

# Lack of Critical Approach in the Hate Speech Research as Ideological Practice in Indonesia

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**Abstract.** Hate speech is a global phenomenon that surge in almost all countries in the last few years. This, for one thing, is triggered by the presence of social media, so people tend to express their feelings directly without thinking much. The high political tension also makes it easy for hate speech to be expressed and become viral. In Indonesia itself, it is not uncommon for ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations issues to color the phenomenon of hate speech. So far, this article is a systematic review of hate speech research in Indonesia as it aims to map research trends on hate speech, starting from the main topics discussed, to several methodological issues. Data were analyzed using the CALL (computer-assisted language learning) approach, by utilizing the NVivo 12 application combined with Lancs Box 6.0. The article data was taken from all DOAJ and Google Scholar-indexed articles in Indonesian. There are at least 44 articles related to hate speech in Indonesia that have been researched by previous researchers from various scientific disciplines, ranging from communication sciences, education, languages, computers, law, and religion. From all the articles reviewed systematically, it can be seen that the phenomenon of hate speech in Indonesia has a close relationship with a variety of social life which is quite complex. However, among the existing studies, the application of a critical approach is still very limited in the context of the hate speech phenomenon. This fact is due to the fact that the understanding of hate speech in Indonesia has so far been seen as personal whereas hate speech itself is very ideological.

## 1 Introduction

Recently, the phenomenon of hate speech has become part of our daily social life. This is inseparable from the increasingly massive presence of social media. At the same time, our level of media literacy in interacting with (social) media is still relatively low, so many people are trapped in hate speech practices.

In Indonesia, the phenomenon of hate speech is also inseparable from political factors. The political process, both in the presidential election and regional head election, has triggered a high number of cases of hate speech. People who are involved in hate speech also have different social backgrounds, but among the actors who often utter hate speech, not a few of them are prominent figures or important figures in this country. There is hate speech uttered by artists, political figures, religious leaders, influencers, and society.

In the Indonesian context, this is no need to be concerned due to more or less in the last seven years, since the 2014 Presidential Election, this phenomenon of hate speech has continued. The implication of all the matters causes high polarization in society. Indonesian

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society, since the 2014 Presidential Election, has been divided into two camps facing each other, between the pro-government and pro-opposition camps.

In case hate speech has a close relationship with the context of political life, which involves important and influential figures in this country, it is appropriate that studies or research on hate speech be carried out with a critical approach. Therefore, this article raised issues related to the application of critical studies on hate speech in Indonesia. In this regard, the questions to be answered in this article are:

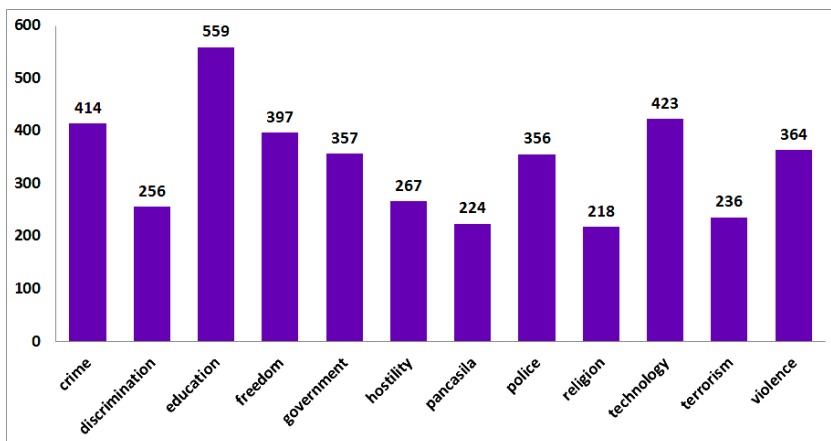
- (1) What are the main topics of hate speech studies conducted in Indonesia?
- (2) What is the position and application of critical studies on hate speech articles conducted in Indonesia?

## 2 Research Method

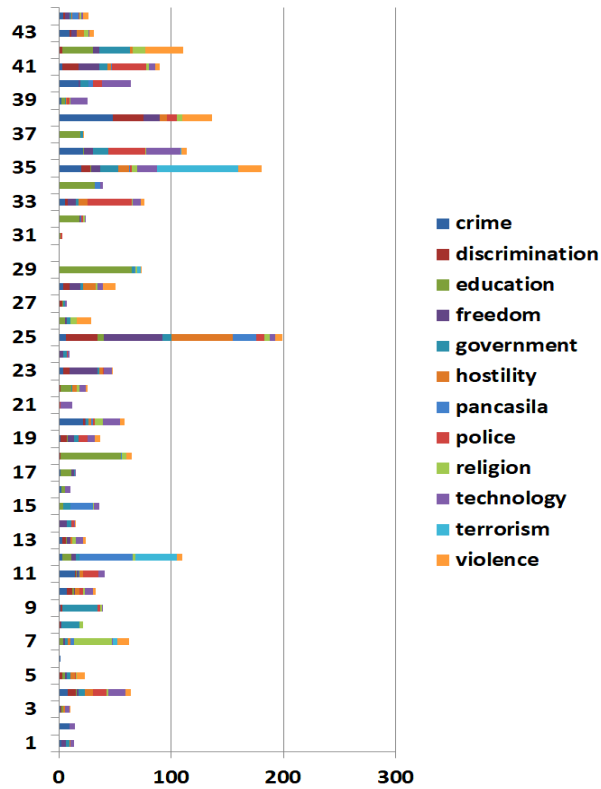
To answer the questions, this research used the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Review and Meta-analysis) approach. In other words, this article is a systematic review of hate speech research in Indonesia so far. Data were analyzed using the CALL (computer-assisted language learning) approach, by utilizing the NVivo 12 application combined with Lanes Box 6.0. The article data is taken from all articles indexed by the Directory Open Access Journal (DOAJ) and Google Scholar in Indonesian. Due to the limited number of hate speech articles in Indonesia, both indexed in Google Scholar and in DOAJ, so there are no restrictions on a particular year, so all articles that have been published so far are included. There are at least 44 articles related to hate speech in Indonesia that have been researched by previous researchers from various scientific disciplines, ranging from the sciences of communication, education, languages, computers, law, religion, and so on. In terms of quantity, the number of articles can be said to be very limited, especially for studies conducted by various scientific disciplines.

## 3 Results and Discussion

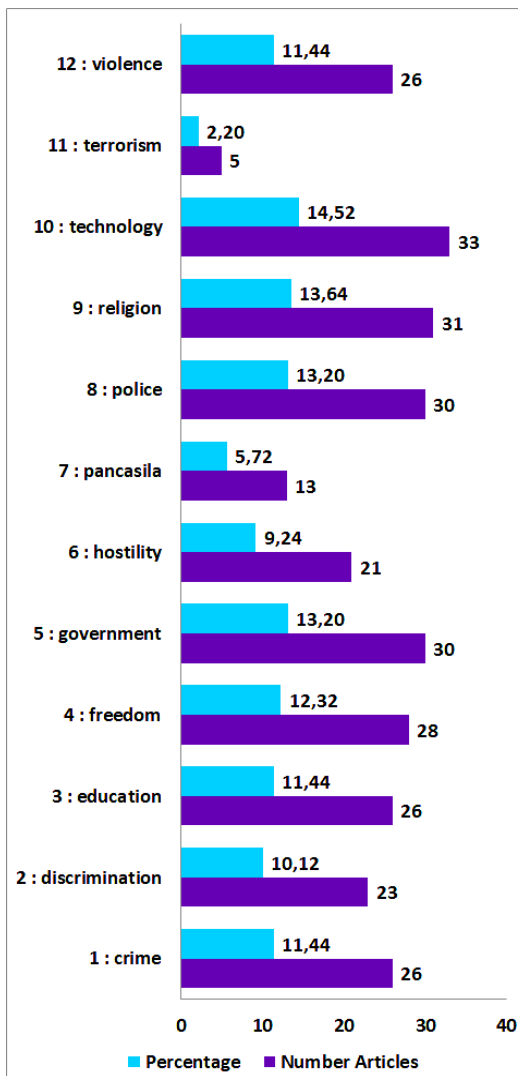
Statistically, the results of a systematic review of articles related to hate speech in Indonesia can be described as follows.



**Fig. 1.** Hate speech research topics in Indonesia, which are indexed on Google Scholar and DOAJ based on 44 articles that are systematically reviewed from the intensity of the use of keywords



**Fig. 2.** Distribution of hate speech study topics in Indonesia, indexed on Google Scholar and DOAJ based on 44 articles that were systematically reviewed by the intensity of keyword use



**Fig. 3.** Percentage and number of articles containing topics of study on hate speech in Indonesia, indexed on Google Scholar and DOAJ based on 44 articles that were systematically reviewed by the intensity of use of keywords.

### 3.1 The Topics Study of Hate Speech in Indonesia

The data in **Fig. 1** to **Fig. 3** show that the topics of study of hate speech in Indonesia are dominated by complex social issues, as seen by the presence of certain vocabulary (keywords) in the article, such as crime (414 discrimination (256 words), education (559 words), government (357 words), hostility (267 words), Pancasila (224 words), police (356 words), religion (218 words), technology (423 words), terrorism (236 words), and violence (364 words). These issues are almost scattered in all existing articles. That is, in this case, one issue with another issue is related to one another.

The percentage of articles showing these keywords or vocabulary, as shown in **Fig. 3.**, reveals that issues or vocabulary related to violence are 11.44 percent of the articles (n=26),

discrimination reaches 10.2% of the articles (n=10), education 11.44 percent (n=559), government 13.20 percent articles (n=30), hostilities 9.24 percent articles (n=21), Pancasila 5.72 percent articles (n=13), police 13, 20 percent of articles (n=30), religion 13.64 percent of articles (n=31), technology 14.52 percent of articles (n=33), terrorism 2.20 percent of articles (n=5), and violence 11.44 percent of articles (n=26).

The proportion of each issue is evenly distributed in all articles, as shown in **Fig. 3.**, except for issues related to terrorism. This, perhaps, is an element of the crime of terrorism, especially in Indonesia, which is seen as not really related to the phenomenon of hate speech. Apart from the variations of these issues, in general, what were the topics of discussion in the previous articles, can be mapped again into more general topics as follows.

### **3.2 Technology, Law, and Crime Issues**

The issues of technology, law, and crime in the study of hate speech in Indonesia seem to be the most prominent issues in the studies conducted by previous researchers. This can be seen in the use of words such as technology, crime, hostility, violence, police, and the most extreme is related to the vocabulary of terrorism. In previous articles the issue of crime, for example, can be seen in studies conducted by Mujab [1], Siregar & Puri [2], Kamalludin & Arief [3], Christianto [4], Effendi [5], Samosir, Siregar, & Zulyadi [6]; Anam & Hafiz [7], Ablisar et al. [8], Wardhani & Ekawati [9], Sukardi, Mappaselleng, & Syarifuddin [10], Sa'idah, Santi, & Suryanto [11], and so on.

In this regard, Siregar & Puri [2], for example, try to see the connection between hate speech and criminal acts or crimes of terrorism in cyberspace as an effort to contribute ideas related to legal aspects. Meanwhile, Mujab [1] examines the things that are needed by the police in facing the challenges of policing in the social media space. The role of the police in efforts to enforce laws related to hate speech on social media is also shown by Siregar, et al.

Interestingly, although the issue of terrorism in relation to hate speech in Indonesia is still considered relatively small, the study conducted by Winarni [12] shows a conclusion that needs serious attention. Based on this research, the growing radicalism in Indonesia is primarily based on a religious background, which according to him is even realized in various acts of terrorism. The notion of radicalism, according to him, has been instilled in a very young age range, from 17 to 24 years.

The birth of various criminal behaviors in the form of hate speech these days cannot be separated from the existence of technology. According to Sa'idah et al. [11], among the factors that play a role in the production of hate speech, technological advances are one of the important factors that support hate speech behavior.

### **3.3 Discrimination and Freedom Issues**

Hate speech is also inseparable from issues of discrimination, this is because hate speech is often addressed to certain groups, such as religious, ethnic, racial and inter-group groups. Issues related to this discrimination can be seen in a study conducted by Ablisar et al. [8]; Irawan, et al [13], Yuliansyah [14] Christianto [4] Anam & Hafiz [7], Gunawan [15] Kusumasari & Arifianto [16], Effendi [5], Wardhani & Ekawati [9], Marwa & Fadhlani [17], Mujab [1], Nurul F, Nurhadi, & Pranawa [18]; etc.

In the case of Ahmad Dhani Prasetyo (ADP), related to his statement in the sentence "Anyone who supports blasphemers is a bastard who needs to be spit on his face" on his personal Twitter account, this is one of the cases of hate speech that has sparked much debate among Indonesian people. In this case, it was indeed decided that Ahmad Dhani had violated Article 45 Paragraph (2) jo. Article 28 paragraph (2) of the Electronic Information and Transaction Law (UU ITE) by the South Jakarta District Court Number

370/Pid.Sus/2018/PN.Jkt.Sel dated January 28, 2019. The debate that arose, in this case, was one of them regarding the issue of freedom of expression on the one hand and the issue of discrimination on the other.

In this case, a study conducted by Christianto [3] shows that: (1) the legal team of Ahmad Dhani Prasetyo, in their defense, expressed objections because they considered their statement as part of freedom of opinion; (2) cases of hate speech against groups of people also occurred in the actions of Alfian Tanjung (AT), which is known from a video when giving a lecture at the Mujahidin Mosque, Surabaya via YouTube social media by saying "Jokowi is a communist, China communist, Ahok should be beheaded and Kapolda Metro Jaya indicated as communist"; (3) The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at the Cassation Level stated that AT's actions were included in the classification of the Elimination of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in the Decision of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1167K/PID.SUS/2018.4.

The issue of freedom and human rights is also put forward by Anam & Hafiz [7]. According to him, hate speech is a concept that is very vulnerable to the right to opinion and expression. Furthermore, he explained that the point of contact for speech between hatred in the framework of human rights lies in two discourses on rights, namely: (a) freedom of religion or belief; and (b) freedom of expression and opinion; (c) race and ethnic protection. According to him, in concept or practice, hate speech is often applied differently, both at the global and national levels. With a human rights approach, there are 6 (six) things that must be looked into in the Circular of the Chief of Police regarding the handling of hate speech, namely: (1) elements of crimes; (2) the subject base of the crime; (3) the method or manner in which the crime was committed; (4) the purpose of the action itself; (5) potential effects of hate speech; (6) the approach used to deal with hate speech.

### 3.4 Prevention Issues

Apart from the complexity of the dynamics of hate speech in Indonesia, previous researchers also saw that efforts were needed to prevent hate speech. In general, there are several forms of prevention offers or efforts to overcome and reduce hate speech which were deemed necessary by previous researchers. Among them are efforts to handle hate speech by using an educational approach, both education in a broad sense and religion-based education. In addition, legal efforts to overcome or reduce hate speech are also carried out using a legal approach.

In previous research, these efforts were seen in a study conducted by Yulianto [19]; Simon [20], Eko Nur Wibowo [21], Yahya [22], Wardhani & Ekawati [9], Winarni [12], Siregar & Puri [2]; Oryza Habibie Rahman, Gunawan Abdillah, & Agus Komarudin [23], and so on.

Based on the articles reviewed, Yulianto [19] views the need for strengthening culture-based religious moderation education. This is believed to be the foundation for behaving, having traditions, and carrying out daily habits, so that it can prevent someone from falling into behavior that is seen as radical, including, in this case, the behavior of religious-based hate speech. Religious values that are believed to overcome extreme behavior on social media are also put forward by Simom [23]. In this regard, he emphasizes the importance of an educational perspective based on the views of Ricoeurian hermeneutics, related to the return of consciousness, namely awareness of the oneness of words and actions. According to him, it is not enough for our thoughts to be good, but it must be directly proportional to good actions as well.

In line with that, Wibowo [21] also emphasized the need for handling hate speech based on religious and cultural education, including through optimizing the role of universities through the three principles of the Tri Dharma, starting from education, research, to service. Furthermore, he sees the important role of Islamic and Javanese cultural courses in dealing

with hate speech. This cannot be separated from the existence of these courses which are considered to have several attitudes and principles of life that are relevant to religious values, ranging from tolerance, an understanding of togetherness and diversity, including what is called *ngajeni marang liyan* (respect for others).

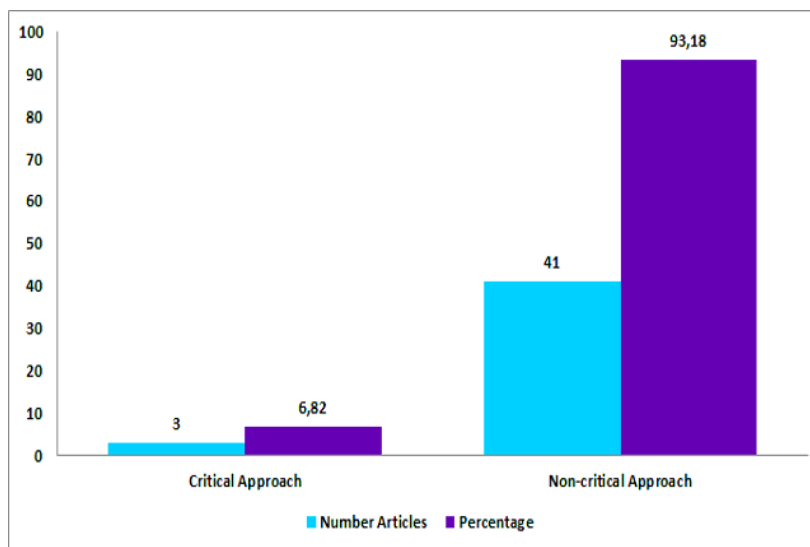
Besides that, Pancasila values are also deemed necessary to prevent hate speech, as shown by Winarni [22]. According to him, in an effort to tackle radicalism based on it, it is deemed necessary to instill Pancasila values based on an educational approach starting from preschool age by the family.

Some believe that recent polarization or divisions among Indonesian people have manifested themselves in hate speech, which cannot be separated from existing political contestations, including the political moments of the 2019 Presidential Election. Therefore, as an effort to prevent and/or reconcile between groups, Kawangung & Lele [24] saw the need to build a social harmony discourse initiated by community leaders. In this case, according to him, efforts to participate in building dialogue between groups are very urgent things to do. Thus, these efforts can glue back the unity of the nation which has been torn apart by different political choices. In this case, he suggests that Christian ethics can be used to build peace ideas (compare with Simon [23]).

### **3.5 Methodological Issues**

From several topics of hate speech research, as previously mentioned, it appears that the phenomenon of hate speech has a relationship with various other social life, including related to religion, politics, and other identities, which are generally known as SARA. Therefore, a research approach to hate speech requires studies that apply a critical approach. However, among previous studies, the critical approach is still very limited, as shown in **Fig. 4**.

One of the articles that used a critical approach in previous studies was seen in a study conducted by Simon [23]. In this case, Simon said that the post-truth phenomenon in the form of fake news and hate speech actually marks an awareness that is captivated by oneself (closed, rejects intersubjective) which causes the emergence of seeking egoistic thinking. He refers to Ricoeur's concept of "hermeneutics of suspicion", as a hermeneutical method, which aims to demystify arrogant subjects, who are lived by distrust and scepticism and give birth to post-truth. Furthermore, he wants to show that the educational perspective according to Ricoeur means the return of consciousness. Consciousness means only words and actions. It's not enough that our thoughts are good without being directly proportional to good actions. For educational tasks, the unity of the two is a rival for post-truth.



**Fig. 4.** Percentage and number of articles that use critical and non-critical approaches in studying hate speech in Indonesia, indexed on Google Scholar and DOAJ based on 44 articles that were systematically reviewed

A critical approach in the study of hate speech was also carried out by Walidah [25]. He states that it is necessary to review and apply critical thinking in the style of philosophy based on hadith as an effort to prevent hoaxes including hate speech. He also said that the application of philosophical critical thinking based on hadith is a solutive solution for the millennial generation as a bulwark against the temptations of the effects of globalization, especially in dealing with the rampant hoax virus.

Furthermore, a critical approach was also put forward by Setyawan [26]. In his research, Setyawan tries to complement the discussion of the latest da'wah phenomena and aims to strengthen the argument of how important it is to carry out "social media jihad" in order to fight against existing radical da'wah. Through the thick description method to read the proselytizing phenomenon on social media which has been booming lately, especially those containing elements of violence and radicalism, he sees a strengthening of millennial conservatism in social media and real movements. Thus, according to him, policymakers, both from government elements and moderate Islamic groups, are also expected to be able to enforce regulations and have the courage to seriously counter-narrate radical da'wah.

Of the three critical approaches above, none of them emphasize the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach. Therefore, even though it adopts a critical approach, the article is unable to capture the phenomenon of hate speech as a phenomenon that has an ideological background, both religion-based ideology, nationalist ideology, and populism ideology. In fact, if we pay close attention, phenomena related to hate speech recently, including in Indonesia, cannot be separated from an ideological background. At this point, it can be said that the complex dynamics of hate speech in Indonesia will continue to occur regardless of the real root of the problem, namely ideology.



## 4 Conclusion

This article is a systematic review article on previous research that takes the topic of hate speech in Indonesia with Indonesian as the language of instruction. This aims to map research trends on hate speech, starting from the main topics discussed, to several methodological issues. In general, articles that raise hate speech in Indonesia are still relatively few, both indexed in DOAJ and Google Scholar. This can be seen from the data showing that so far, only 44 articles in Indonesia have raised hate speech, even though the phenomenon of hate speech in Indonesia is one of the social phenomena that is very prone to occur.

In general, there are three main topics for studying hate speech in Indonesia, which are; (1) the relationship between technology and crime, (2) issues of discrimination and freedom, and (3) efforts to prevent hate speech. However, of all the existing articles, only three articles used a critical approach. However, of the three articles that use the critical approach, not a single article uses the critical discourse study (CDA) approach. This means that previous researchers were unable to capture the phenomenon of hate speech in Indonesia as a phenomenon that has an ideological background. Thus, the issue of hate speech in Indonesia will be difficult to resolve without understanding the real root of the problem.

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