

The Influence Of Artificial Intelligence In Development Of Far Right In Europe

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Abstract.

The study aims to analyse the use of AI on social media by non-state far-right activists and actors in Europe in the political year 2022-2023. The study also examines the problems posed by the use of AI in a political context and the legal measures implemented by European countries to mitigate these potential risks. Far-right ideology is not a new ideology in Europe. This ideology has existed since the 18th century. In the 2022-2023 political year, far-right parties gained seats in parliament and won elections in several European countries. This research is qualitative research using a critical paradigm. This research uses the Theory of Public Sphere. This theory was put forward by Jürgen Habermas whose essence is the formation of group opinion that can maintain structure, modify structure and ideological goals can be resistance to the practice of government and power. Public space theory also analyses the influence of AI in helping to promote the spread of extremist narratives, broaden the appeal of far-right movements to society, and create an atmosphere that encourages radicalization. The results of this study show how important it is to understand how AI technology interacts with the political dynamics of extremism in Europe.

Keywords: AI, Politic, Media Social, Communication, Technology, Europe and Far-right.

I. INTRODUCTION

Ideology is an understanding that can be embraced by an individual, a group of societies or a state. Ideology has an important role as a statement and attitude in carrying out the life of the nation and state. Ideology itself comes from Latin words, namely, ideos which contains the meaning of thought, and logical which contains the meaning of thought, knowledge, logic, science. Overall, ideology can be interpreted as the result of thoughts made by the state or organization or a group of people as a basic belief to achieve goals in socio-political life (Bocancea, 2013). In Europe, ideology grew as a result of the development of philosopher thinkers in Europe. In the 18th century, during the French revolution, Destutt de Tracy was a philosopher who introduced the ideology of the national education system for the first time. This ideology is considered to be able to change French society to be more scientific and rational. Ideology then progressively developed in the 19th century (Emmet, 1973). In Europe there are several ideologies, namely: liberal, left-wing, far-left, right-wing, and far-right. The far-right movement can be traced in Europe as a number of far-right groups began to emerge and spread their ideology in various countries in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In addition, many countries in Europe that have nationalist and authoritarian governments are often associated with anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant beliefs. The most extreme movement in Europe first emerged in 1898 under the name French Action Francaise, and combined nationalism, monarchy, and anti-Semitic understandings. According to Leroux (2000), the Fascist movement led by Benito Mussolini in Italy emerged in the 1920s, and the German Nazi party emerged in 1933. Previous studies looked at several instances of radicalism in Europe suspected by right-looking activists and non-state actors. In their research, Gattinara and Pirro state that the migration crisis led to xenophobic violence and attacks on refugees and asylum facilities in several European countries such as Italy, Germany, Austria, and even France. It starts with media coverage of protests and campaigns carried out by far-right activists and actors (Gattinara & Pirro, 2018). Activists and non-state actors cannot use the mainstream media to fully spread extremist ideology in Europe. Therefore, non-state actors and activists prefer to use social media for their purposes (Klunavská & Hruška, 2018). With artificial intelligence (AI) continuing to evolve in recent years, many people, including activists and non-nationalist actors in Europe, are interested in using it.

The following are the research questions asked:

- 1). Why is AI being used in political campaigns in 2022-2023 by non-state far-right activists and actors in Europe?
- 2). What are the implications of using AI in a political context and what are the legal measures implemented by European countries to mitigate these potential risks?

Thus, the purpose of this study is to analyse the use of AI on social media by non-state far-right activists and actors in Europe in the political year 2022-2023. The study also examines the problems posed by the use of AI in a political context and the legal measures implemented by European countries to mitigate these potential risks.

II. METHODS

(1) In conducting this study, researchers use an exploratory qualitative approach, so that the author can carry out the research process by analysing social conditions, phenomena, events and finally can analyse policies. According to the book *Research Design; The Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method approach* states that qualitative research can be interpreted in general, namely the existence of phenomena, research locations, research participants explored in a study (Creswell, 2017). Based on this understanding, the author compiled this study using an analysis, observation approach and collecting primary and secondary data.; (2) Data Source, the author compiled this study using an analysis, observation approach and collecting primary and secondary data.

(3) Data Collection Techniques, the source of data obtained by the author is data taken from a number of journals, studies, books and websites. In collecting the data, the author uses two data, namely primary data derived from social media observations about the far-right in the European region, then secondary data obtained through journals, websites, books that can contribute to the writing of this study; (4) Data Analysis, the author in conducting data analysis is by collecting data to then be analysed from various points of view. Qualitative data analysts have several stages, namely data presentation, data reduction and conclusion drawing until the data can be validated and research objectives can be achieved (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Utilization of AI technology in social media - Far-right instrument strategy in Europe

Far-right parties with their main policies on nationalism and immigration have continuously attracted voters. The use of alternative public spaces with the increasing use of mass media by far-right groups in developing social networks can be one of the causes (Karpova, A., Savelev, A., Vilnin, A. & Kuznetsov, S., 2022). In order to spread far-right messages and ideologies widely, and even across countries in Europe, far-right non-state activists and actors are able to make maximum use of online platforms. By demonstrating the ability to use technology, non-state activists and actors were able to gain new influence in new locations in Europe for the purpose of far-right activism and campaigns. This dialogical change is a consequence of the diversity of social media platforms that has become the hallmark of the modern internet. The delivery of information through communication using media to be able to disseminate information / messages widely and continuously in order to build meaning and can influence society / people with various characters is what is referred to as mass communication according to Defleur and Dennis (DeFleur, 1985).

Because there is no direct dialogue, then the reciprocity obtained is delayed, mass communication is one-way, even, between the conveyor of information / message and the recipient does not need to be in the same location. Far-right groups are no longer limited to communicating within their internal circles, as was the case in the early days of the development of the Internet, where communication took place through websites, chat forums, and closed online spaces. These activists and non-state actors use "like," "retweet," and "pin" buttons to share a generally overhauled version of their message with a wider audience. The challenge of this kind of content is that it is often superficial and loaded with symbolism, relying on concepts about tradition, ideological values to attract followers and expand campaigns against narratives and messages that contain national spirit (Allchorn, 2023). In a simple picture, mass media or social media is a tool or

means used to disseminate various information content, opinions, entertainment, comments and so on (Heinich, 1996). Apart from the positive and negative impacts of mass communication from internet-based mass media, according to Keith R. Stamm & John E. Bowes (1990), who said that there are two impacts of mass communication, namely the main impact and the secondary impact:

- 1). The main impact obtained is related to the understanding of the recipient of information / messages influenced by the mass media - the message conveyed, then the amount of messages / information about the community, and also how to deliver the information and messages.
- 2). Secondary impacts, namely impacts that result in changes in attitudes, reactions to messages / information conveyed and satisfaction from the public in utilizing the mass media.

Social media platforms are unique because they are integrated, combining many media and communication technologies such as websites, email, images, videos, group discussions and search engines (Trottier & Fusch, 2014: 6). The existence of social media can allow people to be able to follow news, things related to ideology, and political updates constantly, through instant sharing features that can be accessed through a set of technologies, which can certainly provide exposure benefits regarding political information. In addition, social media platforms are important because political and non-political actors with the public can interact directly. Although there are people who are not interested in a particular content, the community can be exposed to such unwanted content, because the content has been posted or shared with others who are connected or friends with him on that social media platform (Xenos et al, 2014). The expansion of polarization in politics is partly due to the ease of access to political information and propaganda on social media. This happens because of the possibility that people with the same views, can issue messages repeatedly so that there is a justification, so that the community itself becomes an active voice and a long hand of political and non-political actors on social media in defence of polarized ideologies (Besalú&Pont-Sorribes, 2021). Although not all far-right are radical and call for high hatred, in the end there is limited access to the far-right, so far-right groups turn to this digital communication.

For example, many far-right media websites are no longer operating, due to several factors, such as lack of funds, too radical, the founder of the media died and no one replaced him but his works remain accessible today, such as spearhead.co.uk who have a lot of writings about immigration, race, religion, and so on in order to achieve their original goals. Therefore, there is a need for a strategy for far-right parties in providing information about party platforms and ideologies carried such as using generative artificial intelligence (AI) technology to remain interesting and subtly satirical. A recent example that shows how far-right non-state activists and actors are using online technology to voice campaigns, propaganda, recruitment, donations and radicalism is the use of artificial intelligence (AI)-based tools. In recent conditions, we can see that there are groups that use generative AI technology to explore the potential of material creation, create visual images, collect donations and design recruitment tools to support agendas that promote nationalism. In European governments, the rise of the far-right is seen in far-right parties that gain important positions in government, such as in Italy. With the victory of the brothers of Italy party in the last election of 2022, the brothers of Italy party became the first right-wing government in Western Europe since the end of the Second World War, the party has its roots in the postwar movement that rose from fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. In addition, this will be Italy's first government led by a woman, Giorgia Meloni (Ammassari & McDonnell, 2022).

In almost every speech, Meloni appealed to nationalist and conservative sentiments in Italian society (Dona, 2022). Meloni is expected to form a far-right government in Italy, worrying much of Europe as Italy is the EU's third-largest economy. With the use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) technology, the process of processing information from starting to collect and analyse data can run quickly. Thus, content and news algorithms can be formed according to the preferences of each individual. In the end, there is a filter bubble, where individuals will be faced with opinions that are in line with their opinions (Bozdog & Hoven, 2015). This can be applied by the far-right in Europe, using hashtags such as #reimmigration or #whitelivesmatter that can attract far-right sympathizers. This generative artificial intelligence (AI) technology, as explained earlier, can be in the form of text, audio or images which if used by irresponsible parties can be used to create false, provocative, misleading, or very false content. With the negative use of

AI, the existence of public space becomes dangerous (Kronke, 2019). In addition, AI technology can be used by the far-right in measuring response or support to policies or campaigns that are being carried out through social media platforms or other online media. In order to be able to design a more effective communication strategy.

The Influence of AI in Shaping Public Opinion in a Political Context

In using artificial intelligence (AI) technology, activists and far-right non-state actors use social media tools accompanied by hashtags in their dissemination to make it easier to obtain the latest information about topics that are being hotly discussed by far-right non-State activists and actors. From several samples obtained by the author, there are photos and videos that are made as interesting as possible and easy to understand, so that they can reach audiences of various ages in European countries. The aspirations issued by these political actors can trigger various critical debates that can arouse group and public opinion, as Hegel said. The existence of opinions, thoughts and views bridged by far-right actors has caused these opinions, thoughts or views to be perfect. Although it seems manipulative, the formation of group opinions that can maintain structure, modify structure and ideological goals can be a bid of resistance to the practice of government and power (Habermas, 1989). The influence of artificial intelligence (AI) in shaping public opinion, can be seen from Habermas's perspective in the context of political communication, by looking at phenomena that reflect major changes in the way society communicates and participates in political and state processes. Jürgen Habermas who is a social and political philosopher explains in his book "Public Space" where citizens gather, discuss and form opinions together (Habermas, 1989). However, with changes in technological advances (AI) significantly changes the form of communication between individuals, how people discuss and express their opinions in public spaces. In the absence of major media interference, social media is a promising instrument because far-right party leaders as well as activists and politicians can communicate independently with supporters, militants or potential far-right supporters. Therefore, it is not impossible to create more far-right organizations / groups based on social media, because it has provided free communication instruments.

Hashtags can also facilitate communication and a means to engage in a debate. While this opens up opportunities for open and democratic discussions on a wide range of topics, far-right non-state activists and actors can easily infiltrate their views into ongoing discussions (Juhász&Szicherle, 2017). Social media is certainly also different from other traditional mass media. In the absence of rules, as well as strict ethics from traditional media journalism, social media has become a proven instrument to promote and share information about far-right ideology through published content. Content provided by the far-right has a tendency to go viral, this is because the content displays several elements such as polarization, shock, something that can arouse emotions, and can even cross the line (Atton, 2006). Maura Conway, a professor of international security, thinks that the beginning of far-right extremism in digital media occurred in the mid-1990s when the internet was developing. Since then, the far-right movement has replaced offline-based egocentric, nationalistic, racist propaganda to voice it online (Conway et al, 2019). The development of information and communication technology, which has made Europe's boundaries disappear, has been considered a cause for the far-right to be able to "connect and cooperate" (Whine, 2012). AI can be used to create political messages with individual preferences in mind, thus enabling more effective and targeted political campaigns. But AI also has a complex impact in helping individuals get their political messages across. AI can create inequalities in access to information and reinforce political polarization in both positive and negative messages (Kreps&Kriner, 2023). Therefore, the role of regulatory, ethical, and educational institutions has become very important in managing the influence of AI to shape public opinion in a positive and long-term direction.

European Steps to Address AI's Far-Right Influence

For information, social media algorithms can also change communication in the public sphere leading to a logical debate and become a popularity contest, so that the far-right can use it to grow. The existence of factors such as the weakness of the democratic system and sociocultural, economic, political scenarios has caused no significant European political shift towards the far-right (Khosravini, 2017). However, the development of AI does pose a dilemma, as it relates to freedom of speech and human

rights (Niklas & Dencik, 2021). The European Commission in April 2021, proposed regulations on artificial intelligence. As stated on the official website of the European Union, in the law there are several discussions such as the proposal of a regulatory framework on artificial intelligence and relevant assessments of the impact of generative artificial intelligence (AI), then Europe also invests in the digital sector in order to build strong and high-performance AI. Although still in the process of negotiations in the European Parliament on this AI Law, within the framework of the regulations made, there is a proposal for a clear and easy-to-understand approach, based on four different levels of risk: namely unacceptable risk, high risk, limited risk and minimal risk. This is suspected to be able to ensure basic human rights in freedom of speech.

IV. CONCLUSION

The use of social media by far-right groups has been widely discussed in several previous studies, while the use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) technology in social media as a political tool that can be used to provoke, campaign, propaganda, recruitment has actually not been discussed much because it is still in its early development stage. However, as explained earlier, there have been several attempts and trials carried out such as by activists in Germany and Britain. However, we need to note, that activists and non-state actors can also use AI for provocation campaigns that can lead to violence or extreme actions that can violate human rights, AI can also be used for the use of weapons printing technology or drones for attacks.

Therefore, it is recommended that European practitioners and policymakers proactively anticipate and address these developments. This could include the potential use of AI in interventions to prevent violent acts, such as creating content that contradicts the message being conveyed, blocking accounts that use AI to convey false messages (disinformation). Other measures could include incorporating regulations and incentives for safe AI design, preventing the use of potentially harmful AI products by far-right non-state activists & actors, and putting forward responsible rhetoric to assuage concerns and fears about this new technology. Tech companies developing these kinds of products also need to engage in the process of risk evaluation and extremist use during the design stage. In addition, they must take a careful approach in releasing open-source versions of AI technologies, engage end users in dialogue and avoid rushed launches without comprehensive security tests.

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