Article

Back To Muslim Identity: Framing the Khilafah Ideology on Social Media

Yayan Saputra,[1] Sarwan,[2] Sabiruddin,[3]
Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol, yayan.saputra@uinib.ac.id sarwanma@uinib.ac.id
sabiruddinpdh@gmail.com

ABSTRACT:

The purposes of this discussion are: first, to explain how is the development of Back To Muslim Identity in online media. Second, to describe the pattern of movement carried out by Back To Muslim Identity. Third, knowing the strategy of the Back To Muslim Identity movement in Indonesia. This article uses a text qualitative research method, examines the bulletins, lectures and blogs shared in online media by the Back To Muslim Identity group. The data and data sources in this study were obtained from the online media Back To Muslim Identity, Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, Twitter. As for data analysis technique, researchers employ a theory called as social movement theory. The results of this study found that the Back To Muslim Identity group in spreading Hizb Ut-tahrir Indonesia's teachings was targeting young people, especially Islamic students on campus. The two patterns of the Back To Muslim Identity movement in fostering members are carried out through halaqah and social media. Third, the strategy for fostering membership of the Back To Muslim Identity group uses a pattern of violence, which does not accept anything that comes from the outside.

Key words: *Strategy, Ideology Khilafah, Social Media*

INTRODUCTİON

Back To Muslim Identity (BMI) is a Metamorphosis of Hizb Ut-tahrir Indonesia (HTI) which was disbanded by the government of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017. Through a decision of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights officially revoked the legal status of the Hizb Ut-tahrir Indonesia (HTI) mass organization based on a Ministerial Decree Law and Human Rights Number AHU-30.AH.01.08 of 2017 concerning the revocation of the decision of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-0028.60.10.2014 concerning the ratification of the establishment of a legal entity for the HTI association. The revocation was carried out as a follow-up to a government regulation in lieu of Law (perpu) Number 2 of 2017 which amended Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Community Organizations (Hadi and Sari 2021). In her research, Siti Nurfitriyana found that the dissolution of the HTI group did not stop their movement (Fitriyana 2019).

---

[1] Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol
[2] Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol
[3] Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol

Since the dismissal of HTI, many new groups have emerged and are affiliated with HTI, such as the Renewal Movement (GP), Muslimah News Ide and BMI. These groups are massive in disseminating and instilling khilafah ideological values, especially BMI. Siti Nur Fitriyana in her research on the Phenomenon of Dakwah of Ex-HTI after it was disbanded explained about the phenomenon of ex-HTI using the media to spread their ideology, such as the kaffah bulletin which distributed around 10,000 copies of the bulletin throughout Indonesia and more importantly was the use of new media in massively disseminating the ideology of the caliphate or khilafah. (Fitriyana 2019)

The article above shows that BMI took over the role of HTI in disseminating the ideology of the khilafah. This movement has started occuring in online media since 2016 but has become increasingly active since the revocation of the HTI mass organization body in 2017 spreading and instilling the ideology of the khilafah. The BMI group is a group whose members are Muslim women, especially young children, especially female students on Islamic campuses (Back to_muslim identity 2022). The BMI group is active in responding to a situation that exists in the government and events that are currently happening. BMI groups always see an incident from an Islamic point of view, and always offer solutions to problems from an Islamic point of view as well.

Based on the research theme, there is some literature regarding the metamorphosis of HTI after it was disbanded. First, like the study of Abdul Qahar and Muhammad Haqiqi, 2017. In this study, the authors show that HTI maintained its existence after being disbanded by means of demonstrations, holding seminars, changing identities which were then published via social media, joining other mass organizations whose ideology similar to the ideology they understand (Qohar and Hakiki 2017).

In other studies, like Dr. H. Nur Hasan, M. SI and Dr. H. Mochmad Parmudi, M. SI, 2018, the authors discuss the birth of a Perpu in making strict regulations about dismissing the HTI organization. The research results revealed that the dismissal did not dampen HTI's enthusiasm in disseminating the understanding of the idea of the khilafah that he was fighting for. They incarnated in various other religious organizations. The second is in dealing with the former HTI organizations, the government tries to embrace former HTI members, then the government gives them opportunities/space, as long as they don't spread the idea of a khilafah. The observation of the research result yields that after being disbanded by the government, HTI continued to carry out and orate their ideology, by incarnating into other religious organizations

In another study such as that conducted by Laode Abdul Wahab, 2016 entitled Metamorphosis of Radicalism in Educational Institutions in Southeast Sulawesi. He mentioned that, one can find the spread of the ideology of the caliphate through penetration on campuses targeting lecturers and students. Senior students and lecturers play an important role in disseminating radicalism, students can enter through campus da'wah institutions and lecturers through hidden curriculum (Wahab 2016)

Of many literatures, this study is to complement studies in particular to see how the Indonesian Migrant Workers group continues the baton of the HTI organization that has been disbanded by the government. This study wants to find out in depth how is the movement of Indonesian Migrant Workers in spreading the understanding of HTI. This research is based on government policy which has revoked the HTI mass organization agency. Because the revocation of the permit for the HTI mass organization body was due to an understanding that was contrary to the government's, therefore, as an Indonesian citizen, it is obligatory to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Do not let destructive understandings emerge, because it can damage the country and endanger Indonesian citizens.

This research is of vital importance due to: first, to reveal the movement of HTI after disbanded by the government, which is continued on baton by BMI group that disseminates its ideology values, second, by knowing their strategy and movement pattern, a prevention action can be implemented in order to avoid exposure to the understanding or view that is against the state's ideology. Even further to also avoid radicalism exposure.

RESEARCH METHOD

This is a qualitative research method by using phenomenology approach. The researcher tends to be more sensitive and more self-adapted toward the sharp influence of the pattern that will be encountered. Therefore, this research is a descriptive one as told by Mely. G. Tan that descriptive research may provide thorough and actual description of certain condition or certain group (Iii and Penelitian n.d.)

The form of this research is text qualitative research. This research examines the texts or bulletins, lectures, seminars published by the Indonesian Migrant Workers group through their social media, which is a metamorphosis of the ideology and pattern of the HTI movement. The data in this study are related to the ideology and movement patterns of Indonesian migrant workers in social media. The data collection technique for this research was to collect data on developments, movement patterns and strategies carried out by Indonesian Migrant Workers on the *Back To Muslim Identity* account or web by following BMI group accounts. And dconduct documentation by means of screenshots of posts distributed by groups of BMI, such as narratives written on their accounts, bulletins and lectures that they distribute on social media. Data on the ideology, movement patterns and strategies of the HTI social movement in BMI, were reviewed or analyzed using social movement theory in which the internet was used as a source of movement.

RESULT AND DİSCUSSİON

The reality of radicalism in Indonesia is still quite worrying with numbers of acts of terrorism in Indonesia. This indicates that radicalism in Indonesia is still expanding massively, such as many vigilante incidents and anarchist actions carried out by groups in response to differences in society. A survey states the level of potential for radicalism in society shows numbers 58.0 in the range 0 to 100. This figure indicates that the level of potential for radicalism is in the Medium Potential category. The potential for Radicalism is reflected in three dimensions, namely the Potential for Radical Understanding which is in numbers 63.44 (Strong Potential), Potential for Radical Attitudes at 60.25 (Medium Potential), and Radical Actions at 48.98 (Moderate Potential) (Dindha Amelia 2020).

In the context of politics in Indonesia, the issue of radicalism, especially Islamic radicalism, is increasing day by day, with more and more masses. However, with the development of understanding there is little change in patterns and goals in a movement. There are those who aim to fight for Islamic law only, there are also those who aim to establish a khilafah state, there are ideological moral movements carried out by mujahidin assemblies, even military styles such as Laskar FPI (Asrori 2017). From the various types of movements that exist, it can be concluded that radical movements in Indonesia are growing. With various patterns of movement and goals, such as the movement carried out by the Indonesian Migrant Workers group, who want to create an Islamic state in Indonesia.

BMI Development

Various kinds of groups are present in the scope of life, which have similarities in life goals. Community is a social group in society which is composed of several individuals who interact with each other in a certain environment and have an interest in a field. This group of BMI is an active group on social media. They are exposing thoughts and criticism of a situation that is not in accordance with their understanding. The BMI group is a religious group whose members are women, especially Muslim female students. The BMI group is a community that struggles to implement Kaffah Islam. Those who are active in responding to a situation that exists in government and events that are currently happening.

In responding to the problems that are happening, there will be a reference that they hold in seeing and having opinions in a situation. This adheres to an ideology, namely the ideology of khilafah. Hence, in solving problems, what they offer is problem solving through an Islamic perspective. Namely, Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. With a settlement based on Islam, the benefit can be achieved. Because for them the solution to problems that are not based on Islam is not perfect. Therefore, in the author's analysis the BMI group is classified as a radical group. Those who cannot accept differences, those who do not accept ideas from outside Islam such as democracy, liberal and social or communism. They share and post most of these or broadcast them on their social media pages.

In a community or group membership is a very important part. This is a step to continue and carry out the activities of a movement. Likewise, with the BMI group, which has followers and members spread throughout Indonesia. Membership of the Indonesian Migrant Workers group indirectly includes followers from social media accounts. Based on the data obtained, it shows that BMI followers from social media show a large number. Like on Facebook media there are 12,055 follower accounts, and for Instagram with a total of 12,362 follower accounts, and for Twitter 9,119 follower accounts, and this is a social media follower that can be called as large.

Based on the data obtained, membership in the BMI group is a membership for Muslim women in Indonesia. This is shown from the posts and followers of the activities held by the BMI group. To recruit membership, the BMI group carries out an activity such as conducting a campaign in front of the campus or in an open place. This is in order to socialize their movement and attract sympathy from Indonesian Muslim female students. Based on the data obtained, the membership of BMI is mostly young women. This is aimed at regeneration in continuing their baton. This is shown from their activities, the majority of which are attended by Indonesian Muslim female students.

Recruitment for membership does not immediately mobilize objects to be recruited, but there is framing conveyed in attracting the sympathy of Muslim female students. Like what happened in Bogor in front of Pakuan University. In the campaign they orated "Re actualization of the Role of Young Intellectuals in Realizing the Return of Islamic Civilization". In the oration, they invited young people to return to their nature, namely Islam, to be proud of their Islamic identity, to be brave and loud in voicing change, to fight colonial ideology. They also said that the important role of youth will be optimized in a society that implements Islam in a strict manner. The Khilafah will prepare everything needed for youth empowerment through economic, educational, human relation, social and other systems. Mind and heart so that they are always anchored to Islam and the glory of the people of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

The membership of the BMI group will be fostered as a step to instill the ideology which is the reference of their da'wah movement. Basically, coaching is a very basic interest, this is for cadre for the continuation of the movement they are carrying out, in order to orate the understanding of kaffah that they believe in, which is far from civilization at this time. The development of BMI group membership can be conducted offline and online. There are many factors that influence the methods or ways in which the BMI community can be developed. Development of new membership in the framework of cadre is carried out online when viewed during the past pandemic, or with other constraints.

Membership development for the Indonesian Migrant Workers group is carried out in terms of instilling the values that forming their basis, such as the ideology that they understand. Instilling values is carried out in order to strengthen belief and strengthen determination to coordinate its goals in upholding true Islam. This online membership development is usually carried out using zoom media and the writings they publish. Membership development for the Indonesian Migrant Workers group usually emphasizes aspects of Islamic kaffah issues. They do this to convince or indoctrinate members that their foundation and purpose in campaigning for Islamic kaffah is worship so that it becomes a must for them.

The journey of the BMI group since the formation of their social media account in 2016, they have started to orate or fight for the khilafah, women's rights, and others. Since the emergence of Indonesian Migrant Workers with the emergence of their accounts on social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and others, they have been aggressively fighting for their mission, namely to establish a khilafah system in Indonesia. They cover this with Islamic teachings and the arguments of the Al-Qur'an. Then,they turn on things that are outside of Islam, both from a system of life or a state system that is outside of Islam, such as Liberalism, Socialism, Capitalism and others.

The BMI group has alignment in vision and mission, because they are the biological children of the HTI group. However, after HTI was frozen by the government, BMI was one of HTI's instruments in continuing their movement's baton. Hence, after HTI was disbanded by the government, the Indonesian Migrant Workers group became more aggressive in promoting the khilafah, along with government policies that were felt to be contrary to their mission and contrary to Islam. Apart from that, BMI groups also criticized the policy, such as the Omnibus

Law, the PKS Bill, and others. In short, the activities of BMI in the past five years are that they still exist, especially on social media.

Movement Pattern

BMI is a metamorphosis of HTI, namely they both use the Khilafah Ideology. In the ideology of BMI, the pattern of thinking is fundamental, based on the Al-Quran and Hadith, which have the obligation to punish based on the provisions of Allah's law which cannot be separated from the Kaffah Islamic Ideology (Asrori 2017). The HTI group stated that the Al-Qur'an and Hadith are the birthplace of an Ijtihad law for mujtahids (Shah and Setia 2021). Hence, the ideology of Kaffah continues to develop in the community until they know and hear about it themselves. Its existence through cadre formation and religious lectures. For example, the incident that the Indonesian government closed the HTI organization in 2017 which caused the Khilafah system or ideology to be familiar to the people of Indonesia.

Furthermore, the development of the Khilafah Ideology was continued by the BMI group, which is a metamorphosis group from HTI. As an initial step, the BMI group recruited new members in the regeneration process to disseminate their ideology. They started disseminating through technology in the form of sophisticated social media. Such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Youtube. Because in essence they move through the media that they spread through posts in written form. The understanding or view they describe is then related in accordance with today's life situation. In relating understanding or the view to the situations, the BMI group can be said to be aggressive and radical (non-physically) because these two conditions collide.

One of the example of the developments is by providing education through the media (Facebook) written by Siti Nafidah Anshory, M.Ag entitled **"Resolution 2021 The People are Welcoming the Century of Khilafah"** "namely "Democracy is the source of damage". In this expression, if examined in depth, all the problems that exist are caused by the implementation of the secular system of democracy which negates the role of Allah SWT in life, because it gives rights and makes laws to a weak and limited mind (Human). In another article they distributed, which was written by Najma Salidah entitled "**The Standard Model of Islamic State: Khilafah"**, the State has four systems, namely (1) Sovereignty is in the hands of Sharia, meaning that those who deserve to determine halal, haram, good and bad, praiseworthy and despicable is Islamic law. (2) Power is in the hands of the ummah, meaning that a leader of the Muslims can only be elected and sworn in by the ummah. (3) It is obligatory to appoint only a caliph, meaning that the Muslims only have one leader. (4) The right to adopt laws belongs to the Khalifah, meaning that the law that applies, formalizes and applies is only sharia law. (ajhizatu ad-daulah Islammiyah, Abdul Qadim Zallum) (Anon n.d.-a).

Not only stopping there, Najma Salidah also explained the structure of the khilafah state which was implemented by the Rashidun Khulafaur after Rasulullah S.A.W died. At-Tafwidh, (3) Wuzana At-Tahfizh, (4) Guardians, (5) Amitul Jihad, (6) Internal Security, (7) Foreign Affairs, (8) Industry, (9) Judiciary, (10)) Maashalih An-nas, (11) Baitul Mal, (12) Information Institute, (13) Council of Ulama. It is through this post that they disseminate the understanding or ideology that they glorify. Not necessarily the focus point of what they are doing, but also starting from the phenomena of the movement they are doing. This is the same as criticizing the government system in Indonesia regarding cases that are currently occur in the general public. They immediately did this with the aim of fighting for the rights of the Indonesian people. They see that the government system in Indonesia can be detrimental to society and religion (Anon n.d.-b).

Based on the ideological development carried out by Indonesian Migrant Workers, it is indicated that the pattern which is carried out by Indonesian Migrant Workers is violence, according to the theory put forward by Johan Galtung, as for various types of violence. Violence in a broad sense is as a barrier that should be avoided which will cause a person to be unable to self-actualize naturally. Barriers according to Johan Galtung can actually be avoided, so that violence can be avoided if the barrier is removed. Cruelty varies, such as physical, emotional, verbal, institutional, spiritual, behavior or attitude, dominating or destroying ourselves and others. Johan Galtung also explained that there is also cultural violence, which is permanent violence, which is manifested in attitudes, feelings, values shared by society or groups (Eriyanti 2017).

Based on the pattern of movements carried out by BMI, it can be concluded that the pattern used is a pattern of cultural violence. Such as rejecting the democratic system and the foundation of the state. In rejecting the system in Indonesia, the BMI group raised resistance by creating provocative narratives with the aim of comparing the ideology of the khilafah with the system in force in Indonesia. From the narratives or discourses disseminate by BMI, three discourses were generated, namely, socio-political issues, religious understanding issues, and educational issues.

Movement strategy

In creating movement and accommodating the aspirations of the community, the BMI group uses a strategy. First, the streets operation as a strategy in their movement. While distributing leaflets of bulletins that promote the khilafah. Second, organizing seminars and public discussions. BMI intellectual activists find expression through seminars and publications, this is a strategy to disseminate understanding and ideas. Third, publication through media. The use of media as a method in the form of BMI publications to a wider audience in society, this is the main way for BMI to do this. Fourth, Approach To shops and educational institutions in socializing the program, the BMI group approached shops (educational institution shops, community shops, and traditional shops). In this approach the BMI group also approaches educated children, especially female students in Indonesia.

CONCLUSİON

The Efforts to decide on social movements in society is something that is difficult to do. This is proven by the emergence of various kinds of new movements, which camouflage and join into other religious organizations. The emergence of new faces in the same mission makes the movements carried out more flexible, both in the organizational structure and movement. The motivation that is held in continuing the movement is the construction of thoughts and laws related to fikrah and tariqah which originate from religious teachings. This ideology is to carry out Islamic life and to disseminate it to all corners of the world. In developing an understanding or view of HTI, the Indonesian Migrant Workers group uses violence, namely cultural violence whose goals are values, understanding and so on. This pattern of development can lead to contradictions among the people, especially the government. This is evidenced by their purpose to change the ideology of the Indonesian state, namely Pancasila, to become the ideology of the khilafah. This is in contrary to the Indonesian state system which is democratic. In the strategy carried out by the BMI community or group, to spread understanding of HTI (Hizb Ut-tahrir Indonesia) the most frequently used are social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube and also using Zoom Meetings, which are deemed necessary as dialogue and discussion of a phenomenon, and problems that occur. Secondly, usually the BMI group carries out a campaign against their understanding or against their point of view, especially in matters of Islamic ideology that must be upheld in the government system in Indonesia, and the third one is that the BMI group holds congresses throughout Indonesia which are attended by female students from all campuses in Indonesia, the purpose is to recruit new membership and the most important thing is to instill ideological values that form the basis of their movement.

Bibliografi

Anon. n.d.-a. "No Title." Retrieved (back to muslim identity).

Anon. n.d.-b. "No Title." Retrieved (https://www.facebook.com/search/top?q=back to muslim identity).

Asrori, Ahmad. 2017. "RADIKALISME DI INDONESIA: Antara Historisitas Dan Antropisitas." *Kalam* 9(2):253. doi: 10.24042/klm.v9i2.331.

Backto_muslimidentity. 2022. *Instagram*.

Damayanti, Sophia, Ira Dwi Mayangsari, S. Sos, Dedi Kurnia, Syah Putra, and M. I. Kom. 2016. "Analisis Framing Robert N. Entman Atas Pemberitaan Reklamasi Teluk Jakarta Di Majalah Tempo Framing Analysis of News About Jakarta'S Northern Coast Reclamation on Harian Kompas and Aktual.Com in 2015." *E-Proceeding of Management* 3(3).

Dindha Amelia. 2020. "Perkembangan Pemahaman Radikalisme Di Indonesia." 21(1):1–9.

Dzakiyyah, Aisyah. 2014. "Tinjauan Umum Gerakan Sosial." *Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents* 10(1):21–41.

Eriyanti, Linda Dwi. 2017. "Pemikiran Johan Galtung Tentang Kekerasan Dalam Perspektif Feminisme." *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 6(1):27–37.

Febriani, Luna. 2017. "Mobilisasi Sumberdaya Dalam Gerakan Literasi: (Studi Pada Gerakan Vespa Pustaka)." *Society* 5(1):59–67. doi: 10.33019/society.v5i1.20.

Fitriyana, Siti Nur. 2019. "Fenomena Dakwah Eks-HTI Pasca Dibubarkan." *Islamic Communication Journal* 4(2):197. doi: 10.21580/icj.2019.4.2.4041.

Hadi, Kisno, and May Linda Sari. 2021. "Fundamentalisme Radikal Dalam Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Politik Keagamaan Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Ledalero* 20(2):159–73.

Haris, Andi, Asyraf Bin AB Rahman, and Wan Ibrahim Wan Ahmad. 2019. "Mengenal Gerakan Sosial Dalam Perspektif Ilmu Sosial." *Hasanuddin Journal of Sociology* 1(1):15–24. doi: 10.31947/hjs.v1i1.6930.

Iii, B. A. B., and Metode Penelitian. n.d. "Bambang Sunggono, Metodologi Penelitian Hukum (Jakarta : PT. RajaGrafindo Persada, 1998), 75-76. 66." 75–76.

Manulu, Dimpos. 2016. "GERAKAN SOSIAL DAN PERUBAHAN KEBIJAKAN PUBLIK Kasus Perlawanan Masyarakat Batak vs PT. Inti Indorayon Utama,Di Porsea, Sumatera Utara." *Populasi* 18(1):27–50. doi: 10.22146/jp.12066.

Maros, Hikmah, and Sarah Juniar. 2016. "済無No Title No Title No Title." 1–23.

Putri, Tesa Amyata, Bintarsih Sekarningrum, and Muhammad Fedryansyah. 2022. "Gerakan Sosial Dan Mobilisasi Sumber Daya Dalam Memperjuangkan Pengakuan Kepercayaan Berbeda." *Jurnal Socius: Journal of Sociology Research and Education* 9(1):22. doi: 10.24036/scs.v9i1.381.

Qohar, Abd, and Kiki Muhamad Hakiki. 2017. "Eksistensi Gerakan Idiologi Transnasional HTI Sebelum Dan Pasca Pembubaran." *Kalam* 11(2):365–96. doi: 10.24042/klm.v11i2.1403.

Rahman, Abdul. 2015. "Gerakan Sosial Masyarakat Peduli Lingkungan." *Jurnal Equilibrium Pendidikan Sosiologi* III(1):175–84.

Santi, Sarah. 2012. "Frame Analysis : Konstruksi Fakta Dalam Bingkai Berita." *Forum Ilmiah* 9(1):219–32.

Santoso, Arif Gunawan. 2015. "Strategi Mobilisasi Sumber Daya Fundamentalisme Islam:" *Dialog* 38(2):221–36. doi: 10.47655/dialog.v38i2.47.

Sari, Dewi Karina. 2017. "Strategi Mobilisasi Gerakan Masyarakat Dalam Penutupan Industri Pengelolaan Limbah B3 Di Desa Lakardowo Kabupaten Mojokerto." *Jurnal Politik Indonesia* 2:127–34.

Suwarno, Joko. 2016. "'Gerakan Muncar Rumahku' Dan Strategi Mobilisasi Sumber Daya

Pada Gerakan Sosial Penyelamatan Lingkungan." *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 3(2):17. doi: 10.22146/jps.v3i2.23533.

Syah, M. Kautsar Thariq, and Paelani Setia. 2021. "Radikalisme Islam: Telaah Kampanye Khilafah Oleh Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Pra-Pembubaran Oleh Pemerintah." *Jurnal Iman Dan Spiritualitas* 1(4):523–35. doi: 10.15575/jis.v1i4.14094.

Wahab, Laode Abdul. 2016. "Metamorfosa Radikalisme Pada Lembaga Pendidikan Di Sulawesi Tenggara." *Shautut Tarbiyah* Vol. 35(22):69–90.