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## A REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF POLITICAL BUZZERS IN INDONESIA USING THE HADITH AHKAM APPROACH

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#### Abstract

This study discusses the shift in the role of buzzers towards the political arena in Indonesia, causing confusion among the online and offline public. This is likely due to the fact that regulations regarding political buzzers, in particular, are still vague. For example, the ITE Law can ensnare buzzers or those who threaten their existence. Political buzzers often raise identity issues, such as the personalities of candidates and messages with religious themes. They have the ability to shape public perception of certain candidates. The concept of buzzers, which previously had positive connotations, has shifted to become negative. This is because they can divide society by spreading hoaxes and hate speech. This research is qualitative, using library research as the type of research. The data collection method used is literature study, with a hadith ahkam approach. The findings reveal that the term 'buzzer' indirectly refers to practices such as gossip, slander, and propaganda in the context of hadith ahkam. These practices are fundamentally prohibited under Islamic law and positive law. However, within the framework of positive law, there are still loopholes that allow political buzzers to evade the legal consequences of their actions.

Keywords: Political Buzzer, Hadith Ahkam, Indonesia

## INTRODUCTION

Campaigning is an integral part of general elections (Pemilu). Its existence is crucial for election participants at both the central and regional levels. The campaign period provides an ideal platform for them to convey their vision, mission, and programmes to the wider public if they are elected in the contest. Like two sides of the same coin, campaigns also serve as a platform for election participants to win the hearts of the public and secure their votes in the election that will take place immediately after the campaign period concludes.<sup>1</sup>

In the era of the 4th Industrial Revolution, characterised by the rapid development of information and communication flows, the shift in the form of communication and information provision from the real world to the virtual world has become inevitable. The existence of social media as a means for people to communicate and express themselves is a tool frequently used by election candidates to attract and convince the general public to vote for them in the ongoing elections. Optimising the use of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube—whether through the display of political symbols associated with election participants, the dissemination of specific slogans to convince the public, or the sharing of news related to the participants' programmes—has become a prioritised strategy in campaigns. As time progresses, social media campaigns have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Rayhan Naufaldi Hidayat, "Penggunaan Buzzer Politik Di Media Sosial Pada Masa Kampanya Pemilihan Umum," *Adalah* 4, No. 2 (2020): 29–38.

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evolved rapidly, accompanied by increasingly creative methods of communication over time.

The emergence of media as an element of contemporary democracy has led to the emergence of political buzzers in contemporary democracy. Political buzzers can be an instrument for some actors to achieve their interests. Buzzers act as mouthpieces for the candidates they support. The phenomenon of buzzers in Indonesia began to gain traction with the rise of social media platforms like Twitter in 2009, peaked in 2014, intensified in 2019, and remains prevalent today. Their role during political years, particularly presidential elections, has been deemed successful in mobilising social movements. This has led to political polarisation, creating factions based on political identities.<sup>2</sup>

Social media buzzers are considered effective in marketing a product. Not only that, but the job of a buzzer is now also considered very promising. Being a buzzer is not limited to celebrities or famous people; ordinary people with millions of followers/friends on their social media accounts can also become buzzers with high incomes. The job of a buzzer is considered not too difficult, as it only requires having a social media account, promoting products or services, and can be done anytime and anywhere, allowing a buzzer to earn a promising income.<sup>3</sup> In fact,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Christiany Juditha, "Buzzer di Media Sosial pada Pilkada dan Pemilu Indonesia," in *Seminar Nasional Komunikasi Dan Informatika* (Makassar, 2019), https://jurnal.kominfo.go.id/index.php/snki/article/view/2557.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Muhammad Iskandar, "Buzzer dalam Perspektif Hadis: (Kajian Hadis Tematik)," *DIRAYAH: Jurnal Ilmu Hadis* 2, no. 1 (2021): 48–62, https://e-jurnal.stigarrahman.ac.id/index.php/dirayah/article/view/53.

more than 90 percent of election noise on social media is caused by buzzers.<sup>4</sup>

In political communication, buzzers are part of political communicators who convey messages and influence the public to shape the image of their candidates. Buzzers are professional political communicators who control specific skills in processing symbols and utilise these skills to forge chains that connect people with clear differences or distinct groups.<sup>5</sup>

Due to its success in marketing, buzzer services are widely used by various groups, ranging from companies with well-known brands to ordinary people who have just started a startup business to market their products/services. Even in politics, the profession of buzzer has become a necessity in the marketing process of political parties and regional or national elections. Buzzers are considered one of the most important actors in gathering opinions in the virtual world, performing a marketing function.<sup>6</sup>

It is only natural that Indonesia has become fertile ground for political buzzers. The stages of general elections, regional elections, village elections, and so on, are representations of Indonesia's democratic system. Thus, the democratic stage becomes an opportunity for buzzers in Indonesia to carry out their roles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>CNN Indonesia, "Lebih Dari 90 Persen Kebisingan Pemilu Di Medsos Ulah Buzzer," CNN Indonesia, 2024, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20240319133725-192-1076133/lebih-dari-90-persen-kebisingan-pemilu-di-medsos-ulah-buzzer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Indrianti Firdausi, "Gaduh Buzzer Politik Di Era Jokowi," *Komunika: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, UHAMKA* 8, no. 01 (2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Juditha, "Buzzer di Media Sosial Pada Pilkada Dan Pemilu Indonesia."

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However, what is the actual role of political buzzers in reality? Is it in line with democratic principles or the opposite? It is therefore intriguing to explore the role of political influencers in reality, especially as the 2024 election contest has already begun. As stated by the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), the 2024 election process has been underway since 14 June 2022.<sup>7</sup>

The discussion on the role of political buzzers in Indonesia is based on the perspective of hadith ahkam. One of the reasons why hadith is used as a perspective in discussing the role of political buzzers is that the function of hadith as an explanation and reinforcement of laws interpreted from the Qur'an as the source of Islamic law can be considered as living law in the life of a nation and state. Thus, hadith ahkam serves as an explanation and elaboration of Islamic law regarding the role of political buzzers as implied in the Qur'an, which originates from the Qur'an and hadith. This is one of the strong arguments for why this research must be conducted. This research is qualitative in nature, specifically a library research study. The data collection method used is literature review, with a hadith ahkam approach.

The novelty of this study can be seen through the literature review, namely the results of previous relevant studies. Among the results of previous relevant studies are:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Hendrik Khoirul Muhid, "7 Tahapan Pemilu 2024 Dimulai 14 Juni 2022, Ini Urutannya - Nasional Tempo.Co," tempo.co, 2022, https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1601415/7-tahapan-pemilu-2024-dimulai-14-juni-2022-ini-urutannya.

- 1. Journal article by Muhammad Iskandar in Jurnal Dirayah Jurnal Studi Ilmu Hadis Vol. 2, No. 1, 2021, in his analysis of Buzzers in the Perspective of Hadith (Thematic Hadith Study), states that a buzzer is a person or group of people who work to promote, campaign for, or voice a product, service, or idea through social media. Buzzers operate on behalf of advertisers and are compensated according to a pre-agreed fee. According to the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), the profession of buzzer is permissible for several reasons, including being one of the halal professions and as a form of mutual assistance. However, there are certain prohibitions for buzzers, such as spreading false news, spreading slander, inciting discord, and engaging in backbiting.<sup>8</sup>
- 2. Journal article by Ghazyan Hidzyam Haqqani and Tajul Arifin in Nakula Journal: Centre for Education, Language, and Social Sciences Vol. 2 No. 4 September 2024 in their analysis of Political Slander from the Perspective of Hadith and Article 27A of Law No. 1 of 2024, it is stated that addressing the phenomenon of political slander requires a holistic approach involving religious, moral, and legal aspects. It is important for society, especially Muslims, to understand the values contained in religion and applicable legal regulations in order to avoid and overcome cases of political slander. Furthermore, through a deep understanding of religious values and applicable legal regulations, it is hoped that society will

<sup>8</sup>Iskandar, "Buzzer dalam Perspektif Hadis: (Kajian Hadis Tematik)."

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become more aware of the negative impacts of political slander and more active in combating such practices. Furthermore, effective and fair law enforcement is also key to ensuring justice and peace in national and state life.<sup>9</sup>

3. Journal article by Ariandi Putra in the SALAM Journal of Social and Cultural Studies Vol. 10 No. 4, 2023, in his analysis of the role of political buzzers in the dynamics leading up to the 2024 elections, states that the role of political buzzers encompasses three aspects, namely as a political tool that can be used with positive or negative tendencies. Furthermore, political buzzers also act as influencers who exert influence on their followers because they serve as personal brands in specific activities, as well as buzzers as communities and identities. In this context, buzzers represent a new job opportunity offering attractive financial incentives. Buzzers operate on a project-based or order-based specific campaigns. They act through vertical coordination with political elites and candidates, and horizontal coordination with their communities to construct political narratives. Regulations governing buzzer campaigns within the political system have been established. However, violations still occur due to a lack of legal awareness, political awareness, social and cultural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Ghazyan Hidzyam Haqqani and Tajul Arifin, "Fitnah Politik Dalam Perspektif Hadist Dan Pasal 27A UU 1/2024," *Jurnal Nakula: Pusat Ilmu Pendidikan, Bahasa dan Ilmu Sosial* 2, no. 5 (2024): 56–62, https://doi.org/10.61132/nakula.v2i5.994.

awareness, and economic awareness. 10

- 4. Journal article by Mangido Nainggolan et al. in the Journal on Education Vol. 7 No. 1, 2024, in their analysis of the Influence of Social Media Buzzers on Public Opinion Formation in the 2024 Presidential Election, it was found that buzzers play a significant role in shaping public opinion about politics on social media. Meanwhile, in content management, narratives, or issues, buzzers do not operate alone. They operate within a hierarchical structure with distinct functions and responsibilities. Therefore, the presence of buzzers must be addressed wisely and appropriately. This is because their activities are not inherently neutral but are often driven by specific interests and exploited by certain parties.<sup>11</sup>
- 5. Scientific work by Syarifurohmat Pratama Santoso in the Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Social and Political Sciences (ICoSaPS 2022) in his review of Media, Influencers, and Buzzers: Psywar in Indonesia's Dynamic National Security states that in the 21st century, many new actors have emerged in the digital world. The world, which was once dominated by television media, is now expanding into social media and influencing the social lives of communities. Actors such as influencers and buzzers now play a strategic role, sometimes possessing the power to control the flow of information in the digital

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Ariandi Putra, "Peran Buzzer Politik Dalam Dinamika Jelang Pemilu Tahun 2024," *SALAM: Jurnal Sosial dan Budaya Syar-i* 10, no. 4 (2023): 1143–58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Mangido Nainggolan et al., "Pengaruh Buzzer Di Media Sosial Terhadap Pembentukan Opini Publik Dalam Pilpres 2024," *Journal on Education* 07, No. 01 (2024): 550–59.

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world. With the advantage of having a large following and group, influencers and buzzers have become one of the activities for providing information dissemination services on social media. However, the information disseminated often only serves the interests of a particular group, potentially leading to horizontal conflicts in society and threatening national security stability.<sup>12</sup>

The fundamental difference between the five previous research references is that the first reference integrates the concept of dar al-mafasid with the role of political buzzers. The second reference does not focus on the negative roles of political buzzers, such as gossip and sowing discord. Furthermore, the concept of dar al-mafasid is not integrated with the main subject of discussion. The third reference analyses the subject matter without using the hadith ahkam approach, and the application of dar al-mafasid is not integrated with the subject matter. The fourth reference examines the subject matter without integrating the hadith ahkam approach, focusing on the influence of buzzers in shaping public opinion during the 2024 presidential election. The fifth reference is the hadith ahkam approach not being integrated into the discussion. Additionally, the discussion focuses on the role of influencers and buzzers in strategically influencing social life, leading to horizontal conflicts in society and threats to national security stability. This study combines the discussions from the five references mentioned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Syarifurohmat Pratama Santoso, "Media, Influencer, and Buzzer: Psywar in Indonesia Dynamic National Security," *Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Social and Political Sciences (ICoSaPS 2022)*, 2022, 357–66, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-494069-77-0\_49.

above, namely the Role of Political Buzzers in Indonesia with the Hadith Ahkam Approach. Thus, based on this novel gap, the results of this study can contribute to the regulation of the utilisation of the role of political buzzers in Indonesia with the Hadith Ahkam approach as part of Living Law.

### **METHODE**

This research is entirely a qualitative research, which is a data analysis method to examine and produce an analytical description of the data.<sup>13</sup> The data that has been collected is then explored or described in the form of a narrative. This research uses a normative juridical approach or *library research*.<sup>14</sup>

In this approach, the researcher conducts a literature review that is relevant to the problem being studied, applying a rationalistic paradigm. This approach emphasizes the use of scientific arguments based on the results of literature review and the results of researchers' thinking on a problem using an induction mindset (from special cases to general). <sup>15</sup> The data sources used in this study are entirely secondary legal materials obtained from books, journals, research reports, and case news taken from both print and online media.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Syahputra, M. R. (2024). Metodologi Penelitian Hukum dalam Menyelesaikan Problematika Hukum Kontemporer. *Jurisprudensi: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 1(2), 89-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Soejono soekanto dan sri mamuji, *Penelitian Hukum Normative*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004), h. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Imam Suprayogo and Tabrani, *Methodology for Social Religious Research*, (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2003), h. 109.

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## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

## A. Buzzers in The Political Arena in Indonesia

The Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance (CIPG) conducted research in 2017 on the history of buzzers in Indonesia. Initially, the existence of buzzers on social media was considered normal, and they were often involved by corporations in product promotions. However, their meaning became negative because they were involved in political events, giving them a bad image in the eyes of the public. Since then, buzzers have been labelled negatively as individuals paid to produce negative content on social media. According to CIPG, buzzers are individuals or accounts with the ability to amplify messages by attracting attention or sparking conversations, and then act with specific motives. <sup>16</sup>

Buzzers usually have extensive networks, enabling them to create contextually relevant content that is persuasive and driven by specific motives. In short, buzzers are buzzing actors whose job is to create a loud buzzing sound like bees. 17 There are two main motives that drive a person or a particular account to become a buzzer. First, commercial motives, which are characterised by the flow of funds. Second, voluntary motives, which are driven by ideology or a certain sense of satisfaction with a product or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>Alexander Haryanto, "Apa Itu Buzzer Politik? Arti, Strategi, Sejarah Dan Pola Rekrutmen," tirto.id, 2021, https://tirto.id/apa-itu-buzzer-politik-arti-strategi-sejarah-dan-pola-rekrutmen-gaaE.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Haryanto, "Apa Itu Buzzer Politik? Arti, Strategi, Sejarah Dan Pola Rekrutmen."

service. 18

Initially, buzzers were known as virtual jobs promoting products on social media. Buzzers were often associated with business marketers who encouraged people to buy products. However, the use of the term buzzer became distorted because their expertise in marketing products was used to "market" political candidates from certain political parties, so the term became known as political buzzers. The term buzzer may already be familiar to social media users. It refers to individuals or groups of people who are organised to voice certain issues and influence public opinion. <sup>20</sup>

The term buzzer first became known in the business world. It is used by entrepreneurs to market products online on a massive scale and continuously. Over time, the success of buzzers in marketing products in the business world has attracted political actors to do the same in the context of elections.<sup>21</sup> Buzzer was initially a legal profession. It can be interpreted neutrally because it is used for brand or product promotion. To improve the image of a product for the sake of marketing the product or brand.

Social media has now shifted its function to become a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Haryanto, "Apa Itu Buzzer Politik? Arti, Strategi, Sejarah Dan Pola Rekrutmen."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Patrick Trusto Jati Wibowo, "Apa Itu Buzzer Politik?," WartaEkonomi.co.id, 2021, https://wartaekonomi.co.id/read328066/apa-itu-buzzer-politik.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Siti Nur Rahmawati, "Sejarah Awal Keberadaan Buzzer Di Indonesia - Tekno Tempo.Co," tempo.co, 2022, https://tekno.tempo.co/read/1550627/sejarah-awal-keberadaan-buzzer-di-indonesia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Hidayat, "Penggunaan Buzzer Politik Di Media Sosial Pada Masa Kampanya Pemilihan Umum."

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gathering place for buzzers, especially when Indonesia enters its "political season". Buzzers are deployed by both the opposition and pro-government camps. In addition to being a gathering place for buzzers, social media is also used as a channel for information warfare between camps. One of the main objectives is to gain sympathy and sway public opinion, and many also spread hoaxes.<sup>22</sup>

Initially, buzzers were commonly involved by corporations in product promotions. The involvement of buzzers in political events in Indonesia has contributed negatively to the image and perception of buzzers among the public. Since then, buzzers have been negatively labelled as parties who are paid to produce negative content on social media.<sup>23</sup>

In political contests, buzzers employ two marketing strategies: negative and positive campaigns. However, both types of campaigns present a dilemma, namely the importance of honesty and the practice of polishing one's image. This dilemma creates unhealthy political competition, which is contrary to the ideals of democracy manifested through elections themselves. This is because democracy fundamentally requires something genuine, authentic, and honest, whereas these qualities are often absent in the practices of political influencers. Numerous cases have shown that influencers can manipulate public opinion on social media, often for the purpose of achieving victory in political contests

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Rieka Mustika, "Pergeseran Peran Buzzer Ke Dunia Politik Di Media Sosial," *Diakom: Jurnal Media Dan Komunikasi* 2, no. 2 (2019): 144–51.
<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

through negative means.<sup>24</sup>

According to researchers at the Centre for Law and Policy Studies (PSHK), buzzers risk creating unproductive and unhealthy debates because they spread narratives that are accusatory in nature. Buzzers can easily shift the debate to non-substantial issues. This distracts public attention, and they can do this using various narratives and distorting facts. This leads to reports from civil society groups against the narratives of buzzers deemed alarming and divisive. There are two main roles for buzzers: some are tasked with insulting others, while others report to the police about posts criticising the government.<sup>25</sup>

Campaign messages disseminated by political buzzers tend to be negative rather than positive. This gives rise to hoaxes and triggers disputes, ranging from attacks on policies to personal issues of each presidential candidate. The intense messages conveyed by buzzers are expected to influence public opinion in determining their choice.

According to research published by the Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance (CIPG), buzzers appeared in Indonesia in 2009, coinciding with the widespread adoption of Twitter. Initially, buzzers played a role in helping companies with their marketing strategies. However, during the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Fawwaz Ihza Mahenda Daeni, Fitri Aliva Rachmarani, and Ilham Rhiza, "Pengaruh Buzzer Politik Dalam Pemilu: Tantangan Terhadap Electoral Justice Dalam Mempertahankan Prinsip Demokrasi," *Padjadjaran Law Review* 11, no. 2 (2023): 191–211, https://doi.org/10.56895/plr.v11i2.1288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Firdausi, "Gaduh Buzzer Politik di Era Jokowi."

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buzzers began to enter the political arena. Buzzer accounts can be managed by robots or humans. The messages they convey typically express support for or attacks on a particular candidate. According to references from several researchers, the history of political buzzers in Indonesia is closely tied to their use abroad. Politicians have emulated the use of buzzers by Barack Obama and Donald Trump during the presidential elections in the United States. After the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election, the use of buzzers in political campaigns continued until the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, as well as the 2014 and 2019 general elections. Buzzers not only utilise Twitter but also other social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp.<sup>26</sup>

Political buzzers often raise identity issues, such as the personalities of candidates and messages with religious themes. They have the ability to shape public perception of certain candidates. The concept of buzzers, which previously had positive connotations, has shifted to become negative. This is because they can divide society by spreading hoaxes and hate speech. If left unchecked, the presence of buzzers could undermine political ideology among future generations.

Buzzer actions are considered capable of amplifying hot issues to boost the branding of supported political figures. They also play a major role in shaping public opinion, and with this "power", these buzzers can become the spearhead of political figures to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Siti Nur Rahmawati, "Sejarah Awal Keberadaan Buzzer Di Indonesia - Tekno Tempo.Co."

secure victory.

Buzzers, which were initially defined as actors tasked with amplifying messages in the media in the context of business promotion, have undergone a conceptual shift due to political contestation around the world. This shift has been influenced by the momentum of the presidential election in the United States, which was marred by provocative messages from political buzzers. In Indonesia, buzzers are also perceived as tools used by certain parties to achieve political objectives by disseminating provocative messages or attacking personal issues. Based on these developments, buzzers have ultimately become a concept that is generally associated with politics and carries negative stereotypes.<sup>27</sup>

Political buzzers play an important role in the 2024 elections, especially in increasing the electability and popularity of political figures or parties. They use various social media platforms such as Twitter, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, YouTube, Vidio, and others to create written works, images, photos, audio-video, and graphics.<sup>28</sup>

The role of political buzzers in the 2024 elections could cause social media to become very active and risky. They can easily create viral content and influence public opinion. However,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Shiddiq Sugiono, "Fenomena Industri Buzzer Di Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Ekonomi Politik Media," *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 4, no. 1 (2020): 47–66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Nainggolan et al., "Pengaruh Buzzer di Media Sosial Terhadap Pembentukan Opini Publik Dalam Pilpres 2024."

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this could also lead to heated political escalation and excessive hate speech. In conclusion, the role of buzzers on social media in shaping public opinion in the 2024 elections is very significant. They act as marketers introducing the brand of candidate pairs and also play a role in the dissemination of black campaigns against other candidates. However, the presence of influencers can also lead to the spread of hoaxes, hate speech, defamation, and other negative campaigns, as well as escalating political tensions.<sup>29</sup>

In implementing all provisions of the campaign outlined in the General Election Law, the General Election Commission (KPU), as an institution specifically established by law to organise elections, has issued technical regulations regarding the stages of the campaign in general elections, namely KPU Regulation No. 23 of 2018. Campaign activities must be conducted based on the principles of honesty, transparency, and dialogue, as stated in Article 5(1). However, the regulation does not comprehensively address the technical aspects of campaign activities on social media. Article 35(2) states that: Social media accounts may be created for a maximum of 10 (ten) accounts per type of application. Meanwhile, provisions regarding the registration of social media accounts are outlined in Article 36, which requires campaign organisers to register social media accounts used for campaign activities with the KPU in accordance with their electoral level within one day before the campaign period begins. These technical provisions significantly limit election participants' ability to optimise

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Nainggolan et al.

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their campaigns on social media on a broader scale. Therefore, the phenomenon of political buzzers affiliated with election participants but not registered with the KPU is a common occurrence during the campaign period. This makes it quite challenging to monitor and enforce the law against political buzzers spreading hoaxes, hate speech, defamation, and slander.<sup>30</sup>

The term 'buzzer' is not explicitly and clearly found in the hadith. However, there are indirect terms that indicate behaviour based on the role of political buzzers, which are popular in Indonesia. Campaign messages disseminated by political buzzers tend to be negative rather than positive. Campaign messages disseminated by political buzzers tend to be negative rather than positive. This leads to the spread of hoaxes and triggers disputes, ranging from attacks on policies to personal issues of each presidential candidate. The intense messages disseminated by buzzers are intended to influence public opinion in determining their choices. Therefore, when it comes to undermining political opponents, this is done through backbiting, slander, and inciting division, either one or all three.

Based on the above description, it can be concluded that in reality, most political buzzers are tools to gather support in the virtual world through social media platforms. The role of political buzzers is very popular with negative connotations in the eyes of the public or the general audience. The shift in the role of buzzers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Hidayat, "Penggunaan Buzzer Politik Di Media Sosial Pada Masa Kampanya Pemilihan Umum."

toward the political arena in Indonesia has caused confusion among both online and offline audiences. This is likely due to the lack of clear regulations regarding political buzzers, particularly the Information and Electronic Transactions Law (ITE Law), which could potentially target buzzers or those who threaten their existence.

# B. Fiqh Al-Hadith On The Role Of Political Buzzers In Indonesia

# The Dangers of Slander and Defamation in the Role of Political Buzzers

The role of political buzzers in the democratic arena is not something unfamiliar or rare. The role of political buzzers in the democratic arena triggers negative responses from the public. It is understandable that negative responses toward political influencers in Indonesia have emerged. This is because the potential for gossip and slander is highly likely to occur. Moreover, the reality of the role of political influencers in Indonesia often involves such practices. From the perspective of hadith in maudhi studies, it is important to note the warnings of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) regarding the dangers of gossip and slander.

## Hadith narrated by Muslim:

(2589) حَدَّثَنَا يَحْبَى بْنُ أَيُّوب، وَقُتَيْبَةُ، وَابْنُ حُجْرِ، قَالُوا: حَدَّثَنَا إِسْمَاعِيل، عَنِ الْعَلَاءِ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، قَالَ: «أَتَدْرُونَ مَا الْغِيبَةُ؟» قَالُوا: اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَعْلَمُ، قَالَ: «ذِكْرُكَ أَحَاكَ بِمَا يَكْرَهُ» قِيلَ أَفَرَأَيْتَ إِنْ كَانَ فِي أَخِي مَا قُلُوا: اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَعْلَمُ، قَالَ: «ذِكْرُكَ أَحَاكَ بِمَا يَكُرُهُ» قِيلَ أَفَرَأَيْتَ إِنْ كَانَ فِي أَخِي مَا أَقُولُ؛ قَالَ: «إِنْ كَانَ فِيهِ مَا تَقُولُ، فَقَدِ اغْتَبْتَهُ، وَإِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِيهِ فَقَدْ بَمَتَّهُ.

Meaning: It has been narrated to us [Yahya bin Ayyub, Qutaibah, and Ibn Hujr] that they said that it has been reported to us [Ismail] from [al-'Ala] from [his father] from "From Abu Hurairah", may Allah be pleased with him, that the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said: Do you know what backbiting is? The companions said, 'Allah and His Messenger know best. The Messenger of Allah said: 'You mention your brother in a way he dislikes. He was asked: 'What if what I say about my brother is true?' The Messenger of Allah said: 'If you mention the truth about your brother, then indeed you have committed backbiting against your brother, and if you mention what is not true, then you have committed slander against your brother.<sup>31</sup>

In the book Fatḥul 'Allām fī Dirāsati Aḥādīs Bulūgh al-Marām, this is also explained as follows.

بيَّن النبي -صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم- أنَّ الغيبة ذكر الإنسان أخاه بما يكره في حال غيبته، وبيَّن عليه الصلاة والسلام أنَّ الإنسان إذا ذكر أخاه بما ليس فيه؛ فإنَّ ذلك بُمتان Meaning: The Prophet explained that backbiting is when someone mentions something that is disliked by another person in their absence. The Prophet also explained that if someone talks about their brother in a way that is not true, then that is slander.32

The book Syarn al-Arba'īn al-Nawawiyyah also explains this as follows:

واعلم أن الغيبة تختلف مراتبها باختلاف ما ينتج عنها، فغيبة الأمراء أعظم من غيبة عامة

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Muslim bin al-Ḥajjāj al-Qusyairī Naisābūrī, "Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim" (Beirut: Dār lḥyā al-Turās al-'Arabī, 1431).

<sup>32</sup> Abū 'Abdillah bin Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Ḥizām al-Faḍlī Al-Ba'dānī, "Fatḥul 'Allām Fī Dirāsati Aḥādīs Bulūg Al-Marām," IV (Ṣan'a-Yaman: Dār al-'Āṣimah Li al-Nasyr wa al-Tauzī,' 2009).

الناس، لأن غيبتهم تؤدي إلى كراهتهم، وإلى التمرد عليهم، وإلى عدم تنفيذ أوامرهم التي يجب تنفيذها، وربما تؤدي إلى الخروج المسلح عليهم,

كذلك أيضاً غيبة العلماء أشد من غيرهم، لأن غيبة العلماء تتضمن الاعتداء على أشخاصهم، وتتضمن الاعتداء على ما يحملونه من الشريعة، لأن الناس إذا خف ميزان العالم عندهم لم يقبلوا منه.

Meaning: Know that backbiting has different levels according to its outcome. Therefore, backbiting the government is a greater sin than backbiting ordinary people. This is because backbiting them has implications for them, such as rebellion against them, opposition to or disobedience of their commands, which must be obeyed, and may even lead to military conflict. Similarly, slandering scholars is an even greater sin, as slandering scholars entails hostility toward their personalities and hostility toward what they bring from the Sharia. Because people consider that if the standard of piety declines, a scholar cannot be accepted (in terms of their existence).<sup>33</sup>

The legal implications of gossip based on hadith include punishment in the grave, and if one strays from gossip, the status of the act changes from gossiping to slander. When linked to the role of political buzzers, who are known for attacking their political opponents, even the government and religious scholars can become victims of political buzzers. Thus, the acts of gossiping and slander are fundamentally not permitted under normative law and positive law. However, under positive law, there are still loopholes that allow political buzzers to evade the legal consequences of their actions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Muḥammad bin Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad Al-'Usaīmīn, *Syarḥ Al-Arba'īn Al-Nawawiyyah*, I (Riyāḍ: Dār al-Surayyā, n.d.).

# 2. The Reality of Propaganda in the Role of Political Buzzers

Since Indonesia does not have specific regulations on cybercrime, strong media policies regarding political campaigning and online journalism are needed. Since 2014, the Indonesian government appears to have responded to digital attacks and disinformation from online cyber troops only by blocking or removing content deemed harmful. For example, the Ministry Information Technology blocked eleven Communication and problematic websites, nine of which were for hate speech, in January 2017. There is no policy to address the destructive actions of cyber troops themselves.<sup>34</sup> This is where the gap becomes an opportunity for buzzers or influencers to carry out their mission or role, whether positive or negative.

Instead of merely serving as a campaign to promote candidates, as is common in electoral politics, social media goes beyond positive campaigning. Instead, social media is used to attack and strike political opponents with negative information that is still considered healthy, along with the emergence of influencers who were previously used merely to promote products.<sup>35</sup>

The reality of political buzzer activity tends to fuel propaganda. Political buzzer campaigns in the virtual world often

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Masduki, "Cyber-Troops, Digital Attacks, and Media Freedom in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Communication* 32, no. 3 (2022): 218–33, https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2022.2062609.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>Wahyudi Akmaliah, "Bukan Sekedar Penggaung (Buzzers): Media Sosial Dan Transformasi Arena Politik," *Maarif* 13, no. 1 (2018): 9–25, https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v13i1.9.

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lead to disputes or hostility. Even worse, hoaxes become tools or instruments of political buzzer campaigns, compounded by the low level of digital literacy among Indonesians. Indonesia currently ranks 56th out of 63 countries surveyed. It is therefore no surprise that Indonesia has become a fertile ground for political buzzers with propaganda agendas. Based on thematic studies, it is important to heed the Prophet's warning about the dangers of sowing discord or engaging in propaganda.

## Hadith narrated by Bukhari:

حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ سَلَامٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا عَبِيدَةُ بْنُ حُمَيْدٍ أَبُو عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ، عَنْ مَنْصُورٍ، عَنْ مُجَاهِدٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسِ، قَالَ: حَرَجَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَعْضِ حِيطَانِ المدِينَةِ، فَسَمِعَ صَوْتَ عَبَّاسِ، قَالَ: حَرَجَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَعْضِ حِيطَانِ المدِينَةِ، فَسَمِعَ صَوْتَ إِنْسَانَيْنِ يُعَذَّبَانِ فِي كَبِيرٍ، وَإِنَّهُ لَكَبِيرٌ، كَانَ أَحَدُهُمَا إِنْسَانَيْنِ يُعَذَّبَانِ فِي كَبِيرٍ، وَإِنَّهُ لَكَبِيرٌ، كَانَ أَحَدُهُمَا لَا عَرُ مِنَ البَوْلِ، وَكَانَ الآحَرُ يَمْشِي بِالنَّمِيمَةِ» ثُمَّ دَعَا بِجَرِيدَةٍ فَكَسَرَهَا بِكِسْرَتَيْنِ أَوْ يَثْنَيْنِ، فَعَلَ كِسْرَهَا فِي قَبْرِ هَذَا، فَقَالَ: «لَعَلَّهُ يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمَا مَا لَمْ يُسْرَى، فَجَعَلَ كِسْرَةً فِي قَبْرِ هَذَا، فَقَالَ: «لَعَلَّهُ يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمَا مَا لَمْ يَسْسَا».

Meaning: It has been narrated to us [Ibn Salam] that [Abidah bin Humaid Abu Abdurrahman] reported to us from [Manshur] from [Mujahid] from [Ibn Abbas] who said: The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, once went out from one of the gardens in Madinah, and he heard the voices of two people being punished in their graves. After that, he said, 'They are not being punished for a major sin, but it is a serious matter. One of them did not purify himself after urinating, while the other was always causing discord among people.' Then he asked for a piece of a fresh date palm frond. He split it into two pieces, planting one in one grave and the other in the other grave. He then said, "May

this alleviate their punishment until it dries. 36

The book Tuḥfatul Bārī also explains this as follows:

Meaning: (Namimah/sowing discord) is transferring/conveying words from one person to another with the intention of damaging their relationship (considered a major sin) among other sins. 37

The legal implications of the practice of adu domba or propaganda fall under the category of major sins and do not result in the apostasy of a Muslim. They are punishable by the threat of not entering paradise (direct entry into paradise) and punishment in the grave. The role of political buzzers in the popular reality of democracy is that some of them end up engaging in adu domba, for example by raising religious issues. Even the term 'desert lizard' has emerged. The practice of sowing discord, as carried out by political buzzers, is amplified by the rapid spread of information in the digital world through social media, compounded by the low digital literacy levels of the Indonesian population. However, regardless of the medium—whether online or offline—the practice of sowing discord or propaganda is regulated by normative legal regulations and positive law. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Muḥammad bin Isma'īl Al-Bukhārī, "*Şaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*," 1st ed. (Beirut: Dār Ṭūq al-Najāh, 1422).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Zaīnuddīn Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī al-Sunaīkī al-Miṣrī Al-Syāfi'ī, "*Tuḥfatul Bārī*," I (Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-Rusyd Li al-Nasyr wal al-Taūzī', 2005).

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has issued a fatwa stating that the activities of buzzers with negative intentions are haram<sup>38</sup> and even the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) will impose sanctions on influencers who disrupt

the 2024 election atmosphere.<sup>39</sup>

The disparities in democratic reality, including regional elections, have been accused of causing the growth of pragmatism among voters, the emergence of conflicts between supporters of candidates, the spread of corruption and favouritism, hindering open recruitment, and eroding state and regional budgets. Furthermore, these negative practices have tarnished the image of those who are pessimistic about local elections and have provided arguments for proposals to return the election of local leaders to the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD).<sup>40</sup> This recommendation could also be an option in mitigating the negative role of buzzers, but there are still loopholes in influencing the election of legislative candidates. Therefore, it is considered ineffective in mitigating the negative role of buzzers in political contests in Indonesia.

Indonesia's security dynamics have undergone dramatic transformations, and the regime change in the country highlights

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Adri Prima, "MUI Terbitkan Fatwa Haram Buzzer, Abu Janda Cs Wajib Baca Ini," medcom.id, 2021, https://www.medcom.id/nasional/peristiwa/dN6AQ1QK-mui-terbitkan-fatwa-haram-buzzer-abu-janda-cs-wajib-baca-ini.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Danang Triatmojo, "Bawaslu Bakal Sasar Buzzer Yang Rusak Suasana Pemilu 2024 - TribunNews.Com," Tribunnews.com, 2022, https://www.tribunnews.com/nasional/2022/06/14/bawaslu-bakal-sasar-buzzer-yang-rusak-suasana-pemilu-2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Wawan Sobari, "Emerging Local Politics in Indonesia: Patronage-Driven Democracy in the Post-Soeharto Era," *Emerging Local Politics in Indonesia: Patronage-Driven Democracy in the Post-Soeharto Era*, no. July 2013 (2023): 1–334, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-4622-8.

how democratisation has its own security dynamics that need to be addressed. In the context of democratisation, Indonesia must formulate specific policies to deal with its security issues. In general, these policies can be categorised as securitisation or desecuritisation measures.<sup>41</sup>

Real solutions to negative campaign practices or the work of political buzzers. Among these solutions is the need for a significant increase in netizens' awareness of digital literacy, sharing or publishing information while considering the welfare of oneself and others. This is the positive meaning of interacting while remaining honest, as this gives rise to goodness, and goodness leads to salvation in the form of paradise, which is the priority of every person. This concept is in line with the words of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) as follows.

## Hadith narrated by Muslim:

105 - (2607) حَدَّنَنَا مُحُمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللهِ بْنِ مُمَيْرٍ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو مُعَاوِيَةً، وَوَكِيعٌ، قَالَا: حَدَّثَنَا الْأَعْمَشُ، حَ وَحَدَّثَنَا أَبُو كُرِيْبٍ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو مُعَاوِيَةً، حَدَّثَنَا الْأَعْمَشُ، عَنْ شَقِيقٍ، حَدَّثَنَا الْأَعْمَشُ، عَنْ شَقِيقٍ، حَدَّثَنَا الْأَعْمَشُ، عَنْ شَقِيقٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللهِ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «عَلَيْكُمْ بِالصِّدْقِ، فَإِنَّ الصِّدْقَ عَنْ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «عَلَيْكُمْ بِالصِّدْقِ، فَإِنَّ الصِّدْقَ عَيْ يَهْدِي إِلَى الْجِبِّةِ، وَمَا يَزَالُ الرَّجُلُ يَصْدُقُ وَيَتَحَرَّى الصِّدْقَ حَتَّى يُكْتَبَ عِنْدَ اللهِ صِدِيقًا، وَإِيَّاكُمْ وَالْكَذِبَ، فَإِنَّ الْكَذِبَ يَهْدِي إِلَى الْفُجُورِ، وَإِنَّ الْفُجُورِ يَالَى الْفُجُورِ عَالَى اللهِ كَذَابًا». 42 يَهْدِي إِلَى النَّارِ، وَمَا يَزَالُ الرَّجُلُ يَكُذِبُ وَيَتَحَرَّى الْكَذِبَ حَتَّى يُكْتَبَ عِنْدَ اللهِ كَذَّابًا». 42 يَهْدِي إِلَى النَّارِ، وَمَا يَزَالُ الرَّجُلُ يَكُذِبُ وَيَتَحَرَّى الْكَذِبَ حَتَّى يُكْتَبَ عِنْدَ اللهِ كَذَابًا». 43

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>Yandry Kurniawan, *The Politics of Securitization in Democratic Indonesia*, *The Politics of Securitization in Democratic Indonesia*, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62482-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Naisābūrī, "Şaḥīḥ Muslim."

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Meaning: It has been narrated to us by [Muhammad bin "Abdullah bin Numair]; It has been narrated to us by [Abu Mu'awiyah] and [Waki"], both of whom said; It has been narrated to us by [Al A'masy]; Similarly, it has been narrated from other sources, And it has been narrated to us by [Abu Kuraib]; It was narrated to us by [Abu Mu'awiyah]; It was narrated to us by [Al A'masy] from [Syaqiq] from ['Abdullah], who said; The Messenger of Allah, may peace and blessings be upon him, said: 'You must be truthful, for truthfulness leads to goodness. And goodness leads to Paradise. One who is always truthful and upholds truthfulness will be recorded as truthful in the sight of Allah. And avoid falsehood, for falsehood leads to evil, and evil leads to Hell. One who is always false and upholds falsehood will be recorded as a liar in the sight of Allah.

Buzzers have become an integral part of the political world, especially during campaign periods. The emergence of political buzzers has evolved into an entity that gradually threatens the survival of the nation and state in implementing democracy. The negative implications that have emerged, such as the spread of hoaxes, information manipulation, message implications, and other negative propaganda efforts, have damaged and undermined healthy democratic practices and led the country towards a dangerous direction. Therefore, protecting and addressing the integrity of democracy is very important for the government to implement. The government must take appropriate policy measures and regulatory guidance, including strengthening relevant laws and establishing clear rules for managing political buzzers during campaigns. Additionally, digital literacy education is necessary to raise public awareness about the dangers of disinformation, such as

hoaxes, which are widely spread due to the activities of political buzzers.<sup>43</sup>

Starting from the reality that buzzers tend to play a negative role, preventive measures to address this issue should begin at the persuasive preventive stage. For example, the government, in this case the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, should intensify education for netizens and political buzzers in particular. On the other hand, if there are cases of political buzzers who have violated many rules and even harmed many people, then repressive preventive measures should be taken, namely enforcing regulations against political buzzers. However, persuasive preventive measures are actually balanced with repressive preventive measures through existing regulations related to political buzzers.

### CONCLUSION

The shift in the role of buzzers towards the political arena in Indonesia has caused confusion among the online and offline communities. This is likely due to the fact that regulations regarding political buzzers, in particular, are still vague. For example, the ITE Law can be used to prosecute buzzers or those who threaten their existence. Political buzzers often raise identity issues, such as the personalities of candidates and messages with religious themes. They have the ability to shape public perception of certain

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Ratna Dian and Utami Putri, "Dinamika Diskusi Politik Dalam Fenomena Buzzer Serta Implikasinya Terhadap Demokrasi" 3 (2024): 75–82.

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candidates. The concept of buzzers, which previously had a positive connotation, has shifted to a negative one. This is because they can divide society by spreading hoaxes and hate speech.

The term 'buzzer' in the context of searching for hadith ahkam indirectly refers to the practices of gossip, slander, and propaganda. These practices are fundamentally not permitted under Islamic law and positive law. However, in terms of positive law, there are still loopholes that allow political buzzers to avoid the applicable legal consequences.

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