Political Hoaxes in the Post-Truth Era: An Islamic Political Analysis

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Abstract

This study aims to examine how the phenomenon of political hoaxes in the post-truth era occurs and what impact it has on the religious life and political direction of the Muslim community. This research departs from the phenomenon of political hoaxes that are getting stronger, especially when approaching election contestation. This condition is reinforced by the post-truth era where the truth is no longer urgent and trusted because the many hoaxes circulating make hoaxes like the truth. This research is a literature study explaining the phenomenon of political hoaxes in the post-truth era with an Islamic political sociology approach, data obtained from literature related to hoax politics, the post-truth era and analyzed in depth. The findings of this study are: First, the phenomenon of political hoaxes is carried out massively and repeatedly, especially before political events, Second, the reinforcing factors of political hoaxes in Muslim societies are caused by identity politics and low digital political literacy that are spread repeatedly. Third, political hoaxes can trigger inter-religious conflicts including intolerance and radicalism, disrupt religious life, and increase polarization and distrust of political institutions, as well as distrust of the media.

Fourth, overcoming the impact of political hoaxes can be done by taking an Islamic political approach in society, namely by always telling the truth and bertabayyun against news and increasing digital literacy and the role of religious authorities.

Keywords: Islamic political; political hoax; post-truth era

Introduction

In the run-up to general elections, people are often confronted with political hoaxes circulating in the media.[1] This condition triggers public confusion in distinguishing between true and false news. Even today, many hoax news circulating on social media and massively done repeatedly so as to form a public opinion that information that was originally not true is believed to be true information.[2] This condition is called the post-truth era, where hoaxes become an important part of this era.[3]

During elections, each candidate's success team implements winning strategies in their own way, but some of these strategies are carried out in ways that cannot be justified, such as using hoaxes as a political tool. This strategy will have an impact on society and can cause division.[4] In addition, this political hoax strategy has been carried out in several countries,[5] such as Spain by spreading fake news.[6] Furthermore, the 2016 US presidential election is a concrete example of the practice of political hoaxes used to win elections.[7]

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[1] Wildhan Khalyubi and Aditya Perdana, "Electoral Manipulation Informationally on Hoax Production in 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential Election in Indonesia," *Journal of Government and Political Issues* 1, no. 2 (November 20, 2021), https://doi.org/10.53341/jgpi.v1i2.17.

[2] Yusa Djuyandi, Mustabsyirotul Ummah Mustofa, and Mochamad Difa Satrio Wicaksono, "Hoax and Its Effects on Indonesia's Elections," *Baltic Journal of Law & Politics* 15, no. 2 (2022): 590–600, https://doi.org/10.2478/bjlp-2022-001036.

[3] Claire Wardle and Hossein Derakhshan, *Information Disorder: Toward an Interdisciplinary Framework for Research and Policy Making* (Council of Europe: Trasbourg Cedex, 2017), https://edoc.coe.int/en/media/7495-information-disorder-toward-an-interdisciplinary-framework-for-research-and-policy-making.html.

[4] Muhammad Andi Septiadi et al., "Halal Politics Role in the Fight against Vote-Buying and Hoaxes," *Indonesian Journal of Halal Research* 2, no. 2 (August 31, 2020): 33–39, https://doi.org/10.15575/ijhar.v2i2.8981.

[5] Michelle C Forelle et al., "Political Bots and the Manipulation of Public Opinion in Venezuela," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2015, https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2635800.

[6] David Lava-Santos, Gamir-Ríos José, and Germán Llorca-Abad, "Crude, Anonymous, Partisan, Sectoral and Anti-Elitist. Electoral Disinformation in Spain (2019-2022)," *El Profesional de La Información*, September 2, 2023, e320506, https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2023.sep.06.

[7] Pratiwi Utami, "Hoax in Modern Politics," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 22, no. 2 (January 4, 2019): 85, https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.34614.

Indonesia, the largest democracy, also uses political hoaxes as one of its election winning strategies.[8]

This can be seen in the 2019 general election, where political hoaxes dominated the hoaxes. In 2018, there were 997 hoaxes scattered in the media, of which 49.94% were political hoaxes, followed by religious-themed hoaxes (11.94%), and there were also political hoaxes mixed with SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Intergroup) issues that threaten democracy in Indonesia.[9] In the scope of Indonesian politics, the Islamic narrative is the most dominant, although it does not always appear; this is because the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim. This trend began in the 2014 presidential election, continued with the 2017 Jakarta governor election, and finally, during the 2019 presidential election.[10] Moreover, the 2024 general election may happen again.

Seeing these conditions, Indonesian society has entered the era of the post-truth era, where an issue that does not know the truth but is considered to be something that has been proven true, this issue is carried out continuously and forms public belief. In the post-truth era, hoaxes are accepted and believed by the public not because of limited information but because of the flood of information (information overload).[11] So, hoaxes in this era are part of a political strategy.[12] This condition will have an impact on Indonesian society, especially those who are Muslim, because of the increasingly massive political hoaxes using religion as a tool in politics. So, it is interesting to study how this political hoax occurs and its impact on the social conditions of Muslim communities in Indonesia.

Based on the facts of the literature, research on political hoaxes has been conducted by several researchers, but existing research only looks from a general point of view. Existing research tends to only analyze from three points of view. First, research only identifies hoaxes carried out in the political realm;

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[8] Inaya Rakhmani and Muninggar Sri Saraswati, "Authoritarian Populism in Indonesia: The Role of the Political Campaign Industry in Engineering Consent and Coercion," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 40, no. 3 (December 2021): 436–60, https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034211027885.

[9] Priska Nur Safitri et al., "When Politics and Religion Become Disaster: An Annual Mapping of Hoax in Indonesia," *Ultimacomm: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 13, no. 2 (February 25, 2022): 343–57, https://doi.org/10.31937/ultimacomm.v13i2.2104.

[10] Rizky Widian, Putu Agung Nara Indra Prima Satya, and Sylvia Yazid, "Religion in Indonesia's Elections: An Implementation of a Populist Strategy?," *Politics and Religion* 16, no. 2 (June 2023): 351–73, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048321000195.

[11] Jonathan Mair, "Post-Truth Anthropology," *Anthropology Today* 33, no. 3 (June 2017): 3–4, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.12346.

[12] Nurul Hidayatul Ummah and Muchamad Sholakhuddin Al Fajri, "Communication Strategies Used in Teaching Media Information Literacy for Combating Hoaxes in Indonesia: A Case Study of Indonesian National Movements," *Informacijos Mokslai* 90 (December 28, 2020): 26–41, https://doi.org/10.15388/Im.2020.90.48.

this research was conducted by Turgay Yerlikaya and Seca Toker Aslan,[13] Pratiwi Utami,[14] Ari Sulistyanto and Saeful Mujab,[15] Rudi Hardi, and Hardianto Hawing.[16] Political hoaxes become a threat to democracy and are used as political tools of political partisanship with various types such as satire, memes, fake content, misleading content, and manipulative content. Second, research that maps the impact of political hoaxes, this research was conducted by Made Yaya Sawitri and I Nyoman Wiratmaja,[17] Tukina and Marta Sanjaya,[18] Amilin,[19] Muh. Iqbal Latief,[20] Yusa Djuyandi, et al.[21] Political hoaxes have an impact on the lives of people who are restless, the occurrence of social barriers and hinder national development and can even form a post-Democratic situation in Indonesia. Third, research that looks at how political hoaxes occurred during the presidential election in Indonesia, this research was conducted by Erma Febriyanti and Wagiran Wagiran,[22] Rahman Tahir, et al.[23] So based on the above facts, no research comprehensively examines the phenomenon of hoax politics in the post-truth era and its impact on the lives of Muslim communities.

Therefore, this research will try to fill the void of the literature and will answer five questions (1) how the practice of political hoaxes in the post-truth era, (2) what are the factors and impacts of political hoaxes on the lives of

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[13] Turgay Yerlikaya and Seca Toker, "Social Media and Fake News in the Post-Truth Era: The Manipulation of Politics in the Election Process," *Insight Turkey*, June 30, 2020, 177–96, https://doi.org/10.25253/99.2020222.11.

[14] Utami, "Hoax in Modern Politics."

[15] Ari Sulistyanto and Saeful Mujab, "The COVID-19 Hoax as an Islamic Identity Political Movement: Framing Analysis," *Journal of World Science* 1, no. 6 (June 16, 2022): 382–91, https://doi.org/10.36418/jws.v1i6.47.

[16] Rudi Hardi and Hardianto Hawing, "Collaborative Governance and Hoax Politics in The Era of Covid-19 in Makassar City," *Journal of Government and Political Issues* 2, no. 1 (March 31, 2022): 1–7, https://doi.org/10.53341/jgpi.v2i1.24.

[17] Made Yaya Sawitri and I Nyoman Wiratmaja, "On the Brink of Post-Democracy: Indonesia's Identity Politics in the Post-Truth Era," *Politička Misao* 58, no. 2 (May 5, 2021): 141–59, https://doi.org/10.20901/pm.58.2.06.

[18] Tukina Tukina and Marta Sanjaya, "Information Hoax in Political Years 2019: Learning and Challenges," *KnE Social Sciences*, April 23, 2020, https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v4i7.6872.

[19] Amilin, "Pengaruh Hoaks Politik Dalam Era Post-Truth Terhadap Ketahanan Nasional Dan Dampaknya Pada Kelangsungan Pembangunan Nasional," *Jurnal Kajian Lemhannas RI* 39 (2019).

[20] Muh. Iqbal Latief, "Effect of Post Truth in Voters Participation of Simultaenous Election 2019," *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (2019): 275–88, https://doi.org/10.31947/kareba.v8i2.9856.

[21] Djuyandi, Mustofa, and Wicaksono, "Hoax and Its Effects on Indonesia's Elections."

[22] Erma Febriyanti, "Hoax News on the 2019 Presidential Election Campaign on Social Media," *Seloka: Jurnal Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia* 10, no. 2 (2021): 141–49.

[23] Rahman Tahir, Heri Kusmanto, and Muryanto Amin, "Propaganda Politik Hoaks Dalam Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2019," *PERSPEKTIF* 9, no. 2 (May 9, 2020): 236–51, https://doi.org/10.31289/perspektif.v9i2.3458.

Muslims, (3) how Islamic politics sees and provides solutions to the phenomenon of political hoaxes. This research departs from the argument that Indonesia is a democratic country with a Muslim majority, so it is very vulnerable to being polarized by the existence of religious issues as a political tool, this is reinforced by an era where the truth is difficult to identify when a flood of untrue news or issues circulating in the community, besides that, with the majority of seasonal society, Islamic values should be a guide in politics.

To answer the question above, this research is library research using an Islamic political sociology approach by looking at the phenomenon of political hoaxes in society. Data is collected from various sources relevant to the research theme, allowing the author to comprehensively explain the concept of political hoaxes from previous studies. Then the data is selected and discussed with the research theme, then the data is analyzed so that a conclusion can be drawn.

Discussion

The Phenomenon of Political Hoaxes in the Post-Truth Era

The phenomenon of political hoaxes is currently a very worrying issue, especially in the post-truth era. The post-truth era is an era where truth is no longer the main factor in shaping public opinion, but emotions and personal beliefs. The post-truth era is a situation where raw emotions fuel political rhetoric to gain socio-emotional support. Llorente believes that the post-truth era is a sociopolitical condition where objectivity and reason give way to feelings or desire for truth despite facts showing otherwise.[24]

As Indonesia enters the post-truth era, political hoax campaigns are intensifying and data and information are no longer important as people tend to rely on self-justification to prove their beliefs. Repeated presentation of false information can form a public opinion that the information is true and not fake news.[25] The truth of facts or reality does not become a belief.[26] People accept information solely for emotional reasons. The situation becomes even more confusing when entering the political realm, where political elites constantly manipulate information to gain power.

Political hoaxes in the post-truth era are carried out massively through social media, providing false information and creating hate speech, especially ahead of political events such as presidential elections, legislative elections, and

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[24] Jose Antonio Llorente, "The Post-Truth Era: Reality vs Perception," *Uno Magazine*, 2017, https://www.uno-magazine.com/number-27/post-truth-era-reality-vs-perception/.

[25] Djuyandi, Mustofa, and Wicaksono, "Hoax and Its Effects on Indonesia's Elections."

[26] Bruce McComiskey, *Post-Truth Rethoric and Composition* (Colorado: Utah State University Press, 2017), https://upcolorado.com/utah-state-university-press/item/3245-post-truth-rhetoric-and-composition.

regional head elections. In this case, each political group competes with each other by producing manipulative and SARA content rather than prioritizing content with political education nuances. Here are the types of fake news that people often encounter.
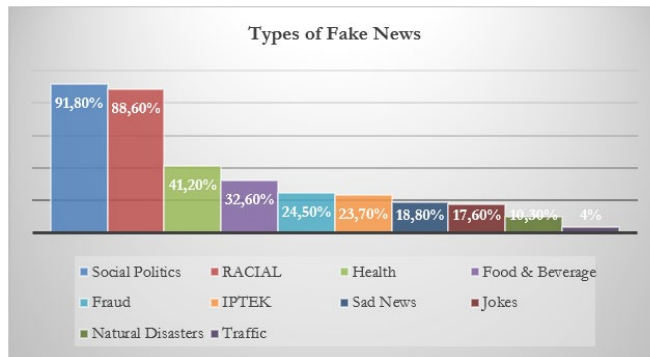
Graph 1: Data on Types of Hoax Issues Circulating on Social Media [27]

Based on the graph above, the most common hoaxes in society are political hoaxes. Political hoaxes are spread to influence public opinion, manipulate elections, or create distrust towards political opponents. Political hoaxes can take many forms, such as deliberately fake articles, manipulated photos, cropped videos, or chain messages to mislead the public. Common types of political hoaxes include fake news about political candidates and fake news about policies.

The spread of political hoaxes is further strengthened by the survey results of the Indonesian Telematics Association in 2019. The hoax content mostly contains social and political issues with a percentage of 93.20%. This number increased from the 2017 survey results which amounted to 91.80%.[28] The motives for spreading these hoaxes include political, ideological, and financial motives.[29] Political deception is designed to bring down political opponents or the government.[30]

For example, in the 2019 presidential election of the Republic of Indonesia, many hoaxes were circulating during the political moment. Just like the 2017 Jakarta elections, the hoaxes were a combination of political and

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[27] Mastel, "Hasil Survey Wabah Hoax Nasional 2019," *Masyarakat Telematika Indonesia* (blog), 2019, https://mastel.id/hasil-survey-wabah-hoax-nasional-2019/.

[28] Mastel.

[29] Kuntarto Kuntarto, Rindha Widyaningsih, and Muhamad Riza Chamadi, "The Hoax of SARA (Tribe, Religion, Race, and Intergroup) as a Threat to the Ideology of Pancasila Resilience," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 9, no. 2 (May 30, 2021): 413, https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i2.539.

[30] Erwin Jusuf Thaib, "Hoax in Social Media and It's Threats to Islamic Moderation in Indonesia," *Proceedings of International Conference on Da'wa and Communication* 2, no. 1 (November 26, 2020): 259–69, https://doi.org/10.15642/icondac.v2i1.386.

religious issues and were easily found on social media. A lot of hoax messages circulated on Facebook, WhatsApp, and other social media. The issues include PKI, China, and the religion of presidential candidates. In addition, there are also many hoaxes related to the election process, for example about the neutrality of the General Election Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, about vote counting, and disputes over election results. The election process was constantly flooded with hoax messages both before and after the election.
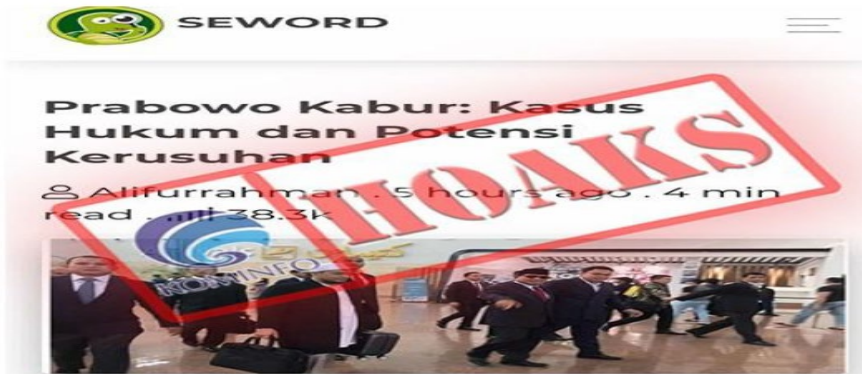

Figure 1 Prabowo runs away after election

After further investigation, the BPN team denied the rumors related to Prabowo's escape abroad. BPN confirmed that Mr. Prabowo went abroad, not to run away but went to Brunei to meet the Sultan of Brunei Hassanal Bolkiah. On the other hand, Prabowo was in Brunei on May 16, 2019, and only a day after that he immediately returned to the country on the same day. So, it is not true if there is an issue that says that Mr. Prabowo is abroad running away or traveling.

Figure 2 Fraudulent elections have been demonstrated by the Jokowi regime

The hoax content on the side (Title: Rigged elections have been shown by the Jokowi regime which has damaged Indonesia's image in the eyes of the world, democracy is dead in Indonesia) was deliberately produced and disseminated to build international opinion and discourse that the holding of the 2019 elections in Indonesia was carried out fraudulently. From the idea carried

in the hoax content, the producers and those who spread it are trying to build a discourse at the international level that fraud in the holding of the 2019 simultaneous elections shows that electoral democracy in Indonesia has retreated and died.[31] However, this hoax information has been regretted by the Al Jazeera Media Network because the news circulating is edited and captioned out of context and can certainly confuse the international public.

The current phenomenon of political hoaxes cannot be separated from the important role of political buzzers. Political buzzers are social media account actors, including anonymous and real accounts, who spread, promote, and disseminate information or content at any time to amplify the information or content into public opinion, especially on political topics.[32] Although the main goal remains the same, which is to campaign for a particular candidate pair, there are some differences in social media activities between professional political buzzers and voluntary political buzzers. Professional political groups play a more passive role in determining the campaign messages they want to convey through their social media accounts.

The workings of political buzzers are structured, namely by creating content and distributing content (sharing, posting, and tweeting) to various social media platforms. The content that has been distributed on social media will then be amplified or responded to by other social media users, both pro and con so that often the content can change public views or opinions.[33]

Activity Scheme of a Political Buzzer
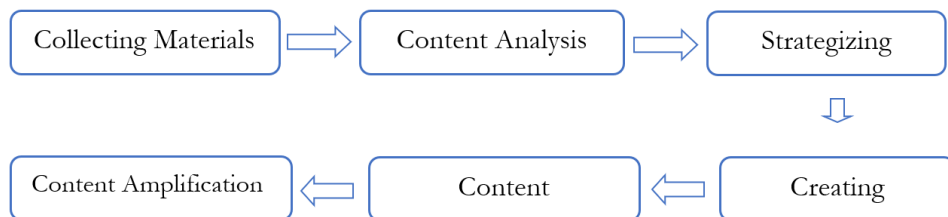
Picture 1: Activity Scheme of a Political Buzzer

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[31] Levy Nasution, "[FALSE] Video 'Al Jazeera TV's Presidential Election Cheating Broadcast,'" *Turnbackhoax.Id* (blog), May 2019, https://turnbackhoax.id/2019/05/14/salah-video-siaran-kecurangan-pilpres-tv-al-jazeera/.

[32] Bambang --- Arianto, "Analisis Peran Buzzer Media Sosial Dalam Memperkuat Kampanye Petani Milenial," *JRK (Jurnal Riset Komunikasi)* 11, no. 2 (January 5, 2021), https://doi.org/10.31506/jrk.v11i2.9915.

[33] Wahyu Abdul Jafar, "POLITICAL BUZZER IN ISLAMIC LAW AND ITS IMPACT ON MUSLIM SOCIETY," *Hamdard Islamicus* 45, no. 3 (September 30, 2022), https://doi.org/10.57144/hi.v45i3.491.

Buzzers operate in the closed space of social media, sharing information, data, and opinions spread without verification and confirmation because the information is hidden in fake accounts and under the guise of freedom of speech. The use of social media for political campaigns often directly discredits political opponents and is spread on a large scale to magnify the impact of the hoax. In Indonesia, this tactic is believed to be used during elections. For example, ahead of an election, many negative campaigns circulate on social media platforms. Hoaxes, which contain partial or complete lies, are created by supporting political party propaganda during campaigning and then spread to supporters and through buzzers. During elections, political buzzers attempt to spread hoaxes to support their political candidates and alienate political opponents. The spread of hoaxes is often amplified by political influencers who have millions of followers on blogs and social media platforms as this can have a direct impact on the masses who may imitate and also spread it on their social media.[34]

Factors of Political Hoaxes and the Impact on Muslim Communities

Political hoaxes have now become a matter of concern, not only affecting politics but also society. Three conditions allow political hoaxes in the post-truth era to become massive. First, there is a devaluation of truth through the spread of inciting political narratives. Second, many parties are satisfied with the information they choose. Third, the mass media pays more attention to sensational effects.[35] In addition, this is also reinforced by people's tendency to accept or reject information based on their political beliefs.[36] In the context of Muslim societies, the phenomenon of political hoaxes can be even more complex due to various factors that influence perceptions and beliefs. Here are the factors of hoaxes in Muslim societies:

1. The Politics of Identity, political hoaxes often use identity politics as a political tool related to religious identity.[37] Identity politics causes the spread of political hoaxes to increase between groups with different political views, creating divisions and tensions.[38] For example, identity politics will be rampant in the run-up to the election, carried out in the form of spreading

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[34] Merlyna Lim, "Freedom to Hate: Social Media, Algorithmic Enclaves, and the Rise of Tribal Nationalism in Indonesia," *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 411–27, https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2017.1341188.

[35] Haryatmoko, "Mencari Kebijakan di Era Post-Truth: menghadapi hoaks, Emosi sosial, dan Populisme Agama," *Majalah Basis*, 2019.

[36] João Pedro Baptista and Anabela Gradim, "Understanding Fake News Consumption: A Review," *Social Sciences* 9, no. 10 (October 16, 2020): 185, https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9100185.

[37] David Tyrer, *The Politics of Islamophobia Race, Power and Fantasy* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), https://www.plutobooks.com/9781849648745/the-politics-of-islamophobia/.

[38] Cass R. Sunstein, *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media* (United States: Princeton University Press, 2017), https://press.princeton.edu/books/hardcover/9780691175515/republic.

issues and hoaxes, and even found cases of spreading hate speech in houses of worship, resulting in polarization of religious figures.

2. The Low Level of Digital Political Literacy, the lack of digital political literacy makes the Muslim community vulnerable to political hoaxes, and the Muslim community becomes vulnerable to crimes that can influence political views.[39] For example, there is a lack of political literacy during elections where traditional voters will remember the number associated with the party rather than the performance of the party itself.

3. Authority and Mainstream Media: Distrust

Some sections of the Muslim community may feel distrustful of political authorities and the media, because they tend to use social media as a tool to find information.[40] Even after the political contestation, the divisions created by the election will likely be long-lasting, and will still have an impact on future elections.[41]

Furthermore, social media in the globalization era is used to influence views on social and political life,[42] by influencing and discrediting political opponents.[43] In Indonesia's political-strategic environment, the Islamic narrative is one of the main narratives, but not always the dominant narrative.[44] Here are some of the impacts of political hoaxes on the religious life of Muslim communities.

1. Triggering Interreligious Conflict, often political hoaxes are used to drive divisions.[45] Political hoaxes can trigger external conflicts between religions, triggering division and discrimination by attacking certain religions, thus increasing intolerance, extremism and even radicalism in the community.[46]

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[39] Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas. The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (Yale University Press, 2017), https://doi.org/10.25969/MEDIAREP/14848.

[40] Victoria M. Esses, Stelian Medianu, and Andrea S. Lawson, "Uncertainty, Threat, and the Role of the Media in Promoting the Dehumanization of Immigrants and Refugees," *Journal of Social Issues* 69, no. 3 (September 2013): 518–36, https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12027.

[41] Max Lane, "President Joko Widodo's New Cabinet: Some Implications for Indonesian Politics," *ISEAS Perspective*, 2019, https://www.iseas.edu.sg/articles-commentaries/iseas-perspective/201999-president-joko-widodos-new-cabinet-some-implications-for-indonesian-politics-by-max-lane/.

[42] Masykuri Abdillah, "Sharia and Politics in The Context of Globalization and Society 5.0," *Ahkam* 22, no. 1 (2022), https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v22i2.28959.

[43] Ratna Istriyani, "Media: Causes and Strategies to Overcome Islamophobia (Psychological and Sociological Study)," *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 4, no. 2 (November 27, 2016): 201, https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v4i2.1759.

[44] Widian, Satya, and Yazid, "Religion in Indonesia's Elections."

[45] Femi Olan et al., "Fake News on Social Media: The Impact on Society," *Information Systems Frontiers*, January 19, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10796-022-10242-z.

[46] Mohammed Hafez and Creighton Mullins, "The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38, no. 11 (November 2, 2015): 958–75, https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1051375.

For example, hoaxes about patriotism are not taught in Islam, leading to doubts about the state and triggering extremism and radicalism.[47]

2. Disrupting the Religious Life of Muslim Communities, political hoaxes that involve religious issues in their content destabilize the lives of Muslims. For example, hoaxes about the prohibition of Muslim worship in certain places can cause fear concern, and even anger. hoaxes can create a sense of distrust of the government and other state institutions.[48] It can even have an impact on people's trust in religious authorities due to confusion and lack of certainty.[49]

3. Increased Polarization and Distrust of Political Institutions

Allcot and Gentzkow say that hoaxes have two main purposes, namely money and ideology.[50] In the post-truth era, hoaxes have the potential to become a means of political alliance.[51] Political hoaxes can strengthen political polarization within the Muslim community through religious issues.[52] In addition, political hoaxes have the power to influence election results, voters who are unable to distinguish between valid information and hoaxes will be affected by political choices. People's perceptions of political parties only favor the interests of their groups, this perception may persist and will even have an impact on future political events.[53]

Political hoaxes that attack a particular religion can influence the political views of the Muslim community towards a particular party. Some Muslims even have an anti-political attitude because they think politics is bad and do not want to participate in political affairs. For example, in the 2019 elections, a lot of hoaxes were produced, copied, and spread for electoral purposes.

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[47] Zezen Zainul Ali, "The Urgency of Patriotism in Maintaining the Unity in the Republic of Indonesia in the Perspective of Maslahah," *El-Mashlahah* 11, no. 2 (December 23, 2021): 116–26, https://doi.org/10.23971/elma.v11i2.2958.

[48] European Parliament. Directorate General for External Policies of the Union., *The Impact of Disinformation on Democratic Processes and Human Rights in the World.* (LU: Publications Office, 2021), https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2861/59161.

[49] Nukhet A. Sandal, *Religious Leaders and Conflict Transformation: Northern Ireland and Beyond*, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316676592.

[50] Hunt Allcott and Matthew Gentzkow, "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31, no. 2 (May 1, 2017): 211–36, https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.31.2.211.

[51] Utami, "Hoax in Modern Politics."

[52] Sunstein, *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media.*

[53] Lane, "President Joko Widodo's New Cabinet: Some Implications for Indonesian Politics."

4. Distrust of the Media

Muslims who are affected by political hoaxes tend to distrust the media and trust information disseminated through social media and other digital platforms.[54] Even massive political hoaxes have caused confusion between real and fake news sources.[55]

Political Islam as an Effort to Prevent the Spread of Political Hoaxes

Islamic politics is a politics with Islamic provisions.[56] According to Noorhadi Hasan, Islamic politics has a wide range, starting from the range of prophetic politics that is based on the basic values of Islamic teachings and aims to realize these values for the sake of justice and common benefit.[57] In addition, Political Islam as politics is characterized by competition and bargaining through interpretation and meaning of religious doctrines and symbols.[58] Islamic politics applied in people's lives makes it an attitude that follows Islamic laws and rules in politics. People who implement it are part of political behavior,[59] which is not only oriented towards fellow humans (*habl min al-Nas*) but also relationships with the Creator (*habl min Allah*).[60] So that this will bring benefit to the people.[61]

In practice, Islamic politics must be based on Islamic values and teachings which are the social guidelines of Muslim society. Political activities carried out by Muslims must be functional and based on Islamic rules. Thus, power (politics) is fused with moral insight as an emanation of a Muslim's faith. Thus, political practice cannot be separated from the existence of ethics derived from revelation.

Ethics in politics is a necessary means to create a peaceful and harmonious atmosphere in relations between people who have interests by prioritizing common interests over group interests. Political ethics must be used as a guideline in politics to realize polite, intelligent politics. Political ethics also

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[54] Rudy Iskandar Ichlas, "Questioning the Independence of Media Coverage in the 2019 Elections," *Jurnal Bestuur* 8, no. 1 (2020), https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.42725.

[55] Gordon Pennycook and David G. Rand, "Fighting Misinformation on Social Media Using Crowdsourced Judgments of News Source Quality," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116, no. 7 (February 12, 2019): 2521–26, https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1806781116.

[56] Muhammad Abdul Qadir Abu Fariz, *An-Nicham as Siyasi Fil-Islam* (Jakarta: Robbani Press, 2000).

[57] Noorhaidi Hasan, "Dinamika Politik Islam Di Indonesia Tahun 2020," in *Buku Islam Indonesia 2020* (Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2020), 9.

[58] Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), https://press.princeton.edu/books/ebook/9780691187785/muslim-politics.

[59] Joseph Roucek, *Sosiologi An Introduction. Terj. Sehat Simamora* (Jakarta: PT. Bina Aksara, 1984).

[60] Mohsen Abd al-Hamid, *Al-Islam Wa al-Tanmiyyah al-Ijlima'iyyah* (Jeddah: Dar al-Manarah, 1989).

[61] Abdul Wahhab Khallaf, *Ushul Al-Fiqh* (Beirut: Dar al-fikr, n.d.).

seeks to sensitize the attitude of political elites or public officials to be honest, sportive, trustworthy, exemplary, humble and ready to resign from their positions as public officials if they have made moral mistakes their policies are contrary to the law.[62]

The political process must be based on moral and ethical values derived from religious teachings.[63] The Qur'an and Hadith have touched on many verses about justice, equality, and brotherhood in politics. Islam has taught the principles that need to be practiced and have been taught in the Qur'an,[64] these principles are; the principle of trust, obedience, justice (*al-'adalah*)[65], deliberation (*al-syura'*), and the principle of equality (*al-musawwah*).[66] So that these principles if applied can form ethics in politics.[67] Islam as a religion regulates the ways to achieve power (politics) and responsibility for the power obtained.[68] The spread of political hoaxes in society to gain power can be prevented by using Islamic political principles as taught in the Qur'an.[69]

The Qur'an treats human life as an organic whole. This means that all areas of human life must be guided by instructions sourced from the Qur'an, including political life. Even the Qur'an requires Muslims to be a community that calls for goodness and prevents evil.[70] Some of the guidance in the Qur'an in preventing political hoaxes are as follows:

1. The Qur'an Encourages Us to Always Speak the Truth

The Qur'an commands humans to always speak the truth, especially when delivering messages, because by delivering the right message, as explained in QS. Al Ahzab verses 70-71 which explain the necessity of conveying the truth. People who believe in Allah carry out his commands and stay away from

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[62] Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam Dan Tatatnegara* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1990).

[63] Muhammad Iqbal, *Etika Politik Qur'ani: Penafsiran M. Quraish Shihab Terhadap Ayat-Ayat Kekuasaan* (Medan: IAIN Press, 2010), 113.

[64] Kawakib Kawakib and Hafidz Syuhud, "Interelasi Akal Dan Wahyu: Analisis Pemikiran Ulama Mutakallimin Dalam Pembentukan Hukum Islam," *JIL: Journal of Islamic Law* 2, no. 1 (February 9, 2021): 43–61, https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v2i1.127.

[65] Ibnu Akbar Maliki, "LIVING HADIS ISLAM WASATHIYAH: Analisis terhadap Konten Dakwah Youtube 'Jeda Nulis' Habib Ja'far," *Nizham: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 11, no. 01 (June 26, 2023): 64–78, https://doi.org/10.32332/nizham.v11i01.6753.

[66] Katimin, *POLITIK ISLAM: Study Tentang Azas, Pemikiran, Dan Praktik Dalam Sejarah Politik Umat Islam* (Medan: Samsidar, 2017).

[67] Amalia Lathifah, "Interpretation Of Verses On Women In Islamic Law Politics," *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 2, no. 1 (June 30, 2023): 10–26, https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v2i1.6872.

[68] Shobron, "Konsep Etika Berpolitik Dalam Kitab Sunan Abu Dawud," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 11, no. 1 (2013), https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v11i1.55.

[69] Ayi Sofyan, *Etika Politik Islam* (Bandung: CV.Pustaka Setia, 2012).

[70] Bani Syarif Maula, "Post-Islamisme Dan Gerakan Politik Islam Dalam Sistem Demokrasi Indonesia," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 9, no. 1 (April 23, 2019): 90–116, https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2019.9.1.90-116.

his prohibitions will not do anything wrong in their lives, because Islam teaches individuals and groups/organizations to convey the truth so that they can convey the full message of truth. Particularly in terms of providing information, the Qur'an refers to it as "*Qawlan Shadidan*" which means telling the truth or communicating well in social interactions. Therefore, Muslims should strive to continuously verify, confirm, and ensure accuracy to reach the level of truth.[71]

2. Doing *Tabayyun* on the News

The Qur'an sets out the requirement for Muslims to clarify news when they receive it. The Qur'an requires Muslims to practice Tabayyun as stated in verse 6 of Surah Al-Hujurat. This verse also shows that the Qur'an emphasizes the core values of faith and piety to Allah SWT. This is done in the form of applying human values, namely scrutinizing all news, not rushing, and not accepting news before the truth is confirmed. We are obliged to practice *Tabbayun* when someone who is known to be ungodly conveys information to us because the position of the person known to be ungodly must be questioned when there is information given to us.[72] In addition, the Qur'an emphasizes that Islamic religious leaders must play a role in minimizing the spread of fake news in Islamic societies. Islam teaches us to check and verify all information received before disseminating it to maintain harmony and peace among Muslim communities.[73]

3. Condemnation of Hoax Spreaders in the Qur'an and Hadith

The Qur'an strongly condemns those who knowingly or unknowingly participate in spreading false news. This is emphasized in Surah An-Nahl verse 105 and Surah An-Nur verses 14-15. These verses explain that even in the current context of fake news, Allah SWT will show no mercy to those who spread fake news. Allah SWT will severely punish these people if they do not immediately repent and admit their mistakes. Based on this verse, Allah SWT strongly criticizes those who create or participate in spreading false news.[74] Muslims must be more careful in receiving and conveying information. Muslims

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[71] Denis McQuail, *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Publik Interest* (London: Sage Publications, 1992), https://www.worldcat.org/title/Media-performance-:-mass-communication-and-the-public-interest/oclc/27888643.

[72] Danil Putra Arisandy, Asmuni Asmuni, and Muhammad Syukri Albani Nasution, "The Majelis Ulama's Fatwa on Freedom of Expression On Social Media: The Perspective of Maqashid Sharia," *Al-Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 7, no. 2 (December 1, 2022): 481, https://doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v7i2.5235.

[73] Siti Suriani Othman et al., "Fake News From The Islamic Perspective," *MIMBAR: Jurnal Sosial Dan Pembangunan* 36, no. 1 (July 1, 2020): 159–68, https://doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v36i1.5467.

[74] Amrullah Ahmad, *Dakwah Dan Perubahan Sosial* (Yogyakarta: LP3Y, 1984), http://kin.perpusnas.go.id/DisplayData.aspx?pId=31201&pRegionCode=BKKBN&pClientId=616.

are expected to deliver news accurately as a form of faith and obedience to their religion.

In addition, to prevent the spread of political hoaxes in the media, several things can be done, namely; First, increasing digital literacy and avoiding provocative titles, Muslims need to increase digital literacy to distinguish true news from hoaxes and verify the authenticity of the information.[75] Digital literacy is a perspective that can be used to interpret the messages conveyed by newsmakers when interacting with the media.[76] Political hoaxes often use provocative titles to attract public attention and be believed. Second, the role of religious authorities and interfaith cooperation. The role of religious authorities is to provide correct guidance to the people. A correct understanding will help prevent the spread of political hoaxes. In addition, increased interfaith cooperation is important to overcome political polarization and the spread of hoaxes through activities related to religion and belief that contribute to a better and more comprehensive understanding of differences and promote a tolerant attitude.[77]

Conclusion

Political hoaxes in the post-truth era are carried out on a large scale through social media, providing false information and creating hate speech, especially ahead of political events. Political hoaxes cannot be separated from the role of political buzzers who work from content creation to content distribution (sharing, posting, and tweeting) to various social media platforms. In the context of Muslim society, the phenomenon of political hoaxes can become increasingly complex due to various factors that influence perceptions and beliefs such as identity politics that trigger political polarization, low political literacy, and digital literacy, these conditions will have an impact on the conditions of religious life of Muslim communities, such as triggering interfaith conflicts including increasing attitudes of intolerance, extremism and radicalism, disrupting religious life, creating polarization and reducing Muslim community trust in government and religious authorities. To overcome this impact, it is necessary to improve political practices in Islam by always telling the truth and *tabayyun* (checking the news), as well as increasing digital literacy, the role of religious authorities, and cooperation between institutions.

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[75] Muhammad Shuhufi et al., "Islamic Law and Social Media: Analyzing the Fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council Regarding Interaction on Digital Platforms," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (December 31, 2022): 823, https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i2.15011.

[76] Sonia Livingstone and Leslie Haddon, *Kids onlineOpportunities and Risks for Children* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1332/policypress/9781847424396.001.0001.

[77] Arbanur Rasyid et al., "Local Wisdom Recognition in Inter-Ethnic Religious Conflict Resolution in Indonesia from Islah Perspective," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 22, no. 1 (June 13, 2023): 13, https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i1.8432.

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