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PRODI MAGISTER AQIDAH DAN FILSAFAT ISLAM, FAKULTAS USHULUDDIN DAN PEMIKIRAN ISLAM
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI (UIN) SUNAN KALIJAGA YOGYAKARTA

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GUS NADIR AS AN IDEAL ROLE MODEL: SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON COUNTER NARRATIVES TOWARDS CALIPHATE ISSUE IN TWITTER

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Abstract

Due to internet contribution in supplying informations, radicalism has inevitably followed the stream and been disseminated in every layers of society. As one of the most used platform, social media becomes the biggest contributor in sharing ideology. Pesantren as religious institution that ought to spread values of peace religion has also been affected. The debate in internet is getting more crowded nowadays, especially, the debate about caliphate which created pro and cons group. This paper picks Twitter since it ranks as the highest turnover information platform, including in caliphate debate, to discuss how does the debate run, what are the user talking about in terms of it, what are the anvils they use. Out of this crowd, comes Gus Nadir as the representative figure of campus and pesantren in giving counter narrative for the caliphate narratives in Twitter, also as the antithesis of pesantren as radicalism producer. By using sociological approach which based on

social media this paper offers Gus Nadir as the ideal role model in giving counter narrative towards radicalism, especially caliphate notion, who is capable in knowledge, reliable in giving statements, and casual in explaining, for all people, especially pesantren people.

Keywords

*Radicalism, caliphate, Twitter, Gus Nadir,
Counter-Narrative*

A. Background

Twitter ranks as the fastest in disseminating information, it allows the user to get the information as freely as possible because they do not have to follow someone to get the information of him/her.¹ It allows people being active² or passive³ participants in a conversation.⁴ The creation of hashtag which then also adopted by other platforms like Instagram and Facebook, also contributes in enlivening the conversation or simply called as crowdsourcing.⁵ Lately, hashtag is used as the instrument of social movement.⁶

One of the issue that crowdsourced in the Indonesian's Twit-

¹ Augustine Pang, et.al, *From Media Hype to Twitter Storm* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), p. 361.

² The user joins the discussion by reply or comment.

³ The user just being a silent reader of the discussion, instead of giving comment he just likes or retweets.

⁴ Augustine Pang, et.al, *From Media Hype to Twitter Storm*, p. 357.

⁵ Beata Bialy, "Social Media: From Social Exchange to Battlefield", *Cyber Defence Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 2017), p. 70.

⁶ Agnes Veszelski, " #time, #truth, #tradition: An Image-Text Relationship on Instagram: Photo and Hashtag," Agnes Veszelski & András Benedek (eds.), *In the Beginning was the Image: The Omnipresence of Pictures*, (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016), p. 141.

terland⁷ is radicalization⁸ movement. It actually has appeared in the late 1990's after the downfall of Suharto (1998), in its new season of regyme, existed the belief that Islam is under a threat of Zionists Crusader and Indonesian Moslems thought that they needed to protect Islam from this danger. It created radical groups like FPI (Front Pembela Islam) and Laskar Jihad.⁹ This situation is exacerbated by the minimums of literacy awareness.¹⁰ Long story short, the radicalism has disseminated all over country and displayed in Twitter. #IndonesiatanpaJIL, #Indonesiatanpafeminisme, #Indonesiatanpapacaran, etc. are kinds of radical online movements which are crowdsourced in Twitter using hashtag as the tool. Uniquely, these movements have not gone alone, they gotten the opponents.

This paper aims to spotlight one of them, it is #IslamYes KhilafahNo which popularized by Nadirsyah Hosen or known as Gus Nadir who runs a twitter account named @na_dirs. The hashtag was seemingly appeared post the election for the

⁷ Twitterland is basically Twitter plus land, which implies Twitter is like a place but an online one.

⁸ Radicalization is an act or movement to raise certain aspiration militantly and extremely. It is commonly understood in line with extremism, fundamentalism, even terrorism. Neumann as quoted by Aska Maskaliunaite gave an extreme definition on what radicalization meant, it was "what goes on before the bomb goes off". The statement implies that radicalization could be a pathway to terrorism. This act justifies the actor to do harm and the activities demands social change, in most of cases, opposite the government. Asta Maskaliunaite, "Exploring The Theories of Radicalization", *International Studies Interdisciplinary Political and Cultural Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2015). There are many kinds of radicalization, but, this paper will only overview Islamic radicalization that develops in Indonesia through the debate running on Twitter as one of the most using social media.

⁹ Merlyna Lim, "Islamic Radicalism and Anti-Americanism in Indonesia: The Role of The Internet", *Policy Studies* 18 (2005), p. 2.

¹⁰ See Fadhli Lukman, "Digital Hermeneutics and the New Face of Quran Commentary: The Quran in Indonesian's Facebook", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (2018), p. 104.

Governorship of Jakarta which ended by imprisoning Basuki Tjahja Purnama one of its candidate for religious blasphemy case during campaign period.¹¹ Instead of ending, the situation was getting worse and becoming national issue. It started making polarization among Indonesian, especially Indonesian Moslem. It apparently divided them into nasionalism and islamism. The former are they who convince Pancasila as Indonesia's ideology, while the latter claims that Quran and hadis are, so we must change our sovereignty to caliphate. Months after Jakarta's governor election, internet has been still crowding with the debate among netizen, the alumni of demonstration which demanding BTP to be jailed kept making reunion to strengthen their movement and spread their willingness, more dramas happened during that time. In the beginning of 2019, BTP was extricated and welcomed by the atmosphere of Indonesia's politics which getting heated for the presidential election held on April 2019. However, the debate about caliphate getting worse either online or offline. In Twitter, #IslamYesKhilafahNo has gained many more matches.

Applying sociological approach, this paper's goal is to draw discussion about caliphate among the tweeps and how they keep the debate going. Then, it will focus on how Gus Nadir gives his service as knowledgeable figure to counter the caliphate issue that getting worse day by day. The consideration of choosing Gus Nadir as the subject is for the antithesis of pesantren which lately issued as the producer of radicalist.¹² This paper offers him as

¹¹ Paul Marshall, "Saudi Influence and Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia: How Can They Be Countered After Ahok's Imprisonment?" *Lausanne Movement*; see www.lausanne.org/content/lga/2017-09/saudi-influence-islamic-radicalization-indonesia accessed in August 26, 2019.

¹² See www.kumparan.com/amp/@kumparannews/kepala-bin-ada-masjid-ponpes-rumah-singhah-terpapar-radikalisme, posted on 6 June 2018; https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2014/08/140828_kemenag, posted on 28 August 2014, accessed on 8 September 2019.

the ideal role of counter-narrative in facing caliphate issue, for everyone, especially pesantren people.

B. Biography of Gus Nadir

Nadirsyah Hosen is known as one of the biggest Nahdlatul Ulama¹³ figures in Indonesia this era. He is born in Desember 8, 1973. Nadir is a son of Prof. Ibrahim Nadir, a fiqh scholar and the first dean of *Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu al-Qur'an* (PTIQ) and *Institut Ilmu al-Qur'an* (IIQ). His father was also the chairman of fatwa commission of MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia) in 1981-2000. By this inheritance, Nadir is often called Gus as the name for kyai's child. From his father, Gus Nadir learns about religious knowledge, such as Qur'anic Interpretation, *fiqh*, *ushul al-fiqh*, and etc. Beside that, Gus Nadir also learns Arabic language and hadith science to Prof. Dr. Ali Musthofa Ya'qub.¹⁴

Gus Nadir finished his bachelor degree in Department of Syari'ah UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. After finishing his bachelor degree, he continued his study in Australia and got double degree in Graduate Diploma in Islamic Studies, Master of Arts with Honours (University of New England) and Master of Laws in Comparative Law (Northern Territory University).

After finishing his study in Australia, he came back to Indonesia to teach in UIN Syarif Hidayatullah for 6 months only, then he continued his study for doctoral program. In this stage, he also got double degree. He finished his doctoral degree on Islamic Law in National University of Singapore and Law in

¹³ Nahdhatul Ulama is one of Islamic organizations in Indonesia that was established on 31 January 1926 in Surabaya, East Java, by some prominent kiais like K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah and K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. Nahdhatul Ulama was established within the culture of pesantren. This Islamic organization declared its religious ideology as 'ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah' that becomes important characteristics of Nahdhatul Ulama.

¹⁴ See <https://www.belbuk.com/nadirsyah-hosen-pn-302.html>.

Wollongong University. With this education background, Gus Nadir is not only expert in general law, but also in Islamic law as well. After finishing his doctoral degree, he had a chance to continue his father's tenure in IIQ, but he chose another path.

In 2005, he became a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at TC. Beirne School of Law, University of Queensland. Then began his lectures about comparative anti-terrorism law and policy for LLM program. His occupation to be a research fellow did not stop on that. In June 2006, he was being a visiting research fellow at the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore and a visiting research fellow at Center for Integrative and Development Studies, the University of the Philippines in June 2008.¹⁵ While becoming a research fellow, in 2005, Nadir was chosen as *Rais Syuriah Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdlatul Ulama* Australia-New Zealand.

In 2007, Wollongong University, university where he finished his doctoral degree, announced a vacancy for lecturing. With high competition, Gus Nadir was accepted as Associate Professor in Law Department. He has a reason why he decided to be a lecture abroad. For Gus Nadir, all this time, Indonesian people always just become the consumer in education. There are many Indonesians who study abroad and there are many lectures from abroad that teach in Indonesia. That was why, when the chance come he grabbed it.¹⁶ After becoming a lecturer in Wollongong University for eight years, an offer for lecturing came from Monash University to Gus Nadir. With some consideration, he chose to accept that offer. So, since 20 July 2015, he had become a Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Law, Monash

¹⁵ See <https://law.unimelb.edu.au/centres/cilis/about/associates/associate-profiles/dr-nadirsyah-hosen>.

¹⁶ See <https://seword.com/umum/nadirsyah-hosen-kiyai-pemilik-dua-gelar-phd>.

University. He said that it could be an opportunity for Indonesia to go international and also to make easier cooperation between university in Indonesia and university where he becomes a lecture.

Having double doctoral degree and becoming a lecturer in one of the biggest university in Australia is such a big achievement. Gus Nadir is not only having expertise in general law and Islamic law, he also master either modern or classic, either western or east research. Despite his hustle in lecturing in Monash University and becoming *Rais Syuriah Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdlatul Ulama* Australia-New Zealand, Gus Nadir is also becoming an advisor in Dr. K.H. Luqman Hakim's boarding school, Ma'had Aly Raudhatul Muhibbin in Caringin, Bogor. As a scholar, he has written many books and articles that had been published in international journal. They are:

- *Human Rights, Politics and Corruption in Indonesia: A Critical Reflection on the Post Soeharto Era* (2010)
- *Shari'a and Constitutional Reform in Indonesia* (2007)
- *Tafsir al-Qur'an di Medsos: Mengkaji Makna dan Rahasia Ayat Suci pada Era Media Sosial* (2017)
- *Islam Yes, Khilafah No!: Dinasti Abbasiyah, Tragedi, dan Munculnya Khawarij Zaman Now* (2018)
- *Saring Sebelum Sharing: Pilih Hadis Shahih, Teladani Kisah Nabi Muhammad SAW dan Lawan Berita Hoaks* (2019)

Beside them, there are many more of his writing, both books and journals. Despite his routine in lecturing in University and becomes a manager of PCINU, Gus Nadir also channels his passion by being active in social media especially twitter. His twitter account named @na_dirs. In this social platform, Gus Nadir often tweet about the issues on law and syari'ah, tolerance,

radicalization, and etc. In his tweet, Gus Nadir is also interested in countering radicalization narratives. One of those discourses that Gus Nadir's talk much about in his twitter is Caliphate. In this context, it took into a point that *twitwar* happen over this discourse.

C. *Twitwar* Over Caliphate and the Counter-Narrative

Twitwar is an Indonesian tweeps' term stands on tweet and war, it refers to an activity in Twitter where someone argues with others in Twitter by keep tweeting their argument against others', while the other mutually response to attack him/her back. This act of mutual attack is like a war, so it is simply called *twitwar*. This part will be decided into two; 1) Debate over Caliphate in Twitter and 2) Gus Nadir's response to the debate. The former will involve some accounts, hashtags, and religious postulates related to the topic, while the latter will be sharpened by focusing on how Gus Nadir response those arguments through his Twitter account.

1. Debate Over Caliphate in Twitter

Twitwar usually is started by a tweet which gets massive response against it from other tweeps, it is like one person fights some people, or it could be one by one fight where argument in a tweet is attacked by another, then they both mutually response to each other. In terms of caliphate, there are some big accounts of public figure that often have *twitwar* on it, such as @na_dirs, @mohmahfudmd, @ustadtengkuzul, etc. Their tweets currently gain netizen's attention, either pro or cons. In the *twitwar*, the tweeps usually insert some hashtag as a highlight of their argument and as the invitation to others to join the debate, since the hashtag is only one click a way to the conversation. On the table below, I will deliver some hashtags from two sides of caliphate *twitwar*;

Pro-Caliphate	Cons-Caliphate
#IslamyYesKhilafahnow	#IslamYesKhilafahNo
#SelamatkanNegeridgnSyariahKaffah #IslamKaffahSelamatkanNegeri	#TolakNKRIbersyariah
#KamiBersamaUAS #KamiBersatuBersamaUAS	#KamiBersamaPolri
#IslamAdalahSolusi #IslamKaffahSolusiBangsa	#PancasilaDamai
#BubarkanBanser #RemoveBanser	#BanserUntukNegeri #HTIOrmasTerlarang #HTIBubar
#ReturnTheKhilafah #KhilafahAjaranIslam	#NKRIHargaMati
#StopKapitalisasiKesehatan #HutangMenumpukEkonomiTerpu- ruk #TurnBackQuran #Islamophobia	#JanganSuriahkan- Indonesia

As a starting point of this explanation, I trace the hashtag #IslamYesKhilafahNo. In the result of the search, the top is Gus Nadir's tweet on August 16, 2019, which got 1884 retweet (RT), 5630 likes, and 218 replies. It was about the comparison of Islamic law practices in some countries which do not commit caliphate system. Following by the same account, the tweet got 173 replies, 984 RT and 3183 likes. It was a satire of caliphate supporters' double standard. The next was still Gus Nadir's tweet replying by quote to an account arguing about caliphate supporters' reference. It got 72 replies, 319 RTs, and 925 likes. It was followed by @untaarabbb who tweeted by mentioning @nu_online, @na_dirs, and @Nugarislucu, reporting Prof. Dr. KH. Yudian Wahyudi, Ph.D., who supports anti-caliphate move-

ment. The next was a thread¹⁷ of @Barna_byo whose user name was Jokowi-Amin tweeted on August 6, posted clips of Mata Najwa on Trans 7 titled “Simalakama Ormas”. The sixth was @adaorangdalem’s tweet posted a video of new students of UIN Sunan Kalijaga singing *yel-yel* of Indonesian’s pride. The next was @APLpangeran1’s, this time I found “Kampret Gurun”. Two terms that attributed to the supporters of 02 in presidential election on 2019. There are still dozens of tweet below it using the hashtag and some of them mentioning Gus Nadir’s account. All of the examples above are obviously very political, we have to bear in mind that hashtag briefly states anti-caliphate.

As the comparison, in this paragraph, I will mention some examples of the inverse of #IslamYesKhilafahNo, it is #IslamYesKhilafahNow. The latter is a pun, they change no with now, as the antithesis of the former. I did the same method to pick the sample and found a tweet of @Achmad2024 posted a picture of *bajaj* stucked by “Khilafah system yang Haq” sticker and added by #RezimLepasTanggungJawab which got 0 reply, 3 RTs, and 3 likes. The next was @Mukhlismedan1 shew a video of forest fire in Riau saying “Belum bertindak” inserted by #StopPembakaranHutan and #IslamKaffahSelamatkanNegeri which got 0 reply, 12 RTs, and 18 likes. It followed by @Zinnirah1453 tweeting a sounds-like-joke about triangle love among OPM, Banser, and HTI along with #PindahIbuKotaUntukSiapa, #BanserTakutOPM, and #BUBARKANBANSER, got 3 replies, 11 RTs, and 33 likes. Then, @ik4mawar3 tweeted a link of a blog titled “Ajaran Islam Khilafah, Legal Untuk Disyiarkan” which got 2 replies, 49 RTs, and 97 likes. The next was a tweet from @TempayanE posted a link from finance.detik.com’s news titled “China Mau Bantu BPJS Kesehatan Bereskan Masalah Tekor” with hashtag #SelamatkanNegeridgnSyariahKaffah, #StopKapi-

¹⁷ Thread is a series of tweet which made by the same account usually showing a topic, or a story, or a tutorial.

talitasiKesehatan, which got 0 reply, 7 RTs, and 7 likes. Followed by a reply tweet from @umaroin to @ngopipanas towards his tweet linked a news from new.beritaislam.org about Sri Mulyani as IAEI general leader, which got 2 likes.¹⁸

To equal the former hashtag, I picked 6 samples too of the latter hashtag. The former samples are seemingly more uniformed in terms of theme and argument than the latter, and also each of them giving a single hashtag only, that is #IslamYesKhilafahNo. While the latter are more various, the first sample from @Achmad2024 was about economical prosperity which he implied from the tweet caliphate can fix the situation. The second was about forest fire, the third was conflict among mass organization, the fourth was justifying caliphate doctrine, the fifth was critics on health insurance, BPJS, and the sixth was disagreement on Sri Mulyani selected on IAEI as general leader. They all were totally various and the other surprising thing was none of them tweeted with single hashtag only, they inserted one or two hashtag completed the main one, #IslamYesKhilafahNow. The conclusion is, those tweets implied whatever the problem the only solution is caliphate.

In terms of quantitative comparison of both trends, the former gets more attention than the latter. The top result of the former comes from @na_dirs whose 265 k followers. This account is verified by Twitter by giving it a blue tick. Besides @na_dirs, there are some anonymous account which been on the top result search of #IslamYesKhilafahNo which gained some attentions too since it mentioned other big accounts, like @na_dirs or @nu_online. The second hashtag results are generally got more lesser netizen's attentions, considering it all come from small account whose 20 until 4000's followers.

¹⁸ All of the samples I quoted in this subtheme was checked on August 29, 2019 around 11 AM. until 10 PM. through my own twitter account @inadin_inadun. The order perhaps change each hour as well as the amount of reply, RT, and like each samples gotten.

The next discussion will be revoked some religious postulates, that used by both groups. I will rely on @na_dirs's tweets more as the representative of cons-caliphate group and trace the response of his supporters and the rivals as well (it is easy to find them in his reply and mention tab).

On August 17, 2019, right at celebration of Indonesia Independence Day, Gus Nadir posted a screenshot of a quote of Umar bin Khattab said:

لولا حب الوطن لخرب بلد السوء فحب الوطن عمرت البلدان

If there is no love for the land, dissolved the buried land.
By loving the land, glorious the land.

This tweet gained 163 replies, 2088 RTs, and 5188 likes. I checked the replies to find another supporting or contradicting postulates. I was a bit surprised since I still found a lot of tweet connotated pro-caliphate arguments, some accounts replying by posting postulate which said the obligation to appoint a leader using خليفة and translated to “Khalifah” in Indonesian. Some accounts also enclosed the #IslamYesKhilafahNow hashtag. This kind of audacity is shown briefly even on the day of Indonesia Independence Day. However, in the reply tab some accounts have not shown their siding. Instead of saying Khilafah No or Khilafah Now, they said Islam Yes Liberal No. The reader can assume this kind of accounts' siding, however, the distinctness was none.

Before that day, that was August 16, 2019, Gus Nadir posted a link of his online article in www.geotimes.co.id titled “Imam Nawawi Tidak Mewajibkan Menegakkan Sistem Khilafah”.¹⁹

¹⁹ Nadirsyah Hosen, “Imam Nawawi Tidak Mewajibkan Menegakkan Sistem Khilafah” (August 16, 2019); <https://geotimes.co.id/kolom/imam-nawawi-tidak-mewajibkan-sistem-khilafah/> accessed on August 31, 2019; 10.40 am.

This article contained his explanation on Hafiz Abdurrahman the leader of dismissed organization, HTI, towards his statement about the reference of *Kitab al-Majmu'* by Imam Nawawi that he quoted as the source of committing caliphate system obligation. According to Gus Nadir, pro-caliphate group have been twisted the religious postulates, specifically Imam Nawawi's treatise. In this article, Gus Nadir clarified that there were two misunderstandings that have been disseminated by HTI about caliphate in *al-Majmu'* which shown that they did not really understand the text. *First*, Imam Nawawi passed away before he finished *al-Majmu'*, the last chapter he wrote was "Riba". Then, the next volume was continued by Imam as-Subki and Syaikh al-Muthi'iy, including the chapter of appointing caliph (read: leader). *Second*, Hafizh Abdurrahman twisted of Imam Nawawi's "Raudhatut Thalibin" by adding "caliph" and "caliphate" when he was translating the text. The original text was:

في وجوب لإمامة و بيان طرقها, لا بد للأمة من امام يقيم الدين و ينصر
السنة و ينتصف للمظلومين و يستوفي الحق و يضعها مواضعها قلت:
تولي الإمامة فرض كفاية

According to Gus Nadir the more appropriate translation of the line as below:

Concerning obligation of leadership and the explanation of its method, people must have a leader to maintain the religion, support the *sunnah*, look after weak people, fulfil and return their rights. I conveyed appointing a leader is *fardhu kifayah*.

While Hafizh Abdurrahman translated the underlined words by caliphate and caliph, implied their tenet of the obligation of caliphate. For Gus Nadir, the point of the line was not (Islamic) caliphate, but the obligation of having a leader.

He showed that translation of Hafizh was tendentious and subjective. He even obviously said "...The fact shows that Hafizh Abdurrahman does not understand the content of *al-Majmu'*". He is explicit and strict in confirming the misunderstanding of classic texts. In the next subchapter, I will depict some examples of his explicitness when arguing in Twitter.

Gus Nadir's tweet that I have mentioned in the previous paragraph gained 279 replies, 2340 RTs, and 4720 likes. Now, let's pick some samples in reply tab to find arguments that against this tweet. It is not surprising at all if we can find a lot of contradictory arguments there, since the audacity of pro-caliphate group that has been shown in the explanation of Gus Nadir's tweet wishing for Indonesia Independence Day on August 17, 2019, are great. On the top of the comment, @Gtoloco1 replied:

Urdal, Kabag (Gtoloco) "Referensi @na_dirs ttg sistim khilafah dari penafsiran Imam Nawawi ahli hukum dan hadist yg lahir abad ke 13, 800 thn yl, 660 tahun sesudah Nabi Muhammad s.a.w. wafat. Apa nggak ada yg lbh baru? en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Nawawi @MrIce_212 @Rijali_Ritonga @TofaGaris-Lurus @Abdurra36041876" 16 August 2019 05.12 a.m. Tweet.

This tweet is a little bit funny since @na_dirs actually has not referred to Imam Nawawi's book, he precisely corrected what Hafizh has referred to. The one who referred to Imam Nawawi was Hafizh. Yet, @Gtoloco misunderstood the article (or perhaps the title of the article since the article using active form of sentence made it sounds like @na_dirs would explain by referring to Imam Nawawi) by insinuating him. Then, came @BakarSmith whose more than 16k followers, commenting sassily:

Smith, Bakr (BakarSmith) "saya kutip sedikit, walau nanti juga kalian kan senyap...! "Belakangan pimpinan HTI Hafizh Abdurrahman mengutip kitab *al-Majmu'* karya Imam Nawawi soal khilafah. Ini menggelikan karena menyingkap fakta bahwa

Hafizh Abdurrahman tidak paham isi kitab al-Majmu'. *hening ...kan?" 16 August 2019, 06.06 p.m. Tweet.

The conversation of the tweet kept going with challenge and derision made it a thread. @BakarSmith also replied to other tweets in this reply tab. @na_dirs himself seemingly only commented once to @dhenandar0770 saying that he has posted the link in Facebook too. Yet, he quote tweeted some replies in the reply tab, including to @Gtoloco's reply I have mentioned above.

Hosen, Nadirsyah (na_dirs) "Mas/Mbak @Gtoloco gak paham posisi Imam Nawawi dlm literatur keislaman yah? HTI malah merujuk ke Taqiyudin Nabhani (lahir 1909-wafat 1977). 700 tahun setelah Imam Nawawi wafat. Gak ada yg lebih dekat lagi ke masa Nabi Muhammad? :D #IslamYesKhilafahNo #IslamYesKhilafahNOWAY" 16 August 2019, 05.25 p.m Tweet.

In his another online article which posted on *NU Online* website, titled "Tidak Ada Istilah Khilafah dalam al-Qur'an" Gus Nadir, again, clarified some confusions of term caliph, caliphate, and caliph of the earth which currently buzzed by pro-caliphate group, that those words actually have never been mentioned in Quran (except caliph, it is mentioned twice in Quran but only directed to Adam and Dawood).²⁰ This article was reposted by @sahal_AS on August 12, 2019 through his twitter account. This tweet got 395 replies, 3050 RTs, 4843 likes. In the reply tab, @dekpur33 challenged @na_dirs to show the steps of wudhu and praying in Quran. For that, @na_dirs answered:

Hosen, Nadirsyah (na_dirs) "Gini lho @dekpur33 ada perintah *aqimus shalah* utk menegakkan shalat. Apa di al-Qur'an ada perintah "dirikan khilafah"? Gak ada! Makanya khilafah

²⁰ Nadirsyah Hosen, "Tidak Ada Istilah Khilafah dalam al-Qur'an," www.nu.or.id/post.read/104263/tidak-ada-istilah-khilafah-dalam-al-quran, posted 31 March 2019;

itu bukan inti ajaran Islam. Cuma wilayah ijtihad. Beda dg shalat yg merupakan rukun Islam. Monggo dipikir baik-baik sambil nyate :D” 12 August 2019, 10.35 a.m. Tweet.

Then, this tweet got a reply which mentioned briefly the religious postulates they refer to as the anvil of caliphate obligation. Here is the tweet:

MA Febriansyah 1924 (@febriansyah1924) “Terkait Khilafah monggo Lihat Q.S. an-Nur: 55. Masih kurang? Monggo tengok hadis dari Numan bin Basyr Rasulullah:

ثم تكون "الخلافة" على منهاج النبوة

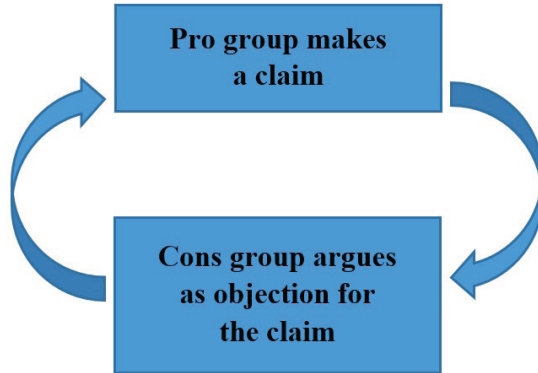
"Kemudian akan tegak kembali *KHILAFAH ala minhaj nubuwah*". (HR. Ahmad) Nyantai #KhilafahWajib #Khilafah-ajaranIslam” (14 August 2019, 04.28 a.m. Tweet).

(وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا
اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَى لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ
مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ
فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ) (النور : 55)

This verse is one of the most quoted postulate by pro-caliphate group and @na_dirs always have answer for that. As for this tweet, @na_dirs quote tweeted by inserting some links of his article which explained about his objection on pro-caliphate's claim.²¹

²¹ See Nadirsyah Hosen, www.nadirhosen.net/tsaqofah/tafsir/benarkah-allah-menjanjikan-kembalinya-khilafah, posted on June 10, 2019; www.nadirhosen.net/tsaqofah/syariah/138-sekalilagi-soal-hadis-khilafah-ala-minhajin-nubuwwah, posted on May 8, 2016; and www.nadirhosen.net/tsaqofah/syariah/riwayat-khilafah-ala-minhajin-nubuwwah-tidak-dibahas-dalam-kitab-utama-bidang-aqidah-tafsirhadits-tarikh-fiqh, posted on June

After all of the explanation above, I would love to conclude that the twitwar between pro and cons caliphate groups makes and endless circle:



The relationship between them is like pro-caliphate group propose, but cons-caliphate group always reject it. Quaintly, in this war it is like @na_dirs against 1000 opposites. I am not saying Gus Nadir faces those attacks alone, but, his expertise and firmness make him dominating the conversation. In the next sub chapter, the method of Gus Nadir's debate in Twitter will be depicted.

2. Gus Nadir's Response to The Debates

Gus Nadir or @na_dirs is quite active in twitter. He does not only tweet about his objection on caliphate, but also most of islamic law problems as well. Sometimes he also responses on political problems. He is very eloquent and clear in giving statement, including when it comes to caliphate issue. After discussing about how is the debate in Twitter going in general, here is how @na_dirs responses the debate or does twitwar:

22, 2019.

a. Clarifying Directly by Replying or Quote-Tweeting

Since it is debate, so, it must be a dialogue between two people or accounts or more. For this necessity, Twitter equips two features which enable the user to response each other. (1) Reply, it is giving comment directly in someone's tweet. The symbol of feature is one the left side below the tweet on every comments, shaped like an oval with the sharp corner. The user just have to click the symbol and type the comment. The owner of the original tweet will accept the notification in his mention tab and can reply back. However, this reply is indiscernible in the original tweet's owner's timeline, except he retweets it. (2) Quote tweet, this feature is actually the variation of retweet, but the user can add the comment for the tweet he retweets. The feature is in the middle below every tweets, shaped like rotated arrow. It enables the followers to see the comment and what he commented to. For response the debate, @na_dirs frequently uses both features. Here some examples of his response using both features:



Picture 1:

@na_dirs using reply feature to
reply @syaharudinp



Picture 2:

@na_dirs using quote tweet of
retweet feature to comment on
@PemudaNow2

1. Tidak ada perintah mendirikan khilafah dlm al-Quran dan Hadis.
2. Khilafah bukan inti ajaran Islam. Buktinya tdk ada dlm rukun Islam.
3. Shalat & zakat itu perintahnya ada dlm nash, bagian dr rukun Islam. Mosok disamakan dg khilafah 😊



There is no basic pattern in @na_dirs' choosing features. Both are functioned as replying feature, but, the latter replying by sharing to the followers, since it appears in the timeline. Yet, I could not find whether @na_dirs has certain intention in choosing the feature.

b. Attaching the Source or Reference of his Statement

As someone who has been born in religious family and finished his study with twice double degree, Gus Nadir has shown that honesty and reliability in giving argument is a matter. It is observably in his tweets which are mostly attaching the sources of his statement, by link to an article or screenshot of a text which mostly are religious classic texts. Here are some example:



Nadirsyah Hosen @na_dirs · 12 Agt
Ngapain yg begini ente @JiroMarssy bahas lagi. Dulu kan sdh selesai bahasannya. Lihat skrinsut Syarah Kitab Al-Yaqut An-Nafis bhw Umar bin Khattab berdendang saat haji.
Ini saya kasih sanadnya dari Sunan al-Kubra, Nailul Awthar dan Kanzul Ummal. Hormati saja perbedaan pendapat 🙏



Beta Hatuhaha @JiroMa... · 12 Agt

Inilah gerombolan gila di tanah suci. Gimana nih pendapat si @na_dirs? Hal beginian ada gak dalam alQuran dan Hadist? twitter.com/helmifelis/sta...

40

135

487



Picture 3:

@na_dirs attached Syarah Kitab Yaqut an-Nafis

c. Explaining Casually

Gus Nadir has built his personal branding as a casual yet capable Islamic scholar through his Twitter accounts. His tweets are not merely about Islamic problems, he sometimes makes joke with some figures, usually with @maman1965 a journalist, writer, and presenter. Emoticons and memes are used everywhere. Those usages implied the fun, enjoyment, and casualness of the user. Emoticon or emoji are functioned to show the emotional contour to the message and to put the sense of fun in the online interaction, as well as the memes.²² The application of both emoticon²³ and meme²⁴ epitomize sociability as the character of youth communication.

In his response in twitwar, even it is called a “War” which attributed to something full with anger, Gus Nadir displays his sociability by using casual language, smiling or laughing emoji, and memes. In a broader context, it reflects the sociability in committing or conveying religion.

Picture 4:

@na_dirs using winking and tongue out emoticon to tease



Nadirsyah Hosen @na_dirs · 6 hari
Ya soalnya ente @Fajridinzen1 mau bubarin NKRI, makanya pengajian ente dibubarin duluan. Mikir...kalau pengajian dibubarin aja ente ribut, gimana kami gak ribut kalau NKRI mau ente bubarin. Udah paham belum? Mikiirrrr 🤔



Fajridinzen @Fajridinzen1 · 6 hari

Membalas @na_dirs dan @UtomoWidjaja

Kalau emang saudaramu Gus, kenapa saat pengajiannya di bubarkan anda g bersuara???

💬 321 ↺ 1.004 ❤️ 3.550 🔗

²² Dwi Noverini Djenar, et. al., *Style and Intersubjectivity in Youth Interaction* (Boston & Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), pp. 229-230

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

²⁴ Alice Marwick, “Memes”, *Contexts*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Fall 2013), p. 13.

D. Critics on #IslamYesKhilafahNo

Despite his concern to fight radicalism issue through social media that is a good way to deliver the idea into millennial generation, we state that there are some points that should be criticized from Gus Nadir's preach in social media. The main point is his vulgarity in attacking some Islamic sects. It has been mentioned before about his hashtag #IslamYesKhilafahNo in twitter. This hashtag has been provoked people from HTI as pro caliphate to give a resistance against Gus Nadir with the hashtag #IslamYesKhilafahNow. I argue that the hashtag from Gus Nadir is too vulgar and strict in attacking some group in Islam. Caliphate is really identic and related with HTI. Indonesia with caliphate as the Nation Principle is the main idea that offered by HTI. There is no other Islamic group in Indonesia that state that idea brightly except HTI. So automatically, the hashtag #IslamYesKhilafahNo is attacking people from HTI strictly. Despite Gus Nadir's concern into spread the idea of nationalism, this hashtag has been provoked a twitwar as has been explained in the previous chapter. Begin from this, pro caliphate then always give a resistance in every hashtag from Gus Nadir that seems related with their idea about caliphate.

Actually, the phrase "Islam Yes Khilafah No" is also the title of the book that he has written. Just like the title, this book talks about rejecting the idea that has been offered by HTI on establishing caliphate nation. However, the hashtag here does not same with the book. It is less provoking in the book than in a social media. In the book, not everyone read it if they does not have a willing. It is different with hashtag on social media that everyone can see it even if they does not intend to. In reading a book, people can only comment by write another writing about it. In the social media, twitter in this case, comment will much more easier to do. What I argue here is that the term "Islam

Yes Khilafah No” become more provoking in the social media and has more possibility to create a war in social media than if the term is just used in a book. So, it will be fine if it is only in a book, but not in social media.

E. Conclusion

Hashtag is currently used as instrument in crowdsourcing, nowadays. Since the appearance of pro-caliphate, hashtags utter anti-nationalism exist as well. As the disjunctive, hashtags implying anti-caliphate are created. The cons-caliphate crowdsourcing is apparently led by Gus Nadir or @na_dirs, who likely against thousands real and fake accounts. The debate is running in a purpose and reject circle, where the pro-caliphate group purposes the caliphate notion and the cons-caliphate group always rejects it, continually. In this circulating debate, Gus Nadir is considered as reliable and capable figure for this position considering his background of knowledge. Besides, he is pretty eloquent in conveying his arguments, sometimes by attaching the sources. His online frequency enables him to response a lot of pro-caliphate excuses. He is firm, but casual in conveying his objection. Instead of using harmful words, he prays for them, makes jokes, uses emoticons and memes. Those all epitomize ripeness, capability, and maturity. For the reason above, Gus Nadir is suitable as ideal role model in giving counter-narratives in term of caliphate issue.

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¹ Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, *Islamisasi Pengetahuan*, terj. Anas Mahyuddin (Bandung: Pustaka, 1984), p. 27.

² Musa Asy'arie, "Agama dan Kebudayaan Memberantas Korupsi: Gagasan Menuju Revolusi Kebudayaan," Andar Nubowo (ed.), *Membangun Gerakan Antikorupsi dalam Perspektif Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: LP3 UMY, 2004), p. 50.

³ Mark Woodward, "The Slametan: Textual Knowledge and Ritual Performance in Central Javanese Islam," *History of Religion*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1988), pp. 54-89.

Contoh daftar pustaka:

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PEDOMAN TRANSLITERASI ARAB

Penulisan Huruf

ب	b	ذ	dh	ط	ṭ	ل	l
ت	t	ر	r	ظ	ẓ	م	m
ث	th	ز	z	ع	ʿ	ن	n
ج	j	س	s	غ	gh	و	w
ح	ḥ	ش	sy	ف	f	هـ / ه	h
خ	kh	ص	ṣ	ق	q	ء	-ʿ
د	d	ض	ḍ	ك	k	ي	y

Penulisan Huruf Panjang, Pendek, dan Ganda

a	ahad	أحد	ā	mā	مَا
i	ibn	ابن	ī	fī	فِي
u	wahuwa	وَهُوَ	ū	sūrat	سُورَة
w	huwa	هُوَ	ww	quwwah	قُوَّة
y	ayna	اين	yy	iyyāka	إِيَّاكَ

Contoh Penulisan:

Ahl al-Sunnah	:	أَهْلُ السُّنَّةِ
Sūrat al-Qurʿan	:	سُورَة الْقُرْآن
Abū al-Wafāʾ ibn Jubayr	:	أَبُو الْوَفَاءِ بْنِ جُبَيْرٍ
Wizārat al-Tarbiyyah	:	وِزَارَة التَّرْبِيَّةِ

Contoh Penulisan Ayat al-Qurʿan:

Yā ayyuhaʾn-nās	:	يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ
Dhalikaʾl-kitāb lā rayba fih	:	ذَلِكَ الْكِتَابُ لَا رَيْبَ فِيهِ