Hatenography: An Analysis of Hate Speech on Facebook in 2019 Indonesian Presidential Campaign

ATWAR BAJARI
IWAN KOSWARA
DEDI RUMAWAN ERLANDIA
Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

This article discusses hate speech on Facebook from two groups of supporters for the presidential candidates in the 2019 Presidential Election in Indonesia. The study used a virtual ethnography approach to analyze cultural groups or communities through their conversations on the Facebook platform. Data collection was conducted by observing and collecting words, phrases, and sentences in the Official Facebook account of two presidential candidates in the 2019 Presidential Election and statements of both presidential and vice-presidential candidates in 2019. In addition, researchers also observed three voluntary group accounts for each candidate. Therefore, the total number of accounts observed was eight. Data was analysed with Nvivo 12+ to obtain statistics on the strength of the chosen speech word and the dominant phrase or word that appears. The result shows that specific phrases or terms to intimidate each supporter of both parties in massive numbers appeared in the form of hate speech during the campaign. The purpose of the hate speech is to insult/humiliate, intimidate or accuse others of doing something inappropriate or evil (accusation which involves sarcasm and foul language directed to the opponent. Candidates also provoked each other by accusing the other party of being stupid, disgusting, pathetic, ugly, and retarded. The implication was that hate speech has disunited the public on the social media space. Accusing and attaching bad characters to other groups through hate speech has strengthened inter-group stereotypes and formed an unhealthy democratic climate.

Keywords: *Provocation, hate speech, verbal message, virtual ethnography, communication.*

INTRODUCTION

The election for Indonesian legislative members and the president and vice president in 2019 caused the political temperature to rise. Based on a communication standpoint, its indications were the word production and the discourse war between supporters through social media space has significantly increased. Social media has become a tool for political elite campaigns to gain fast, cheap, and interactive support. On the other hand, social media is a space for supporters to express their opinions on political issues and the elite's behaviour (Sally, Sao, & Kwon, 2019; Zhuravskay, Petrova, & Enikolopov, 2020). The worrying problem is that the users often indulge in hate speech in demeaning, insulting, and cursing the characters and supporters of their opponents.

The use of hate speech often has no logical connection between specific words or phrases and objective reality about ideology, beliefs, and political attitudes of supporters or candidates for president or legislative members in political campaigns (Darmalaksana, Irwansyah, Sugilar, Maylawati, Aziz, & Rahman, 2020; Paz, Montero-Díaz, & Moreno-Delgado, 2020). For example, the extensive use of the word "tadpole" in social media has raised the degree of a frog to be the

most popular word used to demean supporters and candidates from one group (Hamid, Darwis, & Indriyani, 2018; Tazri, 2019). In line with this, the phrases "the flat earth," "tablecloth community," and "napkin community" suddenly became very popular to denigrate the presidential candidate, Prabowo Subiyanto.

Social media has become a political campaign tool to build supporter loyalty by demeaning opponents. The legal-regulatory terminology of hate speech has become an essential category in efforts to recognise aggressive addresses expanding on online media (Pohjonen & Udupa, 2017). Therefore, according to Jamieson (2009) and Center (2012), social media has become a place of status war for sowing hatred between groups. Sarcastic language use seems to satisfy the desire to "kill" or "hit" the other party without physical violence (Ben-David & Matamoros-Fernández, 2016).

Hate speech is a word of something that causes a violation of another person or group. Another slightly broader definition explains that hate speech is a message that belittles gender, religion, race, and sexual orientation (Mondal, Silva & Benevenuto, 2017; Neshkovska & Trajkova, 2017). It is also an act of communication, especially on social media, which is conducted by an individual or group in the form of provocation, incitement, or insult to another individual or group (Coliver, Boyle & D'Souza, 1992).

The habit of making hate speech became widespread when society has a high level of heterogeneity, which results in the interests of members clashing with each other. This condition will trigger disputes and prejudices between group members (Walker, 1996). They will observe each other's different physical forms, habits, actions, and beliefs that will be used as material for gossip, insults, and humiliation to other groups (Gelashvili, 2018). The hate speech that used to appear on social spaces is now shifting to the social media space. Social media has become an expansion room to show hatred to outside groups without saying directly to the group that is hated.

Due to the danger of hate speech, various researchers have developed a measurement model using trend analysis and speech patterns. As a consequence, Malmasi and Zampieri, (2017) found that safety and security on social media have grown substantially in the last decade. The most relevant aspect of this work is detecting and preventing the use of various forms of abusive language on blogs, micro-blogs, and social networks (Mondal et al., 2017).

Due to the high intensity of the use of Facebook for the spread of hate speech during the campaign and post-campaign, this study seeks to explain; (1) the identification of dominant or main words or phrases used as hate speech during the campaign for the 2019 presidential election in Indonesia; (2) the classification of hate speech used by both supporters of the 2019 Presidential Candidate and Vice President from both parties; and (3) the dominant classification of provocative messages between supporters in the 2019 presidential election. The arrangement of classifications and the construction of verbal message structure models through the Virtual Ethnographic approach were needed to explain the existing conditions (Hymes, 1972; Johnstone & Marcellino, 1998; Sade-Beck, 2004; Simaibang & Bajari, 2019; Saville-Troike, 2008).

LITERATURE REVIEW
Information Laundering Theory
Based on the Information Laundering Theory, the group of hate speech represents hatred information into knowledge. Social media creates an ideal environment for hate that has been

edited in such a way, hides facts, and describes them as truth. The spread of hate speech through social media is due to many groups that are vulnerable to hate speech, such as refugees and immigrants, religious groups/teachings, and minorities (Salminen, Almerekhi, Milenković, Jung, An, Kwak, & Jansen, 2018). Users, in particular, have "hit" specific groups and spread ideas that show hostility towards them. As a result, in the digital era, hate speech has reached new levels in more advanced and intellectual forms. Such platforms provide opportunities not only to spread hate messages but also have changed the understanding of hate into more justified words. They succeeded in replacing hate speech with expressions that seemed to be scientific facts (Jakubowicz, 2017).

This theory argues that the circulation of hate speech on a website seemly equates with the concept of information laundering, which explains how the format and construction of the virtual world can act as a money-laundering system. Therefore, according to Klein, social media has created an ideal environment for group hatred that not only spreads the message of toxic cultural intolerance, racial superiority, or fears in certain societies but also edit, hide, or hide facts and declare them as truth. Information Laundering Theory assumes that social media is a trusted form because it is not subject to editorial filtering. Through laundering information, social media can disguise other things-representing hate speech as headlines that appear to be scientific opinions (Jakubowicz, 2017).

In the contestation of the general election or the president and members of the council election, in the public sphere, there is a grouping of supporters based on their choice. This will be expressed in the social media space when the candidates use social media for their campaigns. As a result, besides expressing support for their choice, the supporters also express their hatred for candidates who are not their choice. The logic builds hatred systematically to seem as true as what is stated in the proposition of Laundering's theory. Therefore, if it is observed more closely, hate speech always appears in every political and government friction in the social media space (Jakubowicz, 2017). According to scholars (Salminen, Almerekhi, Milenković, Jung, An, Kwak & Jansen, 2018; Walker, 1994), toxic hate speech always appears in the social media space to intimidate other parties. In the context of the 2019 presidential election in Indonesia, this research tried to ask the first research question (RQ1) as follows: How is the form of representation of words or phrases showing that hate speech appears during the 2019 presidential election campaign?

Classification of Hate Speech on Social Media
Social media networks are widely available to provide opportunities for users to learn languages, improve their digital and multi-literacy abilities, work together, and improve language skills (Alami, Adnan & Kotamjani, 2019; Heirati & Alashti, 2015). However, social media such as Facebook allows differences of opinion to spread incitement and hatred (Blattner & Fiori, 2009; Lubinski, 2021).

The term hate speech describes when an account user attacks another party with words or pictures (memes) to demean, insult, or spread hateful messages to the party as opponents. In previous studies, the rhetoric of hate speech on social media was directed at refugees and immigrants, religious groups, and minorities (Bajari, 2017a; Gelashvili, 2018). Hate speech is all forms of expression that promote and justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, or other

types of hate based on intolerance, sexism, including racism expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility towards minorities, migrants and immigrant origins (Neshkovska & Trajkova, 2017; Peltonen, 2010; Walker, 1996).

The users' habits for throwing hate speech into virtual public space are becoming a trend. A study in 2015 showed that 67% of respondents in the United States believe that the social media users' make a statement attacking the minority; followed by 50% in Latin America, 46% in Europe and 50% in other countries (Africa, Asia-Pacific, and Middle-East) (Laub, 2019). Laub even quoted the results of the Anti-Defamation League research that hatred through social media will provoke violence in the public space. Stimulation of verbal and nonverbal statements will arouse anger, hatred, and acts of violence (Laub, 2019). He cited four conclusions from the study. First, 59% of Americans believed that the higher the online hatred and violence, the higher the racial crime. Second, 22% of Americans feel unsafe living in their neighbourhood due to online hatred and violence. Third, 37% of adults have experienced severe internet harassment, including physical threats, sexual harassment, stalking, or continuing harassment. Fourth, 85% of them want the government to increase training and the source of police force regarding cyberhate issues (Laub, 2019).

The most relevant aspect of this work is detecting and restricting the use of various forms of abusive language on blogs, microblogs, and social networks. According to Mondal et al. (2017), there are difficulties measuring hate speech. First, it is difficult to detect new hate targets using hate keywords. Second, manual labelling, although useful, cannot be scaled if we want to understand and recognize hate speech on a larger scale.

The ability of Facebook as a social media to spread hate speech can be seen from the number of status or comments on its space by insulting, intimidating, accusing, cursing, and scapegoating other people or groups. Therefore, Salminen et al. (2018), in the Anatomical Theory of Hate Speech in social media, mentioned that there are 12 taxonomic groups of hate speech. Of the 12 groups of hate speech, some groups of hate speech are easy to see and often used by users, such as accusations, humiliation, swearing, and promoting violence.

In line with this, Research Question 2 (RQ 2) is formulated as follows: How is the classification of hate speech used by both supporters of the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates from both parties?

Classification of Hate Speech based on the Adjectives Used
Provocative messages that are frequently dominant in hate speech usually contain or use adjectives and or pronouns given to the opposite party or other people (Salminen et al., 2018). It is also mentioned that the most used words or phrases are stupid, disgusting, pathetic, ugly, greedy, retarded, dirty and garbage.

Words or phrases containing provocative messages are always preferred to attack the other party in saying hate speech. Therefore, using adjectives as the attempts to demean others is a part of a widely used strategy in the social media space. This is further strengthened if the raised status contains or promotes sharp criticism and hurts the feelings of other parties.

Salminen conducted a study of 22,514 comments in online media from various countries. The study found the concept of offensive or offensive adjectives against the intended party (Salminen et al., 2018). Offensive adjectives, or provocative messages in this study, are

words that describe something subjectively to attack or intimidate objects, or pronouns that can be people, places, animals, objects or abstract concepts, and thoughts. Thus, the adjective is preceded by the presence of a noun or pronoun whose nature is described by the adjective.

Objects or things as nouns whose bad qualities are described by adjectives are usually groups, person, or ethnic oriented. Furthermore, Teh, Cheng and Chee (2018) stated that eight group field findings were oriented towards using offensive adjectives or profane words to become provocative messages. Those eight groups are people with different sexual orientations, disabilities, gender, religion, race, behaviour, and class).

Based on this study, the third research question (RQ3) is formulated as follows: How is the dominant classification of provocative messages between supporters in the 2019 presidential election?

METHODOLOGY

The method used in this study was Ethnography in social media. Ethnography is a methodological cocktail that assumes the existence of a researcher involved with the people as the key to understanding social or cultural settings (Crang & Cook, 2007; Dicks, Mason, Coffey & Atkinson, 2005; Naidoo, 2012; Achmad, Ida & Lukens-bull, 2021). Ethnographic design in this study is communication ethnography with virtual space as its observation object. Ethnographic studies in virtual space need to be conducted in aspects of communication, considering that formal technological and linguistic analysis itself is not sufficient (Bajari, 2018; Hine, 1994; Hymes, 1972; Sade-Beck, 2004; Saville-Troike, 2008; Ray & Biswas, 2011; Johnstone & Marcellino, 2011; Kartika, 2012; Kalou & Sadler-Smith, 2015; Rahman, Nurnisya, Nurjanah & Hifziati, 2018)

This study seeks to explain communication actions involving aspects of hate speech from Facebook users with the issue of Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections before and after the 2019 Presidential Election judged by the trends and origins of hate speech, classification and patterns of hate speech, and adjective groups used in hate speech.

Data collection was conducted by interviewing the manager of the social media account of the Presidential Election winning team from both groups, namely Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin National Campaign Team (TKN/*Tim Kampanye Nasional*) and Prabowo-Sandi National Winning Agency (BPN/*Badan Pemenenangan Nasional*).

This study interviewed resource persons separately. Interview data were used for establishing and convincing dominant words or phrases during the campaign and post-campaign. Next, the researcher traced the words or phrases through two virtual-based data provider accounts, namely Social Report (https://www.socialreport.com/) and Google Trend (https://trends.google.co.id/trends/?geo=ID) to ensure that the words or phrases have a virtual database. In the next stage, the researchers took the supporters' conversation data from eight Facebook accounts, consisting of one official account and three volunteer accounts from both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Observation and data collection was conducted by using the application during the campaign from September 23, 2018, until April 13, 2019.

In each report, an account status statement was selected with the criteria of getting more than 1500 comments in the form of text or images uploaded by account members. Furthermore, account selection was also conducted based on an assessment of the number of active support

members in commenting status (minimum 30% of commentators) and based on observation permission from the account owner or admin.

The researchers were involved in the process of observing engagements and participation on Facebook. There were two objectives in observing online engagement: first, keeping the dynamics or issues of discussed themes directly, and second, observing verbal and non-verbal languages used in an online conversation. It was not impossible in one virtual community to have character or peculiarity and convey virtual communication symbols that other people or communities do not understand (Wilson, 2006; Arif, 2012; Uzun & Aydin, 2012; Febriyanti, & Lustyantie, 2020; Achmad, Ida, & Mustain, 2020). There were four researchers involved in the observation. Each of them did a technical exercise on how to read comments and interpret them qualitatively after having agreement on the criteria for utterances to be considered as hate speech or not.

Data analysis was conducted using Nvivo 12+ to obtain statistics on the strength of selected hate speech words, patterns of relationships, and dominant words or phrases that appear in hate speech, and analysis and interpretation of data chosen according to the research objectives manually.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Dominant or Main Words or Phrases Used in Hate Speech during the 2019 Presidential Election Campaign (RQ1)

The first result showed that the hate speech for each supporter of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election flourished. Each supporter compiled words or phrases consistently that were used in the form of evil, dirty, and rude designations to demean the opponent. The terms still used as standard speech were constructed and spread massively through social media, not only Facebook. The use of words containing hate speech such as *"kecebong/cebong"* (tadpole), *"asing"* (foreign), *"aseng"* (Chinese), and *"komunis"* (communist) were frequently used to insult supporters of candidates 01. Meanwhile, words such as *"kampret"* or *"kampreter"* (small bat), and *"wowo"* or *"genderuwo"* (giant) must appear to insult supporters of candidate 02. Graph 1 and Graph 2 present the results of observations and calculations of main words' appearance as tools for conveying hate speech to the opposing party from each group.
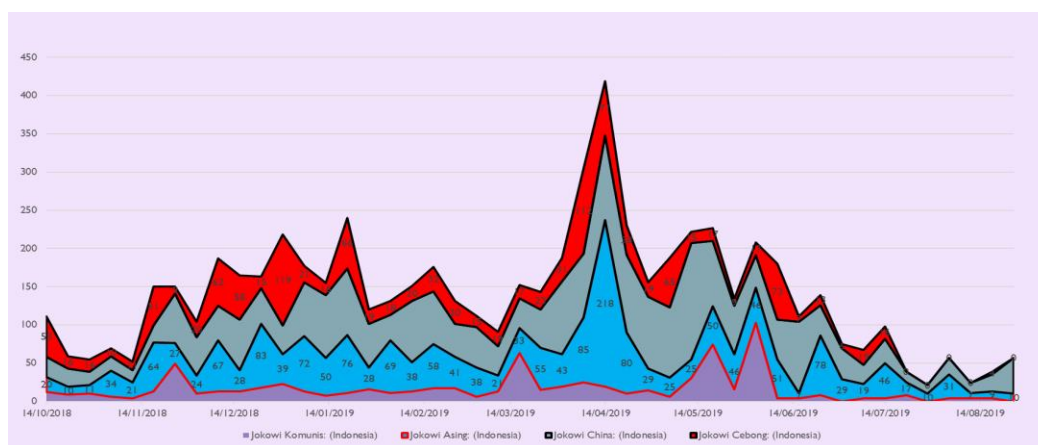
Graph 1: The occurrence of dominant words or phrases in hate speech against supporters of candidate 01 campaign in 2019 on Facebook

Graph 1 shows a trend of hate speech using dominant words such as *"cebong/kecebong"* (tadpole), "*asing"* (foreign), "*aseng"* (Chinese), and *"komunis"* (communist) against supporters of candidate 01 in the period from October 14, 2018, until August 14, 2019. The purple colour shows that the hate speech *"Jokowi Asing"* is the least spoken or written by supporters. The second trend arises from hate speech "Jokowi Communist", indicated by the blue colour. The third trend arises from hate speech *"Jokowi Aseng"* or "China", indicated by the grey colour. The red colour indicates the highest trend to show hate speech *"Jokowi Cebong"*. Based on the highest score, April 14, 2019, becomes the time when all hate speech occurred the most against candidate 01. First, *"Kecebong"* or *"cebong"* or *"ebong"* is a tadpole that has just hatched before turning into a frog and moving from a pool or puddle to land. This term has the most extensive insult value among other words or utterances used by Group 02 against Group 01. For example, the word *"kecebong"* was frequently paired with the word "*dungu"* (dumb), which was commonly used to insult with the following sentences:

> What I like about *bong* (*kecebong*), they replied to each other. Cover each other dumbness. The noisier, the more stupid. Very unique. That is what is called cacophony": *asbun* (nonsense), but cheerful. Suddenly there is pride in their dumbness (Pras, 2018).

The use of the word *kecebong* just appeared when information spread that Jokowi, as a Candidate 01, likes to raise frogs since becoming Mayor of Solo and the Governor of DKI Jakarta. The goal is simply to listen to the frog's loud voice at a particular time to create a relaxed village atmosphere (Harahap, 2017; Januarius, 2017). Since the public knew the quirky hobby of Candidate 01, they turned the word frog into a tadpole, as an attempt to insult or make fun of the supporter Group 01 (Novianto, 2018)

Second, *"Asing"* **(foreign)** and *"aseng"* **(Chinese)** were frequently separated to denigrate supporters' of Group 01. The word *"asing"* (foreign) in hate speech was usually directed at the accusation that Jokowi, during his reign in the previous period, always made the policies more favourable to foreign countries (*asing*) and ignored domestic conditions. "Don't be a thief who yells thief. In the 16 Jokowi policy packages, eight Communication and Information sectors were given to foreigners *("Asing")*, where our country would be taken". This statement was an accusation made by Jokowi's political opponent during the pre-campaign period (Retaduari, 2018).

Meanwhile, the term "*Aseng*" actually has the same hatred meaning as "*Asing* (foreign). However, the term "Aseng" tends to lead to an extraordinary allegation of Jokowi's partiality towards the Chinese government, investors, and people, including accusations of privileging foreign workers from China or becoming a Chinese henchman who is frequently conveyed by supporter Group 02 (Budi, 2018; CNN Indonesia, 2018; Franciska, 2017).

The designation "*Aseng"* (Chinese) has been used for a long time in everyday conversation to call adult men of Chinese descent (slanted eyes and white skin) aiming at making fun. The insult was related to the characteristic of Chinese people in Indonesia in buying and selling activity. They are good at doing business, always profitable, stingy, and slightly cheating. Finally,

in the election, the use of the word "*Aseng*" (Chinese) was used to mock the supporters of group 01, who were more pro-China.

Third, **"*Komunis*" or communist** offspring was the cruellest accusation against Jokowi personally. Indonesia is a country that formally prohibits communist ideology that has committed crimes against the General of Indonesia Army during the Old Order (Soekarno) by killing commissioned officers. Since then, President Soeharto had banned Communist Ideology from developing in Indonesia by eliminating and arresting the entire family of communist figures, groups, volunteers, and supporters at its root. Therefore, Jokowi's accusation as a communist offspring was a fundamental assault and character assassination of political opponents. Finally, the prosecution was used massively by supporters of Group 02 by conducting a black campaign by calling Joko Widodo an offspring of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI/*Partai Komunis Indonesia*). Jokowi was even accused of attending DN Aidit's (Communist Figure) speech, even though he was not yet born at that time. Jokowi was also often accused of being a PKI member. He said, "There are pictures on social media like this. DN Aidit spoke in 1955. I had not been born yet, but I had been called to accompany DN Aidit. What an issue! No such civilisation" (Ayu, 2018; Johari, 2019). Besides, a political opponent of Jokowi alleged that the Mental Revolution in the previous program in the era of President Jokowi has a copy of the Political Manifesto, which was a communist movement (Simanjuntak, 2014).
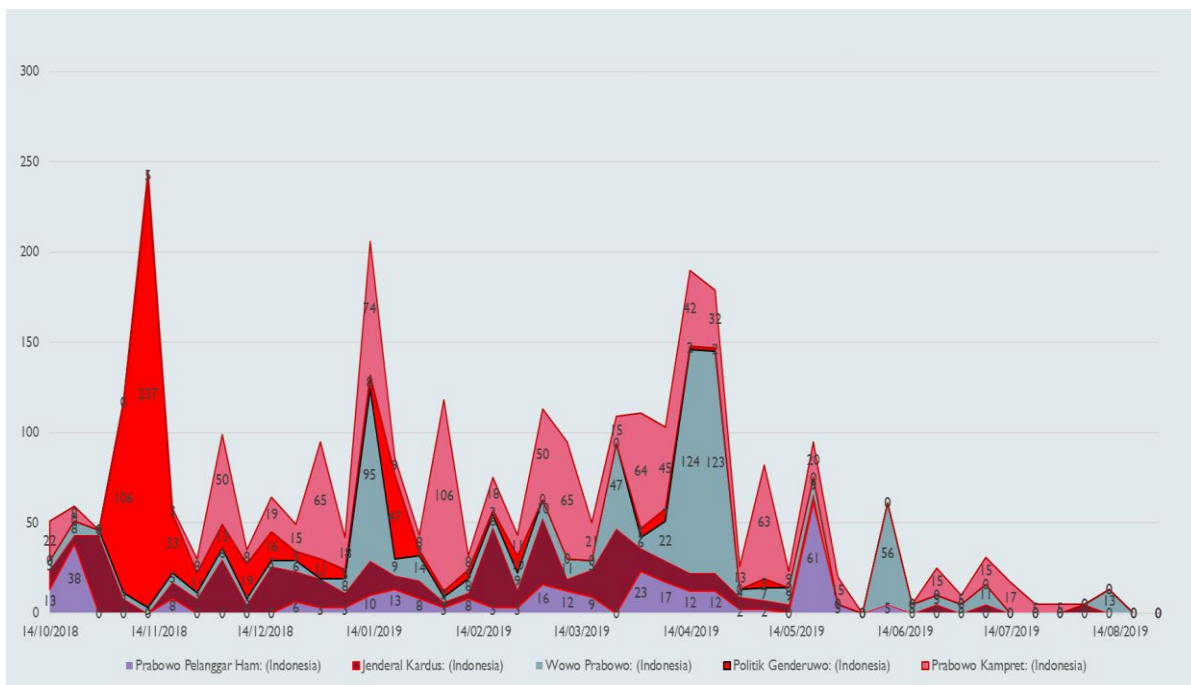
Graph 2: The occurrence of dominant words or phrases in hate speech against supporters of candidate 02 campaign in 2019 on Facebook

Graph 2 shows a trend of hate speech that occurs using dominant words such as *"kampret, "Jenderal kardus", "genderuwo", "Wowo",* and *"Pelanggar HAM"* against supporters of Candidate 02 in the period from October 14, 2018 until August 14, 2019. The trend that appeared in the graph occurs from the least spoken to the most spoken that is *"Prabowo*

pelanggar HAM" in the purple colour*, "Politik Genderuwo"* in the dark red colour*, "Wowo Prabowo"* in the grey colour*, "Jenderal Kardus"* in the light red colour*, and "Prabowo Kampret"* in the pink colour*.* Based on the highest score, November 14, 2018, becomes the time when all hate speech occurred the most against Candidate 02.

There are three famous words and phrases from party 01 as follows to insult or throw hate speech at 02. First, **Kampret** or **kampreter (bat):** *"kampret"* in the Indonesian language is the name of a kind of night animal (Nocturno) that is a small bat with a double nose. In contrast, *"kampreter"* is an adaptation of English to refer to the person, such as the verb "teach" will be "teacher" for calling a person who teaches. *"Kampret"* is an insult to supporters' Group 02, and *"kampreter"* is a person for members of Group 02. However, in the political arena and social media space, the word *"kampret"* experiences a total expansion of meaning into a form of utterance to insult or demean supporters of presidential Candidate 02. Different from the designation *"kecebong"* (tadpole), that appears as an expression of hatred attributed to the habit of presidential Candidate 01 to raise frogs. The designation *"kampret"* (small bat)" was just applied without any specific story or event related to Candidate 02. Traditionally, the word *"kampret"* (small bat) was used to insult, scold, or curse someone for acting stupidly.

Based on someone's experience, the term *"kampret"* (small bat) started in this sentence, but based on this long experience on social media, the term *"kampret"* (small bat) is a game of the Red and White Coalition. The Red and White Coalition supported Prabowo-Hatta in the 2014 Presidential Election. This coalition was abbreviated as KMP (*Koalisi Merah Putih*). Then by Jokowi's supporters, this term was often defined as KMPret (Antero, 2019).

In the context of the Campaigns of Presidential Election 2014 and 2019, the word *"kampret"* (small bat) simultaneously becomes a negative label against supporters' group 02. The utterance always appeared in the account of supporters Group 01, which: "Is that the anarchist what the *"kampret"* (small bat) says *Jihad*? To make the country chaotic with an anarchist attitude is criminal *cuk.*" This sentence was uttered by supporters' Group 01, who criticised the supporter's Group 02, who gathered at Monas, Jakarta, to punish blasphemy against Basuki Cahaya Purnama (Ahok). They criticised the use of *Jihad*, whose meaning has been distorted and insulted it by calling *"kampret"* (small bat) and criminal *cuk* or complete criminal *jancuk* or criminal jerk.

In principle, the use of the word *"cebong"* (tadpole) and *"kampret"* (small bat) is an attempt to build cynicism and fantastic political expression. Indeed, they were used to identify and clearly distinguish one group from another simultaneously, massively, and roughly (Stefanie, 2018).

Second, **Wowo-genderuwo**. Presidential Candidate 02 General Prabowo Subianto has a brief call from Prabowo or General Prabowo. However, supporters of the opposing party called Prabowo, with a shorter name, Wowo, interpreted the meaning of teasing or having no respect. At a later stage in the campaign period, Prabowo was considered having used a strategy of scaring or warning if he did not become president. He said that Indonesia would be destroyed in 2030, and the economy would be destroyed and lost in international relations if it is mismanaged. Besides, the Prabowo-Sandi campaign strategy was used a lot because it threw up more lies and criticised Joko Widodo's issues during his reign (Erdianto, 2018). Finally, Joko Widodo (Jokowi)

said the Prabowo-Sandy approach was similar to giant creatures that scare children a lot called "*genderuwo*".

Jokowi mentioned that the term "*genderuwo*" was referring to the political ways of the opposing party to spread fear. Such methods are political methods that are not ethical, called "*genderuwo* politics" (Damarjati, 2018; Erdianto, 2018; Pinter Politik, 2018). Finally, after Joko Widodo threw the criticism, Prabowo got a new label from the opponent's supporters, "*Wowo-genderuwo*".

Third, "**Jenderal Kardus" (Cardboard General)**. This term is bad labelling and insulting the character of Prabowo, who is a former commissioned officer of the rank of General. Jenderal Kardus (Cardboard General) was said by Andi Arif, who was the Deputy General Secretary of the Democrat Party, which was the coalition of Prabowo in the 2019 election. This label was used by Arif to describe Prabowo as a weak, soft, and easily folded general figure like cardboard made of paper. The general cardboard label is a metaphor for his disappointment with Prabowo (Santoso, 2018). This context is inseparable from Prabowo's attitude, which easily changed or underwent rapid changes, especially in determining his political orientation when choosing a partner as a vice president. Previously, the Democratic Party, as one of the parties with tremendous supporters, had given full support because the best cadre of the Democratic Party, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, would be paired with Prabowo (Kumparan News, 2018; Liputan 6, 2018; Santoso, 2018). However, since there was a political money issue from a wealthy businessman, as alleged by Andi Arif , Prabowo's initial pair was substituted by Sandiaga Uno.

The result showed that the words and phrases used in hate speech in the 2019 presidential election campaign were similar to those used in the 2014 presidential election campaign. It shows that social media cannot be avoided as a means of expanding or spreading the provocative language. This ability is inseparable from the ability of social media to store, reproduce, and redistribute content that has been used.

Classification of Hate Speech Used by Both Supporters (RQ2)
The second result showed that hate speech indicated an attempt to attack the other party. Several phrases were classified using the Salminen forms (Salminen et al., 2018). Based on this classification, four dominant patterns were found in the conversation space of the two groups' supporters of the presidential and vice-presidential supporters' accounts. They were utterances in the form of insulting or humiliation, intimidation by accusing other parties of doing inappropriate or crime acts (accusation) and swearing. Meanwhile, one rare utterance was to encourage acts of violence (promoting violence). Sentences in comments containing the above purpose were also implemented in the form of images such as cartoons, memes, photographs, or other symbols.

First, insulting or humiliation was discovered in all comments on statuses made by administrations for all accounts. The most important aspect was trying to demean others or consider others not to be on the same level and constructed to look more stupid. Dominant words that appeared in this utterance were *kurang sehat akal* (lack of sense)*, tolol* (foolish)*,* and *IQ rendah/jongkok* (low IQ score). Second, intimidation or threats contain phrases controlling the actions of others with a consequence that builds fear. For example, "How stupid you are, Tadpole" and *"*open your eyes and ears if you do not want to be hanged/killed". Three other popular classifications used in hate speech against presidential candidates and their supporters

were swearing, accusing, and encouraging calls for violence. Swearing that frequently uttered were saying *kampret gobloknya alami* (*kampret*, your stupidity idiots are natural), *otak dungu* (stupid brains), *goblok dipelihara* (having idiots are cared for), and mentioning male and female genitals. In the accusation case, the phrases usually conveyed were calling corruptors without proving, just doing good imaging (to Jokowi), building debt (Jokowi), Prabowo always did big mouths, and *kampret* spreading hoaxes. Meanwhile, the classification of promoting violence was also discovered in several comments such as "If Habib gets out of prison, let's burn him".

The uniqueness of the findings in the field of virtual space was that the emergence of types of hate speech in massive numbers was triggered by the tendency to the status written. If criticism or insults were written on the status box, it would encourage followers to write or say hate speech in huge numbers. If the status was a phrase or sentence that insults, humiliates, or demeans the other party, it would lead to a sharp commentary war. However, if the status were neutral or even subtle, most comments would also be neutral and supportive, although it is possible to provoke comments containing a few hateful phrases from the opposite party.

The Dominant Model of Provocation Message in Delivering Hate Speech (RQ 3)
The dominant model of provocative messages in hate speech usually contained adjectives and pronouns given to opponents, as stated by Salminen et al. (2018), such as stupid, disgusting, pathetic, ugly, greedy, idiot, dirty, and rubbish. The result of data processing found several words that were consistent with the appearance classification of high, moderate, and low. Those words were usually a collection of adjectives to indicate the traits attached to the other party. Those words were classified by the form or type, or characteristic of insults, namely stupid, disgusting, pathetic, ugly, greedy, and retarded. Table 1 presents the results of qualitative data analysis.

First, the type of provocative message to demean or accuse the opposing party of being a stupid people always uses the keywords *"goblok"* or *"goblog"* or *"guoblok"* in high numbers, which can mean the same thing even though different degrees such as idiot, or moron. Meanwhile, at a more moderate level, the words were *"tolol"* (foolish), *"bodoh"* (stupid), and "*sinting"* (crazy). Nevertheless, at a lower level, the words appeared like; *"planga-plongo,"* *"bego"* (idiot), *"terbego"* (the most idiot/stubborn), *"begok"* (idiot), and *"tolol"* (foolish) in the conversation and commentary space of supporters.

Second, provocative sentence models in the form of utterances used words considered parallel with disgusting traits and close to bad characteristics. According to the researcher's interpretation, in a high level, the words widely used in the supporters' utterances were *"kampreter"* (small bat), "*busuk"* (bad), "*anjing"* (dog), and *"jokodok"* standing for contempt for presidential candidate 01, Jokowi-Frog. Furthermore, at a moderate level, the words considered disgusting used in the conversation of both parties were "*anjing-anjing"* (minions), *"penggretong*" (rapist/harassment), "*penzina"* (adultery), "*najis"* (unclean), "*pemaksiat"* (person who does immoral act), and "*munafik"* (hypocrites), while at the lower level, the disgusting words were "*jijik*" (disgusting) and "*ngentot/pengentot"* (adultery actor).

Table 1: Classification of adjectives as a provocative sentence model in conveying hate speech

Adjectives	Variance or Form Adjectives in the Conversation Room		
	High	**Moderate**	**Low**
Stupid	*Goblok* (stupid) *Goblog* (stupid) *Guoblok* (stupid)	*Tolol* (foolish) *Bodoh* (stupid) *Sinting* (crazy)	*Planga-plongo* (dumbfounded/dumber/look stupid) *Bego* (idiot) *Terbego* (the most idiot) *Begok* (idiot) *Tolol* (foolish)
Disgusting	*Kampreter* (small bat) *Cebonger* (todple) *Busuk* (rotten) *Anjing* (dog) *Jokodok* (Jokowi – frog)	*Anjing-anjing* (minions) *Gretong* (rap) *Zina* (adultery) *Najis* (unclean) *Maksiat* (immoral) *Munafik* (hypocrite)	*Menjijikan* (disgusting) *Ngentotin* (fuck)
Pathetic	*Pengutang* (artisan owe) *Bohong* (lie) *Nyinyir* (envious) *Fitnah* (slander*)* *Kardus* (cardbard) *Curang* (cheating) *Banci* (sisy)	*Pendusta* (liar) *Kafir* (infidel) *Leba*y (overreacting) *Melambay* (sisy) *Bencong* (ladyboy)	*Murahan* (cheap) *Nafsu* (lust) *Bacotan* (utterance) *Congor* (cobbler) *Nyinyirer* (envious person) *Narsis* (narcissistic) *Nyungsep* (fall) *Ngemis* (begging) *Leceh* (sticky) *Bencong* (ladyboy)
Ugly	*Pembenci* (hater) *Premanisme* (thuggery) *Gadungan* (fake)	*Genderuwo* (Genderuwo Ghost/ hairy ogre devil) *Perusak* (destroyer)	*Penghasut* (agitator), *Penghianat* (traitor), penipu (swindler), *Penjahat* (villain), *Penjajah* (invader), *Penjudi* (gambler), *Perampok* (robber), Radikal (radical), *Sombong* (arrogant), *Antek–antek* (minion)
Retarded	*Gila* (crazy) *Koplak* (idiot) *Gemblung* (idiot) *Dungu* (idiot)	*Katrok* (bumpkin) *Koplak* (idiot)	Idiot

Third, the sad or parallel terms with a pathetic characteristic when commenting about the opposing party were the highest number compared to other classifications. Terms widely used at a high level in sad speech groups were "*pengutang"* (debt), "*pembohong"* (liar), "*tukang nyinyir"* (envious person), *"banci"* (sisy), and others. At a moderate level, the words used were "*kafir"* (infidel), "*lebay"* (overreacting), "*bencong"* (ladyboy), and "*melambay"* (sisy). Besides, at a low level, the words used were *"murahan"* (cheap), "*pengentot"* (adultery actor), "*narsis"* (narcissistic), "*curang"* (cheating), and others.

Fourth, the utterances with bad/dangerous characteristics (ugly) used by supporters who were not reluctant to use harsh or sarcastic words to insult or demean other supporters with harmful or hazardous terms such as *"premanisme"* (thuggery), *"pembenci"* (hater), and

"gadungan" (fake) at a high level (many). While at a moderate level, the words used bad characteristics were *"perusak"* (destroyer) and *"genderuwo".* Then, at a lower level, the terms emerged were *"penghianat"* (traitor), *"penghasut"* (agitator), *"perampok"* (robber), *"perusak"* (destroyer), and others. The fifth model was a provocation model using words that contain greedy and retarded qualities. Those words were not many and only appeared in a few conversation rooms. These words were *"megalomania"* (greedy) and *"gila"* (crazy), *"koplak"* (idiot), *"gemblung"* (idiot), *"katrok"* (bumpkin), an idiot to call and show someone who is not just stupid, but lower degrees than ridiculous designation.

DISCUSSION

In the era of social media, the problem of conflicts occurring in social spaces shifted into virtual space and increased involvement and a more extensive network of disputes. Expressions of hatred addressed to opponents were comfortably carried out by writing status, making scathing and insulting comments, and giving a thumbs up (like) or sending a picture in the comment's column of the opponent's fan or follower account. Social media turns into hate expression without physical violence (Bajari, 2017b; Boromisza-Habashi, 2008; Pohjonen & Udupa, 2017; Salminen et al., 2018). The language used to convey hate speech is usually a language containing attack, hatred, and disrespect on the opposing party. The function of the language is to build group identity, demean others, and behave according to hatred (Navarro, Rubiano, Arango, Rojas, Alexander, Saravia & Aronoff-Spencer, 2018). Spencer Graves (2005) and Rosenberg (2003) states that violent and nonviolent actions impact group identification, people's willingness to listen to the views of others, and their constructed realities (stated in Navarro et al., 2018).

The analysis of dominant phrases and words shows that hate speech for each of the supporters of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates for the 2019 presidential election developed or flourished. Each supporter compiled phrases or words that remained in the form of nasty, dirty, and rude designations to demean the other party. These phrases or words are usually standard. The haters have constructed and used the expression consciously and consistently, and then they disseminate it massively through social media such as Facebook and Twitter.

The first result showed that the words had developed rapidly since the 2014 presidential election and continued in the 2018-2019 presidential election because it presented the same contestant pairs. Balkin (stated in Gelashvili, 2018) said that these symptoms were driven by easy access and interaction and lower costs. The digital era has changed freedom of speech and exhibited the main characteristic, namely that digital communication reduces the cost of disseminating or expanding information and enables individuals to transcend geographical borders and regions to share information easily.

The second result shows that hate speech or phrases indicate an attempt to attack the opponent. If several phrases that appear were classified using the form of the Salminen (Salminen et al., 2018), there were five patterns found and three of which were very dominant in developing the conversation space in two groups of supporter accounts of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The four groups of utterances developing in their dominance were those attempting to insult (Insulting/Humiliation), intimidation by accusing others of doing inappropriate or accusation acts and swearing. Whereas one rare utterance found was to

promote violence. The sentences in the commentary containing the purposes, as mentioned above, are also applied in conveying the picture message. Several cartoons, memes, photographs, or other dominant symbols were used to classify those purposes. Even in general, it can be concluded that the essence of utterance in picture messages tends to be cruder than textual messages.

Referring to the opinion of Cooley and Mead (stated in Bajari & Kuswarno, 2020), the sentence showed that the principles of the Symbolic Interaction Theory applied in it. The word is a symbol that represents a specific meaning. The term may be neutral but meaningful when the user gives meaning from their perspective. Interactively, the word is produced and used together. In this case, the meaning of the word is shared, even disseminated. In the context of social media, the meaning is not just shared between two or three people who are discussing in a forum or group but spread in an extensive network. People can openly give views and interpretations and even contradict each other about a meaning according to their points of view. The nature of the discussion spreads out and does not find focus. The comments section on Facebook is open to all. Therefore, conflicting comments and disagreements cannot be avoided or covered up which causes unstoppable conflict or speech war. When the opposing party enters without being filtered by the admin, they are able to observe the conversation and carry out attacks from inside at all fronts. This case can be seen from the use of hate speech phrases towards supporters of specific candidates as account holders.

The five findings regarding the dominant model of the provocative message were the delivery of hate speech from both parties. The modelling was based on many adjectives and pronouns that were frequently used by both parties. The findings were then classified into four most used adjective models, namely: stupid, disgusting, pathetic, ugly, greedy, and retarded. From the number of adjectives found, the adjectives group that belongs to the pathetic, disgusting, and ugly classification was the most dominant. The most widely used adjective was frequently associated with dangerous, disgusting, sad, and bad things.

The high rate of hate speech has disrupted the public on social media space. Accusing and attaching bad characteristics to other people or groups through hate speech only reinforces long-standing inter-group stereotypes. The proof is that, even though the election has ended for quite some time, the Indonesian government is still unable to restore the conditions for political communication at the elite and lower levels. Deep disunity on social media space tends to be maintained for a long time both in the virtual space where social media and hate speech become a barometer measuring that the political system and democracy are unhealthy.

Political elites, government elites, and media are responsible for the bad situations and conditions due to the previous presidential election. They are also responsible for setting an example to the public and trying to spread statements and policies that do not trigger a statement war between groups that are already in dispute.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that many of the dominant words or phrases indicating hate speech were used to demean the other party. The words or phrases appear artificially because of criticism from fellow opponents, public perception of the candidates' hobbies that are considered strange, words related to ethnic origins, and calls with animal names (presuppositions) for vulgar insults.

The increased use of those words was higher if, in the campaign, the elite threw an innuendo that attacked the opposing party.

Hate speech has many variants if observed through a standard pattern when conveyed on social media. Communicators have control over this process when they create or send comments to the statement of the owner of the Facebook account. Although the structure of sentences is different, the pattern could be classified. If the hate speech was classified, there were four dominant groups of hate speech classifications, namely: insult/humiliation, intimidation, accusing others of doing an inappropriate or lousy act (accusation), and swearing excessively to the opponent. Expressions of hate speech have critical phrases in the form of nouns or objects. The results of the study show the names of animals and ethnic names are used to substitute people's names, and ideological names. To explain the word bend, hate speech creators add adjectives directed at provoking emotions to provoke the opponent in their comments. These provocative comments used more adjectives that referred to traits: stupid, disgusting, pathetic, ugly, and retarded. The massive use of hate speech shows that political communication during the campaign and post-campaign at the elite level (government and political elite) is not managed properly. As a result, disunity arises at the public level and persists even though a new government has been born. In this case, the elite and media channels have the task of reducing these problems to build an increasingly democratic nation.

BIODATA
Atwar Bajari is a Professor at the Communication Science Doctoral Study Program at the Faculty of Communication Sciences, *Universitas Padjadjaran*. He has published several international books and journals as well as recent research themes on new media, youth, learning models. Email: atwar.bajari@unpad.ac.id

Iwan Koswara is a senior lecturer at the Communication Management Study Program, Faculty of Communication Sciences, *Universitas Padjadjaran*. Write several articles in national and international journals about marketing and media communication. Email: iwankoswara@unpad.ac.id

Dedi Rumawan Erlandia is a lecturer at the Communication Management Study Program, Faculty of Communication Sciences, *Universitas Padjadjaran*. He has a keen interest in research on new media, communication campaigns, and event management. Email: dedirumawan2014@gmail.com

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