Social Identity Negotiation in Online Communication: Understanding the Formation of Violent Normalization as Means to Deal with Violent Crimes in Online Facebook Group 'Info Cegatan Jogja'

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Abstract. In the last decade, street violence in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) has increased immensely. Whether intentional or organized, violence has become news, increasingly appearing on various media and social platforms. This phenomenon contradicts the predicate of Yogyakarta as a city of students and a city of culture. Through such background, this study encourages investigating the socio-cultural contexts of such increasing violence in a city, promoting its branding as a non-violence city. This study analyses one of the largest online social platforms in Yogyakarta, called 'Info Cegatan Jogja' (ICJ). Applying an ethnographic approach, quantitative and qualitative data were collected and analyzed using the sentiment analysis method. The study finds that the high rate of violence is not solely the result of street violence itself, but is also supported by the act of justifying violence with the general idea that the accurate way to deal with violence is through violence. In other words, society begins to assume that if it is treated as a curative measure, then violence is accepted as something to be normalized.

Keywords: Violence, Info Cegatan Jogja, social media, negotiation, violent normalization.

1. Introduction

Nowadays, The Special Region of Yogyakarta, or familiarly known as DIY, has somewhat struggle in pertaining its identity as a harmonious society. This thought certainly came about when we consider by the wave of physical violence cases which gradually occurring and terrorizing its citizen. Based on a study by Ahnaf and Salim (2017) physical violence had escalated in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, with 78 huge cases of religiously and politically motivated violence recorded from 2010 until 2018. It is seeming confusing if one to understand that the people of Yogyakarta have succeeded in mitigating the racial-based collective violence that was engulfing Indonesia during the 1998 political transition period (Van Klinken, 2007). Another matter also concerning the familiarity of DIY as one of the centers of Javanese culture which in turn formed a rather harmonious image of society (Wardani, 2012).

However, the phenomenon of physical violence that takes place in DIY can clearly be seen in people's daily lives. This was marked by the appearance of the *Info Cegatan Jogja* (ICJ) Facebook Group which presented various kinds of reports and discussions regarding cases of violent crimes that occurred in DIY (Surwandono & Bahari, 2020). Departing from this matter, the phenomenon of violence that hit DIY is a rather interesting problem, because apart from it emergence through a harmonious society structure, it also has a tendency to be digitally mediated. As medium of communication, ICJ perhaps amount to the most representational online community in Indonesia. This reason being ICJ as one of the largest Facebook groups in DIY with 1.3 million followers, this number is a third of the total population in DIY (BPS, 2020). The appearance of ICJ is then very influential in building public perception of their understanding of cases of physical violence that occurred. Thus, solidifying a conception that DIY has become an arena of various form of physical violence which manifested in form of crime related activity (Nualsomsri, 2018).

The notion involving harmony and violence in DIY has firmly constructed by De Jong and Twikromo in their works titled "Friction within harmony: Everyday dynamics and the negotiation of diversity in Yogyakarta, Indonesia". It explores the apparent expression of people in DIY where they seem to normalize physical violence as means to established order in the society. Through the telling of the infamous 'Cebongan Incident' in 2014, and how the citizen of DIY reacted, De Jong and Twikromo emphasized that as civilization, the people of DIY posed a problematic stance in term of dealing with violence crime. It manifested through how the killings of four convict by some personnel of Indonesian Special Forces (Kopassus) regarded by the citizen as tolerable and somewhat positive because it aligned

with the people aspiration in eradicating thuggery (*premanisme*) which has become a serious problem in DIY (De jong & Twikromo, 2017).

Normalization of physical violence as means to negotiate harmony within diversity is present up until now, this in turn has become a paradox in the 'positive' identity which bounded to DIY identity. This research intends to explore such notion by identifying as well as rationalizing the perception of DIY people, which represented in ICJ, towards the problems of violence which are happening within their society. Particularly give a profound understanding regarding the problem, which in this case is how an online community could address as well sustained the occurring problem in such society. And perhaps by identifying the problem we could reflect and formulate a better discourse to eradicated violence, which certainly conducted in a conducive means and manner.

Another dimension of this research is the idea of how media, digital or printed, has immensely shaped public understanding of the phenomenon of physical violence which occurs in their real environment. Based on research from Teguh (2018), the news of high rates crime violence cases in Madura have contributed in arising public dismay which reproduced in everyday communication. Through the consumption of information regarding an increasing unfavorable situation, media clearly posed a capability through not only generate but comprehensively distributed public discourse in certain society. The relation between discourse and social media could be considered quite profound in Indonesian society. Based on the research of Herdiansah and Husin (2018) social media has become a platform for Indonesian Islamic organizations in Indonesia to amplify their position upon the government through the articulation of each own political discourses. Another matter, social media in Indonesia has consecutively prove to be successful in achieving humanitarian social movement purposes, which manifested in justice and anti-corruption related discourse (Molaei, 2015). It is not strange phenomenon when we ought to consider that social media posed certain characteristic which set a rather fair arena for ordinary citizens to participated and contributed formulating political discourses (Abubakar, 2013).

In this context, study of social media thus could become influential judging how significance the role of social media in establishing prominent issues in Indonesian society. The case of blasphemy by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) while campaigning for a candidate for governor of DKI in the *Kepulauan Seribu*, is an example of a case that caused uproar in cyberspace which translated in massive protestations in the real world (Malik, 2016). Thus, it would be relevant to consider how ICJ perceive the problem of violence in DIY and at the same time creating a consensus in the society regarding its reaction of handling it. As explained by Ratta (2018) the role of social media is quite profound in communicating the

information of violence, as it also expands the information to ordinary citizen who live very far, however still socially attached, from where the violence is culminated.

2. Methods

This research adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods which contextualize statistics data and narrative idea into a coherence discourse addressing the problem of the research. In general, mix-methods combine the research activity which relevant in gathering as well as analyzing qualitative and quantitative data (Tashakkori & Cresswell, 2007). The role of qualitative methods in this research is to accommodate the process of gathering online sentiment which is influential in the grounded theory. While qualitative methods are applied in an ethnographic manner as a means to explain the broader understanding of research findings. Precisely, the sentiment analysis conducted also narrated through ethnographical approach to uncover and simultaneously produce discourses which are relevant in addressing the problem. The process of data collection is based on a set of information gathered in Facebook Group ICJ.

There are two variables used in this research, *first* chronological variable and the *second* is sentiment variable. The chronological variable formulated through rigid information consisting time & date, types, perpetrator and location of criminal physical violence cases which manifested in form of Facebook posts uploaded by ICJ members. Throughout the research, there were 256 cases of criminal physical violence related posts, ranging from 2014 until May 2021, which then visualize and narrated. As explained by Sadiku et al. (2016) Data visualization involves presenting data in the form of graphs or images that make information easy to understand. Data visualization conducted to justify the existence of each variable as well as for an understanding how it formed the perpetuating of physical violence problem in DIY. The sentiment variable refers to flexible, short and emotionally oriented comments by ICJ members which derived from every criminal physical violence posts. To maintain efficiency while at the same time pertaining validity, this research collected 25% of total comments from each post, such process produced 26.142 records from January 1, 2014 to May 13, 2021, the data that has been scraped is then analyzed as follows stages of text mining with the help of NVIVO software.

Therefore, this research uses sentiment analysis method with text mining. Based on B. Pang & L. Lee (2008) sentiment analysis is a way of computing opinions, sentiments, and subjectivity in the text. There are three kinds of sentiments used, namely positive, neutral, and negative sentiments. The classification is proved to be compatible in analyzing discourse in social media (Sharma et al., 2017). The sentiments then analyzed through the process of

labelling or usually known as coding. Coding done using Nvivo for efficiency, with a group consisting 5 person who allocate 5 hours a day for 40 days straight (June-August 2021) gathering, classifying and coding the sentiment. Our reflection from this that, although it quite time consuming, the process of analyzing and doing qualitative coding of huge amount of data is simple and easy, the most important one need is willingness and consistency so it established valid and accurate work.

To further its finding, text mining through Nvivo is used in the database of gathered comments to find the tendency of most frequent word mentioned. Based on Sentiaji & Bachtiar (2014) Text Mining, or also referred to as text data mining, is a process of examining textual databases used to find new information that can be used for decision-making purposes. Such measure conducted to further explore the negative sentiments which in turn bring a more comprehensive understanding of research finding. The two variables were not by any means deducted; however, both are formulated through the process of online observation reasoning. Another reason, the two-variable proved to be influential in formulating conclusion as both connected and perpetuating each other.

3. Uncovering Two Forms of Violence in DIY through ICJ

As contradictory as it is, the sustaining problem of violent crimes in DIY could be thoroughly explained by the apparent online communication of ICJ members on violent crimes related post within the group. It must be stressed that the characteristic of communication in ICJ is somewhat civilized and organized. This is due to the fact that each post showed in the page of ICJ have to be accepted by group admin of ICJ in order to be seen by everyone in the group. It is therefore that every piece of post, or news, displayed have gone through a process of review by the admin, with a consideration of censorships and credibility of the information. However, this scheme only refers to the post in ICJ, as far this research conducted, there aren't any means to do the same things with the comments.

The posts in ICJ certainly posed a great deal of influence in terms of implementing discourse in its members. As stated in methods section, this research has collected and analyzed certain posts in ICJ related to violent crimes activity. These cases represent one form of violence problems occurring in DIY, which is violent crimes. The posts gathered are packed with descriptive and chronological narratives, according to the subjectivity of the group member whom uploaded it. The diagram below represents cases of violent crimes at ICJ which have been classified. It must be stated that such classification based on the caption of the posts, thus it represents how the members of ICJ itself categorized type of violent crimes happen in DIY.
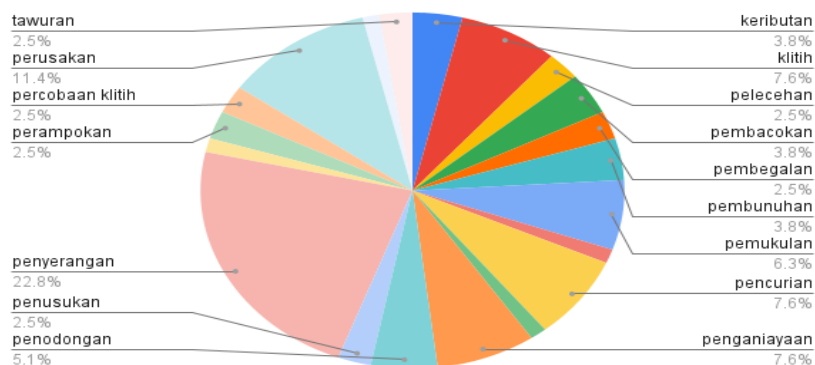
Figure 1. Classification of Types of Violent Crimes (2013-2021)

From the classification of types of violent crimes, it was found that the types of violent crimes in Yogyakarta were brutal and immoral, covering stabbing, stabbing, murdering and harassment activities. This is due to the fact that some of the perpetrators of physical violence who were informed through the ICJ were male gender. The results of the analysis also show a visualization that describes the intensity of violent crimes happening in DIY through the lens of ICJ. In addition, the information framed in ICJ showed that violent crimes occur on public roads, such as protocol roads and ring roads of DIY. The visualization also interprets those violent crimes occur in high intensity and have increased until 2018. This understanding provides a discourse to the DIY community that their environmental conditions are not safe on the basis of threats from violent crimes. The existence of insecurity is considered contradictory to the general assumption and the culture of the DIY community that is safe and harmonious.
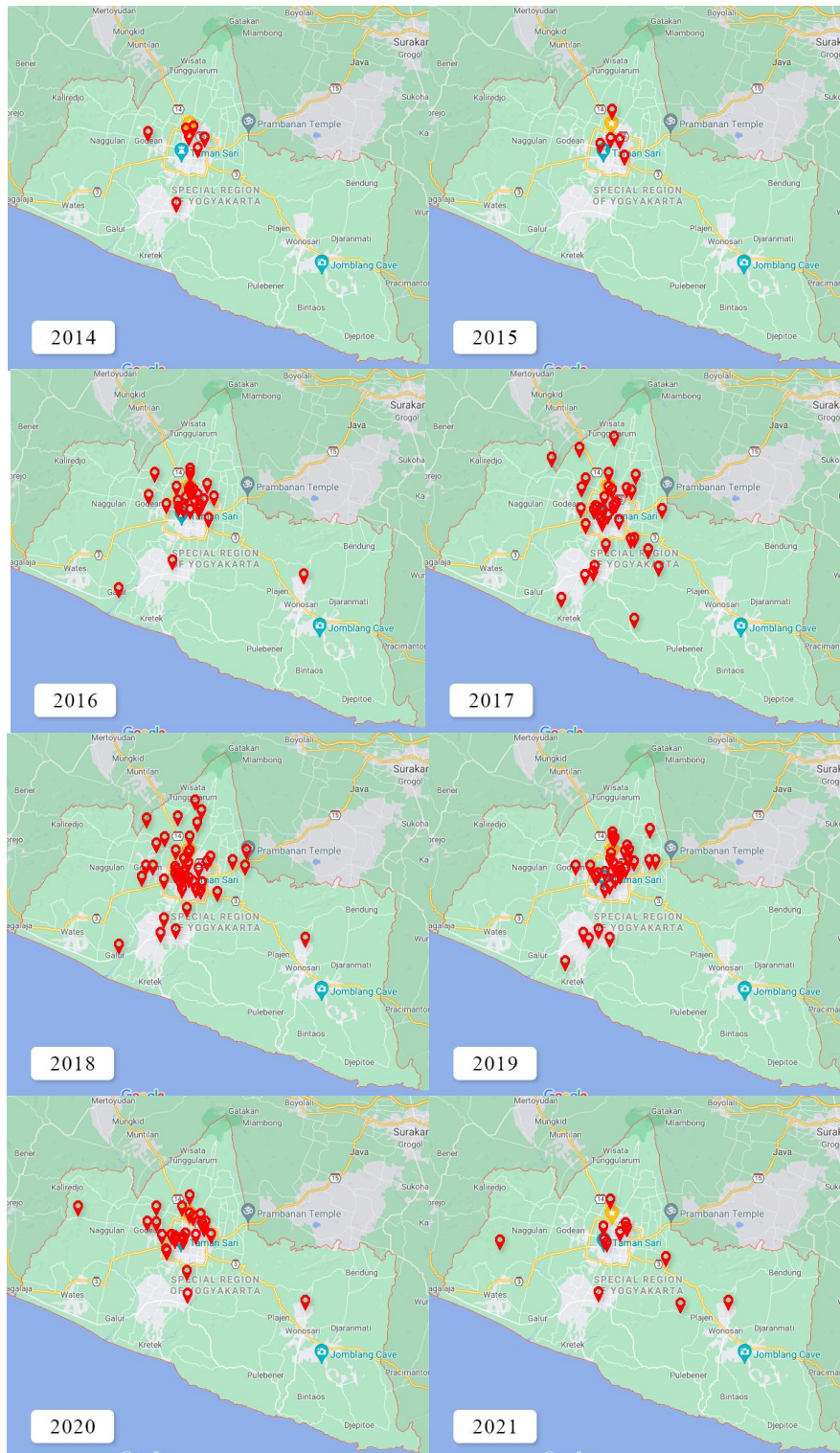
Figure 2. Distribution locations of violent cases by year.

Looking at the response, in a glance, it was found that the perception of the ICJ members towards violent crimes displayed in the ICJ Facebook group seemed to rebuke, condemn and blame anyone who logically responsible. This would certainly be rational as

such sentiments are their articulation of encoding certain specific set of information (Hall, 2013). In this case, expressions of desperation which voice concern over the situation. Thus, this actually showed how members of ICJ seems to be very attached to DIY. However, the way DIY people handled the problem is rather controversial and indirectly sustain such violent crimes in the society itself. Such realization could be traced in the reaction towards the violent crimes, which could be seen through sentiment of comments from each of the violent crime's posts in ICJ. From here we find other forms of physical violence in DIY. The pie chart below showed the results of sentiment analysis from 25% of total comments of violent crimes related posts in ICJ.
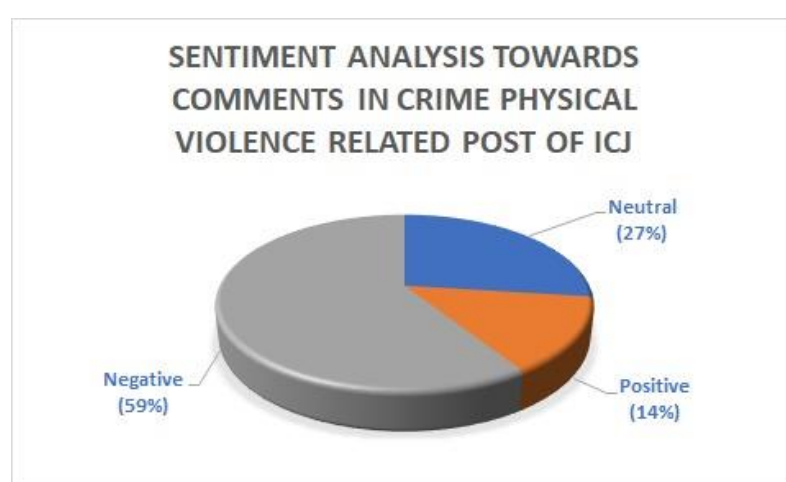

Figure 3. Pie charts of sentiment of comments in violent crime related posts in ICJ

From the visualization above, it can be concluded that 59% of the sentiment in public comments in response to existing posts is in the form of negative sentiment. It must be explained that Sentiment analysis is divided into three types: Positive, Neutral, and Negative. Positive sentiment refers to the expression of a peaceful comment on the information contained in the Post. Neutral sentiment refers to the expression of comments that have no relevance to the information contained in the Post. Negative sentiment refers to the expression of comments that are aggressive (violence intention) towards the information contained in the Post. The negative comments could also be resonated to the ideal of normalizing behavior of physical violence as a punishment and an effort to eradicate crimes of physical violence in Yogyakarta. This study has conducted a sentiment analysis which is intended to map the rationalization of society in carrying out normal behavior of physical violence. Upon finding this, we then conduct text mining to further conceptualize the negative sentiments of ICJ members regarding information of violent crimes to which they consume.

Figure 4. World cloud based on most frequent words of comments in violent crimes related posts

Through the world cloud analysis, we then highlighted the prominent words which held significance if one to consider the context of DIY society. Words as *kecekel*, *jogja*, *klitih*, *massa*, *polisi*, *hukum* have the biggest among others, which mean the amount of such words expressed by ICJ members comments are mentioned more often than any other words. Such words also held meaning as it represents an idea of thoughts from the ICJ members. As we delve deeper into the analysis, the words thus uncover motives for such idea of violent normalization. It forms three distinct rationalizations for one to normalize, or justify, violence as a means to eradicate violent crimes happening in DIY. *First*, violence is justified to preserve the status quo, *keistimewaan* or 'positive' identity of DIY. This aligned with De Jong and Twikromo idea where DIY people tend to justify the killings of criminal to maintain the harmonious state of the society (De Jong & Twikromo, 2017).

The *second* motive is due to the weakness law system and the incapability of DIY police force to arrest and punish the perpetrator, this kind of expression mostly refer to the youth crime activity notably Klitih (Wibowo & Ma'ruf, 2019). *Three* motives are quite common, which is hatred towards the perpetrator, this expression specifically formed in curse word, mostly with local language, describing how the perpetrator should get, or even deserve everything bad (physically) coming to them. The hatred expressed derived from the assumption that the perpetrator is outsider (*bukan dari Jogja*) or uncultured as they do not represent common Javanese and DIY values. It is commonly known that the Javanese cultural value tends to produce individual, or society, which are capable on social intelligence, humility, self-regulation, forgiving and admirer of orderliness (Wijayanti &

Nurwianti, 2011). This sentiment particularly refers to the act commonly known in Indonesia as *main hakin sendiri*, or conceptually regarded as *Eigenrichting*, which refer to violence act violence against people suspected of committing criminal acts without going through a legal process (Hendrawati & Krisnan, 2019). To further the understanding, pie charts below consisted of 1000 comments posed as sample, chosen arbitrary, which include all the year of negative sentiment database of the research (2014-2021).
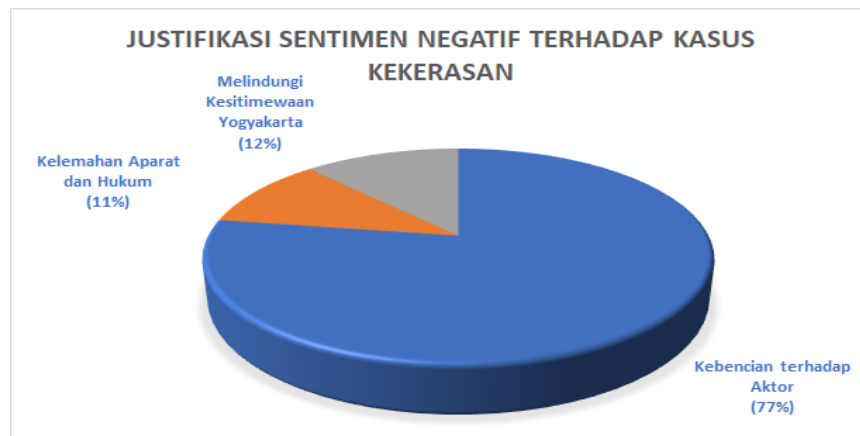

Figure 5. Pie chart of three justification of negative sentiment

The pie chart above shows the distribution of justification for negative sentiment from the public's comments on postings of existing cases of violence. As many as 77% of negative sentiments expressed hatred towards actors, namely the perpetrators of violence themselves, 12% expressed disappointment in protecting the specials of Yogyakarta, and 11% expressed public disappointment with the weakness of the apparatus and the law. The diverse motive of negative sentiments could be really problematic in terms of solving the problem of violent crimes in DIY. Not only because how dominating it is compared to other sentiment, but also because it held a rather fundamental and logical reason as it produced through rational thought based on the information to which they consume. In another words, the apparent violent crime therefore justifies DIY people to normalize crime through such mentioned motives. Thus, such finding proposes a serious, and somehow sinister mechanism of how violence sustain and perpetuate within DIY society. It could be argued that the reason why violent crimes keep occurring in DIY, despite how contrast it is to the society identity, is due to how the current reaction, which is violent normalization, prove to be ineffective, and somewhat aggressive as well as inaccurate, judging from social scientific realms (Kadir, 2012; Efianingrum, 2016; Amiarso, 2021).

4. The Sinister Reproduction of Normalizing Violence in Online Sentiment of DIY People

The emergence of the phenomenon of violent crimes in DIY certainly became a major shock. Because in addition to threatening the literal life of people in DIY, the existence of physical violence, especially of a criminal nature, also raises social tension from the community who perceives this to be a threat to the city's identity and culture. Thus, normalizing violence as a means to treat violent crimes occurring in DIY become somewhat rational and logical. This is certainly really problematic when we consider that in fact, the crimes of physical violence in DIY are produced in cultural and structural mechanism. The studies entitled "The Reality of Violence for High School Students in Yogyakarta City" was written by Ariefa Efianingrum explained that physical violence against students in Yogyakarta occurred because of the actor regeneration scheme that emerged due to the process of decreasing values that perpetuated physical violence behavior among students in Yogyakarta (Efianingrum, 2016). Moreover, in the context of violence in DIY, Hatib Kadir (2012) argued that the decentralized post-New Order Indonesian political climate create fresh new arena for civilian to compete for political and economic resources through articulation of violence and aggression.

In the context of research, it is found that conflict is manifested in a scheme where violent crimes that occur are faced (remedied) with a negative enforcement idea (sentiment). The existence of this type of violent crimes that is considered immoral and inhuman is responded to by the community by 'retaliating' against the perpetrators using non-formal instruments with the essence of violence itself. Specifically, retaliation and 'eradication' actions are carried out individually or communally by civil society by prioritizing the imposition of physical violence such as beatings, torture and beatings against perpetrators. The sentiments that were present showed the public's misconception of the occurrence of violent crimes in DIY. The sentiment of demanding legal punishment that bypasses human rights in order to be a deterrent and demanding changes to the child protection law to justify the eradication of klitih, indicates that the community views violence in DIY because of the weak regulations in force. This is contrary to the theory of structural violence. As explained by Weigert (2010) structural violence refers to the reality where the use of threats and pressure to harm others is caused by the interrelation between social aspects contained in the social system of society. Departing from the understanding that an act of violence committed by an individual or group is not only based on the moral damage of the perpetrator but the accumulation of the failure of the socialization process with the social institutions to which they are bound (Weigert, 2010). While online sentiment depicted in ICJ

mostly oriented in blaming formal institution. In the process, completely overlooking how the role of ordinary people in mitigating the problems of crime and violence.

The crimes and violence that occurred in DIY, through the lens of ICJ, suggested similarities with the work of Ruuteere et al. (2013) titled "Missing the Point: Violence Reduction and Policy Misadventure in Nairobi's poor Neighborhoods". As explained the violent crime that plagued the poor areas of Nairobi was like a vicious cycle that perpetuated crime and poverty. Social vulnerabilities that arise from violence triggered by economic tensions are not resolved by an assessment of the economic problem itself, such as handling youth unemployment and improving the quality of accommodation for basic needs (Ruteree et al, 2013). This seems to be parallel to what happened in DIY based on a study by Amiarso (2021) where scientific findings regarding violence related to social capital and economic capacity do not become the basis for efforts to handle violent crimes that occur. In fact, the deployment of special patrol troops is the public main response and solution in dealing with the problem of violent crimes in DIY. This situation shows that it is problematic because it places the action of the authorities to be authoritative by not embracing the elements of society in the formulation of its handling. The existence of this tendency rationalizes the response from the community which tends not to be conducive to the phenomenon of violent crime in DIY.

5. Public Discourses as Medium to Solidify and Perpetuate Normalizing Physical Violence in DIY

If one to contextualize its relevancy, the negative sentiment of ICJ members explains that the violent normalization behavior violence is product much broader context. The negative sentiment of ICJ members basically the mechanism of interplay between their existing knowledge and new information they consume, both of which contradict each other. Therefore, it problematizes contradiction in the life of the DIY people, living between their perception of 'positive' identity of DIY, and reality which is waves of violent crimes. Negotiations between these contradictions produce an idea that justifies violence a means to eradicate problems. To review critically, this problem can be conceptualized into a system justification framework bu Jost and Banajo (1994) which is a theory for the explanation of human cognition that tends to normalize activities that are considered 'right', what are allowed and indirectly make them agree to restrictions and prohibitions on such related behaviors. The tendency of behavior to justify the system is the presence of false consciousness based on identification of reality that is not fully relevant (Van der Toorn, J. & Jost, J.T., 2014). The theory of system justification can also be seen through the discourse

paradigm and the power of knowledge from Foucault. A specific narrative circulating in society stimulates values regarding social symbols that are considered a truth that must be defended, and if there is an entity that is considered threatening (phenomena or discourse) then the community will be willing to give up their wealth/energy/mind to eliminate the threat. so that 'the discourse can be enforced (Hardy & Phillips, 2004).

The discourses circulating in turn become the main tools for society to emphasize meaning and therefore establishing cultural identity which refer to the characteristics of their own society (Hall, 1989). One of the general understandings of this is the perception of DIY as a student city and as a special region (*istimewa*). Haryono (2014) explained that the existence of DIY as a student city is something factual, considering the number of universities and 20% of the population depending on the economic cycle generated by education. Another matter also involving the jargon "Jogja Istimewa" which is applied by the government as a city branding for marketing tourism activities, organized by tying the harmonious state and social beauty of DIY as a conducive and proper tourist destination (Wahyudi & Ratnasari, 2019). However, as it explained before, with such embedded positive identity DIY is not by any means detached from problems, it instead formulates dilemma in everyday life of the people. On one hand, there are advantages because identity as a city of education and tourism has positive implications for the morals and economy of the society. But on the other hand, it is undeniable true that maintaining such identities is quite complicated. If there is somehow certain phenomenon which forced a social change that is considered threatening for the credential of such identities, it will indirectly spark a willingness in society to eradicate it, even though it is pursued with problematic means and justifications.

To delve the deeper into the notion of 'positive' identity in DIY, one must understand the articulation of 'special' discourse which bounded DIY society. 'Special', or widely known as *istimewa* and *keistimewaan* Yogyakarta in practice is interpreted by the DIY society in various ways, but most notably by connecting good desirable, economically beneficial characteristics into DIY's identity. As explained by Nurnisya and Nurjanah (2016) back in 2015 as one of the orders of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X the tagline of *Never-Ending Asia* was changed into *Jogja Istimewa*, this reason being aside to bolster the tourism industry in DIY, such tagline (jargon) intended to make the wider community able to recognize and be able to implement the special aspect of DIY as a region to life in their daily lives. However, formal coordination of *Jogja Istimewa* in DIY was only carried out by the DIY Government through print and digital media to introduce it to the wider community, this in turn backfired as the people find it hard to grasp the conceptualization thus arising various interpretation which are contradictory to each other (Nurnisya & Nurjanah, 2016). Another

matter 'special' discourse proposed the same problem as the representation through discursive film which intended to conceptualize as well build the idea around the discourse itself. In the work of Kustanto et al. (2019) the movies from the competition by DIY culture department (Dinas kebudayaan) has failed to present an understandable, clear and logical construction which regards of DIY society as special. Such problem derives from the dominating nationalism and religious theme in the movies which in logical sense contradictory to the fact of DIY as a special region in Indonesia (Kustanto et al, 2019). Perhaps such dilemma revolving the special is by understanding how such discourse came about and formulated at the first place.

Based on the works Arifin (2011) discourse of special bounding to DIY could be argued manifested through political agenda for the quest of DIY autonomy. The consensus of DIY population in voicing specialty of DIY through historical and cultural dimension started by visual media discourse (in form of common sense, parody, scientific jargon, historical documents, public space claim and generalization) communicated in public space, such discourse was act of interpellation from the elites in DIY to sought support from the masses of the people (Arifin, 2011). It must be stressed that there was a riff of discourse between elites, those who argued that DIY autonomy as singular and formal system and those who argued that DIY autonomy ought to accommodate local cultural and value of the society (Arifin, 2011). Such riff could still be relevance nowadays and in fact manifested in the problem of movies stated in Kustanto et al. study. Therefore, idea of special discourse to which DIY people articulate today was a product of constructed hegemony by the elites.

As negative sentiments aligned with the contradiction revolving special discourse of DIY, the matter of problem could be identified as how the special discourse of DIY based on not so relevance narrative making them conceptualized fallacious reality (and perception of society). The study by Huda (2014) emphasized that the status of special revolving the region of Yogyakarta has gradually getting shallow on its meaning. Due to the fact that the dominating political discourse which in turn making special discourse held no relevancy other than to justify the autonomy of DIY and the sovereignty of DIY governor, known as *Sultan* (Huda, 2014). Other than that, the special discourse clearly held no credential to the truth as it contradicts the situation of reality in DIY. In the context of this research the discourse which seems to place violence as something that is in contrast to the reality of society collide with the fat that such violence itself is the outcome of social process in DIY. In reality the violent crimes occurring in the DIY is clearly the fruit of the segmentation of marginalized communities in DIY who turn to the behavior of crimes of physical violence to get social validation or economic strength (Putra & Suryadinata, 2020). Not only that, the level of marginality of the DIY society set an unlikely platform for harmonious condition to

prosper in society, as it limited the availability of social infrastructure to accommodate economy as well as mental needs of DIY population (Pratiyudha, 2019). Thus, the problem of discourse in solidifying violence normalization is the fact that it is not addressed to the socio economical problem of the society. Instead, it could be argued that the discourse of istimewa is a product of political articulation of the elites in DIY to established platform for neoliberal agenda (Yuniar & Efendi, 2018).

Such discourse then brings us to the understanding on how it sustained the problem of violence in DIY expressed through digital media. The special discourse then rationalizes expression of justification for DIY people to at the same time enact and permit the conduction of violence for solving the problem of violent crimes in the names of protecting dignity and harmonious DIY society (*menjaga marwah dan mempertahankan keharmonisan*) (De Jong & Twikromo, 2017). Such notion could be seen clearly as it contained in the comment's column as well as empirically in videos on the ICJ Facebook page. Such notion thus could be categorized as form of vigilantism. As a concept vigilantism is understood literally as the act of taking the law to be actualized with one's own hands "The taking of the law into one's own hands" (Rosenbaum & Sederberg, 1974, p. 542). The tendency of vigilantism that occurs in the DIY community is closely related to the process of justifying physical and verbal violent behavior to deal with violent crimes. In the study of Bateson (2021) it was found that the existence of vigilantism is categorized when a people is considered to have good faith in the context of justice but exceeds the rules established by applicable law, which known as extra-legal. This concept is clearly present in the case of negative sentiments compiled from the comments of ICJ members. The expression of sentiment of ICJ members agrees in understanding that violent crimes need to be dealt with and the perpetrators must be punished.

However, the tendency of expressions not necessarily heed the law by expressing that the appropriate punishment is physical abuse of the perpetrator, which is considered far from the procedures of the police and law regulations. The idea of vigilantism in the DIY community in responding to information on violent crimes at the ICJ has a tendency to be institutionalized because it is communicated with problematic hashtags, such as #petrus and #basmiklitih. Moreover, there is a sentiment of expression of appreciation for vigilantism with the hashtag #salamolahraga. It is even more problematic to understand that the research findings also suggest that the notion of vigilantism that exists in the DIY community blurs the boundaries of self-defense or attack because there are also online sentiments which posed on an idea to attack, injure and even kill perpetrators of physical violence on the spot. Therefore, the reaction of DIY goes beyond the concept of *main hakim sendiri*, which known to be reactional in the space and time of the event. DIY people reaction towards violent

crimes on the other hand prove to be more sinister than any other places in Indonesia. Referring to the conceptualization of Bateson (2021), the vigilantism tendencies of the DIY people expressed in the ICJ could be argued as collective, violent, public institutionalized, and offensive vigilantism.

6. Conclusion

The findings in this study have explored the rationalization of DIY people, represent by ICJ, regarding the information of violent crimes to which they consume in social media. It was found that the representation of violence in ICJ shapes the understanding of the DIY people towards their idea of violence mitigation within DIY physical environment. This study found two types of physical violence that occurred in ICJ, both related and influenced each other. Aside from violent crimes which are obvious, physical violence in DIY people also manifested in a rather sinister form, which is normalization of violence as a means to eradicate violent crimes. There are three factors of normalizing physical violence oriented in blaming the weakness of law and police force, perceiving violent crimes to threat of society identity, and the emotional hatred to the perpetrator which could be argued also derive from the perception society identity. Such factor could be regarded as social outcome which ought to be reflected, contemplated and revised as it fueled by the discourses circulating in the society. Moreover, sentiment which have been uncovered proved to be a complication towards an unrevealing problem

The long problem regarding the contradiction of the 'special' discourse and the label of Javanese society can be categorized as the cause of the community's initiative to normalize violence as means violence to take action against the violent crimes. However, an explanation of the formulation of violence in DIY has been put forward by various literatures who interprets that the wave of violence in DIY is caused by changes in the democratic social climate. Even so, the reasoning for the existence of physical violence in DIY tends to only revolve around the category of perpetrators of crimes or physical violence with a criminal motive. Departing from that matter, it is still a question of how physical violence, which acts as a counter to the eradication of violent crimes, occurs and continues to be sustainable, not only in implementation but also in public discourse that is in the empirical realm. The existence of vigilante tendencies seems to be an ideology and norm which is considered as a mechanism to deal with unwanted circumstances, upholding the status quo. In addition, the justification of violence further complicate problem by steering away public narrative regarding the discourse of social institutions degradation, such as families, welfare institution and the government, which causes violent crimes to continue to occur (SITASI).

Contemplating such finding then urges us to formulate a rather controversial though and question, which could be a counter to the existing problematic discourse. If the law was the problem, for not being strict enough, why then Klitih only happen in DIY and not in any other region in Indonesia? If 'special' discourse could establish a harmonious society, then how could violent crimes arise at the first place? Is perhaps the special discourse actually referring on how the vigilantism form is quite different from any other place in Indonesia? Such question proposed as counter discourse which in turn could be reflected by every element in society which therefore ignite a discussion of solution in form of mitigation.

The discourse of violence in urban areas and the digital era, starting from how it formulates to how it implicates the social order in the empirical realm prove to be a genuine issue which one ought to delve deeper. Urban violence is a concept that cannot be simplified as violence that occurs in cities. But more than that, urban violence is to understand how the genesis, characteristics and the role of political-economic patterns of urban structures perpetuate the existence of frictions, ideologies, situations and events that give rise to violence to sustain (Pavoni & Tulumello, 2020).

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