Mapping Hate Speech about Religion and State on Social Media in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Social media has become a new space for people to express opinions, including conveying hate speech. In Indonesia, there are many forms of hate speech, one of which leads to the issue of racism and religious and state sentiments. This research attempts to map the point of hate speech about religion and the state on social media. This research is descriptive qualitative research by generating data from Social Media Analysts using the query words hate speech that has a relation between religion and the state which are prevalent in Indonesia, namely the words "Kadrun" and "Cebong." The first result shows that around 52,290 thousand mentions containing hate speech using the term "kadrun" and 25,290 thousand mentions using the word "cebong" as a form of negative response to issues that contribute to the background, the case of contradiction between religion and the State. Both religious problems have become trending issues in the digital era and are the issues that are most readily associated with political matters in spreading hate speech. Twitter is one of the most frequently used social media platforms compared to other media in spreading hate speech by Indonesia's digital community. This research implies the development of perspectives from both labels to bring down the opposition's reputation during certain political events.

Keywords: Hate Speech; Social media; Religion and State Relations

INTRODUCTION

Information and communication technology development is one of the exciting things to study concerning the product of scientific studies and human life. The application of internet-based technology in various dimensions touches almost all aspects of everyday life. Lifestyle, health, and thinking, including the dimensions of social interaction are beginning to change with the rapid development of information and communication technology (Anggraheni et al., 2021).

Human social interaction has shifted from conventional social interaction in direct interaction to digital interaction through new media based on social networks. Social networking and similar platforms have provided simple and inexpensive communication channels for anyone to publish and distribute their contents (Mondal et al., 2018a), thus making social networking media an essential thing.

Technological convergence in communication activities has positively and negatively influenced people's lives. This can be likened to a double-edged sword (Rahim et al., 2019). The use of technology in communication, on the one hand, contributes to the improvement of human welfare and civilization; social networks serve as an effective platform so that users' ideas can be disseminated quickly and efficiently. However, on the other hand, these ideas can cross the line and becomes something that contains hateful and dangerous language or words (Alkiviadou, 2019a). These technological advances are applied to carry out acts against the law, such as the spread of hoaxes and the rise of hate speech that attacks various legal, personal, community, and state interests.

Hate speech spreads racial hatred and enmity (ethnicity, religion, race, between groups). In a legal sense, hate speech is any word, deed, writing that are prohibited because it can lead to acts of physical and psychological violence that impact victims (Parham et al., 2021). Hoaxes have a very close relationship with hate speech because hoaxes can trigger hate speech. Hate speech will have a dangerous impact (Whitten, 2020a) on individuals or groups, mainly if it is carried out and spread through social media, which has a broad reach to an unlimited audience.

The consequence of hate speech at its most critical point is hate speech that contains the issue of racism which is very sensitive and dangerous so that it can create a vast negative potential against certain ethnicities, races, or religions, as was done by Hitler, who spread hate speech against Jews to his followers, American state politicians who spread hatred against Muslims, and so on (Piazza, 2020). While at its lowest point, it can cause conflict, one example of which is a conflict between individuals or groups of citizens which can trigger broader and bigger conflicts, mainly when disseminated via social media.

With its technological developments, social media has become a new media

and creates a new public space for society. Public space is a place to exchange cultural, political, economic, or social ideas that should be neutral (Tricana, 2013). However, along with its development, public space has become a new forum for people to express their expressions, thoughts, opinions, and feelings, including expressing opinions and thoughts that lead to words and messages containing hate speech. Many words and messages contain hate speech that is spread on social media, one of which is hate speech and negative labeling, which leads to racist issues, religious sentiments and relations with the State, and so on (Fernando, Sasongko, et al., 2020).

The issue of religious hate speech with various kinds of events and backgrounds are the issues that always has impact and have relationships with the state. In several countries such as America, France, and other countries, including Indonesia, the issue of religion has always been a sensitive, giving rise to the spotlight and various responses from the public (Samiaji et al., 2022). The issue of hate speech is also discussed (Whitten, 2020), where the concept of hate speech can be felt more from the attacked individual's perspective. Digital communities use this to express their dissatisfaction with specific living conditions. This phenomenon is spread to various parts of the country as a serious issue (Mondal et al., 2018b).

Harry, Marta, & Bahruddin (2022) also found the implications of hatred born of members of certain groups of people with high political positions. This hatred is poured into a survey in which most people express their objection when minority members in their area can occupy political power in Indonesia. Anonymity in social media makes it easier for digital citizens to express their hatred towards individuals or groups that are different from them. This implication is also a factor in the rise of hate speech on social media in Indonesia and other countries with similar cases (Denzil et al., 2015). The gap in this research lies in labeling as a way for digital society to express its hatred of individuals or other groups. This research contributes to how the issue of hate speech in Indonesian digital society is on social media by labeling the words "Kadrun" and "Cebong" as a form of expression of hatred pinned on specific individuals or groups, which is continuing today.

This research was conducted to find out the response of the public that contains hate speech to the issues that arise, what is the background to the emergence of hate speech, and what social media is often used in conveying messages containing hate speech by trying to map hate speech between religion and the State—related to the issue of religious and State sentiment on social media.

This research is descriptive qualitative research by taking data from Social Media Analysts by using a query on hate speech words that lead to and have a

relationship between religion and the State. The focus of this research is on the Twitter platform as it is considered to have a more complex message and is a social networking media platform that is often used by various levels of society to convey their thoughts and opinions as well as responses and responses to existing issues, especially issues that arise are related to issues that has intersection with religion, politics and the State.

Hate speech is part of human expression. Conceptually, freedom of opinion and self-expression is the right of every human being based on and protected by Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Suryana, 2021). National and international human rights laws oblige all States to guarantee their freedom to seek, receive or impart information and ideas without restriction through the media of their choice.

The primary difference between freedom of opinion and hate speech lies in the essence and purpose of the message given. Freedom of opinion is when a person states to convey ideas and ideas and find solutions to existing phenomena or problems with others by the knowledge and data they have without intending to humiliate, humiliate or provoke individuals individually or in groups.

Whereas hate speech is when someone expresses an opinion or message that contains the essence of the purpose of communication, which is to corner, bring down or provoke anyone who is the target of the communication message, both personally and in groups (Carlson, 2020a). Hate speech contains remarks that attack or demean a group based on race or ethnic origin, certain religions and so on (Alkiviadou, 2019b).

Controversy about hate speech in this era can be found in several pieces of information, both conventional and digital media. Adverse impacts such as discrimination, violence, loss of life, and social conflict can occur if hate speech is not handled. Handling hate speech must involve all community agencies to increase the level of tolerance for human rights (Fernando, Marta et al., 2020).

Kombes Polri has issued letter No. SE/6/X/2015 to respond to the hot issue of hate speech in Indonesia. This letter covers all actions that fall under the category of hate speech according to the Criminal Code (KUHP) and all actions that fall under other non-criminal provisions. These actions include discrimination, defamation, insults, discomfort, provocation, incitement, and spreading fake news (Putri et al., 2020).

Openness to access social networking sites with all of its platforms presents an open space for the public, which makes it seem as if all people from various groups can express their ideas and freedom of opinion in the widest possible public space (Kruse et al., 2018). Public space exists as a unique space for the community to exchange ideas and as a means of channeling aspirations and political activities where all classes of society can gather and discuss various things and various topics or issues that exist with various kinds of media platforms based

on social networks. One social media platform that is quite complex and widely used by the public in expressing their expressions, thoughts, and opinions is Twitter.

Twitter allows its users to extend their network to 'audiences' that anyone can share and observe (Fadillah & Chang, 2021). Twitter has proliferated since its launching in 2006. With 500 million registered users in 2012 and around 58 million tweets collected daily, the service proliferates worldwide (www.statisticbrain.com). In Alexa's survey, Twitter also ranks as the 13th most accessed digital site worldwide, with Jakarta having the highest upload rate worldwide.

Twitter is a website based in San Brunomore, California. The site, founded by Jack Dorsey, focuses on microblogging and provides users with fast uploads. The limit of 280 characters in each upload is one of the microblogging tools provided by Twitter. The ease of use of Twitter is one of the main reasons for the high number of users considering the time spent uploading is relatively short with the wide and fast distribution of information (Gunawibawa & Oktiani, 2020).

Twitter has grown by releasing mobile and desktop versions. Twitter allows online community users to record and share posts via text, image, and video messages. These users can also share messages with friends and followers and comment on each other (Yusriyah et al., 2020). Also, Twitter is not only about sharing texts and tweets, but users can also use the hashtag symbol (#) in photo captions to tag each other, creating trending words and topi. , can be connected to many different things (Rihhadatul'aisyi et al., 2021).

Hashtags are feature available on Twitter that includes combinations of letters, numbers, and emojis that start with the hashtag symbol or (#). The hashtags are usually clickable, so clicking will take you to a page of posts tagged with that hashtag, grouping posts by similar topics (Syawbriyanti, 2021). Therefore, your decision about the hashtags to use in your post must be consistent with the topic or information contained in your post. Well-organized hashtags get your content out to everyone interested in your topic and encourage more likes and comments that make your account visible in Twitter's Explore tab. This explorer tab displays the latest Twitter posts and updates automatically (Hersinta & Sofia, 2020).

The method used in this study is virtual ethnography to review digital activities and explore user entities (Genot, 2018). The implications of digital communities are also represented in virtual ethnography to identify how social reality in the digital world is constructed (Achmad Zainal Abidin & Ida Rachma, 2018). The social interpretive paradigm views social reality as a particular form of meaning. This paradigm will explore the complexity and dynamics of social reality in the virtual world. The interpretive paradigm considers social reality as dynamic, processed, and subjective. Therefore this paradigm can be used in the social

sciences and humanities (Briandana et al., 2021).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social media has become a new medium, apart from being a place to find information and express oneself and an alternative place to pour out all that is in one's heart. Based on data from We Are Social (We Are Social.com), Indonesia had 191 million active social media users at the start of the 2022 quarter. An increase of 12.6% can be seen when compared to 2021, with 170 million users.

We Are Social reflects data that the use of the internet by Indonesian people is increasing day by day for a variety of goals and reasons (Social, 2022). The We Are Social survey conducted in February 2022 shows several reasons influencing Indonesian internet users to use digital media. 80.1% of them use digital media to find information, 72.9% of respondents want new ideas and inspiration for their lives, and 68.2% want to interact with friends and family remotely. 63.4% of survey respondents want to fill their free time in the digital world, and 61.4% are interested in following current domestic and foreign issues using the internet. 58.8% of respondents want to be active in the digital world by watching videos, television, and so on (We Are Social, 2021).
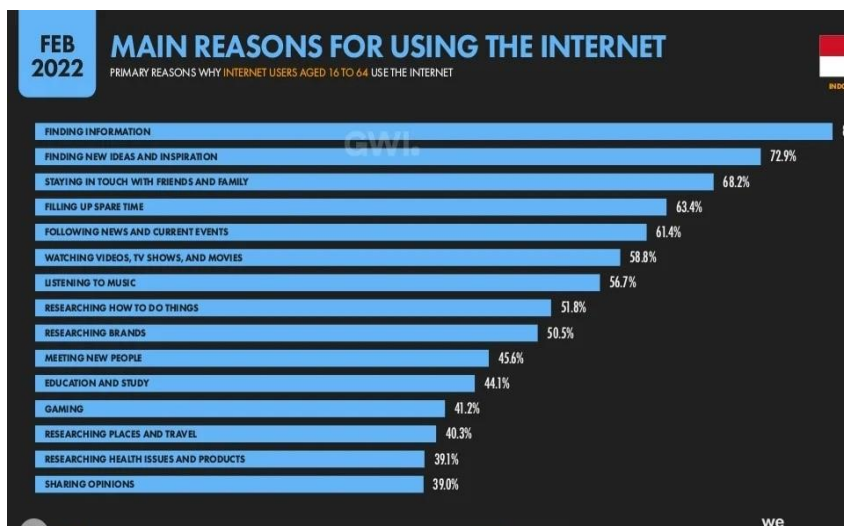
(We Are Social, 2021)

Picture 1 . Graphic of Reasons for Internet Use.

Above data showed that We Are Social identified several data that the main reason people use the internet is as a medium to find information and is the main reason that has the highest percentage compared to other reasons. Information is an integral part of the elements that exist in communication, namely the message.

Messages contained in social media are included in one of the elements of communication, which according to Harold Lasswell in his communication formula, must have and cause various responses or effects. The response can be in the form of things that contain good messages as a form of positive response to express things that contain negative messages, such as hate speech.
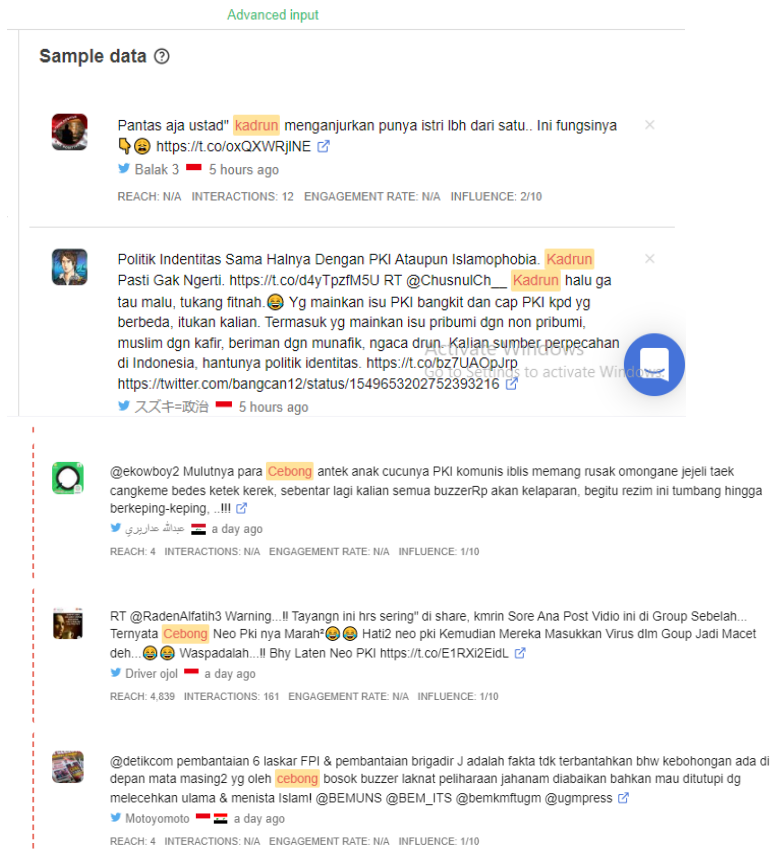
Hate Speech as a Response

Hate speech is generally a form of response. However, hate speech is a negative response that is more directed and aimed at provoking individuals or members of other groups, which is not only done in conventional media but also occurs in digital media such as social media. The use of hate speech also involves psychological pressure and manipulation of victims, such as memes, caricatures, and illustrations that are indirectly intended to attack certain groups (Mardiyati, 2017).

Social media is used by its users for various activities, including expressing themselves to other users. It is not uncommon for social media users to disclose personal things such as depression, anger, and disappointment. Personal uploads on social media lead to negative things in nature and context. Likewise, with fun, advice, informative uploads, and other religious uploads with a positive context. Individuals are consumers and act as information producers in the digital world (Tjajadi et al., 2021).

Hate speech is closely related to various feelings, such as anger, jealousy, envy, and so on. One of the distinguishing feelings of hatred and the desire to destroy a specific object is based on hatred and hatred that arise in the individual or group concerned. Feelings of hatred do not arise due to feelings of dislike but the attachment of negative impressions of other individuals and will not be satisfied until the target individual can be destroyed by an individual who hates, both from a physical, psychological and social aspect.

Hate speech is closely correlated to many religious aspects, such as envy or the assumption that religion is superior to other religions. Envy tends to come first as a feeling of being hurt, ostracized, or wasted, so they do not get fair treatment in their group. Hatred grows from envy which leads to the destruction of the integrity of the individual from the physical and psychological aspects.

Hate is also an emotional system in humans that can change shape but has the exact identification based on its source. This expression of hatred can occur in various forms and targets, both individual individuals and minority and majority groups, including matters related to religion and the State. From the search results obtained, many forms of hate speech exist on social media with different labeling words, insults, and so on, which can be seen as follows:

Source: social media analytics, 2022

Figure 2. Description of the community's response

This data shows many words of hate speech from one group to another. The words given also seem entirely tendentious by carrying a negative label on symbols of religious identity and certain political currents. Sayings like this on social media have become one thing that is an inseparable part of the realm of social media in Indonesia with various kinds of issues that are the cause and background of it.

The contradiction of Political and Religious Issues

In Indonesia, religious issues are the ones that most often intersect with state political issues and become national issues. These issues then grew, developed, and received responses in society, not only in the real world but also grew, developed and received various responses from people in the social media world, which resulted in the emergence of tendentious hate speech either towards a particular religion or which refers to a particular political party, government or which is considered to represent the government as a representation of the State.

One of the issues that often triggers the emergence of commotion, commotion, and hate speech on social media is the existence of contradictions between religious issues or government policies, both from the government itself and specific groups. The issue of religion has become a trending issue in the digital era. It is the issue that is most readily associated with issues of politics, government, and the State because it is the easiest to spread, can easily trigger emotions or responses of many people, and can be used for specific interests.

The phenomenon of hate speech on social media can not only be seen from a legal perspective. However, it can also be viewed from various scientific perspectives, one of which is communication science related to contemporary communication issues. Circular of the Chief of Police Number SE/06/X/2015, which discusses the issue of Hate Speech, explains that Hate Speech can be considered a criminal act regulated in the Criminal Code and other criminal provisions outside the Criminal Code, which have various forms. (Wang et al., 2021). Forms of hate speech can be in the form of insults, defamation, defamation, unpleasant acts, provocation, incitement, to spreading fake news to manipulate society.

When referring to the circular letter, speech delivered or communicated verbally either directly or on social media, if the subject of SARA contains all of the seven elements mentioned in the circular mentioned above, it is included in the category of hate speech. From the perspective of the circular letter, the words kadrun and tadpole are examples of hate speech. However, follow-up from the legal side must go through a formal legal process first. In social media, we can easily find posts that contain hate speech using the words kadrun and cebong especially if there is a hot case related to religious issues with the government or religious issues with the government. Hate speeches containing the words kadrun and cebong will flood posts on social media regarding religious cases with the government or religious issues with the government.

The most recent cases that can be used as examples of cases of hate speech are the case of Ustadz Abdus Somad's refusal to enter Singapore, the case of setting the sound of the call to prayer, and the parable of calling the call to prayer to the barking of a dog by the Minister of religion, the declaration of support for

Anies Baswedan being associated with the Caliphate and hard-line Islam and others. So. These cases came to the Indonesian people's attention quickly, considering the information dissemination rate in today's new media era can occur in one second but reach unlimited masses. Sentiments that arise in the mind of the recipient of the message regarding the case will appear, thus generating a reaction by making posts and responses according to the case according to the thoughts and feelings of the sender and recipient of the message.

In the absence of a qualified filter to prevent the successful posting of hate speech, postings related to hate speech will succeed as soon as a post is uploaded to social media, and posts that have been successfully uploaded will spread across space and time limits, giving rise to various kinds of responses and reactions. Various groups on social media use the words and nicknames kadrun and cebong, which label words with negative connotations for specific groups or religions that are considered contra or pro to the government.

Based on data obtained from social media analytics regarding hate speech by using the query word hate speech, namely the word kadrun, the following data is obtained:
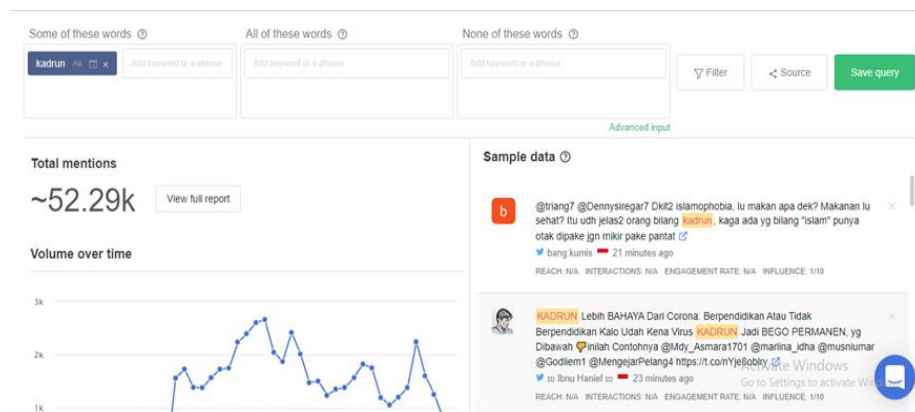
Source: social media analytics, 2022

Figure 3. Total Mentions using the Kadrun Query

This data shows that from searching trending topics containing hate speech using the words had run, data obtained around 52,290 thousand mentions using the word had run. The word Karun is a nickname or tendentious designation for certain groups of people who are identical to Indonesian people who are considered to be against or in conflict with government policies and attitudes.

The word had run popularly appeared during the presidential election due to the political heat during the 2014 presidential election between Prabowo Subianto and Jokowi, who at that time was his political opponent (Tinarbuko,

2019). The word had run, seen from communication labeling, is a derogatory or demeaning epithet or designation mentioned in a tendentious manner as a title or epithet identified with a particular religion. The word had run stands for the word desert lizard, which is attached to those who are Muslim and have different political views from the government and often criticize all forms of state policy decided by the government and are considered not in favor of the welfare and interests of the people and Indonesian people (Ridho, 2019).

The hate speech with the word kadrun, seen from the cause, always has a background. Based on social network analysis (SNA) map data with the keyword had run, it shows that mentions and comments containing hate speech using the keyword had run arise because of the background of various existing issues and events, including the issue of religious leaders. These political figures are considered close to certain religious lines or opposite political views. In addition, this hate speech also arises due to issues from several government policies, which receive responses and criticism from the community. This can be seen from the samples containing hate speech as follows:

From the data above, hate speech using the word kadrun appears to be caused by several issues. The first was caused and triggered by Ustadz Abdus Somad's refusal to enter Singapore. This incident occurred on Monday, May 16, 2022, when Ustadz, who is familiarly called UAS, uploaded a video of himself in the room. "UAS in a 1x2 meter room is like a prison at immigration before being deported from Singapore".

This issue received criticism from various parties and reaped positive and negative responses. It became a national and even international issue because several countries reported on it. It became a topic of discussion in both conventional and new media such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and so on. This issue then received an extraordinary response, including responses that contained various kinds of hate speech directed at Ustadz Abdus Somad personally, including towards the kadrun, namely certain groups of people who were considered to support Ustadz Abdul Somad.

Apart from that, it can also be seen that the emergence of the word kadrun hate speech was also caused by an issue of government policy, namely the issue of rising fuel prices which Sri Mulyani sparked as Minister and representative of the government and the State. Indeed, in some cases, it can also be seen that several cases of government policies received criticism from the public, which then also became the trigger for the emergence of hate speech on various social media platforms.

In addition, to hate speech using the word kadrun, other hate speeches that often arise related to issues that have a relationship between religion and the State are hate speech from rival kadrun groups, namely, hate speech that leads to

groups that are considered to have opposing opinions, and views with kadrun, namely utterances with nickname said cebong. Based on the data obtained from social media analytics regarding hate speech by using the query word hate speech, namely the cebong keyword, the data obtained is as visual as follows:
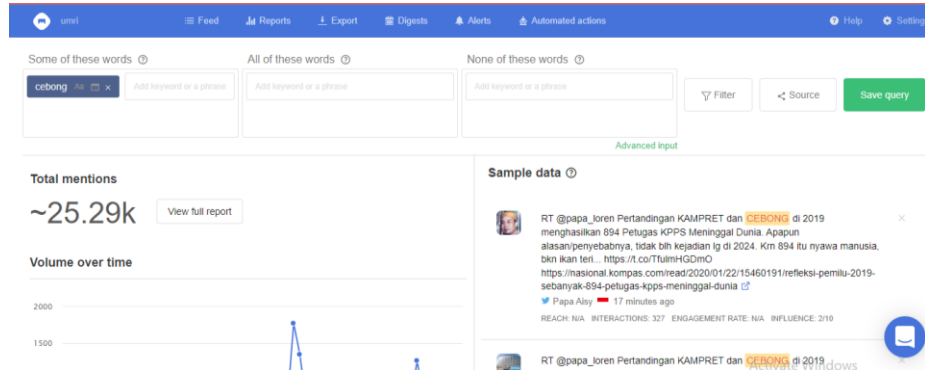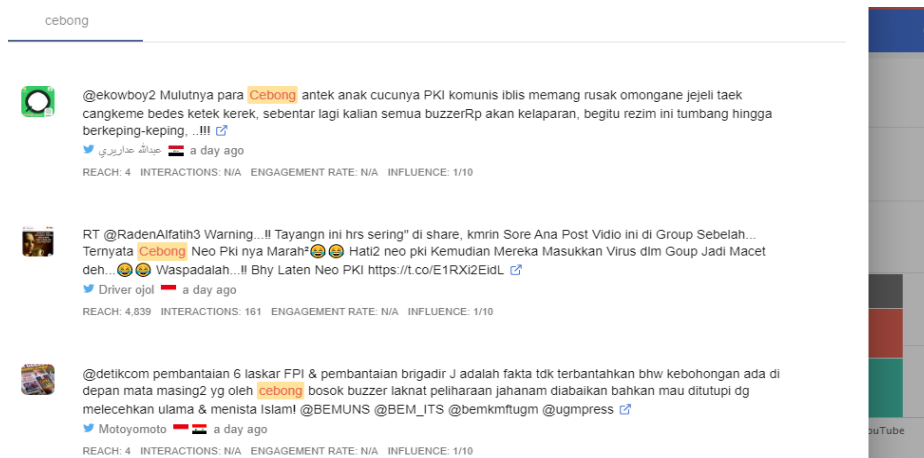

Source: social media analytics, 2022

Figure 4: Total Mentions using the Cebong Query

This data shows that from searching trending topics containing hate speech using the word cebong, data obtained around 25,290 thousand mentions using the word cebong. The word cebong is a nickname or designation that is negative and tendentious to specific groups of people who are identical to Indonesian people who are considered pro or supporters and are in line with government policies and attitudes.

Like the word labeling for those who oppose the government, namely the word had run, cebong also emerged and became popular due to the political heat during the 2014 presidential election. who is considered always to support every government policy, even though those policies nicknamed kadrun are considered very detrimental to the people and not in favor of the people of Indonesia? Based on social network analysis (SNA) map data with the cebong keyword, it shows that mentions and comments containing hate speech using the cebong keyword arise because of the background of various kinds of issues and events that exist as well as the issues behind the emergence of the word kadrun labeling (Haryono, 2019). This can be seen from the sample containing hate speech by using the word cebong as follows:

Source: social media analytics, 2022

Figure 5: Example of a post regarding the background of hate speech

In Figure 5, it can be seen that the word cebong is identified with a particular ideology, namely the Communist ideology, which is one of the forbidden teachings in Indonesia's dark history. The concept of communication promoted by the Indonesian Communist Party is indeed hated by Indonesian people who know and understand the historical actions of the PKI in Indonesia. The PKI does have its dark history and trauma for Indonesian people, especially for those who are Muslim (Fadli, 2018).

In Indonesian history, the PKI was considered to hate Islam with all kinds of teachings and values, which were considered to be the main obstacle to the PKI's movements and goals at the beginning of independence and vice versa. Therefore the PKI's words were directed at those who were always seen as defending the government on existing issues, including policy issues from the government that intersected with religion, such as regulating the sound of the call to prayer and others which the kadrun group considered to be very detrimental and discredited Islamic teachings (Suryani & Azmy, 2016).

If you look at the hate speech, both the hate speech directed at groups labeled as had run and cebong groups, both have utterances that are very tendentious and filled with hatred towards each party. These words are indeed very tendentious, full of anger and hatred, and are intended to corner, bring down or provoke anyone who is the target of the communication message, both personally and in groups (Carlson, 2020).

Twitter as A Popular Social Media
If you look at the distribution map, based on the social network analysis (SNA) map data with the keyword kadrun, the following data is obtained:
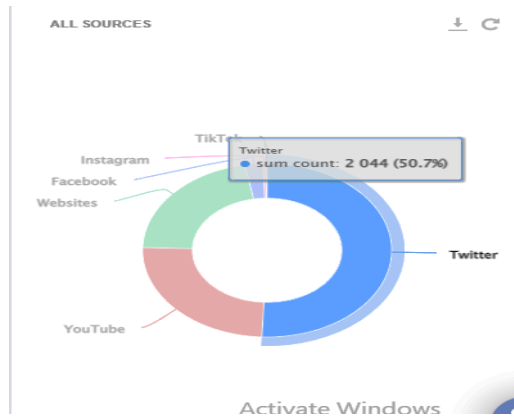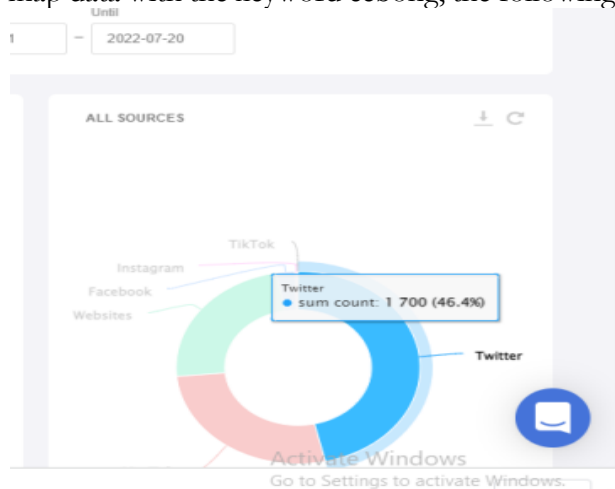
Source: social media analytics, 2022

Figure 6. Spread of the Word Kadrun on Social Media

The visual data in Figure 6 shows that hate speech which contains insulting and demeaning words against Karun is dominated by Twitter users, namely as much as 50.7 percent, followed by YouTube and other social media platforms. From this, it can be seen that Twitter is still a social networking media platform that is widely chosen and used by the public to convey their expressions, opinions, and feelings in response to existing information and issues, including expressions of opinion that contain and lead to hate speech.

Meanwhile, when viewed from the side of the map of the use of social networking media used to convey hate speech, based on the social network analysis (SNA) map data with the keyword cebong, the following data is obtained:

Source: social media analytics, 2022

Figure 7. Distribution of word Cebong on Social Media

This data shows that hate speech which contains insulting and demeaning words using the word cebong query, is dominated by Twitter users, namely as much as 46.4 percent, followed by YouTube and other social media platforms. Twitter is one of the social media platforms that most often becomes a medium for netizens to express hate speech through their tweets, including religious leaders and politicians (Magfirah & Saputra, 2021).

From this, it can be seen that, like hate speech in other countries, in Indonesia, speech is still very fertile and spreads very widely through the use of social networking media. In Indonesia, hate speech related to issues of religion and the State is filled with the stigma of Kadrun and cebong to specific groups. Searching for hate speech using the query words had run, and cebong is a form of hate speech that contains stereotypical words used to corner, humiliate and provoke certain groups.

Judging from the background of its appearance, hate speech that exists using the query words had run. Cebong is always motivated by issues related to religion and the State, where the issue arises from the issue of matters related to religion and State, such as religious leaders. These political figures also arise due to issues from several government policies that are directly related to religious issues, as well as government policies that are inconsistent with the values of justice, including being impartial to the interests and welfare of the people.

Meanwhile, based on the use and selection of social networking media to convey hate speech, among the existing social networking platforms used by Indonesian people, Twitter is still the preferred platform that is mainly chosen and used by Indonesian people to convey their messages. Expressions, opinions, and feelings in response to all kinds of existing forms of information and issues, including expressions of opinion and outpouring of feelings which contain and lead to insults, insults, and words demeaning a person or group which are part of a form of hate speech

CONCLUSION

The rapid development of information and communication technology has resulted in changes in all dimensions of human life, including social interaction, which has become digital interactions with digital society. Social media has become a new space for people to express their opinions, including conveying hate speech.

Data from the research results show that around 52,290 thousand mentions of hate speech using the word "kadrun" and 25,290 thousand comments using the word "cebong." These words and labeling are used as a form of response that contains insults. These insults lead to utterances of hatred towards specific individuals or groups considered to have ideas, ideas or political views, or religious

understandings that differ from one group to another. This research implies the development of perspectives from both labels to bring down the opposition's reputation during certain political events.

Twitter is one of the most widely used social media platforms. Further research is needed to focus on different social media with different methods. To get more comprehensive results regarding mapping hate speech on social media, especially in Indonesia.

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