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### Social Media and Collective Identity Movement: Representation of Hizbut Tahrir Subculture in Indonesia

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**Abstract:** Social movement is a tool to achieve the ultimate goal, as well as the media used is as a tool to mobilize amongst people. This article contributes to the understanding of the social movements of the subculture and media cyber, as well as its implications for society on socio-religious movements. Based on qualitative research conducted in 2017 through textual analysis and response of HizbutTahrir members in every discourse by Hizbut Tahrir's online. Hizbut Tahrir's online issues represent the subculture as a social movement depicting the collective social identity of major issues that related to different countries and general flows. Online media are able to mobilize actors to the grassroots level to reject the policies and concepts of statehood, and even the rejection of non-Muslim government leadership. The issue of this article is how online media influence, construct the identity of certain groups in socio-religious, and political issue.

**Keywords:** *subculture, representation, group identity, social movement*

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#### A. Introduction

Many studies have been devoted by researchers on religious-social movements related to ideology and politics, but there are still few studies of religious-social movements as subcultures focused on the use of new media that have implications for the formation of collective identities and the mobilization of society. A major argument that new media are able to build social networks and mobilize their actors in establishing group identity as a subculture in a society, as conventionally understood in the study of social movements is less concerned about subculture studies around the use of new media that generate awareness of political identity- collective ideology as the subject of contesting the

interests of a particular group<sup>1</sup>. Illustration of the theory of social movements, especially the collective identity constructed through social media, such as the face book, and the Web of certain social-religious groups and influences on political interests make this vexation important in political-religious and democratic issues in Indonesia.

Universal values of Islam as normative, sacred, unchangeable, and "singular"<sup>2</sup> Islam. However, that "single" Islam is articulated "diverse" by Muslims is a fact that can not be denied. Space and time, where human beings are, seem to be a factor in the emergence of such diversity. In addition, the advancement of communication and transportation of technology and the role played by the media

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<sup>1</sup> Stephansen, H. C. (2017). *Media activism as movement? Collective identity formation in the World Forum of Free Media*. Media and Communication, 5(3), 59–66.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Syahrur, al- Islam wa al- Iman; Manzhumah al-Qiyam, alih bahasa M. Zaid Su'di, *Islam dan Iman; Aturan-Aturan Pokok (Rekonstruksi Epistemologi Rukun Islam dan Iman)*, Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, h. 49-50.

contributes to the absence of territorial and geographical boundaries. Therefore, the contribution makes the world look like a small village inhabited by people, different cultures, and identities that are present to each other<sup>3</sup>. This advancement of information technology encourages the dissemination of various patterns of religious understanding and is sometimes accepted by citizens in various ways.

The diversity of Islamic praxis causes the difficulty of creating a monolithic Islamic representation in online media. Instead of uniforms, this historical Islam is often even presented in a variety of conflicting faces. In one place Islam is present as a moderate and tolerant teaching, but elsewhere as an extreme and intolerant teaching. The review of this article is based on a case study of religious blasphemy that befell the Ahok' governor through the online media representation of Hizbut Tahrir.

Based on the above background, the important question to be raised as the focus of the study, are first, what kind of discourse is voiced by the Hizbut Tahrir online media on "blasphemy"? Second, how is the case of blasphemy encouraged to build collective identity movement through online media HizbutTahrir Indonesia?

## **B. New Media, Representation, Social Movement, and Collective Identity**

The key concepts in understanding new media, representation, and collective identity are examined through social movements characterized as shared feelings and collective agents<sup>4</sup>. Many scholars are interested in studying the relation of social media movement

based on communication technology with social movement in the political context. Like Ross & Nightingale's view<sup>5</sup>, through the media people navigate the complexities of modern life and enjoy a variety of socio-cultural experiences.

Wider view, McLuhan<sup>6</sup> is not wrong if the media referred to as the expansion of the human senses. With this function, the media can give birth to an intelligent, open-minded and advanced society. In the context of construction, the media play a role in constructing the reality of society, the implications related to media power and its influence become clear<sup>7</sup>. Different research conducted by Sigrid Kannengießer and Sebastian Kubitschko<sup>8</sup>, further explores the use of media in practical paradigms. The reality of the content is built through networks (networks) produced through messages or called messages<sup>9</sup>. The message is a contested concept and the mystery of "contested and 'uncanny' concept"<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, castells argue that the network as a dynamic social structure that is open and able to develop indefinitely as long as can share communication with each other. Consequently, the notion of social networks is a social form characterized by the emergence of timeless time and space flows<sup>11</sup>. Different research findings proposed by stephensen<sup>12</sup> that internally social media can encourage collective identity formation, but less effective in the level of mobilization.

In understanding these social networks there are those that can be observed through the absence of systemic dominance in the vision of social networks are competitive

<sup>3</sup> Abd Elmalek Essaadi University, Faculty of Letters, Tetouan, Morocco, azzouzi\_123@hotmail.com. Pol. Sc. Int. Rel., X, 1, h. 150–154, Bucharest, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Stephansen, H. C. (2017). *Media activism as movement....* p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, Karen & Nightingale, Virginia., (2003). *Media and Audiences: New Perspectives*, Berkshire: Open University Press, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> McLuhan, Marshal (1964). *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, p.1.

<sup>7</sup> Mary Talbot, *Media Discourse: Representation, and Interaction*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Sigrid Kannengießer and Sebastian Kubitschko, (2017). *Acting on Media: Influencing, Shaping and (Re)Configuring the Fabric of Everyday Life*, Media and Communication (ISSN: 2183 2439) 2017, Volume 5, Issue 3, Pages 1–4 DOI: 10.17645/mac.v5i3.1165.

<sup>9</sup> Castells, M. (2001). *The Internet Galaxy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.1 Lihat Nicholas Gane and David Beer, *New Media: The Key Concept*, New York, Bergpublisher, p.15.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Gane and David Beer, (2008). *The Key Concepts....*, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Gane and David Beer, (2008). *The Key Concepts....*

<sup>12</sup> Stephansen, H. C. (2017). *Media activism as movement....* p. 59–66.

structures. Therefore, questioning the connections between networks, political authorities, and human agency or with the form of questions Who is programming social networks? Who determines the rules for network members? is a question strategy that leads to the concept of media control and power in building a collective identity.

Power is the distribution of controls without any structure boundary. Moreover, representation works in a political process that requires expanding the visibility or legitimacy of the subject politically, when representation is also shaped by the power system of the subject itself<sup>13</sup>. This opinion provides space for the subject politically in different spaces and times for a particular community and may also be a different actor. Therefore, the construction of messages posted through social media accounts, such as face book and Web.0 are the working space of power in a subculture.

### C. Subculture and Social Network; representation of group identity

The terms' culture are based on two understandings, namely as an artificial development process of microscopic organisms and as a product (organisms so produced)<sup>14</sup>. According to Williams<sup>15</sup>, culture refers to a view of life that expresses certain meanings and values not only in the arts and learning, but also on key institutions and behaviors. Each group has a desire to make its trademark look different from others. Consequently, a group seeks to produce an identity that can represent its group. Therefore, there are times when the specific identity or culture of a particular group is made different from the culture in general. In other words, the culture is out of the mainstream culture of society. Different cultures are called subcultures. Subculture in this community, there are negative and some are positive. However, in

this context, the subculture is understood as a culture of resistance which must be given the actualization space. Genetically observable is the status, style of ideas, as a form of a refusal or related to forms of expression and ritual for subordinate groups; its form of expression is rebellion, complaint, and possibly ridicule (anexdote), but the form of symbol or expression used may be some signs of forbidden identity and sources of value<sup>16</sup>.

Genette and Gordon's view are difference that emphasizes more on the combination of social situations, such as the background of class, ethnic, urban and rural status, religious affiliations that encourage the process of integration of individual participation or more specific constraints in the form of subculture irregularities such as religious-messianic-revivalist or political-extremist subcultures. In the context of a subculture study, it is a group of religious affiliations that engage national identity and cultural resistance or as religious groups with revivalist and political extremist missions. Subculture groups conduct discussion forums through the use of the internet network (Usenet's network of on-line discussion forums), conceptualize the net as a mass medium because much information can be gained and reached by millions of people all of the world<sup>17</sup>. Rhinegol' opinion can serve as the basis and area of work of representation of subculture groups to build the ideological and power dissemination. Therefore, the identity of the group will be present in the public space and contest with other groups.

### D. Hizbut Tahrir as Subculture

Hizbut Tahrir has a website <https://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/> is an internet-based media that features home menu, office spokesperson, news, media, muslimah, sharia, *khilafah*, Hizbut Tahrir, and digital library. Headline: main topic, domestic and foreign news, dynamics of da'wah, *tsaqafah*,

<sup>13</sup> Paul Rabinow, (1997), *The essential of work of Michel Foucault 1954-1984*, New York: New Press, h. viii. He said power as substantive entity, institution or possession, independent of the set of relationships in which it is exercised. Or more generally as power relations.

<sup>14</sup> Hebdige, Dick., (1979), *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, New York: Routledge, p.6.

<sup>15</sup> Raymond Williams, (1965), *The Long*

Revolution, in Dick Hebdige, (1979), *Subculture....*

<sup>16</sup> Hebdige, Dick., (1979), *Subculture....*p.2-3.

<sup>17</sup> Rhinegold, H. (1994), *The Virtual*

Community: Homesteading on the Electronic, in Paul Hodkinson, (2005), *Identity, Style and Subculture*, New York: Berg, h. 175.

economy and business, *nafsiah* and opinion. Office spokesman has two parts namely press release and *nasyrah*. The news includes headline, domestic news, foreign news, and dynamics of dakwah in Jakarta, Banten, West Java, Yogyakarta and East Java. The media includes Al Islam, Al Wafai'e, and HTI Channel. Digital library includes literature that discusses various HTI conception titles, for example about issues surrounding *Daulah Islamiyah*, Islamic Interrelationship System, Islamic Personality, *Khilafah* State Financial System, Pillars of Nafsiah Islamiyah Strengthening, Structure of State of Khilafah and others.

Hizbut Tahrir was established as an Islamic movement aimed at returning the Muslims to return to the laws of Allah SWT, to improve the legal system and law of the country which is considered non-Islamic to be in accordance with the guidance of Islamic law, as well as liberation from the system of life and influence Western countries or anti colonialism like the Brotherhood of Muslim Brotherhood struggled against British colonialism in Egypt<sup>18</sup>. Hizbut Tahrir also aims to rebuild the Islamic rulers of the Prophet Muhammad and Khulafaur Rashidin, the *Khilafah Islamiyah* in the world, so Islamic law can be re-enforced<sup>19</sup>.

The new caliph is expected to unite the Muslim community in the form of unity rather than federation from unity countries whose religion is predominantly Muslim, extending from Morocco in West Africa to South Philippines in Southeast Asia. The proposed state will practice the Islamic shari'a back to a form that has the foundation to become the first country in the world and bring Islamic preaching to the whole world<sup>20</sup>.

Hizbut Tahrir has been described as a controversial organization, that is banned in Germany, Russia, China, Egypt, Turkey and all but three Arab countries. Some observers believe that the alleged victim is false and the connection to terrorism because of the

organization has never been "explicitly involved" in terrorism or even "acts of violence"; that his role in the radicalization of young Muslims has been "exaggerated", that the re-establishment of his caliphate will provide stability and security. Some the pressure and violence of its members "... the dictatorship of Central Asian Uzbekistan, for example, members of Hizbut Tahrir who have been boiled to death by the Karimov Islamist regime; more thousands men and women, young and old, have been imprisoned just to bring their membership."<sup>21</sup>

In the context of Indonesia as a sovereign country, surely the sovereignty is based on laws that are made to regulate the relationship of high state institutions, state apparatus and its citizens. In inter-religious relationships can not be separated from the provisions of the act, such as inter-religious conflicts required mediation in the process of conflict resolution. In this case, the battle over the law on the blasphemy of the religion through the process of court suit with revocation of Law No. 1 / PNPS 1965 through the Constitutional Court. State authority to regulate society is a form of power that is realized through the product of the Act and the Constitutional Court as a form of state presence in the midst of community conflict. Power is a distributed control in all subjects, as Foucault<sup>22</sup> points out that power takes place in all the structures of citizens. Indonesia as a democracy state gives space for freedom of thought, opinion and acting by every citizen. The plaintiff's business as a form of commitment and protected by the 1945 Constitution (pasal 28 UUD 1945) by requesting again to review the presence of Law Number 1 / PNPS of 1965 constitutes legal products in emergency situations, thus demanding relevance to the needs of domestic and overseas communities. contrary arguments of the Constitutional Court that the state authority and Law Number 1/ PNPS of 1965 is one of the Laws which is continued through TAP MPRS No. XIX/MPRS/ 1966. The

<sup>18</sup> Richard C Martin, (Ed.), (2004). *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, Mcmilan Refence USA:New York, p.345.

<sup>19</sup> [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizbut\\_Tahrir](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizbut_Tahrir).

<sup>20</sup> [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizbut\\_Tahrir](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizbut_Tahrir).

<sup>21</sup> [http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-terrorism/ban\\_2740.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-terrorism/ban_2740.jsp).

<sup>22</sup> Paul Rabinow, (1997), *The essential of work of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984*

decision of the Constitutional Court on the rejection of the revocation of its lawsuit, responded positively by the chairman of Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia:

"The verdict is correct because there is no single reason that can be used to fulfill the petition of the petitioner to revoke Law No. 1 PNPS 1965. All the reasons either juridically, sociologically, philosophically, or logical argument as revealed in the trial of the argument used by the applicant refuted by the invaders or related parties consisting of Islamic organizations including Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. In the fact of the trial, the related parties from other religions also reject the revocation of the law."<sup>23</sup>

This constitutional effort can be made public education for legal awareness and state in the context of religious belief in the community. The State guarantees its followers to exercise and protect their beliefs. In the context of legal awareness and democracy embodied through public spaces guaranteed by the constitution by plaintiffs is an academic form of education. This is different from the perception of citizens the justification and stereotype of the actions and ideas of the plaintiffs with the concept of treason, such as the statement "What other Makar will be done by the JIL (Liberal Islam Network)? Remember, God is the best to repay your treachery"<sup>24</sup> The concept of treason was used by the supporters of Law Number 1 / PNPS of 1965 to label the different thoughts that have been protected by the 1945 Constitution. The term of makar<sup>25</sup> is often used by legal and constitutional authorities to define groups or individuals who commit subversive acts and threaten the state. But in this case it is used in an inappropriate context.

<sup>23</sup> <https://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2010/04/20/ismail-yusanto-keputusan-mk-sudah-tepat/>. Diunduh pada tanggal 5 Mei 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Komentar Abu Fahmi, 20 April 2010 at 22:16 di dalam <https://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2010/04/20/mk-tolak-permohonan-pemohon-uu-larangan-penodaan-agama-tetap-berlaku-2/>. Selain itu komentar M.Yahya "Syukurlah MK menolak permohonan pemohon UU larangan penodaan agama. Ingat tokoh "JIL" dan sejenisnya sudah pada "Innalillahiwainnailaihi rojiun" seperti yang baru baru ini terjadi di Republik yang kita cintai ini. Syukur-syukur tokoh-tokoh Islam sejati yg murni berdasarkan Al-Qur'an dan hadist masih

In the Criminal Code Article 107 states that, Makar (aanslag) is an act intended to overthrow the government (omwenteling). An act is said Makar, pursuant to Article 87 of the Criminal Code is when the commencement of rebellion has been committed as according to article 53 (Trial). Makar (Anslag) is done with violence. Jurisdictionally, if a person performs a preparatory act (voorbereidings-hendeling), he or she can not be punished.

The act of Makar as meant in Article 107 of the Criminal Code and 110 of the Criminal Code when it has already started to perform the act of implementation (uitvoeringshandeling)<sup>26</sup>. Furthermore, treason is regulated in the Criminal Code as a ration against state security, especially in articles 104, 107 and 108, with the threat of capital punishment. These articles regulate criminal prosecution of the president and his deputy, as well as the criminal penalties against the defenders.

The law in Indonesia is clearly the limitation of treason, as the articles against the legitimate government by way of gangs with weapon. In the context of community perceptions or HTI individuals who cornered the group of proposed material test of Law Number 1 / PNPS on 1965 with public opinion as "makar" is not in accordance with applicable law. The submission of material tests with the demands of revocation on the consideration of the emergence of such Law in an emergency constitutes the right of freedom of expression in procedures protected by the constitution. While the concept treason in Islamic law in general, is "The term "makar" or bughat in of jurisprodcency of Islam is from the part of jinayah study. In the perspective of Islamic law "makar" or bughat is the action of a group of

dilindungi oleh Allah SWT "Diunduh pada tanggal 5 Mei 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Menurut Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI), makar punya beberapa arti: 1 akal busuk; tipu muslihat; 2 perbuatan (usaha) dengan maksud hendak menyerang (membunuh) orang, dan sebagainya; 3 perbuatan (usaha) menjatuhkan pemerintah yang sah.

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.belaguran.com/2017/04/tuduhan-makar-bentuk-kejahatan-negara.html>. Diunduh 28 Juli 2017.

people who have the power to oppose or overthrow the legitimate government, due to different views related to the problems of the State."<sup>27</sup> Rebellion or coup d'etat is a very disturbing political crime, as it can destroy the unity of the ummah, destroy state buildings, spread terror,....<sup>28</sup> Different ideas and forms of identity resistance both through media and media opinion conducted by the Hizbut Tahrir group mentioned above is a form of political communications.

#### **E. Political and religious communication**

Ahok is a news maker in media studies, because he is always hunted by journalists. In this case, Ahok in his social position has a very strategic power as the governor of DKI. Various modalities have been owned by Ahok, both social capital, political, economic, and cultural. Gait or lunge in various domains can be used as a political tool to gain confidence in the hearts of the people of DKI.

Ahok's statement that made the problem is "If you can not choose me "mothers", because you will be lied with Al Maidah 51, .... If you think you do not choose me because I'm afraid of hell, fooled so it nothing ". The most obvious statement is "... for being lied to by Al Maidah 51, ...." The word "lied with" is a passive verb accompanied by a "with", while the subject is not explained who is lying. In addition, that object of "lied to" is a voting community (kepulauan seribu). In the order of this sentence it is clear that Q.S. Al Maidah 51, as an instrument of issues related to the central message of the relationship between Muslim society with Jews and Christians as the commentary above "Believers are forbidden to make Jews and Christians as close friends, a place of secret and trust as well as fellow Muslims." His interpretation is a close friend and secret spell. In addition, as defenders, protectors, and helpers, especially in matters relating to religion.

How much problem gave birth to rejection and blasphemy of Islam, as the spokesman of Hizb ut-Tahrir, Ismail: "It is clearly an insult to the Qur'an. It can not be interpreted differently, "and other statements that reinforce it," In addition to his disbelief, according to Isma'il, it is also proof that the umpteenth time he is unworthy to be governor. "In term or" disbelief "can be referred to through the study of Meaning (tafsir) as source of the main group of *takfiri* Sayyid Qutub's *fidzilalil Qur'an*. Whereas the paragraph which is the basis of development is Q.S. al Maidah: 44, namely: "Whoever is not punished by Allah then they are the disbelievers." This verse is used as a foothold as the theory of "*takfiri*" (unbelief). As al-Qardhawi<sup>29</sup> argues "In the view of Sayyid Qutb, in essence all the people who are on earth is the society of ignorance. This radical outlook refuses anyone and everything around it, which in turn will condemn the whole society and people in general."

Departing from the context of interpretation *takfiri* addressed fellow Muslims is indeed different, because Ahok is non-Muslim and considered it is clear the category of disbelief. In this case Hizbut-Tahrir chose the firmness of interpretation of the position of paganism "Ahok" and at the same time rejection of political position in the nomination of governor of DKI.

#### **F. Mass Mobilization of Hizbut Tahrir**

Hizbut-Tahrir's action or protest demonstrations down the streets is one of the activities which is represented. Usually, HTI brings a number of mobs and invites Jakarta citizens with the issue of rejection of the nomination of the governor. HTI's efforts to mass action in big cities, both at the district and provincial capitals are hard pressures, potential or general groups that aim to build more effective and quality management. HTI's efforts invite to join down the road to build a

<sup>27</sup> Zainuddin Ali, 2006. *Hukum Islam Pengantar Hukum Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, h. 122.

<sup>28</sup> Wahbah Zuhaili, 2010. *Fiqh Imam Syafi'i (Mengupas Masalah Fiqhiyah Berdasarkan Al-Qur'an dan Hadist*, terj. M Afifi dan Abdul Hafiz, Jakarta: Al Mahira, h.245.

<sup>29</sup> Yusuf Qardhawi, 2008. *Ibn ul-Qaryah wal Kuttah, Malamih Sirah wa Masirah*, Kairo: Dar Syuruq, vol 3, h.56 di dalam Usamah Sayyid al Azhary, al Haqq al-mubin fi al -radd ala Man Tala'aba bi al-Din; al Tayyarat al-Mutatharifah min al-Ikhwan ila al-Da'isy fi Mizan al-Ilmi, alih bahasa M. Hidayatullah, 2015. *Islam Radikal :Telaah Kritis radikalisme dari Ikhwanul Muslimin hingga ISIS*, WWW. Darulfaqih.Com.

defense base. Therefore public opinion is generated is a potential public<sup>30</sup>. "Related to this Ahok speech, in various regions in Indonesia thousands of Muslims who are members of various Islamic organizations staged the action to ask the police to arrest one of the number of Jakarta."

Public opinion when responded appropriately, objectively, honestly, transparently, and based on management functions which will generally bring about change. This change provides an indicator of the development and public opinion as the effect. The support action took to the streets in different cities with the same issue of Ahok's case becoming a success of power to influence the change of Muslim voters in DKI. The aspect of trust is built through social media networks is decisive for every viral within a community. This network is an open and dynamic system, the idea is a social form characterized by the transformation of time, place that keeps going on, and the acceleration of time and space that keeps flowing<sup>31</sup>.

As a benchmark for exploratory public opinion that can be observed by relating the openness that can be observed through the quality of public opinion. The more the public has trust and openness, honest and objective, the awakening of social consensus or conception of the majority awakens that the claim of Ahok as "fibber about the Qur'an and the "kafir" "will be effective. In this case, social interaction appears to be rationally awakened also intersubjective or claims of accuracy in society in the opinion at the national level that Ahok as (a penista) penance of religion. The claim is in accordance with the Religious Defamation Law. Although the claims of validity use the imposition of public opinion with the form of action of various Islamic organizations or communication strategies<sup>32</sup>. As proof of coercive efforts is "... thousands of

Muslims have demonstrated Mapolrestabes in Medan. Thousands of Muslims have reported Ahok with a blasphemy complaint."

The message of indoctrination which is advertised through various media about "Qur'an and Kafir' fibber" is a form of indoctrination propaganda method that aims to instill idealism<sup>33</sup>, such as the invitation "It is inappropriate for a Muslim to support a prospective pagan leader, moreover, the concerned has insulted the Koran,". But propaganda can be used as an instrument of issue manipulation when other opinions are not presented as critical or counterfeit instruments. A opinion that supports the rejection of pagan leadership that always refers to the Qur'an, which is related to other power relations, such as displaying opinions of prominent public figures, for example: Din Syamsudin, Amin Rais, Habib Rizieq, Hidayat Nurwahid, and Bachtiar Nasir.

The desired goal is for all muslims in Jakarta to be asked to abandon their self-interest in order to reach a consensus to satisfy all parties, especially factions within Muslims, as Hubermas<sup>34</sup> in a political context will realize the unity of muslims when individuals, entrepreneurs, members of the congregation, Islamic mass organizations, ethnic groups, professionals act as citizens and no longer confined to particular factions, and their personal interests.

The intersubjective claim in opinion is supported by action or demonstration activities as a communication strategy as an attempt to compel opinions and to build social legitimacy actions. Social legitimacy as a social capital is a benchmark of political communication or social position amid the contestation of power in the battle of the governor of DKI. The inter-factional relationships in the demonstrations are a communication strategy to build an exclusively

<sup>30</sup> Maria Assumta Rumanti, 2002. *Dasar-Dasar Publik relation: Teori dan Praktik*, Jakarta: Grasindo, h. 63.

<sup>31</sup> M. Castells, (2000). *Material for an Exploratory Theory of The Network Society*, British Journal of Sociology, h. 15.

<sup>32</sup> F. Budi Hardiman, 2009. *Demokrasi Deliberatif: Menimbang Negara Hukum dan Ruang Publik dalam Teori Diskursus Jurgen Habermas*,

Yogyakarta: Kanisius, hl 36-37. 'sebuah persetujuan kehilangan cirinya sebagai keyakinan bersama, begitu pihak-pihak yang mencapai persetujuan tersebut mengetahui bahwa persetujuan itu dihasilkan dari pemaksaan kehendak yang berasal dari luar proses itu.'

<sup>33</sup> Maria Assumta Rumanti, 2002. *Dasar-Dasar ...h. 139.*

<sup>34</sup> Hubermas di dalam F. Budi Hardiman, 2009.

political social network, such as Ruth A. Wallace's view, "common over relationship-networks of influence and support people can tap into by virtue of their social position. ...". At least the political agenda or political support of anti-Ahok Muslims is influential in Jakarta Muslim community. The intersubjective claim in opinion is supported by action or demonstration activities as a communication strategy as an attempt to compel opinions and to build social legitimacy actions. Social legitimacy is a social capital<sup>35</sup> which has a benchmark of political communication or social position amid of contestation of power in the battle of DKI's governor.

### G. Explosive communication

In addition to web media owned by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Tribunnnews.com media also launched by www.msn.com in a more subversive manner such as potential pagan leaders, insulting the Qur'an, and harass muslims. The use of capture language is a verb form that requires an object, namely Ahok as an object and at the same time a subject that is considered and presumed to be a guilty object. Although the judicial process is underway and there is no binding decision, but the intersubjective relation of some Islamic organizations puts him as a suspect. In the communication context, Ahok's situation experienced as the accused and the opponent of the claim of universal truth. While the forms of communication used are more "propaganda" that has been built Ahok's opinion as a guilty. In the context of Indonesian law, coercion is a

form of unlawful act, as in the criminal law the unpleasant act mentioned above is regulated in Chapter. XVIII on Crimes Against People's Independence Article 335 of the Criminal Code.

In the study of Ahok as a news maker, especially his controversial communication can be studied in political rhetoric that can be seen in the use of language media used sporadically. Therefore, most of Ahok's communication attacks his interlocutors in both formal and non-formal situations. In Aristotle's view, that: "1) Ethos ethical or personal appeals, in which the credibility and ethics of speaking the orator is considered far more important than his political message. A thousand times dear, not a little diction so empty from the mouth of Ahok. Thus, Ahok's speech substance becomes a summoner for his audience. The public instead focuses on the diction of insults that are so naked and plastered real. 2) Phatos, relates to the dimensions that touch the emotions in rhetoric. In the case of evictions, the verbal empathy of Ahok is invisible, instead the outward words like "boat man" are antipathetic tone<sup>36</sup>.

In addition to weak communication, Ahok more known explosive because almost every day is always reported Ahok angry<sup>37</sup>, and others. So Ahok is often exposed by various media. Borrowing the dramaturgy theory of Erving Goffman<sup>38</sup>, that every leader / politician needs to play a role on the front stage and role on the back stage. Thus, the luster of the front stage is an image zone that must be carefully

<sup>35</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, h. 263-264. Lihat juga Ruth A. Wallace and Alison Wolf, 1995, *Contemporary Sociological Theory ; Continuing the Classical Tradition*, London: UK, h. 135.

<sup>36</sup> <http://pepnews.id/2016/10/08/3-hal-ini-bisa-bikin-ahok-terlempar-dari-pusaran-pilkada-dki-1/.Diunduh> 23 Juni 2017.

<sup>37</sup> **eksplosif**/eks-plo-sif//éksplɔsif/ **a 1** mudah meledak (tentang sendawa, karbit, fosfor, gas, bensin, dan sebagainya); **2** ki dapat (mudah) meletus (tentang perang dan sebagainya): *kalau tidak dapat dicapai kompromi dalam waktu singkat, maka situasi menjadi gawat dan --*; **3** cepat marah (tentang orang): *kita perlu berhati-hati jika berbicara dengan orang yang --* <http://kbbi.web.id/eksplosif>. Diunduh 23 Juli 2017.

<sup>38</sup> Sri Suneki dan Haryono (Juli 2012). *Paradigma Teori Dramaturgi terhadap Kehidupan Sosial*". CIVIS (FPIPS IKIP PGRI Semarang). no. 2, II: 1. Dramaturgi adalah **teori** yang mengemukakan bahwa **teater** dan **drama** mempunyai makna yang sama dengan **interaksi sosial** dalam kehidupan manusia. Dramaturgi dicetuskan oleh **Erving Goffman** pada tahun 1959 yang termuat dalam karyanya berjudul "*Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*". Dramaturgi merupakan pendalaman dari konsep interaksi sosial, yang menandai ide-ide **individu** yang kemudian memicu perubahan **sosial masyarakat** menuju era **kontemporer**. Teori dramaturgi muncul sebagai reaksi atas **konflik** sosial dan **rasial** dalam masyarakat. Dramaturgi berada di antara interaksi sosial dan **fenomenologi**. Lihat, Tuti Baftiarti (Oktober 2011). "Mistifikasi 'Bissu' Dalam Upacara Ritual Adat Etnis Bugis Makassar". *Ilmu Komunikasi* (UINSA). no. 1, II: 160.

guarded. This is not just a matter of image politics, but a personal and institutional leader can be determined through the role of the front stage. Thus, the friction that generates public perception, will greatly reduce the value of the actor.

## H. Conclusion

Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia is one of the Islamic organizations which is concerned with the concept of Islamic Caliphate in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia, Europe and Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia is most considered strategic and representative with the majority of Muslims, Indonesia is considered important and very possible emergence of the Islamic caliphate by Hizbut Tahrir.

Departing from the context of interpretation takfiri aimed at fellow Muslims is indeed different, because Ahok is non-Muslim and is considered already clear category of disbelief. In this case Hizbut Tahrir chose the assertion of the position of Ahok's disbelief and the rejection of the political position in the nomination of the governor of DKI based on the prohibition of the Muslims to make non-Muslims as protector or governor.

Communication built by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia by conducting subversive construction and opinions and indoctrination against Indonesian Muslims through non-Muslim relations and Islamic leadership as well as humiliation of the Qur'an and Muslims. In addition, HTI's communicative actions succeeded in producing several claims of validity, truth, honesty, and accuracy. The truth claim proved by HTI is Ahok's statement about the humiliation of the Qur'an in the Thousand (kepulauan Seribu) Islands and verification in the judicial process referring to Article 335 of the Criminal Code. Claims of honesty proved by <https://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/> that Ahok has apologized to Muslims is a form of actor (Ahok) acknowledgment of his statements, nevertheless, the judicial process remains ongoing and remains in demand according to the blasphemy law. Furthermore, the claim of accuracy, constituting an intersubjective claim in opinion, supported by action or demonstration activities, is a communication strategy as an attempt to compel opinions and to build social legitimacy measures. Evidence of coercion of opinion

such as the action of thousands of times down the road Hizbut Tahrir action or protest demonstrations down the streets is one of Hizbut Tahrir's activities representation.

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