. Two opposing arguments emerged as a result of this, one opposing TNI Law because it believed it would undermine civilian supremacy. They also supported Tempo as a civil society advocate. The other group supported the government in enacting the TNI Law as a form of efficiency. They believe that the military's involvement in civilian affairs would be beneficial.

The emergence of public discourse in the digital sphere, especially on social media platforms such as YouTube, reflects a part of the existence of modern deliberative practices that can provide a forum for people to convey their aspirations, arguments, or even resistance to the discourse supremacy formed by state elites. Deliberative democracy, based on digitalization, is a development concept of democracy that emerges alongside technological advancements (Chambers, 2019) and has become an innovation in addressing the crisis of democratic representation. The content on Bocor Alus Politik focuses on persuasive information and shaping people's critical thinking about government issues. When the viewers drop some comments, giving likes, dislikes, and share the content, the open discourse leads to a collision between narratives that provide an overview of various ideologies and public perspectives on the same problems (Habermas, 2006), for example, the political dynamics of TNI Law revision offending issues about civil military in non-defense sector roles.

The comments section is generating responses according to their views, showing how social media algorithms can amplify the dissemination of arguments and encourage competition for the variation of opinions (Lim, 2017), since the discourse sphere reflects modern deliberation and the complexity of

digital politics in Indonesia. Therefore, it's essential to examine how content and comments on YouTube can shape political meanings through digital participation.

The large amount of public attention to respond to the issue of TNI Law revision that debated on YouTube comments are quite intense led to the purpose of the research to be able to mapping public sentiment about the issue by classifying netizens' comments on the video content of Bocor Alus Politik that titled "Aktor & Lobi-lobi di Balik Revisi UU TNI" using the analytical approach based on machine learning, such as Support Vector Machine (SVM) to identifying the tendencies of public opinion, whether to support or against the TNI Law revision. SVM methods were chosen because it's effective in handling large, non-linear text data and have a high accuracy in their task of classifying a sentiment evidently (Zhang et al., 2018).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Implementation of Deliberative Democracy

Over the last few decades, technology has become an integrated part of the political system. Massive development of technology in the modern era can be seen from the constant use of the internet and the wide access to the virtual world, commonly known as cyberspace (Jordan, 1999), which is applied to social media, where it is not only limited to social use, but also applied in a political context called cyberpolitics. Cyberpolitics is defined as a political process based on human interaction in cyberspace, where political actors seek influence or control over resources and people's behavior by relying on cyberpower, which plays an important role in cyberspace's political activities (Choucri, 2012, in Akdağ, 2025)

Social media has become the most strategic place to implement cyberpolitics, where social media relies on "connective action" to increase engagement and public participation, which can significantly impact politics (Moats & Tseng, 2024; Ramis-Moyano, 2025). One example of cyberpolitics' implementation is the digital-based deliberative democracy. Digital-based deliberative democracy is part of the democratic development that occurs in line with technological developments (Chambers, 2019). Deliberative democracy theory expressed by Habermas (1996) explained, deliberative democracy isn't solely intended to guarantee the ethical validity of "statutes", but rather is form of a complex effort to consider the particular interest that is strategically proposed so that they remain in line with the common interest, while on the other hand, able to present universal principles of justice into the context of some certain social life, in which constellated by particular values.

The foundation of deliberative democracy was later developed by pushing a renewed concept of information and communication technology. Habermas believed that society must be integrated, both systematically and socially, in line with the concept of cyberspace presented by Rheingold. He delivered this concept by emphasizing individual freedom and how the virtual community could implement real-

world experiences, assuming a utopian purpose and democratic potential from digitalization based on classic democratic concepts that would develop stronger against representative systems or the elites that dominate in most democratic modern countries.

Deliberative democracy concepts become an innovation to the crisis of democratic representation. Deliberation itself is usually a part of the decision-making process as a political way between the public officers and includes several non-deliberative processes, such as voting. Even though deliberative democracy mostly focuses on political issues between the citizens. This itself is due to the democratic process that can't be assumed as deliberative if it did not insert relevant perspectives or all impacted groups or impacted by the problem on the spot, so the point of view of those groups needs to be represented (Mikhaylovskaya, 2024). The digitalization of the next deliberative democracy is also known as digital democracy. Digital democracy, also known as e-democracy, has created a renewal of political culture with the domination of the younger generation's participation in social media, often referred to as the digital natives (Saud et al., 2023)

The democracy that was based on digital technology is divided into four sectors, which are the role of government and the civil itself that need to be more responsive, transparent, and accountable, wide public space due unlimited digitalization, the relation between the domination and representation aspect that listed by the form of supervision or watchdog, also other dominating issues with rights (Berg & Hofmann, 2021 in Rianto, 2023) The concept of deliberative democracy is based on the digitalization that has been implemented in several countries, including Indonesia, and its applicator utilizes social media as a platform to share citizens' aspirations with the government (Ramadhan et al., 2022)

The Relations of Civil and Military

Military involvement in several Indonesian political elements could be examined, including President Soekarno's Demokrasi Terpimpin, which started due to civil politicians' failure towards the ideological summary in the constitutional session that was then assumed to threaten the nation's stability. ABRI's involvement within politics strengthened the dual function of ABRI's treatment, making it a military unit to have power in politics through the government's structure. With the effort to restore civil supremacy within the government, the claim to Reformation shifted the dual function of ABRI (Dwifungsi) back to the military as a nation's tool, focusing on maintaining the nation's mental state to uphold UU TNI (Military Laws). However, with the recent political changes, Prabowo-Gibran's gov has made some revisions that caused public concern over the issue of "raising military influences" in the government section, which is supposedly run by civilians. According to Huntington, civil-military relations can be viewed in two ways: subjective civilian control and objective civilian control (Fathoni et al., 2025)

Huntington's discussion of civil-military relations in *The Soldier and the State* presents two main models: subjective civilian control and objective civilian control of the military by the (civilian) government. The subjective model depicts the military as a part that has deeply integrated into society's political and social system. Military personnel, recruited from civilians, are then deployed to the military field to fulfil their duty, and then returned to fill in various roles in society's social order, including the political realm. This idea, however, is considered to diminish military professionalism. On the other hand, the objective model separates the military from the country's political system and focuses on developing expertise in their profession. The military acts as a "violence management body" (Nix, 2018)

Another perspective on this discourse can be found within the scope of warfare. Clausewitz and Clemenceau viewed a war as some political instrument that couldn't simply be handled by just the "generals", it needed to remain within civilian control. War strategy is handled by the military, while diplomacy and other political matters are handled by the civilian government (Fathoni et al., 2025). This perspective arguably aligns with Huntington's objective civilian control model, which places the military in its professional realm as an instrument of the state rather than being a political actor. This kind of perspective still connects with today's modern military reality, particularly in Indonesia now, which is still preventing military threats after UU TNI's legal approval.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employed a big data method by collecting comments as data from all viewers of "Aktor & Lobi-lobi dibalik Revisi UU TNI" on Bocor Alus Politik, owned by TEMPO, available at <https://youtu.be/z6nSQrYWJlY?si=Q3b7KwSDLKRyUaOu> as the video link. The content has been uploaded since March 22, 2025, with a total of 43,000 likes. The Big Data method was chosen because of the larger volume of data and diversity (Kurniawan et al., 2024), which eases the researcher's approach to analyzing sentiments. The scraping data process was completed by May 15, 2025. It garnered all the comments about viewers' clear stance on the RUU TNI's topic, which was discussed by the TEMPO YouTube channel, as it assumed providing a range of expressed opinions or users' reactions to the discussed topic.

First, there were a total of 5,223 comments from the content, but then they were removed for being irrelevant to the research, resulting in a total revision that reduced the number to 4,209 comments. Each of the submitted comments is then analyzed using a sentiment analysis approach to classify them into two categories: positive sentiment and negative sentiment. Here is the visualization of the data analysis that was done on this research:

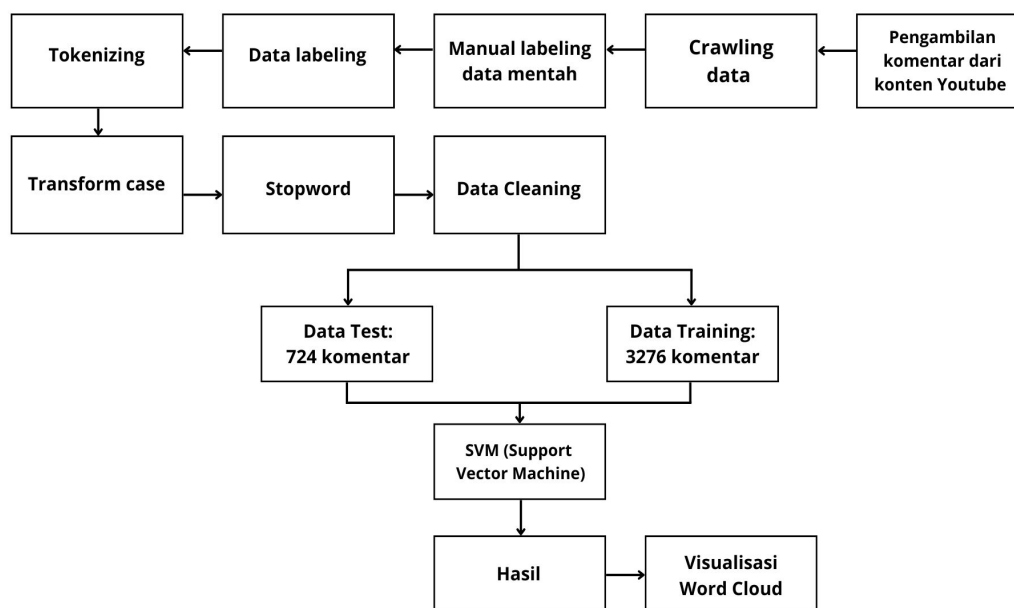


Figure 2 Stages of data analysis process

The processing data includes several steps, including collecting data or taking data from comments of Bocor Alus Politik content that was taken raw. Next, continue with manual labeling towards the 3.275 data that has been selected by pros and cons for RUU TNI. The steps of Preprocessing and Processing data used an application called Rapid Miner that includes a data labelling process, tokenizing (breaking down texts to words), transforming cases (changing uppercase sentences to lowercase), adding stop words, and data cleaning (Kurniawan et al., 2024). After all the data had been 'cleansed', the data was classified with the Support Vector Machine (SVM) algorithm to categorize by positive sentiment (clear support to the media, which is Bocor Alus Politik by TEMPO, and against RUU TNI) and negative sentiment (clear support to the government choice or the RUU TNI itself).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research is based on public sentiment analysis towards Bocor Alus Politik content on YouTube with "Aktor and Lobi-lobi dibalik Revisi UU TNI" as the title. Sentiment analysis is a process of analyzing texts that includes the extraction process, data cultivation, and data understanding (Arsi & Waluyo, 2021) as a determined expression of positive, negative, and neutral sentiment (Berliani & Lestari, 2024) However, this research had a clear emphasis on classifying only positive and negative sentiment, so it utilized the Support Vector Machine (SVM) algorithm. Based on the results after cultivating data using Rapid Miner, the accuracy value increased to 86.20 percent at the precise model level, compared to 82.64 percent. The labeled data amount reached 3,275, and data testing by 934 resulted in 3,694 positive sentiment and 515 negative sentiments, which was clearly portrayed in the Word cloud visualization. This visualization is based on the number of words that have appeared in the text, helping the researcher identify the dominant words with positive and negative sentiment.



According to the word cloud visualization data above, the larger word size indicates that some words are more frequently used than others. The positive sentiment is a clear indication of the pros to Tempo and against RUU TNI acceptance by the viewers, so it has some of the most standout sizes of words, including “*prabowo*”, “*pemerintah*”, “*masyarakat*”, “*media*”, “*takut*”, “*teror*”, “*kepala*”, “*babi*”, “*sipil*”, and “*demokrasi*”. These words show public discourse towards the greater number of pro-comments to Tempo as a media that discusses the topic of Prabowo Subianto's government in the Republic of Indonesia, one of them are the sending of a terror of a pig's head to Tempo, meant to frighten or threaten the civil people and weaken the democratic process in Indonesia. The event relevant to Tempo media, as the channel owner of Bocor Alus Politik, repeatedly criticizes the government, including on the RUU TNI topic. Here are several comments to give clear data visualization that successfully filled in, such as:

“Tetap selamat jurnalis Tempo. Kaca mobil bisa diganti, kepala babi bisa dibuang, tapi jurnalis Independen dan media yang tak menjilat ke pemerintah susah dicari. Gas terusss 🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥🔥” (Bexxx, 22 March 2025)

This comment garnered 1682 likes and 51 replied comments, indicating clear resistance from Tempo journalists despite sending a threat of a pig's head, as they continued to discuss facts about RUU TNI in their content on Bocor Alus Politik. The viewers assumed Tempo as an independent media, neutral, non-cowardly shown to the past pig's head terror by the time of several media's freedom that had been thrown over, so whether must show it 'support' towards the governance policy.

“Jika Tempo diteror itu artinya Tempo sudah memberitakan kebenaran. Semangat rekan-rekan jurnalis Tempo 🍌🍌” (Arxxx, 22 March 2025)

Align with the past comment, this comment also shows the viewer's opinion about the relevant relation of the pig's head terror with Tempo's published news that always been brave to criticize the government, and even after the incident, the viewer kept assume if Tempo shared the truth about RUU TNI due government's effort to silence Tempo's doing with the sent terror. The comment got to 715 likes and 33 replies.

“Semangat TEMPO !!!!! Masyarakat wajib di cerahkan dengan fakta dan data, karena itulah saya mendukung TEMPO dengan berlangganan TEMPO DIGITAL” (08_arxxx, 22 Maret 2025)

This comment garnered 256 likes and 8 replied comments, expressing clear support from Bocor Alus Politik's viewers towards Tempo. This comment also shows the personal perspective of Tempo's role as a public media with consistent shared facts and objective data with high accuracy. As a result, the viewer themselves can subscribe to Tempo Digital to access more of their information and recent content from Tempo.

“Kami sangat mendukung Media " TEMPO" SAYA MENGAPRESIASI ATAS DEDIKASI TEMPO DLM BERJUANG DLM BENTUK MEDIA: BAIK ITU MEDIA TREAMING DLL. MAJU DAN JAYA TRUS TEMPO, SEHAT SELALU PARA PELIPUT DAN JURNALIS TEMPO ! 🍌🍌🍌” (gillxxxx, 22 March 2025)

This comment received 76 likes and 1 replied comment, and, like the others before, it expressed support for Tempo's dedication, especially to its own journalists who have always been brave enough to publish news about the RUU discussion, despite facing clear terror from the government. It conveyed a positive appreciation and emphasized the importance of the media's role, whether through streaming media or otherwise, in sharing information with maximum effort.

“Kebebasan pers adalah salah satu amanat reformasi, tempo adalah segelintir media independen yg tersisa ditengah media korporasi yg memiliki afiliasi politik, profesionalitas tni jg amanat reformasi selain independensi hukum, penegakan demokrasi, desentralisasi pemerintahan, pemberantasan kkn, ekonomi kerakyatan dan msh banyak lainnya...yg sayangnya justru dalam dekade ini kemudian semua by sistemik dibuat menjadi setback kembali...yg musti kalian sadari bahwa kalian bisa berkesempatan berkuasa atas jasa darah & keringat orang2 yg memperjuangkan reformasi, tanpa usaha kami, kalian tidak ada” (Mrxxx, 22 March 2025)

This comment received 64 likes and 1 reply, expressing the viewers' opinions about the freedom of the press, which should be treated in the same manner as the reform mandate. This comment almost has the same tone as a comment from username Arxxx, which shows his views that Tempo is one of the independent media that still strives to be neutral in the midst of the government's oppressive attitude towards the media, but it conveyed with sharper criticism related to legal independence, the enforcement of democracy and a government that applying concept of good governance according to the struggle history of reformation.

Dominant word visualization, such as “*prabowo*”, “*teror*”, “*kepala*”, and “*babi*”, expressing the frustration of Bocor Alus viewers over the pig’s head terror incident that happened to Tempo, as one of the independent media. Word domination of “*Prabowo*”, “*Presiden*” “*Pemerintah*” indicates that President Prabowo has a good connection in the formulation process to the ratification of revising the law. Another interpretation about it is elaborating that the existence of the current government is not in the same line as the will of the people who want civil supremacy enforced well. In addition, the emergence of words such as “*mendukung*”, “*demokrasi*”, “*wartawan*”, and “*teror*” reflects the trust of the viewers and consistently supports Tempo's independence as a credible press, particularly in its Bocor Alus content.



Figure 4 Wordcloud visualization of negative sentiment

Word cloud data visualization with negative sentiment shows that some comments from this group sentiment show some keywords as an indication of a pattern of rejection of press criticism, and also partiality towards the government. Words such as “antek,” “polri,” “sipil,” “babi,” “orba,” “kekuasaan,”

“fitnah”, and other words are examples of dominant words that often appear, which can be interpreted as a tendency to frame Tempo as a press channel that favors only certain groups. These are the comments related to the visualization of the data that has been successfully collected before. However, unlike positive sentiment comments, which tend to receive likes or replies, negative comments often do not.

“TEMPO adalah media antek asing yg membuat kegaduhan dan memecah belah bangsa dan rakyat ini...TEMPO hrs dimusnahkan di negara pertiwi ini...Hidup NKRI...Hidup TNI dan POLRI” (edxxx, 22 March 2025)

This comment exhibits a conspiratorial tone against Tempo, accusing Tempo of being a foreign lackey who threatens national stability. This comment highlights the efforts of journalists to ‘dismantling’ information as a provocative move and supports the government in silencing the media, as well as the existence of the law.

“Tempo antek asing seperti ini mau dipercaya 🤔🤔, kritik orang boleh tapi anti kritik 🤔🤔” (setxxx, 22 March 2025)

This comment also mentioning about ‘*antek asing*’ to Tempo, but in contrast to the previous comment that contain conspiratorial tone, this comment was sarcastic and insulting to discredit Tempo, and the audience gave their views if Tempo was hypocritical because it often criticized but didn’t want to get the same, and it became a contradictory sentence that showed the crisis of public trust to the media.

“Gak mungkin lah pihak2 TNI yg melakukan teror kampung seperti itu 😊 ada pihak2 tertentu yg ingin mendiskreditkan TNI.” (pixxx, 22 March 2025)

This comment mentions the denial of TNI's interference in terror cases and the view from the audience that TNI could not have terrorized, such as the pig’s head terror to Tempo, but the perpetrators were other people who did want to discredit the image of TNI as an institution of terror in society.

“KALAU TNI LEBIH BAIK YA AKUI DONG DARIPADA SIPIL TAPI MEMBUAT NEGERI JADI ANCUR-ANCURAN!!!!” (Yaxxxx, 22 March 2025)

This comment supports TNI Law and says that if TNI’s intervention in the government can make it better than civil government, it will avoid some violations, such as corruption and other irregularities.

“Setelah saya tonton, Pak Prabowo ternyata juga mendengar suara rakyat, mangkanya terdapat RUU TNI yang berubah.” (Acxxx, 22 March 2025)

The last comment gives another perspective, by defending that President Prabowo actually ‘cares’ about the people, so there are several points in the TNI Law that got revised, even though the main reason why people don’t agree about the TNI Law is the potential for military intervention in the political field, the threat of civilian supremacy, and loss of legitimacy.

The comment analysis and visualization data revealed a group that explicitly defends military institutions and views them as the primary protectors of the nation's peace, leading to the selection of the military law revision (UU TNI) as the ideal solution. There are several words, such as "military needs to enter civil", "nation's stability", "military as the guard of nation's sovereignty", in the comments section, and Tempo media got implemented as the one who is anti-government. The polarization conditions of Indonesia's politics have led to most comments expressing negative sentiment, and YouTube has become a digital platform for a narrative competition between independent civil media groups and those controlled by the government. The negative sentiment showed the military law (UU TNI) as a competition of ideology and identity, not only the policy issues themselves.

Word Clouds' second visualization analysis based on keywords describes the debate and comments' variation from Bocor Alus Politik "Aktor & Lobi-lobi di Balik Revisi UU TNI". In line with the research objective to identify both negative and positive sentiments in Bocor Alus Politik content videos, it also encompasses a range of subjective expressions, opinions, and responses. The construction of opinions from the video's comment section help researchers to understand not only for the sake of knowing and observing classification of sentiments towards the revision of TNI law policy, but also recognizing variety of subjectivity of the audiences who share their opinion regarding the matter, showing polarization of information from Bocor Alus Politics' content, indicating a tension between civil society pro narratives (Tempo media and citizens) with the more military pro narratives (showing pessimism towards Tempo's media integrity and agreeing the revision policy).

If analyzed through public sphere and cyberspace theory by Habermas, social media platforms like YouTube should be able to become a rational, inclusive, and open discourse space. But, the analysis by the Wordcloud shows that the comments are dominated by irrational expression of emotions, provocative, sarcasm, information bias, and personal views in conveying opinions related to the TNI Law, thus forming an echo chamber and filter bubble, a condition when viewers only interact with opinions that match with their knowledge, and it proved by positive sentiment comments that get more replies and likes, while comments of negative sentiments earn less responses, it regardless of the role of buzzer account and etc. In addition, the role of YouTube's algorithm that can display popular comments also supports the formation of echo chambers and filter bubbles, thus strengthening the understanding of each other's opinions. Even though YouTube still has the potential to be a deliberative democracy platform, as evidenced by the many rational, supportive comments that focus on issues.

CONCLUSION

This study analyzes the dynamics of public opinion regarding the military reform law by using sentiment analysis on netizens' comments on the YouTube channel "Bocor Alus", titled "Aktor & Lobi-Lobi di Balik Revisi UU TNI". The reformation law triggers pros and cons among netizens. The



findings show that YouTube has evolved into a significant digital public sphere, facilitating political discourse and enabling citizens to express their voices directly. While the content substance primarily delivers criticism of the military reform law, the pro comments indicate agreement with the substantive criticisms in the video, and vice versa. More than 85 percent of comments express concern that the reform law will weaken civil supremacy and bring back military domination through “*Dwifungsi ABRI*”. Initially, “*Dwifungsi ABRI*” was established to ensure stability control during the Soeharto era (Djuyandi et al., 2025). However, during its implementation, the military misused its power and triggered traumatic history during the new order era. On the other hand, more than 15% of netizens express concern about media objectivity and agree that the reform was made for the sake of national stability and security.

REFERENCES

- Akdağ, Y. (2025). Great Power Cyberpolitics and Global Cyberhegemony. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592725000040>
- Akdağ, Y. (2025). Great Power Cyberpolitics and Global Cyberhegemony. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592725000040>
- Angela, D. (2024). Reformasi Tni: Analisa Komando Territorial (Koter) Dalam Hubungan Sipil-Militer. *Jurnal Polinter: Kajian Politik Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 9(2), 87–105. <https://doi.org/10.52447/pol.v9i2.7398>
- Arsi, P., & Waluyo, R. (2021). Analisis Sentimen Wacana Pemindahan Ibu Kota Indonesia Menggunakan Algoritma Support Vector Machine (SVM). *Jurnal Teknologi Informasi dan Ilmu Komputer*, 8(1), 147–156. <https://doi.org/10.25126/jtiik.0813944>
- Berg, S., & Hofmann, J. (2021). Digital democracy. *Internet Policy Review*. <https://doi.org/10.14763/2021.4.1612>
- Berliani, S., & Lestari, S. (n.d.). Analisis sentimen masyarakat terhadap isu pecat Sri Mulyani pada Twitter menggunakan metode Naive Bayes dan Support Vector Machine. *JURNAL SAINS DAN TEKNOLOGI*, 5(3), 951–960. <https://doi.org/10.55338/saintek.v5i3.2746>
- Calhoun, C. (n.d.). *Habermas and The Public Sphere*. The MIT Press.
- Chambers, S. (2019). Deliberative Democracy. In A. Allen & E. Mendieta (Eds.), *The Cambridge Habermas Lexicon* (1st ed., pp. 94–97). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316771303.027>
- Djuyandi, Y., Sudirman, A., & Suryana, N. (2025). Analisis Hubungan Sipil-Militer di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi 1998. *Journal of Political Issues*, 7(1), 46–56. <https://doi.org/10.33019/jpi.v7i1.337>
- Fathoni, Y., Ahmad, A., Rushufah, R., Sipayung, J., & Indrawan, J. (n.d.). Analyzing the Implications of the TNI Bill Ratification on Civil-Military Synergy and Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia. 2025, 8(1), 1–13. <https://ejournal.upnvj.ac.id/GlobalKomunika/article/view/10919>
- Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. The MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/1564.001.0001>
- Habermas, J. (2006). Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research. *Communication Theory*, 16(4), 411–426. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00280.x>
- Handayani, L., Mahdalena, V., & Bp, R. L. (2025). *Dinamika Gender dalam Ruang Maya*. 8(2), 1–10.

- Jordan, T. (1999). *Cyberpower: the culture and politics of cyberspace and the Internet*. Routledge.
- Koswara, I. (2025). *Diskursus Digital dan Suara Publik: Komentar YouTube dalam Kasus #IndonesiaGelap*. 11–24.
- Kurniawan, S. D., Widiastuti, R. Y., Hermanto, D. M. C., Mukhlis, I. R., Pipin, S. J., & Surianto, D. F. (n.d.). & Judijanto, L. (2024). *Big Data: Mengenal Big Data & Implementasinya di Berbagai Bidang*. PT. Sonpedia Publishing Indonesia. <https://scholar.google.com/scholar?cluster=14079771890408600206&hl=en&oi=scholar>
- Lim, M. (2017). Freedom to hate: social media, algorithmic enclaves, and the rise of tribal nationalism in Indonesia. *Critical Asian Studies*, 49(3), 411–427. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188>
- Mikhaylovskaya, A. (2024). Enhancing Deliberation with Digital Democratic Innovations. *Philosophy & Technology*, 37(1), 3. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13347-023-00692-x>
- Moats, D., & Tseng, Y.-S. (2024). Sorting a public? Using quali-quantitative methods to interrogate the role of algorithms in digital democracy platforms. *Information, Communication & Society*, 27(5), 973–1007. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2023.2230286>
- Morrice, A. (2021). Security sector reform trends: conflict-affected states and international responses. *Civil-Military Occasional Papers*. https://www.academia.edu/64577389/Security_sector_reform_trends_conflict_affected_states_and_international_responses
- Nix, D. (2018). American Civil-Military Relations: Samuel P. Huntington and the Political Dimensions of Military Professionalism. *Naval War College Review*, 65(2). <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol65/iss2/7>
- Ramadhan, A. A., Utama, I. P. A. A., & Arkan, J. (2022). E-Konstituen: Inovasi Aplikasi Digital Berbasis Digital Operating System Untuk Meningkatkan Peran Generasi Muda di Era Demokrasi Digital. *Ministrate: Jurnal Birokrasi Dan Pemerintahan Daerah*, 4(1), 35–45. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jbpd.v4i1.17068>
- Ramis-Moyano, R. (2025). Democratic innovations and political parties: reevaluating the influence of ideology. *Contemporary Politics*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2025.2502027>
- Rianto, P. (2023). SOUSVEILLANCE DAN BENTUK-BENTUK BARU PENGAWASAN WARGA NEGARA DALAM DEMOKRASI DIGITAL DI INDONESIA. *Interaksi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 12(2), 230–249. <https://ejournal.undip.ac.id/index.php/interaksi/article/view/55631>
- Saud, M., Ida, R., Mashud, M., Yousaf, F. N., & Ashfaq, A. (2023). Cultural dynamics of digital space: Democracy, civic engagement and youth participation in virtual spheres. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 97, 101904. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101904>
- Zhang, L., Wang, S., & Liu, B. (2018). *Deep Learning for Sentiment Analysis: A Survey*. arXiv. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1801.07883>