

PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION OF THE #BUBARKANMUI MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT. The campaign narrative for the dissolution of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) invited many comments from netizens on social media to develop into a digital social movement to urge the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) to be dissolved because one of its members was arrested by the police regarding the issue of terrorism. This news had become a trending topic on Twitter and threatened the existence of MUI as a forum for Islamic community organizations in Indonesia. To analyze these problems, researchers used the Network Society theory with a quantitative approach and the Social Network Analysis (SNA) method to analyze it. This study aims to analyze actors' conversations in voicing new social movements through the #BubarkanMUI hashtag. Through the spread of a communication network on the hashtag #BubarkanMUI, it was found to be an effort of a digital social movement that was echoed by political actors through a single Twitter account as well as building fake accounts as alter egos for intermediaries and network close relations to spread negative comments about MUI and spread communication networks as a public call through media atwitter and gain support from Twitter users to disband the MUI.

Keywords: Persuasive Communication; Social Network Analysis; Twitter; #BubarkanMUI

INTRODUCTION

Social media as a digital platform has a very important role for its users to create a social network that connects one individual to another. Social media makes it easier for users to communicate, exchange information, and share thoughts and ideas quickly (Muqsith, 2021). In addition, with the existence of social media, one can easily invite others to enter a virtual community that can be formed suddenly without having to deal with bureaucratic procedures.

One of the most popular social media platforms in Indonesia is Twitter. According to social media data in 2022, Indonesia is ranked 6th with the most Twitter users worldwide (We Are Social, 2022). Although currently, the number of Twitter users in Indonesia is not as many as Instagram, Facebook, or Youtube users, messages on Twitter are distributed very quickly. They are dominated mainly by social movement networks that sometimes have political and provocative backgrounds (Ridlwan & Khotijah, 2021; Irawan, 2018). Twitter users can share information actively every second. Even though the information is just a text of 280 words, it can persuade many people easily.

Several community political movements or net citizens (netizens) have voiced and agreed to vote against government policies on behalf of the people's movement or the citizens' movement (Luqiu & Lu, 2021; Esfandiari et al., 2021; Kharroub & Bas, 2016). Controversial statements or policies from the government are always used to invite the public through social media by creating a widely distributed network to attract opinions, with negative segments to fight the government through text votes on social media (Jungherr & Jürgens, 2014; Ozturkcan et al., 2017).

In MUI research, based on previous research, discusses more legal aspects regarding MUI policies and fatwas in matters of *aqidah* and regulations based on Islamic sharia and Islamic laws, as well as arguments that emphasize Islamic law (Chairunnisyyah, 2017; Jamaluddin et al., 2022; Ningtyas & Harefa, 2022; Saputra & Selviani, n.d.; Suroya, 2022).

In addition, he also raised the theme of covid as part of research on the MUI fatwa regarding the Covid-19 vaccination (Jamaluddin et al., 2022; Mushodiq et al., 2020; Rizal, 2022). Those who focus on the MUI Bubarkam are on the scope of qualitative case news regarding intrigue, conflict, and legal proceedings (Republika, 2021).

So that there is not a single study on the MUI, including calls to disband the MUI in terms of communication networks or social networks, as well as being studied in terms of trends. The research gap can be seen in the following figure 1.

Involvement in studies that raise MUI objects can be seen from the following research objects figure 2.

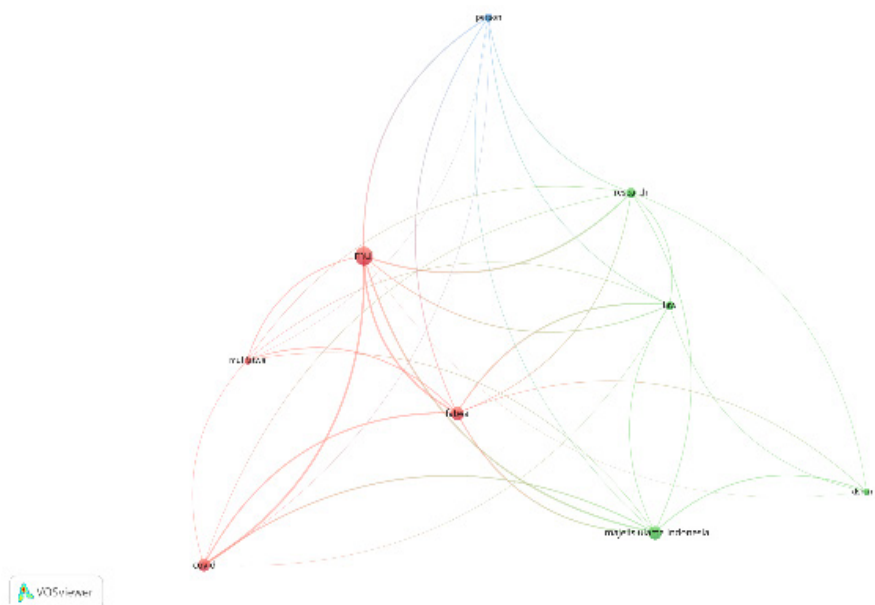
The net citizen movement through #Bubarkan MUI is a persuasive movement in resistance to MUI. There is a campaign narrative to disband the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) by netizens on social media. They reasoned that radical groups had infiltrated this organization. MUI, established on July 26, 1975, in Jakarta, is a forum for the deliberation of Muslim scholars in Indonesia to guide, foster, and protect Muslims throughout Indonesia. The movement was carried out using a hashtag which was then widely circulated and even became a trending topic of public discussion on social media in November 2021 and sparked controversy from various parties, including the Ministry of Religion

(Detik, 2021).

This hashtag emerged and immediately became a trending topic after one of the MUI members was arrested by the Police Special Detachment (Densus) 88 for being involved in Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist network (Tempo, 2021). However, this hashtag also triggered other groups opposing the dissolution of MUI to speak out. Leaders from various large mass organizations in Indonesia, including the vice president of the Republic of Indonesia, refused the campaign to disband the MUI. They expressed their refusal through social media and conventional media.

The #BubarkanMUI campaign was carried out by spreading networks to provoke and invite the public through Twitter to add network account members that could be accessed easily so that a total network could reach thousands. Some digital communities or accounts from community organizations were also involved in the network so that central actors could reap cooperative voices from members of the public online and in digital communities.

Based on the background of the problem above, researchers formulate that the #BubarkanMUI movement cannot be separated from the resistance movement against MUI by utilizing cases of alleged



Sumber: VosViewer, 2022

Figure 1. Gap Research penelitian MUI 2019 – 2022

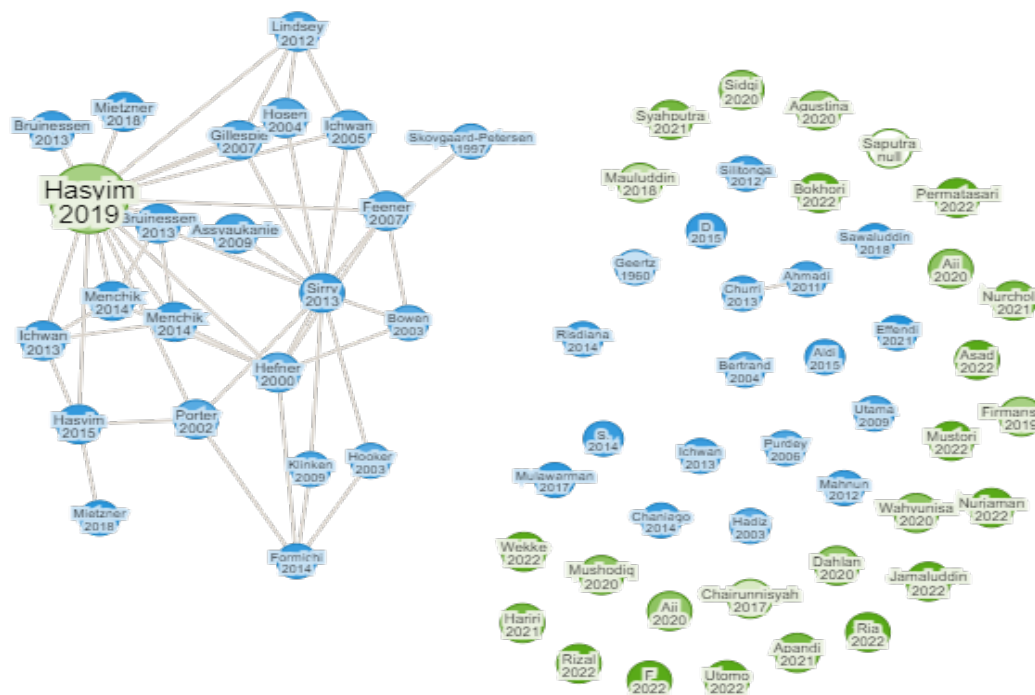


Figure 2. Gap Authorship Peneliti MUI 2022

terrorism among MUI board members. This hashtag can also develop as a massive network distribution. In this case, there is an indication of the role of central actors who want to eliminate the existence of MUI. Through analysis of communication networks on social media, Twitter, this study aims to (1) determine how large the network distribution and centralization; (2) find out the role of the dominant actors in the centrality of the social network in #BubarkanMUI, including the level of network distribution based on the centrality value of the actors.

METODE

Network Centralization can generally be detected using the Social Network Analysis (SNA) method. This method is usually used to see the degrees of the centrality of the main actors who drive opinions (Sylvère & Emmanuel, 2017). The social network analysis (SNA) method, according to Oktora & Alamsyah, (2014), is generally used to find out which actors have the most roles in conversations on Twitter.

The phenomenon of #BubarkanMUI has attracted the attention of researchers to conduct this research using the Social Network Analysis (SNA) method by involving the NodeXL program. Meanwhile, to find out the distribution of social communication networks related to #BubarkanMUI, the researchers use a quantitative methodology with a descriptive approach that is intended to describe in detail the structure and actors in the network (Eriyanto, 2014). In this study, the researchers analyzed 1,254 actors who wrote messages containing the #BubarkanMUI. The research data were collected from November 2021 to February 2022.

In November, data crawling was carried out through data mining NodeXL by collecting data per week reaching a maximum of 100 data which includes comments considering the 2021-2022 data collection period.

The method of analysis carried out in this research is the level system analysis, which includes the analysis of diameter, density, reciprocity, and modularity. Meanwhile, the actor level includes betweenness centrality, proximity centrality, and eigenvector centrality.

The measurement model is used at a two-level hierarchy, namely the system level, which includes the density level where the value can be <0.1 , or at the 0.00 level, it is declared a low-density level. While the value of reciprocity is below 0.1, the level of reciprocal communication is low. At a diameter level of more than 2, it is stated that most network connection levels from other actors are farther from the sub-actor and the central actor.

As for the centrality measurement level, the actor looks at the centrality value in comparing In Degree and Out Degree. If the In Degree score is higher, then the enthusiasm level of the digital audience on Twitter is greater because they want to be directly connected with the central actor. However, if the out-degree score is higher, the actor's role is greater in spreading calls to disband the MUI.

Another measurement at the centrality level includes the centrality of intermediaries, including the amount of intermediary level between the central actor and other actors. Then the role of the sub actor as an intermediary actor or as a level of closeness.

Meanwhile, at the closeness level of the actor with the central actor, the actor's size is also measured to identify the closest actor to the central actor and show a contribution in spreading the conversation or forming a network.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the study results, it is known that the diameter between the sub-actors and the central actor is 8. This diameter value indicates how easy it is for an actor in the network to be reached by other actors. Many actors in the network are not directly related to the central actor because the diameter value is above 3, which indicates that it is not easily reached by other sub-actors.

Overall, the network is unduplicated; the total number of users (vertices) who are actively communicating on Twitter #BubarkanMUI is 1,254, with the total active network reaching 3826. The density value is 0.002406346 or less Overall, and the number of clusters is divided into 27 clusters.

The density level is still below 0.1 (or still at a value of 0.00) is still relatively low so that the communication relationship between one user and another user on Twitter is less interactive does not create new feedback to create two-way communication, responding to each other's comments other so that it only collects on the central actor. (figure 3.)

This is indicated by different network colors. Based on the social network structure, #BubarkanMUI contains a large connected component that fills most of the directionless social network structure. The Network or the interaction is uneven to all network members (actors) and is only dominated by certain actors.

The reciprocity value of the network is 0.161332981, or close to 1.0, which means that the reciprocity value is high so that many audiences have two-way communication. Meanwhile, a low reciprocity value indicates one-way communication. This is different from the low-density value, which

is less than 0.1, where only a few audiences carry out two-way communication in the hashtag network #BubarkanMUI.

Based on the results of this score, it shows that two-way communication is weak and there are more one-way communication movements of actors that are centralized to the main actors to provoke public opinion through the network.

The #BubarkanMUI has a pretty good network structure. This can be seen from the total modularity value of 0.556836 or an indication of 50% approaching 1.0, where the higher the modularity value, the more optimal the community structure formed. A value of $M=1$ indicates separated communities (not much overlap). However, the value of modularity does not reach 1.0, so there is still the possibility of overlapping networks.

Overall, the number of clusters is divided into 27 clusters. This is indicated by different network colors. Based on the social network structure, #BubarkanMUI contains a large connected component that fills most of the directionless social network structure.

The total number of negative statements inserted in the hashtag or mention network is 3,245. This indicates that the push to dissolve MUI through digital social movements is huge, as shown in the following Table 1.

The word “di” band” h” s the highest frequency in messages. This shows that public pressure to dissolve MUI through Twitter is so great. Of course, it is not only actors who build messages but also other network actors.

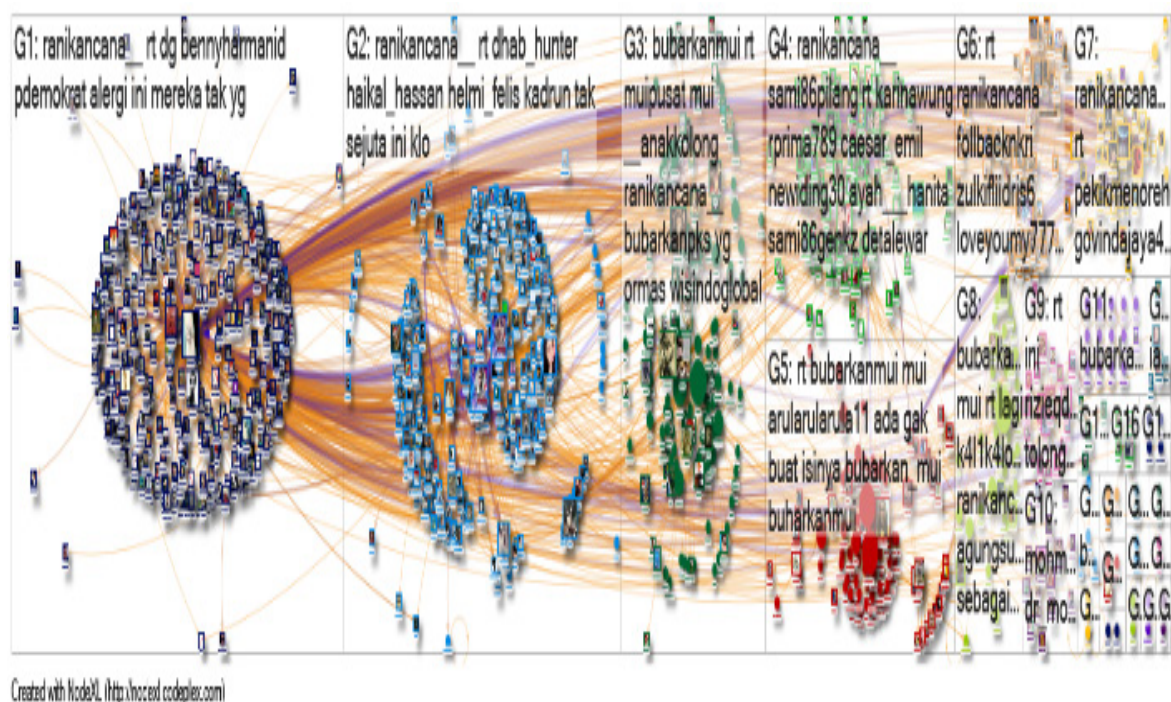
Table 1. Negative Statement for #BubarkanMUI

Word	Total User
Disband	352
Disband MUI	491
TerTerrorist'sst	342
Terrorist	686
Terror	341
Arrest	344
Anti or Against (opponent)	341
Police	348
Total Negative Statement	3245

Source: Nodexl data 2022

Based on the search for the dominant position as the central actor of the hashtag (#) BubarkanMUI, it was found an intermediate actor account @RaniKancana_ with a total of 41.3K followers (forty-one thousand three hundred), and then 12.6K (twelve thousand six hundred). These central actors could build up to 3,826 active networks. @RaniKancana account is an original account that contains nationalist content and as social media that shows various activities of national love activists. Some of the movements he followed and posted on Twitter, such as the #Gerakanmerahputih, which focuses on the nationalism movement. So, this is what underlies the central account in #BubarkanMUI

Actors who act as intermediaries have a betweenness centrality of at least 0.000, meaning they have no direct contact or relationship with one another. Relationships with other actors (nodes) in the network can be direct relationships and through intermediaries. Direct contact indicates that an actor can directly relate to another actor. In



Sumber: Node XI, 2022

Figure 3. Jaringan Sosial #BubarkanMUI

network visualization, this form of relationship is characterized by the existence of a link that connects one actor to another.



Source: Nodexl data 2022

Figure 4. Word of Mouth negative statement of #BubarkanMUI

Based on the maximum number, the central actor has an intermediate degree of 1199717,295, with an average betweenness centrality of 2278,002. It can be concluded that actors have a huge role in maneuvering relations and networks through the #BubarkanMUI. The distribution extends to 27 clusters of different gap groups and penetrates such a large click group.



Source: Nodexl data 2022.

Figure 5. Data Betweenness Centrality of #BubarkanMUI

Compared with the closeness value, betweenness and closeness have unequal values. The total betweenness centrality value is 2856614,000, while the total value of closeness to centrality is 2,553.

The closeness value of 1,000 is the maximum value of closeness to the central actor. Sixteen actors have a closeness to the central actor value of 1,000, while the majority of the closeness value is only 0.00. It can be concluded that these 16 actors have a close relationship with the central actor and as an extension of the actor in expanding the distribution of the central actor-network.

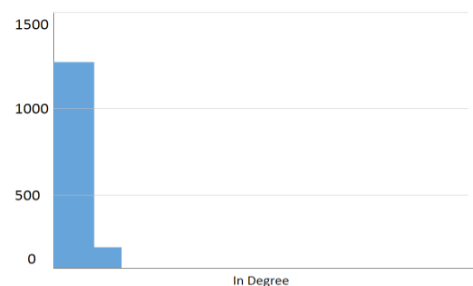


Source: Nodexl data 2022.

Figure 6. Data Closeness to Centrality #BubarkanMUI.

In-Degree and Out-Degree have a total score of 3826. Based on both scores, Out-Degree has a higher score than In-Degree, where Out-Degree has one score higher than In-Degree. Meanwhile, In-Degree is dominated by a score of 0. A score of 0 indicates that no one has contacted or been contacted by actors, while a score of 1 indicates the existence of a link (ties). The out-degree score of the central actor is 54, or greater than the Out-Degree scores of other actors.

The degree level indicates that the value shown from the total deDegree above 3000 indicates that the role of the central actor in building a persuasive social movement is quite high by placing the account as the central of actor. But here there is a two-sided solution, both in terms of the incoming network (In DeDegree and the outgoing network (Out DeDegree).



Source: Nodexl data 2022

Figure 7. Data In-Degree of #BubarkanMUI.

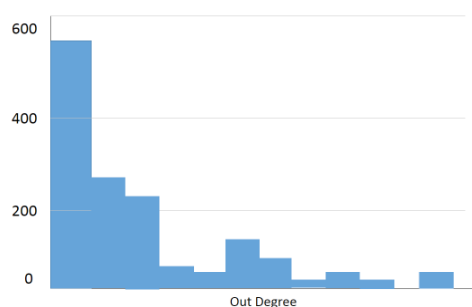
At the In-Degree level, which is related to many actors, there are two accounts or two actors with an In-Degree value of 113, with a maximum value of 751. Meanwhile, the value at the Out-Degree level is 60. The network structure related to network centralization can be measured based on the level of centralization of a network on several actors (nodes).

The value in degree Compared to out-degree is higher, showing that the number of actors who contact the central actor or central account is greater, and many choose to connect to the main actor rather than build their network. Other actors who share the same understanding as the main actor in disbanding MUI try to be involved in the communication and conversation network with the main actor.

Based on the measurement results, the value of network centralization density is 24.4% or does not reach 50%. Hence, the network centralization density is still one-sided with the actors and is not in the middle between centralization and decentralization. So in this case the role of the actor is strong.

The eigenvector centrality value shows how many actors know each other and whom they know in the network. Based on the network analysis results, there are more values of 0.000 than values of 0.001 or 0.002, with a maximum value of 0.029, which does not reach 0.1. The mean value is 0.001. So, it can be concluded that from such a wide network in

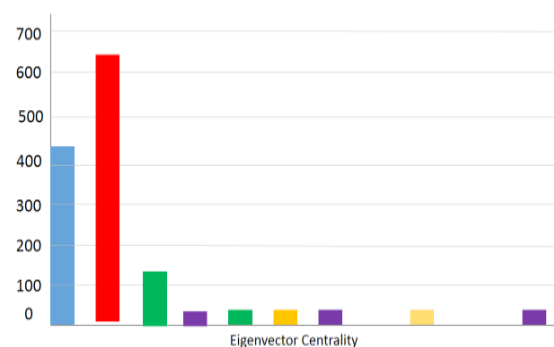
spreading hashtags directly or through mentions, only a few actors know each other (between the dominant actor and other actors).



Source: Nodexl data 2022.

Figure 8. Data Out-Degree of #BubarkanMUI.

Based on this data, it shows that the value of known people is not too much; it is assumed that the networks connected to the main actors do not know each other or even do not know each other and only pass information through network relationships to many other accounts which are usually done through the Relink. Tweeted. So that the efforts of this digital social movement are massive and do not look at known connections.



Source: Nodexl data 2022.

Figure 9. Data Eigenvector Centrality of #BubarkanMUI.

Data eigenvector centrality explained that the central actor is the dominant actor who has a role as a broker with a coordinating broker type, or also known as a local broker. Actors who act as brokers come from one group along with other mediated actors. Actors and sub actors can be closely related because they are mediated by other sub actors. In this case, the central actor has a dominant position. The central actor serves as the coordinator, network maker, and network rule maker for other actors. Actors do not need to be familiar with the accounts that enter their network. This makes it very possible for every account (vertices) to join the network (link) and has the opportunity to connect directly to the central actor. However, not many actors are directly connected to the central actor. The actors are more likely to be connected through network jumps from one account to another, as seen from the diameter value and the low network density level.

Apart from being a coordinator, the central actor also acts as a liaison broker. Actors always strive to be able to reach various different network groups consisting of 27 clusters. Actors can come from different groups. The actor moves more symmetrically both in level and intensity. Actors supply each other with something different and they do so with greater or lesser intensity. Therefore, this is the reason for researchers to analyze these bonds in the context of a wider network structure.

In terms of carrying out the mission, the actors are included in the homophile which puts forward the value of the similarity of the mission which comes from something that is given and relatively (though not always) cannot be changed by someone. The values that are prioritized to have similarities are the common values to dissolve the MUI and voice it through twitter.

Based on the research results described previously, it can be seen that in the process, the behavioral data of internet users are transformed into a behavioral surplus. This happens when algorithmic calculations and artificial intelligence can process behavioral data to produce predictions on consumption patterns, decisions, and social interactions of internet users. This behavioral surplus is the main instrument of the digital media business, as an object of monetization or commodification in content, including inviting radical actions or fanaticism (Sudibyo, 2021).

The actors are trying to create a fanatic mindset to counter the MUI, which is considered radical, with an anti-radicalism view in religion, channeled through an opinion movement on the hashtag network on Twitter. Fanaticism is a person's way or style of thinking in the form of a firm belief in the absolute truth of his own understanding and trying to impose his beliefs on others (Hardiman, 2021).

Political communication theory explains the process towards one goal: elected and appointed leaders, the media, and public citizens use messages to construct meaning about political practice. When people exercise power with public support, their messages and interactions strategically influence public policy (Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, 2016).

The derivative of this political communication theory is Deliberative Democracy, in which democracy refers to a form of government where power is in the hands of the people and is exercised through elected representatives. This democracy adheres to the ideals of public participation, emphasizing the upward flow of communication from the public and empowering public participation in citizen actions (Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, 2016).

Among the citizen actions that are formed using digital social media that can attract public participation

easily and wider access through Twitter through hashtags and mentions. It should be acknowledged that digital communication can strengthen the role of civil society. As in Islamic countries, social media plays a role in overthrowing tyrannical regimes, accelerating the transition to democracy, and maintaining democracy (Philip N. Howard, 2011 in Hardiman, 2021). A persuasive movement such as the hashtag #BubarkanMUI is a movement that is mediated through digital communication which aims to strengthen civil society with the motive of upholding democratic values against radicalism and terrorism and upholding liberal values that demand the dissolution of the organization of Islamic scholars who are considered not in accordance with the teachings of goodness. Information and communication technology have transformed “modern subjects” who were thought to be autonomous into “global players” trapped in communication networks.

In this case, people who get the path and direction of the communication network from the central actor are basically directed through the brokers' methods at Homo Digitalis, which are not made up of people. This is because people do not only control communication but are also controlled. In a digital communication network, society consists of anonymous messages that are constantly circulating. The homo digitalis movement, initially considered global data unimportant, was later judged important because of the virtual belief system. In this case, Homo Digitalis comes into play in assembling a digital reality. He is a spectator of events and contributes to making history by influencing digital communication (Hardiman, 2021).

This case phenomenon shows that messages are more important than their senders in a society connected to social networks and communication networks. In the information society, it is not people who communicate, but messages sent through the hashtag (#), such as #BubarkanMUI which actors originally created, are responded to with persuasive messages. These persuasive messages then communicate with other messages and generate response messages on Twitter through mentions, retweets, or replies. Meanwhile, people function only as a medium to forward these messages by retweeting, and can be accessed by anyone who sees and is interested in engaging in the discussion in it.

There is a centralization of the network structure, from micro to macro, in the network built by central actors because the central actors have a very dominant role and these actors can position themselves as individuals, groups, or organizations. Therefore, relationships can occur at the level of social structure on a broad scale as well as on a microscopic scale (Ritzer, 2015).

According to Castells (in Ritzer, 2015) through network theory, the normative approach focuses on culture and socialization processes that instill norms and values into actors. As the central actors did, through the #BubarkanMUI movement on social media, they focused their network on themselves to instill a similar opinion by inviting others to agree with the dissolution of the MUI.

In the normative approach, uniting people together is a set of shared ideas that are expected to create a more democratic joint movement against the movement of community organizations, such as the MUI, which was constructed through the public sphere in the form of social media Twitter. In addition, this movement is also used to attract the masses to share one vision or mission through online petitions or hashtags to bring down MUI.

CONCLUSION

Social movements through social media can mobilize the digital community, such as support for the hashtag #BubarkanMUI which has a wide distribution network. The low level of reciprocal communication and the long distance between actors make the distribution of messages spread very widely. Thus, the actors can maneuver to become the main actors as well as brokers in the dissemination of a persuasive message network to invite the audience to support the MUI disbandment movement. It can be concluded that this movement can be referred to as the Digital Movement of Opinion (DMO).

In addition, the social movement for the dissolution of MUI, through #BubarkanMUI, is a form of the spider web. According to Stuart Hall, social networking is a communication culture built on interconnection and the formation of digital culture. DMO is transformed into a spider to form community networks and build solid relationships, even though it aims to bring down other parties and as a new propaganda tool. The community is treated as a network for crowdsourcing with the motive of asking Twitter users to help raise votes to bring down the existence of MUI. In the findings, the main actor, @RaniKancana_, is an active actor who builds content with the theme of nationalism and distances himself from radicalism so that it is in contrast to the existence of the MUI itself. So, it is important for relevant government officials to filter social movements through digital devices.

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