

## **Propaganda and *Da'wah* in Digital Era (A Case of Hoax Cyber-Bullying Against Ulama)**

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### **Abstract**

The presence of the media with all conveniences has surrounded the lives of Muslims. The patterns and models of *da'wah* developed by the *da'i* should adjust to the era of information and communication technology. However, under the pretext of freedom, many media appearances tend to damage social values and order. The purpose of this study is to analysis the elements of propaganda and *da'wah* in the movement of cyber-bullying of scholars through the hoax which based on the existence of problems in Islamic *da'wah* done with contradictive, and online media utilized with provocative. The type of research used is descriptive qualitative research which is using documentation and direct observation by accessing the website then the data collected is analyzed by filling system analysis. The data source was obtained from an online web that broadcasted the news with the keywords *da'wah*, bullying ulama and hoaxes. The result of research indicates that element of *da'wah* only exist in cyber-bullying while the hoax more prominent in propaganda side. The data found are (1) the existence of *ulama* propaganda movements which are bullied; (2) propagation of *ulama*

through hoaxes; and (3) the existence of perpetrators of cyber-bullying ulama movements; however (4) there are several parties responsible for overcoming cyber-bullying through hoax.

[Kehadiran media dengan segala kemudahan telah mengelilingi kehidupan umat Islam. Pola dan model da'wah yang dikembangkan para *da'i* hendaknya menyesuaikan dengan era teknologi komunikasi dan informasi. Namun melalui dalih kebebasan, semakin banyak penampilan media yang cenderung merusak moral. Tujuan penelitian ini yaitu untuk mengetahui unsur da'wah dan propaganda dalam gerakan *cyber-bullying* ulama melalui hoaks yang didasarkan pada permasalahan dalam da'wah Islam yang dilakukan dengan kontradiktif, serta media *online* (*cyber*) dimanfaatkan dengan provokatif. Jenis penelitian yang digunakan yaitu deskriptif kualitatif yang menggunakan dokumentasi dan pengamatan langsung dengan mengakses *website* (observasi) kemudian data dianalisis dengan analisis *filling system*. Sumber data diperoleh dari web online yang menayangkan pemberitaan dengan kata kunci da'wah, bullying ulama dan hoaks. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa unsur da'wah hanya terdapat pada *cyber-bullying* sedangkan hoaks lebih menonjol sisi propagandanya. Data yang ditemukan yaitu: (1) terjadi gerakan da'wah ulama yang *dibully* (2) propagasi ulama melalui hoaks, dan (3) terdapat pelaku gerakan *cyber-bullying* ulama, namun (4) beberapa pihak bertanggungjawab terhadap penanggulangan *cyber-bullying* melalui hoaks.]

**Keywords:** propaganda; *da'wah*; cyber-bullying; hoax

## Introduction

*Da'wah*, in literal, is derived from Arabic which could means an invitation, a call, or an exclamation. In addition, *da'wah* can also be understood as a prayer.<sup>1</sup> Etymologically the word *da'wah* is verbal noun (*masdar*) from the Arabic word *da'a-yad'u* which means to call, to invite, to urge and to pray.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, to carry out *da'wah* means to convey something to other people who are invited to change a situation that is not good to the good and praiseworthy. The word *da'wah* was mentioned in the Quran for more than 100 times. Al Quran uses the word *da'wah* in the meaning of to invite to be found 46 times, 39 times in the sense of inviting Islam and goodness, and 7 times to invite to hell

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<sup>1</sup>Asep Kusnawan, *Ilmu Dakwah (Kajian Berbagai Aspek)* (Bandung: Pustaka Bani Quraisy, 2004), 21.

<sup>2</sup>Narson Munawir, *Kamus al Munawir* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Progresif, 1994), 439.

or evil. In fact, the word da'wah in the Qur'an is expressed about 198 times spread in 55 surah (176 verses).<sup>3</sup>

The word da'wah and propaganda was used interchangeably. However, the two words are different. The difference between propaganda and da'wah lies in the result of propaganda which gives priority to the interests (profits) for the perpetrators regardless of the target whether lucky or not. In Roger Brown (1958) terms, targets of propaganda tend to be victims. Similarly, Laswell (1937) defines propaganda as a technique of influencing human action by manipulating representations. Representations can take the form of oral, written, picture or music.<sup>4</sup> So the word '*propaganda*' has a negative meaning and is less representative of the meaning of da'wah as a concept understood by Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

Globalization is in line with Islamic teachings, doctrine or religion which was passed down as a mercy to the universe. If globalization is used to internalize Islamic moral values, then the life of humankind in the world can proceed peacefully and prosperously.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, today Muslims are intelligent and more literate with information and strong in creed. Because, Muslim live with the presence of the media in their lives. The convenience provided by electronic media technology has been able to accompany the daily life of the muslim community. The presence of electronic devices such as mobile phones has enabled the community to meet and interact with each other in cyberspace through digital media applications. The media has the ability and possibility in spreading news quickly, pushing the boundaries and time, in a live or recorded form, on-stage and broadcasted.<sup>7</sup>

The presence of social media among Muslim leaders has led to differences of opinion on its use. Some scholars consider that social

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., W. Khoiruzzaman, 319.

<sup>4</sup>Warner J. A. Severin & James W. Tankard. Jr. *Communication, Theories, Origins, Methods, & Uses in the Mass Media*, translated by Sugeng Haryanto (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005), 128.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., M. T. Taufik, 7.

<sup>6</sup>Dalinur M. Nur, "Dakwah Pada Era Global," *Jurnal Wardah* No. XXVIII (2014): 160.

<sup>7</sup>Juniawati, "Dakwah Melalui Media Elektronik: Peran dan Potensi Media Elektronik dalam Dakwah Islam di Kalimantan Barat," *Jurnal Dakwah* vol. XV, no. 2 (2014): 212.

media has a disastrous effect and damage the morality so that discourse has arisen to forbid it. This immediately caused many reactions, differences of opinion, polemics, pros and cons. Taking the facts into account, nowadays (some) scholars have known to use social media and of course they have their own opinions about utilizing it for da'wah activities.<sup>8</sup>

The obligation to preach is regularly carried out by ulama, *da'i*, or *mubaligh*. Because the task of delivering religious treatise must be carried out in an orderly and continuous manner, so that it requires better religious expertise and understanding, in addition to other provisions, so that not every Muslim is able to properly preach. It's just that, times continue to change, so that the patterns and methods of preaching carried out by preachers also change. This is without exception to the patterns and models of preaching developed by preachers (*da'i*) in the di era of communication and information technology as it is today.<sup>9</sup> The situation and conditions in the current era, namely the contemporary era marked by the increasingly advanced development of information and communication flows, also emerged a variety of media that can be used as propaganda devices such as electronic devices such as television, radio, fax , internet through Information Technology ( IT). This media when it is utilized as a discourse of thought for the development of da'wah, it will play significant role as dakwah media.<sup>10</sup> The main reason for the collapse of print media in Western countries is actually the fast development of new media in the Internet. More and more people in Western countries visit online media to get information in comparison to the offline media.<sup>11</sup>

However, we would like also to acknowledge that there is a wrong judgment in seeing the technology, which should be seen as a

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<sup>3</sup>Ahmad Julhawasi, *Dakwah dan Media Sosial (Studi terhadap Pendapat Ulama Kota Palangka Raya mengenai Penggunaan Facebook dalam Berdakwah)* (Skripsi, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palangka Raya, 2016).

<sup>9</sup>Nur Ahmad, "Tantangan Dakwah di Era Teknologi dan Informasi," *ADDIN* vol. 8, no. 2 (2014): 322.

<sup>10</sup>Muliaty Amin, "Information Technology (IT) dan Urgensinya Sebagai Media Dakwah Era Kontemporer," *Jurnal Dakwah Tabligh* vol. 14, no.2 (2013): 183-192.

<sup>11</sup>Rustam Aji, Digitalisasi, "Era Tantangan Media (Analisis Kritis Kesiapan Fakultas Dakwah dan Komunikasi Menyongsong Era Digital)," *Islamic Communication Journal* vol. 01, no. 01 (2016): 45.

tool, often regarded as an enemy, as if the Internet is not a neutral medium, but a subject that contains values and influence that is bad for society. The internet can be an effective medium for da'wah because of its nature which can be accessed at any time, so it is different from attending Islamic study places or *pengajian* (Islamic religious gatherings) that require more free time and are limited by distance.<sup>12</sup>

We also acknowledge that there might be problem related the use of technology as suggested by experts. Various problems that arise due to the influence of the technology and information era, including, first of all, culture and lifestyle all uniform without considering the urgency. Second, the more intense and massive infiltration of foreign cultures and values which is contrary to national identity and religious morals. Third, the widespread consumption that leads humanity to spiritual impoverishment and the philosophy of hedonistic life.<sup>13</sup> Under the pretext of freedom of the press, more and more media appearances tend to damage morale. The publication of vulgar photographs in the mass media, for example, is now considered normal, because it is considered part of press freedom. But the next problem of the effects of press freedom arises from a moral crisis and spiritual aridity that is increasingly alarming in the community.<sup>14</sup> The moral crisis that occurs in society must indeed be assessed clearly and objectively, because the causes can vary. Not only because of the presence of mass media, but also because of cultural factors, to the increasingly shallow understanding of religion.<sup>15</sup> There is a growing emergence of sites in the Internet popping up that are both positive and negative. For sites that are positive and useful or beneficial, it doesn't matter if the public accesses them. However, if there are sites that are negative in nature and have a

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<sup>12</sup>Ahmad Mujahid Ramdhani, Strategi Dakwah Internet Situs [www.alsowah.or.id](http://www.alsowah.or.id) sebagai sumber informasi Islam (Skripsi, Universitas Islam Negeri Kalijaga, 2007), 5-6.

<sup>13</sup>Asep Muhyiddin, *Metode Pengembangan Dakwah* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2002), 23.

<sup>14</sup>Faisal Ismail, *Pencerahan Spiritualitas di Tengah Kemelut Zaman Edan* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2008), 66.

<sup>15</sup>Hamdan Daulay, *Pasang Surut Dakwah Dalam Dinamika Budaya, Politik dan Keluarga* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Fokus, 2009), 118.

bad effect on the public, it is necessary to get serious attention so as not to influence the next generation of the nation.<sup>16</sup>

Lately, it often appears in the social media, that Islam is displayed with many faces including “frightening”, “rigid”, and full of hatred. Islamic organization leaders which are expected to protect the people, often show the drama of difference that confuses common people in the society. Da'wah of Islam is carried out in a “less” polite manner, so as to give birth to a lack of sympathy from the non-Muslim world community, even from the Muslims themselves.<sup>17</sup>

Online cyber media which should be used as an easy tool in introducing and understanding Islamic values is still being utilized in a way that is contradictory to the main goal of Islam as the religion of mercy for the universe. Implementation of Islamic teachings of mercy for the universe that promotes peace is actually violated by the media who call themselves the media of Islamic da'wah or the representative of Islam. The use of cyber as a propaganda media does not provide appropriate information to the public (readers), but instead provokes through the news presented, especially on issues that can trigger conflict.<sup>18</sup> This assumption can find its evidence from the blocking of several online da'wah media sites by the government in 2015 as a result of the violation of da'wah media.<sup>19</sup>

From the above background, the writers argue that technology can help spread Islamic moral values and the society is becoming more open or becoming an electronic adaptive society of the electronic era, as well as the method of da'wah implemented by the preachers also has

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<sup>16</sup>Andi Faisal Bakti & Venny Eka Meidasari, “*Trendsetter Komunikasi di Era Digital: Tantangan dan Peluang Pendidikan Komunikasi dan Penyiaran Islam,*” *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* vol. 02, no. 01 (2012): 2.

<sup>17</sup>Sihbudi, M. Riza. *Menyandera Timur Tengah: Kebijakan AS dan Israel atas Negara-negara Muslim* (Bandung: Mizan, 2007), 86.

<sup>18</sup>Conflicts arise if within the group who have different interests. Conflicts are differences of opinion, interpretations, perceptions of competition and interests and conflict between a number of individuals, groups or organizations. See Mukhlisuddin, Peran Penyuluh Agama Islam dalam Mereduksi Konflik dan Mengintegrasikan Masyarakat (Studi Kasus Konflik Pelaksanaan Shalat Tarawih di Kecamatan Banda Dua Kabupaten Pidie Jaya), *Jurnal Bimas Islam* vol. 9, no. 2 (2016): 37.

<sup>19</sup>Wahyu Khoiruzzaman, “Urgensi Dakwah Media Cyber Berbasis Peace Journalism,” *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* vol. 36, no. 2 (2016): 318.

changed. Nevertheless, in reality, social media often regarded as an enemy, an impact which is bad for society, the circulation of a site that is a negative form of Islam many display faces “frightening”, Islamic preaching is carried out by a less polite manner, and cyber online media is utilized in the contradictory and provocative manners. The last issue particularly, the authors would like to highlight as the fundamental root of all problems in the virtual world. If this problem is not immediately resolved, it will certainly threaten the government system and even the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Therefore, the authors propose research questions in this study to inquiry are there any element of da’wah and propaganda in the movement of Ulama bullying through hoax? This main question is then can be detailed as other questions namely what behavior is included in the criteria of Ulama bullying through hoax? Who is the actor behind the ulama's bullying movement through hoax? And what are the government’s efforts to deal with the movement of ulama bullying through hoax?

## Methods<sup>20</sup>

The type of research used in this research is descriptive qualitative research.<sup>21</sup> According to Whitney, the descriptive method is the search for facts with the right interpretation.<sup>22</sup> Descriptive research studies problems in society, as well as the procedures that apply in society and certain situations, attitudes, and effects of a phenomenon.<sup>23</sup>

Subjects in this study were all Muslim scholars (Ulama) in the website that being bullied through hoax. The object of this research is the news about bullying of Ulama through hoax. The main data source in this study is text data that is online in nature. The data is collected by researchers from online articles that are displayed and published in

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<sup>20</sup>The research method means the scientific method used to carry out the research as suggested by Anton Baker, *Metode Filsafat* (Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia, 1986), 10.

<sup>21</sup>M.D. Myers, *Qualitative Research in Business & Management* (London England: SAGE Publication Ltd, 2009).

<sup>22</sup>Qualitative research means the techniques used by researchers in collecting data in the form of subject discourse, data in the form of archives or documents. See Dedy Mulyana, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya, 2002), 147.

<sup>23</sup>Moh. Nazir, *Metode Penelitian* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2005), 54.

websites featuring about bullying ulama through hoax. In addition to the above, secondary data which is obtained from other sources such as journals and books were also utilized in this research.

To obtain data, the authors did not use interview techniques but instead employed documentation model of data collection<sup>24</sup> and direct observation by accessing the website as the main objects of this research are online text in the Internet. Researchers begin data retrieval by selecting several features that are active on the website as a propaganda media. Then the researchers conducted a grouping based on certain trends. Then, the data was being analyzed.

Researchers In this study have selected analytical techniques known as filing system, which is a technical analysis of the data by categorizing the research data, after which the data are interpreted using concepts or specific theory. These concepts and theories help in understanding the behavior of the objects which were observed.<sup>25</sup> The steps taken to analyze data includes data collection, compiling and classifying data, analyzing data, and interpreting data.<sup>26</sup> After conducting the research, the next step was to conduct data analysis. The efforts made by the researchers at this stage were that the data about the bullying of the ulama through hoax from observations, systematically copied and collected from the website to be analyzed.<sup>27</sup> Interpretation of data is also an important part of this study.<sup>28</sup> Because by interpreting it (properly), the researchers are able to express the meaning contained in the text, both explicit and implied ones.<sup>29</sup>

## **Result**

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<sup>24</sup>The documentation data collection technique is data collection by investigating books, magazines, newspapers, internet articles, journals and so on. See Suharsimi Arikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian: Suatu Pendekatan Praktek* (Jakarta: PT. Rineka Cipta, 1998), 85.

<sup>25</sup>Marzuki, *Metodologi Riset* (Yogyakarta: BPFE\_LITI, 1997), 55-56.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., A. M. Ramdhani, 80.

<sup>27</sup>Deny Ariawan, *Analisis Isi Cyber Dakwah dalam Website Ahmadiyah.or.id pada bulan April 2011* (Skripsi, Universitas Sebelas Maret, 2013), 56.

<sup>28</sup>Martyn Hammersley, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial* (Surabaya: Jawa Pos Press, 2004), 74.

<sup>29</sup>Eriyanto, *Analisis Waca Pengantar Analisis Teks Media* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2005), 61.



## 1. Cyber-Bullying against Ulama

The definition of bullying suggested that it “hurts, threatens and frightens other people”. Another definition available is “where someone intentionally hurt, threaten or frighten and/ or intimidate others, causing them emotional, and mental and/ or physical interference.”<sup>30</sup> Bullying is a form of emotional abuse or physical one that has three characteristics which determine: (1) intention which is the intention of bullying is to hurt someone, (2) repetition which is the perpetrators often target the same victims, (3) imbalance power which is the perpetrators often target the vulnerable victims. Meanwhile, *cyber-bullying* is defined as sending hurtful messages or images by Internet or phone.<sup>31</sup>

According to news of Republika online from their website on [www.politik.rmol.co](http://www.politik.rmol.co), there are several Islamic scholars who have been bullied in the online media. Starting with the events experienced by KH. M.A., one of the leaders of the MUI, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (The Indonesian Ulama Council). It is important to be noted here that, the MUI is one of the Islamic organizations that assert “A” to commit blasphemy on Islam.<sup>32</sup> KH. M.A. has become the object of bullying in the cyberspace after a political observer B.H. upload an old photos wedding of the kyai with a 30-year-old girl into the Twitter platform. Similarly, the bullying also occurred to K.H. M. who criticized through the twitter account of @gusmusgusmu regarding the Friday prayer plan on the road that will be held on the second of December.

Apparently, not all parties like the statement of KH. MB. As a result, the Gus account was scorned crowdedly. For example, @jfalyasmin1 who says, "I really feel sorry for the old man's view," expressing his disagreement with the statement of the Ulama. The other Ulama who received bullying was KH. A.G. He is one who supporters

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<sup>30</sup>Arif Abdurrahman, *Anti-Bullying Policy* (London: London Islamic School, 2016), 2.

<sup>31</sup>Kim Storey, & Ron Slaby, *Eyes on Bullying...What can you do? (a Toolkit to Prevent Bullying in Children's Lives)* (USA: Education Development Center, 2008), 2.

<sup>32</sup>Islamic Defending action is proof that the spirit of jihad will still be welcomed, and responded in full by the people when the ulama called for it. Lihat Dinul Husnan & Mhd. Sholihin, “Ulama, Islam, dan Gerakan Sosial-Politik: Reposisi Ulama dalam Gerakan Sosial-Politik Islam Indonesia,” *Fokus: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman dan Kemasyarakatan* vol. 2, no. 01 (2017): 23.

of the 411<sup>33</sup> demonstration action<sup>34</sup> and he also requested that “A” to be put in the trial.<sup>35</sup> However, not everyone likes this attitude.<sup>36</sup> As a result, KH. A.G. also received bullying from netizens. In fact, there is an account @kartolo2000 who connect the issue with the Kiyai personal matters who marry two women (polygamy). On the other hand, former General Chairman of S.M. received scathing comments over the cyberspace after expressing his view that “A” did not commit religious blasphemy of Islam.<sup>37</sup> He argues that, “A” did not insult the religion and the clergy, he did not mention any (Islamic) scholars, just people. Some netizen expressed their displeasure such as the account of @dusrimulya who comments, “The old man going senile, ulama are not people yaa sir?” In addition to the above Islamic scholars, a senior figure, A.R. also got bullied. A.R. is a figure that has been explicitly requested that “A” to be put in trial. He considers “A” has denigrated religion in connection with his statement quoting the Quran, particularly the Surah of Al-Maidah verse 51. However, a number of netizens did not hesitate to “curse” A.R. online for his attitude. One of them, such as the account of @indahintanp called A.R. as old fart as she says, “A.R. is sad. (He is)

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<sup>33</sup>The role of social media in mobilizing support for the action of defending Islam is an inevitable social reality. See Arie Setyaningrum Pamungkas & Gita Octaviani, Aksi Bela Islam dan Ruang Publik Muslim: dari Representasi Daring ke Komunitas Luring, *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* vol. 4, no. 2 (2017), 86.

<sup>34</sup>The 411 and 212 actions are in essence a very appropriate moment for FPI (and also GNPFMUI) regarding their efforts to steal the stage in today's political boomers. Read the article of Rendy Adiwilaga, “Gerakan Islam Politik dan Proyek Historis Penegakkan Islamisme di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Wacana Politik* vol. 2, no. 1 (2017): 6.

<sup>35</sup>Facebook became the starting point for the publication of news about blasphemy by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), which was spread through Buni Yani's Facebook account on October 6, 2016. Ibid., A. S. Pamungkas dkk., 74.

<sup>36</sup>Peace rally 212 is still in the corridor of democratization in the public sphere. When the democratic valve is not going well, the down-the-road action is a simple attempt to put pressure on the government and law enforcement. See Muhammad Wildan, “Aksi Damai 411-212, Kesalehan Populer, dan Identitas Muslim Perkantoran Indonesia,” *Jurnal Maarif* vol. 2, no. 2 (2016): 195.

<sup>37</sup>The blasphemy case by the acting public seemed to have received special treatment from law enforcers. Ahok is different from the predecessors of religious predecessors who were directly processed by law. See Assyari Abdullah, “Membaca Komunikasi Politik Gerakan Aksi Bela Islam 212: Antara Politik Identitas dan Ijtihad Politik Alternatif,” *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* vol. 41, no. 2 (2017): 209.

old fart but his heart is still filled with a lot of resentment against all those who do not he like.”<sup>38</sup>

Nadirsyah Hosen, a senior lecturer at Monash Law School, Monash University, commented on the Ulama who was bullied and also told of himself in the same time. He explained that “social media makes people feel equal. The scientific hierarchy is no longer valued. Everyone feels to be an expert. Some people are able to question and challenge classical scholars while they do not have a PhD degree or Professor as recognition. To them, an academic degree is not important in studying religion. One even said, in fact, Rasulullah never goes to university anyway?” The issue becomes complicated when one utilized the facts of Prophet Muhammad PBHU history to underestimate the recognition of Professor and PhD holders. Not only because the titles are the result of official education process, but also because granting an academic degree is not prohibited in Islam at all. Hosen hoped that the fact that the Prophet Muhammad did not study is not a reason for laziness or even to allow them bullying the professors or Ulama. According to Hosen, the Professor is roughly the same as the Mujtahid Mutlaq in the Islamic law study. While the title of Associate Professor is equal to the title of *mujtahid fil mazhab*. The funny thing is, one denies this recognition by taking an example that “S” can be a minister (in Indonesia) with only Junior High School degree. Hosen replied that the person cannot see that minister is a political appointment. As long as no particular regulation to break, the minimum educational level is acceptable. The authority of a ministry is significantly different comparing to academic authority held by a professor or a PhD holder.<sup>39</sup>

Dimas Cokro Pamungkas revealed the bullying attitude towards Nahdlotul Ulama (NU) on Facebook platform. Starting from the topics of Banser guarding the Church and dismissing prayers, participating in *dangdutan* dancing and parties, to the matter of NU cleric, Shi’ite, Liberal groups, and Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) topics. He explained that as a Nahdliyin Muslim cyberspace activist, particularly

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<sup>38</sup>Ruslan Tambak, “Inilah deretan ulama yang dibuli,” *Rakyat Merdeka Online*, last modified December 25, 2016, <http://politik.rmol.co/read/2016/11/25/269929/Inilah-Deret-an-Ulama-Yang-Di-bully>.

<sup>39</sup>Nadirsyah Hosen Tabik, “Ketika Ilmuwan, Ulama, dan Profesor di-bully di Medsos,” (Australia: Monash Law School).

the NU Facebooker member, we should not feel smarter than the charismatic Muslim clerics while we are still fond of living in social media. When he sees the Facebook page of people who bullied the NU clerics, it is clear that those people could not possibly understand and have more knowledge than the NU clerics. He hoped that he would not listen to the words of people who only exist in the social media rather than the instructions of our clerics who are clearly belong to the scientific scholars' communities as well as their lineages. He added that Abdurrahman was bullied out of his time, many Nahdliyin were silent, now the NU clerics were bullied too, he hoped that we would not be silent, at least not to be involved in their propaganda.<sup>40</sup>

Another attitude regarding bullying also can be seen in the topics of Pancasila. Karman revealed an example from the [www.konfrontasi.com](http://www.konfrontasi.com) in which he explained that when the political issues revolve about pro and anti-Pancasila and the Policeman sees there is anti-Pancasila group, although Policeman did not mention the name of the organization, the Policeman got bullied simply because the Policeman did not clearly mention that the organization is inline or supportive of Pancasila. As a result, the Policeman had to make clarification in on the religious meeting (*halaqah*) that there is edited video which bring misleading information and message about the position of Policeman regarding the anti-Pancasila group.<sup>41</sup> According to the authors that the alleged anti-Pancasila mass organizations are others nonmembers. conclusions, not actually those alleged by the mass organizations.

On an international scale bullying phenomenon also can be found from the [www.therevival.co.uk](http://www.therevival.co.uk) reports that a Cordoba academy has received many emails from peerage nobles in learning who have tried to tell us about disparaging comments, baseless accusations and slander written on the internet by people who do not have the decency

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<sup>40</sup>Team of Generasi Muda NU, "Menjawab Bullying pada NU di Medsos," *Account of Facebook Generasi Muda NU*, May 7, 2017, <https://web.facebook.com/GenerasiMudaNu/posts/842915492528811:0>.

<sup>41</sup>Arif Rachman, "Soal Video Tito Karman BM sudah diselesaikan ulama stop bullying Kapolri," *Konfrontasi*, last modified February 2, 2018, <http://www.konfrontasi.com/content/nasional/soal-video-tito-karman-bm-sudah-diselesaikan-ulama-stop-bullying-kapolri>.

to reveal their identities. Initially silenced, but the sanctity of the honor of a Muslim brother is also very important, in fact, more valuable in the eyes of Allah than the Kaaba as reported in the authentic hadith. For this reason, I humbly ask Zayd, a founder of al-Burujpress to stop sending messages that are threatening and harassing to a scholar who taught us on Facebook posts. This despicable act is absolutely groundless in what should be a tolerant and respectful scientific discussion on this issue.<sup>42</sup>

Another link at [generasisalaf.wordpress.com](http://generasisalaf.wordpress.com) mentioned that among the scholars who got bully is a prominent Muslim cleric, Imam Al-Nawawi Addinishqy, a mujtahid ulama of Imam As-Syafi'i School of Law. Among the people who commit the bullying, they perform editing and alternations of the works of Al-Nawawi. One of the works of Imam Al-Nawawi that they bullied was Fatawi al-Imam Al-Nawawi which was commented on by Sayyid bin Muhammad Assanary, an editor at the publisher of Darul Hadith and known to be the follower of Wahhabism. Sayyid Assanary criticized Imam Al-Nawawi's ijthihad in his fatwa by displaying the opinions of bin Baz, Al-Utsaimin and his supporters as a rebuttal to Al-Nawawi's ijthihad. For example, there Sayyid Al-Anary disputed the opinion of Imam Al-Nawawi who allowed the reading of the Qur'an in the presence of pilgrims Friday by displaying the opinion of bin Baz who did not allow it.<sup>43</sup>

## 2. Cyber-Bullying Ulama through Hoax

Media, which comes from Latin word *mediare* means mediator, interface or device used. Media is also referred to as an extension of ideas and thoughts towards social reality. Media is the message itself, it is understood that the media is more than just a vehicle.<sup>44</sup> From the usage and conveniences aspects, mass media is easy to understand because it uses the language of everyday conversation as argued by

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<sup>42</sup>Mohammed Daniel, "Scare Tactics, Slander & bullying of Ulama from Al Burujpress Company," *The Revival*, May 25, 2013, <http://www.therevival.co.uk/forum/general/11025>.

<sup>43</sup>Abdi Kurnia J, "Salafy mem-bully imam an-nawawy," *Generasi Salafus Sholeh*, last modified September 1, 2014, <https://generasisalaf.wordpress.com/2014/09/01/imam-nawawi-pun-di-bully>.

<sup>44</sup>Farid Hamid dan Heri Budianto (ed), *Ilmu Komunikasi sekarang dan Tantangan Masa Depan* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2011): 215.

Melvin De Fluer and Sandra Ball Rokeach, the message presented is inseparable from the situation.<sup>45</sup> While the concept presented from the media is market tastes, namely the community as users. Because the macro discourse in the mass media becomes a tool of construction of social reality given that social reality does not stand alone without the presence of individuals, both inside and outside the reality.<sup>46</sup>

The first case to be discussed related to hoax news was uploaded on news.okezone.com regarding the issue of 15 million PKI members targeting Muslim scholars. Information was lying by displaying photos from the Philippines. This news was viral and has a disturbing impact on society. Then, the second case is related to a report of a community organization (organization) in the city of Cilegon to the Head of Nurses of the RSKM Cilegon containing WK, where the case has been finally handled. The third case was occurred in Pandeglang Regency on February 19, 2018 with suspect Z. He wrote hoax content about the PKI entering Pandeglang region and he added that the PKI have killed five million Muslim scholars.<sup>47</sup> Still on the news.okezone.com, a middle-aged man with the initial S (42), was arrested by the police for allegedly spreading hoax news containing SARA via the Whatsapp chat group. The results of the investigation revealed that S is the mastermind behind the spread of the hoax. The perpetrators intentionally want the news to spread widely in the community. In this case there is an effort from the perpetrator to divide the community.<sup>48</sup>

At the news.okezone.com portal itself, there were at least 45 news attacks on the ulama during February 2018 period. However, of the dozens of news hoax, only 3 news actually took place in reality. The rest is hoax news that are indeed produced by Muslim Cyber Army

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<sup>45</sup>Ball Rokeach dan DeFluer (Terj), *Teori Komunikasi Massa* (Kuala Lumpur Malaysia: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1988), 217.

<sup>46</sup>Fita Faturokhmah, "Propaganda Media dalam Mewacanakan Komunitas Agama Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI)," *Jurnal Dakwah* vol VIII, no. 2 (2009): 217.

<sup>47</sup>Mahesa Apriandi, "6 Kasus berita hoax di Banten, dari PKI serang ulama hingga terror bom," *Okezone*, last modified March 02, 2018, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/03/02/340/1867252/6-kasus-berita-hoaks-di-banten-dari-pki-serang-ulama-hingga-teror-bom>.

<sup>48</sup>Wijayakusuma, "Polisi tangkap penyebar hoaks yang viral di Bekasi," *Okezone*, last modified May 28, 2018, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/05/28/338/1903857/polisi-tangkap-penyebar-hoaks-yang-viral-di-bekasi>.

(MCA) and Saracen.<sup>49</sup> According to Rachmat at the news.okezone.com, the spread of hoax news has indeed been troubling. Therefore, the scholars in West Java are obliged to remind the public not to be easily influenced and ward off the hoax news.<sup>50</sup> Still on the link news.okezone.com it is reported that the man with the initials RP was determined as a suspect of hate speech against Muslims. Suspect upload posts hatred speech in the Facebook group through cellular phone. It is suspected that the motive of the suspect was intentional.<sup>51</sup>

Another web portal, www.tirto.id explains that MCA syndicates allegedly spread ever viral content, from the rise of the PKI, the persecution of Muslim scholars, to insulting religious leaders, communities as well as state institutions. Where these actions cause unrest, fear, division, hostility that can cause damage in social and state life. Even these actions are considered as professions to gain benefits, both economic and non-economic.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the above, the news portal of m.liputan6.com describes that the various hoax cases, from 42 engineered products, 4 of which were delivered as happened in Garut, and Ciamis, West Java, then in Kediri, East Java, and in East Kalimantan. Then 6 other issues, namely general criminal events that are linked as if experienced by scholars and committed by crazy people. With this issue, the community will be troubled, especially religious scholars and leaders. Such provocation efforts such as raising negative issues about the PKI, about the persecution of the ulama and then followed by the blaspheming of

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<sup>49</sup>Chyntia Sami Bhayangkara, "Ini 6 informasi hoaks yang fenomenal hingga telan korban jiwa," *Okezone*, last modified March 28, 2018, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/03/28/337/1879324/ini-6-informasi-hoaks-yang-fenomenal-hingga-telan-korban-jiwa>.

<sup>50</sup>Fakhrizal Fakhri, "Presiden Jokowi minta bantuan ulama perang hoaks," *Okezone*, last modified April 03, 2018, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/04/03/337/1881598/presiden-jokowi-minta-bantuan-ulama-perangi-hoaks>.

<sup>51</sup>Azhari Sultan, "Resmi tersangka pelaku ujaran kebencian di Jambi terancam 6 tahun bui," *Okezone*, March 29, 2018, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/03/29/340/1879409/resmi-tersangka-pelaku-ujaran-kebencian-di-jambi-terancam-6-tahun-bui>.

<sup>52</sup>Adi M Idhom, "MUI: Aksi Muslim Cyber Army Sebar Hoaks Adalah Haram," *Tirto*, last modified March 2, 2018, <https://tirto.id/mui-aksi-muslim-cyber-army-sebar-hoaks-adalah-haram-cFw8>.

country's leaders and certain figures. However, only 3 events actually took place, including the attack on KH. U.B. in Cicalengka, West Java, then Ustadz P. who passed away, and KH. A.H.M. in Lamongan, East Java, all three were attacked by a madman.<sup>53</sup>

### **3. The Perpetrators of Cyber-Bullying: Saracen & MCA**

The authors search a lot of online sources and show that at least two names of the perpetrators of cyber-bullying through hoaxes are Saracen and MCA. First, a Saracen Group, a provider of hate content services, it has annexation skills the mass media account until reading the news' situation. The mass media it has, both the Facebook or site accounts, will post the news or contents that are unsuitable with the true, its depending on the order.<sup>54</sup>

Saracen is a terrible and danger organization which has until 800.000 members of accounts which specialized to spread the hate speech. The Saracen syndicate spread the hate speech through social media. The three high officials are J. (32 years), S.R.N (32) and M.F.T. This group uploads those several ethnic, religion and race (SARA) content through group of *Facebook Saracen News*, *Saracen Cyber Team*, and [saracennews.com](http://saracennews.com). Then, the internet citizens (Netizen) spread the memes which has uploaded through those facilities and their personal account. It is found the proposal of SARA content creation in the perpetrator's office. In this proposal, the prize mentioned of SARA content creation is range between IDR 75.000.000 to IDR 100.000.000.<sup>55</sup> There 14 saving account which is allegedly regarding to Saracen.<sup>56</sup> These points cover site creation amounting to IDR

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<sup>53</sup>Nafiysul Qodar and Raden Trimutia Hatta, "Bau Politik di Balik Kedok Muslim Cyber Army," *Liputan6*, last modified March 06, 2018, <https://m.liputan6.com/news/read/3345372/bau-politik-di-balik-kedok-muslim-cyber-army>.

<sup>54</sup>Toni Ervianto, "Fenomena Apakah Saracen Itu?" *Detiknews*, August 29, 2017, <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-3619894/fenomena-apakah-saracen-itu>.

<sup>55</sup>Dimas Jarot Bayu, "Anggap Saracen Berbahaya, Jokowi Desak Polisi Ungkap Pemesan Jasa" Yuliawati (ed.), *Katadata*, last modified August 27, 2017, <https://katadata.co.id/berita/2017/08/27/anggap-saracen-berbahaya-jokowi-desak-polisi-ungkap-pemesan-jasa>.

<sup>56</sup>Muhammad Nur Rochmi, "Asma dewi dari Pilkada Jakarta, 212, hingga Saracen," *Beritagar*, September 12, 2017, <https://beritagar.id/artikel/berita/asma-dewi-dari-pilkada-jakarta-212-hingga-saracen>.



15.000.000 and for payment to 15 buzzers amounting to IDR 45.000.000 per months. Also, there is separate budget for J. as a chief amounting to IDR 10.000.000. The rest is the cost for payments of persons who is called by reporters. The reporters then write the order article which the content also directed to customers.<sup>57</sup>

The circulation of cost of this movement is A.D. transfer the money amount of IDR 75.000.000 to N.S as main member of Saracen. Next, N.S. transfer the money to someone who is initials by D. it is mentioned that in this mutation transaction to pay Saracen. Then Mr. D. transfer the money to Mr. R who as a treasurer of Saracen.<sup>58</sup> Until now, it is still explored who order the content or news for uploading to group or site of Saracen. In this case, the police set J.A.S, M.F.T, and S.R.N. as a suspect.<sup>59</sup> Even, J.A.S also called who make anonym account as group's follower and send the negative comment in each upload. While, M.F.T and S.R.N play roles as who spread the hate speech by upload the memes or photo which are edited and re-share to Sarecen members and personal Facebook account.<sup>60</sup>

E.S. as a lawyer in his link [www.konfrontasi.com](http://www.konfrontasi.com) states that he doesn't believe that Saracen as a provider syndicate of hate spread service only motivated by economy factor. His assumption, there is politic agenda that is hidden in that group movement's back. This movement has other motive which is called by politic. In the real, this is an anti-Islam movement and a devise people.<sup>61</sup> The opposite statement is in the link of [seword.com](http://seword.com) that this movements has a

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<sup>57</sup>T. Ervianto, *Fenomena Apakah*, 1-3.

<sup>58</sup>Sapto Nugroho, "Tangkap asma dewi polisi temukan bukti transfer rp 75 juta ke saracen begini alurnya," *Tribunnews*, September 13, 2017, <http://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2017/09/13/tangkap-asma-dewi-polisi-temukan-bukti-transfer-rp-75-juta-ke-saracen-begini-alurnya>.

<sup>59</sup>Moh. Nadlir, "Oesman Sapta: Tindak Tegas Donatur dan Anggota Kelompok Saracen," *Kompas*, last modified August 27, 2018, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/08/27/12102641/oesman-sapta-tindak-tegas-donatur-dan-anggota-kelompok-saracen>.

<sup>60</sup>Elvi Robiatul Adawiyah dan Sukma Alam, "Pengamat: gerakan Saracen belum tergolong terorisme kekinian," *Rilis*, last modified August 24, 2017, <http://rilis.id/pengamat-gerakan-saracen-belum-tergolong-terorisme-kekinian.html>.

<sup>61</sup>Eggi Sudjana, "Saracen Gerakan Anti-Islam," *Konfrontasi*, last modified August 26, 2017, <http://www.konfrontasi.com/content/nasional/eggi-sudjana-saracen-gerakan-anti-islam>.

pressing to destroy the joints of nation, destruction of the harmony of life as a nation and state, and politic of Islamic identity which practiced by “stove maker” front man of one of party in the area of capital city with the support of some demos which are attended by E.S, the kind of “stove making” is provocative speech, and an appreciation of one party leader to bravery of front’s leader to do campaign which is full by SARA (ethnic, religion, and Race).<sup>62</sup>

*Second*, on December 13, 2016 that first times twit which is using the name of Muslim Cyber Army (MCA). Based on a note of Drone Emprit, this twit is the beginning of its emergence and milestone of MCA. The cluster of MCA discusses an idea to create an application which is equivalent to Facebook especially for the *da'wah* of Muslim in Indonesia.<sup>63</sup> MCA is a movement without command which born together with the happening of blasphemy case on 2016 ago. The movement that is fortifies and compensates for behavior in spreading good news through neither website nor social media. This case gives the big impact that is the emergence of a declaration for unity. So, it will raise the two large groups by this advent of MCA.<sup>64</sup>

The MCA movements are strengthening in social media along with a series of anti-Ahok demonstrations in the stage for the election of regional leaders (Pilkada) in Jakarta last year. MCA is created to avoid the “negative issues by the opposing party” in cyberspace. The “Cebongers” is called “an enemy” by members of MCA, as also designation for supporter to Ahok and president who gives support government through opinion in cyberspace. MCA create the gathering place through Facebook closed groups and begin to “work massively” in the early that year. In these groups, they discuss the hot information about the issue and Islam, and then they spread to timeline. There a lot of groups and accounts that is affiliated to MCA with various type of

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<sup>62</sup>Team of Seward, “Saracen kecerdasan Jokowi hantam politik identitas prabowo dan SBY,” *Seward*, August 24, 2017, <https://seword.com/politik/saracen-kecerdasan-jokowi-hantam-politik-identitas-prabowo-dan-sby>.

<sup>63</sup>Ismail Fahmi, “Pergerakan Muslim Cyber Army,” *Gizmologi*, last modified March 5, 2018, <https://gizmologi.id/insight/pergerakan-muslim-cyber-army>.

<sup>64</sup>Hamzah Vensuri, “MCA sebuah gerakan tanpa komando,” *Blog Terusberjuang*, last modified March 3, 2018, <http://www.terusberjuang.com/2018/03/muslim-cyber-army-mca-sebuah-gerakan-tanpa-komando.html>.

name. There is a condition for each member who wants to be follower in MCA groups. The general condition is an obligation for potential followers to fill the question form by writing the *shahada* sentence accurately. Other, saying the oath on behalf of Allah that the candidates are loves their Habib. The MCA is the front line of social media when it comes to "Muslim leadership." The Muslim leadership issues are always heralded by MCA for regional head election (Pilkada) in 2018 and president election in 2019. The MCA's network of social media moves to win one of candidates who is depending the Islam. MCA is not affiliated to the policy parties or even it is funded by certain circle.<sup>65</sup>

This group is allegedly often producing and spread the hoaxes content and hate speech. This group is also assumed as a very dangerous group. There some reasons that MCA movement must be crushed are jeopardizing social cohesion, the MCA movement seems ideological, and directs hatred towards political parties or a figure who runs the current national leadership.<sup>66</sup>

According to Ismail Fahmi in the link of [gizmologi.id](http://gizmologi.id), since the D-day of arrest, Netizen in the MCA cluster are not shame in stating that they as a followers of MCA and then hide, on the contrary they are called on by HRS accounts to stay ahead and not afraid in the war. The arrest of MCA follower which is done by the police of Indonesia republic is a serious betting. If the policy could approve that MCA is a network with funders, main team, operator in the field, and sympathizers.<sup>67</sup>

In the link of [www.idntimes.com](http://www.idntimes.com), Hendaridi call out that the spreader group of hate speech and fake news, MCA, more danger than Saracen organization which also did same action. This group has more faulty power than Saracen: (1) it moves ideologically which causes a lot of involved actor, (2) it attacks the leader who has power today. The purpose works of MCA is to cause public unrest, so the community

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<sup>65</sup>Arbi Sumandoyo, "Mengenal secara Dekat Muslim Cyber Army" *Tirto*, last modified March 2, 2018, <https://tirto.id/mengenal-secara-dekat-muslim-cyber-army-cFwM>.

<sup>66</sup>Hendaridi, "5 alasan gerakan MCA harus ditumpas," *Jpnn*, last modified March 7, 2018, <https://www.jpnn.com/news/5-alasan-gerakan-muslim-cyber-army-harus-ditumpas>.

<sup>67</sup>I. Fahmi, *Pergerakan muslim*, 1-2.

accused that leaders who were in power could not manage the country properly, (3) there are allegations of MCA fund supporters. This job comes from the opponent's group.<sup>68</sup> That's not all, the police confirmed in the link of [m.liputan6.com](http://m.liputan6.com) that both are similar but not the same. Those are the description of two groups as spreaded hoaxes and hate speech that blow up by the police, Saracen and MCA. These similar are seen from the distributed contents, all are provoked. Merely, the Saracen group more structured than MCA.<sup>69</sup>

#### **4. Prevention effort of Cyber-bullying through Hoaxes**

The authors find the parties who responsible on cyber-bullying through hoaxes prevention are the perpetrator themselves, Indonesian Religious Leader (MUI), People's Advisory Council (DPR), Wantanas, Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security (Menkopolkam), the police of Indonesian Republic (Polri). *First*, as in some cases of bullying against ulama, that photo has been deleted and Boni has apologized in his twitter account. He said that the upload of that photo is just a technical error such push the wrong save but click the send/share button to his What Sapp (WA) number's friend. It can be seen to @bonihargens in his twitter account. The observer of political communication, Emrus Sihombing said that it was fitting for someone to be restricted in cyberspace. The reason is to do bully or insult ulama is definitely not good conduct.<sup>70</sup> In [www.atsar.id](http://www.atsar.id), ulama advise cyber-bullying actors with various hadis.<sup>71</sup> There are also those who give an understanding of scientific specialization by DC Pamungkas, Mohammed Daniel, clarification by Karman BM, as well as respect for the degrees of knowledgeable people, as practiced by Nadirsyah Hosen

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<sup>68</sup>Vanny El Rahman, "Pengamat: muslim cyber army lebih berbahaya dibandingkan Saracen," *IDN Time*, last modified March 6, 2018, <https://www.idntimes.com/news/indonesia/vanny-rahman/pengamat-muslim-cyber-army-lebih-berbahaya-dibanding-saracen/full>.

<sup>69</sup>N. Qodar dkk., *Bau politik*, 1-2.

<sup>70</sup>Agus Dwi, "Inilah Deretan Ulama Yang Di-bully Terkait Kasus Ahok," *RMOL*, last modified November 25, 2016, <https://politik.rmol.id/read/2016/11/25/269929/>.

<sup>71</sup>Abu Hanifah Fauzi, "Hentikan bully, inilah alasannya," *Atsar*, last modified August 8, 2017, <https://www.atsar.id/2017/08/hentikan-bully-stop-bullying-inilah-alasannya.html>.

Tabik in his Facebook explanation.<sup>72</sup> *Second*, MUI issued the fatwas number 24 year of 2017 about the law and guidance of interconnection in the mass media. One of the points that is forbidden by the MUI is the mutual bullying of expressions of hatred and hostility on the basis of ethnicity, religion, race or intergroup. It is also forbidden for Muslims to spread hoaks and false information even with good intentions.<sup>73</sup>

*Third*, the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo) carried out three actions in tackling news on the internet, namely through a technological approach, a legal approach with the ITE Law articles 27 to 29, and a socio-cultural approach.<sup>74</sup> *Fourth*, the House of Representatives appealed to the National Defense Council (Wantanas) and the National Police, to be able to educate the public become agents of the eradication of hoaks and hate speech. The Criminal Investigation Directorate of the Siber Bareskrim of National Police who conducted a joint investigation arrested a teacher with the initial YHA or RPH (48). Banten Police Special Criminal Investigation Directorate has handled six cases related to hoaxes and expressions of hatred that lead to violations of the Law (UU) ITE. Six of these cases are still under investigation and have been handled by the prosecutor's office.

There are also cases that have been resolved by peace using the principle of restorative justice. The third case is the case that occurred in Pandeglang Regency on February 19, 2018 with suspect Z, as well as the handling of hoaxes by the East Java Regional Police, Central Java Regional Police, DIY Regional Police, West Java Regional Police, and East Kalimantan Regional Police. The National Police ensured continued investigation of the spread of hoaxes and hate speech through social media to its roots. The National Police has also taken both

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., N. H. Tabik.

<sup>73</sup>Yandi Triansyah, "Keluarkan Fatwa Saling Bullying di Medsos Haram," *Palembang.tribunnews*, last modified June 7, 2017, <http://palembang.tribunnews.com/2017/06/07/mui-keluarkan-fatwa-saling-bullying-di-medsos-haram-ini-penjelasannya>.

<sup>74</sup>Vera, "Tiga pendekatan dalam penanganan penyalahgunaan TIK," *Kominfor*, last modified May 14, 2016, [https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/7479/tiga-pendekatan-dalam-penanganan-penyalahgunaan-tik/0/berita\\_satker](https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/7479/tiga-pendekatan-dalam-penanganan-penyalahgunaan-tik/0/berita_satker).

preventive and repressive measures.<sup>75</sup> A different opinion was expressed by Nahrawardaya in [m.hidayatullah.com](http://m.hidayatullah.com) that the arrest of the MCA was allegedly only a diversion of certain issues due to the disappointment of defeats in political affairs that lasted until the elections and the current election.<sup>76</sup>

## **Discussion**

The findings above need the discussion among researchers and experts. Some of findings which discussable are (1) da'wah and cyber-bullying against ulama, (2) ulama cyber-bullying through hoaxes, and (3) the perpetrators of cyber-bullying and its preventions.

*First* is the *da'wah* and cyber-bullying against ulama. According to Muhammad Abû al-Fath al-Bayânûniyy that *da'wah* is conveying Islamic teaching to mankind, and practices those teaching in real life. In this meaning, the purpose of *da'wah* is realizing the happiness and welfare of live now and hereafter by blessing of Allah.<sup>77</sup> At least, cadres of *da'wah* have seven characters to face the reality of *da'wah* field which sometimes feels very hard clash. These seven characters are: (1) Cadres of *da'wah* must become the most determined people and the sturdiest attitude. (2) They must become the most graceful person. (3) They must become the most broad-minded person. (4) They must become the people who have deep thoughts. (5) They must be the most enterprising person at work. (6) They must have the very strong of movement's structure. And (7) they must become the most benefits person.<sup>78</sup>

Based on several evidences of cyber-bullying against ulama in results section, the authors assume that the *da'wah* activities of ulama

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<sup>75</sup>Azhari Sultan, "Resmi tersangka pelaku ujaran kebencian di Jambi terancam 6 tahun bui," *Okezone*, March 29, 2018, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/03/29/340/1879409/resmi-tersangka-pelaku-ujaran-kebencian-di-jambi-terancam-6-tahun-bui>.

<sup>76</sup>Mustofa B Nahrawardaya, "Penangkapan MCA Palsu Besar Kemungkinan karena Kecewa Kekalahan Politik," *Hidayatullah*, last modified March 2, 2018, <http://m.hidayatullah.com/berita/wawancara/read/2018/03/02/136853/penangkapan-mca-palsu-besar-kemungkinan-karena-kecewa-kekalahan-politik.html>.

<sup>77</sup>M. Tata Taufik, *Dakwah Era Digital: Seri Komunikasi Islam* (Kuningan: Pustaka Al-Ikhlash, 2013), 8.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, N. Ahmad, 332.

are they who invite the umma to choose the Muslim's leader, to straighten up the misinterpretation on the meaning of some al-Qur'an's verses, to give the understanding of Islamic teaching with calling the academic's degree, to invite the umma to love the country, and some ulama who have desire of Islamic sharia enforcement, also to teach Islamic teaching in the middle of non-Muslim majority. All of ulama express their opinion a both in written or spoken<sup>79</sup> in order to invite<sup>80</sup> Muslims.<sup>81</sup> But, the trendsetters<sup>82</sup> receive differences meaning<sup>83</sup> so they convey their dislike with various impressive words that ulama are as a bullying<sup>84</sup> object.<sup>85</sup>

*Second* is an ulama cyber-bullying through hoax. Nowadays along with advances in information technology, da'wah will not separate from the media. The mass media has three functions are as information media and education, an entertainment media, and a control social media.<sup>86</sup> The important of mass media aspect in the da'wah planning can be seen from the communication element as explained by Hamzah Ya'qub that the da'wah activities should be maximal when the five elements of da'wah are considered. The five elements of da'wah are: communicator (da'i), da'wah messages, media, communicant/audiences, and effect.<sup>87</sup> Every body may have different information. In the era of information technology, various of the needs of information can be fulfilled quickly, easy and inexpensive. So that, this globalization era should be utilized for human kind needs including the da'wah.<sup>88</sup>

The authors analysis the evidence of ulama cyber-bullying through hoaxes in results/findings section above and conclude that the

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., J. Velenzas et al., 1.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., A. Kusnawan, 21.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., M. T. Taufik, 8.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., T. Slater, 1-6.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., A. Amudavalli, 3.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., M. T. Taufik, 12.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., A. F. Bakti & V. E. Meidasari, 14.

<sup>86</sup>Rosihan Anwar, *Kiat Menulis artikel di Media Cetak* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2004), 59.

<sup>87</sup>Hamzah Ya'qub, *Publisistik Islam* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 1998), 60.

<sup>88</sup>Dalinur M. Nur, "Dakwah Pada Era Global," *Jurnal Wardah* no. XXVIII, no. XV (2014): 166.

propaganda against ulama could be ulama persecution by the way of exposing their photos, writing the contents, news, provocations, hate speech, engineered results, negative issues, general criminal event which was all declared incorrect and victim reports. Those movements are done with intentional which assumed as protection to receive the benefit,<sup>89</sup> both are economic or non-economic and politics.<sup>90</sup> These benefits impact on division, unrest, fear, public animosity that can bring about the destruction of social order.<sup>91</sup>

*Third* is the perpetrator of cyber-bullying and its prevention. The bullying as aggressive acts repeatedly to hurt others physically or physically which done by one or group where the perpetrators have the more power. The perpetrator of bullying is done his action gladly.<sup>92</sup> According to Retno that bullying is a desire to hurt others. This desire is shown by the action to make other suffering and done directly by one or group who have the more power, repeatedly and accompanied by pleasure.<sup>93</sup>

The hoaxes perpetrator is Saracen and MCA. Saracen is a syndicate provider of hate content of services<sup>94</sup> through Facebook Saracen News group, Saracen Cyber Team, and sarcennews.com. There is proposal of content creation of a million hundred praise that finance the caretaker and other person who called by “reporter”. Its pressing is to destroy the elements of nation, destruction of harmony of live as a nation and state.<sup>95</sup> Whereas, MCA is mobility without command to fortify and offset the Cebongers activities to delivery news through

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<sup>89</sup>Warner J. A. Severin & James W. Tankard. Jr. *Communication, Theories, Origins, Methods, & Uses in the Mass Media*, translated by Sugeng Haryanto (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005), 128.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., A. F. Bakti & V. E. Meidasari, 14.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., M. T. Taufik, 7.

<sup>92</sup>Sutriani, Tinjauan Kriminologi Tindak Kekerasan *Bullying* di Kalangan Siswa Berdasarkan Perspektif Hukum Islam (Sudi kasus SMA Negeri 12 Makassar) (Skripsi, UIN Alauddin Makassar, 2017), 20.

<sup>93</sup>Ponny Retno Astuti, *Meredam Bullying 3 Cara Efektif Menanggulangi Kekerasan pada Anak* (Jakarta: PT Grasindo, 2012), 3.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., A. Amudavalli, 3.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., T. Slater, 1-6.



neither website nor Facebook. Notwithstanding, this group is assumed often to produced and disseminate hoaxes content and hate speech.<sup>96</sup>

The activities of hate speech and hoaxes are difficult to be eliminated when there is not cooperation among parties. The rise of fake accounts on social media has become a powerful weapon to fertilize hate speech and hoaxes. The perpetrators purpose of hate speech is to “pit the sheep” in the community deliberately. In this era of hate speech and hoaxes, the perpetrators of hoaxes are looking for man or woman to become victim of article snares that regulated by the law.<sup>97</sup> While, the parties who try to cope cyber-bullying through hoaxes are the perpetrator themselves, Indonesian Religious Leader (MUI), People's Advisory Council (DPR), Wantanas, Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security (Menkopolhukam), the police of Indonesian Republic (Polri). While, the form of preventions to all ulama cyber-bullying are suggested apology, giving understanding and advices, issuing of fatwa, socio-cultural approach, educating the people, and arrest by the authorities, if forced.

## Conclusion

Based on findings and discussion, the authors concluded that still there is an element of da'wah of ulama in cyber-bullying movements while there is an element of propaganda in hoaxes activities. As data supports for conclusion statement, authors found several evidences are: (1) the bullied of da'wah movements of ulama are ulama who invited the Muslim to choose the Muslim leaders in the election, straighten up misinterpretation on the meaning of verses of Al-Qur'an, given the understanding of Islamic teachings with calling his/her academic degree, invited the nations to love the country, and several of ulama who had desired to shariah Islamic enforcement, also ulama who tought Islamic teaching in the middle of non-Muslim majority. (2) the ulama propaganda through hoaxes in the form of photo, content's writing, news, provocation, hate speech, engineering results, negative issues, the

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid., A. F. Bakti & V. E. Meidasari, 14.

<sup>97</sup>Achmad Fardiansyah, “DPR minta semua pihak kerja sama lawan hoaks,” *Okezone*, last modified April 03, 2018, <https://news.okezone.com/read/2018/04/03/337/1881301/dpr-minta-semua-pihak-kerja-bersama-lawan-hoaks>.

cases of general criminal that are claimed incorrect and victim reports. (3) Saracen and MCA are the perpetrator of the movements of ulama cyber-bullying through hoaxes. (4) some responsible parties on the movements of ulma cyber-bullying through hoaxes are the perpetrator themselves, Indonesian Religious Leader (MUI), People's Advisory Council (DPR), Wantanas, Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security (Menkopolhukam), the police of Indonesian Republic (Polri). While the form of preventions to all ulama cyber-bullying are suggested apology, giving understanding and advices, issuing of fatwa, socio-cultural approach, educating the people, and arrest by the authorities, if forced.

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