

# Muslimahnews.com's 'Toxic Discourse': Women Definition in Khilafah Ideological Power Dominance

## El 'Discurso Tóxico' de Muslimahnews.com: Definición de Mujer en el Dominio del Poder Ideológico del Khilafah

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RECIBIDO: 09/08/2022

ACEPTADO: 03/11/2022

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24197/st.1.2023.187-202>

**Resumen:** A pesar de haber sido disuelta, las actividades de HTI en Indonesia supuestamente continúan a través de señales e ideologías que aún existen. Muslimahnews.com es un medio de propaganda con la etiqueta 'Inspirador y Educativo' bajo esta organización. Muslimahnews.com pone su segmentación en grupos de mujeres islámicas en Indonesia con contenido claro. Este artículo descubre cómo y por qué Muslimahnews.com domina a las mujeres a través de textos que contienen la ideología del Khilafah. El análisis muestra que los textos de Muslimahnews.com tienen una estructuración que perpetúa armónicamente la seducción y la amenaza. Los medios de comunicación, que forman parte de HTI, instaron a sus agentes, especialmente a las mujeres, a revivir la ideología del Khilafah. Las mujeres internalizan estos valores y luego, sin saberlo, se convierten en víctimas de la intensificación y normalización de su agenda de prácticas de poder.

**Palabras clave:** Dominación; HTI; Muslimahnews.com; Mujer; Discurso

**Abstract:** Despite being disbanded, HTI activities in Indonesia are allegedly continuing through signals and ideologies that still exist. Muslimahnews.com is a propaganda media with the hashtag 'Inspirational and Educating' under this organization. Muslimahnews.com puts its segmentation on Islamic women's groups in Indonesia with content that is. This paper uncovers how and why Muslimahnews.com dominates women through texts containing the Khilafah ideology. The analysis shows that the texts on Muslimahnews.com have a structuration that harmoniously perpetuates seduction and threats. The media, which is part of HTI, urged its agents, especially women, to revive the Khilafah ideology. Women internalize these values, then unknowingly become victims of the intensification and normalization of their power practice agenda.

**Keywords:** Domination; HTI; Muslimahnews.com; Woman; Discourse

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) had in fact been disbanded, yet their activities in Indonesia are allegedly still continuing through signals and ideologies. HTI is a transnational Islamic movement and promotes the re-establishment of the global *Khilafah Islamiyah* (Arif, 2016). They believe applying this ideology is a way to make Islam dominant (Kartini, 2015). The Indonesian government officially dissolved HTI on July 19, 2017, as a form of government securitization because they did not carry out a positive role in accordance with national goals, had an ideology that was contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, and was considered to threaten the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (*NKRI*) (Rikza, 2020; Zulfadli, 2018). Not only is it a public concern, but the *da'wah* media in Indonesia often provide a row of empty chairs to discuss this without end. All HTI issues with their *Khilafah* ideology become the main dish for these media. It is believed that Indonesia consists of a population whose majority is Muslim (Hidayat, 2020).

This organization shows its ideological existence through several media, such as the *Al-Islam Da'wah Bulletin*, *Al-Wa'ie*, and online media (Karman, 2016). HTI is also active in carrying out movements on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to attract the masses. The HTI underground movement is centralized in mosques and campuses' *da'wah* institutions (Hayati, 2017; Santoso & Sjachro, 2019). A study revealed that HTI discourse in the online media *alinea.id* shows that this group considers itself as 'the Self' who reaches out to the community, as 'the other', because the ideology adopted by Indonesia is only a dead end to the misery. This group even considers Indonesia's democracy and nationalism heretical and toxic. HTI is considered to continue to spread the caliphate ideology through camouflage with *da'wah* packages to attract the sympathy of the Indonesian people (Hidayat, 2020).

Critical discourse analysis in the article *Bulletin Da'wah Al-Islam*, HTI forms negative stereotypes and stigmatizes the government through the cultivation of a neoliberal economic system and submission to capitalist tyranny, thus leading to incitement to form an antipathy attitude towards the government. The research showed that HTI offers a solution in which Indonesia needs pious Muslim leaders to be able to implement Islamic law (Kusno, Rahmad, & Bety, 2017). Research with the same object also stated that HTI also disseminates media texts by confirming that sharia law can be the hand of God for the benefit of the social and political system in Indonesia (Darmayanti & Wahya, 2017).

In *Al Wa'ei Magazine*, HTI provoked the Indonesian people to uphold the *Khilafah Al Minhaj Nubuawah* state with *I'dad* and *Jihad Fii Sabilillah*. Through Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, the texts about the relationship between religion and the state in this media seem to have given rise to hate speech against the Indonesian government (Islam & Shueb, 2017). Based on the description of the material objects, methods, and findings in the several studies above, this proves

that HTI is trying to build a bad stigma and distort what they consider subjects and objects that hinder the cultivation of its ideology. At first glance, their existence seems obvious, even though the organization has been disbanded, but ideologically HTI is still running. The HTI movement, characterized by a clandestine movement outside the government structure, is believed not to stop (Rikza, 2020).

So what about the propaganda media content alleged to contain the installation of the Khilafah Islamiyah ideology with the target audience aimed at women? Conservative da'wah material with illustrative symbols of women in long, dark, loose dresses (which they call *gamis*) and blurring reality as if there is no passion for productivity (Mardiasih, 2021; Ni'mah, 2021). In addition, the content has only titled the issue of the dual role of women, which leads to competition and debate over gender positions that, in the end, dwarf women. As a result, the trend of da'wah, which is interpreted in a narrow sense, then brings women to a position that loses socially, politically, and economically and judges their potential and humanity. Ironically, the confusion in Islamic conservation groups in interpreting tends to understand theological doctrine as absolute rules (Ibrahim, 2013).

Media is used to spread ideology and legitimize power that operates through the practice of discourse. Language becomes an effective tool to dominate because it is considered strategic as an asymmetrical place (Afkar & Rery, 2020). Michel Foucault reveals that power cannot be separated from the process of spreading knowledge, so it has consequences in separation, imbalance, and inequality (Foucault, 2002). Foucault reveals the different interests of each representation of the new world (Foucault, 2012). Religion has become an institution that produces knowledge and power tremendously through normative and disciplinary techniques, especially in Indonesia (Haryatmoko, 2016).

This is related to Anthony Giddens' structuration theory which discusses the concept of system, structure, and the relationship between the two (Giddens, 1984). The system is a social practice between agents produced in space and time, while the structure is a set of rules and resources, is outside of space and time, becomes a memory imprint, and is characterized by the 'absence of the subject'. So, structuration refers to conditions built from sustainable structures to form a social system (Giddens, 1981). According to structuration theory, when an agent produces an action simultaneously, the agent also reproduces the forms of everyday social life (Giddens, 1981). The concept of agency refers to individuals from a structure who can reflect social structures through social practices that involve themselves and can act independently (Afkar & Rery, 2020; Sihotang, 2012). Agency and social structure involve repetitive actions and agents who reproduce the structure. This relates to HTI members as agents who reproduce their ideology through the system, namely the media.

Muslimahnews, a propaganda media with the hashtag 'Inspirational and Educating' is suspected of being a media under the auspices of HTI.



Figure 1. Header Muslimahnews.com

Some of these media content shows pictures that contain HTI's logo and even the words of HTI openly.



Figure 2. HTI Logo and Writings from Muslimahnews.com Da'wah Content

A number of hashtags #HTI, #HizbutTahrirIndonesia, #KhilafahIsmiyah were also found quite a lot in this da'wah media.



Figure 3. Ismail Yusanto in Muslimahnews.com Da'wah Content

Furthermore, photos of Ismail Yusanto, a spokesman for HTI, are often found on Muslimahnews.com content. Muslimahnews.com is an online media under the auspices of HTI because it contains signs that intersect with the organization's identity.

The author also looks at how the content is aimed at Muslim women with narratives that ultimately return to the embodiment of the Islamic Khilafah ideology. *"Only by implementing the Shari'a Kafah within the framework of the Islamic Khilafah state will women be noble and prosperous."* (Muslimahnews.com) *"Therefore, our focus, time, and efforts as Muslim women should be directed towards the urgent re-establishment of the Khilafah based on Prophetic methods."* (Muslimahnews.com).

If you take it literally, *Muslimah* is a term for Muslim women, meaning that this media places its segmentation on Islamic women's groups in Indonesia with content according to the hashtag that aims to inspire and educate. Is not it a suspicion

why did HTI specifically form an online (accessible) da'wah media with the segmentation of Islamic women? What is the agenda planned by HTI for women in order to build this media? If you squeeze the hashtag 'Inspirational and Educating', have all this time Muslim women in Indonesia not been inspiring, so they need an inspiring agent? Have all this time Muslim women in Indonesia been not smart, so they need an intelligent agent?

Based on the explanations above, the author simply sees the seduction of texts in this media through the ideology that is always echoed. The author wants to see the discourse that Muslimahnews.com contests against women. Thus, this paper uncovers how and why Muslimahnews.com dominates women through texts containing Khilafah ideology. Previous studies have focused on da'wah media that make the general public and the Indonesian government their target audience. On the other hand, women are subjects who are often the main target of da'wah media (Mardiasih, 2021). So, this article is here to fill the gap in previous research and uncover how HTI propaganda media texts involve women as market segmentation in particular.

## 2. METHODS

This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis from the perspective of Norman Fairclough. Language is the place where ideology resides. Discourse is in a dialectical relationship with social structures and structures; discourse is formed and forms social structures; discourse is reshaped by social structures (Fairclough, 1995). This perspective is considered appropriate because, in Fairclough's understanding, discourse contributes to and constructs knowledge and belief systems (Eriyanto, 2011). In discourse, an ideology concerns power and power relations that are often unbalanced (Subagyo, 2018). If the power of one party is more dominant than the other, then there is domination. In line with these things, Muslimahnews.com constructs knowledge and belief in their ideology as a practice of power to dominate.

In this paper, the author dismantles the discourse of Muslimahnews.com through three arrangements, namely, linguistic practice (production), discursive practice (consumption), and social practice (reduction). At the micro level, the researcher analyzes the text produced by Muslimahnews.com. Then, at the *meso* (medium) level, the analysis of text consumption is based on interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Furthermore, the author analyzes the text consumption process carried out by readers through the comment column of Muslimahnews.com content. Finally, at the macro level, the researcher conducts a literature study to see the relationship of the text to the social and cultural context of society. Furthermore, the objects in this study have special requirements, including: (1) raising a theme that explicitly discusses women; and (2) uploaded in the 2019-2021 period for wider dissemination of discourse. Based on the criteria above, the selected articles are as follows.

Table 1. List of Researched Articles

No	News Title	Rise Time
1	Islam, the Path of Liberation for Women	12/3/2019
2	There is no gender equality in Islam	14/3/2020
3	Muslim women do not need an annual commemoration; we need a caliphate that will be the guardian and protector	15/3/2020
4	Beware of Women's Discourse Gender-style Change Agents	31/8/2020
5	Gender Equality Adds to Women's Suffering	12/3/2021
6	Violence against women never fades; Islam is the antidote	4/7/2021
7	Empowering Women, Optimizing Roles in an Islamic Way	29/8/2021
8	Now, Women Stuck in the Triple Burden, Still Hope for Gender Equality?	9/9/2021
9	Empowering Women, Optimizing Roles in an Islamic Way	29/9/2021
10	Islam Glorifies Women, not as "Money Printing Machines"	9/11/2021

Source: Processed by the Author

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In this section, the author maps titles based on themes related to how Muslimahnews.com builds a redefinition of women. From the nine articles, the author shares the following sub with three different titles. In each sub, the author arranges explanations based on texts that have similarities between different articles. The texts are parsed according to the analytical tools based on the perspective of Norman Fairclough. Then, the author draws a sequential flow in each data and paragraph, then at the end elaborates it with theory.

Based on the analysis, the author sees that three major agendas are being discussed by Muslimahnews.com. First, women are made as creatures whom only function based on their bodies to produce generations that can continue their agenda. Second, this media reconstructs the contents of women's heads that employment is a life-threatening thing that can even distance them from God. Third, women are urging the revival of the Khilafah Islamiah ideology. The following are the results of the author's analysis.

#### 3.1. WOMEN'S BODIES: PRODUCTION AND EDUCATORS

In this sub, the author presents the findings and discusses how Muslimahnews.com objectifies women's bodies. Muslimahnews.com only formulates the role of women as the body that can produce the next generation because of their reproductive function and can educate children to carry out social functions. Women must carry out these functions and are merely taken for granted because they are a form of grace from God. Muslimahnews.com appeals to what

happens if these functions are carried out properly and poses a threat when these functions are not carried out properly.

**(Data 1)** God has placed the potential of women as educators of the generation (*discursive practice*). Conceiving, giving birth, breastfeeding, nurturing, and educating children are a series of main tasks for mothers (*linguistic practice*).

**(Women Empowerment, Optimizing Roles in an Islamic Way, 29/8/2021)**

**(Data 2)** The reality that women have reproductive organs and therefore have the ability to menstruate, get pregnant, give birth, breastfeed, and so on requires laws that are different from men (*linguistic practice*). **(No Gender Equality in Islam, 14/3/2020)**

In data 1 and 2, Muslimahnews.com determines how a woman is said to be a generational educator because of her reproductive functions, such as menstruation, pregnancy/pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding. The word 'Allah has placed' in data 1 seems to build awareness that this potential is indeed possessed by a woman and must be carried out based on its function to continue generations; the uterus signifies a form of obligation to fill the organ; Breasts signify a form of obligation to breastfeed a child. The use of the subject 'Allah' at the beginning of the sentence indicates that this media threatens that all these potentials must be utilized because it has become God's decree.

The diction 'reality' and 'require' in data 2 indicates that these biological functions are realities given by God, so they contain a form of coercion that must be accepted. The diction constructs that woman are indeed different from men, so it is considered a series of women's main tasks. The burden of educating and nurturing women seems to be only obligatory on women, even though these roles should be shared with men. Furthermore, the uterus and breasts are actually women's rights whether these organs will function; for example, women can choose to get pregnant or not.

Furthermore, the author present data on the role of women based on their social function. This function is constructed by comparing the social roles of men and women.

**(Data 3)** In the household, God gives a role for the husband as the leader of the household who is obliged to lead, protect, and provide for his family members. Meanwhile, the wife's role as mother and housekeeper is responsible for managing her house under the leadership of her husband (Syekh Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani. *Nizham Ijtima'i fi al-Islam*) (*discursive practice*). **(Islam Glorifies Women, Not as "Money Printing Machines", 9/11/2021)**

In data 3, this text is a reference to *Nizham Ijtima'i fi al-Islam* written by one of the founders of HTI named Sheikh Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani. *Nizham Ijtima'i fi al-Islam* is a book that contains the social system in Islam (which has the Khilafah ideology) based on the HTI perspective. This reference suggests that the division of roles is based on a valid source, so it must be intensified. Then, this data contains a

hierarchical system in the household, namely the use of the word ‘rule the house under the leadership of the husband’. This indicates that women have a space of power to be regulated, but that does not mean that women have special rules, but that they are still under the orders of men. Furthermore, comparing the roles of ‘husband as head of the household’ and ‘wife as mother and housekeeper’ indicates that women only bear the task of being a caregiver. This text does not contain roles such as ‘father’ or ‘father’ in married life, meaning that caring for and educating children is considered an absolute duty of a woman.

**(Data 4)** In fact, in Islam, women are the mothers of civilization and the printers of superior generations who are assets of Islamic civilization as Allah has outlined for them... In Islam, women play a role in forming children with leadership souls who are ready to lead the people towards true change and awakening. Women also get a noble title, namely *ummu ajjal* ‘mother of the generation’ because it is in their hands to determine the sustainability of generations (*linguistic practice*). **(Islam Glorifies Women, Not as “Money Printing Machines”, 9/11/2021)**

In data 4, Muslimahnews.com considers women to be valuable and special asset. Through the diction, ‘Allah outlines’ as if it became an absolute decree, so the terms ‘mother of civilization’ and ‘producer of generations’ are mandatory for women. The word ‘civilization’ refers to forms of intelligence, progress, manners, and culture. Women seem to be given a beautiful term because they are expected to build a generation in accordance with the expectations of the word ‘civilization’. Unfortunately, women are only likened to an object in the form of a printing press in the word ‘producer’. Like the way a printer works, there are parties or people who first design a physical output. The machine is only an intermediary to produce something real. Likewise, with the term, some agents have designed the expected child, and women are only a place to be used when needed.

Furthermore, the diction ‘forming children with leadership spirit’ constructs that this media only expects men to be born in the next generation. This is related to the way this media views that men have a role in leading. Then, the diction ‘in her hands the decision’ seems to give women power, along with threats. If women are able to carry out their social functions as the mother of civilization and the printer of generations, then women are given the title of ‘mother of the generation’, which they consider noble. However, if not, this title will not be owned by a woman and does not consider the woman as a creature that is not noble.

**(Data 5)** A famous poet Hafiz Ibrahim said, “Mothers are the first madrasa (school) for their children. If you prepare it well, then it is the same as you prepare a good nation at the root” (*discursive practice*). **(Women Empowerment, Optimizing Roles in an Islamic Way, 29/8/2021)**

In data 5, this media refers to the text of a poet named Hafiz Ibrahim who came from Egypt. This data contains the word ‘famous,’ which indicates that it comes from a valid and respected source so that anyone need not feel doubt about the narrative.



The use of the word '*madrasa*' refers to learning about matters of a religious nature. This implies that the mother is the place where children learn religion, so this is related to the things above, including the division of roles between men and women based on a religious point of view (the ideology of the Khilafah). Some things are instilled in a child at a young age. Then they are reproduced when they grow up. This is why Muslimahnews.com seems to restrain women from becoming noble beings (by their standards) because learning at the '*madrasa*' will be reborn by children. As a result, this '*madrasa*' concept prevents a father from being involved, and children are raised in the concept of mother-to-mother knowledge reproduction within HTI circles.

### 3.2. THE 'WORKING WOMAN' DISTORTION: THE SEPARATION BETWEEN WOMEN AND GOD

In this sub, the author describes the data in the form of deviations on how Muslimahnews.com represents a worker. This subplot starts from something that is allowed and required for women. Furthermore, this media constructs the consequences and dangers that lurk for women when they decide to become someone who works. In fact, this media scares by giving a picture of immoral acts that threaten women's lives. Finally, Muslimahnews.com seems to question again (to women who decide to work) that work can distance themselves from God.

**(Data 6)** Islam also allows women to work and appreciates women's efforts.... However, Islam also obliges women to realize their noble role as wives and mothers of the generation, roles that will maintain the quality of the future generations of the Ummah while maintaining their dignity (*discursive practice*). **(Beware of the Discourse of Women as Agents of Gender Change, 31/8/2020)**

**(Data 7)** Women are freed from various obligations... will have the potential to neglect their motherly function (*linguistic practice*). **(Now, Women Stuck in Triple Burden..., 9/8/2021)**

Data 6 and 7 of this media show two opposite things and are coercive in nature. The use of the words 'allow' and 'mandatory' in data 6 indicates that there are main and crucial things that women must do first. This media does not provide a comprehensive enough explanation of how Islam 'allows' women to work. Not as significant as the explanation of 'obliging' women in carrying out their roles.

In context, Muslimahnews.com does not allow women to work. The word 'allow' seems to be just a sweetener. Data 7 is sufficient to support this because there are things that are neglected because of the causal relationship that arises when women work. Furthermore, data 7 contains the diction 'released,' indicating that it turns out that women at Muslimahnews.com are in bars of restraint. This means that instead of carrying out the roles they consider noble, they only confine women in cages wrapped in 'noble' seductions.

**(Data 8)** So sweet is the offer to women to be equal to men in economic empowerment (*linguistic practice*). **(Islam Glorifies Women, Not as “Money Printing Machines”, 9/11/2021)**

**(Data 9)** Islam has guaranteed the fulfillment of needs by setting the burden of living and the role of the head of the family on the shoulders of the husband, not on himself (*social practice*). **(Islam, Path of Liberation for Women, 12/3/2019)**

Data 8 and 9 show how Muslimahnews.com constructs that women do not need to be a worker. Contextually, ‘so sweet’ is a metaphor that underestimates the form of work while at the same time convincing women that they really do not need a job. The word ‘equal’ in data 8 shows the absolute justification that must be accepted that women and men and women are in an unequal relationship; work is the realm of men. Data 8 also seems to intrigue Muslimahnews.com when women take part in work matters. Comparison of the use of words in data 8, namely ‘on the husband’s shoulder’ and ‘not on him’ which refers to women shows a relationship that demeans one side. Women seem to be hidden in this data 9 and indicate that in terms of work, women are creatures that will not exist. Then, the text represents that women do not have any urgency to work because the burden has become the responsibility of men.

**(Data 10)** Making women as economic bumpers is the same as forcing women to play a dual role, as housewives as well as working (*linguistic practice*). **(Women Empowerment, Optimizing Roles in an Islamic Way, 29/8/2021)**

In data 10, there is the word ‘bumper’. Basically, the bumper is a part used to protect from impact. Muslimahnews.com seems to realize that women are not a tool used to protect against economic collisions. This media constructs that women are only used as objects if they intervene in a job. Furthermore, the words’ multiple roles’ and conjunctions ‘simultaneously’ indicate that it will drain women’s energy twice and will only harm women. According to them, women should only be charged with one responsibility, namely the domestic part. In this context, Muslimahnews.com deliberately subordinates women, so they are not independent and dependent on men.

**(Data 11)** Look at how many women work... many of them are raped and abused and not a few end up dying, leaving only a name (*linguistic practice*). **(Now, Women Stuck in Triple Burden..., 9/8/2021)**

**(Data 12)** So many women are depressed because of work targets (*linguistic practice*). **(Gender Equality Adds to Women’s Suffering, 12/3/2021)**

In data 11 and 12, Muslimahnews.com describes the situation when women work. This media constructs that work is a scourge that only brings harm to women, starting from depression, other forms of abuse, and even death. Basically, many possibilities can cause someone to die, but the way this media describes it is as if the job market is a very dangerous place for women. This is also supported by the diction ‘so many’, which describes an extreme situation.

Furthermore, the way the media describes the word 'died' also describes a cruel thing. The use of the words 'to die' and 'go back to the name' indicates forms of unnatural ways of dying. They worry about women dying in the workplace because of immoral acts and violence that may occur. The way Muslimahnews.com uses diction is like an angry tone, so they think it can lead to preventive action. Again, texts that seem to contain threats to women are very common in this media.

**(Data 13)** Especially when women have income. This is enough to prove that she can live without men (*linguistic practice*). **(Gender Equality Adds to Women's Suffering, 12/3/2021)**

**(Data 14)** Not to mention the problems related to childcare... working women choose to pay someone else to look after and raise their children (*linguistic practice*). **(Gender Equality Adds to Women's Suffering, 12/3/2021)**

Data 13 and 14 are still closely related to data 11 and 12, namely the consequences of women choosing to work. In data 13, the diction 'moreover' is a conjunction between a clause and a clause that is used to add or strengthen an argument. Contextually, the writer sees that the use of this word tends to be an understatement. Furthermore, still in data 13, this media constructs that women are creatures who really need men. So, if a woman works, it is possible for her to live without a man. Actually, this is legal, but Muslimahnews.com considers this a threat that can damage the order of life. Furthermore, Muslimahnews.com requires women to educate their children until they grow up. So, in data 14,

**(Data 15)** By refusing to give birth, how are they able to realize the motherly nature that has been given by Allah SWT? (*linguistic practice*). **(Gender Equality Adds to Women's Suffering, 12/3/2021)**

**(Data 16)** Isn't it true that women's economic empowerment is a poison that can kill women's nature? (*linguistic practice*). **(Islam Glorifies Women, Not as "Money Printing Machines", 9/11/2021)**

In data 15 and 16, Muslimahnews.com questioned if convincing that women do not need to take part in a job. Both of these data are types that contain rhetorical figures of speech. Actually, this figure of speech contains a question sentence that actually does not need to be answered. Muslimahnews.com uses rhetorical figure of speech to emphasize and, at the same time, present satire that can be used as material for introspection by women. Both of these data contain the word '*fitrah*' which means the original form of identity. *Fitrah* is one of the basic arguments in Islam to justify the existence of God. This indicates that if women still choose to work, they have lost a foundation in believing in the existence of God.

### 3.3. WOMEN IN HARMONIZATION OF SEDUCTION AND URGE TO LIVEN UP THE KHILAFAH IDEOLOGY

This sub presents the big discourse behind the previous agendas aimed at women. Women live in the harmonization of seduction and pressure to sacrifice their lives in fighting for the Khilafah ideology to be re-established.

**(Data 17)** Even the state will facilitate husbands to find it easy to earn a living and take action against those who are negligent in carrying out their obligations (*social practice*). **(Islam, Path of Liberation for Women, 12/3/2019)**

Data 17 contains the word ‘*even*’ which indicates a form of hyperbole or something exaggerated in giving sweet offers to women. Furthermore, the word ‘will’ seems to guarantee women if this ideology can be applied, including following up on men if they do not fulfill their obligations.

**(Data 18)** Only by implementing Shari’a Kafah within the framework of the Islamic Khilafah state will women be noble and prosperous (*social practice*).

**(Now, Women Stuck in Triple Burden..., 9/8/2021)**

The ‘only’ diction in data 18 refers to the only form that constructs that the Khilafah alone provides all forms of goodness and truth. Similar to the word ‘will’ in data 17, the word will result in data 18 guarantees a woman’s life to become someone better than in her previous life.

**(Data 19)** Therefore, our focus, time, and efforts as Muslim women must be directed towards the urgent re-establishment of the Khilafah based on the Prophetic method (*social practice*). **(Muslim women do not need an annual commemoration..., 03/15/2020)**

In Data 19, the word “focus, time, and effort” is used as if women are invited to sacrifice all aspects of their lives to help revive this ideology.

Based on the analysis results, the three subs above are Muslimahnews.com’s agendas that are related to each other. Women only have space and space for regional power in the domestic area to minimize mindsets that can contaminate thoughts from outside, one of which is from the workplace. Work becomes a scourge and is considered cruel to maintain the purity of a lifestyle based on this ideology. Women are also given a special life offer through the ideology of being able to fly again. Women seem to be privileged through the seduction of life insurance and beautiful titles to be able to reproduce the Khilafah ideology to the children they educate. Likewise, the children born again become fighters for the Khilafah ideology and reproduce previous knowledge to the next generation.

In simple terms, women are only used as tools to produce children and their space is narrowed so that their insights are also the same. Seduction and threats run harmoniously in these media texts. Unconsciously, women internalize, intensify, and normalize it. Forms of seduction, such as women, are considered not to need a dual role. Women are given life guarantees. Women are given noble titles as if all these things are privileges that women receive if this Khilafah state is established. On the

one hand, the threat in the form of women is considered to be deadly for generations. Women do not maintain their glory and dignity. Even women are considered to distance themselves from their creators if the Khilafah state is not established.

In relation to Giddens' theory of structuration, the people behind Muslimahnews.com are agents, the system as all the rules that come from the Khilafah ideology, and the media itself as a structure that contributes to running its systems. The texts in this media become part of the system because of the means and actions of agents that are reproduced repeatedly with a series of activities to produce content in accordance with their ideology. The daily actions of agents reproduce expectations, i.e., agendas that they expect women to implement. Furthermore, with great expectations by pressing for re-establishing this Khilafah ideology. Basically, the structure of Muslimahnews.com is constraining and enabling (Giddens, 1976). This can be seen in the texts, for example, in the use of the diction '*allows*' to work with '*obliges*' to carry out their domestic roles. In this regard, there is a harmonization of restraint and liberation, although it focuses on domestic tasks in the end.

When referring to the definition of power, the texts on Muslimahnews.com are how power is implemented. Their texts are dominant, not hegemonic. The way they convey power through subtle means through persuasion enforces the Khilafah ideology. They do not discriminate but persuade women and provide guarantees and honors. Muslimahnews.com points out that the ideological power of the Khilafah is pervasive. Although HTI has officially been dissolved, evidence of its power is still manifest, one of which is through its propaganda media. Basically, all forms of intensification and normalization of women in the media are forced to be recognized and accepted. The knowledge-power produced by this media contains discourses that dominate because of its nature between seduction and threats. The 'power-knowledge' system regulates what is believed to be true and determines the boundaries of norms, discourse, and behavior (Sen, Iyer, Chattopadhyay, & Khosla, 2020). Thus, power has the institutionalization of power, namely, the entire structure of the Muslimahnews.com social system under the Khilafah ideology by perpetuating domination and guaranteeing the reproduction of obedience (Haryatmoko, 2016).

Muslimahnews.com, as a propaganda medium, places itself as if it were the guardian of the people's morality, behavior, and rites through domestic roles, refusing to work, and urging the livelihood of the Khilafah state. This technique makes it easier for agents through Muslimahnews.com to get good compliance from their adherents, even from those who do not belong to that section. This technique is made easier because it remembers the media as a place where power runs (Tawaang, 2017). Women are the main object and target of disciplinary power. It has to do with discourse and sexuality; namely the division of women's roles based on reproductive function and potential to educate children. Muslimahnews.com develops knowledge side by side with knowledge through the hysterization of women. This shows that the biological body is associated with the social body to ensure fertility and all forms of obligations imposed on them.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis, the author concludes that there is a big agenda echoed by Muslimahnews.com. The media, which is part of HTI, urged its agents, especially women, to revive the Khilafah ideology. The texts on Muslimahnews.com have a structure that harmoniously perpetuates seduction and threats. Women internalize this knowledge, then become unconscious victims of the intensification and normalization of these agendas as targets of Muslimahnews.com's power. The seductions to these women by giving life guarantees, not having a double role, being noble, dignified, and considered a small paradise are promises to their readers. In addition to urging the establishment of this Islamic Khilafah state, Muslimahnews.com, from its persuasive texts, seems to look for the new 'prey' to become the new agent in their social structure.

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