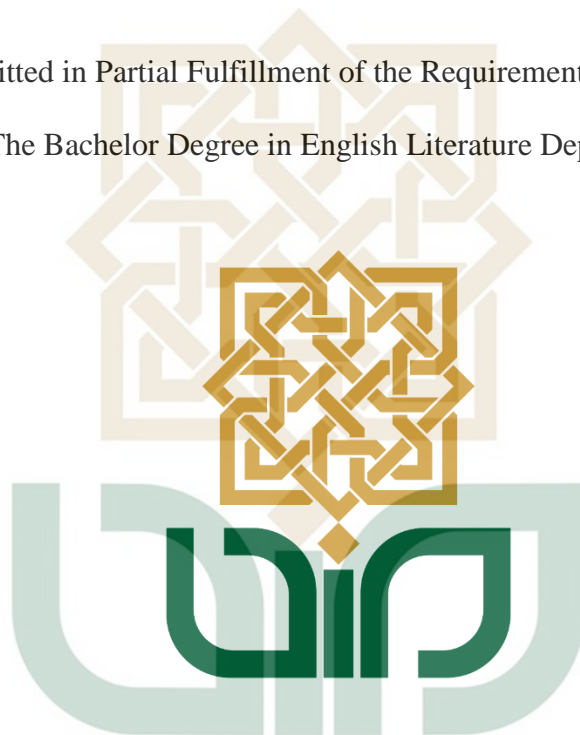


**THE HIZB UT-TAHRIR'S LANGUAGE OF PROPAGANDA ON
TWITTER: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF ANALYSIS**

A GRADUATING PAPER

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Gaining
The Bachelor Degree in English Literature Department



By:
Mad Yahya
17101050028

STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA

**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF ADAB AND CULTURAL SCIENCES
STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA**

2021



PENGESAHAN TUGAS AKHIR

Nomor : B-987/Un.02/DA/PP.00.9/07/2021

Tugas Akhir dengan judul : The Hizbut Tahrir's Language of Propaganda on Twitter: A Critical Discourse of Analysis

yang dipersiapkan dan disusun oleh:

Nama : MAD YAHYA
Nomor Induk Mahasiswa : 17101050028
Telah diujikan pada : Jumat, 25 Juni 2021
Nilai ujian Tugas Akhir : A-

dinyatakan telah diterima oleh Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

TIM UJIAN TUGAS AKHIR



Ketua Sidang
Dr. Ening Hermiti, M.Hum.
SIGNED

Valid ID: 60de6a24ca095



Penguji I
Dr. Hisyam Zaini, M.A.
SIGNED

Valid ID: 60dd8f3db651d



Penguji II
Dr. Witriani, S.S. M.Hum.
SIGNED

Valid ID: 60de6e3b29ad7



Yogyakarta, 25 Juni 2021
UIN Sunan Kalijaga
Dekan Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya
Dr. Muhammad Wildan, M.A.
SIGNED

Valid ID: 60dee2809665e

A FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

I certify this thesis is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for the content of this thesis. Other writer's opinions or findings included in the thesis are quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standars.

Yogyakarta, 02 Juli 2021

The Writer,



Mad Yahya
Student ID: 17101050028



STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA



NOTA DINAS

Hal: Skripsi
a.n Mad Yahya

Yth.
Dekan Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya
UIN Sunan Kalijaga
Di Yogyakarta

Assalamu'alaikum Wr.Wb

Setelah memeriksa, meneliti, dan memberikan arahan untuk perbaikan atas skripsi saudara:

Nama : Mad Yahya
NIM : 17101050028
Prodi : Sastra Inggris
Fakultas : Adab dan Ilmu Budaya
Judul :

**THE HIZB UT-TAHRIR'S LANGUAGE OF PROPAGANDA ON TWITTER: A
CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF ANALYSIS**

Saya menyatakan bahwa skripsi tersebut sudah dapat diajukan pada sidang Munaqosah untuk memenuhi salah satu syarat memperoleh gelar Sarjana Sastra Inggris.

Atas perhatiannya, saya ucapkan terima kasih.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr.Wb.

Yogyakarta, 15 Juni 2021

Pembimbing

Dr. Ening Herniti, M.Hum

NIP. 197311102003122002

THE HIZB UT-TAHRIR'S LANGUAGE OF PROPAGANDA ON TWITTER: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF ANALYSIS

By: Mad Yahya

(Email: faaizul.yahya@gmail.com)

ABSTRACT

Online propaganda is one of the global issues on the massive use of social media by modern society. The propaganda is widely used by various organizations, particularly by religious institutions that focus on political goals such as Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT). HT is widely banned in many countries, but the party has a lot of members through its online propaganda. This research aims to analyze the propaganda language of HT on the official Twitter account, *KhilafaRashida*. The research focuses on the analysis of linguistic patterns and the functions of discourse and social culture. The research is qualitative research with a purposive sampling method. In collecting data, the researcher uses observation and documentation techniques. The data sources are seventy tweets which were collected from November 2018 to November 2020. Moreover, the analysis is based on the three-level model of critical discourse analysis by Fairclough; description, interpretation, and explanation. The results show that the language pattern of HT propaganda uses ideologically contested words in the vocabulary. In grammar, HT roles as a giver (of information), promiser, and accuser in declarative sentences, as an asker (of action) in grammatical question sentences, and as an order in imperative sentences. Regarding the social function of the text, HT uses tweets to inform, tell, explain and debate. Some popular issues are elaborated based on these text social functions using meso-level and macrolevel communication on Twitter. Generally, HT's tweets highlight the issue of social change in Muslim conditions particularly the degradation of Muslim civilization and the domination of the Western countries. Thus, HT campaigns for the *Khilafah* as a solution to the current Muslim crisis.

Keywords: *Critical discourse analysis, Hizb ut-Tahrir, Khilafah, and propaganda language.*

THE HIZB UT-TAHRIR'S LANGUAGE OF PROPAGANDA ON TWITTER: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF ANALYSIS

Oleh: Mad Yahya

(Email: faaizul.yahya@gmail.com)

ABSTRAK

Propaganda daring merupakan salah satu isu global di tengah masifnya penggunaan sosial media oleh masyarakat modern. Hal ini banyak dimanfaatkan oleh berbagai instansi, seperti halnya organisasi agama yang berfokus pada tujuan politis, Hizbut Tahrir (HT) misalnya. Meskipun secara luas dilarang di banyak negara, tetapi HT tetap memiliki banyak anggota melalui propaganda daringnya. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis bahasa propaganda HT di akun resmi Twiternya, KhilafaRashida. Penelitian ini berfokus pada analisis pola linguistik dan fungsinya secara lebih luas pada *discourse* dan *social-culture*. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan metode *purposive sampling*. Dalam mengumpulkan data, peneliti menggunakan teknik observasi dan dokumentasi. Sumber data berjumlah tujuh puluh *tweets* yang dikumpulkan antara November 2018 sampai November 2020. Analisis dalam penelitian ini berdasarkan model tiga tingkat analisis bahasa dalam *critical discourse analysis* oleh Norman Fairclough; *description*, *interpretation*, dan *explanation*. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pola bahasa pada propaganda HT menggunakan *ideologically contested words* pada vocabulary *tweets*-nya. Pada taraf grammar, HT juga berperan sebagai *giver (of information)*, *promiser*, dan *accuser* dalam kalimat deklaratif, sebagai *asker (of action)* dalam kalimat tanya, dan sebagai *order* dalam kalimat imperatif. Berkaitan dengan fungsi sosial teks, HT menggunakan propaganda *tweets*-nya untuk menginformasikan, menceritakan, menjelaskan, dan mendebat. Beragam isu populer dielaborasi berdasarkan empat jenis fungsi sosial teks menggunakan layanan komunikasi meso-level dan makrolevel Twitter. Secara umum, *tweet* HT menyoroti isu perubahan sosial peradaban umat Islam yang tertinggal serta dominasi bangsa Barat di negara-negara mayoritas Muslim. Sehingga melalui propogandanya, HT mengkampanyekan Khilafah sebagai solusi dari krisisnya peradaban umat Muslim saat ini.

Kata kunci: *Critical discourse analysis, Hizb ut-Tahrir, Khilafah, dan propaganda language.*

MOTTO

Tubuh mempunyai keinginan yang tidak kita ketahui, mereka dipisahkan karena alasan duniawi dan dipisahkan di ujung bumi, namun jiwa yang ada ditangan cinta terus hidup sampai kematian datang dan menghadapkan pada Tuhan

(Kahlil Gibran dalam Sayap-sayap Patah)



STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA

DEDICATION

This research paper is dedicated to;

My beloved Mom and Dad, Mutakimah and Habib

All of my teachers and *asatidz*

All of my lit family

My big family in English Department and UIN Sunan Kalijaga

All human being, and
the universe



STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Assalamu'alaikum wr. wb.

Alhamdulillahirobbil'alamin. All of the universe's praise be to Allah, I do praise my greatest thanks to Allah Swt who has been giving all the world creature His nature, *ar-Rahman*. And may we are the people who get His nature, *ar-Rahim*. The prayers and peace upon Nabi Muhammad Saw for his guidance and the endless love for his *ummah*. I would express my deep appreciations and thank for people who supported the researcher to finish this paper. They are;

1. Prof. Dr. Phil. Al Makin, S.Ag., M.A. as the Rector of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
2. Dr. Muhammad Wildan, M.A. as the Dean of Faculty of Adab and Cultural Sciences. Dr. Ubaidillah, S.S., M.Hum. as the Vice Dean I, Dr. Uki Sukiman, M.Ag. as the Vice Dean II, Dr. Sujadi, M.A. as the Vice Dean III of Faculty of Adab and Cultural Sciences, UIN Sunan Kalijaga.
3. Mrs Ulyati Retno Sari, S.S., M.Hum. as the Head of English Department. Thanks a lot for supporting us to finish our study in this impressive and excellent department.
4. Mrs Febriyanti Dwiratna Lestari, S.S., M.A. (Ph.D. cand)., as the Secretary of English Department.
5. Dr. Danial Hidayatullah, S.S., M.Hum. as the academic advisor. Thanks a lot for the advice, suggestions, and guidance in academic and non-academic.
6. Dr. Ening Herniti, M.Hum. as the best and beloved advisor of my graduating paper.

7. All of my beloved lecturers: Dr. Ubaidillah, S.S., M.Hum., Dr. Witriani, S.S., M.Hum., Mr. Arif Budiman, S.S., M.A., Mr. Fuad Arif Fudiyartanto, S.Pd., M.Hum., M.Ed., Ph.D., Mr. Dwi Margo Yuwono, S.Pd., M.Hum., Mr. Bambang Hariyanto, S.S., M.A., Mrs. Aninda Aji Siwi, S.Pd., M.Pd., Mrs. Harsiwi Fajar Sari, S.S., M.A., Mrs. Nisa Syuhda, S.S., M.Hum., Mrs. Rosiana Rizqy Wijayanti, S.Hum., M.A., and others.
8. My beloved parents, Mr Habib and Mrs Mutakimah for love and courage to your sons. Maybe you did not read this paper, but just believe that the parent's love is always life in all the children's works.
9. My big bro, Mas Husin, for teaching how a man fights the world, and all of my big family, many thanks for your support.
10. All of alumni comrades on PP Ulul Albab Balirejo DI Yogyakarta. Many thanks for everything, wishing the best life story for you all.
11. All of my friends in English Department chapter 2017. You all are awesome.
12. My friends on SMJ squad, Ahwaz, Bidikmisi, and Permadani UIN Sunan Kalijaga. You all are great people, many thanks for many things.
13. My friends on UKM Exact UIN Sunan Kalijaga. Thanks a bunch for knowledge, experience, and warm friendships.
14. Many thanks for my friends on Garawiksa Institute, good people on Pandega Mandala and Gorongan, Depok, and all of my partners on HMI UIN Sunan Kalijaga.

Finally, the researcher does realize that there are mistakes in this paper research. To God, I ask for forgiveness for all my mistakes, and to the reader, I really appreciate those who give suggestions and critics to improve this graduating paper. Wishfully, this paper gives positive contributions to academic and social life, particularly in this social media era.

Wassalamu 'alaikum wr. wb.

Yogyakarta, June 14th, 2021

Mad Yahya

NIM. 17101050028



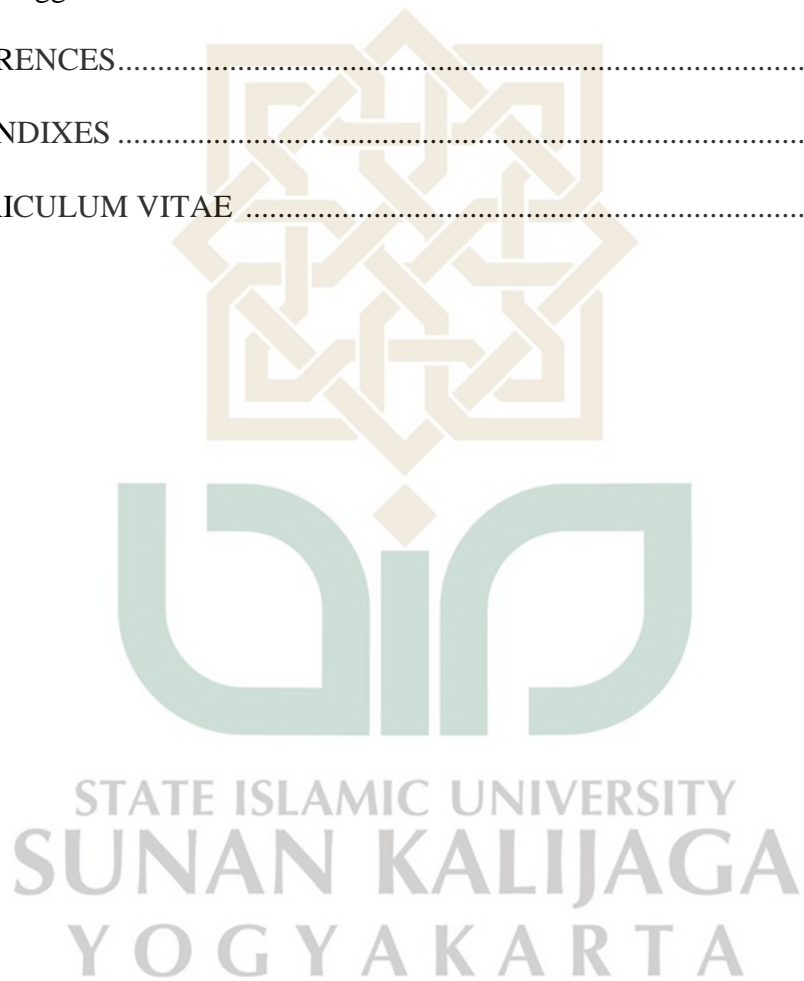
STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

HALAMAN PENGESAHAN	i
A FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT	ii
NOTA DINAS	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ABSTRAK	v
MOTTO	vi
DEDICATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
LIST OF APPENDIXES.....	xvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xvii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of Study.....	1
1.2 Research Questions	6
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	7
1.4 Significances of the Study.....	7
1.5 Literature Review	8
1.6 Theoretical Approach.....	11
1.7 Method of Research.....	13
1.7.1 Type of Research	13

1.7.2 Data Sources	14
1.7.3 Data Collecting Technique	14
1.7.4 Data Analysis Technique	15
1.8 Paper Organization	15
CHAPTER II THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	16
2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis Theory	16
2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough	21
2.2.1 Description.....	22
2.2.2 Discourse Practice Analysis (Interpretation).....	23
2.2.3 Sociocultural Analysis (Explanation).....	26
2.3 Hizb ut-Tahrir.....	28
CHAPTER III FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	32
3.1 Research Finding.....	32
3.2 Discussion	33
3.2.1 Description	34
3.2.1.1 Vocabulary.....	35
3.2.1.1.1 Experiential Values.....	36
3.2.1.1.2 Relational Values.....	38
3.2.1.1.3 Expressive Values.....	42
3.2.1.2 Grammar	43
3.2.1.2.1 Experiential Values.....	45
3.2.1.2.2 Relational Values.....	47
3.2.1.2.3 Expressive Values.....	50

3.2.2 Discourse Practice Analysis (Interpretation).....	52
3.2.3 Sociocultural Analysis (Explanation).....	60
CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION.....	68
4.1 Conclusion.....	68
4.2 Suggestions.....	69
REFERENCES.....	70
APPENDIXES	73
CURRICULUM VITAE	88



LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Factual Genre	19
Table 2.2 Narrative Genre	19
Table 2.3 Formal Features Stage of CDA Fairclough	23
Table 3.1 Distribution of the Ideologically Contested Words in HT Tweets	35
Table 3.2 Distribution of the Word-Formality in HT Tweets	35
Table 3.3 Characteristics of Formal and Informal Style	39
Table 3.4 Distribution of the Sentence Modes in HT Tweets	44
Table 3.5 Distribution of the Types of Process and Participant in HT Tweets	44
Table 3.6 Distribution of Modality in HT Tweets	44
Table 3.7 Distribution of Genre in the HT Tweets	52



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Discourse as Text, Interaction, and Context CDA Fairclough	13
Figure 2.1 Interpretation	24
Figure 2.2 Explanation Stage	27



LIST OF APPENDIXES

APENDIX I. The Data Sample of HT Tweets.....	73
APENDIX II. The Formal Feature Distributions of Vocabulary Analysis.....	80
APENDIX III. The Formal Feature Distributions of Grammar Analysis.....	82
APENDIX IV. The Formal Feature Distributions of Modality.....	83
APENDIX V. The Distribution of Genres.....	86



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	= Critical Discourse Analysis
CEP	= The Counter Extremism Project
CSC	= The Center for Social Cohesion
HT	= Hizb ut-Tahrir
IS	= Islamic State
MR	= Member Resources



STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
SUNAN KALIJAGA
YOGYAKARTA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Social media is the largest communication instrument to communicate and share information in this century. This strategic position of social media is used by a lot of organizations, political apparatus, government oppositions, business institutions, and even extremist groups to spread propaganda. Lyons et al (2020:25) said that the perils of online propaganda on social media are truly a global issue in these decades. Social media has become a virtual propaganda battlefield by several organizations including religious institutions such as al-Qaeda, Islamic State (IS), and Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT).

The ease of access to information and communication was used by institutions to spread their interest to propagate and ensure organizational longevity (Bertram, 2016:225). This institutions' propaganda which massively spreads in social media empirically has a large effect on the beliefs and behaviour of the people (Yu, 2019:1). For example, the people's decision to choose Jokowi or Prabowo in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, capitalism or socialism system, and *Khilafah* or Democracy is heavily influenced by the institutions' propaganda. The people's choices in politics, economy, and education were proposed by the propaganda which makes us believe and follow the credo. Thus, social media is one of the strongest instruments to propagate people today.

Propaganda in social media is not something new. In order to maintain the institution's ideologies, propaganda was shared by the institution to strengthen the

member's beliefs and recruit new partisans. Based on the Britannica Encyclopedia, propaganda is defined as the dissemination of information (facts, arguments, rumours, half-truths, or lies) to influence public opinion (Smith, 2020). Besides, Tucker et al. (2018) define propaganda as information that can be true but is used to disparage opposing viewpoints (Guess & Lyons, 2020:11). From these definitions, propaganda could be defined as the designed proposition of language which influences people in the particular ideology, belief, opinion, and perception of something to the specific purpose. Thus, propaganda language on social media has a large impact on how to construct thinking on social media users.

One of the most popular social media today is Twitter which launched in 2006, and it is used by hundreds of million people over the world. Twitter is an online social media micro-blogging service deploying a short message of 140 characters or fewer, so-called *tweets* (Cook et al., 2014:58). Three communication facilities can utilize by the users on Twitter: retweet (RTs), mentions (@mentions), and hashtags (following keyword #). Also, Twitter provides three main levels of communication: interpersonal communication on the micro-level, the meso-level exchanges of people who are directly connected through the network of followers and followee, and the last is hashtag-centred as the macro-level communication which enables exchanges among all Twitter users (Haustein, n.d.:3). By the million users and various communication facilities, Twitter has a strategic function on social communication, particularly in propaganda.

Twitter and other social media are the propaganda war fields for various social, political, economic, and even religious institutions. Propaganda on Twitter

also aims to influence and propagate people in a particular ideology or the institution's interest. Thus, a lot of content on Twitter and other social media is not valid. Even Lyons and Guess (2020:10) wrote, "Facebook and Twitter are more likely to be discussed as incubators of fake news and propaganda than tools for empowerment and social change". These fake news and propaganda language on Twitter could propagate the social media users unconsciously. Even some controversial organizations like al-Qaeda and Hizb ut-Tahrir gained many members through the institutions' propaganda on Twitter.

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) which also was known as Hezb ut-Tahrir or Hizbut Tahrir is an Islamic party that has focused on political movement. The party of liberation, the literal meaning of HT, has a long and complicated history since the organization was established in 1953 by Taqiyudin al-Nabhani. Within the extended struggle over a period of time, HT became one of the Islamic vigorous organizations in the world. Nonetheless, this vigorous and influencing stance of this organization has negative stigmas, controversial ideologies, and inimical accusations. Some organizations like the Counter Extremism Project (CEP), the Center for Social Cohesion (CSC), and Hudson Institute include HT as one of the Islamic-revolutionary organizations which carry out radical ideologies.

HT insists that they are a non-violent political party, but some individuals who affiliated with HT were accused of violent acts in some countries (Counter Extremism Project, 2014:1). Moreover, the ideologies of the party were opposed by other institutions, especially in HT's political view. About this HT wrote:

“The aim of Hizb ut-Tahrir is to resume the Islamic way of life and to convey the Islamic *da'wah* to the world. This objective means bringing the Muslim back to the living an Islamic way of life in *Dar al-Islam* and in an Islamic society such that all of life's affairs in society are administered according to the *Shari'ah* rules, and the viewpoint in it is halal and the haram under the shade of the Islamic State, which is the *Khilafah* State.” (Hizb ut-Tahrir, 2000:12).

Because of these controversial views, some countries have banned this party and most of them are in Muslim countries like the Middle East, Central Asia, and South-East Asia.

In social media, people can easily find HT posts because most social media platforms use HT to spread propaganda. People can easily find their propaganda like @KhilafaRashida on Twitter, @HTCMOEN1 on Facebook, and @hizb.ut.tahrir.info.tr on Instagram. Moreover, these HT social media accounts multiply in various accounts to spread more the party's propaganda. For example on Twitter, there are dozens of HT accounts based on the countries and HT's subsidiary institutions like @HTAustralia, @HizbutTahrirTR, @HizbAmerika, @HTmediaPAK, @Muslimah_HTM, and other accounts. To focus on this research study, the researcher restricts the propaganda language of the main HT International Twitter account, @KhilafaRashida.

There is an interesting phenomenon in HT propaganda language. Despite HT ideologies being obviously against the general public institutions like the government in some countries, extremist academics, or even peer Islamic organizations, a lot of the followers still survived and even gained new members.

Thus, there is something “freaky” in HT propaganda language. The HT Islamic ideologies particularly in the political movement are marginal ideologies that are opposed by the mainstream ideologies. For example, the prohibition of the party in dozens of countries showed that this organization was denied by the nation-ideology and the different political views with other Islamic institutions like Shia, Sunni, Wahhabi, and even al-Qaeda. Moreover, a lot of academic institutions like the CEP and the CSC include HT as one of the Islamic extremism groups. Instead, in this “war of ideology propaganda”, HT proves that the party can still run today with millions of members. Indeed, the propaganda language of the party was an important instrument on these ideological battlefields.

Related to how the propaganda language makes the power of institutions, it can be revealed from the linguistic study, particularly critical discourse analysis (CDA). In this regard, Fairclough is one of the linguists who have a focus on the relation between language, power, and ideology. On the three dimensions of CDA Fairclough analysis, the agenda behind the propaganda language of the institution could be revealed based on text, discourse, and sociocultural context. This current research tries to analyze HT propaganda, particularly from the main HT International Twitter account, @KhilafaRashida.

Periodically, @KhilafaRashida releases some posts which were advertising the party ideologies on various topics. For example, on data 16 of the HT tweets which were posted in April 2019 said, “To Our People in #Sudan and #Algeria! Declare: It is for Allah, it is for Allah, not East nor West, but the *Khilafah* State.” In order to get a comprehensive analysis from the data, the researcher needs to

reveal the tweet in all three levels; the text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

At the description level, the researcher analyzes the vocabulary and grammar aspects like modality, ideologically contested words, modes, and other sentence structures. At this stage, there are three values of data to be disclosed; experiential values, relational values, and expressive values. In the interpretation stage, the text features of the data are explored to determine the discourse practice. In this example, data 16 above related to the crisis caused by President Omar Al-Bashir in Sudan, who officiated this country since June 1989 was overthrown (BBC, 2019). In this second stage, the researcher explains the purpose of the text, relations, participants, and the role of language. Moreover, the sociocultural practice analysis relates to the discourse practice and the sociocultural context. Therefore, the CDA Fairclough model involves the micro-level and macro-level of the society and linguistic study (Miji Lestari et al., 2019:7). At last, this research can reveal the influence of propaganda language by the religious institutions, particularly HT on Twitter.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the explanations in the background, the researcher formulates the questions as follows:

1. What are the language patterns of HT propaganda on Twitter?
2. How do the discourse practice and social context of HT propaganda on Twitter have functioned?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objects of this paper are listed as follows:

1. To describe the language patterns of HT propaganda language on HT Twitter account
2. To elucidate the discourse practice and social context functions of HT propaganda language

1.4 Significances of Study

Theoretically, this paper aims to study propaganda language based on CDA Fairclough. The CDA Fairclough theory which is used to analyze HT propaganda in this paper is appropriate to study the language of social institutions and ideologies. This theoretical research describes the language patterns of HT propaganda utterance on their Twitter account. This research also tries to explain how the language propaganda of HT on Twitter influenced the *tweeps* to follow the ideological goals of the party. Besides, the current paper of HT propaganda on Twitter based on sociolinguistic CDA Fairclough is useful as an additional source for studying and reviewing such issues.

Practically, this paper can help readers or researchers to learn HT propaganda language on social media particularly on the Twitter account of HT. Also, the research enriches the discussion of HT somewhat was not only discussed in Muslim studies but also non-Muslim researchers. HT, which was rejected in some countries because of the controversial ideology and disputable view, is one of the influential Islamic organizations today. Thus, the discussion of propaganda language in this paper can be an additional contribution to academic research.

1.5 Literature Review

This paper was conducted on two focus fields of study, the propaganda language on Twitter and the relation of language-society based on the theory of Fairclough CDA approach. The researcher reviews some literature works which relate propaganda on social media and the theory based on the critical discourse analysis field. The first is the journal entitled “Critical Discourse Analysis of Gus Ipul’s Political Advertising in 2018 East Java Regional Election” by Moh. Khoirul Anam and Nurhayati. The journal was published in Oktober 2019 by Profetik: Jurnal Komunikasi, Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi UIN Sunan Kalijaga. The journal employs critical discourse analysis (CDA) and systemic functional grammar (SFG) to reveal Gus Ipul’s online campaign in East Java Governor election 2018. Specifically, the journal analyzes five political campaign videos on YouTube which are downloaded, transcribed, and analyzed.

Related to this research, the journal is different in the data. However, the theory is similar which uses Fairclough theory as the research approach. From the journal analysis, the researchers found that Gus Ipul’s political advertising campaign included advocacy and contrasting advertising (Anam & Nurhayati, 2019:261). Also, there are four political advertising strategies of Gus Ipul’s campaign; a) viz emphasizing Gus Ipul’s good things; b) emphasizing the political opponent bad things; c) de-emphasizing Gus Ipul’s bad things; and d) de-emphasizing the political opponent bad things (Anam & Nurhayati, 2019:272–273). A few differences from the current research, the journal employs systemic

functional grammar (SFG) in the second level of Fairclough analysis. Meanwhile, this research is a single theory.

The second research is a journal entitled “Ready for the World? Measuring the (Trans-)National Quality of Political Issue Publics on Twitter” by Wolf J. Schünemann which was published in October 2020 by Media and Communication, Cogitatio Press. The journal which was indexed Q1 in Scopus analyzes how communication in Twitter is measured in the case of the public issue of *climate change*. By analyzing six million tweets in total which were collected between the years 2015 and 2018, Schünemann suggests that a combined perspective on indicators of user interaction and cross-referential cohesion helps to develop a better and more nuanced understanding of online issue publics (Schünemann, 2020:40). Furthermore, the journal reviewed has the same object as the current research, *tweets* on Twitter. However, the methodology of both types of research are different.

The third is also a journal written by Anang Sujoko in Journal Informasi, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta entitled “Satirical Political Communication 2019 Indonesia’s Presidential Election on Social Media”. The journal published in 2020 analyses satirical communication in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election particularly by three kinds of social media mainstems, Youtube, Facebook, and Twitter. The journal reveals that three prominent accounts distributed satire political communication during the presidential election they are *skinnyindonesian24*, *nurhadi_aldo*, and *#2019GantiPresiden* (Sujoko, 2020:15). The study also states that to make satirical political communication work

effectively, the satirical content must be done not cross the agreed-upon context of political and cultural boundaries (Sujoko, 2020:15). Meanwhile, the journal uses Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, while the current research uses Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. Related to this current research, the journal analyses social media content and Twitter is one of them.

Another research is a journal entitled "Javanese Women's Political Discourse in Response to the 2019 Indonesia General Election" by Prembayun Miji Lestari, Djatmika, Sumarlam, and Dwi Purnanto. The research was published in the Journal of Social Studies Education Research in 2019 by the Association for Social Studies Educators (ASSE), Turkey. The journal which was indexed Q2 in Scopus explains how Javanese women's political discourse in response to the 2019 Indonesian General Election. The research employs Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to analyze the data obtained from in-depth interviews. Therefore the journal has a similarity with the current research in that both use Fairclough critical discourse analysis to reveal datum. The journal reveals that the political discourse of Javanese women is inseparable from the boundaries of the Javanese language and the cultural context (Miji Lestari et al., 2019:193). The third of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis methods which consist of textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural dimensions reveal further in the Javanese women's language. The analysis specifically shows *unen-unen* (traditional Javanese idioms) frequently used in an attempt to minimize the negative impacts resulting from discussing sensitive topics (Miji Lestari et al., 2019:210). Related to the current research, the journal is objectively different on the corpus data.

1.6 Theoretical Approach

In this research, the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of Fairclough has been employed to analyze the propaganda language of HT tweets. One of the most important ideologies of the party was the social and political movement by constituting *Khilafah*. To describe the purposes of the party through the language utterance in multidimensional approaches: the text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice, Fairclough theory is an appropriate theory. The current research analyzes how the ideology of the HT propaganda language on @KhilafaRashida was inducted to the members and the *tweeps*.

The critical discourse analysis of Fairclough is focused on how to describe linguistic patterns of the institution related to power and ideology. Fairclough states that language is the other realization of ideology and power in society. In this regard, Fairclough said that power could exist in two ways; coercion (physical violence) and the manufacture of consent or at least acquiescence (Fairclough, 1989:4). The second manner is the scheme of how the power and ideology of the institution appear through language in society. Language is the significant power through the production, maintenance, and change of social relations (Fairclough, 1989:1). This way helps the researchers to increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of ideology and power. Through CDA Fairclough theory, the relation among language propaganda, ideology, and power in the sociocultural context could be described.

The CDA Fairclough assumes that power cannot be separated from ideology in society because the ideology underlines the power convention and language

discourse. There are some assumptions why ideologies are closely linked to power and society, the first is because of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions and so the nature of conventions itself and the second, ideologies are a means of legitimizing existing social relations (Fairclough, 1989:2). Thus, ideologies in some ways also manifest in language and how-to people use it. Language is closely linked to ideologies, because language is the commonest form of social behaviour, and social behaviour is where people rely on common-sense assumptions. Fairclough also argues that in modern society, the exercise of power is increasingly achieved through ideology and more particularly, ideology workings of language (Fairclough, 1989:2). These reasons throw upon language being inseparable from power and ideology in society.

When analyzing text, Fairclough's analysis cannot separate from social reality where the text is produced. These social contexts are obtained in multiple diverse categories such as discourse, orders of discourse, ideologies, and ideologies. Discourse interpretation is a must when analyzing text because discourse as a social practice is determined by social structures (Fairclough, 1989:17). To determine actual discourse, we need to understand the orders of discourse that set conventions of social institutions. In other cases, orders of discourse are ideologically shaped by power relations in social institutions and society as a whole (Fairclough, 1989:17). These Fairclough approaches which integrate various dimensions of social practices help us to understand language and the relation with power, society, and ideology behind the text.

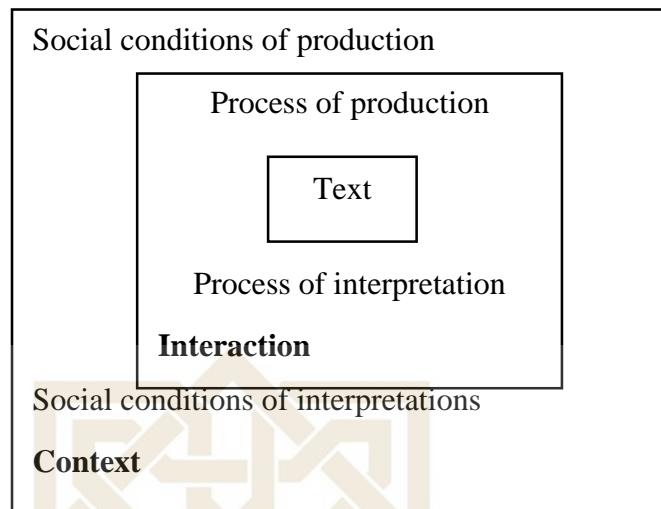


Fig. 1.1 Discourse as text, interaction, and context (Fairclough, 1989:25)

1.7 Method of Research

1.7.1 Type of Research

This paper uses qualitative research. Creswell said that qualitative research is a study of the social problem and concluded by interpreting the meaning (Creswell, 2009:1). Qualitative research which is based on the post-positivist paradigm also was known as an interpretative and constructive paradigm. The paradigms view social reality as a holistic, complex, dynamic, meaningful, and reciprocal case (Sugiyono, 2019:17). It is related to the discussion of the paper which analyzes language utterance as the social phenomenon through CDA Fairclough theory. The paper describes how language has power in social life and influences people to conceive ideologies. Also, the paper uses a descriptive qualitative method to analyze HT propaganda language. Descriptive qualitative is the appropriate approach in analyzing qualitative research because the research type encloses the researcher the basic instrument (Sugiyono, 2019:17).

1.7.2 Data Sources

The main data was collected from tweets of the HT International Twitter account named @KhilafaRashida from November 2018 until November 2020. The Twitter account is the official account of HT International which represents the interests. The tweets consist of HT statements which were chosen as the basic data before being analyzed. The researcher also collects data from some sources as secondary data. The literature sources like books, journals, articles, the internet, and other studies are considered to be relevant information with this paper.

1.7.3 Data Collection Technique

The researcher uses observation and documentation techniques to collect data. In this observation technique, the researcher uses passive participation because the data is tweet scripts. Passive participation means when the researcher presents at the scene of action but does not interact or participate (Sugiyono, 2019:299). While the second is the documentation technique, screen capture documentation of tweets on the HT Twitter account was the researcher applied to collect the data. The researcher collected HT tweets periodically for two years, from November 2018 until November 2020. Because there were not more than four tweets in a month, there are 70 tweets from @KhilafaRashida as the sample of the research. Before the data was analyzed, the researcher uses purposive sampling to select the appropriate data, particularly on the interpretation and explanation stages. Purposive sampling takes the sampling data based on certain considerations (Sugiyono, 2019:289). In doing so, the purposive sampling method in the current research considers the linguistic study particularly on the CDA of Fairclough.

1.7.4 Data Analysis Technique

After the data sample was compiled, the next step is reduction and selection. These steps intend to choose the selected tweets which are appropriate to analyze with Fairclough theory. The next steps are identification and classification. The current paper uses the CDA Fairclough as the main approach to analyze the data. The model of analyzing language by CDA Fairclough is an integrated process among three dimensions including text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

1.8 Paper Organization

In organizing the paper, the researcher divides it into four chapters. The first is an introduction to the general information about the discussion of the paper. This chapter consists of a background of the study, problem statement, objective study, significance study, literature review, theoretical approach, method of research, and paper organization. The second chapter is a theoretical background that describes the applied theory in this paper. The third chapter is the findings and discussion and the last chapter is the conclusion and suggestion

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

4.1 Conclusion

In this research, the researcher analyzes the 70 sentences/phrases of HT propaganda tweets on @KhilafaRashida based on Fairclough CDA theory. The answers to the research questions in the first chapter are formulated on two explanations. First, on the vocabulary analysis, the language patterns of HT propaganda tweets use either ideologically contested words 48,57% or non-ideological contested words 51,43%. On the word-formality, there are 24,29% of formal sentences and 73,71% informal sentences/phrases. Moreover, on the grammatical stage analysis the language patterns of HT propaganda tweets includes 45,71% declarative, 15,71% grammatical questions, 5,71% imperative, and 32,87% non-sentence. Besides, on the modality analysis there are specific modalities; 55,71% tense modality, 11,43% auxiliary modal, 2,86% adverb modal, and 30% non-modality type.

Second, HT propaganda is begun with the social changes of the crisis of Muslim civilization and the domination of Western nations in Islamic countries. The HT movement happens after the 20th century, particularly after the falling Ottoman Empire and Israel annexation. Thus, HT highlights the political ideology of the Caliphate to unify the Muslim lands. In the HT propaganda, various issues are discussed and it develops the institution's image by giving negative/positive impressions of these issues. By using the Twitter communication services, @KhilafaRashida, the official Twitter account of HT, relates to other participants

in the discourse. Shortly, HT propaganda was divided into three main function types based on the social function of the text; informing, telling, explaining, and debating.

4.2 Suggestions

At the end of the research, the researcher suggests that the object material of the text can be analyzed in more detail such as the main targets of HT propaganda and the data amount of HT accounts. The researcher hopes that this current research gives a reference to study more about the linguistic study, particularly on the CDA Fairclough. Also, a reference to study the propaganda language particularly for the religious-political organizations like HT and other institutions. The researcher expects that the research would be useful for society to enrich the knowledge and understanding more about the language used in social media. Also, the researcher hopes after reading this research the reader can think logically and critically on any information from social media. Then, the current research hopefully gives a contribution to the next researcher who is interested in linguistic research particularly on CDA Fairclough.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

- Ahmed, H., & Stuart, H. (2009). *Hizb ut-Tahrir Ideology and Strategy*. The Center for Social Cohesion.
- an-Nabhani, T. (1998). *The Islamic State*. Al-Khilafah Publications.
- an-Nabhani, T. (2001). *The System of Islam* (6th ed.). Hizb ut-Tahrir Publication.
- Azar, B. S. (2002). *Understanding and Using English Grammar* (3rd ed.). Longman Inc.
- Creswell, J. (2009). *Research Design*. Sage Publication Inc.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. Longman Inc.
- Hizb ut-Tahrir. (2000). *Hizb ut-Tahrir*. Al-Khilafah.
- Nugroho, D. O. (2016). *The Indigenisation of A Transnational Islamic Movement in Contemporary Indonesia (A Studi of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia)*. UNSW.
- Santoso, R. (2003). *Semiotika Sosial* (I). Pustaka Eureka.
- Sugiyono. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. cv ALFABETA.
- Zallum, A. Q. (2000). *How the Khilafah was Destroyed*. Al-Khilafah Publications.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

- Al-Rawi, A., & Groshek, J. (2019). Jihadist Propaganda on Social Media: An Examination of ISIS Related Content on Twitter. *International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism*, 8(4). <https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCWT.2018100101>
- Amerian, M., & Esmaili, F. (2015). A Brief Overview of Critical Discourse Analysis in Relation to Gender Studies in English Language Textbooks. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 6(5), 1033–1043. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17507/jltr.0605.16>
- Anam, Moh. K., & Nurhayati. (2019). Critical Discourse Analysis of Gus Ipul's Political Advertising in 2018 East Java Regional Election. *Profetik Jurnal Komunikasi*, 12(2), 261–274. <https://doi.org/10.14421/pjk.v12i2.1693>
- Bertram, L. (2016). Terrorism, the Internet, and the Social Media Advantage. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 7, 225–252.
- Cook, D., Waugh, B., Abdipanah, M., Hashemi, O., & Rahman, S. (2014). Twitter Deception and Influence. *Journal of Information Warfare*, 13(1), 58–71. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26487011>
- Guess, A. M., & Lyons, B. A. (2020). *Misinformation, Disinformation, and Online Propaganda*. Cambridge University Press, 10–33. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108890960>
- Haustein, S. (2019). Scholarly Twitter Metrics. *Springer Handbook of Science and Technology Indicators*, 729–760. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02511-3_28

- Miji Lestari, P., Djatmika, Sumarlam, & Purnanto, D. (2019). Javanese Women's Political Discourse in Response to the 2019 Indonesia General Election. *Journal of Social Studies Education Research*, 10(3), 193–211.
- Schünemann, W. J. (2020). Ready for the World? Measuring the (Trans-)National Quality of Political Issue Publics on Twitter. *Media and Communication*, 8(4), 40–52. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i4.3162>
- Sheikha, F. A., & Inkpen, D. (2011). Generation of Formal and Informal Sentences. *Proceedings of the 13th European Workshop on Natural Language Generation (ENLG)*, 187–193. <https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W11-2826.pdf>
- Wolf, M., Sims, J., & Yang, H. (2018). Social Media? What Social Media? *UK Academy for Information Systems Conference Proceedings 2018*, 3. <https://aisel.aisnet.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=ukais2018>

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

- BBC. (2019). *Sudan crisis: What you need to know*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47852496>
- Movanita, A. (2017, July 19). Kemenkumham: Pembubaran HTI Berdasarkan Data dan Fakta. *Kompas*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/07/19/10553011/kemenkumham--pembubaran-hti-berdasarkan-data-dan-fakta?page=all>
- Jati, A. S. (2020, May 4). Jumlah Pengguna Twitter Meningkat, Tapi... *Detikinet*. <https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-5001786/jumlah-pengguna-twitter-meningkat-tapi>
- Koesno, D. (2020, October 27). Perayaan Maulid Nabi di Berbagai Negara: RI, Malaysia, hingga Turki. *Tirto Id*. <https://tirto.id/perayaan-maulid-nabi-di-berbagai-negara-ri-malaysia-hingga-turki-f6pe>
- Kusnandar, V. B. (2019, October 2). Twitter, Aplikasi Berita dan Majalah Berbasis Android dengan Rating Tertinggi. *Databoks*. <https://dev-databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2019/10/02/twitter-aplikasi-berita-dan-majalah-berbasis-android-dengan-rating-tertinggi>
- VOA. (2020, August 14). Trump Umumkan Hubungan Diplomatik Israel-Uni Emirat Arab. *VOA Indonesia*. <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/trump-umumkan-hubungan-diplomatik-israel-uni-emirat-arab/5543403.html>
- Younes, A. (2018, May 30). Jordanians protest proposed income tax legislation. *Aljazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/5/30/jordanians-protest-proposed-income-tax-legislation>

ESSAY

- Counter Extremism Project. (2014). Hizb ut-Tahrir. *Counter Extremism Project*. <https://www.counterextremism.com/taxonomy/term/276>

ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES

Smith, B. L. (2020). *Definition of Propaganda*. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/propaganda>

Britannica, T. E. of E. (n.d.-a). Caliphate. In *Caliphate*. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. Retrieved April 29, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Caliphate>

Britannica, T. E. of E. (n.d.-b). Capitalism. In *Capitalism*. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved April 26, 2021, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/capitalism>

DICTIONARY ENTRIES

Merriam Webster Inc. (1828). *Definition of Propaganda*. Merriam-Webster.com. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/propaganda>

Merriam-Webster, T. E. (n.d.). Capitalism. In *Capitalism*. Merriam-Webster. Retrieved April 26, 2021, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/capitalism>

TWITTER

Hizb ut-Tahrir (@KhilafaRashida). Twitter, 01 November 2018 - 30 November 2020. <https://twitter.com/KhilafaRashida>

CURRICULUM VITAE



A. PERSONAL DETAILS

Name : Mad Yahya
Place and Date of Birth : Wonosobo, 06 April 1998
Religion : Islam
Address : Desa Mlandi, Kec. Garung, Kabupaten
Wonosobo, Jawa Tengah, 56353
Email : faaizul.yahya@gmail.com
Contact : 0895377343129

B. EDUCATION

- TK RA Mlandi (2002-2004)
- SD Negeri 1 Mlandi (2004-2010)
- SMP Ma'arif Mlandi (2010-2013)
- MA Negeri 2 Wonosobo (2013-2016)
- UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (2017-2021)

C. ORGANIZATIONS AND VOLUNTEERING

- Chief of Internal Division HMI Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya Korkom UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2019-2020, 2020-2021)
- Person in Charge of Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia Division, ASSAFFA UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2018)
- Person in Charge of Research Division, UKM Exact UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2018-2019)
- Chief Coordinator, Bidikmisi Fakultas Adab dan Ilmu Budaya UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2017-2019)
- Secretary of PERMADANI UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2019-2021)
- Person in Charge PP Ulul Albab Yogyakarta (2018-2019)
- Volunteer Pusat Layanan Difabel (PLD) UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2018-2019)
- Volunteer Tengok Desaku, Kab. Ngawi, Jawa Timur (2019)

- Volunteer Baksos HMI Komfak Adab Korkom UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Kab. Gunung Kidul, DI Yogyakarta (2019)
- Volunteer Program Pendampingan Keagamaan (PPK) Fakultas Saintek, UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2018-2019)
- Volunteer Gerakan Wonosobo Hebat Covid-19 Pandemic, Kab. Wonosobo, Jawa Tengah (2020)

D. AWARDS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- 1st Place of Lomba Karya Tulis Ilmiah Nasional (LKTIN) Youth Social Expedition Toba (2021)
- 1st Place of Writing Competition Festival Bidikmisi Nasional UIN Alauddin Makassar (2020)
- 4th Place of National Writing Competition Pena Adiksi UIN Prof. KH. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto (2020)
- Best Paper Nominator of National Writing Competition Pena Adiksi UIN Prof. KH. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto (2020)
- Finalist of Musabaqah Essay JQH Al-Mizan DI Yogyakarta and Jawa Tengah (2018)
- Finalist of National Writing Competition Lomba Karya Tulis Ilmiah Mahasiswa *Online* Tingkat Nasional (LKTIM-OTN) Universitas Brawijaya (2020)
- Finalist of IESCO Universitas Darussalam Gontor (2021)
- 5th Place Exact Essay Cup, UKM Exact UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2019)
- The Outstanding Student of UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2020)
- Author of the Anthology Book “Sajak-sajak Pindul” (2018)
- Researcher of Hibah Penelitian LPPM UIN Sunan Kalijaga (2020)

E. SCHOLARLY WORKS

- Manajemen Strategi Deradikalisasi *TAMBAMALING* (Taman Bacaan Masyarakat Berbasis Literasi Kebangsaan) di TBM Jendela Dunia Desa Mlandi Kecamatan Garung Kabupaten Wonosobo
- Colite-Map (Covid-19 Literacy Map) sebagai Inovasi Peta Diseminasi Literasi Informasi Pandemi di Kabupaten Wonosobo Jawa Tengah

- Optimizing the Village-Owned Business Agencies (Bumdes) to Develop Village-based Halal Industry in the New Adaptation of Covid-19 Outbreak
- Keterampilan Berbahasa sebagai Proteksi Kesehatan Mental dalam Bermedia Sosial
- Politisasi Agama dan Aktualisasinya dalam Budaya Politik di Indonesia
- Integritas Nasionalisme Lintas Masa Sang Aristokrat Paku Alam VIII
- Analisis Literasi Kritis Paulo Freire dan Pembelajaran Inkuiri dalam Mengembangkan Kompetensi Peserta Didik Milenial
- Penguatan Instrumen Linguistik Fungsional dalam Pemahaman Moderasi Islam Generasi Milenial di Media Sosial
- Kajian Historis Komparatif Bahasa Jawa Kawi terhadap Bahasa Jawa Modern Tinjauan Leksikologi dan Glotokronologi (Proposal research)
- Caldera Techcycle Park: Integrasi Taman Wisata Edukasi Berkonsep Konservasi Kearifan Lokal Rural Tech (Technology, Education, Culture, And History) Geopark Kaldera Toba