

ISLAMIC POPULISM IN POST-TRUTH INDONESIA A Challenge of Democratic Consolidation

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Abstrak

This article examines the rise of Islamic populism in post-truth Indonesia. It particularly discusses the proliferation of Islamic populism narratives in social media that lead to hoaxes and hate speeches which appeared in series of political elections. This article argues that there has been a similar pattern of Indonesian form of populism to that of other part of western countries, particularly the US and the UK. Like populism in the latter two countries, the issue of “indigeneity” has generated the reproduction of post-truth narratives, ranging from false-news, hoaxes and hate-speeches, blaming the so-called “foreign” elements of the country. Islamist mobilisation is central to explain the proliferation of post-truth politics which cultivates tensions and divisions among the society and reserves as a threat to democratic consolidation in contemporary Indonesia.

[Artikel ini mengkaji kebangkitan populisme Islam di Indonesia kontemporer di era post-truth. Diskusi artikel ini terfokus pada maraknya narasi Islam populis di sosial media yang ditandai dengan berita bohon dan narasi kebencian yang muncul dalam beberapa periode pemilihan umum. Artikel ini dengan jelas menyebutkan bahwa ada kesesuaian pola antara populisme Islam di Indonesia dengan populisme di negara-negara Barat lainnya, utamanya di Amerika dan Inggris. Seperti halnya di dua negara tersebut, isu tentang “pribumi” mewarnai kontestasi politik dan melahirkan narasi post-truth

yang ditandai dengan berita bohong, hoax, dan narasi kebencian, menjadikan “yang asing” sebagai persoalan dalam masyarakat. Isu inilah yang kemudian menyebabkan ketegangan dan perpecahan dalam masyarakat Indonesia dan menjadi ancaman bagi konsolidasi politik Indonesia kontemporer.]

Keywords: *Islamic Populism, Post-truth, Social media, Democratic consolidation*

Introduction

Since the last decade, we have witnessed the global emergence of populism in various forms. A number of studies has been carried to examine the proliferation of populism narratives in many countries, such as countries in Europe,¹ the United States,² countries in Latin America,³ and Asia,⁴ including Indonesia,⁵ which particularly emerged during the political transition and political elections. The globalisation of populism is indeed inspired by the victory of Donald Trump as president of the United States and the victory of the groups that were in favour of Brexit in the United

¹Paul Taggart, “Populism and Representative Politics in Contemporary Europe,” *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2004; Jamie Bartlett, (et.al.), *Populism in Europe: Hungary*, Demos, Magdalen House, Tooley Street, SE TU, UK, 2012, pp. 14-67; Hans-Georg Betz, *Xenophobia, Identity Politics and Exclusionary Populism in Western Europe*, (Socialist Register, 2003); Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

²Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have Nots and Cultural Backlash,” SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, 29, 2016).

³Cas Mudde, *The Populist Zeitgeist*, Government and Opposition Ltd 2004 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing), p. 541-563.

⁴Marcus Mietzner, “Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi’s Rise, Democracy and Political Contestation in Indonesia,” *Policy Studies: An East-West Center Studies*, Vol. 72, 2015.

⁵There are many studies on Islamic populism in Indonesia by scholars. Some of the studies that many other scholars refer to include: Vedi R. Hadiz, *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Vedi R. Hadiz and Richard Robison, “Competing Populisms in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia,” *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 2017, pp. 488-502; Marcus Mietzner, “Fighting Illiberalism with Illiberalism: Islamist Populism and Democratic Deconsolidation in Indonesia,” *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 91, No. 2, 2018.

Kingdom in 2016. Both Trump and Brexit groups received significant supports from the Christian and ultra-nationalist groups that represent “right-wing identity politics.” In Latin America, we also witnessed the leftist groups campaigned also for the “leftist populism”. The leftist populism has successfully won the national election and the chairmans of the the groups, such as Hugo Chavez with his the United Socialist Party (PSU) in Venezuela and Evo Morales with the Movement for Socialism (MAS) in Bolivia, were elected as the presidents.⁶ Although not as successful as Trump or Brexit, populism in many European countries has been significantly increasing as the populist parties of European countries won the elections. Some of the European populist leaders, such as Marine Le Pen in France, Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, Norbert Hofer in Finland, Victor Orban in Hungary, Frauke Petry in Germany, are welcoming more followers.⁷

The globalisation of populism narratives has attracted a number of scientific studies. These studies were mainly limited to cases in Europe, the United States, and Latin America. In later development, studies on populism in countries in Africa and Asia, also received a scholarly attention. This article will contribute to discussion on the Indonesian form of populism in which Islam has been an essential element of populism narratives to which I call as “Islamic populism.” It addresses the proliferation of Islamic populism in social media and its entanglement with fake news, hoaxes, and hate speech, in the practice of journalism.⁸ As the populism in Europe, America, Latin America, and other regions, Indonesians witnessed the rising Islamic populism, particularly since the the 2014 Presidential Election, the 2017 DKI Jakarta local election (*Pilkada*), and the 2019 Presidential Election. As

⁶ Cas Mudde and Kristobal Ravira Kaltwasser, “Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America,” *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 147–174, 2013.

⁷ Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have Nots and Cultural Backlash,” SSRN Scholarly Paper, Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, July 29, 2016, p. 2.

⁸ Ralph Keyes, *The Post-Truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life* (New York: ST. Matins Press, 2004), p. 113.

for scholarly studies on Islamic populism in Indonesia, scholars examine from historical approach and socio-political condition of Islamic populism,⁹ Islamic populism in democratic Indonesia,¹⁰ and Islamic populism in social media.¹¹ Nevertheless, these studies seem to overlook the roles of political elections in the proliferation of Islamic populism narratives, the political periods following the election with regards to consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. As far as the Indonesia elections are maintained, the Islamic populism is not an interlude political period, but a continuous political framed to attack to government and a political force against the government. Thus, this article attempts to examine the phenomenon of Islamic populism from the lights of political dynamics and the future of Indonesian democracy.

Post-Truth, Social Media, and Populist Politics

The term “post-truth” was firstly introduced by Steve Tesich in the 1992 edition of *The Nation* magazine when reflecting on the cases of the Gulf War and Iran. Ralph Keyes, through his *The Post-truth Era* (2004) and a comedian Stephen Colbert popularized a related term to post-truth, namely “truthiness.”¹² According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, post-truth consists of two words, namely ‘post’ which means after and

⁹Vedi R Hadiz, *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 4.

¹⁰Marcus Mitzner, “Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi’s Rise, Democracy and Political Contestation in Indonesia,” *Policy Studies: An East-West Center Studies*, Vol. 72, 2015; Syamsul Arifin, “Islam, Populisme, dan Masa Depan Demokrasi Indonesia,” *Maarif*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2019.

¹¹For the third point, many Indonesian scholars have written this study themselves. Among the important writings are; Cosmas Eko Suharyanto, “Analisis Berita Hoax di Era Post-Truth: Sebuah Review,” *Jurnal Masyarakat Telematika dan Informasi*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2019; Budi Kurniawan, “Politisasi Agama di Tahun Politik: Politik Paska Kebenaran di Indonesia dan Ancaman bagi Demokrasi,” *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2018; Ferdinand Eskol Tiar Sirait, “Ujaran Kebencian, Hoax, dan Perilaku Memilih: Studi Kasus pada Pemilihan Presiden 2019 di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, Vol. 16, No.1, 2018.

¹²Ralph Keyes, *The Post-Truth Era: Dishonesty*, p. 113.

‘truth’ which means quality or state of being true. Truth is a noun from the adjective true. So, post-truth means “after the truth era.” It is called the post-truth era because, in this period, the use of the ratio that underlies truth and observation of facts as a basis for measuring objectivity is no longer considered important in influencing public opinion, thinking, or behavior.¹³

Since 2016, Oxford has placed the word “post-truth” as “Word of the Year.”¹⁴ This is particularly because of the popularity of the term post-truth which has been massively used in many discussion since 2016. The term is often associated with the two most influential political moments in 2016, namely the UK’s exit from the European Union, known as Brexit, and the election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States.¹⁵ At the eve of these two political transitions, hoaxes delivered a bigger influence than the “facts”. In addition to being marked by the spread of hoaxes and false news on social media, the post-truth era is also marked by media publicity of politicians’s false statements . The case during the 2016 US presidential election is an ample proof that the more media broadcast fake news about Donald Trump, the more popular Trump’s name and his “truth construction” is spreading widely.¹⁶

The emergence of the post-truth era itself, apart from being an inseparable part of the rise of populism, is also supported by the birth of “social media platforms,” such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp, and so on. The post-truth era emerged along with fierce tensions between Facebook, mainstream media, and the public in 2016. The circulation of false information circulating and spreading rapidly on Facebook later invited global concerns and blamed the giant’s tech for profit-making practice but allowing negative content to circulate freely

¹³ Cosmas Eko Suharyanto, *Analisis Berita Hoak*, pp. 39.

¹⁴ S.B. Glasser, *Covering Politics in a Post-Truth America*, <https://www.brookings.edu/essay/covering-politics-in-a-post-truth-america>, 2016, p. 3.

¹⁵ Kharisma Dhimas Syuhada, “Etika Media di Era Post-Truth,” *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, Vol. V, No. 1, 2017, p. 76.

¹⁶ Kharisma Dhimas Syuhada, *Etika Media di Era*, p. 77.

on its platform. The use of algorithms in reading the posts marked “like” and “share” greatly exploits universal norms and values and makes news’s recipient more likely to receive news according to their perspective. In this regard, Facebook neglects its role as an intermediary in minimizing the effects and problems faced by its users, such as fake news, hoaxes, and filter bubbles. The peak of tension between Facebook and the mainstream media culminated at the eve of the US Presidential Election.¹⁷

Post-truth refers to an era marked by the emergence of various disruptive news or information which particularly appears in three forms: fake news, hoax, and hate speech. Fake or false news is not based on facts, statements, or truths that are widely circulated through social media. Fake news contrasts with mainstream media in the context of persuasion and influencing someone based on a commitment to professionalism on data accuracy and objectivity.¹⁸ Historically, the fake news has appeared throughout political histories. In early 1835, the *New York Sun* published six pieces of news that claimed a life on the Moon. In 1844, several newspapers in Philadelphia published false reports of Irish stealing Bibles from public schools. This news later incited riots.¹⁹ Unlike previous episodes, contemporary fake news spreads at higher rate and speed. Internet technology as well as various social media platforms have facilitated fake news to spread quickly. In terms of content, there is a distinction between fake news and hoax. Fake news is false news or artificial news that is not based on facts. On the other hand, hoaxes are false information or news that can contain facts but has been twisted or fabricated. Hoax is information that is deceptive and made to deceive people by covering up or manipulating facts, even creating false information.²⁰

¹⁷ Kharisma Dhimas Syuhada, *Etika Media di Era*, p. 76.

¹⁸ Vian Bakir dan Andree McStay, “Fake News and The Economy of Emotion: Problems, Causes, and Solution,” *Digital Journalism*, 2017, pp. 3-4.

¹⁹ S.B. Glasser, *Covering Politics in a Post-Truth America*, p. 12.

²⁰ Pratiwi Utami, “Hoax in Modern Politics: The Meaning Hoax in Indonesian Politics and Democracy”, *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2018, pp. 88.

The concept of “hoax” was popularized by Robert Nares through his *A Glossary: Or, Collection of Words, Phrases, Names dan Allusions to Customs* published in England in the 18th century. According to Nares, hoax comes from the word “*bocus*,” a Latin word for “*bocus pocus*”, literally translated as “deceive”. According to Nares, *bocus pocus* refers to a magician’s spell that is used when doing tricks. *Hocus pocus* is taken from the name of the famous Italian magician, Ochus Bochus. Thomas Ady, the 17th century physicist, argued that *bocus pocus* was a magician’s spell that did not mean anything. The notion of hoaxes -as proposed by Robert Nares and Thomas Ady- refers to the understanding of “fake news made to joke” or deliberately confuse recipients of information with the intention of joking.²¹

Accordingly, Corlett and Francescotti define hate speech as an art that refers to verbal behavior and symbolic actions or other communicative activities that deliberately express extreme antipathy towards groups and individuals.²² The hatred is usually based on differences in ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation. Rosenfeld further argued stated that the hate speech is designed to promote hatred on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, or national origin.²³

As the above discussion argues, post-truth cases culminated at the eve of political transition, such as the Brexit and the US election. The elected US president Donald Trump himself, consciously made use of various social media for his political campaign.²⁴ Amid the political tension, “hoax politics” had coloured the democratic process and hoaxes have a bigger influence than facts. In addition to the spread of hoax, the post-truth era delivers a sign on the practice of journalism which often issued false statements of politicians. The case during the 2016 US

²¹ Kharisma Dhimas Syuhada, *Etika Media di Era*, p. 78.

²² Corlett, J.A. & Francescotti, R., “Foundations of a Theory of Hate Speech”, *Law Review*, Vol. 48, 2020, pp, 1071-1100.

²³ Kharisma Dhimas Syuhada, *Etika Media di Era*, p. 78.

²⁴ Kompas, “Trump Keluarkan Perintah Eksekutif Usai Ribut dengan Twitter, Ini isinya,” <https://www.kompas.com/global/read/2020/05/29/084340970/trump-keluarkan-perintah-eksekutif-usai-ribut-dengan-twitter-ini-isinya>, accessed on 23 June 2020.

presidential election is proof that the more often the media broadcast fake news about Donald Trump, the more popular Trump's name and his lies are spreading widely. Trump's populism has not only given birth to a post-truth era, but also the acceleration of hate speech. As a result, political tension had led to social tension and division of the Americans as Trump inflated the notion of indigeneity by defending and favoring the "indigenous Americans" represented by the working class and the white middle class. On the other hand, Trump identified Hispanics, Mexican, Afro-Americans, and Islam as "foreigners" if not to mention as threats to the US.²⁵

Trump's statements engulfed strong criticism raised by Muslim communities in many parts of the Muslim world. In return, Trump vowed to ban all Muslims from entering the United States and this anti-Islamic propaganda spread rapidly and received a global resonantion.²⁶ Trump's administration later imposed the banning on citizens of seven Islamic countries (Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Libya, Syria, and Yemen) of entering the US. In response to the US's banning, these seven Islamic countries also prohibited citizens of the US from entering their country.²⁷ Importantly, Trump's inauguration as the president has incited anxiety in various parts of the world, especially Muslim countries. Trump's policy of leaning towards the anglo-saxon protestant group which is conservative, even radical, and racist towards immigrants occurred with the murder of Afro-American George Floyd on May 25, 2020. In reaction to the murder, demonstrations throughout the major cities in the US protested the Trump's administration²⁸

²⁵ Ronald F. Inglehart and Pippa Norris, "Trump, Brexit, pp. 11-13.

²⁶ Herdi Sahrazad, *Donald Trump, Eropa, Asia*, p. 7.

²⁷ Reinaldo Albert Koerniadi, *Politik Populisme dan Retorika Donald Trump: Paradoks Kontroversial Komunikasi Publik Era Post-Truth*, 2019, p. 15.

²⁸ Republika, "Demo Goerge Floyd Meluas, 40 Kota di AS Berlakukan Jam Malam," <https://republika.co.id/berita/qb8n3i382/demo-george-floyd-meluas-40-kota-di-as-berlakukan-jam-malam>, accessed on 24 June 2020.

and later generated to a new slogan “Black lives matter.”²⁹

The post-truth era symbolized and represented by the Trump’s administration is likely to continue in the US. The Republican Party is ascertained elect Trump as the candidate for the second term of presidency. Bill Liddle, a leading political analyst of the US, believes Trump’s populism is massively growing among the Americans. Trump has become a populist symbol of white supremacist.³⁰ Through his personal email sent to an Indonesian political analyst Salim Said, Liddle writes that “Soon he (red: Trump) will start with major rallies in several cities, which will certainly encourage his supporters. The intensity of his supporters frightened me. If Trump wins, he will feel free from all obstacles. His attorney general, Bill Barr, will support anything Trump wants, arguing that his interpretation of the constitution gives the president power as if Trump is a king. It is strange but true.”³¹

Trump’s populist politics remains a political model for the 2020 presidential election of the US. The social media Twitter warned the populist politics and called for “fact check” which provides trusted news of mainstream media, such as the CNN and The Washington Post. This policy raised polemics as Trump criticized Twitter for violating freedom of opinion and of intervening in the US Presidential Election. Trump said that “Twitter is trying to destroy free speech, and I, as President, will not let that happen!”³² and threatened to sue Twitter.³³ Unlike Twitter that warned the danger of misinformation, Facebook and Instagram seem to be tolerant to the traffics of informasion as allowing false

²⁹ Tirto, “Kenapa Kematian Goerge Floyd Picu Demo Black Lives Matter Mendunia?” <https://tirto.id/kenapa-kematian-george-floyd-picu-demo-black-lives-matter-mendunia-fD7C>, accessed on 24 June 2020.

³⁰ Kompas, “Donald Trump, Membuat Amerika Berjaya Kembali,” https://www.kompas.com/global/read/2020/06/18/110841870/donald-trump-membuat-amerika-berjaya-kembali?utm_source=Watsapp, accessed on 22 June 2020.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Kompas, “Pertama Kalinya Twitter Beri Twit Trump...”

³³ Kompas, “Trump Keluarkan Perintah Eksekutif...”

contents without censorship. It later culminated to the boycott of ten big companies to advertise in Facebook and Instragram.³⁴ Thus, post-truth is a complex system involving not only interest groups, such as political groups and parties, media, and market. It is indeed synonymous to the so-called “relative truth” and is related to the situatedness of audience and ideological inclination. Relative truth is signalled by “truth” which is refrained from scientific logic and facts, in favour of fake news, hoaxes, and hate speech. Therefore, post-Truth era is understood as a form of extreme affirmation of the relative truth of subjective information without proper facts or data.

The Islamist and Post-Truth Politics in Indonesia

The post-truth politics has created a demoractic paradox which appear in the form of the rising Islamic populism in contemporary Indonesia. The rise of Islamic populism in Indonesia, according to scholars such as Hadiz³⁵ and Mietner,³⁶ clearly shares several main components with populism in Europe (the UK) and the US; that is the proliferation of fake news, hoaxes, and hate speech in democratic society. In Indonesia, post-truth politics was strengthening at the eve of 2014 presidential election and the 2019 Presidential Election involving two presidential candidates; Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Prabowo.³⁷ The post-truth politics was also exercised thorough local election of the 2017 Jakarta election which selected Anies-Sandi as the governor and vice governor of Jakarta. In the Jakarta

³⁴Kompas, “Buntut Ujaran Kebencian Trump di Medsos, 10 Perusahaan Boikot Iklan di Facebook,” <https://www.kompas.com/global/read/2020/06/25/153110270/buntut-ujaran-kebencian-trump-di-medsos-9-perusahaan-boikot-iklan-di>, accessed on 25 June 2020.

³⁵Vedi R Hadiz, *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 4.

³⁶Marcus Mitzner, “Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi’s Rise, Democracy and Political Contestation in Indonesia,” *Policy Studies: An East-West Center Studies*, Vol. 72, 2015, pp. 4-8.

³⁷Ferdinand Eskol Tiar Sirait, “Ujaran Kebencian, Hoax, dan Perilaku Memilih: Studi Kasus pada Pemilihan Presiden 2019 di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2018, pp. 180.

election contestation, the issue of religion is a dominant and determining factor. The black campaign containing hate speech and fake news became framings of political campaigns.³⁸ During the 2019 Presidential Election, the Indonesian President Jokowi complained about the massive black campaign and hoaxes³⁹ as he was a target for black campaign. The same is true to the 2014 political election that commenced Jokowi as the president. Despite Jokowi lamented complain, his rival in the election Prabowo had also been the target for black campaign and hoaxes. Nevertheless, social media examinations show that black campaign attacks and hoaxes were more often directed against Jokowi than to Prabowo. The majority of hoaxes and black campaign uses religious issues and primordial identity. A survey by an Indonesian NGO, Indonesia Indicator, finds that a significant case of hate speeches and hoaxes on the issue of religion attacked Jokowi on Twitter platform and Facebook.⁴⁰

Social media again is a crucial sphere for production and dissemination of hoaxes and black campaign. A survey by the telematics community in 2017 finds that the most widely used channels for spreading hoaxes were social media (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) reaching up to 92.40 percent, followed by chat applications (WhatsApp, Line, Telegram) up to 62.80 percent and the rest (34.90 percent) was spread through the website. This finding is parallel to the finding of the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo). Throughout 2017, the ministry finds that 800,000 fake accounts often spread hoaxes. The Kominfo identified 486 hoaxes throughout April 2019 and 1,731 hoaxes in August 2018-April 2019. Hoaxes have increased significantly at the eve the

³⁸Defbry Margiansyah, "Populisme di Indonesia Kontemporer: Transformasi Persaingan Populisme dan Konsekwensinya bagi Dinamika Kontestasi Politik Menjelang Pemilu 2019," *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2019, pp. 59.

³⁹Mochammad Iqbal Jatmiko, "Post-Truth, Media Sosial, dan Miskomunikasi: Pergolakan Wacana Politik Pemilihan Presiden Indonesia Tahun 2019," *Jurnal Tabligh*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2019, pp. 22

⁴⁰Badan Pengawas Pemilu RI (2019), *Pemantauan Hoax 16 March-16 April 2019*, Database Bawaslu; Ferdinand Eskol Tiar Sirait, *Ujaran Kebencian, Hoax*, p. 184.

presidential election on April 17, 2019. In August 2018, 25 hoax contents were recorded, rising to 27 hoax contents in September 2018. Meanwhile, in October and November 2018, it increased to 53 and 63, December 2018, it continued to increase at 75. In fact, since 2016 it has continued to increase to 14 hoax content, in 2017 increased to 281, while in 2018 it increased considerably to 1440 hoax content.⁴¹

Perhaps, the biggest post-truth politics in Indonesia is the case of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama -known as Ahok. The case started when Ahok alluded to al-Maidah: 51 in the Kepulauan Seribu, Jakarta and later a recorded video of his speech was edited and uploaded in Youtube by Buni Yani. The video went viral and incited controversy as to which Ahok was accused of insulting Islam.⁴² The video later generated Islamist groups' reaction as they marched into the streets demanding the arrest of Ahok. After series of mass-rallies, Ahok was sentenced to two years in prison. The success to send Ahok to prison cultivates Islamist groups's to influence Indonesian politics. In so doing, disinformation is their main strategy.⁴³ Following the Ahok's case, the post-truth politics gained its political momentum of the 2019 presidential election. Again, the Islamist political party Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS was at front to attack the incumbent president Jokowi. Mardani Ali Sera, a PKS politician with Neno Warisman, and Eggy Sujana started a campaign through #2019ChangeThePresident. Sera called #2019ChangeThePresident as an alarm to the current "chaotic"

⁴¹ KEMKOMINFO, *Annual report 2016-2019*, accessed on: Monday, 30 September 2019, <https://kominfo.go.id/content/detail/16003/siaran-pers-no-17bmkominfo012019-tentang-tahun-2018-kominfo-terima-733-aduan-konten-boaks-yang-disebar-via-whatsapp/0/siaran>, https://kominfo.go.id/content/detail/16023/kominfobeberkan-sederet-kasus-hoax-di-whatsapp/0/sorotan_media, accessed, Monday, 22 June 2020.

⁴² Saiful Mustofa, "Berebut Wacana: Hilangnya Etika Komunikasi di Ruang Publik Dunia Maya," *Jurnal Studi Agama dan Masyarakat*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2019, pp. 67-68.

⁴³ Wahyudi Ahmaliah, "Kebenaran yang Terbelah: Populisme Islam dan Disinformati Politik Elektoral," *Maarif*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2019, pp. 136.

government.⁴⁴ The #2019ChangeThePresident movement is rapidly becoming a political movement both offline and online. In the offline realm, the #2019ChangeThePresident movement was mobilized through mosques in Jakarta. At the Cut Mutia Mosque, Menteng, Central Jakarta, the activity of breaking the fast was used for propaganda by labeling boxed-food for *iftar* with the #2019ChangeThePresident sticker. Online, #2019ChangeThePresident has quickly spread on various social media, including Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram.⁴⁵

The movement #2019ChangeThePresident was indeed a political movement through Islamic mobilisation. Apart from being used as a media for socialization, religious arguments are also used as justification. The populist narrative built on the legitimacy of #2019ChangeThePresident refers to themes such as the country's debt that is on the verge of endangering the nation, non-Indonesian migrant workers, and the rising fuel prices. By raising these themes, the discourse constructed #2019ChangeThePresident tends to be protectionist, racist, and revives the tension between "the indigeneous and the foreign sentiment." This kind of discourse is no different from the discourse built by Trump during the campaign that promised America's superiority with the slogan "Make America great again" which had implications for discrediting the non-white American society.

The post-truth wave through social media and portals is getting more massive during the campaign period. At the beginning of the campaign period, the national news was shocked by hoax news about Ratna Sarumpaet. Ratna Sarumpaet, who was one of the Prabowo-Sandi winning team, made a hoax that she was being persecuted by a group of people. After investigation, it turned out that he had done plastic surgery. Ratna Sarumpet's hoax news occupied a trending topic on Twitter on

⁴⁴Budi Kurniawan, "Politisasi Agama di Tahun Politik: Politik Paska Kebenaran di Indonesia dan Ancaman bagi Demokrasi," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2018, pp. 135.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, p. 140.

October 3, 2018, with a total of 108 mentions. Ratna Sarumpet's hoax case seems intentional as an image of herself as a party persecuted by the ruling regime. However, this hoax case was exposed while in court as a form of fabrication or hoax news that was deliberately made by herself. Fake news that is no less trending than Ratna Sarumpet is the burning of the HTI flag by Banser personnel in conjunction with the commemoration of National *Santri* Day (Hari Santri Nasional/HSN) on October 22, 2018, which was centered in Garut, West Java. The HTI flag-burning incident is not directly related to the presidential election. However, Makruf Amin's factor as Jokowi's vice-presidential candidate who represented NU made this case politicized and manipulated as part of the presidential election campaign. The video contains burning the HTI flag with a duration of 7 minutes 12 seconds spread in a structured and massive manner into a bombastic "discourse war". The incident of HTI flag burning was twisted and manipulated into "burning the *tauhid* flag" or "burning the flag of the Prophet's banner." This hoax news received a wide response from scholars, MUI, as well as Muhammadiyah. In fact, it gave birth to a wave of demonstrations in various regions in Indonesia under the banner "Aksi Bela Tauhid". On Twitter, this action became a trending topic to defeat Ratna Sarumpet's hoax by receiving 365 mentions.⁴⁶

Post-truth news in the form of hoaxes that are no less trending than the previous two hoaxes is the hoax about the discovery of seven containers containing ballot papers that have been punched on behalf of the incumbent candidate (Jokowi-Makruf) at the port of Tanjung Priok, Jakarta. After being investigated by the authorities, it turned out that the news was a hoax that was deliberately exhaled to delegitimize the existence of the Indonesian Commission for Political Election (Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU). The narrative developed in an effort to influence public opinion and emotions that the KPU as the organizer of the Election is

⁴⁶ Saiful Mustofa, *Berebut Wacana*, p. 69.

not independent and siding with the incumbent pair.⁴⁷ Apart from some of the hoax news above, there are still many hoaxes and hate speech news using the issue of ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup addressed to Jokowi. The issue of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) has always been a political commodity in the campaign pinned to it. Black campaigns such as “Child of PKI” aimed at Jokowi in the 2014 presidential election were disseminated through the *Obor Rakyat* magazine.⁴⁸ To justify the dangers of communist ideology, one of the supporters of Prabowo-Sandi, namely the Prabowo Partai Emak-Emak Pendukung Prabowo (Prabowo’s Supporting Party consists of Mothers) or abbreviated as Pepes, conducted a door-to-door campaign roadshow, especially for women. Pepes gained popularity after a viral video on social media led to the police arrest of three women. In the viral video, they seem to be influencing the community not to give their voice to Jokowi-Ma’ruf for a number of reasons. The three women said that if Jokowi-Ma’ruf wins, there will be no more call to prayer, no more wearing a veil, and same-sex marriage, that is, women can marry other women, and vice versa, men and men can also get married.⁴⁹

In the 2019 Presidential Election, apart from being spread through the same magazine, hoax news continued to be massively manipulated through various kinds of social media. Not inferior to the PKI issue, religious issues through a series of “Action to Defend Islam” reunion 212 and on social media using the politicization of religion to attack Jokowi. Many hashtags are passing by with tones of religious-based hate speech. Among those hashtags for example; #ActionToDefendIslam, #ActionToDefendiScholars, #PersecutionOfScholars, #CriminalizingScholars, #AntiIslam, and many

⁴⁷ Mochammad Iqbal Jatmiko, *Post-Truth, Media Sosial*, p. 27.

⁴⁸ Defbry Margiansyah, *Populisme di Indonesia Kontemporer*, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Luky Sandra Amalia, “Upaya Mobilisasi Perempuan melalui Narasi Simbolik ‘Emak-emak dan Ibu Bangsa’ pada Pemilu 2019,” *Jurnal Penelitian Politik*, Vol. 16 No. 1, 2019, pp. 21.

more.⁵⁰ A series of black campaigns that carry the theme of politicization of religion seems to drain the energy of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf side the most. The existence of Ma'ruf even though he represented a figure of the scholar (*ulama*), was overwhelmed in stemming the black campaign on various social media.

The post-truth era with its various manifestations during the 2019 presidential election, apart from eroding Jokowi-Makruf's votes, also disturbed the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. Several data analyzes show that, sociologically and psychologically, Jokowi's vote has decreased significantly in the 2019 Presidential Election in several provinces with strong normative Islamic characteristics. This reduction in votes was seen in several provinces such as Nangroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD), West Sumatra, West Java, Banten, and West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). On the other hand, the political mobilization of Islamic populism accompanied by post-truth news raised Jokowi's voice in the provinces with the majority of non-Muslim community bases such as Bali, Papua, West Papua, and East Nusa Tenggara.⁵¹ Finally, the political mobilization of Islamic populism in the post-truth era has made political complaints on a national scale. The politicization of religion in the post-truth era raises a number of ironies, one of which is the loss of communication ethics in cyberspace public because it is dominated by hoaxes and hate speech.⁵² In addition, the politicization of religion promoted by Islamic populist groups as in the Brexit and Trump cases, apart from draining energy, also creates political division in society. Populism for authoritarian states is progress, but for democracies, it is a setback.⁵³

During the 2019 Presidential Election, the national political constellation felt tense. The series of demonstrations that took place

⁵⁰ Syamsul Arifin, "Islam, Populisme, dan Masa Depan Demokrasi Indonesia," *Maarif*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2019, pp. 18.

⁵¹ Ferdinand Eskol Tiar Sirait, *Ujaran Kebencian*, pp. 185-186.

⁵² Saiful Mustofa, *Berebut Wacana*, pp. 59.

⁵³ Muhammad Naziful Haq, *Penggunaan Retorika Post-Truth*, p. 106.

during the campaign period until after the announcement of the election results by the Central KPU continued to be accompanied by demonstrations of dissatisfaction that claimed lives. This reality is sufficient to injure democratic values and hinder the consolidation of democracy in Indonesia. In several countries around the world, democracy is hurt by the presence of hoaxes and hate speech news. In Ukraine, for example, the fall of their president was preceded by status on social media created by a journalist on Facebook which was followed by a call to gather at Maidan Square in Kiev. In Egypt, social media played an important role in the overthrow of President Husni Mubarak, 2011. Meanwhile in Germany, the ultra-right party won 12.6 percent of seats in parliament by spreading fear on social media that refugees from Syria are getting more than indigeneous Germans.⁵⁴ There are many other valuable experiences from other countries that can be lessons learned for the future Indonesian democracy.

Conclusion

The rise of the contemporary Islamic populism movement in Indonesia has taken its root since the 2014 presidential election. However, the Islamic populism movement in Indonesia witnessed in the momentum of the Jakarta *Pilkada* and culminated to the 2019 Presidential Election. Islamic populism mobilized its sources for the sake of Islamist groups and resonated the issue of “indegenity/*pribumi*”. A similar pattern we find in the US and UK where indegenity has been used to win the heart and minds of the public. Issues of religion (Islam) and race were mobilized to achieve their Islamist agenda. It can also be seen from the 411 and 212 “Action to Defend Islam” which demanded that Ahok be imprisoned because he was deemed to have insulted religion and finally succeeded in bringing Ahok to become a defendant. In addition, the Islamic populist movement also succeeded in getting the Anies-Sandi

⁵⁴ Cosmas Eko Suharyanto, *Analisis Berita Hoak*, pp. 41.

pair to become governor of the DKI Jakarta. The issue of religion and race also dominated various Islamic populism movements during the 2019 presidential election campaign aimed at Jokowi. Various hashtags such as #ChildOfPKI, #AntiIslam, #ActionToDefendScholars, #CriminalizationOfScholars, and so on, who are angry on social media are some of the pieces of evidence among the black campaign. As a result, the use of post-truth narratives from Islamic populist groups in Indonesia creates social tension in the wider community. The post-truth gave birth to the irony of the loss of social ethics in the social media space. In addition, the massification of post-truth narratives in the form of fake news, hoaxes, and hate speech creates a diametrically divided society. Therefore, the Islamic populism movement by mobilizing narratives through post-truth resorts as a threat to democratic consolidation in contemporary Indonesia.

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