# DIGILANTISM PRACTICE: THE ONLINE SHAMING FOR THE CHEATERS

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## ABSTRACT

Pelakor, or perebut lelaki orang (someone who cheats with their husband) is a term that is very common on the internet, especially on social media such as Facebook. The trend of shaming and viral-ing 'pelakor' on social media is an interesting and recurring consumption. The practice of online shaming, and going viral is a practice that is normalized by some social media users. This article wants to explore how online shaming practices are carried out by Anti Pelakor Indonesian facebook groups and discussed with digilantism concept. Netnography is used in this research to see virtual activities occurring in groups. As well as virtual observations during January – June 2019 and interviews with shaming actors to enrich the data. The results of the API Group's observations describe data granulation, ranging from uploads of disclosures of household problems and mistress, viral practices, online shaming, and doxing, to wiretapping the Whatsapp instant messaging application which leads to the practice of spreading privacy. The practice of shaming has some benefits also risks and raises ethical problems.

## 1. Introduction

*Viral Kisah Pelakor: Ketika Adik Kandung Dua Kali Rebut Suami Kakaknya, Nikita Mirzani Pun Terkejut, (Tribun-Medan.com)*
(Viral Story Of Pelakor: When a younger sibling wins over his sister's husband, Nikita Mirzani is shocked, (Tribun-Medan.com))
*Viral Video Istri Sah Labrak Pelakor di Blora (damarinfo.com)*
Viral Video of the Wife Confronting Her Husband's Mistress in Blora (damarinfo.com)

Some of the news article titles above are the results of search engine searches that use the keyword pelakor. Since 2017, pelakor has been a hot topic of discussion both on social media and in mainstream television media. With the development of technology, various phenomena have occurred because of the term pelakor. Shaming, doxing, and viraling are the most common things that social media users do when they discover their husband's affair.

In the early 2000s, there was a rapid culmination of technological progress, and information and telecommunication technology became a trend in the lives of every individual. Humans used this technology every moment, every time, and every second. Activities started

to become easier with the various conveniences offered, ranging from communication, information, transactions, education, entertainment, and even the most personal needs that could be served with this technology. Today, entering the 4.0 industrial revolution, and almost the 5.0 industrial revolution, technological developments are undeniable, including the development of communication technology. The rapid development of communication technology has an impact on changing communication patterns and processes (Ngafifi, 2014).

The movement of communication media from conventional to digital media also has implications for how humans communicate. Those who used to prefer to gather and socialize in the real world, now prefer to gather in online communities, so the process of communication is not the same as it was before the internet developed (Jabbar, 2019). Technology makes communication able to transcend space and time. The emergence of increasingly diverse digital technology every year makes a person dependent and unable to escape from these technological advancements (Rahardaya, 2022). When an individual puts information on the internet, it can never be stopped, and the information will spread.

The ease of disseminating information is a double-edged sword for today's citizens. On one hand, information can be easily disseminated and obtained. On the other hand, information can easily spread and become viral. One of the phenomena that is widely discussed and always draws enthusiasts on social media is about infidelity. Many women upload their personal stories regarding their relationships that were damaged by a third party. The news quickly goes viral and receives support from various parties. This phenomenon, which is never without enthusiasts, has finally made many parties take advantage of the moment with the large number of groups/fan pages present on Facebook, aimed at supporting victims of infidelity, such as the Anti-Pelakor Indonesia group (API), which has 43,300 Facebook followers.

The term pelakor is currently widely used in cyberspace. "Pelakor," or an acronym for usurper of people (in Bahasa: perebut lelaki orang), is a special concern that is never without enthusiasts in cyberspace. Especially with the emergence of the hashtag #WomenSupportWomen, which further emphasizes that victims of perpetrators who incidentally are women receive full support from other women in cyberspace. The term "accomplice" began to boom when several cases involving extramarital affairs of celebrities in Indonesia emerged, and the term "precipitator" went viral. There has been a shift in the term from what used to be known as "WIL" (another's ideal woman for men) to pelakor (usurper for men).

The phenomenon of the trend of viralizing pelakor has occurred several times on social media, for example, the phenomenon of raining money, Mrs. Dendy, also the phenomenon of betrayal of the husband  that has turned into a book called layangan putus and a viral web series with the same title. It doesn't just stop at the bustling pelakor phenomena, but the viral phenomenon of actors also resonates on various social media platforms and even online news. This movement to make pelakor viral doesn't just upload photos of them, but in several cases, identity cards were also uploadedby the actors on social media without the consent of the "pelakor," which directly violated their privacy. This phenomenon cannot be justified, given that each individual has their privacy limits, and any disclosure of privacy requires the consent of the concerned individual (Petronio, 2002). It's not only personal data that is disseminated, but uploads are also often added to stories, provoking other parties to comment.

The movement of uploading, adding stories, and shaming someone (who in this case is the pelakor) is often referred to as online social shaming. Online social shaming involves the intentional collection and dissemination of potentially stigmatizing information in a widely accessible manner, and in which observers (including members of the public) can often provide input to the problem (Oravec, 2019). With the stigma that has been attached to pelakor, it makes them increasingly marginalized and targeted for harassment, especially on social media. The existence of online media also makes the phenomenon of social shaming easier to spread.

The purpose of uploading information about the pelakor is to embarrass them, thus providing social sanctions against the practice of pelakor. Moreover, infidelity and marital relations outside of marriage are still taboo in Indonesia. As stated by Joanne Jacobs in Katz

(2004) society's values can be measured by what makes people feel afraid because of shame. Other theorists have linked shame to reputation, pointing out how it can extend the reach of society's laws: "Shaming—public attempts to impose shame on others—is an equally important driver of behavior. People try to avoid humiliation and loss of reputation; we avoid 'bad' behavior even if it would benefit us" (Rosenblatt, 2013).

The impact received by victims of online shaming is also heavy. The negative impact of online shaming on the subject can affect several aspects. Psychological consequences, for example, can cause depression and increase suicidal ideation, as well as short- and long-term economic and social consequences for victims of shaming (Oravec, 2019). In the case of pelakor, online bullying with words that corner, blame, and insult will be experienced by the perpetrators of the pelakor. This concept is carried out by the pelakor's victim to seek justice that they feel they do not get, as well as inviting other people to take the blame to the point of bullying the perpetrators of the pelakor. Some groups support the use of online shaming because of their "belief in a fair world" (Hou, Jiang, & Wang, 2017). However, for many others, such practices reinforce debilitating states and breed hopelessness.

The development of the digital world is increasingly putting online shaming into the spotlight. The ease of sharing information creates the concept of virality. Online shaming is an interesting phenomenon to study because it involves psychology, law, criminology, sociology, and communication. The spread of identities carried out by victims of pelakor is certainly an abuse of social media that also includes violations of the law on social media. The existence of social media blurs the boundaries between privacy and public information that can be shared with the general public. This background makes this article interesting to discuss. This journal discusses the phenomenon of online shaming against perpetrators, focusing on the Anti-Pelakor Indonesia Facebook group (API). The purpose of this journal is to provide an overview of how online shaming and doxing practices are carried out by a number of social media users, especially in the case of "pelakor."

Social media is like magic for its users in encouraging the disclosure of personal data such as date of birth, cellphone number, and current location. Social media platforms like Facebook and MySpace change cultural trends, familiarity in communicating, and confidence in technology in storing personal information, which ultimately plays a role in the phenomenon of disclosing information on social media (Acquisti & Gross, 2006). Sarikakis and Winter (2017) explored the meaning of privacy created by social media users in the legal dimension related to online violations and threats. They investigated how social media users negotiate privacy breaches and what their role is in understanding privacy law. The findings of this study show that privacy is almost universally understood as a matter of controlling one's data, and respondents tend to be aware of protecting privacy with conscious efforts to avoid privacy violations. 'Self-protection' is a tactic that social media users use by withdrawing if there is a privacy violation. Specifically, engaging in shaming on social media is an act of seeking justice for the victim of an affair perpetrator (pelakor), or what is now known as digital vigilantism or digilantism.

The term "digilantism" is a combination of "digital" and "vigilantism." Vigilantism refers to efforts to take justice into one's own hands and is a term commonly used in legal scholarship (Johnston, 1996). The term digilantism is used to describe DIY efforts to secure justice online. It is often referred to as e-vigilantism, cyber vigilantism, internet vigilantism, flash mob justice, and others (Reichl, 2019).The practice of digilantism involves a combination of public shaming, calling for action, surveillance, and damaging reputations (Trottier, 2020). Digilantism gained public attention after the 2013 Boston Marathon bombing, marked by the appearance of "digilantes" (Coldewey, 2013).

Long before the Boston incident, vigilantism in cyberspace was practiced in Shenzhen, China, to expose government officials who sexually abused children. The CCTV video was distributed to expose the official because the Shenzhen government claimed to protect the perpetrators (Cheong & Gong, 2010). The expanding reach of social media and internet technology has enabled the public to use internet-specific methods to seek justice for those

who are considered to have broken the law. Digital vigilantism can be seen as a threat to authorities, which is reflected in their efforts to improve online-based justice.

Internet vigilantism originated in the early 2000s and has since grown to include various methods such as hacking, baiting, and public shaming. Internet vigilantes are influenced by cultural and political drives depending on location and have varying relationships with state authorities depending on the context. There are many internet vigilante groups as well as individuals. In the case of Megan Meier, a teenager who committed suicide as a result of cyberbullying, bloggers are committed to finding, stalking, and trapping perpetrators and intimidating them online. They ensure social punishment and loss of jobs for those who have bullied (Wehmhoener, 2010).

Nhan, Huey, and Brol (2017) explored how the general public practices digilantism. In the Boston Marathon bombing incident, social media users in the online community Reddit tried to assist law enforcement in conducting parallel investigations. Reddit users who are members of the online community searched for information to identify the perpetrator, using their expert knowledge to uncover clues about the case. Although Reddit's virtual detective efforts did not solve the case, their actions demonstrate the potential role the public can play in the social media network. Galleguillos (2021) in analyzing modeling and categorizing the practice of digilantism, people who tend to make discriminatory comments, investigate perpetrators, reprimand others for bodyshaming. In their research, women tend to do more investigating the perpetrator and call for the target's death. This shows the expression of calling for justice through the practice of digilantism and includes legal and illegal behavior used on the Facebook social media platform.

Several digilantism practices that often occur are online shaming and doxing. Online shaming is usually carried out as revenge (for example, in the form of pornographic revenge or revenge for being sexually harassed (Jane, 2017), stalking, blackmailing, or threatening other internet users (Laidlaw, 2017). Meanwhile, doxing is the public act of providing personal information about individuals through the internet (Goodrich, 2013)(C.S-W., 2014). The term doxing refers to the collection of information from various sources or digital track records, such as Facebook, Twitter, etc. Doxing can be done for reasons such as online embarrassment, blackmail, and vigilante assistance for law enforcement.

## 2. Method

At the beginning of 2018, researchers discovered a Facebook group that discussed pelakor (a term used to describe a woman who has an affair with a married man) where the topic of pelakor was being hotly debated since mainstream media and social media had reported on the issue. The researchers became curious about the viral video "*hujan duit Bu Dendy,*" which was uploaded in the Anti Pelakor Indonesia group, and decided to join the group. During their observation of the API group, the researchers randomly selected several members who were active in uploading stories and commenting, with criteria based on anonymity or real accounts, age, and geographic location to obtain granular data for their research. In addition, the researchers actively commented to try to participate in the group's interactions and uploaded stories with the same pattern as other members.

Walther, as cited in Kozinets (2010) , suggests that we can observe the uniqueness of behavior and interaction, and imagine how the interaction will occur in the future. If the interaction within the group is limited, it will not lead to sustainable interaction because it is only based on task orientation. However, if we observe how the interaction is cooperatively built within the group, being open and generally positive, we can conclude that long-term online meetings are established by revealing individual identities and will have closer and more positive social relationships compared to anonymous communities. This can be seen in the communication that takes place within the Facebook group Anti Pelakor Indonesia (API), as a platform for venting sadness and building openness by sharing the chronology of each member's affair experience.

Participant observation of virtual communities online follows two main strategies; one that does not interfere at all, where researchers limit themselves to observing community interactions by lurking (Bruckman, 2006); and the participatory approach, where researchers interact with community members and share their daily online interactions (Walstrom, 2004). In conducting this observation, the researchers also used the help of recording situations (journal) while in the field, and technically, this observation was carried out simultaneously with the researcher's participation in this study. Since February 2018, the researcher had already joined the API Group as a member, where they learned about the dynamics within the group periodically. Therefore, pre-research was conducted since February 2018. This research lasted for 6 months, from January to July 2019. The stages of participatory online observation in the netnography method are presented by Kozinets through the learning and doing stages, with the expectation that this technique can meet the data criteria for interactivity, uniqueness, and to see the general trend of how members practice viraling, shaming, and doxing

## 3. Results and Discussion

The Anti Pelakor Indonesia (API) group also has a number of rules for posts that tell the story of their household problems, where every member who wants to post about their husband's affair must provide clear information. If a photo of the pelakor (a mistress or home-wrecker) is included, accurate evidence must be provided, such as photos of the husband, photos of the marriage certificate, and photos of the official marriage book, to avoid problems in the future such as slander and others. In addition, the API group also has a rule to blur photos that are not related to the affair problem, especially photos of children.

In order to tell their story in the group, API members are required to provide proof of their marriage, such as wedding photos or certificates. One group member shared a post (Figure 1) in which she provided her marriage book as evidence of her status as the legal wife of her husband who cheated with a pelakor. Pelakor is an abbreviation for "home-wrecker" and refers to a third party who seduces and steals a legitimate husband from his wife (Janitra & Dewi, 2018). According to Sani Budiantini, an Indonesian psychologist, pelakor is a term used to describe women who are perceived as troublesome and bad for ruining households. It is important to note that pelakor is different from WIL (Wanita Idaman Lain/ another's ideal woman for men), which only involves men who are interested in someone else.



**Figure 1: Posts of stories and wedding certificate in the API Group**

Since the emergence of the term pelakor on social media, Indonesian society has begun to bravely bring up infidelity issues on social media and often capture them in videos when confronting their cheating spouse. The term pelakor itself became popular in 2017 and originated from social media which extensively reported on Mulan Jameelah who was the cause of the breakdown of the household of the artist couple Maia Estianti-Ahmad Dhani, as

well as Mayangsari who ruined the household of the couple Bambang and Halimah. The term pelakor became more widespread and is often used on Instagram's @lambeturah account. Actually, the term pelakor appeared after the boom of Sarita Abdul Mukti's daughter's action confronting Jennifer Dunn who was then the mistress of her father. The incident was recorded and spread through social media and eventually made its way to @lambeturah's account. After that incident, more and more similar videos were made by women who were victims of infidelity and spread on social media. A very phenomenal case that even spread to conventional media was the viral case of the "Hujan Duit Bu Dendy" video. The video shows how a pelakor was showered with hundreds of millions of money by Bu Dendy, who was the legal wife of Pak Dendy. The video was also featured on @lambeturah's Instagram account and made it to conventional media.

**The Practice of Doxing and Viraling**
        Interactivity within the API group has resulted in various phenomena, one of which is the encouragement to make something go viral. Posts encouraging the viral spread of the pelakor not only display photos but also the complete address of the pelakor. The word viral is basically taken from the metaphor of a viral video or viral media that spreads on the internet. Viral videos are usually amateur videos made by internet or social media users that spread quickly and are shared by other internet users (Jiang, Miao, Yang, Lan, & Hauptmann, 2014); (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2018). Meanwhile, the word 'viral' itself refers to videos, photos, or content that spreads widely in a short period of time.
        When social media becomes a platform for storytelling, exchanging experiences, and other problems, the threat of data capture in the form of screenshots and information dissemination becomes a new problem. Privacy issues in the API group began to emerge after two years of its existence and became a place to share household problems. On October 4, 2019, a post from one of the admins became evidence of how dissemination and publication became a problem within the API group. The post shows how the group's management criticized the actions of the dissemination of one member's post, which tells the story of their household problems and caused internal problems in the family. This problem continued with the practice of domestic violence against the thread starter or the one who posted the pelakor problem.



**Figure 2: Violation of the group rule.**

        This case started with one of the group members uploading a sad story about her husband's affair. Then, another member of the group wanted to teach the mistress a lesson by showing the post to her (pelakor's) husband. Unfortunately, the mistress turned around and reported it to her cheating partner. This situation only made the member's household situation more complicated, leading to domestic violence.
        In addition to cases of spreading posts, there is also the activity of doxing or the dissemination of personal information documents about the mistress. Usually, the information that is spread includes the complete address of the mistress, where she works, who her parents are, and even the address of her parents or relatives. This phenomenon is often found in API groups. The phenomenon of spreading private information is collective. When one group member intentionally spreads information about the mistress, other group members will send links with the same theme or duplicate the doxing action, making the spread of information

massive within the API Group. Doxing is done with the intention of shaming the mistress (pelakor).

Referring to moral basis, shame is associated with personal morality that arises after committing an act or behavior that is considered bad (Buss, 2001). Members shame the pelakor by drawing public attention, which is related to the perceived bad moral character of the pelakor and the need for the global community to know. Fessler (2004) argues that shame can arise from public attention even though the mistake was not committed.



**Figure 3: Invitation to make the pelakor go viral**

Additionally, publishing personal information such as uploading marriage certificates and family photos is a phenomenon often found in API groups. The rules established in the API Group were originally intended to help members avoid slander or defamation cases that could backfire on the API Group members when they wanted to share their stories. However, this phenomenon has actually resulted in failures in managing the privacy of individuals who are members of the API Group. The push from the rules within the group ultimately led members to upload photos as proof that the individual is in a legal relationship, while privacy issues are being monitored behind the scenes.

This study also gathered information through interviews with nine members who agreed to become informants. Responding to the issue of frequent privacy leaks and breaches, seven out of nine informants in this study admitted that they don't mind if their posts are shared. Moreover, the phenomenon of 'going viral' has become a tool for them to show resistance to the actions of mistresses and negative views of society towards broken households. Rina stated that she is ready if her post goes viral, but believes that the current state of society sometimes prefers to criticize issues in households that have been made viral, even though she did not want to make her story go viral at first. Meanwhile, Kasih, the only informant with a different perspective, would feel ashamed if her household problems became public consumption. She also believes that nowadays people share their stories online because they want attention and responses from the public.

**Privacy violation**

In addition to the phenomenon of spreading information and making viral content about pelakor or those suspected of being home-wreckers, members of the API group often discuss how to eavesdrop or spy on the location of their husbands who are outside the house. Some members of the group give advice and methods for eavesdropping on their husbands and finding their location.

Considering the number of group members reaching 45,000 and the high level of group interactivity, it can be said that privacy has a paradoxical situation, even though the admin and moderators regulate this group as a closed group. The concept of a closed group and a comfortable place to express grievances needs to be studied, whether the group specifically accommodates women who are victims of pelakor or whether the large number of members paradoxically turns the closed group into a 'public' group due to the number of members reaching tens of thousands. Considering these privacy issues, the next sub-section presents how API group members interpret privacy and what is included in privacy, according to their understanding and experience.
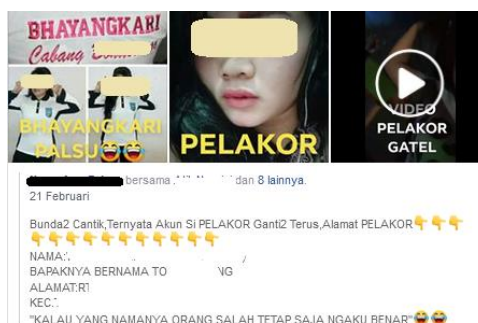
**Figure 3: Doxing actions performed by members of the API group**

The phenomenon of viral sharing in the API group refers to online shaming, as a form of revenge against what is done by pelakor, where the target is publicly humiliated using social media. Online shaming often involves the dissemination of personal information on the internet or social media such as name, address, and other information (usually referred to as doxing or the dissemination of personal documents) accompanied by hate speech and intimidation towards the target, with the aim of tarnishing the target's reputation.

Humans tend to rush to make judgments without being able to apply context, which is the basis for commonly done public judgments (Huffman, 2016). As stated by Solove (2007), public judgments have shifted from closed communities to becoming more open due to the internet. It will be difficult for someone to escape from their mistakes if judgment occurs online. Some articles state that online punishment is much harsher compared to regular court proceedings. Judges believe that social media trials are much more damaging (in terms of morality), without us realizing that they have more severe consequences (O'Connor & O'Connor, 2018).

The support provided by other members in the API group, such as comments and resharing of content shared, is seen as a form of online participation and solidarity from the victims of pelakor, and is considered a sympathetic action taken for the victims of the target. This is in line with Uni's opinion that the API group has been very helpful in dealing with her husband's affair and pelakor, especially since other group members can help her to viralize the pelakor.

"*Yes, I feel relieved that there are many solutions and answers. It's up to us how to handle it. Especially if it's already out of hand, they can help to make it viral.*" - (Uni, June 2019)



**Figure 4: Don't want to be viral**

Contrary to the trend of sharing and viralizing stories of pelakor in the API group, there are findings that contradict this phenomenon. In Figure 4, a member of the group expressed their desire not to have their story shared by other members of the group. Instead, they sought to find the pelakor and hold someone accountable who may know them, due to the mental health issues experienced by the poster's husband. The poster clarified that they did not want other group members to encourage them to end their marriage, but rather to understand the root cause of their husband's infidelity and the consequences of divorce. The poster suggested that husbands who cheat may also suffer from mental health issues, such as depression, like

the poster's husband. Instead of ending the marriage, caring for a mentally ill spouse is considered a duty.

*"I'm annoyed, my husband often accuses me. So I feel angry with the woman who is making my husband mentally disturbed.. with the hope that someone knows this Pelakor. If there are any family members or friends who know her, please show my complaints to Pelakor."* - (Rina, July 2019)

The phenomenon of sharing someone's story within the group often occurs, with many members sharing both the stories of other group members and links to news or posts outside the API group. Various cases arising from the sharing of posts occur within the API group, such as complaints against the husbands of the "pelakor," resulting in the pelakor reporting the person who posted the story to their husband, as well as several pelakor trying to join the group and being discovered by members or administrators of the API group. This is obviously a privacy threat to group members who want to share their stories. The requirement to join the group is also considered quite simple, namely an expression of hatred towards the "pelakor," and the group's rules allow anonymous accounts to join and interact within the group.

Judging from the number of group members reaching 45,000 and the high level of interactivity in the group, it can be said that privacy has a paradoxical situation, even though the admin and moderators regulate this as a closed group. The concept of a closed group and a comfortable place to express complaints needs to be studied, whether the group is specifically for women who are victims of infidelity or whether the large number of members paradoxically turns the closed group into a "public" one due to the number of members reaching tens of thousands. Considering these privacy issues, the next subsection presents how API group members interpret privacy and what is included in privacy, in accordance with their understanding and experiences.

When social media becomes a space to share stories, exchange experiences, and other taboo issues, the threat of data collection in the form of screenshots and dissemination becomes a new problem. Almost all informants in this study admit that they do not mind if their posts are spread. Moreover, the phenomenon of "going viral" has become a tool for them to show resistance against negative views of society about broken households. Rina stated that she is ready if her post goes viral, but she believes that society nowadays tends to criticize problems in households whose posts go viral. According to her, the problem she faces must be raised publicly because her husband's mental problem stems from guilt for having an affair with the other woman. Meanwhile, Kasih has a different view; she would feel ashamed if her household problems become public consumption. She also believes that people nowadays post their complaints more often to seek attention and responses from the public.

*"Actually, it's embarrassing because nowadays many people are just seeking attention and looking for responses/opinions from the public, I think...."* - (Kasih, July 2019)

Online shaming has a heavy impact on the victims, affecting them in various ways. The negative impact on the subject can result in psychological consequences such as depression and suicidal ideation, as well as short- and long-term economic and social consequences (Oravec, 2019). In the case of pelakor, the perpetrators may experience online bullying with words that blame, insult, and corner them. Victims of pelakor use this concept to seek justice and invite others to take the blame to the point of bullying the perpetrators. While some groups believe in a fair world and support the use of online shaming (Hou et al., 2017), others view these practices as reinforcing debilitating states and breeding hopelessness. Women do indeed have a greater tendency to talk about their thoughts, emotions, and feelings towards others, as well as their traumatic experiences, which are often depicted in both written and visual posts (Suprihatin, 2019).  Social media's appeal lies in its ability to allow users to write and publish their work and responses to the public, but only if they have a personal account, this creates an opportunity for their writing to be read, comprehended, and commented on by others (Nurhadi, Mujianto, & Safitri, 2023).

## 4. Conclusion

From the presentation results, it can be concluded that Digilantism practices occur in the Anti-Pelakor Indonesia Group due to dissatisfaction expressed to close friends or family. Families that are supposed to be a safe place for victims of infidelity to share their stories often do not make them feel secure. They tend to cover up, while the victims of infidelity want the perpetrators to face social sanctions.

Digilantism causes information and privacy leaks on social media. This leads to the spread of the identity of the infidelity perpetrator on various social media platforms. Not only personal information, but also the names of the perpetrator's parents and family are often shared to humiliate the perpetrator in the virtual space. Digilantism is like two sides of a coin. The positive side is that it can help online communities to feel relieved as they can express their feelings, especially in the API group. However, vigilantism can lead to criminal actions/legal violations, as it humiliates, names, and leaks someone's information and privacy. Therefore, the act of digilantism can be ethically justified, but it depends on the context. Digilantism still carries risks and possible legal problems because of information leaks

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