The narrative of *ukhuwah wathaniyah* as nationalisme project based on sustainable development

Tsulis A Zahri¹, Maria Puspitasari¹* and Putri H Lubis¹

¹School of Strategic and Global Studies, National Resilience Study Program, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, 10430, Indonesia

* mipuspita@gmail.com

**Abstract.** National development is believed to positively influence issues of peace, justice, and strong institutions, especially in countries with multi-ethnic and religious characteristics. Unfortunately, religious identity politics that emerged in the 2019 election campaign on social media were used to polarize netizens. Factually, in the history of the Indonesian nation, religion has been an indicator of nationalism's emergence. The purpose of this study is to identify the national narrative in religious teachings on Instagram @santrionline, using a qualitative approach with content analysis. As a result, Instagram @santrionline legitimizes the figures of Habib and Kiyai in campaigning for *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah* in explaining the concepts of social solidarity, national integration, and nationalism, and national resilience. All of this is in line with the goals of sustainable development.

1. **Introduction**

The feeling of being bound by togetherness, understanding, and trusting each other is a process of unifying the nation in nation-building. Another indicator, Meguel assesses the creation of national identity as a solution to ethnic fractionalization [1]. Reflecting on the Indonesian Nation, its birth was formed by the joint struggle against the colonialists. In its development, the political elite built a new nationalism with a foreign danger narrative. Especially on social media, netizens are easily polarized by political campaigns that contain messages about the dangers of foreign intervention in national policy [2].

President Jowoki, as the incumbent, is often associated with foreign collaborators, anti-Islam, and 'puppet' presidential candidates who are spread on social media [3]. This narrative mobilization has consequently generated a strong identity sentiment that Muslims must elect a presidential candidate who represents Muslims' interests. So those citizens are treated to daily persuasive messages that encourage the birth of an Islamic leader. Mainly when Jokowi then chose a vice-presidential candidate from the representation of Islamic figures, namely KH. Ma'ruf Amen. Prabowo Subianto, as Jokowi's challenger, also received support from the National Ulama Fatwa Guard Movement [4]. The two examples mark various activities related to the presidential election campaign presenting religious narratives. And this was confirmed by the meeting of the two presidential candidates with famous scholars and visits to the graves of Indonesian scholars who influenced society.

After the election, the formalistic and divisive religious narrative has not yet been completed. The rejection of the election results was marked by riots known as the May 22 Action, which religious leaders attended. This action became a conversation among citizens by linking the security forces' repressive actions with attacking places of worship (mosques), resulting in the hashtag #SaveIndonesia and leading
to the blocking of internet access, mainly social media, by the government [5] even though religion as something holy is not worthy of being politicized and causes religion to lose its noble values [6].

Seeing this, the researchers assessed that there is a discontinuity between the spirit of religion on social media and the concept of religion in social life, which has become a unifying language, social solidarity, and creates peace, justice, and forms a strong institution [7] [8] [9]. Through @santrionline, the researcher wants to identify what narrative the Islamic da'wah account will spread in the post-2019 presidential election, besides how the Instagram account uses multimedia in preaching on social media in the frame of the spirit of sustainable national development.

2. Method
A qualitative approach is applied in this research by examining the texts posted by social media user accounts. The meaning of the texts is reexamined in the context assumed, which may arise both research questions and answers simultaneously [10]. Based on the above description, content analysis is used to analyze the @santrionline Instagram account. Krippendorff stated that content analysis is an empirical method, explorative, predictive, and inferential [4]. The @santrionline account research will be focused on the texts and images posted from May to October 2019. The period is determined based on the conflict potential that occurred after the April 2019 election. And October is the momentum of elected President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia inauguration. Thus, the research wants to identify the narration build by the @santrionline Instagram account during the post-election period until the inauguration of the President and Vice President.

3. Results and discussion
3.1. Results
There is a total of 273 messages posted by the @santrionline Instagram account from May to October 2019. There are three main themes identified, namely Ukhuwah insaniyah or Muslim Brotherhood as many as 117 messages, Ukhuwah Islamiyah or Islamic Brotherhood as many as 110 messages, and Ukhuwah wathaniyah as many as 13 messages, and other 26 messages are product promotions. These three themes are distributed as follows:

![Figure 1. The Topics of Ukhuwah on @santrionline Instagram.](image)

The above figure 1 shows that the whole three *ukhuwah* topics were posted in June, July, August, and October. *Ukhuwah wathaniyah* was consistently discussed in June and July with the same number of messages uploaded. Regarding the national situation, in these two months, June and July, the government was demanded to settle the people behind the 22 May 2019 riots. The explanations
regarding the sub-theme of *Ukhuwah Insaniyah*, *Islamiyah*, and *Wathaniyah* are identified in the following table:

| No. | Types of Ukhuwah | Theme of Ukhuwah                        | Number of messages posted |
|-----|------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1   | *Ukhuwah Insaniyah* | Courtesy and Morality, Marriage and Family | 82 times, 21 times       |
| 2   | *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* | Religious Education, Religious Law, Oneness of God and the Prophet Model | 65 times, Four times, 27 times |
| 3   | *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah* | National Unity, Patriotism, National Security | Three times, Six times, Four times |

Table 1 shows that the social media da'wah carried out by the @santrionline Instagram account focuses on disseminating human courtesy and morality in the social interaction supported by religious knowledge awareness and Islamic law foundation. However, this account also raises national-related propaganda that discusses the three sub-themes, namely; national unity, patriotism, and national security. By these findings, researchers conducted an analysis of @santrionline Instagram narration by applying the Social Solidarity theory explained by Emile Durkheim and Nationalism's concept by Benedict Anderson.

3.2. Discussion

There are three main discussion themes found in this study: *Ukhuwah Insaniyah*, *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, and *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah*, in which the message delivered relate to nationality. It is characterized by the information posted on the @santrionline account that encloses proper social interactions. This courtesy is inseparable from the role of family and religious law as a reference. Thus, this moral building forms national brotherhood (*Ukhuwah Wathaniyah*).

3.2.1. The concept of brotherhood (ukhuwah) in Islam. The concept of *ukhuwah*, as explained by KH, Achmad Siddiq, represents human relationships in social life that have different ethnicity, religion, language, and skin tone or are referred to as the characteristic of plural society [11]. The plurality is characterized by a diversity of groups having different social elements in the same political system [11]. Based on this point of view, Hefner referred to Indonesia as a 'classic locus' or a reference of the plural society concepts [12].

Geertz stated that religion does not only give a positive role in people's lives, but it can also contribute negatively to disunity [6]. The manager of the @santrionline account realized this reality by spreading the Ukhuwah concept as inspired by KH. Achmad Siddiq, especially topics regarding *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah*. The information containing *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah* is distributed in three ways: building national unity, patriotism or loving the motherland, and maintaining national security.

The first issue is building national unity, defined as historical unity, unity of fate, cultural unity, territorial integrity, and spiritual unity [13]. These five principles are relevant to the narrative of national unity posted by @santrionline Instagram account, specifically related to the unity of the spiritual
principle, namely ideas, ideals, and religious values that are strengthened to form national unity, which is shown in the narration posted by @santrionline on August 22, 2019, containing information that unity is a stronghold of the nation, where the citizens must have principles and convictions.

Previously on August 20, 2019 the message posted illustrated that a committed to unity is like a nail. Nails are described as having the functionals a fastener of wood pieces that can form a building. The nail characteristics are described to have an important role but are physically invisible. When the piece of wood is in the form of a house, people praise the magnificence and beauty of a house without mentioning how strong the nails are to fasten. The message emphasized in the narrative requires everyone's commitment to maintaining unity, even without others' appreciation.

Secondly, Patriotism or Loving the Homeland is reflected in the information shared on October 18, 2019, which contains the messages about patriotism delivered by KH. Abdul Ghofur. He stated that the Prophet Muhammad had two roles as the messenger of Islamic teachings and as the Arabian leader. Patriotism is fitrah (natural) and does not indicate a conflict between Islam and the nation. Likewise, the message posted on August 21, 2019, explains the loyalty of a citizen in maintaining his nation's integrity.

Ikhsan states that patriotism is implicit in the Quran, which includes the nature of nationalism and self-sacrifice [14]. The love of the motherland is one part of the noble Qur'anic values. The teachings of the prophet's religion have given a variety of reality cues that occur as valuable lessons in dealing with every change of time. The concept of patriotism in the Quran, hadith, and ijtihad of the scholars is an expected value of patriotism.

Third, National Security. Former Minister of Defense Juwono Sudarsono opined on a comprehensive national security system based on four ideal government functions: state defense, state security, public security, and human security [15]. Is there four functions are associated with @santrionline uploads referred to as the public security function. It can be seen from the @santrionline upload on July 11, 2019 which explains that the presence of NU as a community organization is guaranteed to be able to maintain national security from religious ideology movements that create violence in the name of religion. It was reinforced in the July 5 upload of the Islam Nusantara concept, which elaborated on the relationship between Islam and Indonesia. These efforts have begun with the establishment of da'wah institutions in government offices, which were uploaded on 18 and 29 June 2019. Because of @santrionline views that violence in the name of religion used to justify the term Jihad is wrong (upload on 8 June 2019). NU's cultural movement is a solution to reduce these actions. The narrative of the failure of Muslim majority countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Pakistan in maintaining the security of its citizens is a concrete example that violence in the name of religion destroys a nation. Religion is useful for creating peace, as in the upload as of 9 October 2019, which explains that interfaith leaders commit to dispel all forms of anarchism, racism, and discrimination in Papua.

Based on the three points of the message in the Wathaniyah narration, the @santrionline Instagram account shows its commitment to the national campaign through religious messages on social media. Based on this analysis, the researcher identified that the narrative was following Emile Durkheim's theory of social solidarity and the concept of nationalism from Benedict Anderson. Thus, the researcher explains the narration uploaded by Instagram @santrionline is relevant to the theory and concept.

3.2.2. Nationalism, social solidarity, and religion in the national narration. Anderson viewed that religious language can unite each individual's views even though they do not know each other [7]. The language of religion has strong social ties to affirm an idea of a nation and community with a broader scope than the boundaries of ethnicity, race, and area of residence. The use of the term Ukhwuh Wathaniyah in uploading message on @santrionline Instagram account is a campaign tool confirming that religion has a narration concerning nationality in Muslims' context in interpreting their lives, Indonesian citizens. Anderson states that religious language makes people who do not know each other can have social ties because they have the same interpretation [7].

The @santrionline Instagram posts using the terms Ukhwuh Insaniyah, Islamiyah, and Wathaniyah are languages understood by followers on Instagram even though they do not know each other. When
discussing Ukhuwah wathaniyah, the @santrionline Instagram account has implemented Anderson's concept of an imagined community. No longer use religion as a small community of a nation, but embracing the attributes of ethnic identity, skin color, mother tongue, and certain groups to believe that Islam has a national concept brotherhood (Ukhuwah wathaniyah). Then Ukhuwah wathaniyah becomes one of the essential elements in national security.

As explained by Emile Durkheim that social solidarity is divided into mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity is explained as a group of individuals who have something in common supporting solidarity [8]. Mechanical solidarity is identified as a traditional society, and individuals are attached. People in mechanical solidarity believe that humans do not stand alone. Their identity is a group, so sanctions against violations of whatever norms are borne by the group. A good reputation does not lie with individuals, but all are responsible for maintaining the group's right name [8].

Based on this explanation, the narrative in @santrionline is spreading a message in a context showing the transition from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity. The narrative that social ties occur due to the same feelings for the love of the motherland and maintaining unity are characteristics of mechanical solidarity. Simultaneously, the narrative of the importance of cooperation in maintaining differences to remain harmonious as Indonesian citizens who abide by the favorable laws agreed upon together is characterized as organic solidarity [8].

The use of religious messages in explaining mechanical and organic solidarity in the @santrionline Instagram account is relevant to Durkheim's explanation that religion and social solidarity are related. For Durkheim, religion's goal in traditional societies is to help individuals build relationships with their peers [8]. Religion helps individuals to develop a sense of solidarity, group, and form social integration. The role of religion becomes essential in mechanical solidarity. It is undoubtedly contrary to organic solidarity, which makes the role of religion not dominant [8]. Thus, it is logical that the @santrionline Instagram account strengthens mechanical solidarity, bearing in mind that religious messages are tools to form social bonds. On the other hand, the relationship between individuals as citizens requires the concept of organic solidarity. When social solidarity has formed, the next step is to build national integration.

3.2.3. Ukhuwah Wathaniyah in the narrative of peace, justice, and strong institution. Sustainable development by safeguarding the present generation and creating the future. This is following the definition made by the World Commission and Environment and Development in 1987 that "meeting the needs of the present without future generations," which means that this is about the sustainability of the human generation. The imagination between different generations is included in the discussion of nationalism [16].

Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional (Lemhanas) or the National Defense Institute in Suryohadiprojo stated that national defense means that the condition of a nation contains tenacity and integrity, forming a national power that can face and overcome any threats, challenges, obstacles, and disturbances, both from outside or within the country, directly or indirectly endanger the life of the nation and the achievement of national goals [17]. According to Lofven, today's problem of national security is not merely to be equipped with military threats and armed attacks [18].

Lofven mentions that there are security measures that must not be ignored in addition to military threats, namely epidemics and infectious diseases, combating terrorism and organized crime, ensuring safe transportation and reliable food supplies, protecting disruption of energy supplies, fighting climate that damages changes, and initiatives for global peace and development [18]. If it is related to the @santrionline Instagram account's narrative, then maintaining national defense is by combating terrorism and organized crime.

Ironically, Pancasila's ideology, which has been stipulated in the 1945 Constitution as a state ideology, has not obtained total support since the 1998 reforms [19]. According to Franz Magnis Suseno, Pancasila's values have been weakened due to the unfulfilled of the five Pancasila points in daily life [19]. Even a survey conducted by Kompas Daily in 2008 stated that 48.4 percent of respondents aged
17-29 years old could not mention the principles of Pancasila correctly, there was 42.7 percent of respondents aged 30-45 years and as many as 60.6 percent of respondents aged 46 years and over incorrectly mentioned the five Principles of Pancasila. The above survey showed that the support for Pancasila is contrary to the comprehension of the five principles. Thus, the @santrionline Instagram account spread the concept of Ukhawah Wathaniyah to encourage the understanding of Pancasila's five principles. It implies the effort to maintain national defense based on the ideology. Finally, the narrative of Ukhawah Wathaniyah is in line with the achievement of peace, justice, and strong institutions.

3.2.4. The power of influencer in religious narratives. The character's choice chosen @santrionline Instagram account explains what Suryanto must have closeness with the audience, equality, and social and physical attractiveness, wherein this case a communicator must have credibility and authority, and known status, his power and authority [20]. All these elements have been owned by Habib Lutfi, Habib Umar, and KH. Maimun Zubair, and KH. Ahmad Siddiq. First, Habib Lutfi is a preacher who has the legitimacy to convey the national campaign through the national blessing activity that he initiated with the name Majelis Kanzus Shalawat [21]. The narrative of Ukhawah Wathaniyah that was uploaded was sourced from Habib Lutfi, in line with his work which had held a state/nation defense conference with the theme "Defending the State: Concept and Urgency in Islam" in 2016 which resulted in nine points including explaining that defending the country as an obligation stated in the Qur'an and the Hadith. Besides, positioning Indonesia as the initiator of state defense is reflected in Islam rahmatan lil 'alamin. Secondly, Habib Umar Husein Assegaf described a speech before an interfaith figure about the importance of maintaining good relations between religious communities [22]. He said in front of priests, priests, monks, and other religious leaders that there is a common ground where all religions share a standard view, for example, respect for humanity, the prohibition on taking the rights of neighbors, and the importance of maintaining goodness among religious people [22]. This was implemented with the formation of the National Movement Against Violence and Intolerance or called GENERATION [23]. Besides, Habib Umar also voiced da'wah about the importance of loving the motherland when speaking before religious leaders [24]. This fact is relevant to the spirit of the @santrionline Instagram account in spreading nationalist propaganda.

Third, KH. Maimun Zubair is a religious figure who has cultural capital, which in the end, can strengthen the legitimacy of the national narrative in the @santrionline Instagram account, especially in the campaign for ideas about Ukhawah Wathaniyah [25]. KH has written some books. Maimun Zubair placed it as a reference for Indonesian scholars in the field of fiqh or Islamic law. Based on this background, the narrative of Ukhawah Wathaniyah, which was campaigned by @santrionline, quoted quotations from KH. Maimun Zubair has clear goals and objectives, namely admirers and students who study religion to him. The @santrionline Instagram account is seen trying to build a national narrative by building the legitimacy of the strong Ukhawah Wathaniyah campaign through scientific reference sources that citizens can trust and account for.

Fourth, K.H. Ahmad Siddiq revealed a speech after being elected as Rais Aam PBNU in the 27th Congress in 1984 in Situbondo that "Thus, the Republic of Indonesia is a final form of effort for all nations, especially Muslims, to establish a state (nationally) unit) in the archipelago [23]. The Ulama in NU believes that Pancasila's acceptance is intended as a national struggle to achieve prosperity and social justice." There are three critical points in the statement of Kiai Achmad Siddiq, first, the nation-state (nation-state) [24].

The four characters used by the Instagram account @santrionline Instagram account legitimize messages disseminated on social media as national propaganda steps that fit their lives. The message quoted by the @santrionline Instagram account is a small part of the long history of how these figures played a role in the preaching of Ukhawah Wathaniyah. Islam is a civilization that adds to the religious dimension that ultimately advances lead to humanity's progress that serves human instincts to live in peace and harmony with other creatures and can work together to achieve universal welfare [24].
4. Conclusion

Sustainable Development and nationalism can be elaborated through the concept of *Ukhuwah Wathaniyah*, spread by the Instagram account @santrionline. Content that contains messages about brotherhood, unity, social integration, and love for the country is the right combination to answer the gap between the narrative of sustainable development and nationalism. The use of the figures of Habib and Kiyai legitimates the message that religion is not against the concept of peace, justice, and strong institutions based on sustainable development.

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