



Hate speech “Jokowi the enemy of democracy”: A forensic linguistics study

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze evidence from a hate speech case that received a court verdict in 2020, as reported by the national online media Detik news on June 5, 2020. The research employs Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the theoretical framework, emphasizing three main dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context. It is further integrated with a forensic linguistics approach to assess the legal relevance of the discourse within the framework of Indonesian law. The study adopts a qualitative method using content analysis as the primary analytical technique. The data consist of six Facebook posts by MN, cited in the article titled “Jokowi Penjahat Demokrasi.” The findings reveal that the discourse in these posts contains elements of hate speech, defamation, dissemination of false information, and insults related to ethnicity, race, and religion (SARA), which are legally relevant under the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP) and the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE).

Keywords: Forensic linguistics, Critical discourse analysis, Hate speech, Indonesian law

Introduction

Communication is a fundamental human activity occurring across physical, psychological, and social contexts, serving functions such as control, motivation, information dissemination, and emotional expression. Social media, as a dominant technological platform, facilitates global information flows but also creates opportunities for communication violations (Tsao et al., 2021). The reciprocal nature of online interactions complicates regulation, potentially leading to verbal offenses such as insult, defamation, blasphemy, provocation, and the dissemination of false news (Gabarron et al., 2021).

In Indonesia, these violations are prevalent. From 2018 to April 26, 2021, the Ministry of Communication and Informatics reported 3,640 takedowns of content containing hate speech or hostility based on ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations (SARA) (Kominfo, 2021). To address such abuses, the government enacted Law No. 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions (UU ITE) and subsequent amendments in 2016 and 2024, highlighting the state's commitment to regulating digital communication.

Hate speech is defined as communicative acts, including provocation, incitement, or insult, targeting individuals or groups based on attributes such as race, gender, disability, sexual orientation, nationality, or religion (Article 19, 2015; Kaye & UN. Secretary-General, 2019). Furthermore, Indonesia regulates hate speech through the Circular of the Chief of the Indonesian National Police Number SE/06/X/2015, which classifies it as a criminal act under the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) or other applicable laws, including insults, defamation, blasphemy, unpleasant acts, provocation, incitement, and dissemination of false information (Surat Edaran Kapolri Nomor: SE/ 06/X/2015, 2015).

One of the cases analyzed in this study is the hate speech incident committed by Mulia Ningsih (45), a resident of Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, Indonesia, who had already undergone judicial proceedings and received a final legal verdict. As reported by *detiknews*, MN was charged with committing hate speech against the 7th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, through a series of posts on the social media platform Facebook. These posts, consisting of six Facebook status updates, were presented as key evidence during the trial. Based on the court's ruling, MN was declared guilty and sentenced to one year of imprisonment.

along with a fine of IDR 10,000,000, with a provision that failure to pay the fine would result in an additional one-month imprisonment. For these actions, law enforcement authorities prosecuted MN under Article 27(3) and Article 28(2) of Law Number 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions (UU ITE), (detiknews, 2020).

The provisions of Law Number 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions, which were applied by the court as the legal basis for prosecuting MN (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 11 Tahun 2008, 2008), are as follows:

Article 27(3):

"Any person who intentionally and without rights distributes and/or transmits and/or makes accessible electronic information and/or electronic documents containing elements of insult and/or defamation"

Article 28(2):

"Any person who intentionally and without rights disseminates information aimed at inciting hatred or hostility toward individuals and/or certain community groups based on ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations (SARA)"

Articles 27(3) and 28(2) of Indonesia's Law No. 11 of 2008, provide the legal framework for prosecuting hate speech. Article 27(3) addresses insult and defamation, while Article 28(2) targets acts that incite hatred or hostility based on ethnicity, religion, race, or inter-group relations (SARA). These regulations clearly classify hate speech as a criminal offense with enforceable legal consequences.

Forensic linguistics (FL) offers a methodological lens to analyze language-related phenomena in legal contexts, including language use in legal domains, linguistic elements that may serve as evidence, and the language employed by law enforcement and judicial actors (Rusdiansyah, 2021). Ariani et al. further note that FL encompasses linguistic evidence, discourse analysis, authorship identification, and phonetic examination (Ariani et al., 2014; Ahmed et al., 2024).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), particularly Teun van Dijk's model, provides a robust framework to

examine ideology and meaning in texts through three dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context, which interact to produce comprehensive interpretations (Van Dijk, 2006). This study applies van Dijk's CDA to Facebook status posts on MN's account to uncover the author's ideological positions, identify legal violations, and assess their implications for Indonesia's legal system.

Theory

The core of Teun Van Dijk's theory lies in integrating three discourse dimensions into a unified analytical framework. In the textual dimension, the focus is on the text structure and discourse strategies used to emphasize a particular theme. This dimension involves analyzing meaning at the macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure levels (Wu et al., 2022). According to Van Dijk (Đorđević, 2020):

a) Macrostructure (thematic structure):

This element reveals the global meaning of a discourse. The theme provides a general overview of the opinion or idea conveyed by an individual or journalist, indicating the dominant, central, and primary concepts of a news report.

b) Superstructure(schematic/plot structure):

Texts or discourses generally follow a schematic flow from introduction to conclusion, showing how the components of the text are arranged sequentially to form a coherent whole. A news report typically consists of two major schemata: (a) the summary, marked by the headline and lead, and (b) the story, encompassing the full content of the report.

c) Microstructure:

This structure comprises several analyses: (a) semantic analysis, which examines the background, details, intentions, and presuppositions within the discourse; (b) syntactic analysis, covering sentence forms, coherence, pronoun usage, and negation; (c) lexical or stylistic analysis; and (d) rhetorical analysis.

At the social cognition level, the analysis focuses on the processes involved in producing the news text, reflecting the individual cognition of the journalist or editor. The third aspect, the social context, examines

the discourse structures that evolve within society, influencing the writer's cognition and the overall meaning conveyed in the text.

Method

This study combines critical discourse theory with a qualitative approach employing the method of content analysis. Content analysis was chosen as it enables researchers to explore in depth the verbal messages and meanings embedded in texts (Cooper et al., 2023). The research data consist of linguistic units such as words, phrases, clauses, and sentences, which are considered to hold meanings beyond their literal structures, thereby revealing implicit interpretations related to the concept of hate speech (Agarwal & Chowdary, 2020; Jam et al., 2025).

In practice, content analysis was conducted in a systematic manner by dividing the material into units, coding, classifying, and drawing conclusions.

This method aligns with the directed (or deductive) qualitative content analysis approach, which is often applied when researchers work within an existing theoretical framework (Assarroudi et al., 2018).

The method further allows for the integration of both inductive and deductive categorization in the analytical process.

In this case, the primary data comprised Facebook status updates that appeared in the news coverage on *Detik.com* regarding the case entitled “*Jokowi Penjahat Demokrasi*”, which were used as material for analysis.

The researcher collected all status posts that had been presented as evidence in court as the study sample.

Data collection techniques included online news archive retrieval, downloading of the posts, and verification of content authenticity.

Result and Discussion

4.1 Text structure analysis

The data analysis in this study was conducted on the verbal evidence presented during the trial, namely six Facebook status updates posted by MN, which were

cited from *detiknews*. Each of these six discourses was examined using van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model, as follows:

Data 1: Post dated May 30, 2019

“BRIMOB polri sudah dikuasai China”

In English:

BRIMOB polri Has Been Controlled by China.

The text structural analysis for data 1 is presented as follows:

1 Macrostructure

The text presents the main theme of the alleged influence or control of Brimob Polri by a foreign party, specifically China. This theme constitutes a single-topic discourse highlighting a negative perception of foreign involvement in Indonesia's security apparatus. The social context reflects prevailing public concerns regarding China, framing the text as portraying an external threat to national institutions.

2 Superstructure

Structurally, the text consists of a single situational sentence without a title, summary, or additional commentary. The schematic strategy emphasizes the subject, Brimob, at the beginning of the sentence, while China is positioned at the end as the agent of control. This arrangement simplifies the narrative, directing the reader's attention to the main actor and the party deemed responsible, thereby highlighting the notion of foreign dominance or influence over Brimob.

3 Microstructure

At the microstructural level, the text exhibits several features that reinforce its ideological meaning. Semantically, the single sentence implicitly conveys that Brimob is influenced by abstract forces or ideologies associated with China. Syntactically, the sentence employs a passive Subject-Predicate-Object structure, emphasizing Brimob as the target and China as the agent of control. Lexically, the term “China” carries ideological weight, potentially referring both to the nation and to a foreign group

perceived as wielding power. Rhetorically, the use of capital letters in the phrase "BRIMOB POLRI" serves to focus the reader's attention on the security forces, creating a dramatic argumentative style despite the absence of factual evidence. Together, these elements construct a negative image of Brimob Polri while underscoring the purported detrimental influence of foreign actors.

Data 2: Post dated May 22, 2019

"Alhamdulillah dekat masjid kita ada yang *Ketangkap polisi CHINA oleh kopassus*, pelindung rakyat sudah mulai turun kejalan jalan...*

In English:

'Praise be to God, near our mosque, a Chinese police officer was arrested by kopassus, the protector of the people has begun to take to the streets...* ALLAHUAKBAR!!!'ALLOHUAKBAR!!!'

The text structural analysis for data 2 is presented as follows:

1 Macrostructure

At the macrostructural level, the text presents the main theme of the alleged arrest of a "Polisi China" by the Kopassus special forces unit. The phrase "Polisi China" is used as a negatively connoted idiom to depict a figure of authority perceived as foreign and contrary to the interests of the people. In contrast, Kopassus is positioned as a positive and heroic figure, represented by the phrase "protector of the people." The overarching theme of the text glorifies Kopassus as a national savior while simultaneously expressing resistance toward foreign forces or groups identified as threats to national sovereignty.

2 Superstructure.

At the superstructural level, the text follows a three-part discourse pattern consisting of a situation, commentary, and call to action. The situational element is shown through the statement, "Alhamdulillah, near our mosque, a Polisi China was caught by Kopassus," which describes the event of an arrest occurring around a mosque area. The commentary is implicit, providing a positive evaluation of Kopassus as a force acting in the interest of the people. The discourse concludes with

emotional exclamations such as "the protector of the people has begun to take to the streets..." and "ALLAHU AKBAR!!!," functioning as collective expressions that reinforce religious sentiment. This schematic structure demonstrates a persuasive flow that begins with the presentation of an event, followed by ideological framing, and ends with an emotionally charged appeal aimed at evoking reader solidarity.

3 Microstructure.

At the microstructural level, the text exhibits several semantic, syntactic, lexical, and rhetorical features that reinforce its ideological meaning. Semantically, it constructs a binary opposition between the "Polisi China" as a symbol of the antagonist and "Kopassus" as the heroic defender of the people. The implicit message is a justification of Kopassus's actions and a delegitimization of the officers labeled as "Chinese." The presupposition embedded in the text assumes the arrest actually occurred, thereby prompting the writer to express gratitude and encourage readers to believe in the heroic narrative. From a syntactic perspective, the main sentence is a compound sentence composed of a passive clause ("a Chinese Police officer was caught by Kopassus") and an active clause ("the protector of the people has begun to take to the streets"), functioning to highlight the contrast between the subject and object roles. The pronoun "we" reflects an attempt to establish emotional closeness between the writer and readers, while the phrase "protector of the people" serves as an endophoric reference that emphasizes allegiance to Kopassus.

Lexically, the choice of words such as *Alhamdulillah*, *Allahu Akbar*, *Chinese Police*, and *protector of the people* reflects a blend of politicized religiosity and nationalism. The religious expressions are employed to evoke gratitude and moral triumph, while the label "Chinese Police" is used to construct the image of an external enemy. Rhetorically, the use of capital letters, asterisks, ellipses, and multiple exclamation marks ("!!!") produces dramatic and emotional effects that intensify the heroic message and highlight the writer's emotional involvement. The combination of these elements positions the text as a form of digital propaganda designed to mobilize religious and nationalist sentiment in response to a specific political issue.

Data 3: Posted dated May 19, 2019

Pesan buat umat Islam yg akan menjalankan aksi KEDAULATAN RAKYAT Untuk berhati hati sebab rezim komunis sudah menyiapkan bom fitnah yang akan diledakan didekat gereja Katedral samping istiklal dan mal mal dijakarta. Tujuannya untuk menggiring opini yg berdemo adalah radikal. Padahal yg radikal mereka sendiri memaksakan diri untuk menang pemilu walaupun gada rakyat yang memilih satupun. Awas terror bom adalah alat paling jitu buat memfitnah umat islam. Agar umat islam tersudutkan dengan tuduhan teroris. Ayo viralkan sebelum bom dipasang

In English:

A message to Muslims who will take part in the people's sovereignty movement Be cautious, because the communist regime has allegedly prepared a slanderous bomb that will be detonated near the Cathedral Church beside Istiqlal Mosque and in several malls across Jakarta. The purpose is to shape public opinion that the demonstrators are radicals. In reality, the truly radical ones are those who force themselves to win the election even though not a single citizen voted for them. Beware — bomb terror is the most effective tool to slander Muslims, pushing them into being labeled as terrorists. Let's make this viral before the bombs are planted.

The situational context of this tweet concerns the planned protest action rejecting the official vote count by the General Elections Commission (KPU) regarding the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, which took place in May. The text structural analysis for data 3 is presented as follows:

1 Macrostructure

At the macrostructural level, the text *"A Message to Muslims Who Will Participate in the People's Sovereignty Action"* presents a central theme of warning and mobilization addressed to Muslims planning to join a political demonstration. The message is framed around the narrative that a "communist regime" has allegedly prepared a "slander bomb" intended to discredit the demonstrators. The text constructs an ideological opposition between "Muslims," depicted as the righteous and oppressed group, and the "communist

regime," portrayed as the disseminator of deceit and manipulation. Thus, the central theme of the text is not merely a cautionary message but also a provocative stance of resistance against the election results, which are implicitly portrayed as illegitimate or fraudulent.

2 Superstructure

In terms of superstructure, the text follows a tripartite discourse schema consisting of *situation*, *commentary*, and *appeal*. The *situation* is introduced through the opening statement, "A message to Muslims who will participate in the People's Sovereignty Action," which situates the text within the sociopolitical context of mass protest. The *commentary* section elaborates on the alleged threat of a "slander bomb" supposedly prepared by the communist regime to manipulate public opinion and label demonstrators as radicals. The discourse culminates in an *appeal*, exemplified by the phrase "Spread this before the bomb is planted," functioning as a persuasive call for collective action and message dissemination. This structural progression reflects a persuasive rhetorical strategy: it begins by contextualizing the event, introduces a narrative of threat, and concludes with an emotional and action-oriented appeal.

3 Microstructure

At the microstructural level, the text demonstrates cohesive interactions between semantic, syntactic, lexical, and rhetorical elements that reinforce its ideological stance. Semantically, it constructs a background of the 2019 protest movement linked to accusations of fabricated bomb plots. The "communist regime" is framed as the source of slander, while the demonstrators are depicted as victims of false terrorism allegations. The implicit intention is to incite anger and resistance among Muslims against the election results. Syntactically, the text consists of six sentences of various types—complex, active, incomplete, exclamatory, and imperative. Coherence is achieved through causal and contrastive conjunctions such as *because*, *in order to*, and *although*. The use of the colloquial negation "gada" (meaning "none" or "does not exist") expresses disbelief in the legitimacy of the election, while the pronoun "they" consistently refers to the communist regime or the ruling power, reinforcing

ideological polarization between "us" and "them." Lexically, the selection of words such as *people's sovereignty action*, *slander bomb*, *communist regime*, *radical*, and *terrorist* functions to construct symbolic dichotomies between good and evil. The phrase *people's sovereignty action* conveys a positive image of the protest as a legitimate expression of popular will, while *communist regime* and *radical* are negatively charged labels used to delegitimize the opposing political camp. Rhetorically, the capitalization of "PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY" serves as an emphasis strategy that highlights ideological urgency, while the closing appeal "Spread this before the bomb is planted" operates as a persuasive device aimed at mobilizing public opinion. Overall, the discourse structure demonstrates a persuasive and propagandistic function, employing religious and nationalist sentiment to foster group solidarity and ideological alignment.

Data 4: Post dated May 17, 2019

"Sodara-sodaraku tolong sekarang harus hati hati karna PKI sekarang sudah tidak menggunakan senjata memakai racun yang sangat berbahaya maka dari itu kita harus ekstra waspada jangan sampai gampang tertipu dengan orang-orang yg berpura pura baik memberikan makanan atau minuman perhatian juga bagi pengurus masjid jangan mau menerima sumbangan makanan dari orang yg ga jelas kecuali mereka menyumbangkan hartanya berupa uang tunai karna PKI banyak yg menyamar jadi orang alim dan sangat baik demi menjalankan misinya tolong beri tau nya supaya kita tetap waspada."

In English:

My brothers and sisters, please be very careful now, because the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) is no longer using weapons but is instead using very dangerous poison. Therefore, we must be extremely vigilant and not easily deceived by people who pretend to be kind by offering food or drinks. Special attention is also urged for mosque administrators: do not accept food donations from unknown individuals, except when they donate money in cash. This is because many PKI members are disguising themselves as pious and kind people in order to carry out their mission. Please spread this message so that we all remain alert.

The structural analysis of the for data 4 is presented as follows:

1 Macrostructure

At the macrostructural level, the text carries the main theme of *"being cautious of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party)."* The central idea of the discourse is an appeal or prohibition urging vigilance toward the PKI, which is portrayed as a deceitful and malevolent group. The writer reproduces historical stigma by representing the PKI as an ongoing threat that disguises itself through acts of kindness, drawing upon Indonesia's traumatic past with communism to evoke fear and suspicion among readers.

2 Superstructure

In terms of superstructure, the text follows a two-part discourse pattern consisting of *situation* and *appeal*. The situation is introduced through the statement, *"My brothers and sisters, please be very careful now, because the PKI no longer uses weapons but very dangerous poison."* This description establishes a context of imminent danger. The subsequent appeal section includes warnings such as *"therefore we must be extra vigilant"* and *"do not accept food donations except in cash,"* followed by an exhortation to *"spread this message so that we remain alert."* The structural flow follows a persuasive progression—from establishing a threat (PKI using poison and disguises) to a set of prescriptive actions (heightened vigilance, refusal of food donations, and message dissemination). An implicit contradiction appears where cash donations are portrayed as safe, highlighting an inconsistent reasoning pattern that nonetheless serves to amplify fear and urgency.

3 Microstructure

On the microstructural level, the analysis encompasses semantic, syntactic, lexical, and rhetorical dimensions: The microstructural analysis of the text reveals the interplay between semantic, syntactic, lexical, and rhetorical elements in constructing an ideological message.

Semantically, the discourse builds the assumption that the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) still exists and poses a hidden danger to society. It portrays the PKI as deceitful, disguising its members as pious

individuals who make charitable donations to infiltrate communities. The implicit goal is to persuade readers that communist threats remain active, thereby sustaining public distrust and vigilance. The underlying presupposition is that seemingly ordinary social acts—such as offering food or giving donations—are suspicious indicators of PKI activity.

Syntactically, the text is composed of three long, active, and subordinated sentences connected through causal and conditional markers such as *because*, *therefore*, and *so that*. It also employs contrastive and explanatory conjunctions like *except*, *which*, and *also* to form logical relationships. Negation markers (*not*, *don't*) highlight rejection and distrust. The use of pronouns *we/us* and *they* functions ideologically, where *we* refers to the people or the in-group, and *they* represents the PKI or the out-group. This syntactic arrangement reinforces a cause-effect relationship, positioning the PKI as the source of harm and the people as potential victims.

Lexically, the text uses emotionally charged and evocative vocabulary such as *PKI*, *poison*, *weapons*, *vigilance*, *deception*, *mosque administrators*, *disguises*, and *mission*. These lexical items are deliberately chosen to elicit fear, moral panic, and collective trauma tied to Indonesia's historical conflicts with communism. The metaphor "*very dangerous poison*" further symbolizes hidden malicious intent and moral corruption, amplifying the perception of threat. Rhetorically, the direct address "*My brothers and sisters*" and the imperative command "*please spread this message so that we remain alert*" establish an intimate and persuasive tone. This rhetorical strategy blends religious and communal solidarity with a strong undercurrent of fear and suspicion. Beyond persuasion, it aims to incite collective anxiety and encourage the viral spread of misinformation, reinforcing an atmosphere of distrust toward perceived communist resurgence.

Data 5: Post dated April 29, 2019

Nih kalau Presidennya yang kaya sekarang nih film LGBT malah dipertontonkan, mau kalian anak cucu keturunan kita rusak!!!! Inilah propaganda orang-orang kafir supaya bangsa Indonesia !!! Nggak usah pakai senjata/nuklir, pakai nonton yg LGBT beginian hanvurlah sudah Indonesia #Menjijikan Tolak film

LGBT karya Garin Nugroho di seluruh Indonesia Gawat ...!Indonesia sudah mulai memproduksi film bangsa SODOM dengan judul "ku cumbu tubuh Indahku" sutradaraw Garing Nugroho, ayo ramaikan kita tolak film ini di putar di bioskop naudzubillah.

If the President is like the one we have now, LGBT-themed films are being openly shown — do you want our children and future generations to be morally corrupted!? This is the propaganda of infidel nations to destroy Indonesia! They don't even need weapons or nuclear arms — just by spreading LGBT films like this, Indonesia will be ruined. #Disgusting Reject the LGBT film by Garin Nugroho across all of Indonesia. This is alarming! Indonesia has begun producing films of the nation of Sodom, titled "Memories of My Body" (*Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku*), directed by Garin Nugroho. Let us unite to reject the screening of this film in cinemas — God forbid!

The structural analysis of the discourse for data 5 is presented as follows:

1 Macrostructure

At the macrostructural level, this text centers on the main theme of rejecting the film *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku* (*Memories of My Body*) directed by Garin Nugroho, which is perceived as promoting LGBT issues and contradicting social and religious norms. The hashtag *#Disgusting Reject the LGBT Film by Garin Nugroho Across Indonesia* reinforces the discourse's main topic—an expression of moral outrage and a collective call to oppose the film.

The term "disgusting" serves as both a moral and emotional evaluation, reflecting an intolerant stance toward the representation of LGBT identities in art. Thus, the dominant idea conveyed by the text is resistance to sexual diversity and the portrayal of gender identity within Indonesia's public sphere.

2 Superstructure

At the superstructural level, the text follows a three-part structure consisting of a situation, commentary, and exhortation. The *situation* is introduced through the statement, "If we have a president like the one we have now, these LGBT films are being publicly shown," which attributes moral responsibility to the current national leader for the increasing visibility of

LGBT content in media. The *commentary* appears through emotionally charged rhetoric such as "Do you want our children and grandchildren to be corrupted!?!?" and "This is the propaganda of infidels... Indonesia is doomed," functioning to intensify a sense of provocation and collective threat. The text concludes with the *exhortation* "This is alarming..! Indonesia has begun producing Sodomite films... let's unite and reject this film," which serves as a call for public mobilization. This structural pattern reflects a persuasive trajectory—from the introduction of a perceived problem (the film's release), to ideological framing (propaganda by non-believers), and finally to a call to action (rejecting the film).

3 Microstructure

At the microstructural level, the semantic, syntactic, lexical, and rhetorical elements interact cohesively to construct the text's ideological message. Semantically, the text establishes a binary opposition between "infidels," portrayed as agents of moral corruption, and "us," positioned as defenders of the nation's moral purity. The underlying presupposition is that exposure to LGBT films will corrupt younger generations and lead to Indonesia's moral decay. Syntactically, the text employs a combination of passive, rhetorical, and imperative sentences to emphasize the actors being blamed (the president, the film, and the so-called infidels) while emotionally engaging the readers. The pronouns "you" and "we" are strategically used to foster a sense of solidarity and collective identity between the writer and the audience.

Lexically, the choice of words such as "disgusting," "corrupt," "destroyed," "SODOM," and "reject" reveals a strongly evaluative and aggressive diction. The term "SODOM" functions as a religious metaphor, equating LGBT behavior with grave sin and moral degradation. Rhetorically, the use of sarcastic rhetorical questions—"Do you want our children and grandchildren to be corrupted!?!?"—and dramatic imperatives like "This is alarming..! Let's unite and reject..." demonstrates a highly emotional and persuasive strategy. The repeated use of exclamation marks amplifies the alarmist tone, urging readers to respond with immediate moral outrage. Overall, the text operates as a form of digital propaganda that manipulates religious sentiment and moral panic to

mobilize public opposition to gender diversity and artistic expression in Indonesia.

Data 6: Post dated April 25, 2019

The Biggest Villain of democracy, Jokowi penjahat demokrasi, raja curang sejak Pilpres 2014 hingga 2019 membungkam kritik menyandera lawan politik menjadikan TNI & Polri alat politik memaksa ASN dalam pilihan politik mengatur TV & survey dengan licik pamer bohong & dusta secara heroik.

In English:

The Biggest Villain of Democracy, Jokowi — the criminal of democracy, the king of deceit since the 2014 to 2019 presidential elections, silencing criticism, holding political opponents hostage, turning the military (TNI) and police (Polri) into political tools, coercing civil servants in political choices, manipulating television and surveys with cunning, and proudly displaying lies and deceit as if heroic.

The analysis of the discourse structure for Data 6 is presented as follows:

1 Macrostructure

At the macrostructural level, this text focuses on the main theme of *criticism toward President Joko Widodo (Jokowi)*, who is portrayed as the primary actor responsible for the deterioration of Indonesia's democratic system. The topic "*The Biggest Villain of Democracy*" and the subtopic "*Jokowi, the criminal of democracy*" construct a discourse that positions the president as an antagonist within the national political context. Thematically, this framing seeks to justify Jokowi as a figure who has undermined democratic principles from the 2014 to the 2019 presidential elections. Through the use of strong, accusatory diction, the text builds a negative image of the head of state as a symbol of injustice and abuse of power.

2 Superstructure

From a superstructural perspective, the text is organized with a deductive argumentative pattern, beginning with the general statement "*The Biggest Villain of Democracy*," followed by the identification of the actor "*Jokowi*," and concluding with a list of

alleged actions. This narrative structure consists of three rhetorical stages: claim, elaboration, and moral reinforcement. The initial claim establishes Jokowi as “the greatest criminal of democracy,” followed by a series of accusations such as “silencing criticism,” “holding political opponents hostage,” “turning the military and police into political tools,” and “forcing civil servants in political choices.” The ending phrase “boasting lies and deceit heroically” functions as an emotional intensifier. This overall structure demonstrates a persuasive discourse designed to shape public opinion against those in power.

3 Microstructure

Semantically, the text carries implicit meanings that lead readers to believe Jokowi has engaged in systematic fraud and democratic violations. The background refers to the political context of the 2014–2019 presidential elections, while the details consist of a list of accusations reinforcing moral and political culpability. Metaphorical expressions such as “criminal of democracy” and “king of deceit” serve to construct a symbolic image of a ruler who misuses authority. Syntactically, the text is composed of a single long sentence containing eight active clauses. The main subject (Jokowi) is explicitly mentioned at the beginning, and the following clauses emphasize a sequence of negative actions. This complex compound structure strengthens the cumulative effect of accusations, creating rhetorical pressure and clarifying the actor’s responsibility. Lexical choices such as “criminal of democracy,” “king of deceit,” “silencing criticism,” and “holding political opponents hostage” reflect highly evaluative and negative diction. These lexical selections function to construct a moral and political image of Jokowi as an anti-democratic figure. Rhetorically, the text employs hyperbolic and direct accusatory language intended to provoke. Phrases like “criminal of democracy” and “heroic deceit” serve as dramatic strategies to amplify emotional impact and reinforce the portrayal of Jokowi as the central cause of political deterioration. This rhetorical strategy aims to evoke public outrage and strengthen opposition toward the ruling government.

4.2 Social Cognition

Social cognition refers to the writer’s perspective on an event and their positioning within the discourse.

Based on the previously discussed structural analysis, it is evident that the writer constructs negative representations of several entities, including China, the Chinese police, non-believers, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), protesters, Garin Nugroho’s film, and President Joko Widodo. In contrast, positive representation is allocated to the Muslim community.

The writer does not demonstrate neutrality in their posts, as they consistently portray certain parties negatively. This tendency is exemplified in data 3, where the negative representation is directed at the so-called communist regime. The regime is depicted as attempting to divide the people by spreading slander against demonstrators. The term *communist regime* is not meant to be interpreted literally, as it does not explicitly identify a specific group. Contextually, however, it can be understood as referring to a government perceived as hostile toward its citizens. Its use thus functions as a form of negative representation, reinforcing the writer’s ideological stance within the discourse. This negative portrayal is further strengthened through descriptions of the alleged malicious actions and intentions attributed to the targeted party.

Another instance of negative representation is evident in data 4, where the PKI is depicted as an entity with malevolent intentions, employing deceitful acts disguised as benevolence. The writer does not explicitly identify the members of the PKI, allowing the label to operate symbolically as a representation of a perceived adversary or subversive group.

A similar pattern emerges in data 5, where three entities are depicted negatively: the President, non-believers, and Garin Nugroho’s film *Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku (Memories of My Body)*. The President is portrayed as responsible for allowing the circulation of a film perceived to violate social norms; non-believers are represented as propagandists fostering moral degradation; and the film itself is depicted as immoral and unworthy of public screening due to its perceived deviation from societal norms.

A more direct and intense negative portrayal appears in data 6, constituting an overtly aggressive attack on President Joko Widodo. The writer explicitly portrays the President as the primary actor behind political

fraud and the abuse of power during the 2014 and 2019 elections. No positive representation of the President is present, highlighting the writer's strong bias and consistently negative stance.

In addition to expressing negative portrayals, the writer attempts to influence readers by inviting them to adopt and disseminate his viewpoints. This persuasive element is evident in several direct calls to action within the Facebook posts, including:

1. "Let's make this viral; reject the screening of this film in cinemas. Naudzubillah."
2. "Please be cautious, as the PKI no longer uses weapons but poison. We must remain vigilant and not be easily deceived..."
3. "Beware, terror bombs are the most effective tools to slander Muslims. Let's make this viral before the bombs are planted."

From these examples, it can be concluded that the writer seeks to shape public perception in alignment with his ideological beliefs while simultaneously provoking readers to disseminate the information and act based on his presuppositions. Accordingly, the social cognition dimension of this discourse reveals a strong ideological bias and demonstrates the writer's attempt to construct and propagate a particular worldview through persuasive, emotionally charged language.

4.3 Social context analysis

The analysis of social context aims to understand how the discourse under study is influenced by external factors. Based on the contextual analysis in this research, several contexts were identified, including:

1 Political and power context

The political context is highly dominant in the analyzed discourse. Some data indicate the author's efforts to discredit certain institutions and political actors:

Data 1: Brimob (Indonesian Mobile Brigade) is portrayed as being controlled by a foreign power (China), reflecting distrust toward security institutions and the potential to trigger ethnic tensions as well as delegitimize law enforcement.

Data 6: President Jokowi is depicted as a "villain of democracy" engaging in political manipulation by exploiting the military (TNI/Polri), civil servants (ASN), media, and surveys for personal political gain.

This political context is related to the 2019 Presidential Election period, during which discourse was used as a political tool to attack opponents and shape public opinion. The strategy reflects tense power relations and the use of language to manipulate societal perceptions.

2. Ideological context

Ideology plays a central role in the construction of the discourse (Data 3 and Data 4):

Data 3: The communist regime is depicted as spreading a "smear bomb" to accuse Muslim demonstrators of being radical, emphasizing ideological differences between the author and the government/election winners.

Data 4: The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) is positioned as a latent threat disguised as benevolent individuals, reinforcing Indonesia's dark historical narratives related to communism.

This strategy creates a dichotomy of "us" (Muslims/the people) versus "them" (PKI/communist regime), which serves to strengthen group identity and mobilize ideological support.

3 Religious context

The religious context is evident in Data 2 and Data 3, which feature religious expressions and calls to action such as "Alhamdulillah," "Allahu Akbar," and invitations to participate in demonstrations. Muslims are portrayed as a threatened group, while opposing parties (PKI, the communist regime, foreign-affiliated officers) are framed as threats to moral and physical security. This religious context emphasizes that the discourse is not merely political but also serves to uphold religious values, morality, and group identity.

4 Socio-cultural context

The discourse is also related to social and cultural norms, as seen in Data 5. Garin Nugroho's LGBT-themed film is criticized as a moral deviation, with the president and non-believers blamed. This reflects the

tension between traditional cultural values and modernization, as well as the author's attempt to uphold dominant moral norms. Expressions such as “#Menjijikan” (disgusting) and “SODOM” emphasize violations of social and religious norms, mobilizing readers to defend the perceived legitimate social order.

5 Social media and public mobilization context

Social media serves as the primary platform for disseminating the discourse. All posts contain explicit calls to spread information and take action:

“Ayo viralkan sebelum bom dipasang” (Let's go viral before the bomb is planted) – Data 3

“Tolong beri tau nya supaya kita tetap waspada” (Please inform others so we remain vigilant) – Data 4

“Ayo ramaikan kita tolak film ini diputar di bioskop” (Let's come together to reject this film in cinemas) – Data 5

Social media allows the discourse to reach a wide audience, reinforce public opinion, and increase the potential for mass mobilization. Narrative strategies such as capitalization, exclamation marks, ellipses, and emotional rhetoric enhance persuasive effects, provoke readers, and generate polarization.

6 Historical context

Some posts refer to Indonesia's political and social history, including threats from the PKI and the communist regime based on past experiences (Data 3 & 4), as well as allegations of election fraud from 2014–2019 (Data 3 & 6), which emphasize the continuity of political conflict and reinforce the legitimacy of anti-government narratives. This historical context provides emotional and ideological weight, making readers familiar with Indonesia's history more susceptible to provocation.

7 Social impact and polarization

The social context of these six posts has the potential to generate political polarization between government supporters and opponents, religious and ethnic polarization (Muslims vs. PKI/communist regime, foreign-affiliated officers/China), the formation of negative stereotypes toward certain

parties (Jokowi, Brimob, PKI, non-believers, LGBT-themed films), as well as social mobilization through incitement, provocation, and calls to disseminate discourse. These findings align with Van Dijk's theory that discourse is not merely a reflection of reality but also a tool for reproducing ideology, social influence, and power.

4.4 Legal implications of the case

Based on the results of the Critical Discourse Analysis using Teun A. Van Dijk's model, it is evident that the six analyzed Facebook posts represent the author's presuppositions and subjective perceptions, which contain elements of insult and hate speech. The content includes components such as defamation, propaganda, incitement, dissemination of false information (hoaxes), insults, and provocation. These findings are in accordance with the Indonesian National Police Circular Letter Number SE/06/X/2015 concerning Hate Speech, which explains that hate speech can be categorized as a criminal act regulated under the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP) as well as other criminal provisions outside the KUHP. The forms of hate speech include: (1) insult, (2) defamation, (3) blasphemy, (4) offensive acts, (5) provocation, (6) incitement, and (7) dissemination of false news.

Furthermore, the analyzed posts may also be subject to legal provisions regulating insults against the President and Vice President, namely Articles 218, 219, and 220 of the KUHP. These provisions pertain to statements or actions that attack the honor, dignity, and reputation of the President or Vice President in public or through electronic media. In addition, this case also aligns with Articles 27 paragraph (3) and 28 paragraph (2) of Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE Law), which explicitly prohibit distributing, transmitting, or making electronic information accessible that contains elements of insult or defamation.

5. Conclusion

The six Facebook posts by MN, as reported by detiknews (05/06/2020), were analyzed using Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to identify linguistic patterns, persuasive strategies, and ideological representations with legal relevance. The

analysis demonstrates that the author consistently constructs negative representations of China, Chinese police, non-Muslims, the PKI, President Joko Widodo, and Garin Nugroho's film, alongside positive representations of the Muslim community, employing capitalization, exclamation marks, imperative sentences, and emotional expressions as means to provoke and mobilize readers.

Within the dimension of social cognition, the discourse exhibits a consistent ideological bias, an "in-group vs. out-group" dichotomy, and attempts to influence public opinion. From a forensic linguistic perspective, these linguistic patterns reflect intentionality, deliberate strategies, and persuasive techniques, making them relevant evidence in cases of hate speech and defamation.

The social context analysis—including political, ideological, religious, cultural, social media, and historical dimensions—reveals how the discourse exploits social tensions and historical trauma to construct divisive narratives that provoke and mobilize ideological support. CDA elucidates the mechanisms of power and ideology reproduction through language, which is a primary focus of forensic linguistics in assessing criminal responsibility in digital communication.

Legally, the content of MN's posts contains elements of hate speech, defamation, dissemination of false information, and insults against the President, in accordance with the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP) and the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE). The integration of forensic linguistics and CDA demonstrates that digital discourse not only conveys information but also reproduces ideology, manipulates public opinion, provokes action, and potentially violates the law, highlighting the essential role of this approach in the investigation of social media hate speech cases.

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