

Racism Toward Chinese Ethnic Group in Indonesian Social Media: Hate Speeches Analysis from Forensic Linguistic Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Anti-Chinese sentiments are still deeply ingrained in the Indonesian public discourse. The issue of their identity and position triggers to many discriminatory actions toward them. The purpose of this study is to analyze hate speech against Chinese ethnic group expressed in Indonesian social media which has officially evaluated as a legal offense by the authorities. The theories of speech acts from Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) for a forensic linguistic study are employed to examine the hate speech as utterances and evaluate them in the context of Indonesian legal regulations. The data were obtained from Direktori Putusan Mahkamah Agung from 2019 - 2021. The results of the analysis reveal that hate speech portrays hurtful feelings and harmful attitudes. It is reflected by malice (expressive speech act), insult, or accuse (assertive speech act), persuasions so that others commit crimes (directive speech act), and crime plans in the future (commissive speech act). Then, there are ten forms of pejorative labels for the Chinese ethnic group. Race-based hate speeches expressed in the online media are prohibited according to Article 28 paragraph (2) of The ITE Law Article Number 19 of 2016. They are prejudiced action, violate human rights and cannot be considered as freedom of opinion and democracy because of their dangerous perlocutionary effects. The effects can provoke discriminatory action and even crime.

Keywords: *anti-Chinese, chinese ethnic group forensic linguistics, hate speech, racism.*

1. Introduction

This study aims to investigate hate speeches toward Chinese ethnic group in selected Indonesian social media that have been officially judged as criminal actions by the authorities from the perspective of forensic linguistic study. It is motivated by the result

of a study by Center for Strategic and International Studies in Indonesia by Suryahudaya (2022) that Chinese ethnic group is an Indonesia minority group that gains the most negative sentiments and racial attitudes in Indonesia.

According to Ibrahim (2013), Chinese ethnic group is a group of

people who have genealogical and ancestral relationship with the people who come from the People's Republic of China. The identity 'Chinese Indonesians' or '*Chindos*' is labelled to distinguish them from the indigenous population of Indonesians. Two common ways of identification are the *totok* aspect, which are identified from their Chinese originality and retained a strong Chinese identity, and *peranakan* aspect, which is identified from their mixture with the local cultures.

Based on Suryaningtyas & Weningtyastuti (2018)'s study, various stereotypes and negative prejudices toward this ethnic have been long-ingrained in the Indonesian public discourse because they do not yet possess a common and acceptable understanding of how to position Chinese ethnic group's identity and contribution in the social, cultural, political and economic domains of Indonesia. As stated by Effendi, (2018) and Suryadinata (2010), the limitation of cultural

expression and identity is the root of the problem that broaden the impacts to the other aspects. Pertiwi (2021) highlights that the New Order regime is the darkest and heartless period for the Tionghoa group because of the government's discriminatory policies such as cultural assimilation that had restricted their rights.

Chinese ethnic group is mostly studied from the fields of social and political science and communication (Ibrahim, 2013; Kristiono, 2018) The result of the preliminary observation demonstrates that hate speeches toward this group can be found massively in the online social media comments, expressing strong hate without considering the ITE criminal law on hate speech.

Huge challenges of technology development is the emergence of hate speeches in which they massively proliferate on social media over the past years (Poletto et al., 2021). They are harmful

language because there are threats toward discriminatory individual or group involving offensive and negative statements (Bilewicz & Soral, 2020).

The authority of the polices to handle the case of hate speech in Indonesia are administered by *Surat Edaran Kapolri Nomor: SE/6/X/2015* (POLRI, 2015). It manages the definition and forms of hate speech, categories of hate speech, media for delivering hate speech and its harmful impacts. From the regulation, it is quoted that, “hate speech can be considered as criminal acts in the form of insults, defamation, blasphemy, unpleasant attitude, provoking, inciting, and spreading hoax news. Those might result in acts of discrimination, violence, loss of life, and/or social conflict. The aims of hate speech are to incite hatred against individuals and/or community groups in various communities distinguished from aspects: ethnicity, religion, religious sect, belief/belief, race, inter-group, skin color, gender,

disabilities, sexual orientation. Hate speeches are delivered in various media, like speeches for campaign, banners, pamphlets, social media, demonstrations, religious lectures and print or electronic mass media”

Law no. 11 of 2008 which was revised into Law no. 19 of 2016 concerning Information and Electronic Transactions regulates how hate speech is conveyed on social media networks in Article 28 paragraph (2): “*Setiap orang dengan sengaja dan tanpa hak menyebarkan informasi yang ditujukan untuk menimbulkan kebencian atau permusuhan individu dan/atau kelompok masyarakat tertentu berdasarkan suku, agama, ras dan antargolongan (SARA)*”. Then, article 45 paragraph (2) stipulates the threat of punishment, “*Setiap Orang yang dengan sengaja dan tanpa hak menyebarkan informasi yang ditujukan untuk menimbulkan rasa kebencian atau permusuhan individu dan/atau kelompok masyarakat tertentu berdasarkan*

atas suku, agama, ras, dan antargolongan (SARA) sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 28 ayat (2) dipidana dengan pidana penjara paling lama 6 (enam) tahun dan/atau denda paling banyak Rp 1 miliar”

Based on the reviews above, this study assists to enrich the research on hate speech and present the use of racist language on social media toward Chinese ethnic group . This research is motivated by previous hate speech studies such as Ononye and Nwachukwu (2019), Castaño-Pulgarín et al. (2021), Syahid et al. (2022a, 2022b), Thamrin et al. (2019)

In the perspective of pragmatics, this study supports that the speakers do not only produce an utterance consisting of a series of words and are grammatically structured, but also contain actions in their speech. It is called speech acts, which are interpreted contextually and fulfill the conditions of felicity so that they can describe the speaker's

intentions. Speech acts was initiated by Austin (1962) and developed by Searle, (1969), which are divided into (1) locutionary (basic speech acts whose lexical meaning comes from the language units), (2) illocutionary (speech acts that contain certain goals in the speaker's mind that are not reflected in the speech) and, (3) perlocutionary (the effects of illocutionary speech acts that can be captured by the mind of the speech partner). The types of illocutionary speech acts are declaration, assertive, commissive, directive, expressive (Yule, 1996). Thus, the formulation of this research problem is:

- (1) Are there any forms of labeling or marking for the Chinese ethnic group that have hate speech?
- (2) How is the analysis of illocutionary speech acts in hate speech against Chinese ethnic groups?
- (3) How is the analysis of perlocutionary speech acts contained in hate speech

against Chinese ethnic groups that can have an impact on criminal law?

2. Research Method

This study was designed as a qualitative method since the purpose is to conduct in-depth examination of the hate speech toward the Chinese ethnic group on social media that has legal implications. The source of the data is the official site of *Direktori Putusan Mahkamah Agung*

Indonesia

(<https://cepatan3.mahkamahagung.go.id/>). The keywords are using 'hate speech', 'ITE'. The selected data are cases with verdicts in 2019 - 2021 which have been legalized as cases of hate speech at the first level. There are there are 17 cases of hate speech on social media, listed in Table 1, that directly or indirectly involve Chinese ethnic group . The name of the defendant is blurred by initialization.

Table 1: List of Cases

No	Decision Number	Source	No	Nomor Putusan	Source
1	98/Pid.Sus/2021/PN.Pgp	Instagram	10	109/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Tjp	Facebook
2	127/Pid.Sus/2021/PN.Bks	Twitter	11	122/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Pal.	Facebook
3	564/Pid.Sus/2021/PN.Sm	Facebook	12	182/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Sng	Facebook
4	121/Pid.Sus/2020/PN.Plk	Facebook	13	309/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Plk.	Facebook
5	413/Pid.Sus/2020/PN.Sgl	Facebook	14	322/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Cbi.	Facebook
6	422/Pid.Sus/2020/PN.Bks	Facebook	15	482/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Mlg	Instagram
7	565/Pid.Sus/2020/PN.Bdg	Facebook	16	834/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Ptk	Instagram
8	77/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Bkt	Facebook	17	914/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Jkt.Pst	Whatsapp
9	109/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Cbn	Facebook			

3. Discussion and Result

Pejorative Labels Toward Chinese ethnic group

The analysis shows that there are 10 forms of pejorative meaningful labels that can reflect anti-Chinese sentiments as listed in Table 2.

According to Technau (2018), these labels which is usually stated briefly in the form words or phrases are considered as racism because they can reflect the xenophobia of the speaker towards certain groups.

Table 2: Pejorative Labels Toward Chinese ethnic group

No	Pejorative Labels	Target	Total
1	<i>Cina / China</i>	General people / government	32
2	<i>Cina komunis / Komunis Cina</i>	Government	2
3	<i>Anjing (makian)</i>	General people	1
4	<i>Babi (makian)</i>	General people	1
5	<i>Aseng</i>	General people	1
6	<i>Bajingan keranjang (makian)</i>	General people	1
7	<i>Cukong</i>	Chinese-related Companies	1
8	<i>IndoChina</i>	General people	1
9	<i>Orang Kafir</i>	General people	1
10	<i>Tirani</i>	Government	1
Total			42

“sial ge asuk cina ni ok, jukir to urg saru gale dipersulit e urg Yaa ALLAH pak... ikak manusie ap babi nya, dk de aben hati nurani e urang to nyarik makan, ukan nyarik kayo”
(Data 1: 98/Pid.Sus/2021/PN Pgp)

“Kalau Cinta kepada Indonesia, sudah seharusnya mulai berpikiran untuk menyelamatkan negeri dari boneka aseng seperti Jokowi, penjual negeri model LBP, dan pembuat utang seperti SMI, gunakan akal sehatmu sobat”

(Data 2: 127/Pid.Sus/2021/PN Bks)

The word 'cina' in Data 1 is often used by the Indonesians and still deep-rooted in the public discourse, even though the prohibition has been regulated in Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2014. The word 'cina' is a form of discrimination in the social interactions (Gatra, 2014). In

addition, the identity crisis through the label 'aseng' in Data 2 means 'foreign (people)' which illustrates their position as a minority group. In fact, they have been officially recognized as Indonesian citizens in Law no. 12 of 2006 concerning Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia.

...Tirani Minoritas Cuman di Indonesia Ada orang Kafir (Cina) Berani larang Syariat islam di TV Berani larang Poligami Di depan Publik Tanpa kwatir Akan ditangkap. (Data 16: 834/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Ptk)

"... Nanti aksi turun kejalan perhatikan brimob2 yang pakai pakaian hitam, bukan semua orang Indonesia tapi IndoCina"
(Data 4: 121/Pid.Sus/2020/PN Plk)

If a religious conflict arises, the word 'kafir' in Data 16 is attached as a marker of 'enemy of Islam', even though the meaning of 'kafir' does not have any negative connotation, referring to non-Muslim individuals or groups. Another bias prejudiced attitude is disinformation on the word 'indochina' in Data 4 which show provocative narrative. It reflects 'a

fusion country between Indonesia and China' which is incorrectly judged as it refers to 'a group of countries in the Southeast Asian peninsula'.

"...Gimana Cukong Makin Gampang Investasi Dan Cuan Gede. Gmana WNA Tiongkok Dapat Kepastian Hukum Bisa Bekerja Dengan Aman Dan Santai..."
(Data 16: 834/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Ptk)

The negative connotation of the word 'cukong' in Data 16 for Chinese entrepreneurs are deeply ingrained by the Indonesians due to their greedy action during the New Order era as they enriched themselves and harmed indigenous entrepreneurs (Djunatan & Setiawan, 2013). This negative stereotype continues since the public still assume that both Chinese businessmen in the past and in the current time are money-oriented people (Pertiwi, 2021).

"Jangan salahkan rakyat akan bergerak klu cara cina komunis kau paksakan pada rakyat n mesjid kami..."
(Data 10: 109/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Tjp).

"Hanya Di Indonesia..Non Islam (Minoritas) Berani Ngomong Syariat

*Agama Islam...???? Tirani Minoritas
Cuman di Indonesia...”*

(Data 16: 834/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Ptk)

The choice of the words 'komunis cina' in Data 10 and 'tirani' in Data 16 are concerned with to the ideology and government system of the People's Republic of China which is different from the ideology of Pancasila and the Indonesian democratic government. These words are utilized to exclude their Indonesian citizenship.

At last, there are swearing foms with the animal name 'anjing' (dog), 'babi' (pig) which demeans a person and 'bajingan keranjingan' which means 'criminal who likes to do evil'.

Hate Speeches Toward Chinese ethnic group

Based on the data analysis about the hate speeches toward Chinese ethnic group hate Speeches are expressed by the use of four types of speech acts.

Tabel 3: Speech Acts of Hate Speeches

Speech Acts	Total
Asertif	18
Direktif	7
Komisif	9
Ekspresif	11
Total	45

1. Hate speeches which employ assertive illocutionary act express accusation and insult toward Chinese ethnic group .
2. Hate speeches which employ expressive illocutionary act demonstrate strong resentment toward Chinese ethnic group .
3. Hate speeches which use directive illocutionary act urge to commit crime toward Chinese ethnic group .
4. Hate speeches which employ commisive illocutionary act inivite the others to commit crime in the future toward Chinese ethnic group .

Syahid, Sudana and Bachari (2022) states that these various types of communicative functions do not appear explicitly in their

grammatical form of the sentence, but are interpreted contextually. They appear on ideological, political, government, economic, citizenship, employment, religious, health and social issues.

According to Yule (1996), assertive illocutionary acts are speech acts that involve speakers in the truth of the propositions contained in the speech. In Mey's opinion (2001), this type of speech act reflects the speaker's beliefs about how s/he represents her/his world and how they value the propositions in terms of 'true' or 'false'.

Based on the observation, hate speeches using assertive illocutionary acts involve highly subjective propositions from the speakers without presenting evidence so that the validity of the information is doubtful. So, the utterances seem to be expressed as questionable accusations.

“Vaksin dari China sudah datang. Ngeri kalo ingat Made in China itu selalu palsu... Ratusan TKA asal China tiba di Batam, ribuan calon

tenaga kerja di Indonesia mati harapan. Ironi Negeri... Dokter dari China bakal masuk ke NKRI disambut karpet merah layaknya TKA asal China NKRI?”

(Data 2: No.127/Pid.Sus/2021/PN Bks)

In Data 2, the speaker (DW) states several groundless propositions to the government, such as claiming the forgery of Sinovac vaccine, the presence of Chinese foreign workers in Batam, preferential treatment for medical teams from China, and giving negative assessments to the Indonesia president and his ministers because of their powerlessness as puppets of China. These statements have been indicated as hate speech law because the speaker states his false and unreliable accusations toward directed to Chinese ethnic group .

“Jangan salahkan rakyat akan bergerak klu cara cina komunis kau paksakan pada rakyat n mesjid kami acara kami dr siang sampai jam 9 mlm aman-aman saja... PERHATIKAN MATA WARNA KULIT, RAMBUT ADAKAH YANG ANEH!? PERCAYAKAH ANDA BAHWA MEREKA BRIMOB LOKAL!!!???”

(Data 10: 109/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Tjp).

“BRIMBOB POLRI sudah dikuasai china!!.... *KETANGKEP POLISI CHINA OLEH KOPASSUS*, pelindung rakyat sudah mulai turun kejalan jalan...* ALLOHUAKBAR!!!”

(Data 4: No.121/Pid.Sus/2020/PN.Plk)

Similarly, it happens in Data 10 where the speaker (SP) claims that the government is carrying out Communism to Indonesia, and alleges that *Brimob (The Mobile Brigade of Indonesian Corps)* has been infiltrated by this ethnic group. Then, Data 16 is an accusation of the power of China and its citizens in the economic, labor and political fields of Indonesia. On the other hand, Data 4 contains the proposition of accusations against the control of *Brimob* and the National Police by China.

“Tau kau acun dulu ada orang singkek dibawa ke Bangka Indonesia maksudku, terus Megawati dan Gusdur jadi presidennya akhirnya Singke atau Cina – Cina yang ada di Indonesia berusaha meminta supaya diakui menjadi warga Negara Indonesia..”

(Data 5: 413/Pid.Sus/2020/PN Sgl)

“BUAT APA KITA PUNYA WALI NAGARI...KAN...BAMUS...KETUA PEMUDA..BANK BPR LPN MAGEK DIJUAL KE ORANG CINO MEREKA DIAM SAJA”

(Data 8: 77/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Bkt)

“itulah saya ...ketika kaum saya...saudara saya dimatikan dengan cara seperti itu siapa yang terima...mana FPI...mana para mujahidin...”

(Data 9: 109/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Cbn)

Then, the speakers convey their feelings through expressive speech acts. In Data 5, the speaker (AR) shows his anger over the inclusion of Chinese ethnic groups Indonesian citizens. In Data 8, the speaker (DS) is extremely furious with an Tionghoa person who had sold the assets of a regional bank. In addition, the speaker (DSR) in Data 9 feels hatred toward Chinese ethnic group and accuse them as the cause of the deaths of Muslims in New Zealand. Therefore, these examples reflect the psychological condition and feelings of speakers towards Chinese ethnic group . Hate and dislike can be surely perceived in the speakers' utterances.

“Gaaas,,utamakan cina, Nu aya budak parawan (ayo,, utamakan cina, yang memiliki anak perawan)”
(Data 7: 565/Pid.Sus/2020/PN Bdg)

“Bengi kien operasi yuk luru cina atau wong kristen...mateni wani beli... hayooooo malam ini kita operasi cina kristen dan yahudi..”

(Data 9: 109/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Cbn)
“buktikan bahwa kalian tidak mau dibudakin Cina..bakar skalian cina nya” (Data 17: 914/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Jkt.Pst)

Then, there are hate speeches that contain explicit directive speech acts with the marker 'gasss' (Data 7) 'yuk', 'hayooo' (Data 9). According to Mey (2001) or Yule (1996), directive illocutionary acts encourage the readers to commit an action according to the direction of the speaker. This speech act is dangerous because it can involve provocative actions. In Data 7, the speaker (RA) invites his colleagues to carry out looting actions and look for virgin daughters of Tionghoa group. Data 9 and Data 17 are full of utterances of orders for murder and incitement to reject the slavery by Tionghoa group.

“Gaaas,,utamakan cina, Nu aya budak parawan (ayo,, utamakan cina, yang memiliki anak perawan)”
(Data 7: 565/Pid.Sus/2020/PN Bdg)

“Bengi kien operasi yuk luru cina atau wong kristen...mateni wani beli” (Juni Bin Ibrahim...Mul Yadi.....Malam ini operasi yuk, cari cina atau orang kristen....bunuh berani tidak”

(Data 9: 109/Pid.Sus/2019/PN Cbn)

“...Kami tahu kehadiran dan penyusunan Polisi RRC dan Tentara RRC di NKRI termasuk Landingnya Kapal Perang RRC di Surabaya. Kami mengingatkan Putra Putri terbaik Bangsa NKRI untuk bangun dari tidurnya...”

(Data 12: 182/Pid.Sus/2019/PN.Sng).

At last, commissive illocutionary acts reflect the speaker's promise about an action that will occur in the future (Yule, 1996). The dominance of using commissive acts in the hate speech is the speaker's threat to this ethnic group about the possibility to commit acts with malicious intent (Data 7), murder (Data 9), arrests of Chinese individuals (Data 16), treason for their infiltration into the police institution and *brimob* (Data 12).

The Perlocutionary Effect of Hate Speeches and Their Legal Implications Based on ITE Law.

Based on the careful observation of the data, hate speeches are hurtful and harmful when they are perceived from the perception of the readers or targets (Carney, 2014). They have mixed feelings between sadness and anger because they have been hurt emotionally and fear of threats (Vangelisti, 2007). This type of speech can also be categorized as highly excessive and extreme forms of aggravated impoliteness from their perlocutionary effect (Culpeper, 2021).

The study of pragmatics always views utterances as ‘action-oriented language’ (language is the act of doing something). They encourage the perlocutionary effect to do something (Yule, 1996). The reporting occurred by the informer occur due to the perlocutionary effect of the utterance, causing

injury to the target (Chinese ethnic group). Other perlocutionary effects that can be interpreted and understood by the readers are diverse and dangerous for the targets because they usually consist of acts of humiliation, exclusion and provocation (Castaño-Pulgarín et al., 2021).

Additionally, hatred toward Chinese ethnic group also involve the other parties such as the government, the businessman, the National Police Agency and *Brimob*. This indicates that there is an attempt to divide the Indonesians by presenting Chinese ethnic groups as a threat to the nation. These threats are triggering why hate speech on social media becomes a dangerous cybercrime because of its wide and uncontrolled dissemination. The examples of perlocutionary effects that are embedded in hate speech as listed in Table 4 acts are:

Table 4: Perlocutionary Effects in The Hate Speech

No	Decision Number	Data	Perlocutionary Effects
1	98/Pid.Sus/2021/P N Pgp.	<i>“sial ge asuk cina ni ok, jukir to urg saro gale dipersulit e urg Yaa AllAH pak... ikak manusié ap babi</i>	Expressive illocutionary acts: insults for being cursed at by the words 'dogs, pigs'

		<i>nya, dk de aben hati nurani e urang to nyarik makan, ukan nyarik kayo”</i>	and provokes hostility and hatred toward Chinese ethnic group
2	127/Pid.Sus/2021/ PN Bks.	<i>“Vaksin dari China sudah datang. Ngeri kalo ingat Made in China itu selalu palsu. Dari mainan sampai emas batangan. Sekarang vaksin?”</i>	Assertive illocutionary acts: disseminate misinformation and provokes hostility and hatred toward Chinese ethnic group as the origin of Sinovac vaccines.
		<i>Ratusan TKA asal China tiba di Batam, ribuan calon tenaga kerja di Indonesia mati harapan. Ironi Negeri”</i>	Assertive and expressive illocutionary acts: disseminate misinformation, provokes hostility and hatred toward Tiongkok and not trusting the government.
		<i>“Dokter dari China bakal masuk ke NKRI disambut karpet merah layaknya TKA asal China NKRI? Memang masih ada? Kok bisanya diinjak-injak oleh satu orang berinisial LBP #bangsatbangsa</i>	Assertive illocutionary act disseminate misinformation, provokes hostility and hatred toward Chinese ethnic group
		<i>“Kalau Cinta kepada Indonesia, sudah seharusnya mulai berpikiran untuk selamatkan negeri dari boneka asing seperti Jokowi, penjual negeri model LBP, dan pembuat utang seperti SMI, gunakan akal sehatmu sobat”</i>	Assertive and directive illocutionary acts disseminate misinformation. provoke hostility, hatred and criminal action toward Chinese ethnic group
3	564/Pid.Sus/2021/ PN Smg	<i>“Cina satu bajingan keranjingan bikin geger semarang, korbanmu tuwa2 renta tak berdaya, pengacara dan kliennya laknat.</i>	Expressive illocutionary act provokes hostility and hatred toward Chinese ethnic group as the origin of Sinovac vaccines.
4	109/Pid.Sus/2019/ PN Cbn	<i>“Bengi kien operasi yuk lurus cina atau wong kristen...mateni wani beli” (Juni Bin Ibrahim...Mul Yadi.....Malam ini operasi yuk, cari cina atau orang kristen...bunuh berani tidak)”</i> <i>“pada bae kang penting wong cina apa kristen..ning kana bisa gawe geger napa ning beli bisa....wani beli...Perhatian Buat Kaum Cina Kristen Yahudi kalian siap2...” (Juni Bin Ibrahim sama saja yang penting orang cina apa kristen..di sana bisa buat geger kenapa disini tidak bisa....berani tidak....Perhatian Buat Kaum Cina Kristen Yahudi kalian siap-siap”</i> <i>“itulah saya ...ketika kaum saya....saudara saya dimatikan dengan cara seperti itu siapa yang terima...mana FPI...mana para</i>	Directive and commissive illocutionary acts provoke hostility and hatred toward Chinese ethnic group and provoke the readers to join the criminal action toward Chinese ethnic group .

		<i>mujahidin...hayooooo malam ini kita operasi cina kristen dan yahudi).</i>	
5	122/Pid.Sus/2019/ PN Pal.	<i>“tenaga kerja lokal bentrok dgn security alias anjing penjaga PT.IMIP diperusahaan tambang nikel morowali sulawesi tengah.. klo pemerintah tdk serius menyelesaikan tuntutan UMSK 20% tenaga kerja lokal maka keberadaan TKA cina menjadi ancaman titik api revolusi ..jgn lagi kalian bilang hoaks</i>	Directive and commissive illocutionary acts provoke hostility and hatred toward Chinese ethnic group because they are accused as nation threat, planning for crime in the future
6	482/Pid.Sus/2019/ PN Mlg.	<i>Yang punya modal cina, yang bangun proyek cina, yang kerja cina, yang dapat untung cina yang bangga cebong</i>	Expressive illocutionary act provoke hostility and hatred toward Tionghoa and not trusting the government.
7	914/Pid.Sus/2019/ PN Jkt. Pst	<i>“buktikan bahwa kalian tidak mau dibudakin Cina”.</i> <i>“bakar skalian cina nya”</i>	Directive illocutionary act provoke the readers to join the criminal action toward Chinese ethnic group .
8	309/Pid.Sus/2019/ PN Plk.	<i>“Polisi dagelan anak cina ancam tembak Jokowi dibebaskan dengan dalih lucu-lucuan anak pribumi ancam penggal Jokowi langsung tangkap dan diancam hukuman mati selamat datang di negri bagian RRC yang bernama Indonesia</i>	Assertive and expressive illocutionary acts: disseminate misinformation, provokes hostility and hatred toward Tionghoa and not trusting the government and police agency
9	182/Pid.Sus/20 19/PN Sng.	<i>“TNI jangan diam saja. Ratusan tentara Cina berbaju Brimob telah mengepung NKRI dan masuk Jakarta dan membinasakan Rakyat NKRI. TNI berhak menolak perintah Presiden sesuai Undang-Undang TNI dan Sumpah Prajurit dan Sapta marga. Ingat kalian dilahirkan. Dibesarkan. Dan kembali Pda Rakyat. Kami tidak buta dan tidak tuli. Kami tahu kehadiran dan penyusupan Polisi RRC dan Tentara RRC di NKRI termasuk Landingnya Kapal Perang RRC di Surabaya. Kami mengingatkan Putra Putri terbaik Bangsa NKRI untuk bangun dari tidurnya.”</i>	Assertive and commissive illocutionary acts: disseminate misinformation, provokes hostility and hatred toward Tionghoa and not trusting the government and police agency provoke the readers (young generations) to join the revolution against Chinese ethnic group .

Based on the observation of the data, hate speeches are categorized as an act and attitude of disseminating information containing blasphemy and fulfill the criminal point in Article 28 (2) of Law No.19 of 2016. It has been proven that there has been conscious and planned intention to write and disseminate information or subjective and bias prejudices on social media to individuals or groups based on group membership from ethnicity, religion, race or between groups – in this case, toward Tionghoa race.

Anam and Hafiz (2015 in Widayati, 2018) explain that hate speeches are not a form of freedom of opinion because there are efforts to promote hostility and hatred to the public and encourage hateful views and acts of hurting and injuring other parties. While they can be expressed by verbally, visually or symbolically (Nielsen, 2002 in Paz et al., 2020), the natures of hate speeches may involve these attitudes such as threatening, aggressive, abusive, insulting (Howard, 2019; Watanabe et al.,

2018) disapproval and humiliation (Jassim & Ahmed, 2021)

4. CONCLUSION

The State Unitary Republic of Indonesia has highlight supported the plurality and pluralism of this nation through the national motto, inscribed in the National emblem of Indonesia, the Garuda Pancasila, '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' or 'Unity in Diversity'. However, the spirit of this unity is disrupted by the massive presence of race-based hate speeches toward Chinese ethnic group . The results of the analysis demonstrate that four types of illocutionary speech acts contain the hatred, exclusion, insult, accusation, provocations and the form of labeling is pejorative.

The dissemination of hate speeches on social media is extremely worrisome because of its harmful nature. Therefore, the speakers need to be wise and careful in uttering information on social media in order to avoid criminal law offenses in Law no. 19 of 2016 concerning ITE. Importantly, there is high responsibility to create the equality of identity and rights for Chinese ethnic group.

Acknowledgement

This research was supported by Centre for Education Financial Service (*Pusat Layanan Pembiayaan Pendidikan / Puslapdik*) from The Ministry of Education, Research, Culture and Technology. Then, I thank Dr. Andhika Dutha Bachari, as the lecturer of Linguistic Forensic course in Postgraduate School, Indonesia University of Education, for comments that greatly improved the manuscript.

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Legal Regulations:

- Undang-Undang No. 19 Tahun 2016 tentang Informasi dan Transaksi Elektronik
- Undang-Undang No. 12 Tahun 2006 tentang Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia.
- Keputusan Presiden No.12 Tahun 2014 tentang Pencabutan Surat Edaran Presidium Kabinet Ampera Nomor SE-06/Pred.Kab/6/1967

- Surat Edaran Kapolri Nomor:
SE/6/X/2015

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