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MISLEADING THE RUSSIAN EXODUS BETWEEN FACTS AND HOAXES IN SOCIAL MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Russian politics in conventional wars not only occurred in the first and second wars but also related to social media wars, such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Telegram, TikTok, and even Russian and Ukrainian citizen journalists took part in the war; this resulted in a misleading exodus of Russian society between facts and hoaxes. Looking at the case study after Russia's political decision to mobilize the reserve army partially, we understand that the current war events are not necessarily clear facts and reality. This study looks at the misleading exodus of Russian society between points and hoaxes that occur on social media. This paper uses a qualitative method. This paper aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the misleading exodus of Russian society between facts and hoaxes after the Russian government's political decree on the partial mobilization of the reserve army in the Russia-Ukraine war. The data is obtained through the search for news texts, photos, videos, statements, digital traces as communication artifacts, both valuable news and hoaxes, and even citizen journalism reports from the West, Ukraine, and even Russia in various social media from multiple places of events. Therefore, this paper formulates the following questions: 1) what caused the public exodus with the facts of the post-decree process? (2) how did the social reception of Russian society on the facts and hoaxes on the partial mobilization of the reserve army cornered Russia? (3) how misleading is formed in Russian culture due to continuous false information until public attitudes are formed between rejecting and accepting info on the partial mobilization of the Russian reserve army in the Russia-Ukraine war. Results: shows that the misleading exodus of Russian society in facts and hoaxes provides an overview; (1) Political motives are thick in the case of partial mobilization for the reserve army, and there is a goal of bringing down the ruling government intending to weaken and or prevent President Putin from continuing his intention to conquer Ukraine; (2) Hoaxes are carried out continuously and repeatedly through social media to form public opinion that the opinion is genuine. (3) misleading exodus in social media. This finding shows that there has been a misleading exodus of Russian society between facts and hoaxes on Russian political decrees.

Keywords: Misleading, Exodus, Russia-Ukraine War

1. INTRODUCTION

The new media era has marked the intensification of the use of technology in changing the face of "War" in the political constellation of countries in times of conflict. The use of communication technology and social media applications has taken an essential role in the war between Russia and Ukraine as access to Russia's political decision to close all Russian news agencies; for example, The Russian government closed the activities of a news agency Novaya Gazeta because it was too critical of the invasion of Ukraine. Then, the Russian government closed the Moscow office of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and revoked the visas and accreditation of its journalists. Furthermore, Russia closed the Moscow office of the German foreign broadcaster Deutsche Welle (DW) and withdrew the certification of employees in the country.

So far, this paper explains that the management of Deutsche Welle decided to involve itself as soon as possible with other broadcasting companies, such as 'BBC' and 'Voice of America' with the same mission that Deutsche Welle has started on the Internet as an information and program



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provider (Bogen et al., 1996; Mocatta & Hawley, 2020). The Russian invasion of Ukraine was not an overnight event but was a direct result of Ukraine's years of determination to become a NATO member and opposition to Russia (Qureshi et al., 2022). The conflict between Russia and Ukraine on February 24, 2022, led to a sharp increase in geopolitical risk (GPR) faced by regional and international financial markets (Umar et al., 2022). One year and seven months have passed, and down the escalation since the particular operation to Ukraine, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine led the Putin government to decide to strengthen the combat power by adding soldiers to the front line of fighting in Ukraine. Russia has a reserve component of more than 2 million people, including former government conscripts (compulsory military service in Russia), retired officers, and those who have left active duty. The Russian government's decree on the partial mobilization of the reserve army has become a blunder for Russian political policy because it turns out that the presence of social media such as FB, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, Telegram, and even the existence of citizen journalism has played a significant role in the lives of Russian and Ukrainian citizens. This paper aims to complement the shortcomings that have ignored the critical role of communication technology in changing the "face" of the war between Russia and Ukraine. Relations between countries have been instrumentalized in line with the widespread use of gadgets in various parts of the world. This paper has three questions that can be formulated: (1) what causes the public exodus with the facts of the post-decree process rolling? (2) how the social reception of Russian society on the facts and hoaxes over the partial mobilization of the reserve army has cornered Russia; (3) how misleading is formed in Russian society due to continuous false information until public attitudes are formed between rejecting and accepting info on the partial mobilization of the Russian reserve army in the Russian-Ukrainian war.

This paper is based on the argument that the misleading exodus of Russian society between facts and hoaxes in Russia's decision on the reserve army has been disseminated through social media. The misleading exodus gave birth to geopolitics in the war between media. The main goal of this politics is to bridge international politics as a Russian war strategy. Misleading exodus in Russian society between facts and hoaxes can provide misinformation. So that many people outside of Russia will receive inaccurate information from the media. Thus, misleading exodus in Russian society between facts and hoaxes can harm the war between Russia and Ukraine.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Misleading

Misleading information is the provision of information that is entirely wrong, provides half-true information, provides incomplete information, and is utterly meaningless in material information, causing misleading information, which is prohibited in the principle of openness. Currently, human life is in the digital era; according to Dwi Putri Iftihar Asror (December 20, 2020, Kompas.com), all fields have become accessible through the rapid development of technology, especially the internet. Of course, progress benefits human life in various aspects of life. The negative side of this technological progress is like the coronavirus so rampant and deadly, but there has been no preventive severe action to destroy it, namely the hoax virus. Why is it called the hoax virus? Because, like any other virus, a hoax virus can be in the form of hoax information that will easily spread quickly, and when one person is infected, in this case, they believe in a hoax information, they will quickly spread it through a trap link (clickbait).

Hoax is information fabricated to cover up accurate information. Meanwhile, the KBBI states that the meaning of hoax is false news. In other words, a hoax can be defined as an attempt to distort facts using information that seems convincing but cannot be verified. Misinformation, often



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called hoax, is now a severe problem. The reason is that hoaxes have become one of the phenomena of broken friendships, friction, and hostility. According to Dwi Putri Iftihar Asror (20-12-20 Kompas.com), there are several hoaxes to watch out for; 1). Satire/parody is content created to satirize certain parties. The content packaging contains parody, irony, and even sarcasm. In general, satire is a form of criticism of individuals and groups in responding to current issues. 2). Misleading content. Misleading content is formed by utilizing original information, such as images, official statements, or statistics. However, it is edited to have no connection to the original context. 3). Imposter content (imposter content): Imposter content occurs when information takes the statements of famous and influential figures. Not only individuals this fake content can also take the form of imitation content by hijacking the fame of a party or institution. 4) Fabricated false content. Fabricated content is considered to be the most dangerous type of false content. This content is 100% factually unaccountable. 5). False connection: This content is usually uploaded to gain profit or excessive publicity from sensational content. 6). False context is content presented with a narrative and usually wrong context; false context contains statements, photos, or videos of events that have occurred in a place, but the context is written not by existing facts. 7). Manipulated content usually contains edits of information published by extensive and credible media. As a generation that understands technology and information, we must be competent in choosing information and news; if we are not careful, social media users/netizens will be easily consumed by hoaxes and can even participate in spreading hoaxes. Of course, it will be very detrimental to the victims of slander. Furthermore, Vibriza (2017) states that there are several types of hoax information, namely: 1). Fake news (fake news), 2). Trap link (clickbait); 3). Confirmation bias; 4). Misinformation; 5). Satire; 6). Post-truth; 7). Propaganda. So, hoaxes are not just misleading or misleading information but have a particular political agenda that is very deadly (Simarmata et al., 2019: 3).

Exodus

An exodus is the movement of many people from one place to another (Simanjuntak et al., 2021). In the Western tradition, the exodus phenomenon is known as the Great Biblical Story of how people moved to free themselves from oppression (Koet, 2021). Correspondingly, in today's society, Dufhues et al. (2021) said that exodus is expected in rural communities, especially in economically weak areas. This phenomenon often creates a tense atmosphere and insecurity (Jerwin et al., 2018). The Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) states exodus as the act of leaving the place of origin (hometown, city, country) by the population on a large scale.

On the one hand, the exodus is an effort to get out of specific gaps. However, on the other hand, it also affects the ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, defense, and security order and the sovereignty of the area entered (Syahrin, 2018). The exodus is not only influenced by internal factors within a community but also by external factors. Complex situations and conditions have become the basis for the exodus. The availability of jobs mainly influences internal factors, the quality of education, or health facilities in a region (Rodríguez-Díaz et al., 2022).

Yu et al. (2022) mentioned that the exodus phenomenon in Northeast China is motivated by economic growth below middle income. The loss of qualified human resources influences the decline in the economic income index. External factors can occur due to natural conditions and natural disasters. The exodus due to natural disasters, for example, occurred in Brazil after the collapse of the Fundão dam in Mariana. A total of 51 families whose primary source of income



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was agriculture and fishing left their villages to move to urban areas because the land was contaminated and became unproductive (Soares Fortes et al., 2022).

Furthermore, according to Dwi Arjanto (November 12, 2021, Kompas.com), there are actual examples of a massive exodus of people in the Afghanistan and Syria wars and the racial massacre in Myanmar of the Rohingya ethnic group. The exodus due to natural disasters we see a lot in Indonesia, such as the Aceh and Palu Tsunami. Then, the exodus of people was due to political conflict when Indonesia 1998 experienced political instability before the New Order collapsed. Chinese people in various cities in Indonesia fled abroad to Singapore and Hong Kong. Thus, internal and external factors have influenced the phenomenon of the exodus of a population in various countries worldwide.

Soviet-Ukrainian War

The Russia-Ukraine war is inseparable from the long history between the two. It began in the 9th century with Scandinavian nations crossing the Baltic Sea to take control of Kyiv (currently the capital of Ukraine), which became the center of trade between the Scandinavians and Constantinople (Kasekamp, 2018). Later, in 989, Vladimir I expanded the territory to the Caucasus and the Black Sea (Rădvan, 2021). The Kingdom of Kyiv, or Kievan Rus, ruled until it was conquered by the Mongols in 1237 (Panossian, 2022). After this moment, there were several dynamics, such as invasions and power struggles, until the formation of the Soviet Union, which was then led by Vladimir Lenin in 1922 (Tian & Chen, 2022). During World War II, the Soviet Union expanded into various union states and decided to join the Allies and fight the Axis Powers (Pfluke, 2019). Then, in 1991, still influenced by the post-2nd World War, the Soviet Union had 15 breakaway Republics, including Russia and Ukraine (Mankoff, 2014).

Vladimir Putin is known as the man who opposed the breakup of the Soviet Union and is determined to take back Ukraine. On the other hand, the current Ukrainian government is dominated by pro-Western Bloc views to the extent that it wants to become a partner (not a member) of NATO (Götz, 2015). This attitude made Putin react more by issuing three requests: prohibiting NATO from expanding, withdrawing all troops from Eastern Europe, and stopping intervention in any form (Mdzinarshvili & Sa'atun, 2022). The requests considered too intrusive were not granted until, on February 24, 2022, Putin instructed to launch a special military operation into Ukraine.

3. METHOD

This paper uses a qualitative method. This paper aims to gain an in-depth understanding of the misleading exodus of Russian society between facts and hoaxes after the Russian government's political decree on the partial mobilization of the reserve army in the Russia-Ukraine war. The data is obtained through text/newspaper searches by trying to unravel the implied and explicit meanings of war events through tracing photos, videos, statements, digital traces as communication artifacts, both valuable news and hoaxes, and even citizen journalism reports from the West, Ukraine and even Russia in various social media from various places of the event.

4. RESULTS



4.1. Social Media Profiles Most Used by Russian Residents (2022)

Table 1. Russian Social Media Users 2022

No	Types of Social-Media	Number of Users/day (Million)	Percentage of total population
1	Youtube	106	72,7 %
2	Instagram	63	43,2 %
3	Facebook	54,9	48 %
4	TikTok	8,6	5,9 %
5	Twitter	3	2 %

Source: Russian Digital Publication, we are Social, by Kompas/AVN R&D, 2022

Table 1 illustrates that Russian social media users were relatively high before the closure of the Russian news agency, especially YouTube, with a percentage of 72.7%. This application was favored because the content and features with visuals and audio were quite interesting. The interest of citizens on social media Instagram and Facebook is quiet and balanced so that all text and online news, photos, news from Russian-Ukrainian citizen journalism, and even digital traces of the dynamics and turmoil of the Russia - Ukraine war continue to be observed by Russian, Ukrainian and citizen social media users and pro-western media and NATO. There are several hoaxes stated by Dwi Putri Iftihar Asror (20-12-20 Kompas com), such as: 1). Satire/parody is content created to satirize certain parties. The content packaging contains parody, irony, and even sarcasm. In general, satire is made by the public as a form of criticism of personal Russian government officials and Putin's group in responding to current issues. 2). Misleading content. Misleading content is formed by utilizing original information, such as images, official statements, or statistics, but is edited so that it has no connection to the original context. 3). Imposter content (imposter content): Imposter content occurs when information utilizes the statements of famous and influential figures. Not only individuals this fake content can also take the form of imitation content by hijacking the fame of a party or institution. 4) Fabricated false content. Fabricated content is considered to be the most dangerous type of false content. This content is 100% factually unreliable. 5). False connection: This content is usually uploaded to gain profit or excessive publicity from sensational content. 6). False context is content presented with an unusually wrong narrative and context; false context contains statements, photos, or videos of events occurring in a place, but the context written does not match the facts. 7). Manipulated content usually contains edits of information published by extensive and credible media; in the virtual world during the Russia-Ukraine conflict, these seven categories of hoaxes were shared by Russian netizens, Ukrainians, citizen journalists, and even the pro-western NATO media community (see Table 2 on the dynamics of Russian society following the decree on the partial mobilization of the reserve army in news, facts, and hoaxes).

4.1.1. The fact of the exodus: The process.

4.1.1.1. Russia-Ukraine warfare situation, current overview/initial conditions



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Chronology and background of the Russia-Ukraine War: Russia finally did invade Ukraine. President Vladimir Putin officially announced this on February 24, 2022. The Russian attack began with explosions in several Ukrainian cities, including Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, and Mariupol. Ukraine used to be close to Russia. However, Ukraine's leaders are now more comparable to the West and want to be part of NATO. During the Cold War, before 1990, Ukrainians and Russians were united in a federated state called the Soviet Union. It was a powerful communist state at the time. The Soviet Union, after the defeat of Germany and the end of WWII, influenced Eastern Europe. Countries in Eastern Europe also became communist countries. In 1991, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact dissolved, and Ukraine voted to secede from the Soviet Union in a referendum. Russian President Boris Yeltsin agreed that year. Subsequently, Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus formed the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Nevertheless, a split occurred. Ukraine considered that the CIS was an attempt by Russia to control the countries under the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. In May 1997, Russia and Ukraine signed a friendship treaty. This was an attempt to resolve the disagreement. Russia was allowed to retain majority ownership of ships in Ukraine's Crimea-based Black Sea fleet. Russia also had to pay Ukraine a rental fee for using the Sevastopol Port. Relations between Russia and Ukraine have heated up again since 2014. There was a revolution against Russian supremacy.

On the other hand, Russia also began conducting massive military exercises at the beginning of January 2022. All naval forces were deployed, and this exercise was carried out on land; Russia cooperated with Belarus, its close neighbor and ally. Russia denied that it would attack at the time.

Putin's nation did, however, make specific security requests to the West. One of the points was that NATO ended all military operations in Ukraine and Eastern Europe. Ukraine and other former Soviet states were requested by Russia never to be admitted as members of the alliance.

In an exclusive interview with CNBC Indonesia on 16 February 2022, Russian Ambassador to Indonesia, Lyudmila Georgievna Vorobieva, said Russia never intended to attack the neighboring country. She said this issue arose after being blown up by the US, NATO, and their allies. All the hysteria between Russia and Ukraine has been targeted at diverting the subject from our state security regarding the Russian Federation. We see the 30-plus years of NATO expansion and NATO infrastructure getting closer to the border.

4.2. Social perception (hoaxes, how parties interpret the fact of the exodus)

President Putin's decree on 22 September 2022 on the partial mobilization of the reserve army was a shock and a reminder to Russian society of the conscription of all citizens in the Russian War in the Second World War in 1941. During the Cold War, the world was divided into the Western capitalist bloc and the communist bloc. Today's information technology has also changed the face of "war," not only the physical involvement of the soldiers of the two countries but also the involvement of the community through social media both in the village, in the city, and the metropolitan city of Russia also colored the atmosphere of the extraordinary military operation to Ukraine (can be seen in table 2 about the dynamics of society after the Putin government's decree).

The anxiety of the Russian people over President Putin's decree led to various responses from the Russian people in interpreting the decision between apathy, pro-decree, and anti-decree by conducting personal and group exodus, calling for demonstrations through different local social media platforms in Russia and internationally.



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In the atmosphere of the turmoil in Russian society, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky on Thursday (22 September 2022) appeared in the headline "Ukrainian president urges Russians to reject partial mobilization" (Kompas.com, 24) September 2022 at 17.45 Wib in an excerpt of his daily speech which said "55,000 Russian soldiers have died in the six-month war. Quoted from AFP news agency. He further said "want more? No? Protest. Fight. Run or surrender to the Ukrainian army.

Further, even in his rhetorical speech, he said, "You have been involved in all the crimes, killings, and torture of the Ukrainian people because you are silent. All because you are silent. The Ukrainian President's fiery speech further unsettled the collective psychology of the Russian people in appealing to the Russian people to reject the Putin government's decree on the partial mobilization of the reserve army by departure to the Ukrainian state.

The Ukrainian President's speech quote is poignant: "For Russian men, it is your choice...to live or to die, to be disabled or healthy. Russian women, the choice for you is to lose your husband, children, and grandchildren forever or to protect them from death, war, and one man (Putin)". Immediately, the Russian people responded with anti-decree by fleeing with an exodus and demonstrating throughout Russia on 21/9/2022 after the announcement of the decree; there were even some Russian people who were apathetic by waiting for the government's invitation to participate in partial mobilization to Ukraine in special military operations (Kompas.com. Aditya Jaya Iswara. 24 September 2022 at 17.45 will). However, on 22 September 2022, the Kremlin government stated that the Russians eligible for mobilization rushed out of the country in a false report.

The new generation of Russians does not know the era of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the period when the Russian Union was rebuilt. They lived when communication technology became the daily life of people in the country. At the same time, Putin is the only Russian political figure representing his generation witnessing the ups and downs, seeing the Russian state survive in the world political universe.

After Putin announced partial mobilization in Russia on Wednesday, 21 September 2022, for a war that had been going on for seven months, communication technology colored the frenetic Russian Ukraine with various statements from Russian citizens, Western Ukrainians, and NATO to citizen journalism. Putin further warned all parties in response to the world's response to the headline "World reacts to Putin's partial mobilization plan in Ukraine war." Putin stated that by defending Russia's territorial sovereignty by facing the West aiming to destroy Russia, Putin will use all means to protect his territory. (Russian Ministry of Defence Press Service via AP photo on 21 September 2022). Each side involved in the Russian-Ukrainian war has its agenda and strategies to win.

This paper only analyses media texts, photos, and news and even analyses audiences in social media to simplify the conflict of interest between the two countries. However, reception is an activity that occurs when even a novice researcher obtains content from print, audio-visual, and other media by analyzing any changes in general readers' responses, interpretations, and evaluations of the same or different texts, especially the misleading exodus of Russian society after Putin's decree on the partial mobilization of the reserve army (Couto, 2011).

Table 2. Dynamics Of Russian Citizens After The Russian Government's Decree On Partial Mobilization Of The Russian Reserve Army



2022

many Russians fled to Finland.

No	Date	News Title		Fact		Hoax
1	Wednesday, 21- 09-2022	Putin on the partial mobilization of the reserve army in the Russia-Ukraine war in Ukraine reached nearly sever months, seeking to recruit 300,000 combat troops. (Russia 24 via AP)	a b a p b 5 2. A a a a (1) 1 a b a b a a a (1) 1 a b a a a a a (1) 1 a b a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a	The mobilization policy was dopted because the length of the attle line exceeded 1,000 km, and Russia needed citizens to articipate in national defense, ut only for citizens aged 18 to 0 with military experience. A wave of protests was nnounced, and over 1,400 rrests were made. Maharani, 2022)	2. R su R 3. A R	deenage boys and adult men ave no military experience. Sussian citizens immediately aspect total mobilization of sussian citizens Sussian citizens Sussian citizens Sussian exodus is imminent in sussia's border regions with eighboring countries
No	Date	News Title	ı	Fact		Hoax
2	Thursday, 2-09-2022	Putin's call for partial mobilization lecitizen protests by Emily Sherwin. Fig 2. Putin's call for partial mobilization leads to citizen protests by Esherwin * Ukrainian president urges Russians to a partial mobilization.	ation Emily	liberate Ukraine's Donb region and keep it fro becoming Ukraine's "Yoke." is compulsory only for those reserve status subject conscription and those current serving in the military wi specific specializations as relevant experience Mobilization to secure to	as n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n n	Russian citizens fear partial mobilization is the first step in making many Russian men fight and die Visa-free flight tickets to Turkey, Armenia, and Azerbaijan are running out. Russian opposition media outlet Meduza also published an article on where to flee, such as Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia without a visa.
3	Friday, 23-09- 2022	Kremlin denies reports Russia will motone million men against Ukraine. Fig 3. Russian presidential spokes Dmitry Pe (https://dunia.rmol.id/)			th Nat a the tls. san	Kremlin rejects Russian media Novaya Gazeta, quoting from an obscure news story stating that it needs 1 million reserve soldiers.
No	Date	News Title		Fact		Hoax
4	Saturday, 24-09-	After the partial mobilization decree,		ic into Finland from Russia's		r guards say the number of

southeastern border is reportedly

heavier than ever. Finland is one

Russians entering Finland has



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		Fig 4. Traffic congestion at the Russia-Finland border crossing after President Vladimir Putin announced a partial mobilization decree on Wednesday (Reuters, 21/9).	of the countries that has not closed its borders since the open war between Russia and Ukraine. (Firsty Hestyarini, 2022)	more than doubled compared to the previous week.
5	Sunday, 25-09- 2022	Russian citizens flee en masse, fearing recruitment for war in Ukraine.	Unrest over Russia's partial mobilization of the reserve army continues to simmer in Russia. Exodus of people in Georgia and since 22 February 2022 Georgia has not closed its borders since 22 February 2022 and requires a visa. 4 out of 5 countries bordering Russia, such as Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, have closed their borders to overshadow the mobilization & at the same time, there will be referendums for four regions in Ukraine (Sarah Meiliana Gunawan, 2022).	Russian citizens must stay and fight against Putin. Asylum for 25 million conscripts is not an option.
No	Date	News Title	Fact	Hoax
6	ì			
0	Monday, 26-09- 2022	Putin threatens to use nuclear weapons in Ukraine, US retaliates. Fig 6. Traffic congestion at the Russia-Finland border crossing after President Vladimir Putin announced a partial mobilization decree on Wednesday (Reuters, 21/9).	The United States (US) has again warned Russia that 'catastrophic consequences' will befall the country if it is desperate to use nuclear weapons in the war in Ukraine. The US insists decisive action will be taken if Russian tactical nuclear weapons are used in Ukraine. As reported by Reuters and The Guardian, Monday (26/9/2022) (Novi Christiastuti, 2022)	In the latest statement, Lavrov reiterated Moscow's false claims to justify the invasion, namely that the elected government in Kyiv is illegitimate and filled with neo-Nazis.



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			apparently, people unfit to join the military. (Edwin Shri Bimo, 2022)				
No	Date	News Title	Fact	Hoax			
8	Wednesday, 28- 09-2022	Ukraine Claims Russian Combatants Sent to War Want to Surrender. Fig 8. Many Russians sent to Ukraine due to the reserve force mobilization order are begging Kyiv to surrender, unwilling to fight. (Reuters/Russian Defence Ministry).	Ukraine claims to have received many requests for help from Russian reservists who were just sent to fight and already want to surrender. Russia has mobilized its reserve forces (COMCAD), including conscripting eligible citizens to help with the invasion, following setbacks to its invasion of Ukraine. Since the beginning of September, Ukrainian forces have managed to retake parts of the country's east and made the Russian army surrender at some point (pwn, 2022).	Yusov said many Russians lack motivation and have low morale in responding to the mobilization.			
9	Thursday, 29- 09-2022	Ukraine Taps Russian Soldiers' Phone Calls. Fig 9. Ukraine Taps Russian Soldiers' Phone Calls (Reuters/Maxim Shemetov)	The Ukrainian military has intercepted thousands of phone calls from Russian soldiers in Ukraine. They reveal the chaos in President Vladimir Putin's army. Numerous phone calls show the horror and desperation that Russian fighters face. Some were never even told they were going into battle (Luc, 2022).	According to Ukrainian military intercepts translated by The New York Times, many of the calls were to the families of Russian troops. They generally complained about the tactical failure of the war.			
No	Date	News Title	Fact	Hoax			
10	Friday, 30-09- 2022	Russia Annexes 4 Regions of Ukraine by 30 September 2022. Fig 10. Russian President Vladimir Putin holds binoculars while watching the Center-2019 military exercises at the Donguz shooting range near Orenburg, Russia, 20 September 2019. Russian President Vladimir Putin warned that he would not hesitate to use nuclear	Russia officially claimed four regions of Ukraine this Friday (30/9/2022). As Western observers predicted, Russia held a deceptive referendum to annex Ukrainian territory. The four regions are Luhansk (Lugansk), Donetsk, Zaporizhzhia, and Kherson (Tommy Kurnia, 2022).	World leaders at the UN General Assembly called the referendum a sham. The referendum had no international monitors. And voters were picked up by soldiers at their homes			

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		weapons to deter Ukraine's attempts to regain control of the territory it occupies that Moscow would absorb (Alexei Nikolsky, Sputnik, Kremlin Pool Photo via AP)		
No	Date	News Title	Fact	Hoax
11	Saturday, 01-10- 2022	Attack from Belarus, Shoots US Satellite. Fig 11. Attack from Belarus, Shoots US Satellite (Reuters/Russian Defence Ministry)	Quoting CNBC International, the deputy chief of operations of the Kyiv general staff, Oleksii Hromov, conveyed the possibility of an attack. President Volodykyr Zelensky's government is said to have prepared troops for the possible attack. The number of Ukrainian soldiers was also increased, especially in the north of the country, which is close to the Belarusian border. "At the moment, the formation of an invading force (in Belarus) cannot be observed," he said, quoted on Friday (28/10/2022). (Set, 2022)	Putin is very likely to force Belarus to support him in the war. Mainly since the Ukrainian backlash has limited the Kremlin's options.
12	Sunday, 02-10- 2022	Russia suffered a humiliating military defeat at Lyman. Fig 12. Russian citizens are greeted by a volunteer upon arrival in Kazakhstan across the Syrym border crossing point on 27 September 2022 (AFP/STRINGER).	It is known that Ukrainian troops managed to liberate the main town of Lyman in the east. Videos circulating show Ukrainian troops raising the national flag and performing victory dances. Russia's Defence Ministry has admitted its army suffered a setback. (Nugrahani, 2022).	Syniehubov believes they were killed when they tried to escape from Russian soldiers, according to the Kyiv Independent.
No	Date	News Title	Fact	Hoax
13	Monday, 03-10- 2022	Russian court ratifies annexation of 4 Ukrainian regions. Fig 13. Russian President Vladimir Putin delivers a speech during the Victory Day celebrations on Monday, May 9, 2022 (Screenshot of The Guardian).	The war between Russian military forces and Ukraine has lasted 222 days as of Monday (3/10/2022). The latest news is that Russia's Constitutional Court has authorised the annexation of 4 major Ukrainian regions. (Nina Yuniar, 2022)	Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky confirmed that Ukraine had "completely cleared" Russian troops from the key eastern town of Lyman, a day after Moscow admitted its forces had pulled out after they were surrounded.

Description: Data processed by the author, October 2022



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4.3. Misleading and the underlying implications of tricky lead the public to believe the facts continuously molded by the media.

Following the Russian government's decree, the community appears to be split into several groups. For example, the pro-Putin government community supports the partial mobilization of the reserve army to participate in military special operations in Ukraine. A few anti-community members reject all participation in the Russia-Ukraine war by emigrating to border cities. The evidence indicates that throughout the decree era, hoaxes and accurate news were widely disseminated in real life and online, making it challenging for people to distinguish between the two types of information. It is compassionate because it speaks to people's fundamental needs for safety and comfort, evoking either a positive or negative reaction based on those needs. The decision to leave is particularly unpopular because Russian society will experience severe issues during the political exodus.

Furthermore, this paper finds out that the phenomenon of misleading Russian exodus between facts and hoaxes over the Russian government's decree on "partial mobilization of the Russian reserve army" provides an in-depth understanding of the changes taking place in the conflict in the State of Russia and the State of Ukraine. This paper argues that the Russian government's decree on Russia's partial mobilization is a blunder for Russia and a trigger for some people who do not like or approve of the Russian government's political agenda to spread unfounded messages and be forwarded by the public, whether pro, anti or abstaining from the government's decree to mislead information with the most vital political motives as the basis. Timeline, 27 September 2022 Portrait of partial mobilization of Russian reserve forces recruited during a partisan rally, attended a departure ceremony in Sevastopol, Crimea on 27 September 2022 has dispatched reserve forces to Ukraine has triggered rejection and demonstrations by people from various cities in Russia and an exodus of men abroad.

Russians are greeted by a volunteer in Kazakhstan at the Syrym border crossing point. The Russians rejected the partial mobilization order because they did not want to colonize and kill in another country, which they said was only Putin's ambition. Russians arrived in Georgia after crossing the Kazbegi/Verkhniy Lars border crossing point on 28 September 2022. Since the conflict began in February, the military has been pouring into the Caucasus country by car, about 20km by bicycle, and a few km on foot to the border. If they refuse mobilization and remain in Russia, they will be arrested and sentenced to ten years..

Even on Monday, October 3, 2022, the Russian Minister of Defence explained in more detail than in the Presidential decree women were not included in the recruitment or partial mobilization of the reserve army in response to the issue that women were included in the partial mobilization call, only men of suitable age and having the required skills were called to join because the first decree did not mention detailed criteria.

During the socialization of partial mobilization, many citizens without military experience or past the age of conscription received a call-up letter. This fact fuelled the citizens' anger and led to protests and significant riots. More than 1300 protesters were arrested in 38 cities, and more than 740 were detained in 30 cities from Petersburg to Siberia, according to the independent monitoring group OVD - info. Many Russian citizens ended up leaving the country to escape conscription. The above facts became the most critical moment and even a blunder for Putin's



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government. It is undoubtedly a spark for anti-Putin government groups to try to stop Russia's Special Military Operations in Ukraine.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Social Media Profiles Most used by Russian Residents (2022)

From the latest data, Russia has officially blocked access to one of the world's largest media, Facebook, and limiting public access to Twitter. The reason for the Russian Communications Regulator Roskomnadzor is that Facebook is accused of discriminating against Russian media so far. According to Statista Global Consumer Survey data, Vkontakte (VK) is the most preferred local social media by the Russian people; namely, Vkontakte (VK) is Russia's most popular social media. As many as 73% of residents use this local social media; just like other social media, VK can also be used to send general or private messages between users, create groups public pages, share and tag audio, images, and videos, and play browser-based games (Monavia Ayu Rizaty (07/03/2022 at 11.00 Wiba). Then Youtube ranks second as the most popular social media, followed by Instagram, and there is even more social media. Odnosklasniki is a social media that allows users to send animated e-cards and virtual gifts. The fact that local social media plays a significant role in the lives of Russian social media users does not appear in the Kompas opinion poll (2022). The fact that the presence of global and local social media contributed to misleading the Russian public's exodus between facts and hoaxes when the Russian government issued a decree on Partial Mobilisation for the reserve army was like watering a fire in trash that immediately caused a dramatic response from various circles of Russian society. The collective memory of the Russian people immediately went back to 1941 when the then-ruling government issued a decree on total mobilization for all Russian citizens to take part in compulsory national defense during the Second World War.

5.2. Exodus Facts: The Process

5.2.1. Current Situation and Conditions of the Russia-Ukraine Warfare.

Early in February 2022, a Russian war fleet demonstrated its might on the Ukrainian border, namely in Belarus, reigniting tensions between Russia and Ukraine. Although diplomatic attempts have been made and have not yet resulted in a resolution, it is anticipated that the high number of Russian forces will be utilized as a force to invade Ukraine and become the reason for the development of tensions in Russia-Ukraine relations. The actions of Russia, which not only led to the crisis in Ukraine but also in its relations with EU nations and the US in NATO, an alliance of European countries, the US, and Canada in the field of defense, cannot be separated from the escalation of tensions in Russia-Ukraine relations, according to NATO member states. The situation started as NATO aimed to include more countries in Eastern Europe, making Ukraine a target. President Putin did not exonerate Ukraine because he believed this constituted a danger and an injury to Russia.

Based on the researcher's observations from various media, it can be analyzed that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is closely related to Russian politics not wanting Ukraine to join NATO. Russia thinks that this will be dangerous for Russia, considering that Ukraine is territorially very close to Russian territory, so NATO's interests can harm the Russian side later.

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5.2.2. Putin's policy of partial mobilization due to the length of the battle line exceeding 1000 km

Ukraine's decision that its president prefers a pro-EU foreign policy has made Russia adopt a more aggressive foreign policy (Pifer, 2017). There needs to be research on whether Russia provoked some Ukrainian regions close to the Russian border to start holding referendums to leave Ukraine and choose independence. It is suspected that the closeness of identity, such as language with Russia, is one factor that supports residents around the border of Eastern Ukraine to choose to break away (Bocale, 2019).

Most importantly, the Crimea region has conducted a referendum, resulting in a vote to secede from Ukraine. This referendum was recognized by Russia and not by the European Union and its allies (Harding et al., 2014).

Ukraine is important to both the EU and Russia. This significance arises geopolitically, placing the country in a struggle for influence between the EU and Russia. Ukraine's importance includes bordering Russia, being one of the most economically influential countries, a significant gas pipeline, an energy supplier to the European Union, and more (AL JAZEERA AND NEWS AGENCIES, 2022). Energy dependence is one aspect of energy security. This energy security also determines the security of a country against internal and external threats and hands (Buzan, 2009).

5.3. Social Perception

5.3.1. Analysis of post-decree Russian behaviour

As for the behavior of Russians after the decree of 21 September 2022, Russian cyberspace through the world and local platforms discussed Putin's decision with various questions from netizens about how the current situation of the war between Russia and Ukraine, why the decree was made, to whom precisely the purpose of the decree was addressed when conscription would be deported. The excitement of the Russian universe divides the public between those who are anti-decree, pro-decree, apathetic, waiting for the government's call for people according to the criteria needed by the state to the Russian people who are afraid of exodus to the land border and flying out of the country. The current generation of Russians did not experience the collapse of the Soviet Union due to the Cold War, did not experience the struggle to rebuild the Soviet states, and lived in a time when international and local communication technology penetrated people's daily lives. The tug of war between individual, community, and state interests colors the daily lives of Russians. Table 2 shows the dynamics of society after the decree on the mobilization of the reserve army.

Until the administration convened multiple press conferences and altered the decree to clarify whom this decree was intended for, false information haunted the Russian people's thoughts, producing confusion and a wave of public protests against the government. However, Russian society quickly adjusted after the decree. However, Russian businesses were able to adjust quickly to the new circumstances that will have a lasting impact on the country's economic development. (Source: Pixabay in Katarzyna Shawrylo & Iwoma Wisniewska in Mobilisation in Russia: Public reaction and economic consequences on 20-01-2023).

5.3.2. Analysis of the Ukrainian President's Post-Decree Statements

A closer examination of the President of Ukraine's statements reveals that the "face of war now" is different because the public can now access the battlefield situation of the war between Russia and Ukraine and follow it live, just like a football game, via the global internet network.



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Information is now so pervasive that it affects people whose nations are at war on a psychological level. Even the President of Ukraine's instigation has the power to influence Russian residents psychologically and cause them to create attitudes in public. The battle between Russia and Ukraine can now be known about, understood, and evaluated by the general public globally. The public must be able to access information concerning the conflict between Russia and Ukraine by any force capable of exercising state control (Source: kompas.com.aditya Jaya Iswara.24 September 2022 at 17.45 Wiba.).

5.3.3. Analysis of Western Countries, USA & NATO Statements on Russia's Decree 21-09-2022

A closer examination of the President of Ukraine's statements reveals that the "face of war now" is different because the public can now access the battlefield situation of the war between Russia and Ukraine and follow it live, just like a football game, via the global internet network. Information is now so pervasive that it affects people whose nations are at war on a psychological level. Even the President of Ukraine's instigation has the power to influence Russian residents psychologically and cause them to create attitudes in public. The battle between Russia and Ukraine can now be known about, understood, and evaluated by the general public globally. The public cannot be prevented from accessing information concerning the conflict between Russia and Ukraine by any force capable of exercising state control (Source: kompas.com.aditya Jaya Iswara.24 September 2022 at 17.45 Wiba.).

This paper reveals the Western, USA, and NATO's reception of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and even Russia's political decree on the partial mobilization of the reserve army. Putin wants the world community to believe that NATO's expansion makes Russia insecure and encourages Russia to invade. This argument has two major flaws; firstly, NATO is variable and not a source of tension between Russia and the West. Moscow has, in the past, through previous regimes, recognized Ukraine's right to join NATO. Putin fears democratic free speech through social media platforms will threaten his regime. Secondly, the purpose of the invasion, according to Putin, is "densification" and, in the view of the West, is Putin's way of inhibiting democracy in satellite countries so that Russia does not lose control and influence like the Soviet Union. The social reception of Western countries, the USA, and even NATO towards Russia's invasion of Ukraine and Putin's decree shows the real purpose of Putin's regime change towards anti-democracy.

5.4. Misleading (the Russian perspective is different from the one being interpreted) and the fundamental implications of misleading

In the war between Russia and Ukraine, there is also much misleading in society in general, incredibly very much seen on various social media such as TikTok, Instagram, YouTube, etc., where information on social media is not always in the form of facts, and even many are indicated as fake news or fake news, for example, in this case, we can see in the TikTok application. The media users reach over one billion people, more than half of whom are under 30. TikTok is where many young people get information about the Russian invasion. However, TikTok itself is overwhelmed by the flow of false information to the application. The evidence is easy to find. According to an investigation by NewsGuard, a website that monitors misinformation online, new TikTok users can receive misinformation about Ukraine within 40 minutes of joining the social media platform (Shayan Sardarizadeh, 2022). The intrusion of misinformation and tendentious information into the public sphere of Russian, Ukrainian, Western, and even global citizens is no



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surprise that repeated false opinions as a proxy war have contributed to the war between Russia and Ukraine until now.

5. CONCLUSION

It turns out that misleading the exodus is not only a matter of political warfare but also a matter of social media politics that provides facts and hoaxes as a prolonged war. The role of the Russian reserve army is widely viewed mainly out of ignorance by many media outlets. Hence, the misrepresentation that politicizes the world of war. This study has explained the misleading exodus in Russia between facts and hoaxes as politicized against the Russian army. This can be seen from social media about the delivery of unclear information. Thus, misleading exodus in Russian society is an internal problem and can impact Russia's external problems.

This study provides a perspective in looking at the misleading exodus that occurred in Russian society. Various forms of factual information and hoaxes have become media strategies in pitting the government and local communities against each other. (1) The past and present situation of Russia's war with Ukraine, (2) Putin's partial mobilization policy because the length of the battle line exceeds 1000 km. (3) Social reception (facts and hoaxes). Misleading and the underlying implications of misleading.

Knowledge of facts and hoaxes can be seen in the decision to politicize the Russian reserve army in partial mobilization. Thus, this paper asserts that misleading exodus can be seen in social media towards the war between Russia and Ukraine. This paper has limitations in data sources that only rely on social media, so it cannot be used as a strong foundation in claiming widely the misleading exodus of Russian society between facts and hoaxes.

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