Harmful Discourse on Social Media: The Triggering Factors of Persecution Acts in Post-Truth Era

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Abstract

The harmful speech on social media in the post-truth vortex has triggered various cases of persecution during the political contestation in Indonesia in 2017. The transfer of violence from the virtual space to the real space was caused by the fact that every individual seeks for having a power vessel in the truth regarding ethnic, religious, racial and intergroup issues that ultimately encouraged them to behave outside the bonds of social structures. This phenomenon is examined by a qualitative approach to a criminological perspective using the Foucault archaeological/genealogical method. The purpose of the research is to know the factors that cause harmful speech in social media which can trigger physical violence and Space Transition Theory is used the assess the same. The results show that not all dangerous speech containing ethnic, religious, racial and intergroup issues could lead to violence from virtual spaces to real space. There are contextual factors in the form of 'space', 'time' and 'place' which enable a dangerous speech on social media to evoke implications on persecution and non-persecution actions.

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Keywords: Malicious Speech, Post-Truth, Persecution, Space Transition, Power Container, Contextuality.

Introduction

Everyone has the freedom to express themselves through social media. Freedom in social media is identical to the 'power' as Foucault said (1974) as present in every individual, and Giddens (1984) stated that power and knowledge has a reciprocal relationship in the social system. The relationship of power and knowledge cannot be detached from the structure as a rule, a resource, and as an agent that performs social action (Bryant & Jary, 1991). However, social media as a public space has been utilized by many individuals to participate in expressing their opinion and thoughts, especially the

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critical public debate such as discussing about the general elections (Fuch, 2017). Social media is finally a space that allows interactions among many parties (McQuail, 2011), some of them are aimed at obtaining satisfaction (McNamus in Severin & Tankard, 2005), and in the end the interaction can change the community behaviour (McQuail, 2011). One of these forms of change is that the people are dragged to the Post-truth discourse – the situation where the truth changes to 'gray' (Keyes, 2017). An era when information based on objectively assessed facts is no longer important (Kovach & Rosentiel, 2010), even an accuracy is considered low-valued (Keyes, 2017). Consequently, contents such as fak*e* news, hoaxes, and hate speeches are widely scattered in social media and the numbers are increasing as a result of the effects of filter bubble (Pariser, 2011, in Dhimas, 2017). Ignoring the value of this truth fosters a climate of prejudice and intolerance, which can trigger discrimination, hostility, or violent attacks. The climate of prejudice is particularly shown in critical moments, such as the general election event, since the bad prejudice contents can be traded among political opponents or used by those in power to curb any disagreements (Gagliardone, et.al, 2015). This condition makes the social media full of narratives or harmful discourses that lead to susceptible social values and norms. As a conflict-inspired content normally has an appeal to the public (Sacco, 1995), it is potential to widespread (Keller, 2002), and generate a new measure of morality (Loon, 2008). Many people do not realize that malicious contents in the media can be a recommendation leading to a deviant behavior (Hagan, 2013) in the form of symbolic violence. Even in Indonesia it was conducted by a 'paid-criminal group' named 'Saracen', who produced dangerous contents in the years 2014 – 2018, using 800,000 fake accounts in the social media before and during the regional head elections (Movanita, 2017).

The contents that are easy to trigger violence, conflict and hatred are the issues of ethnic, religious, racial, and inter-groups, abbreviated as SARA. SARA's issues are about the viewpoints or actions, both verbal and non-verbal, which are based on sentiment about the identity of heredity, religion, nationality or ethnicity and class. The effects of SARA's actions are inter-group conflicts that can cause hatred and lead to divisions. This is seen in the data of hate speech cases that can be categorized as a dangerous speech in the year 2017 in Indonesia issued by the Directorate of Criminal Action of Indonesian Police Cyber. In 2017 it was recorded that there were 1350 reports of hate speech (May – December period), covering the case of SARA (542 cases); humiliations (382); defamations (144); threats (20); hoaxes (5); immoralities (15); and general crimes (2). In addition, the uploading of malicious contents in the social media uses an anonymous identity, that is of 717 accounts, 512 accounts using a semi-anonymous identity, and only 155 accounts using the original identity (Anwar, 2017). The use of false identities in this social media shows a tendency to bad intentions of account owners that accentuate that social media is potentially encouraging the occurrence of crimes (Jaishankar, 2007, 2008).

It is therefore not surprising that the power and freedom inherent in every individual communicating at social media have triggered the phenomenon of physical violence in the form of persecution actions in Indonesia in 2017. Data issued by an independent organization called The Southeast Asian Freedom of Expression Network (SAFENet) show that there were 105 cases of persecutions in that year. The persecution action patterns, according to SAFENet, are designed by a planned mobilization. The mobilization process starts from stage (1) determining the targets, recording and viralizing the targets; (2) mobilizing the masses to hunt for targets; (3) bullying and intimidating the targets in order to make them apologize; (4) documenting and disseminating the video of

targets apologizing; and (5) taking or reporting the target to the police to be legally disputed (Suhendra, 2017).

The average victim is those who uploaded SARA-toned contents. One of the persecution victims – as an example of the case – was Fiera Lovita, the female physician in Solok City, West Sumatera. Lovita was persecuted after uploading a status on Facebook responding to the news about "the run-away" of a religious figure from a police examination. On his Facebook wall, Lovita among others wrote:

> "... sometimes fanaticism has made common sense and logic do not work anymore, having done adultery action, run away, he is still revered and defended. There are still many people claiming that their filthy cleric is a victim of defamatory, ... He was fleeing away when the police came to take him and the evidence. He did not dare."

The text in the narrative that Lovita had written above was classified as dangerous and containing a SARA element that made a group of people from a mass organization persecute Lovita. Although Lovita had already apologized and the settlement of the case was mediated by the local police, Lovita was still often intimidated by unknown people. Finally, for the safety of the children and herself, Lovita moved to one of the cities on the island of Bali (Erdianto, 2017).

The persecution cases due to the narrative uploads in social media as Lovita and 100 more other cases could not be separated from the dynamics of political contestation in Jakarta in 2017, which were followed by religious, tribal, and governmental issues throughout the year. In addition to the election of the governor of DKI Jakarta with various demonstration actions, there are also a lawsuit case of alleged blasphemy of religion against the prospective governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, dissolution of Islamic organizations, terrorist bomb attacks, a public figure trial for posting unlawful contents. This situation also triggers information traffic chaos in social media and raises the phenomenon of a failure to understand (Tinarbuko, 2017). Therefore, there was a misunderstanding between the parties, caused by a war of discourse on the power of words being uttered. Its derivative effects continue to the increasingly heated polemic, raising pro-Cons of each other, not only at the local level of Jakarta but also at the national level and they made the people polarized. Finally, when Ahok was sentenced to imprisonment, a growing opinion, among others, arouse saying that the imprisonment is more due to political pressure (Sugiharto, 2017).

According to the above description, it can be concluded that in the post-truth era, a dangerous narrative upload containing SARA issues in social media in certain situations can lead to violent reactions, both symbolic violence and physical violence in the form of action persecution--a new terror for the community. Particularly hate speech, which is essentially marginalizing an individual or group of people with speech defamation and labeling (Eriyanto, 2011). However, now the question is why dangerous speech in cyberspace could trigger violence in real space in Indonesia in 2017?

1. Theoretical Framework

The study uses a constitutive criminological approach, a postmodernist theory of the co-production of crimes committed by human subjects as agents in social and organizational cultures and structures, a place where they become parts of the repeated

discursive processes. (Henry & Milovanovic, 1996). This theory is inspired by the structural theory of Anthony Giddens (O'Brien & Yar, 2008), attempting to examine the relationship in the criminal coproduction process involving many agencies by considering the production of discourse on ideology of crime, and that social identity is determined by interaction through the medium (Henry & Milovanovic, 1991). The constitutive criminology sees knowledge as political, subjective, and hierarchical. Knowledge, not free of value, is a weapon of domination or resistance and an expression of power or of resistance to power built to make the claims of truth used for political interaction with others (Henry & Milovanovic, 2000). Because a man as an agent is a coproducer, an active creator of the social environment that forms thought, meaning and action, then crime is the result of the construction of society through certain discursive. Human interactions are facilitated by symbols with conventional meanings (Henry & Milovanovic, 1991,1996).

Thus, the viewpoint of the constitutive criminology in this paper discusses the crime by considering the production of discourse as a concrete reality (Henry & Milovanovic, 1991), in the space transition sphere (Jaishankar, 2008) on (violence) behavior of human beings in cyberspace. The author(s) also uses the concept of structure by Antony Giddens (1979,1984) regarding the concept of duality and dialectics in a patterned and repetitive social practice in time and space cross (Giddens, 1984, p. 2). Meanwhile, to describe the discourse in the perspective of a constituent criminology, the author(s) uses archaeology/Genealogies Michel Foucault (1972, 1974) in relation to narrative, discourse relations, practices, and power. All theories and concepts contain some relations to explain the behavior of the social media users regarding the dangerous discourses and the factors that trigger a persecution.

1.1. Space transitions

The Space Transition theory of Jaishankar (2007, 2008) describes the behavior of Internet users who tend to differ in physical space and virtual space, or when moving from one room to another., that life method in physical space is not always the same as the life method in the virtual space. There are seven postulates in the space transition theory related to user behaviour, they are as follows:

1. *Persons, with repressed criminal behavior (in the physical space) have a propensity to commit crime in cyberspace, which, otherwise they would not commit in physical space, due to their status and position.*
2. *Identity Flexibility, Dissociative Anonymity and lack of deterrence factor in the cyberspace provides the offenders the choice to commit cybercrime.*
3. *Criminal behavior of offenders in cyberspace is likely to be imported to Physical space which, in physical space may be exported to cyberspace as well.*
4. *Intermittent ventures of offenders into the cyberspace and the dynamic spatio-temporal nature of cyberspace provide the chance to escape.*
5. *(a) Strangers are likely to unite together in cyberspace to commit crime in the physical space. (b) Associates of physical space are likely to unite to commit crime in cyberspace.*
6. *Persons from closed society are more likely to commit crimes in cyberspace than persons from open society.*
7. *The conflict of Norms and Values of Physical Space with the Norms and Values of cyberspace may lead to cybercrimes.*

(Jaishankar, 2008, pp. 292-293)

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Some of the above postulates become the foundation for explaining interactions in social media as public spaces, and the behaviors of users who upload malicious contents containing dangerous diction in the context of a particular discourse. The narrative as the symbolic violence then forms the violent reactions in the physical space.

1.2. Structuration of Giddens

Structuration is a condition that determines the continuity of the structure and is a reproduction of the social system (Giddens, 1984). Structuration theory in this study is related to the concepts of 'structure', 'system' and 'duality of structure' (Giddens, 1984); about agents, agencies and powers (Giddens, 1984), as well as about time, space and context (Giddens, 1984). 'Structure' is a rule -- expressing the forms of domination and power (Giddens, 1984) which are knowledgeable to perform social actions and 'system' is a reproduced relationship between actors or as a regular social practice (Giddens, 1984). The 'duality of the structure' is a recursively organized structure, the structural nature of the social system beyond action but involved in its production and reproduction (Giddens, 1984).

Agency is a human action, therefore being human means being an agent. Agency is important for the reproduction and transformation of the community, or Giddens calls it as monitoring the reflective actions (Giddens, 1979). Through actions, agents generate structures; and through reflective monitors and rationalizations, they change them. Some parts of the Giddens structure concept explain how humans as the agents are discoursing to dominate through dangerous speeches in the process of reciprocal interactions. There are agents who act in and out of the structure (duality) in certain conditions and situations. To act, an agent must be motivated, knowledgeable, able to rationalize action, and reflectively monitor the actions. Being an agent means that she or he must be able to use causal clusters of power, including affecting the power that others disseminate (Giddens, 1984). The agents in the structure utilize their knowledge of structural contexts when they act, and have a discursive and practical consciousness, and cognition (Giddens, 1984). The knowledge meant as in a discursive consciousness refers to what they know, what they do, and why they do it (Giddens, 1984).

The power itself is the ability to achieve desired outcomes – Parsons and Foucault see power as society belonging (Giddens, 1984). As for time, space, and context, they are intended as a contextuality form of life in social institutions. The entire social life takes place inside, and is composed by intersections of existence and non-existence with the passing of time and the shrink of space (Giddens, 1984). Basically, contextuality is the nature of interaction that is situated in spacetime, involving a backdrop of interaction, unison actors and communication between actors (Giddens, 1984).

Therefore, various malicious narratives uploaded by agents in the social media are associated with the social media space used, with the time when the malicious content is posted, and with the context – whether direct or not – that could affect the emergence of other social reaction agents. It is due to the fact that an agent must be able to use causal power clusters, including to influence the power of other agents ' propagation (Giddens, 1984).

1.3. Archaeology and Genealogy

In archaeology-genealogy, Foucault describes the rules and structures of the discourse in the media text as a language to represent the practice of power from a certain point of view (Foucault, 1972). He believes that anyone in power owns the ability to create a dominant discourse through the discursive practice and a form of power as a truth. The power and knowledge relations are to work together to master, control and subdue the body of the modern human beings. The human body is regulating and controlling itself under the control of the power that is represented by its true knowledge. Power and knowledge have the effect of power. Therefore, the organizer of knowledge is able to produce knowledge used as the power base (Foucault, 1972). Power produces knowledge -- because knowledge is useful for power -- thus, there is no knowledge without power and no power without knowledge. Power is practiced in the knowledge and truth called Truth Games (Allan, 2006:291), then the truth is disseminating through the discourse produced by power.

2. Methods and Data Research

Foucault's archaeological-genealogical method in the study focuses on the connection of discourse networks (Ritzer, 2005) regarding time, space, and context to figure out the relationship between dangerous narratives and symbolic violence in the virtual space that culminates physical violence in real space. The operations of the archaeological method - of Foucault genealogies (1972, 1979, 2004), are in the form of statements attributed to other statements (Kendall & Gary Wickham, 1999). Archaeological analyses are conducted by grouping statements, and then determining which statements are received as meaningful sentences and which sentences are correct in certain historical epos. When archaeology is more of a view of the historical condition through a discursive chain, the genealogy is an analysis of the historical process focusing on the relationship of the discourse network process (Ritzer, 2005). The principles of the archaeological process are non–interpretive, avoiding judgment, persisting only at the appearances level, not searching for authors but rather concentrating on non–anthropological statements (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). Therefore, this study discusses the use of diction which is classified as violating the compliance norms in the social media. While genealogy is a method of finding something behind a discourse, a collection of statements that make up the social reality and find out how the power behind the social reality is understood from the archive. In this case the harmful statements in the social media is a form of expressions or the power attached to the agent as a social reality which are interpreted by the other agents.

To see how small narratives work in cyberspace, author classifies speech using a social network analysis (SNA) tool. The purpose of SNA is to study the pattern of interaction (Freeman, 1979) and the relationship aspects of social structure (Scott, 1992). The result of the SNA process is the structure and pattern of inter-entity interactions, and the interaction between the actors (nodes) which then forms a connected network based on the ties/links that occur. Social media network links the structures, then visualize them in sociogram.

2.1. Data Processing Results

Research data from secondary data processing were taken from (1) Indonesian Police (Polri); (2) SAFENet agencies; and (3) persecution case spreading in the mainstream online

media that occurred in the year 2017. The data from the Polri are the annual report document of hate speeches containing the issue of SARA that are investigated and tried by the police. While the data from the SAFENet agency is a document of persecution case collections that are taken from the reports received and known by the institution during the year 2017. Regarding the spreading news of mainstream media[3], the author gathers and summarizes a collection of persecution published stories from January to December 2017. The news is accessed via online from credible media, legal entity, registered with the Indonesian Press Council agency, and has been widely known.

After the process of data processing from Polri, SAFENet and media coverage, the results show that social media Facebook is the most widely used medium to post dangerous speeches, namely as many as 48 cases, followed by Twitter (7 cases); Youtube (3 cases); Instagram (3 cases); as well as Telegram and UGC with one case each. The author uses SNA tools to categorize data based on: (1) narrative speech diction using malicious diction; (2) object (target) of the speech; and (3) a speech triggering persecution. This categorical grouping of data (archeology) – only at the sighting level – is intended to elicit the facts or social reality of speech in the social media containing narrative, phrases, and malicious diction regarding SARA's issues. Genealogically generated data is the reality of the power behind it that is related to knowledge. The data are then visualized in the form of Sociogram (Figure 1a) which shows the dangerous types of words (diction) scattered in social media. (To clarify the harmful diction, the author copies some harmful diction for the sake of translation into English – Figure 1b).

Figure 1a. Frequency dan Dangerous Diction of SARA Issues in Social Media in 2017
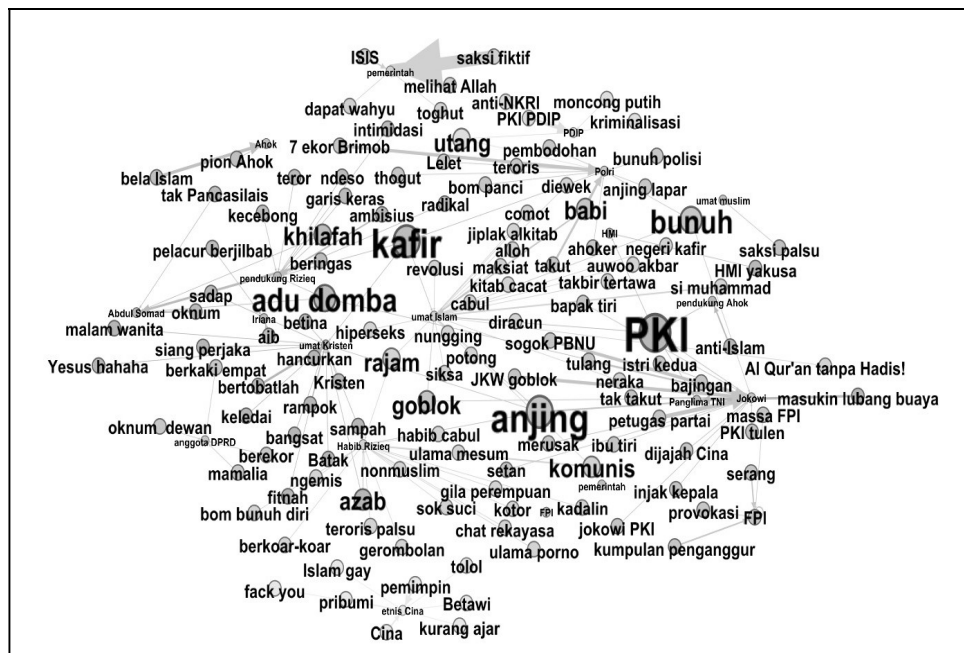
Figure 1b . Various Dangerous Diction of SARA Issues in Social Media in 2017

Foolish Betawi peoplel; Chinese fuck you; Islam gay; PKI; anti-Islam; The God is a pig; Batak Christian is a burglar; trash; infidel country; fake terrorist; made-up chat; communist in religious mask; fundamental extremist; kill; terrorist; plebeian; tadpole; intimidation; terror; infidel; bring into conflict; tailed-board person; four-legged; thogut(cruel ruler); kill the cops; ahoker: starving dogs; pig; FPI mass provocations; attack, attack; Jokowi is PKI; second wife; step mother; pan bombing; step on the head; real PKI; not afraid of doom; China colonization; bribe PBNU; anti-NKRI; veiled-hooker; HMI is yakusa; put uinto Lubang Buaya; destroy it; 7 tailed-Brimob; demon; son of bitch; dog; stupid; Chinese; God damn it; infidel; woman at night and man in the afternoon; duping; Yesus hahaha; donkey; pion of Ahok; defend Islam; ISIS; not Pancasilaist; khilafah; PKI PDIP actor; stupid JKW; fierce; Al Qur'an without hadist!; kill; auwoo(tarzan voice) akbar; Prostration praying; that muhammad: immoral; obscene pig; copying the Bible; hyper-sex; penetrated; defective Holly book; obscene cleric; the horde: salacious; deceive; doom; stoning; holy-ass; non Moslem; bosting; obscene cleric; porn cleric; PKI; communist; stoning; cutting; torturing; takbir (laughing); FPI a group of jobless people; radical; hard liners; khilafah; ambitious; kill; party officials; see Allah; got a revelation.

The result of a malicious narrative processing (Figures 1a&b) shows different types of words uploaded by individuals (agents) in social media which almost all concern SARA's issues. Sociogram visualizations show the big and small sizes of the letters on each word beyond a circle, for example *gay Moslem, Pagan, dogs, kill the police, perverted clerics* and so on, indicating the frequency of diction used. The larger the letters, the more the dictions, the smaller the letter, the less the amount uploaded. The diction of the harmful speech is normally containing element of symbolic violence, which can cause reactions with different perceptions. The interpretation of the uploaded malicious narrative easily triggers other violence, if the speech is amplified by the agent and is widespread in the social media space. This situation allows the uploaders to act as the producers or co-producers trapped in a cognitive unconsciousness which is determined by both practical and discursive awareness in the form of the ability to express themselves verbally (Giddens, 1984). The spread of dangerous diction which is a form of symbolic violence easily provokes emotional reactions, especially when it comes to sensitive issues such as religious beliefs. This sensitive religious belief discourse has led to the polarization of the public social media in Indonesia in 2017 and sharpened the nature of speech violence in the efforts of agents to dominate one another.

The following data is the frequency of objects that are targeted by dangerous speech containing SARA issues in social media. Those who become the objects of utterance can be government officials or community leaders, government institutions, political parties, social institutions, religious community organizations, communities, ethnicities, and religions. The order of dangerous speech objects are: 1) Jokowi (as the President of Republic of Indonesia), 2) Moslems, 3) POLRI, 4) Christians, 5) Habib Rizieq (Islamic religious leader, cleric), 5) Chinese ethnic, 6) Islamic Defender Forum (FPI) Organization, 7) supporters of Habis Rizieq, 8) Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), and 9) supporters of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok (Governor of DKI Jakarta).

Subsequent data processing results (Figure 2) associated with acts of violence, show the results that not all utterances in dictions of dangerous speech related to SARA issues uploaded on social media throughout 2017 trigger persecution. Whereas the distribution of dangerous diction in the uploaded sociogram display has almost the same meaning for the purpose of insulting, defaming, insulting, harassing, and cursing the object of speech.

Figure 2. Dangerous Dictions on Social Media In 2017 – Triggering Persecutions and Not Triggering Persecution

Diction Triggering Persecution	Diction Not Triggering Persecution
Al Qur'an without hadist!; kill; auwoo akbar; dog; prostration praying; pig; that muhammad: immoral; salacious; stupid; copying the Bible; hyper-sex; penetrated; defective Holly book; the horde; obscene; salacious; deceiving; doom; stoning; holy-ass; non-Moslem; boasting; obscene cleric; porn cleric; PKI; communist; stoning; cutting; torturing; takbir (laughing); khilafah; radical; FPI a group of jobless people; hard-liner; kill; party officials; see Allah; got a revelatiom; ambitious.	*Foolish Betawi peoplel; Chinese fuck you; Islam gay; PKI; anti-Islam; The God is a pig; Batak Christian is a burglar; infidel country; fake terrorist; made-up chat; communist in religious mask; fundamental extremist; kill; terrorist; plebeian; tadpole; intimidation; terror; infidel; bring into conflict; tailed-board person; four-legged; thogut(cruel ruler); kill the cops; ahoker: starving dogs; pig; FPI mass provocations; attack, attack; Jokowi is PKI; second wife; step mother; pan bombing; step on the head; real PKI; not afraid of doom; China colonization; bribe PBNU; anti-NKRI; veiled-hooker; HMI is yakusa; put uinto Lubang Buaya; destroy it; 7 tailed-Brimob; demon; son of bitch; dog; stupid; Chinese; God damn it; infidel; woman in the afternoon and man at night; duping; Yesus hahaha; donkey; pion of Ahok; defend Islam; ISIS; not Pancasilaist; khilafah; PKI PDIP actor; stupid JKW; fierce;*

The fact that there are differences in the social reactions of agents to dangerous diction which lead to persecution and non-persecution explaining the existence of triggering factors. The factor referred to could be because the status of the object of speech is as an important person, famous, national leader, or state institutions as well as social and religious communities. Nevertheless, the factors of who is the object of such utterances are apparently not entirely certain, since though the object of dangerous utterances is President Jokowi for example, and the diction used is equally aimed at harassing, insulting, cursing, and defaming, it does not always lead to persecution. Similar situation can also be seen in other cases – the table in Table 1 – where there are several examples of dangerous speech diction aimed at individuals (speech objects) of important figures and institutions, it turns out that there are also some causing violence (persecution column – V mark in 'Yes' column) and some that do not cause violence (persecution column – V mark in the 'No' column).

Table 1. Dangerous Dictions and Speech Targeted Objects In 2017 Leading to Persecution Triggers and Non–Persecution Triggers

Dangerous Utterance Dictions	Dangerous Utterance Objects	Persecution	
		Yes	No
Jokowi is PKI, second wife, step mother, step father, damage, JKW is stupid, dog, step on the head, real PKI, colonized by China, bribe PBNU, demon, bastard, a dog of PKI, stupid, toghut, ISIS, veiled–hooker	Presiden Joko Widodo, Iriana, a wife of Presiden Joko Widodo, Indonesian Government	--	--
Kill, party officials	Presiden Joko Widodo	V	--
PKI, communist, stonoing, cutting, torturing, auqooo akbar, dog, prostration praying, obscene, that Muhammad, nungging, cabul, si muhammad copying the Bible, hyper sex, Al Qur'an without Hadis! see Allah, got a revelation	Moslem people of Indonesia	V	--
Obscene cleric, salacious, holy ass, boasting, obscene and porn cleric	Habib Rizieq	V	--
radical, hard-liners, khilafah	Supporters of Habib Rizieq	V	--
plebeian, tadpole, intimidation	Supporters of Habib Rizieq	--	V
FPI is a group of jobless people	Forum of Islam Defender (FPI)	V	--
Provocator, attack	Forum of Islam Defender (FPI)	--	V
PKI, put into Lubang Buaya, thogut infidel, kill the cops, 7-tailed- Brimob, ahoker, starving dog, slow, pan bombing, duping, coward	Indonesian National Army (TNI), POLRI	--	V
PKI, anti-Islam, pion	Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok), supporters of Ahok	--	V
Bastard, dog, destroy it, infidel, woman at night man in the afternoon	Christian people	--	V

3. Discussion

Constitutive criminology views crime as an integral part of the production of society together with human agents (Henry & Milovanovic, 1996). The agency in this study is the social media user agents that are related in the structure as well as outside. As social media users, agents are individuals who invest energy in power relations in social structure within the scope of social media. These agents take action by making various statements uploaded on social media that relate to various information around the SARA issue, especially on religious and political issues. Dissolved crossword utterances that use dangerous dictions in

social media – consciously or unconsciously – get the carried-away agents to reciprocate and produce dangerous narratives in a discourse that causes various violent reactions in cyberspace and in physical space.

The discussion in this paper begins with the behavior of social media user agents as a transitional space and container of power, followed by the way they use the power/knowledge to produce dangerous narratives in order to dominate the truth and submission; the relations of dangerous dictions in narratives to contextuality; and the way contextuality becomes the triggering factor for persecution and non-persecution. All problems of the scattered dangerous diction in social media occur when the truth has been deconstructed into something that is considered not important.

3.1. Space Transition Behavior

The number of dangerous narratives in Social Media (Figures 1a&b) proves that the power and freedom possessed by individual has prevented user from easily acting outside the bonds of social structure. For example, since Lovita posted dangerous utterances on her Facebook page, this female doctor in Riau had been persecuted by certain community groups because the contents are considered insulting religious leaders. Lovita action shows the suitability and behavior mismatch when she is in the middle of real space and virtual space, as explained by Jaishankar (2008). As an educated and knowledgeable woman, Lovita should be able to rationalize her actions by considering the possible consequences of having discursive awareness and cognition, so that she is not trapped in the vortex of blasphemous discourse through dangerous diction in social media.

Unlike the case with those who have criminal behavior in the real world, social media is a new opportunity, especially criminals whose physical space is increasingly limited. The opportunity is wide open, because Social Media has the flexibility for users to determine the identity of their account. An example of a new opportunity for these criminals is how a crime syndicate named 'Saracen' sold services to produce hate speech content according to the paid order by using 800,000 fake accounts in 2017. The case revealed by the National Police shows that the flexibility of the identity encourages the perpetrators to act beyond the structure and against the law by utilizing space, time and context, without letting people know their real identity. This makes it clear that social media is a public space that can be used by anyone to narrate with various objectives, including crime.

Criminal behavior by perpetrators of crime in cyberspace, which may be imported into physical space or vice versa, is reflected in virtual violence that manifests in the form of violence in physical space. This fact justifies the postulate of Jaishankar's space transition theory (2008), and at the same time shows that there are no differences in social structure in cyberspace and physical space. This means that agents as the producers and co-producers mutually produce virtual violence which can lead to physical violence, and the other way around, physical violence can also be followed by virtual violence. An example in this context is when Doctor Lovita was persecuted, all persecution processes were recorded using video by the perpetrators of the persecution, then the results of the recording were uploaded on the Facebook page and they caused a reaction of symbolic violence shown by the Facebook users.

The existence of the gap of actors from physical space into cyberspace and the dynamic spatio-temporal nature of cyberspace have also provided opportunities and made it easier for criminals to escape. Although this fourth postulate statement can point to how social media users delete their anonymous and temporary digital traces even after posting

dangerous narratives, it does not mean they can escape in physical space. It is likely to happen due to the availability of increasingly sophisticated technological devices.

In the fifth postulate, Jaishankar explained about foreigners who might unite in cyberspace to commit crimes in physical space. In relation to the case of persecution, it is shown in the form of mass mobilization, which occurs between the actors who at first did not know each other, by using social media as their notification media, before they carry out persecution in physical space through the stages of mass mobilization -- as explained by SAFENet. Some of the perpetrators of persecution are closed societies, tend to be exclusive, some are carried out by groups or organizations that commit violence with justification about the truth based on religious moral beliefs. They express attempts at domination through power and knowledge for submission, interpreting dangerous narratives and perspectives they understand. Whereas the seventh postulate which explains that the conflicts of norms and values between physical space and cyberspace can cause cybercrime, as shown in the research data. The behavior of haters who like to express dangerous utterances in social media does not always reflect his behavior in physical space. How could it happen? Nonetheless, the distance or lack of social structure in cyberspace has given freedom to every social media user to break away from the bonds of social norms in physical space.

The conclusion drawn from the brief description above is that the seven postulates of the Space Transition theory by Jaishankar (2008) can explain the phenomenon of social media audiences who tend to upload dangerous narratives as a form of symbolic violence to trigger physical violence. However, this theory does not explain how violent behavior in cyberspace can trigger violence in physical space, for example how dangerous utterances in social media cause persecution as well as non-persecution.

3.2. Persecution and Non-Persecution

To discuss why there are dangerous utterances in social media that lead to persecution and non-execution, the author first groups the statements linked to other statements. The results of grouping dangerous narratives in the SNA sociogram produce descriptive data in the form of various types of dangerous dictions. From the statements, according to Foucault's archeological principles (Kendall & Gary Wickham, 1999), the researcher examines the written relationship, the relationship between statements, position and interaction between subjects, and how an object affects the subject.

In written relationships, as in the sociogram (Figures 1a&b), the uploaders do not have a direct relationship, unless there are some similarities in the category of hazardous diction. The similarities of the categories here to is the similarities in the purpose of uploading the utterances, namely humiliating, defaming, harassing, demeaning, and insulting. Various types of diction were raised due to utterances related to viral issues in social media, such as the word infidel, dog, PKI, pig, kill in certain contexts. Location or position between subjects – in this case the actors who have uploaded the dangerous narrative – can be considered equal to the owner of power. Users (agents) and the targeted objects of expression as agents do not have a relationship that directly affects each other, because they are in a different structure.

As social media gives power to each uploader, the circulation of the power system goes along with the will of the owner of power. Therefore, the statements uploaded are mostly one-way, directed at the objects that do not have direct interaction, such as figures of famous people or groups or important institutions. For example, an ordinary citizen said in

social media to criticize the president's policy by using harsh words. The upload certainly does not aim at submission, but rather shows an individual expression for certain purposes. However, there are also uploaders who use social media as a 'power room' to perpetuate their power accompanied by the desire to subjugate, thus such a container of agent power delegates the norms and rules. This situation makes other agents who attempt to rationalize actions in the discourse in the social media space lose their roles. Efforts to straighten out dangerous diction are, for example, often perceived differently and even responded negatively. It is this form of negative response that causes many agents to ignore knowledge as the basis for acting in structure, both in practical and discursive consciousness.

The desire to rule through discourse in the structure of inter-agent relations in the social media space eventually is normally done by ignoring the general norms. Each agent tries to dominate each other without considering the thin boundaries between private and public areas in the social media. Thus, the space for violence widens to provoke retaliatory action, and in turn many agents are trapped in the narrative discourses without trying to examine the issues and contexts discussed. Visualization on the sociogram (Figures 1a&b) shows how vulgar the choice of words is when they upload their opinions on SARA issues, especially religious issues. How the multiple interpretations of religious symbols are used to dominate the meaning of truth, in the middle of many discrepancies in interpretation between agents. They impose subjective truth to gain power, therefore, they have the power of submission through the production of knowledge. Social media user agents end up looking for mutual recognition of the meaning of narrative truth for the basis of their power, deconstructing the meaning of objective truth. The truth is finally increasingly scattered into fragments that are internalized in the minds of the knowledge of each agent.

3.3. Contextuality

Giddens (1984) explains that language is used as a tool to see society. When the social media users in social media spit hatred, slander, humiliate, and insult the others, then it reflects the reality at that time. The problem is, why do some dangerous narratives in social media may trigger persecution while some others do not?

From the data processing and assumptions, we can see that there are factors influencing the presence or absence of violence, namely contextual factors – it is the nature of the interaction which is situated in space-time involving the setting of interaction, actors and communication between actors (Giddens, 1984). This explains that all social life takes place in and is constituted by the intersections of existence and non-existence with the passing of 'time', shrinking of 'space' and 'context' (Giddens, 1984). The term 'time' is not meant by time defined by a clock, but rather a socially conditioned influence on the nature of the space-time path (Giddens, 1984), which is a reversible time of behavior and return (Giddens, 1984). This 'time' characteristic is seen on social media as a place where intersections sometimes appear and sometimes disappear because of the work of an algorithm that detects user demographics. On the other hand, 'space' is the conditions that allow individuals to gather in a 'container of power' (Giddens, 1984), since social media is a public space that can be used by anyone and anywhere. While the 'context' explains more about the serial nature of cross-social social life in daily activities (Giddens, 1984), in this case it can be interpreted related to the circulation of various issues of public concern to the social media.

Issues that developed throughout 2017 are issues related to political dynamics regarding religious identity in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta. The politics of religious identity has made social media become a medium of crossing various public opinions and increasing the escalation of symbolic violence through dangerous narratives, especially related to SARA issues (Sugiharto, 2017). The identity politics events have even polarized the public since December 2016 when the first round of the Jakarta Governor-Regional Head election took place in the 2017-2022 period. Polarization was increasingly felt when there were demonstrations with large numbers of people – tens of thousands of Moslems – in Jakarta who demand that one of the candidates for governor election contestants be deactivated because of the status of a suspect in the case of blasphemy of Islam. This tense situation continued to roll from January to the end of 2017, especially in social media.

In (1) January, the DKI Jakarta post-conflict local election campaign period was still ongoing; (2) February, in addition to holding the first round of governor elections, arouse the issue of refusal to pray for any Moslem's dead bodies who chose Ahok, the candidate for governor, and also the issue of being unlawful if choosing a governor from the 'infidels'; (3) March, various activities took place in the first round of the governor election; (4) April, the second round of the election of governor, Ahok (a non-Moslem) against Anies Baswedan (a Moslem), on April 19, 2017. In addition, there was an accusation of "improper chat" against the suspect Habib Rizieq, the figure of a cleric who opposed Ahok; (5) May precisely on the 9th of May, the court sentenced Ahok to 2 years imprisonment in a blasphemy case, and the incident of Rizieq's departure to Saudi Arabia on May 21 was allegedly an attempt to avoid police investigations of a "nasty chat" case. This month there was also a suicide bombing (Linawati, 2017) in Kampung Melayu, Jakarta, which killed three policemen, two suicide bombers, and injured 11 others; (6) June, the political temperature subsided a little because Moslems practiced Ramadan fasting and Eid al-Fitr; (8) August, the police dismantled the Saracen group which traded provocative and hoax contents related to SARA, including the attack to Indonesian President Joko Widodo and the National Police Chief.

The Saracen group has a network of more than 800,000 accounts; (9) September, there were pros and cons of the community about the screening of the PKI G30S film (Ramalan, 2017); (10) October, the inauguration of the elected DKI Jakarta Governor-Deputy Governor; (11) November, on November 14, the court sentenced Buni Yani to 1 year and 6 months imprisonment for editing and distributing videos of Ahok's speech which insulted Islam; (12) December, Rizieq's speech recording – which was still in Saudi Arabia - was played in the middle of tens of thousands of Muslims attending religious services in Jakarta. Rizieq, among others, boasted the effect of 212 actions (Moslem demonstrations) on the results of the elections won by Anies Baswedan who also attended the event.

The dynamics of local politics is the basis for the authors to explain the existence of persecution and non-execution. To make it easier to understand, the author takes two cases of dangerous dictions aimed at humiliating and insulting the object being targeted, then relates them to their context, as shown in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2. Dangerous Speech Triggering Persecution in the Year 2017

Utterance Diction	Utterance Object	Contextuality		
		Space	Time	Context
Obscene cleric, salacious	Habib Rizieq	Facebook	21/5/2017	Investigating the 'sordid chat' case against Habib Rizieq
auwoo (Tarzan voice) Akbar (instead of Allahu Akbar), topsy-turvy (prostration position) when praying	Moslems	Instagram	20/3/2017	The rise of religious activities of Islamic organizations in Indonesia

In the case of the dangerous speech dictions directed against the religious leader Habib Rizieq, the difference lies in the 'time' and 'context'. In Table 2, a dangerous utterance was uploaded on May 21, 2017 when Rizieq was investigated by the police as a suspect in the 'chat nasty' case followed by his departure to Saudi Arabia and remained there until 2019. The uploaders of dangerous utterances against Rizieq was then executed by a group of people from a mass organization because they were deemed insulting the clerics who received the title of 'high priest' with followers of millions of Moslems in Indonesia. Dangerous words with salacious and obscene habib dictions can be interpreted as utterances that damage Rizieq's personal integrity as a great cleric. Looking at its 'time' and 'context', the dangerous narration was posted to the public space at a time when the police were investigating and when Rizieq went to Saudi Arabia which was considered public as an 'escape' from legal liability.

Table 3. Dangerous Utterances Not Triggering Persecution (Non–Persecution)

Utterance Diction	Utterance Object	Contextuality		
		Space	Time	Context
dogs, communist in religious mask, extremist	Habib Rizieq	Facebook	14/6/ 2017	process of electing the governor of DKI Jakarta
Total infidel country, useless praying, going Hajj and fasting (shaum)	Moslems	Youtube	6/6/2017	The Policy and Condition of Religiousness

Whereas in Table 3, with a choice of dangerous words uploaded in the same virtual space about a month later, June 14, 2017, dangerous utterances directed against Habib Rizieq – such as dogs, religious masks, extremists - did not cause violent reactions in physical space. The dangerous sentence was uploaded in the 'context' of various public activities related to local political contestation, which was the process of electing the governor of DKI Jakarta. In the political activity, some Moslems rejected Ahok, one of the candidates, because he is not a Moslem and comes from Chinese ethnic. One of the

rejections of Ahok by Moslems is commanded by Rizieq. Even though Rizieq was the object of dangerous speech in social media, the context here was not personal, but it was a case that had become a common issue.

There is also a case of dangerous speech aimed at Moslems, though Islam is the religion that is embraced by the majority of Indonesian people. In Table 2 (persecution), dangerous utterances used the Instagram social space, uploaded on March 20, 2017, in the context of the rampant religious activities of Islamic organizations – however, it cannot be separated from the atmosphere of the commencement of the Jakarta governor election process where one of the candidates is non-Moslem and from Chinese ethnic. Meanwhile, in the context of religious conditions (Islam) in general on YouTube social media video audio – even though the 'time' of dangerous diction uploading was carried out on June 6, 2017 – was the absence of persecution factor.

Looking at the two exemplary cases in Table 2 and Table 3, it can be concluded that 'time' and 'context' are the determining factors for the presence or absence of persecution actions against the dangerous speech postings. The social reaction of agents in interpreting dangerous utterances depends on the time traffic in the social media space that can be repetitive, and also depends on events that encourage agents to post utterances. In addition to the 'time' and 'context' factors, the presence or absence of persecution is also influenced by the 'geographical space' in physical space, i.e. the physical existence of the subject of dangerous narrative uploaders, because physical distance can contribute to the occurrence of persecution.

Conclusion

Sosmed in the post-truth area has become an 'agent of power', agents for dominating truth and submission. The gap between virtual space and real space – like Jaishankar's seven postulates (2008) – and the individual power that each agent has, makes the social media discourse filled with a battle of perceptions about the meaning of truth. This makes many agents fall into violent behavior in discourse. They produce dangerous narratives in social media, causing a reaction of symbolic violence and violence in physical space. However, not all dangerous speech in social media result in physical violence in the form of acts of persecution. There is a contextual relationship factor between agents regarding 'space', 'time' and 'context' when the dangerous utterances are uploaded on social media. The contextuality referred to is the election political content that uses the politics of religious identity. The politics of religious identity has led to the widespread of SARA issues, whether related to religion, ethnicity or class. SARA issues that are so prevalent in the social media space have resulted in public polarization, both between those of different religions and those of the same religion and class. Discourse war about the truth of each party has triggered symbolic violence in cyberspace and physical violence in real space.

Acknowledgements

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