

Movement of Dakwah Cyber in The Middle of Clash The Ideology of Religious Community

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Abstract

This article analyzes the da'wah movement that is expressed in cyber media, as well as the challenges of implementing da'wah that must be carried out amid the clash of ideologies of religious communities. This study uses a qualitative method with an ethnomethodological approach, focusing on the analysis of digital conversations that are centered on the analysis of traces of interactions and conversations in response to da'wah narratives that have been uploaded openly through cyber community media. By using the concept of cyberspace and the concept of da'wah in understanding this cyber religious reality, this study can show that da'wah movements and activities that are displayed through cyber community media are a religious phenomenon along with the development of information and communication technology. This study also looks at the importance of humanist cyber da'wah by considering the da'wah process displayed in this cyber media in addition to calling for goodness and preventing evil, it also tends to describe the occurrence of ideological disputes and clashes between religious communities, marked by the many pro and con responses that appear in each da'wah message that uploaded through cyber religious community media.

Keywords: Cyber Da'wah, Ideological Conflict, Religious Community

Gerakan Dakwah Siber di tengah Benturan Ideologi Komunitas Keagamaan

Abstrak

Artikel ini menganalisa gerakan dakwah yang diekspresikan dalam media siber, serta tantangan pelaksanaan dakwah yang harus dilaksanakan ditengah benturan ideologi komunitas keagamaan. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan etnometodologi, fokus pada analisis percakapan digital yang dipusatkan pada analisis terhadap jejak interaksi dan percakapan dalam merespon narasi-narasi dakwah yang telah diunggah secara terbuka melalui media komunitas siber. Dengan menggunakan konsep cyberspace dan konsep dakwah dalam memahami realitas keagamaan siber ini, maka studi ini dapat menunjukkan bahwa gerakan dan aktifitas dakwah yang ditampilkan melalui media komunitas siber adalah sebagai fenomena keagamaan seiring dengan perkembangan teknologi informasi dan komunikasi. Studi ini juga melihat pentingnya dakwah siber humanis dengan mempertimbangkan proses dakwah yang ditampilkan dalam media siber ini selain menyerukan kebaikan dan mencegah kemungkaran, juga cenderung menggambarkan terjadinya perselisihan dan benturan ideologi komunitas keagamaan, ditandai dengan banyaknya respon pro dan kontra yang dimunculkan pada setiap pesan dakwah yang diunggah melalui media komunitas keagamaan siber.

Kata Kunci Cyber Da'wah, konflik ideologi, komunitas keagamaan

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A. Introduction

Religious expressions, which are demonstrated through activities and movements of da'wah in cyber media, mark the development of contemporary society and the development of information and communication technology. Its emergence is the fruit of new technological innovations and new technological innovation that has implications for everyday social and religious life. Erica Schlesinger Wass saw that technological developments could influence the way people communicate, interact, shop, do politics, have opinions, learn, and entertain themselves effectively.¹ Meanwhile, Manuel Castell viewed it as the power of information so that it would be able to generate knowledge with networking capacity in all spheres of human activity.²

This article acknowledges that information and communication technology is perceived as a medium in conduits or as a means and as an environment that is being created. Moh. Fahrurrozi mentioned that the birth of cyberspace could make a new social space so that it became an alternative in today's social and cultural life.³ This new social space also affects the social arrangement in the religious field, marked by da'wah movements and activities displayed and posted on the media of the cyber religious community due to effectiveness consideration and the community's social responsibility. However, in conveying religious messages through cyber da'wah, which aims to enjoin people to do good and prevent evil, there have been several disputes and conflicts due to differences in ideological interests.

A recent investigation that has been carried out on two groups of cyber religious community media, namely the da'wah media of Islam *Kaffah* community and the da'wah media of Nahdlatul Ulama community, reveals that these two media tend to display differences in religious concepts which contradict each other. The da'wah messages conveyed by both media tend to have different

¹ Wass, Erica Schlesinger, 2003. *Addressing the Word: National Identity and Internet Country Code Domains*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishares Inc. p. ix

² Hassan, Robert, 2004, *Media, Politik and Network Society*, Newyork: Open University Press, p. x

³ According to Fuchs, this quality is caused by several characteristics of the internet, namely interactivity, multimedia, hypertextuality, global communication, many-to-many communication, cooperative production, decontextualization, and derealization. See in the works Fuchs, Cristian, 2008, *Internet and Society: Social Theory in The Information Age*. London: Routledge, p. 139.

ideological orientations; one media indicates that they are part of a specific force that side with theocratic ideals and is more oriented towards establishing an Islamic state (it has called da'wah caliphate).⁴ However, some of the da'wah messages conveyed through the other community media emphasize more on the humanist approach of Islamic teaching, and they are more mission-oriented to maintain the national political system that is the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI)⁵.

The grouping of these two opposing cyber media of the religious community is intended for study purposes while pointing at the image of current religious reality displayed in cyber media. The grouping is also expected to determine how da'wah movements and activities are carried out in cyber media. Moreover, this da'wah implementation cannot avoid the dialectical process that follows, such as da'wah movements and activities displayed on Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community media. These also include *the Khilafah* channel, *Fokus Khilafah* channel, News Khilafah channel, and the Muslimah Media Center (MMC), which frequently promote the concept of *Khilafah* (caliphate). Meanwhile, the other religious community media, which in this case is the cyber community media of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization, such as NU Online website, 164 Nahdlatul Ulama Channel, and several other Youtube channels tend to convey da'wah messages with a more humanist approach. These NU cyber community media provide a variety of channels and contents needed by the Muslim community. Furthermore, these media are also active in disseminating da'wah contents that are in line with Nahdlatul Ulama's endeavor, which promotes the messages of tolerance (*tasamuh*), moderation (*tawasuth wa i\ 'tidal*), balance (*tawazun*), and proportional positive religious appeal (*amar ma\ 'ruf nahi munkar*).⁶

Each of these cyber religious community media has become a place to gather and virtually meet up with their active followers through the open comments section in each respective media. They function the cyber community media as a da'wah channel and interact with each other in responding to every political and religious issue narrated in each uploaded da'wah content. In the

⁴See *Media Komunitas Dakwah Islam Kaffah*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Al6byV87X2o>, accessed: 15/6/2021.

⁵See NU Community, e.g., NU Online. https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCO3muy2MWpMLBB21a_9DVpw, Accessed: 15/4/2021.

⁶ See the message See NU Community NU Online. https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCO3muy2MWpMLBB21a_9DVpw, Accessed: 15/4/2021.

comments section, some of the responses may be favorable (pros), and some of them may show rejection (cons) towards the da'wah messages conveyed on the cyber community media. Ideological differences between religious communities can also be perceived in the digital traces of the recorded narratives and conversations. Even the findings of this study indicate traces of conversations that illustrate ideological clashes between the two communities.

The necessity to carry out this study is based on Rulli Nasrullah's notion that cyberspace was considered capable of shaking the attention of basic understandings of everything related to the world of religion and spirituality.⁷ While the religious track record displayed on the media of the cyber religious community is not free from the influence of image and imaging (imagology). Therefore the discourse of knowledge, communication, da'wah, and religious rituals can be done through images and imaging technology.⁸

Islam requires the implementation of da'wah to call for goodness and prevent evil as the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Nasaruddin Latif stated that da'wah is part of an oral or written activity that appeals, invites, calls other humans to believe and obey Allah following the Islamic creed, sharia, and Islamic morality⁹. As a reflection on religious phenomena expressed in this cyber media, this study poses an essential issue that serves as study material, namely: Is it true that the purpose of da'wah movements and activities expressed through cyber community media is to call for goodness and prevent evil (*amar makruf nahi munkar*)? Or are the da'wah movement and activities in cyber media facing challenges and threats from many ideological conflicts among religious communities?

In order to further understand this cyber religious reality, as a perspective means to understand the religious reality in this cyber media, a critical sociological review that has the relevant power to understand the reality being studied is required. These perspectives are the cyberspace perspective and critical concepts about da'wah, so it will be easier for the researcher to understand how the Da'wah

⁷ Piliang Yasraf, 2011, *Bayang-bayang Tuhan: Agama dan Imajenasi*, Bandung, Mizan Publika, p. 285.

⁸Piliang yasraf, *Ibid*, p. xxxiii

⁹Ahmad Ghulusy, 1987, *Al-Da'wa al-Islamiyah* (Kairo: dar al-kitab), p. 9

movement and activities are expressed through cyber community media amidst the ideological clash of religious communities. The Ethnomethodology method is employed since it is highly relevant in understanding the cyber religious reality. Focusing on digital conversation analysis is expected to focus on traces of interaction and conversation in responding to openly uploaded narratives. Such an approach is taken to help us understand and describe that within the da'wah movements and activities displayed on cyber, public media, apart from emphasizing its noble purposes, also reveal how ideological clashes between religious communities frequently occur.

B. Cyber Da'wah Movements and Activities as New Reality

With the emergence of da'wah movements and activities in cyber, public media cannot be separated from the influence of technological and information developments. The presence of information and communication technology is not only perceived as a medium in the context of conduits or facilities but can also be perceived as an environment. Jeff Zaleski¹⁰ stated that cyberspace was a virtual space created through an Internet connection that could be formed when an Internet user communicated. Furthermore, this space is referred to by Jones as a new public space or a virtual space, which he defined as a space that provides facilities for users to find new ways of interacting, both in economic, political, social, and religious aspects.¹¹ Meanwhile, the current article views the cyber media spaces used by the religious communities as a space for expression, especially in carrying out Islamic da'wah movements and activities. This cyber religious community media is created as space and channel for open communication access so that anyone can interact at least through online conversations between communities.

The emergence of religious phenomena in cyber media reinforces the notions mentioned by Moh. Fahrurrozi that cyberspace could become a new social space that can make it an alternative in the current social and cultural life arrangement¹². Even in its development, it has also changed various ways of

¹⁰See Moh. Fahrurroji, 2017, *Dakwah di Era Media Baru; Teori dan Aktivisme Dakwah di Internet*, Simbiosis Rekatama Media, p. 85.

¹¹Jones, Steve, 1999, *Doing Internet Research, Critical Issues, and Methods for Examining the Net*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publikations, p. 22.

¹² According to Fuchs, this quality can occur because of many internet characteristics, namely *interactivity, multimedia, hypertextuality, global communication, many-to-many communication, cooperative production, decontextualization, dan derealization*. See Fuchs, Cristian, 2008, *Internet and Society: Social Theory in The Information Age*. London: Routledge, p. 139.

performing religious practices and spirituality, although these changes are more towards virtual forms. Not only that, but the development of cyberspace is also considered to have attracted academics to dig more of the basic understandings of everything related to the world of religion and spirituality.¹³ Moreover, the diversity displayed in cyber media is not free from the influence of image and imagery called imagology. A contemporary French social scientist, Jean Francois Lyotard, and Jean Baudrillard previously introduced that imagology was seen as an "image" in popular culture. In contrast, Jacques Lacan introduced imagology as a model of imaging through simulation.¹⁴

It is understandable that the religious phenomena displayed in movements and da'wah activities also illustrate that people who are increasingly familiar with simulations are not separated from the interactions of global technology networks that influence each other. Thus, this cyber religious phenomenon will also result in a massive deconstruction in understanding the religious reality imaged through simulations as displayed through the media of the cyber religious community. Muthoharun, in his writings, mentioned that the development of information and communication technology had resulted in a shift in religious authority and relationship patterns between followers and religious leaders who should have been the role models in everyday life. In contrast, this religious authority was previously limited to scholars, *murshid* (a guide in religion), or *ustad* (a teacher/expert in religion).¹⁵

This article emphasizes that the religious phenomenon also marks a transformation of religious authority initially under the government authority through the Ministry of Religion and other official non-governmental institutions. All these institutions later will have to transform authority as well. The current study views that religious authorities in cyber media are more likely to appear impersonal based primarily on information networks (Internet). It means that in this transformation, everyone can easily access knowledge based on each individual's religious passion and necessities. In this case, an individual who seeks answers to problems does not have to ask the *ulama* (scholar) directly since cyber media has made religious *fatwa* (formal ruling) no longer conventional scholars' authority.

¹³ Piliang Yasraf, 2011, *Bayang-bayang Tuhan: Agama dan Imajenasi*, Bandung, Mizan Publika, p. 285.

¹⁴ Piliang yasraf, *Ibid*, p. xxxiii

¹⁵ Muthohharun Jinan, *new media and the shifting of Muslim religious authority in contemporary Indonesia*, Conference Proceedings Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies XII, IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya Indonesia, 5-8 November 2012, p. 1011-1032

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Each individual has the same authority in finding answers and making decisions as religious information is published and circulated on various social media platforms. This is because, in this cyberspace, anyone can ignore the physical figure of spiritual teachers (*ulama*, priests, clerics, and monks) who have been considered experts and can teach everything about religion and replace them by accessing the internet. In this context, Brenda Brasher has defined cyber religion as religious institutions and activities in the cyber world. Meanwhile, Lorne L Dawson defined it as an organization or religious group whose existence was only in the cyber world.¹⁶

Morten T Hojsgaard mentioned three different concepts about religion displayed in the online world, namely the existence of virtual communication that replaced honest communication (Mediation), the need for complete religious institutions (Organization), and the reflection of cyberculture that replaced reflections from religious traditions (Content).¹⁷ As Durkheim's view of religion stated that religion was a "moral" phenomenon, religion involved accepting some rules about how we should interact with people and things that were believed to be transcendent. Religion concerns the ethical regulation of our relation and social solidarity with a particular community. It is an intrinsic part that makes our lives meaningful. While for most people, being religious means belonging to a particular group, even this affiliation is more symbolic and subjective.¹⁸

Religious expressions in cyber media also give rise to various discourses increasingly getting attention from many groups. Practically, this expression is a phenomenon where there is a significant relationship between religion and the internet, both as a medium and cultural space. In this case, Garry R. Bunt understands that the rapid development of science and technology, especially information technology, makes it easier for humans and leads humans to a crossroad in which one foot must be set in the real world. In contrast, the other foot must step into the virtual world.¹⁹ In another work, Bunt mentioned it as a phenomenon of the religious world (Islam) expressed in virtual spaces.²⁰

¹⁶Give Me *That Online Religion*, 2001

¹⁷ Morten T Hojsgaard, *Religion and Cyberspace*, 2005

¹⁸ Dawson, Lorne L dan Cowan, Douglas E. 2004, *Religion Online: Finding Faith on the Internet*, London, Routledge, p.75.

¹⁹ Gary R. Bunt, 2003, *Islam in the Digital Age E-Jihad, Online Fatwas and Cyber Islamic Environments*, Pluto Press.

²⁰ In this case, virtual is understood as something created by digital illusions to provide a sense of space in which there is a time and place containing phenomena related to reality. Space and time seem to be folded down to zero, while real life is in the midst of a cultured and religious society in a virtual Islamic environment. See further Garry R. Bunt, Gary R. Bunt, *Islam Virtual: Menjelajah Islam di Jagad Maya*.

The interesting thing in studying the phenomenon of cyber diversity is the appearance that tends to be colored by the narrative of religious concept differences among communities because they have different understandings of beliefs and practices about Islam. Due to such differences, specific issues related to the representation of Islam often appear in internet spaces. Moreover, there are contents of beliefs, platforms, and even interests that sometimes are not always the same as religious concepts for specific people and those who move with particular agendas in these issues.²¹ Such birth of this kind of virtual Islamic environment is as if symbolizing a barometer of diversity in the Islamic spectrum, and this article understands it as an ongoing reality.

This religious phenomenon which continues to experience significant dynamics of change, has made da'wah movements and activities develop because their implementation is considered very practical and more widely affordable; moreover, the growth of various social media platforms is considered to have been able to present quite a lot of segmentation.²² Therefore, it is possible for every da'wah movement and activity that is posted on various social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and others to connect netizens with the rich classical Islamic treasures and be open to various comments as a response to the preaching material that has been delivered. Such connection is essential for conducting more in-depth studies, in line with the social dynamics that continue to grow and accompany it.

Meanwhile, the development of community media improves the implementation of da'wah movements and activities in cyber media. In the context of cyberspace study, although the discussion of community experiences quite revolutionary dynamics, what is needed concerning this place is the imagination of each individual.²³ Cyberspace has created, discovered, and participated in specific communities that might otherwise be difficult to find in a real-world setting. Involvement in online participation or communicating or interacting online causes a social system where information and interaction processes can occur.²⁴ then this virtual community, in addition to the literature mentioned, can allow someone to

²¹Ibid.

²² For example, what is currently phenomenal is about Ustadz Abdul Somad, armed with his da'wah activities spread through cyberspace, the activity can be followed by a reasonably large audience, the study of Imam Ghazali's *Ihya Ulumuddin* book and Ibn Rushd's *Bidayah al Mujtahid* followed by a vast number of net citizens lost.

²³Rheingold, Howard, 1995, *Which Part is Virtual? Which Part is Community?*. In Rulli Nasrulloh, *Teori dan Riset Media Siber (Cybermedia)*, Jakarta, Kencana Prenadamedia Group, p. 149.

²⁴Fuchs, Christian, 2008, *Internet and Society Theory in the Information Age*. London, Routledge, p. 302.

fulfill their sense of need, especially among those who are looking for friends with similar-minded people.²⁵

Religious expressions that can be displayed in cyberspace are also able to give birth to religious communities, so it can be perceived that the phenomenon of da'wah movements and activities that occur in cyber, public media, along with the development of technology and information, is an ongoing reality, so that it can give color the religious life system. Therefore, information technology is perceived as a means and as a religious environment that is taking place.

C. Ideological Clashes among Religious Communities

Various religious ideologies appear and are expressed by many communities on the media of cyber religious communities. This diversity of religious beliefs may trigger clashes between religious communities due to differences in ideological backgrounds. As for the current study, two religious communities with different ideological orientations are presented as loci. This is intended so that the current study can describe how the religious reality, displayed in the form of cyber da'wah movements and activities, contributes to social dynamics, inseparable from the pressure to develop information and communication technology. Therefore, it can be perceived that religious community media appear to be involved in digital displays that show ideological endeavors among communities. Such differences in ideological orientations are presented on the two opposing cyber religious community media.

The two previously mentioned cyber religious communities are the media of Nahdatul Ulama da'wah community and Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community. The media of the Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community includes several Youtube channels such as the *Khilafah* channel, *Fokus Khilafah* channel, *News Khilafah* channel. In its description, this community media refers to itself as a public-owned channel, a media for Islamic endeavor, a self-proclaimed trusted media in revealing facts and reality, as well as a channel for a complete and deep war of opinion and ideology from an Islamic perspective²⁶. The other channel that is linked with Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community media includes the Muslimah Media Center (MMC), which is one of the media that mentions itself as an Islamic media that is committed to being able to provide analysis of problems, especially in Indonesia and the Islamic world by presenting Islam as practical and effective solutions of living. The focus of

²⁵Wood, Andrew F. dan Smith, Matthew J. 2005, *Online Communication: Linking Technology, Identity, and Culture*. New York: Arnold Publishing, p. 125.

²⁶<https://www.youtube.com/c/FokusKhilafahChannel/about>.

MMC is related to Muslim women's issues, families, and generations of the country. This media is expected to inspire the lives of individuals, communities, and countries.²⁷.

Different from Islam Kaffah, the cyber da'wah performed on the cyber community media of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization include NU Online website, 164 Nahdlatul Ulama Youtube Channel, and several other channels that are networked with NU cyber community media. NU media provide a variety of channels and content that are needed by the Muslim community. Furthermore, it is also active in disseminating da'wah messages with content that is in line with the line of Nahdlatul Ulama's endeavor such as promoting messages of tolerance (tasamuh), moderation (tawasuth wa i'tidal), balance (tawazun), and proportional positive religious appeals (amar ma'ruf nahi munkar). In practice, each of these community media displays many different da'wah messages and understandings of religious ideologies, both of which make cyber community media a channel for expressing religious beliefs following the ideology they believe in. This study views that the cyber religious community media is a place for followers to chat with each other to respond to each da'wah post. This is the concept of cyber-community based on the notion developed by Jordan, who stated that virtual space as the cyber community media became a meeting place for netizens in which they appeared in the same information space among users.²⁸.

Fakhruroji emphasized that this virtual/cyber community is described as a phenomenon in which many internet users can create avatars as representations of computer users or alter egos in two dimensions or three dimensions. Avatar is generally applied in games or as icons (images) used as someone's identity in forums or other communities on the internet.²⁹. It can be understood that the existence of cyber religious community media is part of a virtual phenomenon displayed by religious communities with different ideological orientations. Cyber religious community media is a medium of da'wah and a channel of expression for religious content. It becomes part of the expansion of new public spaces for the people of Indonesia, along with the development of information and communication technology.

The identification of da'wah messages published on cyber religious

²⁷ See Muslimah Media Center (MMC) at <https://www.youtube.com/c/MUSLIMAHMEDIACENTERID/about>, diakses pada 5/10/2021

²⁸ Rulli Nasrullah, 2014, *Teori dan Riset Media Siber (Cyber Media)*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Grup, p. 149.

²⁹ Moh. Fahrurroji, 2017, *Dakwah di Era Media Baru; Teori dan aktivisme Dakwah di Internet*, Bandung, Simbiosis Rekatama Media, p. 168.

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community media in this study is part of an effort to understand the reality of cyber da'wah and the expansion of cyberspace due to the development of information and communication technology can conceive a phenomenon of religious migration to public cyberspace. A study conducted by Garry R. Bund stated that there were specific issues related to the representation of Islam. In its development, it also appears in Internet spaces where faith also exists. In this context, platforms and even interests are sometimes not always the same as religious understanding for people and those who move with certain agendas.³⁰

The description of cyber-religious reality in this article is inseparable from the sociological dynamics of most Indonesian people who are Muslims.³¹ On the one hand, Islamic groups understand that *Khilafah* (caliphate) ideology is an Islamic teaching that Islamic da'wah must carry out. In contrast, the application of this teaching is obligatory for all Muslims. On the other hand, the emergence of cyber da'wah, which emphasizes the idea of a caliphate, is considered to be full of the political interests of certain groups. This ideology is considered contrary to the national political agreement. Naturally, such opinion differences become a part that can color the debate between two opposing religious communities. Take a look at how the implementation of cyber da'wah, which emphasizes the *Khilafah* messages, is portrayed in the media of the *Islam Kaffah* da'wah community.³²

In its practice, this cyber community media is used as a channel to convey the ideas of *Khilafah* ideology which is packed in the form of a narrative video, then forwarded to various social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Instagram. The purpose of this *Khilafah* da'wah must be carried out by the community carrying the idea of *khilafah* to establish the unity of Muslims. They believe that this da'wah is carried out to build an Islamic life within the framework of *Darul Islam*, in which Islamic society is formed. This ideal goal can be perceived from the slogan on the name of the religious cyber community media that says "*Media Dakwah Islam Kaffah*." The *Islam Kaffah* community believe that the absence of a caliphate system can throw Muslims to live under big sins and

³⁰ Garry R. Bunt, 2005, *Islam Virtual: Menjelajah Islam di Jagad Maya*. Lampeter Penerbit Suluh Press.

³¹ Based on data from the Ministry of Religion in 2016 figures, based on data from the 2010 BPS Census, the percentage of Muslims in Indonesia is 87.2%. See, Tim Penyusun, 2017, Kementerian Agama in Number 2016, Biro Hubungan Masyarakat, Data dan Informasi Sekretariat Jenderal Kementerian Agama RI, p. 47.

³² Namely, the cyber community media used by the community carrying the idea of the caliphate in socializing, explaining the ideas of the caliphate in the cyber, public space. As a medium of Islamic da'wah, kaffah uses several channels, including caliphate channel, caliphate focus, a caliphate news channel. Furthermore, this community media is one of the study loci.

massive problems³³.

Based on the investigation data on the two media, da'wah's message, especially those discussing the caliphate and national politics, has different emphases. For example, in explaining the caliphate posted on the NU Online community media, they stated that the caliphate is a historical fact, not a teaching that must be applied to all Muslims. Meanwhile, the message of the caliphate da'wah posted on the media of the Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community says otherwise. Such differences can trigger different responses. Some responded positively and justified the notion, especially when the national political system of NKRI (the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) has been considered final. At the same time, others responded with rejection on such concept and considered that the caliphate system is necessary for maintaining the nation because, without a caliphate system, the state cannot enforce Islamic law thoroughly. Such kind of differences then becomes a trigger between communities. Some supporters on the cons side even commented with words considered inappropriate to be written in an open comments section.

The reality of cyber da'wah displayed and expressed through the media of the Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization community tends to trigger long clashes and debates among their respective followers, can describe the process of religious dialectics between communities. It also has the potential for shifting performance and religious patterns that occur in Indonesia. Although Clifford Geertz previously mentioned the religious style in Indonesia as religious mindedness, which has occurred since the 60s (1968) and was illustrated as a religious style that has shown open-minded, tolerant, inclusive, syncretic, adaptive characteristics, it seems that such a pattern is very likely to have a fundamental shift. This shift will likely lead the religion to become a religious model that is more religious in nature, exclusive, radical, and tends to be intolerant of other beliefs.³⁴.

Since the space for freedom is vastly open in the cyber media environment, such freedom allows for clashes of ideas between religious communities to occur, especially between the cyber da'wah messages that tend to carry the concepts of the caliphate as expressed in the media of Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community. On the

³³ In addition to the explanation in the narration video on the caliphate channel, it can also be seen in the book Syaikh Ali Belhaj (Tokoh FIS Aljazair), *Menegakkan Kembali Negara Khilafah; Kewajiban Terbesar dalam Islam*, Bogor, Pustaka Thariqul Izzah, p. 5.

³⁴ Clifford Geertz. 1982. *Islam yang Saya Amati Perkembangan di Maroko dan Indonesia*, pen. Hasan Basari. Yayasan Ilmu Sosial.

growth of ideological sentiment among religious communities, this excess opportunity can harm the democratic system developing and taking place in Indonesia. In a study conducted by Minan Jauhari, it was stated that along with the emergence of caliphate system concepts which was debated in cyber, public media, there would be an opportunity for the return of the old collective memory (the Jakarta Charter) to be questioned again even though it had been considered old and final.³⁵

Meanwhile, Anas Saidi, through his scientific oration on Islamism, Pancasila, and the future of democracy in Indonesia, said that this shift in the style of Islam was referred to as a conservative turn.³⁶ In this case, based on Martin Van Bruinessen's notion, it was stated that the conservative turn occurred because the urgency of the progressive Islamic discourse ignited the importance of a tolerance-openness and anti-violence movement by Islamism groups. For this reason, the researcher places cyber da'wah performed through the media of Islam *Kaffah* da'wah community and its da'wah messages which carry the Caliphate system idea as an antithesis (denial) of the thesis (affirmation) of the national political system that has been tied to a national system based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Meanwhile, the cyber da'wah expressed in the media of the NU organization community is an idea that sides with the thesis of the national political system based on the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia because that strengthens the idea of national politics. Moreover, this community media displays many affirmations that the da'wah related to the caliphate system can threaten the nation's integrity. Therefore, it can be inferred that there is a need for a more humanist cyber da'wah movement.

D. A Need for a Humanist Cyber Da'wah Movement

The emergence of the face of religion (Islam) through da'wah activities in cyber, public media, in addition to making it a space for affirmation of Islamic values, can also open up new spaces and create vulnerabilities to new problems

³⁵ Jauhari, Minan, 2021, *Dialektika Ideologi Khilafah Dan Politik Kebangsaan Dalam Ruang Publik Siber*. Disertasi thesis, UNIVERSITAS AIRLANGGA.

³⁶ Indicators in the conservative shift emphasized by Anas Saidi include conflicts between Muslim and Christian communities in several places; efforts to reinsert the seven words of the Jakarta Charter into the 1945 amendment, followed by the emergence of sharia regulations in several regions in Indonesia; the emergence of new movements such as Hisbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Salafis; and a series of controversial MUI fatwas that emerged in 2005. See, Anas Saidi, 2017, *Naskah Pidato Guru Besar tentang Islamisme, Pancasila dan Masa Depan Demokrasi di Indonesia*, Jakarta, LIPI, p. 8-9

due to the overcrowding of religious, ideological diversity in a developing democracy. Masdar Hilmy has mentioned that many religious symbols are raised to the surface of the public sphere in the public sphere. However, these religious symbols tend to often "hit" other groups.³⁷ Hence, once a cyber da'wah is posted in cyber media, da'wah's message becomes the subject of a debate for its different orientation and triggers new problems. For instance, the cyber da'wah media posting about the Khilafah ideology must deal with the opposing cyber da'wah communities with different views. Take a look at how each community media employs religious symbols in writing, pictures, or narratives that can cause solid reactions for other groups. Therefore, this study assesses that the existence of this cyberspace can be a vulnerability for democracy.

Based on that statement, this study views differences in da'wah orientations when perceived from the da'wah messages conveyed. The messages need to be understood as part of the dialectical process that is taking place in public cyberspace. Based on the dialectical logic in Hegel's philosophy,³⁸ It is stated that dialectics are two things that contradict each other and subsequently produce the unity of the contradiction so that it is called thesis (confirmation), antithesis (denial), and synthesis (tension or unity of contradiction). In this context, the existence of a thesis on the Indonesian government system framed through the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is a form of "affirmation" for the Indonesian Muslim community.³⁹

The contradictions expressed through this cyberspace color the dynamics of Islamic da'wah activities posted in cyber media. This difference of opinion should be placed as a dialectical motor that must be able to make survival concepts and evaluate each other despite the differences. As a result, the debate between religious communities against each other (pros-cons) will contribute and conceive a new concept of an ideal national political view. Habermas once reminded that to realize a new, more ideal concept, the dialectical process must be based on the act of communication for each contradictory religious group. This dialectic must be carried out by relying on a cooperative process of interpretation among religious communities interconnected with something in the objective, social, and subjective

³⁷Hudjolly, 2011, *Imagologi Strategi Rekayasa Teks*, Jogjakarta, Ar-Ruzz Media. Hal. 113

³⁸Hegel is a philosopher born in Stuttgart on August 27, 1770. For Hegel, Contradiction is a dialectical motor (the road to truth), so contradictions must create concepts that survive and evaluate each other. The unity of contradiction becomes a tool to complete two opposing concepts of understanding to create a new, more ideal concept. See D. Aiken, Henry. 2009. *Abad Ideologi*. Jogjakarta: Relief, p. 12.

³⁹See BPUPKI, which omitted several editorials in the first precept and re-established the Pancasila formulation in the formulation contained in the 4th paragraph of the 1945 Constitution.

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world so that comprehension will occur if there is an intersubjective acknowledgment of the validity claims put forward in the ongoing discourse. This is because this consensus will never be created if it is not based on valid claims.⁴⁰

In addition, differences in national political views that are displayed through cyber da'wah activities can be a space to bring together human values as the axis of action orientation. Thus, the conversations and narratives that are displayed must have the same interest in bringing together the ideas of each community to realize common interests; therefore, if the religious concepts portrayed in cyber da'wah activities can contribute to the development of democracy so that the universal ethical values that exist in Islam can apply in all places and times (*sholih likulli zaman wal Makan*), so such notion needs to be understood together so that it becomes the nation's habitus. Moreover, the values derived from the Qur'an that have an affinity with the modern world which are reflected in the values of *wasathiyah* (moderation), *tawazun* (balance), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *mahabbah* (compassion), *ijtima'iyah* (togetherness), *musawah* (equality), *'adalah* (justice), *ukhuwah* (brotherhood), and other universal values deserve to be reaffirmed through cyber da'wah activities.

In the future, as long as these substantial values can be implemented, then the fundamental goals of Islam about justice, equality, freedom, prosperity will continue to be fought for. Then, this nation can be considered as a genuinely Islamic nation. This is the reason for the need to carry out da'wah by making cyber media a channel for da'wah to be more effective. Moreover, religion cannot be classified as a private matter but cannot be made public entirely if it is against the constitution.

This is the reason for displaying da'wah messages through cyber media. It can emphasize the delivery of Islamic values to strengthen the establishment of national politics in Indonesia. In this context, cyber da'wah can be oriented towards realizing a social environment that supports the establishment of religious-democracy so that it can be a way of perfection towards the relationship between an individual and his God or belief. The affirmation of this kind of cyber da'wah activity can be based on the advice that KH popularized. Achmad Siddiq, in order to avoid disintegration in building the integrity of the nation, namely the existence of Islam, must be able to maintain three ties of brotherhood called "*ukhuwah Islamiyah*" (Islamic brotherhood), "*ukhuwah wahaniyyah*" (national brotherhood), and "*ukhuwah basyariyah*" (humanity brotherhood). Such bonds can

⁴⁰ Majalah Basis, 2004, Edisi 75 Tahun Jurgen Habermas. Penerbit Kanisius: Yogyakarta.

melt primordial religious ties and even help protect the nation's disintegration threat.

Given that humanist da'wah's conception emphasizes the essence of da'wah, which is spreading religious values (Islam) as a religion of peace and full of mercy. Therefore, it is considered necessary that humanist da'wah can be displayed in this public cyberspace so that it will be able to influence the religious, cultural support of the majority Muslim community in Indonesia, which is building an acceleration of substantial democratic transformation. At the end of this paper, the researcher hopes that religious institutions such as the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) and Religious Community Organizations (Islam) with the facilitation of the Ministry of Religion can make conceptual formulations of ideal humanist da'wah. With the conception of this humanist da'wah and once it becomes a mutual agreement in the future, it will be the basis for the people who do da'wah to carry out da'wah's functions and tasks by utilizing the development of information and communication technology facilities as a means of mutual support.

E. Conclusion

The Da'wah movement and activities displayed in cyber media mark the existence of a religious phenomenon (Islam) raised to follow the teachings of Prophet Muhammad PBUH, which is calling for goodness and preventing evil. However, this cyber da'wah movement and activity is carried out in a clash of ideologies amidst religious communities, marked by the appearance of different ideological orientations among the messengers of da'wah. In this case, da'wah's sole purpose is to call for goodness and prevent evil, which has shifted to a means for the community to break the religious concepts of other religious communities that are not in line with their beliefs. Furthermore, such differences become a space for clashes of ideologies between religious communities. The results of the investigations for traces of conversations and da'wah narratives posted on the two religious communities' media, Islam Kaffah and NU Community, can be perceived as evidence of that notion.

In general, cyber da'wah movements and activities serve some purposes. The first purpose is to convey religious messages where viewers can see their religious orientation in the cyber da'wah displayed on Islam *Kaffah* media. Their cyber da'wah movement and activities imply that they are a part of a specific force that side with theocratic ideals and is more oriented towards establishing an Islamic state (called the da'wah caliphate). The second purpose is to show their

position as a community that strengthens the national political system. This purpose can be perceived on the cyber community media of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization such as the NU Online website, 164 Nahdlatul Ulama Youtube channels, and several other networked channels with NU cyber community media. This media plays an active role in disseminating da'wah messages with contents that are in line with Nahdlatul Ulama's endeavor, namely promoting messages of tolerance (*tasamuh*), moderation (*tawasuth wa i'tidal*), balance (*tawazun*), and proportional positive calls (*amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*). Moreover, by considering the disagreements between these two different religious communities, at the end of this paper, the message that can be conveyed in order to be able to carry out humanist cyber da'wah activities that emphasize the essence of da'wah is to spread religious values (Islam) as a religion of peace and full of mercy.

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