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Constructing In-Group and Out-Group Boundaries through Hate Speech: A Social Identity Analysis of Film *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri*

Konstruksi Batas In-Group dan Out-Group melalui Ujaran Kebencian: Analisis Identitas Sosial dalam Film Pengepungan di Bukit Duri

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Abstract

This study examines how hate speech constructs social identity in Joko Anwar's *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri*. Drawing on Social Identity Theory, the research investigates how linguistic practices in film dialogue produce boundaries between in-groups and out-groups. Using a qualitative content analysis approach, data were collected from dialogues, character interactions, and scenes containing expressions of prejudice, discrimination, and ethnic hostility. The findings reveal nine recurring forms of hate speech, including racial labeling, identity-based insults, dehumanization, threat stereotyping, symbolic hatred, normalization of violence, collective hostility, moral conflict, and the collapse of rigid social categorization. These forms function not merely as expressions of prejudice but as mechanisms through which social boundaries are constructed, maintained, and legitimized. The study demonstrates that hate speech operates as a representational practice that reinforces ethnic polarization while simultaneously exposing the fragility of exclusionary group identities. The findings contribute to scholarship on hate speech, social identity, and contemporary Indonesian cinema.

Keywords: Hate Speech; Social Identity Theory; In-Group and Out-Group; Indonesian Cinema; Ethnic Representation

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana ujaran kebencian membentuk identitas sosial dalam film *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri* karya Joko Anwar. Dengan menggunakan Social Identity Theory, penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana praktik kebahasaan dalam dialog film menghasilkan batas antara kelompok in-group dan out-group. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode analisis isi terhadap dialog, interaksi tokoh, dan adegan yang memuat prasangka, diskriminasi, serta permusuhan etnis. Hasil penelitian menemukan sembilan bentuk ujaran kebencian yang berulang, meliputi pelabelan rasial, penghinaan berbasis identitas, dehumanisasi, stereotip ancaman, simbolisasi kebencian, normalisasi kekerasan, permusuhan kolektif, konflik moral, dan runtuhnya kategorisasi sosial yang kaku. Bentuk-bentuk tersebut tidak hanya merepresentasikan prasangka, tetapi juga berfungsi sebagai mekanisme pembentukan dan legitimasi batas sosial antarkelompok. Temuan ini memperlihatkan bahwa ujaran kebencian berperan penting dalam reproduksi polarisasi etnis sekaligus mengungkap rapuhnya identitas kelompok yang dibangun secara eksklusif.

Kata Kunci: Ujaran Kebencian; Teori Identitas Sosial; In-Group dan Out-Group; Film Indonesia; Representasi Etnis



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INTRODUCTION

History must be preserved to prevent it from fading from society's collective memory. When a significant historical moment ceases to be discussed, there is a substantial risk that younger generations will lose their awareness of its importance and relevance. In Indonesia, one of the major turning points that brought profound political, social, and cultural transformations was the May 1998 Riots. The May 1998 Riots remain one of the most traumatic events in Indonesia's social history. The event not only demonstrated the occurrence of large-scale violence but also revealed the strength of racial sentiments and discrimination directed toward particular ethnic groups, especially the Chinese-Indonesian ethnic community. Within the historical context of Indonesia, Chinese Indonesians have long occupied a vulnerable position due to social constructions that distinguish majority and minority groups both politically and culturally. Assimilation policies during the New Order era further contributed to the formation of stereotypes and prejudices that have persisted in social life. Numerous studies have shown that hate speech and discrimination are often rooted in the categorization of specific social identities, such as ethnicity, religion, and other social groups, which are subsequently used to distinguish between "us" and "them" within society.¹ Although more than two decades have passed since the Reformasi era began, various studies indicate that racial prejudice against Chinese Indonesians continues to manifest through different forms of social discourse, both in digital media and popular culture.² This condition suggests that identity-based discrimination remains unresolved and continues to constitute part of contemporary Indonesian social reality.

According to Stuart Hall, media do not merely reflect reality; they also construct meaning through the language, symbols, and images produced within a culture.³ Within cultural studies, film is understood as a medium of representation that plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of social reality. A cinematic work is capable of packaging social issues into emotionally engaging narratives, allowing its messages to resonate with and be effectively received by diverse audiences.⁴ Film operates through narratives, dialogues, symbols, and visual elements that can either reproduce or challenge dominant discourses within society. Through this representational process, films contribute to the construction of understandings regarding identity, power relations, and the position of particular social groups in social life. The connection between film and issues such as racism, discrimination, and hate speech can be observed in the way cinematic texts frequently contain social constructions of groups positioned as dominant and those regarded as "the others." From a cultural studies perspective, film is viewed as a site of meaning production that can either reinforce or critique social inequalities within society.⁵ This understanding provides an important foundation for examining how social identity and hate speech are represented through dialogue in contemporary Indonesian cinema.

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- 1 Fauzan Novaldy Pratama et al., "Social Identity Concept Adjustment in Hate Speech Corpus: A Computational Linguistics Approach," *Jurnal Sosioteknologi* 24, no. 2 (2025): 266–77, <https://doi.org/10.5614/sostek.itbj.2025.24.2.10>.
 - 2 Hasan Sazali et al., "Mapping Hate Speech Relationships Indonesia's Religion and State in Social Media," *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 6, no. 2 (2022): 189–208, <https://doi.org/10.15575/cjik.v6i2.20431>.
 - 3 Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications & Open University Press, 1997).
 - 4 Marta Rocchi, Dirk C Moosmayer, and Ignacio Ferrero, "Virtue Ethics Learning through Movies – A Pedagogical Roadmap to MacIntyre's Virtue Approach Using the Boiler Room Movie," *The International Journal of Management Education* 24, no. 1 (March 2026): 101303, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijme.2025.101303>; Ahmad Zaini, "Toleransi Antar Umat Beragama Dalam Film '?' (Tanda Tanya) Dan Ayat-Ayat Cinta 2," *KOMUNIKASI: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 14, no. 1 (2020): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v14i1.2052>.
 - 5 Habibah, "Film Sebagai Alat Transformasi Sosial: Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough Pada Film Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri (Skripsi)" (Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember, 2025).

Themes surrounding social upheaval and historical riots in Indonesia have inspired the creation of numerous national cinematic works. Such historical backgrounds can be found in films such as *Habibie & Ainun* (2012), *Di Balik 98* (2015), and *Aum!* (2021). Generally, these films utilize the social crisis surrounding the 1998 Reformasi movement as the central axis of their narratives.⁶ However, *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri* (*The Siege at Thorn High*) (2025), directed by Joko Anwar, presents a distinct approach. *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri* (2025) is Joko Anwar's eleventh feature film, released on April 17, 2025, by Amazon MGM Studios as the first collaboration between the Hollywood studio and the Indonesian production company Come and See Pictures. The film is set in Indonesia in 2027, portraying a dystopian society shaped not by technology or external threats, but by the accumulation of unresolved historical violence.⁷ The narrative centers on Edwin (played by Morgan Oey), a Chinese-Indonesian substitute art teacher who lives in a constant state of vigilance, aware that his ethnic identity could at any moment place him in danger. Edwin arrives at Bukit Duri Senior High School in East Jakarta, a school notorious for its culture of violence. He goes there in search of his nephew, his only remaining family member. At the school, Edwin confronts Jefri (Omara Esteghlal) and his group, a collection of students who openly harbor racial hatred and do not hesitate to commit violence against Chinese Indonesians. Through this narrative, the film portrays hate speech and ethnic discrimination not as anomalies but as part of the everyday language of a society that has failed to process its collective trauma. Joko Anwar himself stated that the film was deliberately designed to present social realities in a measured manner, including the use of a trigger warning at the beginning of the film due to its explicit depictions of violence, trauma, and hate speech.

Although presented as a fictional narrative about social tensions in an urban setting, the film is closely connected to the historical trauma of the May 1998 Riots. Through interactions among its characters, the film presents various forms of stigma, prejudice, and discriminatory speech that illustrate the polarization between majority and minority groups. Dialogue in the film functions not only as a narrative device but also as a means of constructing social identities that distinguish between “us” (the in-group) and “them” (the out-group). This representation demonstrates that language plays a crucial role in establishing social boundaries between groups while simultaneously reproducing identity-based hatred. Consequently, the film constitutes a relevant object of study for examining the relationship between hate speech and the construction of social identity within cinematic texts.

As an academic object of inquiry, *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri* has attracted the attention of several scholars and has been examined through various analytical approaches. One previous study employed Roland Barthes' semiotic framework to identify representations of racism within the film. The study found evidence of overt racism, covert racism, internalized racism, and structural racism expressed through visual scenes and symbolic elements.⁸ Meanwhile, another study analyzed the same film from the perspective of Émile Durkheim's sociology of religion. The findings indicated that religious symbols and values functioned to foster social solidarity and served as moral foundations for resisting discriminatory practices.⁹ Both studies made important

6 Erfah Nanda, “7 Film Indonesia Terinspirasi Kerusuhan Nyata, Ada Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri,” *IDN Times*, 2025, <https://www.idntimes.com/hype/entertainment/film-indonesia-terinspirasi-kerusuhan-nyata-00-19lfczt7hc>.

7 Achmad Ghiffary Mannan, “Serba-Serbi Film Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri: Potret Distopia 2027,” *Tempo*, 2025, <https://www.tempo.co/teroka/serba-serbi-film-pengepungan-di-bukit-duri-potret-distopia-2027-1237589>.

8 Ahmad Eka Muktiwibawa, Andiwi Meifilina, and Hanik Amaria, “Representasi Rasisme dalam Film ‘Pengepungan di Bukit Duri,’” *Journal Media Akademik* 3, no. 10 (2025): 3031–5220, <https://jurnal.mediaakademik.com/index.php/jma/article/view/2875>.

9 Taufikurrohman Taufikurrohman and Haqqul Yaqin, “Legitimasi Agama Terhadap Perlawanan Rasisme: Analisis Film Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri Perspektif Emile Durkheim,” *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Agama Dan Ilmu Pengetahuan* 22, no. 2 (2025): 488–501, [https://doi.org/10.25299/ajaip.2025.vol22\(2\).25131](https://doi.org/10.25299/ajaip.2025.vol22(2).25131).

contributions to understanding social representations in the film; however, their analyses remained focused primarily on visual aspects and broader sociological dimensions. The role of language in dialogue as a mechanism for constructing group identity has not yet been explored.

Another study utilized Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the film's narrative of social criticism. The study found that the film critiques the state's failure to protect minority groups.¹⁰ In addition, another study employed Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis framework to investigate the reconstruction of the 1998 tragedy within the film. The findings demonstrated that the use of racially charged vocabulary constructs an opposition between majority and minority groups.¹¹ These studies highlight the important role of language in shaping power relations and producing social meaning within the film. Nevertheless, previous research has generally treated dialogue as part of broader discourse analysis and has not specifically examined hate speech as a linguistic practice that constructs social boundaries between groups.

Based on the review of previous studies, a significant research gap remains. Earlier research has primarily focused on representations of racism, social symbols, and historical reconstruction through semiotic and critical discourse analytical approaches. In contrast, the examination of hate speech in film dialogue as an instrument for constructing social identity has received limited scholarly attention. Yet dialogue plays a crucial role in establishing social categorizations that distinguish one group from another. Hate speech functions not only as an expression of emotion but also as a means of reinforcing prejudice, creating social distance, and affirming the position of dominant groups over minority groups. A more focused analysis of dialogue is therefore necessary to understand how hate speech operates in the construction of social identity within film narratives.

This study adopts an interdisciplinary approach by integrating hate speech studies with Social Identity Theory developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner. The theory posits that social identity is formed through processes of social categorization, social identification, and social comparison between one's own group and other groups.¹² Within the context of film, these processes can be observed through the use of language in character dialogues. Dialogues containing hate speech can reveal how characters construct group identities, strengthen internal solidarity, and discriminate against other groups. This approach was selected because it provides a comprehensive framework for explaining the relationship between linguistic practices and social-psychological mechanisms involved in group identity formation. Accordingly, this study not only describes the forms of hate speech present in the film but also analyzes how such speech functions in constructing in-group and out-group relations.

Based on the foregoing discussion, this study aims to describe and analyze the construction of social identity and the forms of hate speech represented in the dialogues of Joko Anwar's *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri*. The study focuses on identifying forms of hate speech within the film's dialogues and examining the mechanisms of group identity formation through in-group and out-group relations. In addition, it seeks to understand how film dialogue reproduces ethnic prejudice associated with the historical trauma of the May 1998 Riots. The findings are expected to contribute to the development of scholarship on hate speech and social identity in cultural media, particularly within the study of contemporary Indonesian cinema.

10 Habibah, "Film Sebagai Alat Transformasi Sosial: Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough Pada Film *Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri* (Skripsi)."

11 Prasanti Ayuningtyas Prawirohardjo and Triyono Lukmantoro, "Analisis Wacana Rekonstruksi Sejarah 1998 Pada Film *Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri*," *SOSMANIORA (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora)* 5, no. 1 (2026): 348–58, <https://journal.literasisains.id/index.php/sosmaniora/article/view/7733>.

12 Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," in *Political Psychology* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 2019), 276–93, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505984-16>.

Method

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach using the content analysis method. The selection of this method was based on several academic considerations. First, qualitative research is inherently oriented toward elaboration, description, and in-depth understanding of a particular case study.¹³ Second, the method aligns with the nature of the research data, which requires comprehensive analysis. This approach was chosen because the study aims to interpret the meanings underlying hate speech and to understand how social identity is symbolically constructed within film as a medium. The data source for this study was the film *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri*. Research data were drawn as extensively as possible from primary sources, including dialogue fragments (utterances), character expressions, and sequences of scenes that represent hate speech, prejudice, and discrimination among social groups portrayed in the film.

To provide a comprehensive explanation, content analysis, also referred to as document analysis, was employed. In content analysis, two types of content constitute the primary focus of investigation: manifest content and latent content. Manifest content refers to messages that are explicitly presented in a text or medium, whereas latent content refers to the underlying meanings embedded within the communication process.¹⁴ Data were collected through a documentation study using observation and note-taking procedures. The researchers repeatedly viewed the film to gain a thorough understanding of its narrative context, characterization, and the dynamics of intergroup conflict. Dialogues identified as instances of hate speech were subsequently transcribed, accompanied by detailed notes regarding their situational context, including who was speaking, to whom the utterance was directed, and under what circumstances it occurred. These contextual details were used to enhance the depth of the analysis.

As with qualitative research in general, interpretation serves as the foundation of the analytical process. Data analysis was conducted systematically based on the interactive analysis model proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, integrated with the perspective of Social Identity Theory (SIT) developed by Tajfel and Turner.¹⁵ The data analysis process consisted of four stages: data reduction, data categorization, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Through this interpretive process, the study employed a descriptive qualitative analytical technique. Accordingly, this study can be classified as descriptive qualitative research because it not only identifies the forms of hate speech represented in the film but also describes and interprets the meanings and social identity constructions underlying those forms in a comprehensive and contextual manner.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Film, Social Identity, and Hate Speech as Practices of Social Representation

Film is a form of mass media that functions not only as a source of entertainment but also as a site for the production and reproduction of social meaning within society. From the perspective of cultural studies, film is understood as a cinematic text that operates through systems of representation to shape audiences' perceptions of social reality.¹⁶ Through language, symbols, characters, and narrative structures, films do more than merely reflect reality; they actively construct public understandings of various social issues. Consequently, film plays a significant role in shaping perceptions of identity, social differences, and intergroup relations within society.

13 Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2019).

14 Gusti Yasser Arafat, "Membongkar Isi Pesan dan Media dengan Content Analysis," *Alhadharah: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 17, no. 33 (January 2, 2019): 32, <https://doi.org/10.18592/alhadharah.v17i33.2370>.

15 Matthew B Miles, A Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2019).

16 Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*.

In the context of Indonesian cinema, representations of social identity are often manifested through portrayals of majority and minority groups, power relations, and various forms of social conflict occurring within society. According to Kurnia and Hidayatullah, social identity in film is constructed through systems of signs that reproduce values, ideologies, and power structures characteristic of a particular period.¹⁷ Through dialogue, characterization, conflict, and visual symbolism, films not only depict specific social groups but also establish social boundaries that distinguish those considered dominant from those positioned as outsiders. As a result, representations of minority groups in film are frequently associated with stereotypes, prejudices, and forms of discrimination that have already developed within society.¹⁸

To understand how social identity is constructed in film, this study employs Social Identity Theory (SIT), developed by Tajfel and Turner.¹⁹ This theory explains that social identity is formed through individuals' membership in particular social groups. Individuals tend to categorize themselves and others based on attributes such as ethnicity, religion, culture, and other social backgrounds. This process results in a distinction between the in-group, with which individuals identify, and the out-group, which is perceived as different. Such categorization serves as the foundation for the emergence of various intergroup perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors.

According to Tajfel and Turner, the formation of social identity occurs through three principal stages: social categorization, social identification, and social comparison. During the stage of social categorization, individuals simplify social reality by classifying people into particular categories. The next stage, social identification, occurs when individuals internalize the values and norms of their group as part of their self-identity. Subsequently, through the process of social comparison, individuals tend to maintain a positive image of their own group by comparing it with other groups. This process often gives rise to in-group favoritism, namely the tendency to evaluate one's own group more positively while evaluating out-groups more negatively. Such conditions may evolve into stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, and even intergroup conflict.

The development of social identity studies has shown that relationships between in-groups and out-groups are often expressed through linguistic practices, one of which is hate speech. Hate speech is understood as a form of communication that supports or justifies discrimination, insults, or hatred directed at individuals or groups based on particular identities such as race, ethnicity, religion, or other social characteristics.²⁰ From a broader perspective, hate speech is not merely an expression of individual prejudice but also functions as a symbolic instrument that reinforces social hierarchies and maintains the dominance of certain groups over others.²¹

The connection between social identity and hate speech can be observed in the ways dominant groups construct negative images of out-groups through labeling, stereotyping, generalization, and dehumanization. Bilewicz and Soral explain that repeated exposure to hate speech can erode

17 Novi Kurnia and Mochammad Taufik Hidayatullah, "Ibu(Isme) Dan Film Orde Baru: Representasi Ibu Dalam Film Jangan Menangis Mama," *Jurnal Komunikasi* 18, no. 2 (April 30, 2024): 207–28, <https://doi.org/10.20885/komunikasi.vol18.iss2.art6>.

18 Dana Mastro, "Why the Media's Role in Issues of Race and Ethnicity Should Be in the Spotlight," *Journal of Social Issues* 71, no. 1 (March 13, 2015): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12093>.

19 Tajfel and Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior."

20 Seul Lee and Anne Gilliland, "Evolving Definitions of Hate Speech: The Impact of a Lack of Standardized Definitions," in *Lecture Notes in Computer Science*, 2024, 141–56, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-57860-1_11.

21 Ismael Cortés, "Hate Speech, Symbolic Violence, and Racial Discrimination. Antigypsyism: What Responses for the Next Decade?," *Social Sciences* 10, no. 10 (September 27, 2021): 360, <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10100360>.

anti-discrimination norms and normalize unequal treatment of particular groups.²² In this context, hate speech serves as a linguistic manifestation of in-group and out-group dynamics because it functions to reinforce the superiority of one’s own group while simultaneously delegitimizing others. In other words, language is used not only as a means of communication but also as a mechanism for constructing identity and power relations.


Within the medium of film, hate speech may be represented either explicitly or implicitly through dialogue, visual symbols, and interactions among characters. Such representations position film as a space where social identities are constructed, negotiated, and maintained within social life. Therefore, an analysis of the dialogues in *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri* is particularly relevant for understanding how hate speech functions in constructing social categorization between in-groups and out-groups, while simultaneously reproducing ethnic prejudices rooted in Indonesia’s historical experiences and contemporary social dynamics.

Social Identity Construction and the Representation of Hate Speech

Pengepungan di Bukit Duri presents a representation of ethnic conflict that is constructed not only through its narrative and characters’ actions but also through linguistic practices saturated with hate speech. The dialogues throughout the film demonstrate how social identities are constructed, negotiated, and maintained through labeling, stereotyping, and various forms of discrimination directed toward particular groups. In this context, hate speech functions not merely as a dramatic device but as a mechanism that establishes social boundaries between dominant and marginalized groups.



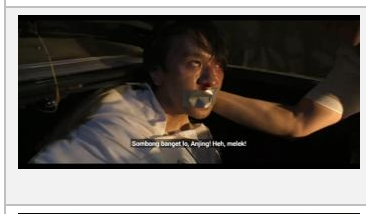




To understand this process, the present study analyzes various forms of hate speech appearing in the film’s dialogues and scenes through the lens of Social Identity Theory developed by Tajfel and Turner. The analysis focuses on the processes of social categorization, social identification, and intergroup comparison that give rise to in-group and out-group relations. The identification and classification of the data reveal several recurring patterns of hate speech that consistently contribute to the construction of social identity within the film’s narrative. These findings are presented systematically in Table 1.

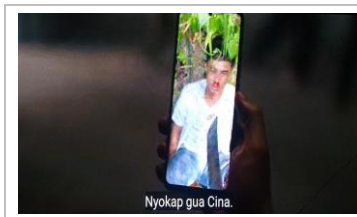
Table 1. Classification of Social Identity Construction and Hate Speech in Film

Movie Scene	The Construction of Social Identity and Hate Speech
	<p>Racial Polarization and Threat Stereotyping. The dialogues “Hey, there’s a Chinese! There’s a Chinese!”, “Open up! Pig!”, and “You’re the real danger. Chinese.” demonstrate racial labeling that positions the Chinese-Indonesian ethnic group as an out-group. The use of the terms <i>Chinese</i> and <i>pig</i> functions not only as an insult but also as a means of constructing social boundaries between the dominant group and the minority group.</p>

22 Michal Bilewicz and Wiktor Soral, “Hate Speech Epidemic. The Dynamic Effects of Derogatory Language on Intergroup Relations and Political Radicalization,” *Political Psychology* 41, no. S1 (August 19, 2020): 3–33, <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12670>.

Constructing In-Group and Out-Group Boundaries

	<p>Symbolization of Hatred and Group Identity Marking. Graffiti bearing the word <i>Pig</i> on a wall serves as a visual representation of collective hatred toward a particular group. The symbol reflects a process of dehumanization that reinforces the identity of the dominant group while degrading the minority group.</p>
	<p>Ethnic Dehumanization and Dominant Group Solidarity. The dialogue “Let’s get out of here. Let’s go hunt pigs.” employs an animal metaphor to refer to Chinese Indonesians. The use of this term illustrates how dehumanization is utilized to strengthen the internal solidarity of the dominant group.</p>
	<p>Racial Insults through Physical Stereotypes. The utterance “You’re so arrogant, you dog! Hey, open your eyes!” demonstrates a practice of <i>othering</i> through insults directed at physical characteristics associated with a particular ethnic group.</p>
	<p>Apathy, Stigmatization, and the Normalization of Violence. The dialogue “Those pigs should all be wiped out” reflects acceptance of violence against an out-group and illustrates how racial stigma becomes normalized in social interactions.</p>
	<p>Out-Group Dehumanization through Animalization. The insults “Pig!” and “Die! Dog!” demonstrate efforts to degrade another group by equating its members with animals, thereby making violence against them appear more justifiable.</p>
	<p>Moral Conflict and the Fracturing of Group Identity Solidarity. The debate surrounding Sim’s death reveals the emergence of a moral crisis within the dominant group when group loyalty comes into conflict with humanitarian values.</p>
	<p>Rejection of Collective Violence and the Collapse of Group Solidarity. The group members’ decision to abandon Jefri signifies the breakdown of solidarity that had previously been built upon group identity and collective violence.</p>



Tragic Irony and the Illusion of Social Categorization in Racial Polarization. The revelation of Jefri's ethnic identity demonstrates that the boundary between the in-group and out-group constructed throughout the film is ultimately socially constructed rather than absolute.

Source: Joko Anwar²³

Based on Table 1, *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri* represents hate speech through nine principal forms that consistently construct social boundaries between majority and minority groups. These findings indicate that hate speech in the film does not emerge as an isolated expression of individual prejudice; rather, it functions as part of a broader system of meaning that shapes intergroup relations. Racial labeling, identity-based insults, dehumanization, and the normalization of violence repeatedly appear in both dialogue and visual symbols. This pattern demonstrates that ethnic identity serves not only as a marker of social difference but also as a criterion for determining who belongs to the in-group and who is positioned as an outsider.

From the perspective of Social Identity Theory, this phenomenon reflects the process of social categorization. Individuals and groups tend to simplify social reality by dividing the world into categories of “us” and “them.” This process is evident in the repeated use of terms such as *Chinese*, *pig*, and various physical stereotypes throughout the film.²⁴ These labels function not merely as verbal insults but as symbolic mechanisms that reinforce the distinction between the in-group and the out-group. In other words, hate speech operates as a tool of social categorization that consolidates the identity of the dominant group while simultaneously excluding minority groups from the broader social community.

The findings also demonstrate how the process of social identification operates through the construction of group solidarity. The use of dehumanizing terms such as *pig* is intended not only to demean Chinese Indonesians but also to create a common enemy that strengthens the cohesion of the dominant group. In situations of social conflict, the existence of a shared adversary often serves as an effective means of reinforcing internal group loyalty. This dynamic explains why hate speech in the film appears collectively and repeatedly rather than being expressed by a single individual. These findings are consistent with the study by Bachari et al., which argues that hate speech frequently functions as an instrument for constructing group identity and maintaining social boundaries between communities.²⁵

Furthermore, the findings reveal that hate speech evolves from simple labeling into the normalization of violence. When a group is continuously represented as threatening, different, or inferior, discriminatory actions against that group become increasingly easier to justify. This process is reflected in various scenes that portray apathy toward the suffering of minority groups and support for acts of violence against them. These findings support the argument of Bilewicz and Soral, who contend that repeated exposure to hate speech can erode anti-discrimination norms and increase tolerance for exclusionary and repressive behavior toward particular groups.²⁶ Thus, hate speech produces not only symbolic effects but also has the potential to generate broader social consequences.

23 Joko Anwar, *Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri* (Indonesia, 2025).

24 Tajfel and Turner, “The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior.”

25 Pratama et al., “Social Identity Concept Adjustment in Hate Speech Corpus: A Computational Linguistics Approach.”

26 Bilewicz and Soral, “Hate Speech Epidemic. The Dynamic Effects of Derogatory Language on Intergroup Relations and Political Radicalization.”

The findings of this study also reinforce previous research identifying representations of racism and social opposition in *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri*. Muktiwibawa et al.²⁷ identified forms of overt, covert, and structural racism in the film, while Prawihardjo and Lukmantoro²⁸ demonstrated that the use of racially charged vocabulary constructs an opposition between majority and minority groups. However, the present study shows that the function of hate speech extends beyond the mere representation of racism. Hate speech also serves as a mechanism for constructing social identity, enabling dominant groups to maintain symbolic superiority through the construction of an out-group perceived as dangerous, unequal, and deserving of marginalization.

Interestingly, the film does not conclude merely with the reproduction of prejudice and social polarization. The final two findings reveal fractures within the solidarity of the dominant group and the collapse of the rigid social categorizations previously established. The revelation that Jefri is of Chinese descent demonstrates that social identity is inherently fluid and cannot be reduced to a simple dichotomy between in-group and out-group. This revelation serves as a critique of the exclusionary logic underlying hate speech while simultaneously illustrating that identity boundaries often regarded as absolute are, in fact, social constructions open to question and reinterpretation. Consequently, *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri* not only represents the practice of hate speech but also offers a critical reflection on how prejudice and social conflict are constructed, maintained, and ultimately challenged by the more complex realities of identity.

CONCLUSION

This study identified nine forms of hate speech in the dialogues of Joko Anwar's *Pengepungan di Bukit Duri*, manifested through stereotypical labeling, identity-based insults, ethnic dehumanization, group polarization, the visual symbolization of hatred, apathy toward violence, the normalization of stigma, solidarity rooted in collective hatred, moral conflict within the dominant group, and the irony of social categorization. These nine forms consistently construct social boundaries between the indigenous group as the dominant in-group and the Chinese-Indonesian ethnic group as the out-group, which is portrayed as different, threatening, and unequal in terms of human worth.

Through the framework of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the study found that dialogue in the film functions not merely as a narrative device but also as an active mechanism for reproducing ethnic prejudice rooted in the historical trauma of the May 1998 Riots. The processes of social categorization, social identification, and social comparison are explicitly reflected through word choice, intonation, and the situational context of each scene. The film also presents a more complex dynamic by demonstrating that the solidarity of the dominant group is neither permanent nor immutable, but instead begins to fracture when acts of violence exceed the group's internal moral boundaries. The culmination of this irony occurs when the character who most aggressively constructs the distinction between the in-group and the out-group is ultimately revealed to possess the very ethnic identity he has long despised, thereby underscoring the fundamentally illusory nature of rigid social categorization.

Based on these findings, this study recommends that contemporary Indonesian films addressing issues of ethnic discrimination be examined not only through visual and sociological perspectives but also through in-depth linguistic analysis, particularly with regard to hate speech as a discursive practice of identity construction. These findings may serve as a consideration for fostering more critical and reflective representations of ethnic prejudice, enabling films not

27 Muktiwibawa, Meifilina, and Amaria, "Representasi Rasisme dalam Film 'Pengepungan di Bukit Duri.'"

28 Prawirohardjo and Lukmantoro, "Analisis Wacana Rekonstruksi Sejarah 1998 Pada Film Pengepungan Di Bukit Duri."

merely to reproduce stigma but also to encourage social reconciliation. Future research is recommended to expand this line of inquiry by incorporating audience responses as active interpreters of social identity constructions in film, thereby providing a more comprehensive understanding of cultural media analysis.

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