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Hate Speech Propaganda from and against Muslims in Facebook Posts

Clara Herlina Karjo¹ & Andreas Ng²
Bina Nusantara University, Jakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

Facebook is often used to spread hate speech against others, especially to people outside their group. In western countries, Muslim people often become the targets of hate. Conversely, in Muslim populated countries, the target of hate might vary. This research focused on studying the agitation propaganda through the use of hate speech from and against Muslims which are expressed in their Facebook pages. The data were taken from 40 posts from 4 Facebook pages; two pages were from Anti-Muslim Groups in the UK and the USA, while the other two were taken from Individual Muslims in Indonesia. These posts were analyzed quantitatively by applying theories of hate speech, propaganda, and social identity theory. The results revealed that groups from western countries (the US and the UK) considered Muslims dangerous and criminals. Contrariwise, hate groups from Indonesia targeted the government and their out-group as their enemy. However, both groups had the same conception and strategy to give their readers protection against the out-group through labeling the out-group as a threat. This study implied that people are bound by their own principles as part of their group and unwilling to develop understanding towards others.

Keywords: Facebook, agitation propaganda, hate speech, Muslim, anti-Muslim.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, with the development of the internet, the boundary between people is thinner than usual. The internet also gave rise to the invention of social media, through which people from all over the world can communicate. The communication ensued by social media enables people to interact with one another even though the physical realm of one person is far apart from the others. Therefore, social media leads to open communication between people from one country to another.

Social media do not only allow people to communicate beyond the physical boundary but also to create and spread information or ideology in a blink of an eye. One of the most popular social media used by people around the world is Facebook. Clement (2020) claims that Facebook was the first social network to surpass 1 billion registered accounts

¹ Bina Nusantara University, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Email: claraherlina@yahoo.com

² Bina Nusantara University, Jakarta, Indonesia. Email: andreas_1196@live.com

and has almost 2.5 billion monthly active users. Facebook, which started in the USA in 2006, was founded to be a social media platform in which people can disseminate their knowledge, share their ideas and news, and interact with their friends or families. However, certain well-known people who claim to be “good people” may also use Facebook to promote intolerance and inequality by spreading hate (Tsesis, 2001). Facebook was used for spreading hate as it can create an online vacuum and platform for people using hate as a means to appeal to a wider audience even by covering under anonymity (Citron, 2014). Similarly, Awan (2016) maintains that these propagators of hate speech rally people with their agenda through social media. Through social media, people may be able to find like-minded others in an online community that reinforces and potentially justifies their ideas. As a result, social media can provide an opportunity for people’s prejudices to rise to the surface and serve as media to vent their anger and frustrations.

However, Facebook itself has tried to curb the appearance of posts containing hate speech on its platform. In its terms of agreement, Facebook specifies that “content that attacks people based on their actual or perceived race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sex, gender, sexual orientation, disability or disease is not allowed” to be posted on their website (Allen, 2017). Thus, Facebook has the right to take down or eliminate user accounts that contain negative contents such as hate speech towards other people. Facebook defines hate speech as a direct attack on people based on protected characteristics – race, ethnicity, national origin, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, caste, sex, gender, gender identity, and serious disease of disability (Allen, 2017).

In literature, hate speech is defined as a bias-motivated, hostile malicious speech aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived characteristics. It expresses discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, antagonistic, and/or prejudicial attitudes toward those characteristics which include sex, race, religion, ethnicity, color, national origin, disability, or sexual orientation (Cohen-Almagor, 2014). Similarly, Feldman, Dack, & Copsy (2013) also define hate speech as any form of language used to depict a person or a group of people in a negative fashion in regards to their race, ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation or physical mental disability which promotes hate and incite violence. Nonetheless, hate speech is only expressed verbally without the need for direct violence towards the target of hate (Posselt, 2017).

Even without explicit violence, hate speech is intended to injure, dehumanize, harass, intimidate, debase, degrade and victimize the targeted groups and to foment insensitivity and brutality against the victims (Cohen-Almagor, 2014). Meanwhile, (Neshkovska & Trajkova, 2018) claim that hate speech bound to appear whenever someone feels the urge to demean and demonize those holding opposing views, as well as to persuade or rather manipulate other people into accepting and endorsing a particular ideology. These things also link into the convergence of emotional distress caused by hate online, and the prejudice that seeks to defame other people through speech.

Hate speech is usually created by one group of people towards the people outside their group. According to Social Identity Theory proposed by Tajfel & Turner (1979), a person’s concept of self comes from the groups to which that person belongs. When a person perceives themselves as part of a group, they called themselves the in-group, while those who do not identify with them are called the out-group. Douglas, McCarthy, Bliuc, & Lala (2005) explain that in the intergroup relation, they have to be adaptive towards the situations to compete against the out-group. Concerning online hate speech, the in-

groups tend to express their hatred indirectly by sharing news or opinions, not by directly threatening an attack on the target of hate. Therefore, the in-groups created hate posts to create conflict and incite readers to act against the out-groups. The main task of the in-groups is to politicize particular social differences (e.g. race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, gender), characterizing another group in negative and dehumanized terms (Neshkovska & Trajkova, 2018).

In the western world, Islam or the Muslim people have often been the target of hate speech in most Facebook pages. This type of online hate speech intensified following the key trigger events such as the Paris attacks in 2015 and the Brussels terrorists attack in 2016 (Awan & Zempi, 2015). In some European countries, where Muslim people are the minority, propagators of online hate speech often create Islamophobia, i.e. the fear, hatred of, or prejudice against, the Islamic religion or Muslims generally, especially when seen as a geopolitical force or the source of terrorism (Lee, Welker, & Odom, 2009). In his study of Islamophobic hate in the UK, (Awan, 2016) found five Facebook walls of hate that describe Muslims as terrorists, rapists, war-monger, security threats, and illegal immigrants. Similarly, in Italy and other European countries, Muslim immigrants and refugees were characterized as economic opportunists (Cerase & Santoro, 2018). Meanwhile, in Romania, Muslims were related to refugees, migrants, and stupidity (Mogos, Meza, & Vincze, 2019).

Muslim people became the targets of hate where they were minorities or migrants in the countries where they live. On the contrary, in the countries where Muslims are the majority, they are not being targeted. In Indonesia, for instance, where Muslim people are the majority (90 % of 265 million populations), the targets of hate vary. Some Muslims who produce hate speech on Facebook target the believers of other religions. For example, in Turkey, of which 90 % of its population are Muslims, the targets of hate are Jewish Christians (Arcan, 2013). Yet, to my knowledge, there has not been any study concerning the targets of online hate speech done by Muslim people in Indonesia.

Thus, this paper intends to discover the different patterns of hate posts created by anti-Muslim groups in the UK and the USA and the Muslim groups in Indonesia by comparing four Facebook pages that contain hate posts. We will compare the contents, purposes, and targets of hate posts created by Muslim people in Indonesia and anti-Muslim groups in the UK and the USA. The hate posts will further be categorized into the type of agitation propaganda as defined by Badar (2016) and explained using the theory of Social Identity Theory as proposed by Tajfel & Turner, (1979). The authors hope that this study will address the issue of hate speech in Muslim and non-Muslim countries to create mutual understanding and eliminate prejudice between Muslims and non-Muslims.

How is hate speech related to agitation propaganda? Posts containing hatred are created to incite anger or opposition toward the out-group. Propaganda on Facebook is used as a way to spread and influence the readers by using certain information, without allowing the readers an opportunity to rebut the idea. Instead of telling people the truth, propaganda aims at manipulation of ideas to influence the behavior of a large number of people (Dhani, Lee, & Fitch, 2015). Similarly, Neshkovska and Trajkova (2018) also mention that hate speech propaganda was done by preachers of hostility to convince the masses into accepting a particular ideology. In Oxford Dictionary, the word 'propaganda' is defined as a "systematic scheme or concerted movement, for the propagation of some creed or doctrine," meanwhile the word 'to agitate' means "to excite or stir it up". Thus,

an Agitation Propaganda is a systematic scheme for promoting a certain doctrine which aims to stir up hatred toward the out-group.

In other words, propaganda is information that is not objective and primarily used to influence an audience and further an agenda, often by presenting facts selectively to encourage a particular perception or using loaded language to produce an emotional rather than a rational response to the presented information. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines propaganda as "ideas, facts or allegations spread deliberately to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause." Propaganda works by instilling or creating hatred towards the target, from emphasizing the harm and danger of the target, attack from the target of hate, or through the problem caused by the target of hate (King, 2014).

There are a lot of techniques of propaganda. In the case of agitation propaganda, Badar (2016) mentions six common techniques of propaganda, which are *stereotyping and labeling*, *generalization*, *testimonial*, *bandwagon*, *repetition*, and *card stacking*. The discussion of each technique below is taken from Ellul (1973), Shabo (2008), and Hobbs & McGee (2016).

- **Stereotyping and labeling:** this technique attempts to arouse prejudice in an audience by labeling the object of the propaganda campaign as something the target audience fears, loathes, finds undesirable. The object of propaganda or the out-group is characterized by negative attributes and qualities. Name-calling can also be included in this technique. Direct name-calling or a direct attack on an opponent is used, especially in politics.
- **Generalization:** this technique uses abstract language, highly charged with emotion and cultural values are used because of its power. Such words "glitter" with high purpose and energy that can short circuit people to jump into conclusion. This technique employs a logical fallacy. For example, a politician often said that he is a patriot without specifying why he is a patriot. This implies the use of appealing words but does not give a concrete idea of what the words are about.
- **Testimonial:** this technique is familiar with advertising in which well-known celebrities or athletes tell us to buy a certain product. Relating to propaganda, this technique often involved testimonials from refugees who testify about the atrocities in their country, or a person who testify of being captive by terrorists, etc. In each case, we do not know whether the testimonials are reliable or not
- **Bandwagon:** This technique aims at persuading people to do a certain thing because other people are doing it. There is a proverb *Vox populi, vox Dei*, (the voice of people is the voice of God) i.e. everyone is in favor of our program, everybody is joining our bandwagon. Encouraging people to think or act in some way simply because other people are doing so. For example: "All your neighbors are going to the mall for year-end sale. You come too!"
- **Repetition:** This technique involves telling the same tale over and over again using similar language, examples, and references. This approach is used all the time in slogans and jingles.
- **Card Stacking:** This technique uses a distortion of data to convince the audience by using selected information and not presenting the complete story. In card stacking, information is manipulated and only the facts in favor of the propagandist are used.

From these six techniques, stereotyping or labeling is the most effective way of creating a vacuum and gathering the power of the population. For example, in Islam, there is a labeling of Western people as ‘crusaders. On the other hand, Western people often label Muslims as ‘terrorists’ (Awan, 2016). One famous sample of propaganda happened in Indonesia, in which the former Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (a.k.a. Ahok) was charged with blasphemy due to his speech in Pulau Seribu (Thousand Island) regarding the use of one verse of the Koran. The FPI (Islamic Supporter Frontier), a fundamentalist religious group in Indonesia, propagated people to attack Ahok through a series of demonstrations, in which they expressed their condemnation against his action (Detik News.com, April 20, 2017). There were several propaganda techniques employed by the FPI in this matter. First, card stacking was used by concealing some information. Their allegations were made based on an edited video of Ahok’s speech. Second, the labeling technique was used by naming Ahok as an insulter of Islam. Third, the bandwagon was also employed to rally the people to protest against Ahok and force the government to put him in jail for blasphemy.

Studies of hate propaganda against Muslim people as a group are prevalent around the world. For example, Hanzelka & Schmidt (2017) compared the anti-Muslim movement from the Czech (Czech initiative against Islam) and Germany (Pegida). They found out that both groups targeted the supporters of refugees and immigration, government, and the refugees and immigrant themselves. While Pegida mostly attacked the immigrants, the ‘Initiative against Islam’ mostly attacks the government for allowing the immigrants. The reaction from the supporter of the ‘Initiative’ movement might be the result of a lack of interactive experience with Muslim people, who were mostly immigrants in Europe.

The association of Muslims with immigrants was also studied by Ben-David & Matamoros-Fernandez (2016) in Spain. They found that the immigrants were stigmatized as Moroccans, Islamists, and criminals. In England, Awan (2016) also found some negative labeling of Muslims from hate group posts such as Muslims are terrorists, Muslims are rapists, the hijab was a threat (for bombing), and Muslims are doing war against ‘us’. Muslims in the UK often become the target of hate in social media from groups such as Britain First to gain their readers’ support and enhance the power of hatred towards the Muslims.

In general, whoever the targets are, hate speech can be categorized as a hate crime. Hate crime offenders are people that were motivated by individual hostility against the target of hate and attacked a certain person who had similarity or stereotype with the target of hate (Roberts, Innes, Williams, Tregidga, & Gadd, 2013). That means the offender tends to attack a person who belongs to the target group and the intention is to attack the entire group because of the connection between the victim and the target group. In other words, the offender attacks the target because the victim’s existence or action endangers the offender’s in-group (Tajfel, 1982).

The distinction between the out-group and the in-group is based on people’s self-concept of their social identity, which originally defined as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to a certain social group together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (Tajfel, 1972). In other words, social identity is a person’s sense of who they are based on their group membership (McLeod, 2008). Tajfel (1979) asserted that group membership was an important source of pride and self-esteem. People in the same group shared the same belief about their self-image. To enhance the self-image of the in-group (we), people often discriminate and hold

prejudiced views against the out-group (them). Hogg and Reid (2016) confirmed that Social Identity theory focused on prejudice, discrimination, conditions that will differentiate intergroup behavior.

Being members of the same group tend to develop prejudiced attitudes towards the others (the out-group). The obvious example of the in-group and out-group division is between Muslims and non-Muslims. In social media, particularly on Facebook, the prejudiced attitudes towards each group were expressed by writing hate speech on their pages.

2. METHOD

Since the purpose of this study was to compare hate speech from Muslims and anti-Muslims, we decided to get data from countries where Muslims are minorities such as the UK and the USA, and from Indonesia where Muslims constitute the majority of the population. By extensive searching, we found one page from the UK, namely *Ban Islam and Shariah Law* (BISL) and *Proud to be Kafir* (PK) from the USA. These two pages were chosen for their typically provocative posts. On the other hand, from Indonesia, we chose two Facebook pages, *Jonru Ginting* (JG) and *Saracen* (SRN). Among other hate groups, these two pages were the most notorious at the time the data were collected.

After deciding on the source of data, we collected ten (10) most prominent posts from each page, so the total amount of data was forty (40) posts. We categorized these data into 20 posts from anti-Muslim groups (from BISL and PK) and 20 posts from Muslim groups (JG and SRN).

Analysis of the data was done by classifying the posts into four different categories, i.e.: the topic of the post, the possible message of the post, the purpose of the post, and the technique of propaganda used. These four categories were then compared between the same groups and the opposition groups, and explained using the theory of Social Identity as proposed by Tajfel (1979).

Therefore, the research questions in this study included:

1. What are the contents of hate speech conveyed by the four groups via Facebook?
2. What methods of propaganda are being used by one group toward another?
3. How do the targets of hate show the social identity of the posts' writers?

3. FINDINGS

Facebook has been an extremely important platform to get connected with friends and family where they can post updates and news about themselves. However, Facebook can also be a platform for groups such as Ban Islam and Shariah Law to create a hostile environment for Muslim communities. This study found that their posts were created to incite anger toward people from outside their groups.

The results were divided into two sub-sections: anti-Muslim and from Muslim, each consisting of two groups. The posts from each group were categorized based on the methods of propaganda.

3.1. Anti-Muslim Hate Groups

Two anti-Muslim groups are being discussed here. The first one is *Ban Islam and Shariah Law* from the UK and the second one *Proud to be Kafir* from the USA. The posts in these two pages were usually in the form of pictures, news, or video sharing. The

administrators of these pages did not give any comment or caption for their posts. They let their readers comment on their posts.

Table 1. Hate propaganda from Anti-Muslim

| Technique of propaganda | Number of Post | Targets of hate |
|-------------------------|----------------|---|
| Stereotyping | 18 | Muslim people are cruel, criminal, rapist, intolerant, terrorists, violent, narrow minded, oppressive toward women, and easily get angry. |
| Testimonial | 5 | Islamic celebration is not important |
| Repetition | - | Islam is injustice toward women |
| Card Stacking | 1 | Muslim country is threatening |
| Bandwagon | 3 | Muslim immigrants are annoying and violent |
| Generalization | - | |

As expected from anti-Muslim hate groups, most of the posts target Muslim people and their Islamic beliefs. Almost all the posts (95.5%) only shared news or videos containing information that have the purpose of discrediting Muslim people and their religion (Islam). Although these posts were not intended to directly attack the target of hate, they mostly tried to stir up the readers' reactions towards the targets, i.e. to instill fear towards Muslim people. The messages shared by these groups revolved around three major themes: First, Classifying Muslims as criminals or danger to society (13 posts); Second, The relation between the government and Muslims (4 posts); and Third, The downfall of Muslim terrorists (2 posts).

Meanwhile, relating to the propaganda techniques used in these posts, there are four types used, i.e. stereotyping, testimonials, bandwagon, and card stacking. Stereotyping is the most frequently used method. 18 posts described Muslim people as terrorists, rapists, cruel, intolerant, criminal, stupid, sadistic, and intolerant. The religion itself (Islam) was described as violent towards women or being injustice against women. Three posts used the *bandwagon* method and one was using the *card stacking method*.

3.1.1.1. Stereotyping

Stereotyping is done by giving negative attributes and qualities toward the object of hate. There are 9 posts from **Ban Islam and Shariah Law (BISL)** page and 8 posts from **Proud to be an Infidel “Kafir” (PIK)** that contain stereotyping method.

The targets of hate propaganda in these two pages revolved around Muslim people in general, Muslim immigrants, Muslim countries, and Islam as the religion. Muslim people were portrayed as cruel and sadistic. One example can be seen in the following post.

Ban Islam & Shariah Law shared BHOSKE-Godse's video.

Scumbags

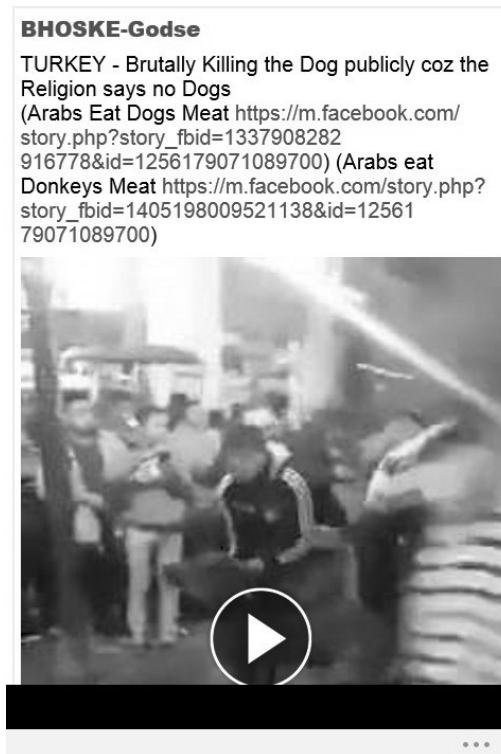


Figure 1: Stereotyping Post from Bisl

This post displayed a video showing a number of Turkish people who were brutally killing the dog publicly. The writer added the text for this post: *Brutally killing the dog publicly coz the Religion says no Dogs*. The word 'Religion' here refers to Islam religion and the doers of the brutal killings were supposed to be Muslim people. Through this post, the writer wanted to convey that Muslim people were so cruel and sadistic, especially towards dogs, which are considered 'haram' in Islam. The purpose of this post was to incite anger towards Muslim people and discredit their faith that tolerates violence towards animals.

Besides cruelty against animals, Muslim people were also portrayed as mean towards women. Bisl made three posts which showed cruelty and indifference towards women's sufferings. In one post, Bisl posted news about a Swedish girl being raped to death then the rape continued after she died. In another post, there was news about the strangulation of a young innocent girl to death in Syria. The last post was news about the slicing of a small child's head in Ashura festival. All these posts conveyed the same message that Muslims (men) were sadistic, rapist and violent toward women. The message that wanted to be communicated was to incite anger among the people and instigate fear towards Muslims.

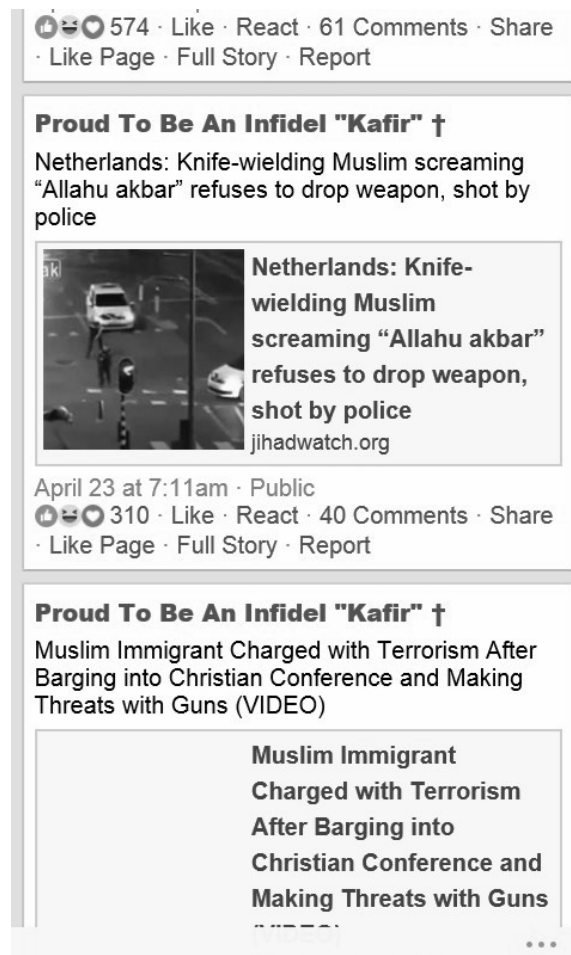


Figure 2: Muslim as criminal

Muslims are also thought of as criminals, as can be seen in the above post of PIK, which displayed the news titled *Netherlands: Knife-wielding Muslim screaming “Allahu Akbar” refuses to drop weapon, shot by police*. This post was aimed to instill fear toward a Muslim man who was depicted as violent as he was charging others with a knife. His Muslim identity was reinforced by mentioning the exclamation “Allahu Akbar”. This also implied that Muslims used the name of God for committing violence.

3.1.2. Testimonial

There were five testimonials found in the data. Testimonial was done by sharing stories of experience relating to a certain belief or concept. This technique was used for example by PIK who shared the testimony of Janet Jackson about her marriage with a Muslim man. In the video, she testified that her husband is authoritative and oppressive toward women. Thus, from this testimony, the writer wanted to suggest that all Muslim men are authoritative and oppressive.

The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)

Birmingham-Based Islamic "Exorcist" Abu Ibraheem Husnayn: We Must Hate Christmas, Valentine's Day, Diwali, and Hannukah
Islamic "exorcist" Abu Ibraheem Husnayn, who is based in Birmingham, the U.K., said that Muslims "have to hate" the likes of Christmas, Valentine's Day, Easter, Diwali, and Hannukah, because they are "hated by Allah." If one wishes one's neighbor a merry Christmas or a happy Easter, "there is no hating for the sake of Allah," said Husnayn, who practices "ruqya" (lit. "incantation") and runs a YouTube series titled "Diaries of an Exorcist." The excerpts are from addresses posted on his YouTube channel on May 13 and August 4.



Figure 3: Testimonial Propaganda

In this post, the writer shared news about an Islamic exorcist who said that Muslims should hate other religions' holidays because they were hated by Allah. From this post, the writer wanted to show that Muslim people are intolerant towards non-Muslims.

3.1.3. Bandwagon

Bandwagon is done by persuading other people to do the same thing as the writer of the post. For example, in two posts of PIK, US President Donald Trump and Secretary of State declared that they did not host the Ramadhan celebration because Islam religion is not the major religion in the USA, so Islamic celebration is not considered important.

Another post by PIK using the bandwagon technique was about the Poland government which declined the quota of Muslim immigrants from the European Union. Here, the writer wanted to rally people's support to follow Poland to refuse Muslim immigrants in the US. There was a common belief that Muslim immigrants were annoying and often causing trouble for the European people, so they wanted to avert these things from happening in the US.

3.2. Muslim Hate Groups

Unlike the anti-Muslim hate groups, the hate groups from Indonesian Muslims have different contents and targets. The administrators of these pages were two individuals who claimed to be real Muslims. The first one is Jonru Ginting (JG). His real name was Jon Riah Ukur. He was a writer, but later on, because of his political choice, his writings became provocative and were instilled with hate-contents. He was so notorious that his name became an entry in the dictionary, meaning ‘to slander or defame others’. The second page belonged to a woman name Sri Rahayu Ningsih (SRN), who worked for Saracen. Saracen was a syndicate that provided hate contents in social media and had an ability to take over social media accounts in Indonesia. The name Saracen was inspired by the name given by Middle Age Christians towards the Arabs or Muslims. Saracen worked based on the order given by the clients for a substantial amount of payment.

The following table showed the posts from these two groups. All of the posts were in the form of opinions from the writers.

Table 2. Hate Propaganda from Muslim groups in Indonesia

| Technique of propaganda | Number of Post | Targets of hate |
|-------------------------|----------------|---|
| Stereotyping | 12 | Chinese people speak harshly, intolerant, heartless, invaders |
| Testimonial | - | President Jokowi’s supporters are liars |
| Repetition | - | President supports communist, the cause of all problems, unfair towards Muslim, |
| Card Stacking | 4 | The out group are afraid of losing power, not the owner of Indonesia, evil |
| Bandwagon | 11 | Ahok and Jokowi are public enemy |
| Generalization | 3 | Non-Muslims do not have empathy |
| | | The government is corrupt, impose harsh law toward Muslim |
| | | Political parties supporting the president are suspicious, traitor |

In their posts, the writers tend to include a justification of their own identity as Muslim by using religion-related words such as Islam, Muslim, God, and Prophet. The targets of hate, therefore, were not their fellow Muslims, but the out-groups. Interestingly, their out-groups were not necessarily non-Muslims; some of them were also Muslims. The classification of the in and out-group was originally grounded on the political choice. These two groups were known to be the supporters of one Presidential candidate, the opponent of the present president Jokowi. Therefore, their out-groups included: the government, President Jokowi, the former Jakarta governor Ahok, non-Muslims, Chinese people, Christians, political parties supporting Jokowi and Jokowi’s supporters.

Meanwhile, for the propaganda techniques used, stereotyping was still the most frequently used method (12 out of 20 posts). The second most used method was Bandwagon, in which the writers summoned their followers in their campaign against the government or the president. The other methods used were card stacking (4 posts) and generalization (3 posts).

3.2.1. *Stereotyping*

There were 4 posts that targeted President Jokowi. The president was labeled as a supporter of the communist party, the cause of all problems, unfair toward Muslims, and inappropriate to be called a president. In one post, JG wrote that the president is a coward and provocateur because he divided the nation with his statement. Therefore, JG accused the president as the cause of all disintegrations that happened in Indonesia. In this post, JG intended to damage the president's reputation.

Besides the president, Chinese people were also the target of hate. The former governor of Jakarta, Ahok, is a Chinese descendant and he was widely condemned because of his harsh words. Thus, the writers made a stereotype that all Chinese were similar. Moreover, Indonesian Chinese were labeled as exclusive, heartless, and invaders. They only wanted to control the Indonesian economy and they treated indigenous Indonesian as slaves. In her post, SRN wrote her opinion that all Chinese businessmen will not do anything based on kindness, instead they just wanted to rule over Indonesia. In another post, SRN also claimed that they are the owner of the country because they are the true Indonesian. Through this post, she wanted to rally the people to oppose the Chinese because they were not the indigenous Indonesian. This post might be triggered by "xenophobia" or fear or distrust against other people (Chinese) because they are foreign to you (Berecz & Devinat, 2017).

3.2.2. *Bandwagon*

Bandwagon technique was used in 11 posts of JG and SRN. Practically, bandwagon is used to rally people's support for the writers' opinion. One sample of bandwagon was found in JG post about genocide in Myanmar.



Translated version:
When Buddhists and Catholic Figures condemn the Rohingya Genocide, no matter what your religion is, you must be ANGRY looking at the massacre of human beings. But, if you are an ANIMAL, it is normal if you don't care, even bad-mouth us who care about the ROHINGYA'S SUFFERINGS

Figure 4: Post using Bandwagon

In this post, JG opined that people who did not care about the Rohingya genocide were animals because they did not have any feelings. He directed his anger towards “kau” (you) which refers to the people outside his group. At the time this post was written, this group was raising funds for Rohingya people in Myanmar. This fundraising campaign became controversial because several natural disasters that occurred in Indonesia also need fundraising. Their decision to support Rohingya was because Rohingya people were Muslims.

3.2.2. Card Stacking

Card stacking is done by giving partial information so that people will believe that the information is true. There were 4 posts that were using the card stacking technique. One sample of card stacking propaganda can be seen below.

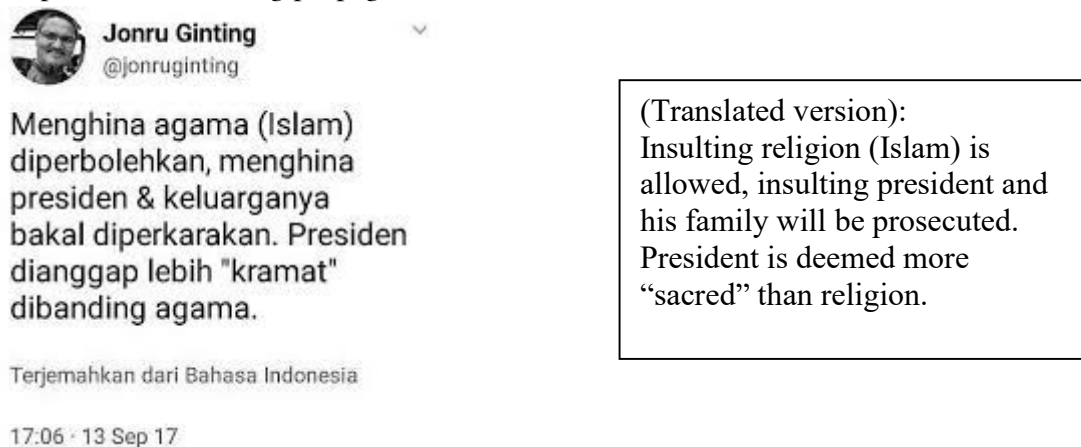


Figure 5: Card stacking post

In the sample above, JG wrote an opinion regarding law enforcement toward a person who insulted Mrs. Iriana, the president’s wife. He compared the treatment given to those who insult religion and those who insult the president and his family. The message of this post was that the government was not fair in imposing justice for the offenders, depending on the victims of their offense. However, this post used the card stacking method, in which JG concealed some information regarding the arrest. He also made an illogical comparison between the president and the religion by saying that the president was more sacred than religion.

In other post, JG wrote that President Jokowi proposed a new version of the film about the Communist party (G30SPKI). In the previous version of the film, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was depicted as the cruel agent who tried to stage a coup d’etat towards the Indonesian government in 1965 by killing seven army generals. In his post, JG wanted to imply that Jokowi proposed a new version of the film which eliminates the involvement of the communist party in the coup d’etat because in JG’s opinion Jokowi was also a supporter of the communist party, which was already eradicated and forbidden in Indonesia.

4. DISCUSSION

The posts created by both hate groups (anti-Muslim and from Muslim) showed the implementation of some propaganda techniques repetitively. For example, the anti-

Muslim groups continuously send the message that Muslim people are violent and cruel through the news and videos they shared on their Facebook walls. On the other hand, the Muslim group depicted the others as ‘evil’. This action led their readers to hate the other group, changing what is a neutral reaction towards stimulus (hate target) into hate reaction by associating neutral reaction towards the hate target with hateful content, through the process called acquisition (See: King, 2014).

King (2014) maintained that the process of *acquisition* affects readers in several ways. First, the process itself causes a person who previously is not used to hating others becomes hating another person by creating an association of hatred and danger towards the target of hate. The process of *acquisition* focuses on classical conditioning which turns a normal stimulus into a conditioned stimulus through the process of *association*. The conditioned stimulus, in turn, changes the unconditioned reaction (or a neutral reaction) into a new reaction called conditioned reaction. Propaganda techniques aim to create *conditioned reflexes*, so readers react to “stimuli” in the same way as Pavlov’s dog (Iorgulescu, 2016).

Second, it also prevents the readers from believing the opposite information aside from what is told in the group. The process of conditioned stimulus happens when people create a certain expectation of someone or something. For example: when A recognizes B as a liar, then A expects B to tell a lie. This process can be applied to the hate groups and their followers. If hate group A labels the out-group as dangerous or manipulative, the readers or the followers of group A will always expect the target of hate to either lie or try to do something dangerous.

The hate posts created by one group became conditioned stimulus which will trigger conditioned reactions of the people or the readers so that they became their ally to attack the target of hate. Even though both groups use different ways of expressing their hatred, both are similar in the way they aimed their targets of hate and how they built protection from the outsiders. Thus, the agitation propaganda theory explains how the changes of stimulus and reaction cause hate posts towards others (Ellul, 1965). On the contrary, social identity theory explains how the attackers (the group which produces hate) create an armor against those that try to penetrate their group and protect their group from the out-group (Toma & Hancock, 2013).

In their posts, the anti-Muslim groups mostly used news instead of directly advocated hate in their own words. The news revolves around three topics, those are: Muslim people are dangerous, the Government opposes Muslim, and Islam is an oppressive religion. The news was utilized to generate an agitation towards the targets of hate (Marmura, 2014) instead of showing direct hatred. To agitate or to stir up hate against the target of hate, they also used a tactic that involved endangering oneself or a majority of people due to the existence of the hate target. With the danger that was created through the news, there was a chance for people to be triggered by the agitation propaganda because of the problem shown by the page itself (See Ellul, 1965). The majority of people in Western countries are not Muslim, and this built their social identity. Therefore, the posts which were created by the anti-Muslim hate groups tried to give a sense of threat coming from the Muslims or their out-group. In consequence, they thought that they need some protection from the out-group.

Meanwhile, unlike the anti-Muslim hate groups, Muslims showed themselves as more argumentative in their posts. Both groups from Indonesian Muslim hate groups tend to argue and conspire against the power of the government or the problems caused by the

out-group, while also picture themselves as the owner of the nation. Their most argumentative issue involved the threat toward their social identity as Muslim since people outside their group started to criticize the majority's belief. The threat caused them to protect their identity, serving them into hatred that leads them to create their own hate group (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979) The way of how the group internalized themselves caused their separation with other to be stronger and providing more self-esteem towards themselves as well as their self-conception towards their in-group.

Even though the method and the contents of posts were different, the cases endorsed by both Muslim hate groups and Anti-Muslim hate groups reflected the application of Social Identity Theory. This can be identified from the cases which showed the dangers from their target of hate. For anti-Muslim groups, they found a threat from the Muslim people through their criminal behavior or through their culture which is deemed as inhumane for their group. For example, the first group (Ban Islam and Shariah Law) in one of their posts mentioned that people did not comment on the strangulation case of a woman. This post created a sense of urgency that there was no effort or action from people or the government about the case. Combined with other posts on this page, they caused people to panic, leading them to prepare self-defense by distancing themselves with the target of hate or attacking the target of hate.

On the contrary, Indonesian Muslim hate groups showed the possibilities of how the Chinese, the non-Muslims, and the government were trying to attack Muslims by not supporting them. For example, in one of the posts, JG said that the president or the government prosecuted a Muslim man (Dodik) for insulting the first lady (Mrs. Iriana Jokowi) while when a non-Muslim insulted the prophet, he was not prosecuted. In this case, Muslim's posts reflected their social identity as repressed Muslims to provoke the readers to join with the hate group and attack the target of hate. Using the agitation propaganda (Marmura, 2014), they create a theory of a ghost effect that results in a threat without any real or actual threat.

5. CONCLUSION

The first finding related to the content of hate speech conveyed by the four groups. The findings showed that the Anti-Muslim groups from the USA and the UK and the Muslim groups from Indonesia used different approaches in spreading their hate towards their out-groups. The Anti-Muslim groups usually shared news and videos in their posts while the Muslim groups wrote their own argumentative opinions. However, both groups have the same purpose, i.e. to create conditioned reactions among their followers or readers in the form of hate towards their out-group or the targets of hate. Both groups wanted to make their followers associate the targets of hate as harmful for them and threaten their social identity.

The contents of the posts also showed that the targets of hate for Anti-Muslim groups were Muslim people in general, Muslim immigrants, and Islam as the religion. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the targets of hate include the President, non-Muslims, Chinese, and out-group Muslims. The fellow Muslims were also targeted because of different political choices.

The second finding related to the propaganda techniques used by both groups. The most frequently used technique of propaganda was stereotyping or labeling. For example, the anti-Muslim groups labeled Muslims as inhumane, cruel, criminal, etc. On the contrary, the Muslim groups labeled the others as liars, invaders, outsiders, communists,

etc. The other technique used was bandwagon, i.e. persuading readers to detest the targets of hate because other people are doing it. The bandwagon technique usually succeeded because the readers commonly agreed with the opinions or the news shared by the post creators.

Finally, all of these posts indicated that the creators were applying social identity theory as stated by Tajfel (1982). Hate posts created by both groups have two functions: to attack the out-group credibility by showing that the out-group is dangerous or threatening to their existence, and to protect the in-group against the out-group's attack or threat.

After all, hate posts in social media should be diminished or even eliminated if both parties can develop understanding and tolerance towards each other. Muslims and non-Muslims should not breed prejudice against each other. Meanwhile, social media platforms such as Facebook should also impose a stricter rule regarding the contents that people can put on their websites. With a certain algorithm, contents that contain hate speech can be detected and blocked.

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