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From Dakwa to Fatwa: the Linguistic Violence behind Preacher's Digital Narrative

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
	Although research on linguistic violence in fatwas has been extensively examined by Islamic law experts, there are still few lectures on YouTube that discuss linguistic violence in fatwas. The current study aims to examine linguistic violence perpetrated by preachers on social media in order to fill research gaps. This study employs an interpretative qualitative case study design. This study uses document analysis to collect data. To analyze the data, William C. Gay's (1998) theory is applied. The results of the study indicate that there are subtle, abusive, and gesture forms of linguistic violence in the fatwa. Language, ideology, and power relations (popularity) contribute to the occurrence of linguistic violence. The effects of linguistic violence on congregations, in general, are discord among interfaith adherents, blasphemy among adherents on social media, and constraints from certain circles to clarify apologies. At the conclusion of this investigation, the study's implications are discussed.

A. Introduction

Preachers on social media frequently use fatwas as a weapon of linguistic violence in the form of venomous narratives.[1] In a global context, for instance, Ayatollah Khomeini, the spiritual leader of Iran, issued a fatwa against Salman Rushdie for his use of narration, speech, and images in his novel The Satanic Verses, which are deemed to have insulted Muslims.[2] Similarly, Egyptian intellectual Farag Foda was murdered by an extremist who had obtained a fatwa for murdering a blasphemer.[3] The phenomenon of fatwas containing narratives of hatred is also prevalent in the Indonesian context. In his YouTube lecture in response to a query about the cross, for instance, one of the most prominent Islamic preachers in Indonesia is considered to have engaged in hate speech through the use of the fatwa narrative.[4] Similarly, a fatwa issued by a *ustadz* (term referring to a teacher or someone is believed to master islamic teachings and he has followers) stating that *wayang* is forbidden by Islamic teachings and must be destroyed is also considered to be linguistically violent.[5] These four cases demonstrate that, on the one hand, fatwas are integral to the production of Islamic legal narratives, but on the other, they are susceptible to linguistic violence. This demonstrates that fatwas, in addition to playing a crucial role in regulating a harmonious life, can also facilitate acts of violence.[6]

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[1]Alnizar, F., Ma'ruf, A., & Manshur, F. M, "Perceptions and Reactions of Ahmadiyya To Fatwa Indonesian Ulama Council (Mui): an Antrophological Lingusitics Approach" *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage*, 8(2), (2019): 208–242. https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v8i2.553. *Lihat juga,* Alrasheed, R., & Mabon, S, "Fatwas and politics in Bahrain: exploring the post 2011 context" *Middle Eastern Studies*, 57(1), (2020): 151–165. https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2020.1821666. *Lihat juga,* Sirry, M, "Fatwas and their controversy: The case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI)" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(1), (2013): 100–117. https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S0022463412000641

[2]Weimann, G, "Cyber-fatwas and terrorism" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 34(10), (2011): 765–781. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2011.604831. *Lihat juga,* Kaussler, B, "British-Iranian relations, The Satanic Verses and the Fatwa: A case of two-level game diplomacy" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38(2), (2011): 203–225. https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2011.581819

[3]Luthfi Assyaukanie, "Fatwa and Violence in Indonesia," *Journal of Religion and Society, The Kripke Centre* 11 (2009): 1–21,

[4]Della Aida Lema, "Kajian Aqidah Ustadz Abdul Somad Melalui Dakwahnya Pada Youtube Tentang Patung Salib Kristen Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hermeneutika Paul Ricoeur" (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2021).

[5]Ellys Lestari Pambayun, Otong Surasman, and Sri Rosmalina Soedjono, "The Configuration of Da'wah in Indonesia on Technoreligion: A Communication Theory of Identity (CTI) Approach," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 22, no. 2 (2021): 245–61.

[6]Alrasheed, R., & Mabon, S "Fatwas and politics in Bahrain: exploring the post 2011 context" *Middle Eastern Studies*, 57(1), (2020): 151–165. https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2020.1821666. *Lihat juga,* Burhani, A. N, "It's a Jihad: Justifying Violence towards the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia"

Prior studies have attempted to analysis the relationship between fatwa and linguistic violence from various perspectives. First, the study of fatwas and linguistic violence from the religious authorities' perspective[7]. Their research indicates that the fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) declaring *Ahmadiyya* to be a heretical doctrine is a form of deliberate violence. In addition, after the collapse of the New Order in Indonesia in 1998, MUI fatwas have a tendency to be conservative and are believed to have contributed to acts of violence against minorities. Second, a personal examination of the relationship between fatwas and acts of violence.[8] Their research indicates a close connection between fatwa and instances of linguistic violence. Nevertheless, this argument is still the subject of some experts' debate. As reported by Assyaukanie some Islamic law specialists disputed the connection between fatwa and violence on the grounds that fatwa is not legally binding[9]. Based on these two trends, it would appear that studies analyzing linguistic violence in fatwās narrated by lecturers on YouTube and other social media platforms continue to be disregarded.

To extend, this paper seeks to address the shortcomings of previous research that ignored linguistic violence in fatwa narratives on YouTube. Consequently, three issues are posed in this research. First, what is the nature of the linguistic violence in the YouTube fatwa? Second, what factors have led to the proliferation of linguistic violence in fatwas? Third, what effect does linguistic

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TRaNS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia, 9(1), (2021): 99–112. https://doi.org/10.1017/trn.2020.8. *Lihat juga,* Widigdo, M. S. A., & Hamid, H, "The Power of Fatwā in Indonesia: An Analysis of MUI's Controversial Fatwās" *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies*, 14(2), 146-165. https://doi.org/10.18196/aiijis. (2018): 146-165

[7]Saat, N. "Theologians "Moralising" Indonesia?: The Case of the Post-New Order Ulama Council of Indonesia (MUI)" *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 44(4–5), (2016): 546–570. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-04404005. *Lihat juga,* Alnizar, F., Ma'ruf, A., & Manshur, F. M, "The language of fatwa: Understanding linguistic violence in the Indonesian ulama council's fatwa on Ahmadiyah" *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 21(1), (2021): 1–24. https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v21i1.20218

[8]Ranstorp, M, Interpreting the broader context and meaning of Bin-Laden's Fatwa. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 21(4), (1998): 321–330. https://doi.org/10.1080/10576109808436072. *Lihat juga*, Ramli, M. A. Bin, Abdul Rahim, R. A., Abdul Razak, M. I., Yusof Salleh, M. Y., Hasan, P., & Zulkepli, M. I. S, "Fatwa Sebagai Medium Counter-Terrorisme" *Al-Banjari : Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, 17(2), (2018): 223. https://doi.org/10.18592/al-banjari.v17i2.2133. *Lihat juga,* Mohiuddin, A., Suleman, M., Rasheed, S., & Padela, A. I, "When can Muslims withdraw or withhold life support? A narrative review of Islamic juridical rulings" *Global Bioethics*, 31(1), (2020): 29–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/11287462.2020.1736243. *Lihat juga,* Terem, E, "Muslim men, European hats: a fatwā on cultural appropriation in a global age" *The Journal of North African Studies*, (2021): 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2021.1973246

[9]Assyaukanie, L, "Fatwa and Violence in Indonesia" *Journal of Religion and Society, The Kripke Centre*, 11, (2009): 1–21.

violence in fatwas have on the digital society? It is anticipated that the answers to these three queries will contribute both conceptually and empirically. This study conceptually expands the notion of linguistic violence, which was previously limited to text and speech issues, to include gestures as well. Empirically, this study reveals new information regarding the forms of linguistic violence in the fatwa narratives of lecturers on the social media platform YouTube, their influencing factors, and their impact on digital netizens.

This article contradicts three arguments. First, there are subtle, crude, and gesture forms of linguistic violence perpetrated by speakers on social media. Second, the emergence of linguistic violence is influenced by language, ideology, and popularity. Thirdly, the effects of linguistic violence include religious discord and the emergence of character blasphemy among internet users. Thus, this research examines not only the relationship between fatwa and linguistic violence but also the phases of issuing a fatwa prior to its publication on social media. In light of these considerations, it is crucial to conduct this research in order to prevent violent acts committed in the name of fatwas.

B. Method

This research was conducted on YouTube social media regarding the video content of preachers' sermons, which revealed that the fatwa issued by the speaker during a question-and-answer session with his congregation contained linguistic violence. Due to the prevalence of da'wah content with a question-and-answer system between the congregation as the mustafti and the speaker as the mufti, YouTube was chosen as the subject of research. The primary data for this study is the speaker's narration of a fatwa on YouTube. While secondary data consists of volumes of classical and modern Jurisprudence and pertinent literature. Observations centred on the narration of congregational queries (*mustafti*) and the speaker's responses (*mufti*) in the form of a fatwa (*ifta*). The determination of the analysed question-and-answer videos was based on the number of comments. Observation and content analysis are employed to acquire pertinent data for this study. After data is collected using this approach, it is categorised according to its relevance to the research question. The data is then presented as narrative tables (questions-answers) and netizen comments/responses. After the data has been mapped and presented, it is analysed interpretively to determine and explain the context. This study employs the linguistic violence approach to determine whether the fatwa of the speaker on the social media platform YouTube is related to linguistic violence.

C. Finding and Discussion

1. Fatwa in Islamic Law

A fatwa is a religious opinion issued by Islamic jurists in response to a *mustafti* query[10]. Muhammad[11] stated that fatwas were frequently issued in response to inquiries from individuals or groups about the legal issues they confronted on a daily basis. In this sense, it appears that a religious opinion not founded on a specific Muslim question is not a fatwa[12]. *Muzakka* revealed that the current term *mustafti* may have been derived from social anxiety regarding something that necessitates the *mufti* to issue his personal fatwa without first being directly questioned. This is because every scholar with expertise in religious matters has the freedom to address the issues facing his community[13]. In the context of da'wah, the mufti and the preacher have the same role, function, and responsibility of directing Muslims in the right direction in accordance with religious guidance.[14] Thus, it appears that the significance of the term *mustafti* as a distinguishing factor between fatwa and non-fatwa has changed..

Currently, not only religious institutions but also individual religious leaders produce fatwas.[15] Bunt noted that fatwas in Islamic historical literature can be issued formally by institutional muftis appointed by the state as well as by independent muftis who are regarded as competent and well-known[16]. In the early days of Islam, according to Rusli, fatwas were issued individually because issuing fatwas in Islam was a responsibility, not merely a ritual. In general, when

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[10]Wael B Hallaq, "From Fatwās to Furü: Growth and Change in Islamic Substantive Law," *Islamic Law and Society* 1, no. 1 (1994): 29–65.

[11]Muhammad, N. E, "Fatwa dalam Pemikiran Hukum Islam" *Al-Mizan*, 12(1), (2016): 150–177.

[12]Muzakka, A. K, "Otoritas Keagamaan Dan Fatwa Personal Di Indonesia" Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman, 13(1), (2018): 63–88. https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2018.13.1.63-88

[13]Ab Majid, M. Z, "Fatwa dan Isu Semasa: Masalah dan Cabaran di Malaysia" *Jurnal Syariah*, 12(2), (2004): 79–93.

[14]Ibtisam Ibrahim and Wan Mohd Khairul Firdaus Wan Khairuldin, "Fatwa as a Medium Da Wah: Studies on the Role of Mufti as a Preacher," *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 7, no. 4 (2017): 166–68, https://doi.org/10.6007/ijarbss/v7-i4/2775.

[15]Syahnan, M., & Ja'far, "Examining Religious Moderation of the Al-Jam'Iyatul Washliyah Fatwa Council" *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 15(1), (2021): 21–46. https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.1.21-46. *Lihat juga,* Rusli, Hasyim, M. S., & Nurdin, "A new islamic knowledge production and fatwa rulings how indonesia's young muslim scholars interact with online sources" *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 14(2), (2020): 499–518. https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2020.499-518. *Lihat juga* Nasution, K., & Tahir, M, "Morality of Fatwa in the Islamic Law Thinking" *Millah, ed(khus)*, (2010): 85–97. https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.ed.khus.art5

[16]Bunt, G. R, "Islam in the digital age: E-jihad, online fatwas and cyber Islamic environments" *JSTOR*. (2003).

a mufti is confronted with a problem, he or she refers to the answers provided by previous jurists; however, if the problems posed have no similarities, they reason independently[17]. In the meantime, Caeiro asserts that collective reasoning is presently being practiced as a result of the dearth of scholars capable of independent reasoning (mujtahid mutlaq). This demonstrates that religious authority holders (mufti) are undergoing not only individual but also collective changes[18].

Typically, the *muftis*, both individually and collectively, perform a number of steps prior to issuing the fatwa.. Hassan & Khairuldin described the creation of a fatwa in four steps. First, the problem-description phase (at-taswir).[19] At the problem description stage, each query posed by the *mustafti* to the mufti must be described precisely and consideration must be paid to the mustafti's condition. At the problem description stage, every query posed by the *mustafti* to the mufti must be accurately described, with consideration for the *mustafti's* condition. Prior to issuing a fatwa, the mufti must examine four factors: time, place, person, and circumstance. Second; modification (al-*takyif*). Adjustment stage (al-takyif). Problem adjustment is the process of matching new problems with those that have been debated in authoritative sources (read: Fiqh). According to *mustafti*, this procedure can also be interpreted as the categorization of problems into topics or discussions[20]. Wan Khairuldin explained that this procedure is necessary to prevent errors in determining the scope of a problem, which frequently result in inappropriate fatwa products. Third, Legal Explanation (al-hukm). At the legal explanation stage (al-hukm), it begins with accumulating evidence-related information from authoritative sources before analyzing the law and deciding on the fatwa. Each issue posed to the mufti is supported by pertinent evidence from predetermined sources. If there is no agreed-upon source or reference, independent reasoning (ijtihad) is employed. A mufti must recognize the precedence of each proposition, beginning with the Al-Qur'an, al-Sunnah, consensus (al-Ijmak), and analogy (Qiyas).

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[17]Hallaq, W. B, "From Fatwās to Furü: Growth and Change in Islamic Substantive Law*" Islamic Law and Society*, 1(1), (1994): 29–65.

[18]Nico J.G. Kaptein, "The Voice of the 'Ulamă': Fatwas and Religious Authority in Indonesia," *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions* 125, no. 1 (2004): 115–30, https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.1038.

[19]Hassan, S. A., & Khairuldin, W. M. K. F. W, "Research design based on fatwa making process: An exploratory study" *International Journal of Higher Education*, 9(6), (2020): 241–246. https://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v9n6p241

[20]Wan Khairuldin, W. M. K. F "Metode fatwa Sheikh'Ali Juma'ah dalam kitab al-Kalim al-tayyib-fatawa'asriyyah" University of Malaya. (2011).

Fourth, fatwa determination (al-ifta'). After the review has been completed and the law has been determined based on Islamic law and ijtihad (independent reasoning), the mufti must conduct final research on the fatwa that will be issued to the mustafti or the local community. Moreover, the mufti must ensure that the fatwa decision does not obliterate the objective values of sharia (maqashid sharia) and does not contradict the definitive source (Qat'i). If there is a discrepancy between the fatwa product and the definitive authoritative source, the mufti must reevaluate the fatwa until it is consistent with Islamic law. Abou El Fadl stipulates five (5) ethical prerequisites for issuing a fatwa, which he refers to as *dharuriyah aqliyah*, to prevent a mufti from having certain motives in his fatwa. These are honesty, sincerity, totality, rationality, and self-control[21]. After this procedure has been completed, a fatwa can be decided upon or issued in accordance with applicable laws.

2. Linguistic Violence

This study employs the concept of linguistic violence developed by William C. Gay (1998)[22]. He divides linguistic violence into three (three) categories: covert, abusive, and grievous. As with children's jokes, literacy restrictions, and official languages, a subtle form is a form of linguistic violence used to subjugate other parties. An abusive form is a form of linguistic violence used to harm parties outside the community, including heterosexist, racist, and misogynistic language. Frequently, grievous forms aim to silence or even eradicate an entire social group. Languages of totalitarianism and genocide contain some of the most egregious examples of heinous forms. The concept of linguistic violence is derived from the concept of cultural violence[23]. Which encompasses both direct and structural violence. Galtung derived his research on cultural violence, including culture, commerce, politics, and religion, from this structural violence. Gay (1998) introduced the term linguistic violence as part of cultural violence at this point.

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[21]Khaled Abou el-Fadl, "Atas Nama Tuhan: Dari Fiqh Otoriter Ke Fiqh Otoritatif Terj," *R. Cecep Lukman. Jakarta: Serambi*, 2004.

[22]William C Gay, "Exposing and Overcoming Linguistic Alienation and Linguistic Violence," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 24, no. 2–3 (April 1, 1998): 137–56, https://doi.org/10.1177/019145379802400210. *Lihat juga* William C Gay, "Linguistic Violence," in *Institutional Violence* (Brill, 1999), 13–34. *Lihat juga* William C Gay, "The Reality of Linguistic Violence against Women," 1997.

[23]Galtung, J, "Cultural Violence" *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), (1990): 291–305. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343390027003005

3. Religious Discourse on Social Media Youtube

Social media has altered a person's pattern of religion in terms of producing and disseminating religious knowledge, not only to common people but also to youthful intellectuals.. According to Rusli, youth Islamic intellectuals in Indonesia are intensively acquiring Islamic knowledge online via social media, and are even constructing knowledge in fatwas production[24]. This is due to the fact that social media is regarded as strategic and effective for spreading religious understanding, as it is difficult to evade gadgets in modern society[25].

In social media, religious discourse is motivated not only by religious sentiments but also by pragmatic political interests[26]. This demonstrates that religious identity frequently generates tensions that result in social polarisation that permeates not only the real world but also virtual communities[27]. The emergence of independent global scholars has been facilitated by social media, while the authority of religious institutions to produce fatwas has been relieved[28]. Thus, social media not only makes it easier to discover the desired religious opinion but also enables the comparison of one religious opinion to another[29].

Rusli stated that each fatwa falls into multiple categories, including institutional, individual, and online fatwas, each with its own personality, ideology, interests, and transmission range[30]. Similarly, Zamhari stated that

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[24]Rusli, R., & Nurdin, N, "Understanding Indonesia millennia Ulama online knowledge acquisition and use in daily fatwa making habits" *Education and Information Technologies*, 27(3), (2022): 4117–4140. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-021-10779-7

[25]Haramain, M., Nurhikmah, N., Juddah, A., & Rustan, A, "Contestation of Islamic Radicalism in Online Media: A Study with Foucault's Theory on Power Relation" *Im*. (2020). https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291698. *Lihat juga,* Slama, M, "Practising Islam through social media in Indonesia" *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 46(134), (2018): 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2018.1416798

[26]Afandi, M., Rofiuddin, A., Zamhari, A., Rahman, Y., Farida, A. R., & Bakti, A. M. F, "The New Ustad in Religious Authority: Challenge and Dynamic of Fatwa in the New Media Era", (2021). *Lihat juga* Hidayatullah, M. S., Dimyathi, M. S., Abdullah, Zubair, & Handayani, R, "The cyber islam contestation in Indonesia" *International Journal of Advanced Science and Technology*, 29(7), (2020): 34–44.

[27]Mundiri, A., & Tohet, M, "Contestation of Religious Identity in the Cyber World: A Case Study of arrahmah.com and VOA Islam Dealing with Religious Others on Facebook" *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 26(2), (2018): 391. https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.26.2.3244. *Lihat juga* Horst, H. A., & Miller, D, Digital anthropology. *Routledge*. (2020)

[28]Noureddine Miladi, Saleh Karim, and Mahroof Athambawa, "Fatwa on Satellite TV and the Development of Islamic Religious Discourse," *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 10, no. 2 (2017): 129–52.

[29]Von Mahmud El-Wereny, "Fatwas Und Muftis Im Zeitalter Des Internets : Das Fatwa-Portal Islamfatwa . de Als Fallstudie von Mahmud El-Wereny" 6 (2018): 57–77.

[30]Rusli, R. "Tipologi Fatwa Di Era Modern: Dari Offline Ke Online" *HUNAFA: Jurnal Studia Islamika*, 8(2), (2011): 269. https://doi.org/10.24239/jsi.v8i2.365.269-306

religious authorities can use online fatwas on social media as a counter-narrative instrument between religious movements[31]. This is due to the fact that fatwas are not legally binding, but can have a substantial impact on Muslim society[32]. Fauzi explained that fatwas play a significant role as change agents that seek to shape, alter, and improve the condition of society based on authoritative religious sources[33]. In contrast, Bormann demonstrates that language issues are more likely to cause intrastate conflict than religious issues[34]. Thus, religious discourse on social media is related to both religious and linguistic issues. As Wirawan stated, language is frequently employed as a means to legitimize violence[35].

This study's findings discuss linguistic violence in fatwas on YouTube's social media, the factors that influence them, and their impact on digital society.

a. Linguistic Violence in Fatwas on Social Media Youtube

The findings of this study indicate that young millennial preachers' fatwa narratives contain forms of linguistic violence. Subtle forms, abusive forms, and gesture forms constitute the forms of linguistic violence. Observe the covert form of linguistic violence in the following exchange..

Data (1)

Context	:	*Islam-related questions and answers between Khalid Basalamah, the speaker, and his congregation regarding the law of wayang.*
Jamaah	:	Iam Javanese and I like wayang, is wayang banned? How to renounce the profession of puppeteering.
Preacher (Mufti)	:	***"Wayang" is prohibited;*** *if you possess wayang, you should eliminate them.*

The conversation excerpts in data (1) were taken from a video recording of Ustadz Khalid Basalamah uploaded by Afdal Mishary in 2017 and containing 1,899 comments. In the 2:23 minute video, ustadz Khalid

[31]Zamhari, A., Han, M. I., & Zulkifli, Z, "Traditional religious authorities in New Media: Cariustadz. id Platform as An Alternative Cyber Fatwa and Da'wah Media among the Middle-Class Urban Muslims*" AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah*, 21(1). (2021):

[32]Ibrahim, B., Arifin, M., & Abd Rashid, S. Z, "The Role of Fatwa and Mufti in Contemporary Muslim Society" *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, (2015): 23.

[33]Fauzi, N. A. F, "Fatwa di Indonesia: Perubahan Sosial, Perkembangan dan Keberagamaan" *Jurnal Hukum Novelty*, 8(1), (2017): 108. https://doi.org/10.26555/novelty.v8i1.a5524

[34]Bormann, N.-C., Cederman, L.-E., & Vogt, M, "Language, Religion, and Ethnic Civil War" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(4), (2015): 744–771. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715600755

[35]Wirawan, Y, "Kekerasan Budaya Pasca 1965: Bagaimana Orde Baru Melegitimasi Anti-Komunisme melalui Sastra dan Film by Wijaya Herlambang" *In Social Transformations: Journal of the Global South* (Vol. 2, Issue 2). (2014). https://doi.org/10.13185/st2014.02208

Basalamah can be seen reading the congregation's queries regarding the Islamic law of wayang through a piece of paper. He responded to the query by stating that wayang was "prohibited" and that it should be "destroyed." The term "prohibited" derives from the word "prohibited." This term denotes "ordered not to do something" or "not allowed to do something" (KBBI Online, 2022). This indicates that Khalid Basalamah instructed his congregation not to perform wayang because it was forbidden and against Islamic teachings. The verb "annihilated" immediately follows this term. The derived word "destroyed" means "disappeared, destroyed, or lost" (KBBI Online, 2022). It indicates that the preacher is again urging his congregation not to use and eliminate the wayang. This demonstrates that the word "prohibited" corresponds to the category of subtle linguistic violence, as it is used to exert control over parties outside the community. In addition, the word "destroyed" is classified as an offensive word intended to antagonise certain non-community members..

The abusive form of linguistic violence is also identified in this study. This type of violence is evident in the conversation excerpts included in the subsequent data (2).

Data (2)

Context	:	Cross-related questions and answers between Abdul Somad as the speaker and his congregation
Congregation	:	Why, Ustadz, does my heart tremble when I gaze at the cross?
Preacher	:	**Satan. On the cross is an infidel spirit.**

Data (2) is a video clip of a question and answer lecture by Ustadz Abdul Shomad in 2017. This video was uploaded by the Evangelische Indonesische Christgemeinde Rhein-Main/ Indonesian Christ Congregation Rhein-Main account in 2019 and reaped 3,210 comments. In the 1:53 minute video, one can see an ustadz reading out the congregation's questions on a piece of paper and then responding spontaneously as shown in the dialogue excerpt in data (2).

The term satan in satan's narrative, on the cross there is an infidel genie as data (2) is categorised as a form of abusive violence because it has harassed and harmed Christians. In KBBI, satan refers to an evil spirit whose purpose is to tempt humanity to commit evil. This indicates that the speaker intends to

convey the message that an evil entity resides on the cross. The placement of the word Satan on a cross is offensive and intended to offend religious symbols.

Tabel. Data 1: Bentuk kekerasan linguistik dalam fatwa di media sosial YouTube

No	Congregational Questions	Preacher's Answer (Fatwa)	Subtle form	Abusive form	Gesture form (Body language)
1	Why, Ustadz, does my heart tremble when I gaze at the cross?	**Satan. On the cross is an infidel spirit.**		**satan/devil/ /sétan/ n 1 malevolent spirit (which constantly tempts humanity to commit evil).**	Explanating while displaying the Jesus statue
2	Iam Javanese and I like wayang, is wayang banned? How to renounce the profession of puppeteering	**Wayang is prohibited; if you possess wayang, you should eliminate them.**	**destroyed/anni hilatednah/ v 1 disappeared; perished**		

b. Factors Contributing to Linguistic Violence in Youtube Fatwas

The results of the study indicate that there are multiple causes for the prevalence of linguistic violence in fatwas on social media platforms like YouTube. First, is the factor of language. The question-and-answer sessions for data 1 and 2 are conducted using informal language. Because informal language is simpler to understand, it is frequently employed. Widjajanti and Damarsanti observed that informal language is typically used in dialogue because it is simpler to pronounce than formal language, which is typically difficult to pronounce[36]. The second factor is ideological. A mufti cannot be separated from his ideology when giving a fatwa, such that the spoken language reflects the ideology of the speaker. The results in data 1 and 2 reflect a conservative ideology that tends to deliver fatwas in accordance with what is well understood, as evidenced by the selection of the word Satan,

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[36]Anita Widjajanti and Wahyu Tri Damarsanti, "The Symbolic Violence in Language" 4, no. 10 (2017): 9–15.

which is an interpretation of the meaning of a female genie in Surah Annisa 4:117. Third, the factor of popularity. The renown of the speaker has a significant impact on the credibility of the interlocutor.

c. The Influence of Linguistic Violence on Social Media Fatwas

The use of language containing linguistic violence in fatwas on YouTube has a significant impact on the social structure of Indonesia's plural society, which is comprised of numerous ethnicities, races, and religions. This is evident in the three fundamental effects of interpersonal relationships. First, there is discord between religious groups. Certain religious institutions, such as the Indonesian Christian Student Movement (GMKI), reported that the phrase "on the cross there is an infidel genie" was offensive to certain communities after the speaker expressed his opinion using linguistic violence on the social media platform YouTube. According to one of the reporters::

"*We travelled to Bareskrim to file a report on a video circulating in relation to a statement made by a ustadz in which he mentioned certain religious symbols.*," at the Criminal Investigation Police Building. Source: Kompas.com (19/08/2019)

Similarly, in data (2), the Indonesian Puppet Association (Pepadi) reported to the Bareskrim Polri the statement "*wayang is prohibited...if you have wayang, it is best to destroy it*". Pepadi stated that destroying wayang was an affront to the culture for which we fought so hard.

Second, there was blasphemy between Internet users. This is visible in the YouTube remarks section. Here are remarks from Internet users regarding video data 1 and 2.

Table 2. Netizens Comments on Data 1

Ofensif	Netral	Defensif/Refresif
Dutch : *Muka ustad ini hitam kaya setan merasukinya semoga dimaafkan oleh tuhan amin*	Nurzana Ginting : *Hati hati ngomonomg jgn hima agama org lain tp saling menghargailah bpk ustad*	Hilda era: *Pak Ustadz ceramah utk umat Islam lho...Koq yg lain pada ikutan nonton? Menghina fisik lagi... Fisik itu dari Tuhan lho!*

Genshin : *Untuk saudaraku yg beragama Kristen, maafkanlah oknum dari golonga kami...mohon dimaklumi untuk yg satu ini otaknya agak geser*	Susu mahal : *saya katolik dang a marah, Tuhan Yesus memberkati, biar Tuhan yang maha segalanya*	B 4 D D 4 Y 7 : *bukan menghina tapi ustaz jawabnya sesuai hadist*

Table 3. Netizens Comments on Data 1

Ofensif	Netral	Defensif/Refresif
Cemong Cemong : *Ilmu islam tentang jawa anda belom tamat ustad. Tolong jangan rendah kan tradisi budaya kita, warisan leluhur. Pelajari crita pewayangan. Jangan di ambil musyriknya...kita hanya mengingat perjuangan sejarah penyebaran islam di jawab...Yang syirik hanyalah menyekutukan tuhan. SALAM ORANG JAWI.*	Gen Xmukiyosht : *WAYANG (WAyahe sembahYANG) mengajarkan kepada kita untuk mengajak orang untuk beribadah menghadap sang kuasa yakni Allah swt. (Sholat)*	Erwin Bikanofa : *Sepanjang pendengaran saya tidak ada kata "HARAM" di video ini, mudah2an sebagai umat Islam kita semakin cerdas dalam memaknai sesuatu, jangan mengambil kesimpulan sendiri dan kemudian menyebarkan ketidakbenaran tsb ke khalayak ramai. Segala apa yang kita perbuat akan kembali kepada diri kita sendiri. Mohon maaf jika kurang berkenan.*
Muhammad Imam Wahyuddin: *Gue lebih suka wayang daripada nonton ustad wahabi*	Bharata Yuda : *Sunan Kalijaga setau saya berdakwah mengenakan wayang kok pas Ust ;)*	Gyun Gyumi : *Yakin sih ustadd aman, dia menyampaikan dalam jalur ke agamaan. Dan tutur bahasa yang sopan, Menjawab sesuai pertanyaan ;)*

Thirdly, elucidation regarding the Ustadz (mufti). The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) summoned the speaker for clarification after the video footage went viral and raised pros and cons within the community. In the elucidation of the ustadz, he discussed five aspects of the viral video: The video provided answers to queries. 2. Delivered in the midst of the Muslim community, in a mosque, in a confined location, in the midst of the ummah on Saturday morning during a special study. 3. I am describing the Muslim creed and how Islam is taught. If there is a statue in the home, angels will not enter. Why do angels not want to enter a residence with a statue? Because statues are

one of the dwellings of jinn. Consequently, this explanation is provided to safeguard the beliefs of the Muslim community. Not for the purpose of comparing religions, debating, or engaging in a dialogue, but to elucidate the beliefs of the Muslim community. That was a video from three years ago.

In contrast, the speaker in data 2 issued an apology through his personal account. The CNN Indonesia account re-uploaded ustadz's Instagram-uploaded clarification video (15/02/2022) on 15/02/2022. In the video, it is shown that:

> *"When I was asked about wayang, I responded that it would be a fine idea, and we suggested making Islam a tradition rather than incorporating tradition into Islam. And there are none of my utterances that are "forbidden" And I take this opportunity to extend my sincerest apologies to all stakeholders, including those who are disturbed or offended by our response.".*

D. Conclusion

In spite of the fact that fatwas are the result of construction between religious propositions and social reality communicated by credible clerics, fatwas are the origin of discordant behavior and blasphemy across religions. The findings of this study indicate that linguistic violence in fatwas on YouTube social media, in addition to seeking to dominate certain parties, also seeks to harass and denigrate communities outside of their community.

Language, ideology, and popularity all contribute to the complexity of linguistic violence. The use of informal language allows the speaker to select the diction of words based on the intended meaning. Additionally, gestures play a role in enhancing linguistic violence. The ideological factor is evident in the conservatism of fatwa because the speaker does not explain thoroughly in accordance with the fatwa code of ethics, which is generally outlined by credible ulemas. In the meantime, the factor of popularity plays a role in rendering a fatwa a legally binding decision and can be used as legitimacy by the recipient of the fatwa to act on its behalf. Contrary to the principles of the code of ethics governing the issuance of fatwas, the mufti should avoid issuing potentially contentious fatwas. The mufti is expected to be able to contemplate fatwa decisions and be willing to evaluate his fatwa if it has the potential to lead to violent acts.

The data for this study was gathered from fatwas narrated by lecturers on YouTube, which elicited responses from diverse stakeholders across religions and cultures. Consequently, future research is anticipated to have a broader scope. Similarly, this article restricts the speaker's diction, so other factors, such as the reaction of netizens to the fatwa, are not discussed in greater detail. Future research can adopt a broader perspective and adopt a multidisciplinary approach in order to

comprehend the ancestry of the relationship between fatwas and linguistic violence and to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the code of ethics for issuing fatwas on YouTube.

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