Hate Speech by Supporters of Indonesian Presidential Candidates on Social Media

Daroe Iswatiningsih
University of Muhammadiyah Malang
daroe@umm.ac.id

Eggy Fajar Andalas
University of Muhammadiyah Malang

Nina Inayati
University of Muhammadiyah Malang

Abstract. **The phenomenon of hate utterances for the support of Indonesian presidential candidates and vice-presidential candidates in the 2019-2024 period on social media is very interesting. The people seem to split into two camps or hostile groups supporting each of their chosen candidates. Social media is an effective means of communicating the expressions of support. There were various forms of utterances of support to the pairs of presidential candidate well as utterances of hatred and incitement for the unwanted candidates. The phenomenon of the emergence of hated speech by supporters of each pair can trigger an attitude of hostility and division of the nation. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the form of hate speech expressed by the people supporting each of the presidential candidates. The research method used is descriptive with a qualitative approach. The data is in the form of speech or public statements containing hatred, incitement, provocation, and insults. The data sources are from Facebook and Instagram, and also from news portals that upload images and videos. Then the data is analyzed using contextual analysis. The results of the study show that each of the supporters of the presidential candidate has used forms of speech that are insulting, blasphemous, defamation, defamation to unwanted potential candidates and fellow supporters. Meanwhile, each supporter gave flattery, praise, and support to the presidential candidates he chose.**

Keywords: utterances of hatred; the election of presidential candidates; social media

INTRODUCTION

The discourse on the Indonesian presidential election for the 2019-2024 working period was widely discussed in the community. The community seemed to split into two camps to support each of their choices. Supporters of presidential candidates and their representatives use social media as a means of providing support and at the same time dropping unwanted political opponents Language is used by supporters as a means of communicating and expressing their aspirations; in this case, language can be used to attack and strike one's opponents[1].

The language used by a person strongly presents one's views, attitudes, and choices towards the presidential candidates for the period 2019-2024. The support community used very little form of invitations and calls towards social media users (netizen) to choose certain candidates. On the contrary, these supporters often use utterances and photos that bring down unwanted candidates. Netizen's responses also vary. They use forms of speech to support their selected candidates and statements of rejection for the unwanted candidates. Social media are used as a public arena to frame the people's democratic aspirations during the time surrounding the presidential election[2]. This refusal speech tends to be colored by forms of hatred, such as harassing, insulting, mocking, berating, and the like. Of course, this utterance of hatred is unethical when conveyed to a prospective leader of the country and fellow supporters of different choices in the public space. Perhaps the utterances of the netizens' hatred appear to be triggered by the emotional attitude and fanaticism of the supporters of the prospective leaders of their choice.

Although the rules for using social media have been made in Law No. 19 of 2016 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions (ITE Law), there are still many people who do not understand the concept of making and dissemination of information, especially in political situations. The community feels free to express their thoughts and intentions through writing and drawing when giving support to the desired candidates. For this reason, many negative, provocative and intolerant utterances have emerged [3]. The goal of netizens in supporting certain candidates is to give a bad image to an unwanted candidate so that they are not desirable and the wider community does not choose them. Of course, the character of the people shown through negative utterances can lead to a breakdown of national unity. Selfishness, suspicion, prejudice, defamatory, disrespect and other negative attitudes, each of these characters needs to be restrained for the sake of national unity and integrity[4]. The image shown by the netizens represents their aims well, either positive or negative[5].

The speech of hatred conveyed by the community as a form of support for the desired presidential candidate if it takes place simultaneously in the upcoming presidential election periods will form a negative character of Indonesian society. Indonesian society will not be a mature, and personable society, on the contrary, it becomes a blasphemous, reproachful and emotional society in expressing its political aspirations.

Research on communication discourse in the form of the use of public hate speech in the run-up to the 2019 presidential election on social media is important. This aims to reveal the phenomena of the community language

which at the time of the democratic party event involve all components of the society. The purpose of the Republic of Indonesia president and vice presidential election for the period 2019-2024 was welcomed enthusiastically by the public. This study aims to examine the forms of hate speech, speech meaning and the context of the emergence of public hate speech in providing support to the presidential candidate 2019 on social media.

METHOD

This study uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. The data is in the form of utterances or statements of supporters of selected presidential candidates containing hatred, incitement, provocation, and insults. The data sources are from Facebook, Instagram, and videos posted on social media. The data collection used note-taking techniques for speech utterances found on social media and recording techniques [6]. The data was collected, then analyzed using the method of contextual analysis [7],[8]. The method of contextual analysis seeks to associate empirical data with context, namely the environment in which language entities are used.

The environment of language entities is both in the form of physical and non-physical environments. That is, that the presence of hate speech is not merely seen from lingual units, but also the background of the knowledge possessed by speakers and speech partners in producing speech. The study of the utterances of hatred by the supporters of the leader candidate of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period uses a pragmatic approach. Pragmatic studies consider the form and situational context, as well as the meanings and modes of speech presented [9],[10]. The data was collected for four months (February - May 2019), namely before and after the implementation of public voting in selecting presidential candidate pairs. The election of the president and vice president was held on April 17, 2019 and the announcement of the election results was done on May 22, 2019.

RESULT

Form of Supporting Candidates for Presidential Candidates 2019. The phenomenon of presidential elections takes place every five years and the atmosphere of this year's election was marked by demonstrations. People actively voice their aspirations, both directly and indirectly on social media. The development of communication technology has a role in enlivening the situation of the election of the president and his representatives as well as the legislative. People can now easily disseminate information without being confirmed. Circulating various news about potential partner figures whose truth needs to be confirmed. There are two nominated presidential candidates, namely incumbents, Joko Widodo and competitors, Prabowo Subiakto. Joko Widodo - with a presidential term until 20 October 2019 was- re-nominated as president for the 2019-2024 period.

As for the competitors, Prabowo Subiakto wants to move back after failing twice in the previous period. The community supporting the two candidates seemed to split into two groups. They compete with each other to support each of their choices.

Various expressions of support are expressed by the two supporting parties, ranging from merely conveying information, inviting, mocking, dropping, making false news, and defaming the competitors. The form of speech that aims to make other people embarrassed, humiliated, and impose dignity as a human being and self-image can be said as a speech of hatred. This matter has in fact been regulated under the criminal law[11].

The form of utterances of hatred by supporters of partners is divided into two types, namely (a) utterances of hatred of supporters of presidential candidate 01 (Jokowi-Amin) against presidential candidates 02 (Prabowo-Sandi) and (b) speech of hate for supporters of presidential candidates 02 (Prabowo-Sandi) against presidential candidates 01 (Jokowi-Amin). The detail of the hateful forms of speech are as follows.

Hate Speech for Presidential Candidate Pair 02 (Prabowo-Sandi). Language is a representation of conditions and events that you want to display[12]. states that how a person is displayed, good or not, starts with language. This is the same as the use of language by supporters of certain candidates when describing the candidates they desire. They will produce text discourse that gives a positive image and vice versa, a negative image of a potential competitor. Text discourse is structured to describe the ideology of candidates who are supported[13]. states that producers of texts often attach ideology in vocabulary, grammatical, and textual structure. For this reason, when producing candidate views and thoughts, they are not always explicitly stated, and are often hiding behind the structure of the written statements[14].

In linguistic features, there are three values that reflect ideology, namely experiential values, relational values, and expressive values[13]. The experiential value provides a description of the experience that someone has in the reality of his life. Relational value describes how a person's relations and social distance in the environment and relationships. The expressive value describes the reality of the subject in a person's life emotionally and psychologically[15].

The form of utterances of hatred directed at the presidential candidate pair Prabowo-Sandi in various social media found by the researcher was not separated from the realization of these ideological values. The forms of hate speech found are divided into three groups, namely utterances that are in the form of prejudice, critics, and insult. "Prejudice" hate speech is an accusation to a presidential candidate that needs to be verified. Supporters of this competitor do not care whether the information that drops the opponent in the mass media is true or not. Supporters of the opponents in such the competition find it difficult to change bad perceptions of candidates who are not wanted. This is as explained by the social cognition approach that the presence of text discourse in the public

sphere tends to marginalize minority groups[12]. In the political phenomenon of presidential elections, information uploaded on social media tends to marginalize the groups of competitors. This is likely to affect the social cognition of the opposing supporters to switch to the so called superior candidate. The production of imaging text discourse in political situations is indeed deliberately created, and even hoaxes are found.

The hate speech aimed toward the president candidate 02, Prabowo Subianto, among others, are 'authoritarian', 'arrogant', 'temperamental', 'power greedy', involved in the kidnapping and human right violation of 1990'. Having a military background, Prabowo is known for his bold and discipline characters. He comes from a rich, powerful and highly educated family background with strong ties to the New Order regime. Such background is believed to have contributed in shaping his character [16]. During the speech, he is known to be bold, with a loud voice and enthusiastic spirit. This is quite different from his opponent, Jokowi, who looks more humble and soft. Prabowo with his loud and bold voice is considered showing arrogance and authoritative attitude by some people, an image believed to be influenced by the news and pictures about him in the media. Social media also plays a huge part in influencing certain perspective towards a president candidate [2],[1].

The supporters of both president candidates have the freedom to express their aspiration in order to influence others to vote for their chosen candidate pairs. Supporting expressions are also given towards the president candidate 02, and they are expressed in a positive tone such as 'bold leader candidate', 'authoritative', 'loan-free development', 'empowering the people, especially women'. People who support both candidates are free to express their support through the mass media [4],[2],[17].

Table 1: Form of Hate Speech for Presidential Candidate Pair 02

No	Types of Hate Speech	Forms of Hate Speech
1	Forms of Prejudice Tests	Involved in the kidnapping and disappearance of human rights activists in 1990; dismissed soldier; converts; rarely pray and don't understand religion; cannot be a prayer priest; his company went bankrupt and did not review employees; family corruption; son of a rebel; close to the New Order regime; sell religion for political support; do lies; cheating is usually done; Chinese descent
2	Form of Condemnation Speech	Arrogant attitude; temperamental and emotional; changing mission vision; authoritarian; rude; lust in power; surrounded by arrogant and slanderous people
3	Form of Insulting Speech	Calling 'Kampret' to all groups; incompetent in leading the country; fail to take care of his family; always failing in the presidential nomination; ambitious to be president, insane position; hallucinations; blunt brain; only capable of taking care of horses

Hate Speech Against Presidential Candidates 01 (Jokowi-Amin). The prejudice of hate speech is not only intended for candidate pairs 02 (Prabowo-Sandi), but also for presidential candidates 01 (Jokowi-Amin). Jokowi as an incumbent presidential candidate, which is still a president who will end his term in October 2019 also gets many speeches of hatred from the people who do not want

him. Compared with the prejudice utterances aimed by competitors, the speech of hatred towards Jokowi was considered to be harder and harsher. This is because some people consider Jokowi to be less successful in leading the country in the 2014-2019 period.

The following are some types of hate speech aimed toward the incumbent president candidate 01 in the form of prejudice, blasphemy, and criticism, such as 'massive, structured and systematic cheating', 'China accomplice', 'image-driven', 'liar', 'love taking debt', and 'hypocrite'. Those hate speeches are believed to occur due to some series of events done by Jokowi and his campaign team. The people who reject Jokowi to run for the second term of presidency commonly has owned a solid political ideology. They are strongly influenced by some groups whose interest is to 'change president 2019'. Such group identity has influenced their members' way of thinking to support a change, especially for the next president [17].

For those who wish for president change, Jokowi was considered failing in leading the country since he did not meet all targets he promised in the 2014 campaign. As for the programs he has achieved, they were not appreciated and were seen as useless. On the other hand, Jokowi's supporters considered his leadership to be good and positive and they expected him to continue to the next term. They viewed his works positively, thinking that his hard work as a leader has brought the nation to be more developed. Such a phenomenon has brought disunity among the people that they were divided into two camps; (01) Jokowi-Amin supporters, and (02) Prabowo-Sandi supporters. Hate speech became a big challenge in building a positive attitude of tolerance and equality[4].

Table 2: Form of Hate Speech for Presidential Candidate Pair 01

No	Types of Hate Speech	Forms of Hate Speech
1	Forms of Prejudice Tests	Cheater; ballot paper has holes; accustomed to cheating; fraud is massive, structured, and systematic; Child *PKI*, China accomplice, employing foreigners-Chinese laborers; cheater; only care abaout imaging
2	Form of Insulting Speech	Calling 'Kecebong' (Tadpole) all groups; ugly; stupid, a fool, moron; insane brain; carpenter's child; no English; physically soft; uncool leader; the rural person
3	Blasphemous Forms of Speech	Not keeping 2014 campaign promises; liar; ignorant regime
4	Scornful Forms of Speech	Like to take a loan; love debts; like to seek sympathy

The role of social media in bringing together people with the same interests, goals, aims, and choices has strengthened the emotional ties among themselves[18],[14]. Both groups of people, those who support and those who reject Jokowi, exchanged criticism, blasphemy, abuse and attack through social media, either Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram. This phenomenon is believed to be the result of Indonesia heterogeneity nature, in which its people come from a multi-ethnic background such as religion, tribes, social classes, education and way of life[1],[16]).

CONCLUSION

The discourse on communication text in the mass media is increasingly unstoppable. Not because the community is productive and has the ability to fight, but because it is easily facilitated by technological breakthroughs. The community should be able to take advantage of the conveniences contained in the gadgets they have by filtering news and information received. Speeches of hatred that are often posted on personal accounts or in social media groups show immaturity and low tolerance. We should realize this because Indonesia is a multicultural country with a diversity of individual differences. Government efforts to control the use of hate speech that can trigger rifts and split unity in social media should be consistent. Regulations about hate speech should also be firm and accurate so as not to turn off the right to speak and express opinions.

REFERENCES

[1] Mengü, Murat and Mengü, Seda. "Violence and Social Media". *Athens Journal of Mass Media and Communications* July 2015, Volume 1, Issue 3 – Pages 211-228, 2015.

[2] Lev-On, Azi. "The Anti-Social Network? Framing Social Media in Wartime". *Social Media + Society*, July-September 2018: 1–12, 2018.

[3] Ningum, Dian Junita, dkk. "Kajian Ujaran Kebencian di Media Sosial". *Jurnal Ilmiah Korpus,* Volume II, Nomor III, Desember, p 241-252, 2018.

[4] Massaro, Toni M. "Equality and Freedom of Expression: The Hate Speech Dilemma", 32 Wm. & Mary L. Volume 32 | Issue 2, 1991.

[5] Kim, S. J., & Hancock, J. T. "Optimistic bias and Facebook use: Self-other discrepancies about potential risks and benefits of Facebook use". *Cyberpsychology, Behavior and Social Networking*, *18*, 214–220, 2015.

[6] Sudaryanto. *Metode dan Aneka Teknik Anaisis Bahasa, Pengantar Penulisan Wahana kebudayaan secara Linguistik.* Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana University Press, 1993.

[7] Rahadi, Kunjana. *Pragmatik: Kesantnan Imperatif Bahasa Indonesia.* Jakarta: Erlangga, 2006.

[8] Rahadi, Kunjana. *Berkenalan dengan Ilmu Bahasa Pragmatik*. Malang: Dioma, 2004.

[9] Leech, Geoffrey N. *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman, 1983.

[10] Wijana, I D. P. *Dasar-Dasar Pragmatik.* Yogyakarta: ANDI Offset, 1996.

[11] Alakali, T.T., H. P. Faga, J. Mbursa. "Audience Perception of Hate Speech and Foul Language in the Social Media in Nigeria: Implications for Morality and Law". *Academicus - International Scientific Journal.* Page 161-178.

[12] Eriyanto. *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit LkiS, 2011.

[13] Santoso, Anang. *Studi Bahasa Kritis: Menguak Bahasa Membongkar Kuasa.* Bandung: Mandar Maju, 2011.

[14] Massey, Calvin R. "Hate Speech, Cultural Diversity, and the Foundational Paradigms of Free Expression" dalam University of California Hastings College of the Law. 40 (103): 104-195, 1992.

[15] Justin Cheng, Cristian Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil, and Jure Leskovec. "Antisocial Behavior in Online Discussion Communities". *In International Conference on Web and Social Media (ICWSM),* 2015.

[16] Mondal, Mainack; Silva, Leandro Araújo; Benevenuto, Fabrício. "A Measurement Study of Hate Speech in Social Media". HT '17, July 04-07, 2017, Prague, Czech Republic., 2017.

[17] Koncavar, Ayşe. Hate Speech in New Media. *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* MCSER, Publishing, Rome-Italy. October 2013Vol. 2 No. 8, p. 675, 2013.

[18] Solove, Daniel J. "The Future of Reputaion: Gossip, Rumor, and the Privacy on the Internet" Yale University Press, 2017.