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Online Hate Speech Expressions in Local Languages in Indonesia

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CONTENTS

Foreword	v
Introduction	2
Objectives	7
Methods and Activities	7
Findings	9
Conclusion	38
References	41
Appendix	47

Foreword

The presence of social media managed by global-scale digital platforms in Indonesia has received the attention of various parties: the government, media regulators, academics, social activists, and members of the public. They pay close attention to how digital conversations affect Indonesia's social and political dynamics as well as social media platform management. Unlike many other nations, Indonesia is an archipelagic nation with more complicated demographics. There are hundreds of ethnic groups with a high variety of languages and conversational cultures. Social media brings a culture of freedom of expression along with it as it shifts the variety of conversation and communication practices from offline to online, from local to global.

This research aims to respond to this phenomenon with the awareness that language is a strategic tool for creating social harmony, especially ahead of Indonesia's 2024 election. This research is part of mitigating the vibrant culture of digital communication and conversation, which has negative impacts: triggering acts of hate speech, dis-/misinformation, and manipulation of information; eroding social harmony; and reducing the quality of local languages. Observing this situation, PR2Media understands the strategic importance of content moderation by digital platforms, and for this reason, this process must be equipped with expressions in local languages as a verification tool for social media platforms.

PR2Media has collected and analyzed phrases that have the potential to trigger social conflict and contain ethnic and religious-based hate speech in local languages. We chose three provinces as a pilot project: West Java with the Sundanese language, Central Kalimantan with the Banjar and Dayak languages, and Papua with the local Papuan language. We present the findings of this research

to social media platforms with the hope that they can be used in the content moderation process and to the Indonesian government in the context of digital content regulation.

The publication of this research is part of public outreach and advocacy for content moderation policies in Indonesia. In the future, we hope this research will continue to be conducted in all provinces and ethnic groups in Indonesia. For carrying out this research, we would like to thank the following parties: Zoey Tung Bathelemy from Internews Network as the main supporting partner through the Internews' Platform Impacts Fund program, FGD participants, research partners in the three provinces, and the PR2Media research team.

Masduki

Chairperson of PR2Media

ONLINE HATE SPEECH EXPRESSIONS

Introduction

As a country with hundreds of local languages spread across over 13,000 islands, there are 167 million Indonesian social media users as of January 2023 (Kemp, 2023). With a wide variety of languages and dialects, social media platforms face significant challenges in moderating illegal and harmful content in those local languages.

Content moderation is the activity of social media platforms in assessing, flagging, restricting access, reducing popularity, and removing illegal and dangerous content or accounts that upload such content to protect their users. It is known that social media platforms use artificial intelligence (AI) and human moderators to assess content.

A survey of 1,500 social media users from 38 provinces in Indonesia conducted by PR2Media (Wendratama et al., 2023) shows that the type of illegal content most often encountered by respondents is hate speech, as seen in the following figure.

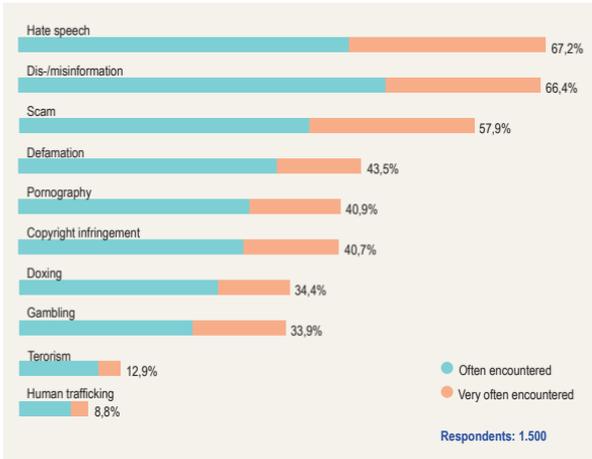


Figure 1. Types of Illegal Content Most Often Encountered by Social Media Users in Indonesia

The survey respondents' perceptions can be linked to the fact that, according to the country's laws and regulations, hate speech is a type of illegal content with a very broad spectrum, which differs from the narrower definition commonly used by social media platforms and international conventions.

In Indonesia, according to the National Police Chief Instruction No. SE/6/X/2015, which is a guideline for law enforcement in handling hate speech cases, "hate speech can take the form of criminal acts regulated in the Criminal Code and other criminal provisions outside the Criminal Code, which take the form of

- insult;
- defamation;
- blasphemy;
- unpleasant act;
- provocation;
- instigation;
- spreading fake news;

and all of the actions above have a purpose or can have an impact on acts of discrimination, violence, loss of life, and/or social conflict."

With such a wide range of types of content and the various legal cases experienced by Indonesian citizens, it is not surprising that social media users' perceptions show hate speech as the type of illegal content they most often encounter on social media.

However, this study uses the internationally accepted definition of "verbal attacks on the inherent characteristics of a person or group," such as ethnicity, religion, nationality, and gender

(Gagliardone et al., 2015).

For example, the UN Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech defines hate speech as “any kind of communication in speech, writing or behaviour, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, colour, descent, gender or other identity factors.” (United Nations, n.d.).

Social media platforms also use a definition similar to the above.

YouTube defines hate speech as “content that promotes violence or hatred against individuals or groups based on any of the following attributes, which indicate a protected group status under YouTube’s policy:

- Age
- Caste
- Disability
- Ethnicity
- Gender Identity and Expression
- Nationality
- Race
- Immigration Status
- Religion
- Sex/Gender
- Sexual Orientation
- Victims of a major violent event and their kin
- Veteran Status” (YouTube, n.d.)

Facebook defines hate speech as “a direct attack against people – rather than concepts or institutions – on the basis of what we call protected characteristics: race, ethnicity, national origin,

disability, religious affiliation, caste, sexual orientation, sex, gender identity, and serious disease” (Facebook, n.d.).

Many studies have been conducted to understand hate speech on social media, a problem encountered by various demographic groups in many countries (Hawdon et al., 2017; Reichelmann et al., 2021; Schafer et al., 2023). These studies found that hate speech clashes between individuals or groups of citizens on social media, especially those based on ethnicity and religion, can trigger wider conflicts in society (Sazali et al., 2022), as history records how ethnic sentiment, race, and religion can be very powerful in generating physical attacks against certain ethnic, racial, and religious groups (Piazza, 2020).

In Indonesia, there are studies that examine hate speech on social media. For example, hate speech usually occurs together with dis-/misinformation, especially during political contestation, such as in the 2014 and 2019 elections and during the COVID-19 pandemic (Kurnia et al., 2020; Mujani & Kuipers, 2020; Wendratama & Yusuf, 2023).

Meanwhile, research that focused on the types of expressions used to convey hate speech in Indonesia was carried out by Bako et al. (2019) and Darmawan & Muhaimi (2019). These studies analyze the use of dysphemism by social media users in conveying hate speech. Dysphemism is the use of words or phrases to coarsen the meaning of lexical units so that they appear negative to readers and listeners (Chaer, 2007 in Bako et al, 2019). Dysphemism is the opposite of euphemism because it replaces neutral or euphemistic expressions with offensive expressions (Darmawan & Muhaimi, 2019).

Darmawan and Muhaimi (2019) also described nine types of dysphemism recognized by linguists: (1) synecdoche; used

to describe something or someone as a whole (2) dysphemistic epithets; the use of animal names, (3) euphemistic dysphemism; making an attack seem like a compliment by avoiding the use of harsh words. (4) dysphemistic euphemism; a mockery between close friends or family members without any animosity, (5) “-ist” dysphemism; targeted at a particular ethnicity, (6) homosexual dysphemism; used for attacks related to homosexuality, (7) name dysphemism; calling someone by their casual nickname without a proper title, (8) nonverbal dysphemism; offending someone with gestures, (9) cross-cultural dysphemism; using slang terms that have a certain meaning in one culture but another meaning in another culture. The research found that “-ist” dysphemism, which attacks certain ethnicities, was the type that appeared most often in the social media content being studied (Darmawan & Muhaimi, 2019).

Using the nine types of dysphemism, PR2Media researchers identified words and phrases commonly used by social media users to convey ethnic and religious-based hate speech in three provinces: West Java Province, Central Kalimantan Province, and Papua Province. The three provinces were chosen as representatives of Western, Central, and Eastern Indonesia as an effort by researchers to obtain samples from three large regions in Indonesia.

With over 600 regional languages in Indonesia (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018), it is clear that the three provinces are not yet representative of the very diverse needs of Indonesian citizens. However, the researchers believe that this study can serve as a pilot project for larger-scale research into how social media platforms’ content moderation can better meet the needs of Indonesian citizens.

Objectives

1. To identify words and phrases used frequently by social media¹ users in the provinces of West Java, Central Kalimantan, and Papua to express hate speech based on ethnicity and religion.
2. To identify how the words and phrases are used in the local context in the abovementioned provinces.

Methods and Activities

Researchers conducted a literature review to learn about existing studies on hate speech in local languages. This review was carried out by searching previous research reports in databases such as Scopus, ProQuest, and JSTOR. According to the findings, while much literature has been written about hate speech, there is still little that relates it to local languages.

Data collection was carried out through focus group discussions (FGD). This method is used to gain a deeper understanding of a group of individuals regarding their experiences and knowledge of dealing with online hate speech expressed in local languages. Individuals who participated in FGDs were chosen deliberately with certain considerations and were not representative samples of a population. The main consideration here is their experience or involvement in the hate speech. The researchers chose FGD over an interview because they aspired to not only obtain information about personal experiences but also obtain views (validation) from the group regarding events experienced by individuals, including

¹ The scope of this research is limited to open social media platforms, namely YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter), because the content on these platforms is moderated by social media platforms, and these five platforms have the most users in Indonesia.

communal expressions in responding to hate speech in local languages (Boateng, W., 2012).

FGDs were conducted in three cities, namely Bandung (the capital of West Java Province), Palangkaraya (the capital of Central Kalimantan Province), and Jayapura (the capital of Papua Province), from August to September 2023. The reasons for selecting these three regions were the potential vulnerability to hate speech and the representation of the three regions of Indonesia (West, Central, and East).

The FGD was carried out with the support of PR2Media research partners in the three provinces. The research partners assisted in identifying and contacting FGD participants. The participants are linguists, activists, journalists, researchers, community leaders from various ethnic and religious groups, and social media users from different demographic groups. The FGDs involved 11–12 participants in each city.

Participants were asked to list local words and phrases used frequently by social media users in their provinces prior to the FGDs. Armed with this list of expressions, the researchers sought to learn more about their usage through FGDs. There are two main questions being discussed in the FGDs: (1) What words and phrases are frequently used by social media users in the provinces of West Java, Central Kalimantan, and Papua to express hate speech based on ethnicity and religion? (2) How are the words and phrases used in the local context? The FGD was recorded and transcribed verbatim with the help of research partners to be able to more clearly document expressions of hate speech and provide information on the translation of local words and phrases into Indonesian. The researchers then processed and analyzed the data by classifying them into two main issues, namely the use of local expressions in hate speech and their context.

Findings

FGD in Bandung, West Java

Time	: Thursday, August 10, 2023.
Place	: Communication Simulation Laboratory, Bandung Islamic University, West Java
Facilitators	: Rahayu and Santi Indra Astuti
Number of Participants	: 11

This FGD aims to compile a list of words and phrases commonly used by social media users in West Java Province to express hate speech based on ethnicity and religion on open social media platforms like YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter).

Twelve FGD participants from a range of professions, including academics, journalists, advocates for digital literacy, members of ethnic and religious groups, and students, took part in the FGD. Not all participants in the FGD were native West Javanese or Sundanese; some were migrants who had only recently moved to the West Java Province.

The FGD began with a presentation of the background and objectives of the research. The participants then took turns discussing the words and phrases they had listed in the hate speech list form that the PR2Media team had previously distributed. During the discussion, all participants were free to respond, refute, and add to the statements offered by each participant.

West Java is known as a region with a high level of hate speech cases compared to other regions in Indonesia during the 2018 Regional Election and the 2019 General Election (Hardi, 2018). In general, hate speech expressions that were discussed in the FGD showed stereotypes about certain ethnicities and religions. These stereotypes are so ingrained in Sundanese culture that some have

come to accept them as normal and even incorporate them into everyday jokes.

However, those who are the targets of hate speech do not always view it as acceptable; occasionally, they become offended and furious.

Important notes from the FGD are, first, that although some hate speech expressions are delivered in Sundanese, hate speech generally uses Indonesian. Hate speech in Sundanese is generally used during offline (face-to-face) conversations, while in the context of online communication, such as through social media, Indonesian is more dominant. Second, hate speech generally targets certain ethnicities and religions, namely Javanese and Christianity.

The FGD participants said that Sundanese was more often used in hate speech in offline conversations than in online conversations. Although hate speech conveyed in Sundanese is also found on social media (such as X, Facebook, and TikTok), participants stated that they rarely encountered it. The majority of participants asserted that Indonesian, not Sundanese, was the language of choice for the majority of hate speech posted on social media by West Java residents. It is because people of different ethnic backgrounds can understand Indonesian.

Because it is easier to understand, the participants believe that hate speech in the Indonesian language has a wider distribution range and targets more

Slurs against certain ethnicities generally target Chinese descendants. Some expressions that often emerge include

- “hey akew kamana”
- “amoy” (this targets girls of Chinese descendants)
- “antek aseng” (foreign henchman)
- “Balik kalembur didinya, balik ka China siah rek naon didieu”

(Just go back to your hometown in China, what are you doing here)

Another ethnic group that is also often the target of racism is Javanese, here are some insulting expressions aimed at Javanese people:

- “Jawa koek Jawa koek jawa koek”
- “Jawir sama jamet jawir”
- “ngomong medok”
- “Rojali, Rombongan jawa lieur”

However, not all of these expressions are said with the intention of being insulting; in some social situations, these expressions become part of a joke for the sake of familiarity. This is where taking a word, phrase, or sentence’s context into account is useful.

Insults by Sundanese also target religions, especially Christianity and certain sects of the Islamic faith. The FGD showed that hate speech related to Christianity was directed at non-Muslim Sundanese people and led to accusations of a Christianization movement against Muslims. The following are some expressions:

- “eweuh sunda mah nu kristen teh” (No Sundanese is Christian)
- “sunda mah kabeh islam” (Sundanese people are all Muslims)
- “ieu mah orang sunda nu dijual ku Indomie” (These are Sundanese people who are sold using Indomie. Indomie, a popular Indonesian instant noodle product owned by a conglomerate of Chinese descent, is considered a representation of Christian Chinese.)
- “Teteh eh kaka dibilang orang Kristen karena gapake kerudung” (Well, you’re called a Christian because you don’t wear a headscarf.)

In addition, a number of traditions in Sundanese society are also accused of being heretical teachings or sects, one of which is the Ashura festival in Geger Kalong. Here are some expressions that have been seen on Twitter.

- “aliran sesat yang di Gerlong rada gelo cok” (heretical sect in Gerlong or Geger Kalong)
- “anjir mun urang dikos di gerlong eh bisa keneh miluan mereun nempokeun si aliran sesat” gitu ya” (insult expression to the religious expression in Gerlong or Geger Kalong)

Shia Islam has also become a target of hate speech. Comments related to Shiites on social media include “ulah ngarerecok Bandungnya engke abdi, engke abdi tenggel sok bade” (Don’t make a fuss in Bandung, I’ll hit you).

Hate speech also targets women, including Sundanese women, by labeling them with certain attributes. Here are some examples of hate speech targeting women:

- “perempuan sunda matre” (Sundanese women are material women)
- “perempuan tau apa soal bola, perempuan diem aja, sana balik nyuci baju, balik masak aja ke dapur” (Women know nothing about football; women just shut up, go back and wash clothes, and go back to the kitchen to cook.)

The phenomenon of Chinese descendants and Javanese being targets of hate speech by West Javanese citizens cannot be separated from Indonesia’s past history. The FGD participants stated that discrimination against Chinese descendants was part of the politics of the Dutch colonialists, who deliberately divided the Indonesian nation. Sentiments toward certain ethnicities were deliberately built for the political purposes of colonialism. This

historical memory has persisted to this day, deeply ingrained in West Javanese culture.

Chinese descendants can be said to have been victims of the political divide during Dutch colonialism. At that time, the Dutch government implemented racial classification, and Chinese descendants were referred to as “Foreign Easterners” (Basuki, 2020). This labeling made Chinese descendants “outsiders,” or foreigners who did not fall into the category of the Dutch or the Dutch East Indies (later to become Indonesia). This labeling of national identity had given rise to sentiments toward Chinese descendants, who were seen as foreigners. Communal conflicts between non-Chinese and Chinese descendants occurred mainly due to economic factors. Local residents were trying to protect themselves from Chinese descendants economic activities, which were starting to dominate. Conflicts frequently erupted due to animosity toward “outsiders” or newcomers as well as competing economic interests.

Negative sentiment towards Chinese descendants continued into the New Order era. The national identity politics promoted by the Indonesian New Order government was more inclined towards national identity based on ethnicity, namely national identity resulting from values shared across ethnic groups and community groups. This national identity is the basis for identifying anyone who can be called a citizen (Basuki, 2020). This is where the debate arises about whether people are native Indonesians or not. Based on this identity politics, Chinese descendants are not seen as native Indonesians, even though they came into Indonesian territory before the West Colonialization era and have been assimilated into the local people and culture. The position of the Chinese descendants was weakened because they did not have regional ties like the Sundanese or Javanese. In addition, the tendency

of Chinese descendants to be exclusive (with the characteristic of a community consisting of fellow Chinese descendants) and their economic success trigger jealousy from other community groups. This sentiment is considered to continue to exist within the Sundanese people and other communities in Indonesia, which encourages hate speech toward people of Chinese descent.

“Chinese descendants have long been easy targets for hate speech. When I was a kid, in the Ciateul area, there were lots of natives around. Every time I passed by, there were the words “Hey, Akew kamana”. Some Chinese descendants also feel exclusive because, since the Dutch era, the Dutch wanted to divide society into three strata, namely European, Far Eastern, and indigenous people. Deliberately pitted against each other. During the New Order era, it was difficult for Chinese descendants to become civil servants, and it was difficult to join the army. This meant that they had to trade whether they wanted to or not. Even in the 1950s, there was a ban; Chinese descendants were not allowed to live in districts; they had to live in cities. These things make us different; we are then exclusive,” said Akiun, an FGD participant.

Meanwhile, Sundanese sentiment towards Javanese people cannot be separated from the historical events of the Bubat War involving the Majapahit Kingdom and the Sunda Kingdom. This war occurred due to the failure of the marriage between the King of Majapahit and the Princess of the Kingdom of Sunda. The Bubat War created distance between the Sundanese and Javanese and gave rise to the myth of a ban on marriage between the Sundanese and Javanese. This myth then becomes a cultural reality that is

known and lived by the supporting community and is still believed today (Afnan, 2022). This historical context was also being discussed by the participants when they explored the root of hate speech expressions against Javanese people.

An experience was shared by a Central Javanese man who works in the West Java region. He said that bullying began when he started working and has continued ever since. Even though he was initially stunned by the bullying, he eventually felt normal and began to view it as a joke.

“When I started working I was shocked. A colleague of mine said, ‘You keep talking with *medok* (Javanese) accent, aren’t you tired?’ It turned out they thought it was a joke, but I was shocked. Okay, it was for fun, but it made me surprised and I tried to understand it,” said Ratna, an FGD participant.

One participant, Riso, even stated that racism has become something “casual” or normal for Sundanese people.

There is also a sporting event that results in bullying and hate speech. This bitter experience was experienced by Ratna, who criticized the Persib football team for organizing matches too quickly after the Kanjuruhan Stadium tragedy, as if they didn’t really care about their supporters who died at the stadium. As a result, Ratna, who is a woman from Malang (East Java), received multiple insults online.

“I was insulted on Twitter. ‘You girl know nothing about football; just shut up, go back to washing clothes, go back to the kitchen and cook.’ What’s even more annoying was that a football figure tweeted that he knows that I’m from Malang, known for its Arema Malang football club. He tweeted, ‘Yes,

you are Arema'. People who don't follow me but follow him read that; it's like calling me a supporter of Arema. So even though I'm not Aremania (a supporter of Arema Malang football club), I became the target of hate speech. It's like everyone used my identity as a Javanese from Malang to slander me," said Ratna, an FGD participant.

Meanwhile, prejudice against Christianity leads to the perception that women who do not wear the hijab are Christians and deserving of harassment. One instance is the bullying that a participant in the FGD's child faced at school.

"My daughter is a 4th-grade student at elementary school and doesn't wear a headscarf. Why not wear a headscarf? So that when she gets older, she can choose whether to wear a headscarf or not. I don't want to force that. She cried coming home from school one day. She was called a Christian because she didn't wear a headscarf. In her class, there were only two children who didn't wear headscarves. When I went to school, there were parents whispering, 'No wonder the mother was Chinese'. I was also surprised when I met the parents. They saw me as an outsider," said Citra, an FGD participant.

The statements above indicate that some Sundanese people, whether they realize it or not, have drawn dividing lines for their identity. This identity then works in sorting citizens, which ones are "in the group" (their group) and which ones are "out-group" (outside them). Residents are "in group" if they are Sundanese, Muslim, and supporters of the Persib football team. Outside means "out-group". One of the FGD participants stated that Sundanese

identity cannot be separated from three things, namely Islam, Persib, and Siliwangi. Differences in identity have the potential to lead to harassment.

“There are three Sundanese identities. The first is Islam, the second is Persib (football club), and the third is Siliwangi²,” said Gilang, an FGD participant.

The discussion showed that ethnicity and religion are the most important triggers for hate speech. One participant stated, “If political issues are linked to ethnic and religious sentiments, disputes will arise among members of the public.”

Cases of religious blasphemy are serious matters for citizens. Some of them find it difficult to accept the teachings of different religions. Even on social media, it is not uncommon to find the expressions “paehan weh” (just kill) and “blood is halal” used to attack other groups.

Hate speech is also easily ignited regarding the issue of Chinese descendants. One of the FGD participants, who happened to have a leader of Chinese descent in his office, stated that his boss was not immune to ethnic-based hate speech. If a subordinate receives a warning from the boss, it is not uncommon for the subordinate to act racist by cursing, “Ah, you Chinese”.

The FGD participants agreed that social media platforms have been able to moderate hate speech expressions. However, one of the participants said that features on social media, such as the “your memory” feature on Facebook, which brings back memories

² King Siliwangi was the legendary ruler of the Pajajaran Kingdom, a fifteenth-century kingdom in West Java. His reign is regarded as the Sundanese people’s golden age. His name has since been used to give different institutions and events in West Java a historical Sundanese identity.

of the past, inadvertently plays a role in re-igniting conflict in society. This feature has the potential to revive people’s memories of unpleasant events and reignite hate speech.

“On Facebook, there is a feature called ‘Your Memory’, which can trigger disputes between netizens. So hate speech that has been uploaded related to certain events in the past can come back, be picked up again, and create disputes again,” said Citra, an FGD participant.

Below is a list of ethnic and religious-based expressions of hate speech based on the FGD in West Java.

Figure 2. Expressions of Ethnic and Religious-Based Hate Speech in West Java Province (Sundanese Language)

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
1	“Hei Rojali”: rombongan Jawa lieur: a pack of Javanese people	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Javanese people.	
2	“Antek aseng”: foreign henchman	This is used to insult political and economic figures who are considered to side with Chinese interests.	It targets national and regional figures.
3	“Dasar Jawir”: “Jawa ireng” or black Javanese	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Javanese people.	
4	“Eweuh Sunda mah nu Kristen teh” (no Sundanese are Christians)	This is conveyed by Sundanese Muslims to insult Christian migrants.	

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
5	“Sunda mah kabeh Islam” (Sundanese are all Muslims)	This is conveyed by Sundanese Muslims to insult Christian migrants.	
6	“Kenapa medok?” (Why medok?) “Ngomong medok” (Talking medok?) Medok: Javanese accent	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Javanese people.	
7	“Jawa kowek” (You are Javanese, with derogatory tone)	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Javanese people.	
8	“Dasar tukang bakso!” (You are <i>bakso</i> or meatball seller!”	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Javanese men.	
9	“Dasar pembantu rumah tangga!” (You are household servant!”	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Javanese women.	
10	“Eta orang seberang” (s/he is from the other side, not our side)	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Javanese people.	
11	“Teteh eh kaka dibilang orang Kristen karena gapake kerudung” (Well, you’re called a Christian because you don’t wear a headscarf.)		
12	“Balik kalembur didinya, balik ka China siah rek naon didieu” (Just go back to your hometown in China, what are you doing here.)	This is conveyed by Sundanese people to insult Chinese descendants.	

FGD in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan

Time : Tuesday, August 15, 2023.
Place : Hotel Luwansa, Palangkaraya
Facilitators : Masduki and Fahriannor
Number of Participants : 12

The discussion opened with an introduction by Masduki, as Chairperson of PR2Media and representing the organizer, who explained the background and urgency of the FGD.

Masduki first emphasized the significance of reducing misinformation and hate speech on social media in advance of the general election in 2024, taking into account the contestation of the Indonesian presidential election on social media. One difficulty is that Indonesians lack a specific list of local expressions that could be used to express hate speech. If a list of expressions exists, different parties may consult it when working on content moderation issues using a linguistic approach.

Second, in addition to enhancing social media users' digital literacy, digital platforms are also accountable for fostering safer online discourse. According to PR2Media's research (Wendratama et al., 2023), social media platforms need to improve their content moderation capabilities. For instance, we do not know if they have lists of hate speech expressions in Indonesian local languages, which would be useful for reducing hate speech content.

Third, the significance of widespread public participation in identifying potential conflicts expressed on social media, including academics, media regulators, media law experts, social activists, and bureaucrats. This discussion can be seen as an effort to identify expressions in local languages, especially in Central Kalimantan, to be submitted to social platforms' representatives. This study is part

of a bigger initiative to make social platforms more accountable for creating a safer public digital space.

Meta and Google are global companies headquartered in the United States. The Indonesian government finds it difficult to regulate them, even though they operate in Indonesia as corporations. Therefore, they should follow the rules and values that develop in Indonesia because they use Indonesian digital activities to drive their business. In the context of behavior on social media, social media platforms need to have an extensive role in mitigating dis-/misinformation and hate speech.

The European Union has the Digital Services Act, which is intended to be a breakthrough regulation for big companies in the digital sector regarding illegal content. Previously, there was the Disinformation Act in Germany, which stipulated that if a social media platform contained hate speech, its organizer was given 24 hours to remove the content. If this is not done, the platform will be subject to fines. The German government is targeting digital business actors, not content producers or users. It is important to note that global social media platforms already have community guidelines that regulate whether or not content can be present on the platform. Users should, however, actively report any language or content that they believe to be inappropriate to be present on the platform.

With at least six million native Dayak people now residing in Central, South, West, and East Kalimantan, the Dayak are the largest tribe in the island nation. There are more than 400 sub-tribes of Dayaks. The Banjar tribe, the majority of whom reside in South and North Kalimantan, is the second-largest tribe. The Dayak have a long history as the oldest tribe and, in recent years, have been prone to being exposed to conflicts between ethnic groups

living in Kalimantan as well as local inter-religious conflicts triggered by social behavior on social media. For example, Edy Mulyadi³, a social media figure, claimed on his YouTube channel that the new National Capital area in East Kalimantan was “a place where ghosts threw away their children”, which sparked anger among people in Kalimantan.

FGD participants expressed concerns about content on social media that has the potential to trigger conflict because it contains hate speech. For example, there is content on TikTok that is considered to mock sacred prayer rituals. In conversations on social media, the local expression “bungah” often appears, meaning stupid, then “rapuy” meaning crazy. Also the expression “antahu” which is a violent, hatred expression towards other people. One of the Dayak sub-languages, namely Dayak Maanyan, often combines with Indonesian or uses words from Indonesian to express hate speech.

The discussion in Palangkaraya found a number of words and phrases commonly used in online and offline hate speech to target certain ethnic and religious groups. For example, “babuhan salib” is an expression in the Banjar language used by Muslim Banjar people to attack Christian Dayak people.

“The expression ‘babuhan salib’ is usually conveyed by Banjar people who are Muslims to Dayak people who are Christians. This expression can also be conveyed by Muslim Dayak people to Christian Dayak people. ‘Babuhan’ means you. ‘Salib’ means cross, a symbol in Christianity. So this expression means ‘you are a Christian!’ that has an insult connotation and that there is a boundary line between us.

³ He was reported to law authorities and finally sentenced to seven months in prison by a court in Jakarta for disseminating information that caused public disturbances.

Even though I believe that there is good, peaceful religious tolerance in Central Kalimantan, there are nevertheless statements that occasionally emerge that can incite hatred,” said Sri Astuty, an FGD participant.

“A similar example is ‘babuhan sabalah,’ which is conveyed by Muslims to Christians and means you are from another side; this means you are from another religion,” said Annisa, a participant in the FGD.

However, FGD participants agreed that hate speech is contextual. Under certain conditions, an expression can have a neutral meaning but can trigger conflict because it is said in a certain context.

“There are words that lead to hate speech; there are those that fall into the category of parody or just satire, but sometimes when you look at the context of the sentences, they can be considered hate speech. Initially, it was in the form of one sentence that had ambiguous meaning, had multiple interpretations, or could even be just a sentence without meaning. However, when it becomes one long sentence, it conveys hate speech. For example, is ‘bakei’ (meaning monkey) hate speech? This depends on the context. “Monkey is an animal, but when it is used to describe the figure of a human from a certain ethnicity, it becomes hate speech,” said Sepmiwawalma, an FGD participant who authored a Ngaju Dayak language dictionary.

In general, FGD participants said that social platforms that most often contain hate speech expressions are Facebook, followed

by WhatsApp⁴, YouTube, TikTok, and Twitter (X). Hate speech does not always emerge in the main content, but in the comments. On Tiktok, for example, there are videos with comments containing expressions in local languages expressing hate speech. In Central Kalimantan, hate speech expressions are usually related to religion and ethnicity, which emerged as an effect of national issues regarding political contestation. However, they all agreed that ethnic and religious-based hate speech in Banjar and Dayak languages rarely appears on social media because it is more commonly conveyed in offline conversations.

After the FGD, PR2Media and RRI Palangkaraya, one of the popular media outlets in Central Kalimantan, held a live talk show about mitigating hate speech on social media.

Below is a list of expressions of ethnic and religious-based hate speech based on the FGD.

Figure 3. Expressions of Ethnic and Religious-Based Hate Speech in Central Kalimantan Province (Banjar, Maanyan Dayak, and Ngaju Dayak Languages)

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
1	“Babuhan salib” (You are Christian). Salib: cross.	This is used by Banjarese-Muslim people to attack Christian Dayaks. As it developed, this phrase was also used by Muslim Dayaks to attack Christian Dayaks.	Dayaks, the majority of whom are Muslims, make up the population of Central Kalimantan.

⁴ It should be noted that as a chat application with end-to-end encryption, WhatsApp does not moderate content because the platform cannot see the content of user conversations, so WhatsApp is beyond the scope of this research.

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
2	“Babuhan kuyang” (You are Dayak, with a derogatory connotation)	Kuyang is a Dayak who is believed to have mystical abilities.	There are legends about Dayaks in Kalimantan who possess mystical abilities.
3	“Dasar Dayak babuhan kuyang” and “Dasar kuyang”	It is used to emphasize its derogatory connotation	
4	“Babuhan sabalah” (You are from another group, another religion)	This is expressed by Muslims to Christians, and vice versa.	
Below are expressions commonly used by people in Central Kalimantan to express their hatred or anger, although not specifically targeting a particular ethnicity or religion.			
5	“Bungul” (stupid) “Dasar bungul” (you fool) “Bungul banar” (very stupid)	These are Banjar language expressions of annoyance or anger at other people.	The Banjar expression “bungul” is often used to refer to other people when somebody is angry.
6	“Mameh” (stupid/stupid) “Mameh tutu” (so stupid) “Puna mameh ih” (what a fool) “Leha kamemehmu” (oh how stupid you are) “Mameh bara beruk” (stupider than a big monkey)	These are Ngaju Dayak language expressions of annoyance or anger at other people.	The word “mameh” is often said and is considered normal, but if it is combined with other words it could have the effect of inciting anger.
7	“Tambuk” (rotten) “Dasar tambuk” (you rotten) “Tambuk banar urangnya” (that person is really rotten)	These are Banjar language expressions of annoyance or anger at other people.	The word “tambuk” is used to describe someone who is worse than stupid.

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
8	<p>“Matei” (die)</p> <p>“Matei munu” (death by a spear)</p> <p>“Bajilek matei” (don’t like it at all)</p> <p>“Matei lepah” (all dead)</p> <p>“Matei ahang” (useless life)</p> <p>“Matei baduruh” (die all for one family)</p> <p>“Matei kajapi” (very, very lazy)</p> <p>“Matei baduruh” (An oath to a person or to a family to get sick or die one by one)</p>	<p>These are Ngaju Dayak language expressions of annoyance or anger at other people.</p>	<p>The word die, or death, has a neutral meaning. It can be used when referring to humans, animals, and plants, but it could create horror and fear in a specific context.</p>
9	<p>Humung (stupid/ low ethics)</p> <p>“Humung bara galembung” (fool)</p> <p>“Humung bara galembung” (feeling irritated or disappointed with a certain person or group)</p>	<p>These are Ngaju Dayak language expressions of annoyance or anger at other people.</p>	<p>The word “humung” is similar to the word “tambuk” in Banjar language, a very rude term.</p>
10	<p>“Bakei” (monkey)</p> <p>“Bau sama bakei” (face like a monkey)</p>	<p>These are Ngaju Dayak language expressions of annoyance or anger at other people.</p>	<p>The word “bakei” has a rough meaning in the context of swearing, the same as if you curse using the words dog, pig, and snake in the Ngaju Dayak language.</p>
11	<p>“Asu” (dog)</p> <p>“Belum kilau asu” (living like a dog)</p>	<p>These are Ngaju Dayak language expressions of</p>	<p>If it is not used as an expletive or in conjunction with</p>

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
	<p>“Kilau asu kenceng”</p> <p>“Asu jelap para” (lick like a dog)</p> <p>“Kilau asu kenceng” (a harsh expression for a person or group who does everything they can to achieve their interests)</p> <p>“Asu jelap para” (An expression of disappointment towards someone who sells their dignity for something)</p>	annoyance or anger at other people.	another word that is offensive, the word asu (dog) has a neutral meaning.
12	<p>“Tanjaru” (lie)</p> <p>“Are tanjaru, jatun gawi” (lots of lies, no work)</p>	These Ngaju Dayak expressions are used to refer to people who lie excessively.	The word “tanjaru” is used to refer to people who lie excessively.
13	<p>“Kirang” (dirt, shit)</p> <p>“Kilau kirang” (like dirt)</p> <p>“Kuman kirang” (eat dirt)</p>	Ugliest expression (lowest caste in Ngaju Dayak language) to refer to people who are most disliked or hated.	
14	<p>“Panipu” (liar)</p> <p>“Panipu uluh jikau” (s/he is a liar)</p>	An expression in the Ngaju Dayak language for the behavior of someone who fools others.	
15	<p>“Badaha” (bleeding)</p> <p>“Matei badaha ikau” (you will die bleeding)</p> <p>“Daha imbayar daha” (blood for blood)</p>	Expressions in the Ngaju Dayak language when someone is angry or in an argument.	

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
16	“Paleng para” (Bastard) “Puna paleng para ih <uluh (damn,="" bastard)<="" jikau”="" td=""> <td>Expressions of anger in the Ngaju Dayak language.</td> <td></td> </uluh>	Expressions of anger in the Ngaju Dayak language.	
17	“Bajat” (A terrible beast resembling a devil) “Bajat tuu ulun ina” (Really this person is like a demonic animal)	Expressions of annoyance or anger at other people in the Maanyan Dayak language.	
18	“Antahu” (dog) “Tuu antahu ulun iri” (like a dog)	Expressions of annoyance or anger at other people in the Maanyan Dayak language	
19	“Warik” (monkey) “Budat warik upu iri” (You monkey)	Expressions in the Maanyan Dayak language used to insult individuals deemed to have dishonorable behavior.	
20	“Sapa” (animal) “Naan die sapakuo hanyu sangasese aku tarus jari anrakei” (You’re an animal)	Expressions of anger in the Maanyan Dayak language	
21	“Adiau kalawik” (devil) “Hanyu ri tuu adiau kalawik” (You are evil)	Expressions of anger in the Maanyan Dayak language	

FGD in Jayapura, Papua

Time : Saturday, September 16, 2023,
Venue : Hotel Horison Kotaraja, Papua
Facilitators : Engelbertus Wendratama and Dewi Anggraeni
Number of Participants : 12

This FGD aims to compile a list of words and phrases in Papua Province's local languages that are commonly used by social media users to convey ethnic and religious-based hate speech on open social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter).

This discussion was attended by 12 participants from various professional backgrounds such as religious leaders, academics, journalists, linguists, and students. They are also divided evenly between native Papuans and migrants, to get a balanced perspective considering that ethnic and religious tensions in Papua have generally occurred between native Papuans and migrants.

The FGD moderator, Engelbertus Wendratama, opened the discussion by presenting the background and objectives of the research. Next, the moderator invited the participants to discuss one by one the words and phrases that had been written by the participants on Google Form, the link of which was shared by PR2Media along with the invitation. This is where the participants and moderator discuss the words and phrases commonly used to convey ethnic and religious-based hate speech by people in Papua on social media.

Papua is an Indonesian province with a relatively high level of conflict vulnerability, fueled by separatism, ethnicity, and religion (Sabara, 2023). In general, all the words and phrases discussed in the FGD captured the tensions based on ethnicity and religion that

live among the people of Papua Province according to two broad categories, as outlined below.

First, there is tension between indigenous Papuans (*orang asli Papua*, commonly abbreviated as OAP) and migrants. These migrants are generally Muslims with various ethnicities, such as Javanese, Bugis, and Makassar. Examples of expressions of hate speech conveyed by indigenous Papuans to migrants include “Dasar BBM” (to refer to the Bugis, Butonese, and Makassar people, who generally control the Papuan traditional markets, especially those selling fish and areca nuts) and “colonialist’s religion” (to refer to the Islamic religion embraced by the majority of migrants in Papua).

On the other hand, migrants also have expressions of hatred towards indigenous Papuans such as “you monkey”, “monkey descendants”, “you Amber”, and “gospel soldiers”, considering that the majority of indigenous Papuans are Christians (Protestants and Catholics).

For example, monkeys are a stereotypical insult to indigenous Papuans. For indigenous Papuans, “monkey” is considered more derogatory than “dog” or “pig”.

“Dogs and pigs are still acceptable, but not monkeys,” said Dewi, an FGD participant.

“At football matches, that word (monkey) is still thrown around. And that often happens when Persipura competes outside Papua, especially in Java. And if we look at various social media platforms, the expression is also there. The video was widely spread on TikTok,” said Andre, an FGD participant.

Another illustration is the expression “colonialist’s religion” that Christian Papuans used to refer to Muslim immigrants.

“The colonialist’s religion was identified with the Islamic religion in Papua. Papua is also sometimes called the ‘land of the Bible’, and the religion of most migrants is Islam; it is called the ‘colonialist’s religion’. I’ve also seen this expression on Facebook. Even religious leaders wrote that, and it became a polemic,” said Toni, an FGD participant.

“Perhaps this expression (colonialist’s religion) can also be linked to social sentiment considering that migrants generally have better economic conditions or control certain economic sectors. So there is an issue of economic marginalization as well,” said Dian, an FGD participant.

As an illustration, in Jayapura, the capital of Papua Province, the relatively balanced composition of the population in terms of religion (Islam and Christianity) has contributed to tensions among the community (Alhamid & Suryo, 2014). Alhamid and Suryo’s study states that the growing religious-based tensions in Papua are closely related to dynamic economic, social, political, and cultural issues. However, it is also important to note that religious communities in Papua have good relations, as evidenced by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion’s annual religious harmony index. In 2021, Papua Province was ranked second as the province with the best harmony index after East Nusa Tenggara (Ayu, 2021), and in 2022, it was ranked 8th nationally (Ministry of Religion, 2022). According to a number of references, one of the factors that can be attributed to this harmony is the local wisdom of “one stove, three stones” (Indonesian: *satu tungku, tiga batu*), which originated in Fakfak in West Papua and developed throughout the Land of Papua. This is an analogy of a cooking stove with three stones as support. The stove is interpreted as “land, region, or nation”. The

three stones represent the three major religions practiced by the people of Fakfak, which are Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism (Saugi et al., 2022). This local wisdom has evolved into a social philosophy for Papuans, and it is used by various communities in Papua to promote religious harmony (Firdaus, 2014).

Second, there is tension among indigenous Papuans, namely between “coast people” and “mountain people”. Coastal people are native Papuan tribes who traditionally live in coastal areas, now urban areas such as Jayapura, Abepura, Biak, and Serui. Because their areas are closer to centers of social and economic activity, they generally have easier access to socio-economic resources and interact more frequently with migrants. Meanwhile, mountain people are tribes that traditionally originate and settle in mountainous areas. However, as time progressed, more and more mountain people carried out political and economic activities in coastal (urban) areas, which gave rise to tensions with coastal people.

“I read Dr. Ahmad, an anthropologist from Universitas Cenderawasih, about ‘Amber’. He mentioned how the ‘Amber people’ were migrants who came and settled in Papua. There is a context of economic competition; they were called the ‘Amber people’ because their economy is better. “However, now its use has developed, not only for migrants,” said Yewen, an FGD participant.

“Based on the writings of Izak Morin from Universitas Cenderawasih, ‘Amber’ is from the language of Biak (an island in Papua Province), which indicates social status and refers to indigenous Papuans who come to another region in Papua. For example, there are Serui people who are migrants

to Wamena; they can be called 'Amber'. So whoever comes to a new place can be called 'Amber', because they are considered to bring social and economic changes to the local people," said Andre, an FGD participant.

"In the past, in 2000 or 1999, there was the Amber Community Forum. At that time, there was tension for Free Papua when the late Theys⁵ was still there. Then there was harassment against Muslims by non-Muslims regarding the case (violence between Muslims and Christians) in Ambon, so people established this forum. The aim is to bridge communication between indigenous Papuans and migrants. However, now the meaning has shifted, especially when the Papua province expanded into the Papua and West Papua provinces. This has had a very big impact. So there is indeed a shift in the meaning of the term 'Amber'. In the past, it was only for non-Papuans, but then it shifted to include indigenous Papuans from other regions," said Hamim, an FGD participant.

Tensions among indigenous Papuans generally follow the lines of the seven traditional regions in the Land of Papua, considering that tribal influence in Papua is very strong (Sugandi, 2008). These seven traditional territories are the basis for the expansion of provinces in Papua, which currently has six provinces out of the seven targeted provinces (Joumilena, 2022). The seven traditional areas are Mamta, Saereri, Anim Ha, La Lago, and Mee Pago (formerly

⁵ Theys Hiyo Eluay (1937-2001) was a prominent community leader in West Papua and the former leader of the Papua Presidium Council. He was murdered in 2001 by members of the Indonesian Army's special forces.

in Papua Province), as well as Domberai and Bomberai (formerly in West Papua Province). Within the seven traditional areas, there are 255 tribes, each with a different language and culture (Jumaidi & Indriawati, 2023).

The goal of provincial expansion is to achieve equal distribution of economic and political resources through a socio-cultural approach while reducing the possibility of horizontal conflict among Papuans (Ministry of Communication and Information, 2022). However, a number of Papuan academics and community leaders have raised concerns about the potential for conflict as the two provinces (Papua and West Papua) expand, such as polarization between mountain and coastal communities (Ekaptiningrum, 2022), determining the capital of a new province, determining which districts fall into a particular province, and the process of filling in the state civil apparatus in the new provinces (Sucahyo, 2022).

Based on the results of the FGD and the aforementioned sociopolitical context, PR2Media researchers think that the Indonesian government and social media platforms should take hate speech expressions seriously on social media in order to prevent the spread of hate speech from negatively impacting social integration in Papua Province.

A list of ethnic and religious-based hate speech expressions in Papua, including Indonesian, Papuan dialect Indonesian, and Papuan local languages, is provided below, along with context and a description of their use. In general, the expressions of hate speech below are encountered on various social media platforms, namely YouTube, Facebook, TikTok, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter).

During the discussion, PR2Media's research partner in Papua, Dewi Anggraeni, who has been living and working in Papua Province as a government employee for nearly 20 years, assisted

the moderator’s understanding of expressions in the local Papuan languages and their context.

Figure 4. Expressions of Ethnic and Religious-Based Hate Speech in Papua Province
(Indonesian, Indonesian Papuan Dialect, and Local Languages in Papua)

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
1	“Dasar monyet” (You are a monkey) and “Turunan monyet” (Descendant of monkey)	This expression is usually conveyed by Javanese people to demean indigenous Papuans.	Monkey is a stereotypical insult to indigenous Papuans. For indigenous Papuans, “monkey” is considered more derogatory than “dog” or “pig”. “Dogs and pigs are still acceptable, but not monkeys,” said one of the participants.
2	“Dasar Amber!” (You are Amber)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Swear words often conveyed by indigenous Papuans to non-indigenous Papuans (Javanese, Bugis, etc.) Previously, it was for non-Papuan migrants, but this term has developed, and now it targets any migrant, including indigenous Papuans. 	Amber is a Biak word that is aimed at migrants (even though they are also indigenous Papuans). There was once an Amber Community Forum to help open communication between indigenous Papuans and migrants, but it is no longer active.

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
3	“Ongko” (a term for people of Chinese descent who are considered stingy)	This is an ethnic-based attack against Chinese descendants, who are always considered stingy.	
4	“Dasar BBM” (People of Bugis, Buton, and Makassar)	This is conveyed by indigenous Papuans to Bugis, Buton, and Makassar people.	This is aimed at the three tribes as market authorities, especially markets that sell fish and areca nuts.
5	“Sukbung”	This is conveyed by indigenous Papuans to migrants who are considered to control indigenous Papuan’s land or economy	
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. “Agama kolonial” (Colonialist’s religion) b. “Tentara Injil” (Gospel army) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The “colonialist’s religion” is used to attack migrants in Papua, the majority of whom are Muslim. b. The “gospel army” is used to attack Protestant and Catholic Papuans. 	<p>According to one of the FGD participants, who is a representative of a religious organization in Papua, religious figures in Papua also use the phrases “colonialist’s religion” and “gospel army” in their sermons, which exacerbates religious tensions in Papua Province.</p> <p>There are also socio-economic tensions there, where migrants usually have a better social and economic status than indigenous Papuans in general.</p>

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
7	“Hitam badaki!” (Black rhinoceros)	This insult is aimed at indigenous Papuans.	
8	“Makan pancuri” (Indonesian Papuan dialect) which means eating stolen goods.	This is often used to attack mountain people and migrants (both ways).	In the past, the expression was only used to attack mountain people, but now it has developed and is used to attack migrants too.
9	“Dasar Lao Lao” and “Nau Nau” (tree kangaroo).	They have a stupid connotation and are used to attack migrants and indigenous Papuans.	
10	“Makhluk mutan” (mutant)	This insult targets a kid whose parents are an indigenous Papuan and a non-Papuan.	
11	Skakon	This is conveyed by indigenous Papuans to migrants who are considered to be depriving indigenous Papuans of their rights.	
12	“Dasar hama” and “Hama dorang” (You are a pest)	This is conveyed by indigenous Papuans to other indigenous Papuans who garden in nature reserves or in other mountain areas that are not their natural territory.	

No	Words and phrases	Context	Additional Note
13	“Anggun” (mountain kid) and “Masgun” (mountain people)	The coastal people and migrants convey this to the Papuan mountain people.	
14	“Dasar Komen”	A derogatory term for indigenous Papuans.	
15	“Dasar Koteka” (Koteka is a penis sheath traditionally worn by native male inhabitants of Papua to cover their penises)	This is conveyed by the coastal people and migrants to the mountain people of Papua.	

Conclusion

This study found that online hate speech expressions in the provinces of West Java, Central Kalimantan, and Papua are commonly conveyed in Indonesian, local languages, or a combination of Indonesian and local languages. According to the nine types of dysphemism in expressing hate speech (Darmawan & Muhaimi, 2019), PR2Media researchers found that three types of dysphemism were most frequently expressed by FGD participants in three provinces, namely synecdoche (describing something or someone as a whole), dysphemistic epithets (using animal names), and “-ist” dysphemism (targeting specific ethnicities or tribes).

In general, FGD participants expressed concern about the various forms of ethnic and religious-based hate speech they encountered on social media, as well as hate speech targeting specific genders and professions. They hope that social media

platforms will be better at detecting the emergence of these expressions, particularly those conveyed in local expressions and combinations of Indonesian and local languages.

Another finding from this study is that latent tensions or potential hostility between ethnicities and religions in the three provinces are typically related to socioeconomic and political issues, such as unequal distribution of economic resources, political aspirations, and social status between natives and migrants, which also happen to follow certain ethnic and religious lines.

We believe that the words, phrases, and sentences in local languages listed by researchers for each province can be used as data by social media platforms and the government to better moderate or regulate content based on the needs of the people in that province. These findings can also be used as data by other researchers for future research, adding to the body of knowledge about hate speech on social media in Indonesian local languages.

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APPENDIX

FGD participants in West Java

No	Name	Organization/Profession
1	Ananda Bintang	Universitas Padjajaran
2	Fanny S. Alam	Sekolah Damai Indonesia (SEKODI)
3	Alya Sabila	Universitas Islam Bandung
4	Fam Kim Fat (Akiun)	Perhimpunan Indonesia Tionghoa (INTI) Bandung
5	Catur Ratna W.	Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI) Bandung
6	Risdo Maulitua S.	Jaringan Kerja Antar Umat Beragama (JAKATARUB)
7	Gilang Gimnashar	Samahita Bandung
8	Prima Arti	Universitas Islam Bandung
9	Hadi Purnama	Jaringan Pegiat Literasi Digital (Japelidi)
10	Citra Pratiwi	Masyarakat Anti Fitnah Indonesia (MAFINDO)
11	Alfianto Yustinova	Jabar Saber Hoaks

FGD participants in Central Kalimantan

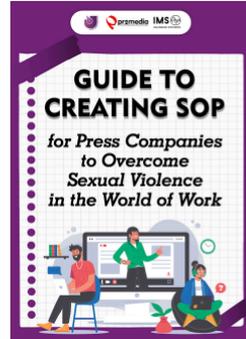
No	Name	Organization/Profession
1	Daan Rismon	Keterbukaan Informasi Publik (KIP) Kalimantan Tengah
2	Sepmiwawalma	Author of Ngaju Dayak Dictionary
3	Jonie Prihanto	Kantamedia.com
4	Ervantia Restulita L. Sigai	Institut Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung Penyang (IAHN-TP) Palangkaraya
5	Parada L. Kdr	Dayak Traditional Council/Dewan Adat Dayak (DAD) Kalimantan Tengah
6	Sulandra L. Kdr	Institut Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung Penyang (IAHN-TP) Palangkaraya
7	Winawati	Institut Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung Penyang (IAHN-TP) Palangkaraya
8	Aquarini	Universitas Muhammadiyah Palangkaraya

No	Name	Organization/Profession
9	Annisa Rizki Ananda	Universitas Muhammadiyah Palangkaraya
10	Sri Astuty	Universitas Lambung Mangkurat Banjarmasin
11	Jhon Retei Alfrisandi	Universitas Palangkaraya
12	Rumbaka Fachrizal E.	Universitas Muhammadiyah Palangkaraya

FGD participants in Papua

No	Name	Organization/Profession
1	Andreas Wakei	Student at Universitas Muhammadiyah Papua
2	Immanuel Kwano	Ministry of Religion, Deiyai Regency, Central Papua
3	Hamim Mustafa	Lecturer at Universitas Muhammadiyah Papua
4	Santi Tuu	Lecturer at Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia (PBSI) Universitas Cenderawasih
5	Roberth Yewen	Journalist at Kompas.com
6	Andre Kirwel	Journalist at CNN Indonesia
7	Dian Wasaraka	Social activist
8	Nahria	Commissioner of Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia Daerah (KPID) Papua
9	Sarono	Ministry of Religion
10	Mariana Buiney	Lecturer at Universitas Cenderawasih
11	Karenapukh Marini	Student at Universitas Muhammadiyah Papua
12	Toni Wanggai	Member of the Papuan People's Assembly, Nahdlatul Ulama (PWNU) Papua

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