INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LAW AND LEGAL ETHICS (IJLLE)
Volume 7 Issue 1 (April, 2026)
ISSN 746-9719 (online)

DIGITAL CALIPHATE PROPAGANDA AND THE POLITICS OF UTOPIAN IDEOLOGY

(Legal Implication and Threats to National Stability)

Muhamad Pelengkahu[1], Sely Audi Amanda[2]

Faculty of Law, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia[1]
President University, Cikarang, Indonesia[2]
e-mail: muhamadpelengkahu@gmail.com[1] , *selyaudia@gmail.com*[2]

ABSTRACT: *The propagation of caliphate narratives in the digital sphere has emerged as one of the most complex challenges for modern nation-states, including Indonesia. This phenomenon is not merely a matter of religious discourse but represents a systematic and transnational ideological project. Through social media, caliphate messages are packaged in the form of visuals, emotional narratives, and historical symbols that are easily accessible and particularly appealing to younger generations. These narratives offer a political utopia—a unified order promising justice and solidarity—yet in practice, they undermine pluralism, democracy, and state sovereignty. This article examines caliphate propaganda from two primary dimensions: its legal implications and its threats to national stability. Employing a qualitative approach and critical discourse analysis, the findings indicate that despite Indonesia's regulatory instruments such as the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE) and the Anti-Terrorism Law, their effectiveness is constrained by the transboundary nature of the internet, content ambiguity, and tensions between national security and civil liberties. Furthermore, such propaganda fosters the erosion of state ideology, deepens social polarization, delegitimizes democratic politics, and generates security threats through radicalization and terrorism, including lone-wolf attacks. This study argues for the necessity of a comprehensive strategy that integrates legal firmness, the strengthening of national ideology, digital literacy, cultural approaches, and international cooperation. Such efforts are vital to safeguarding national stability while ensuring that democracy continues to stand firm against the challenges of transnational ideologies*.

Keywords: Digital Propaganda; Caliphate; National Stability;

INTRODUCTION

The development of digital technology has gradually transformed the landscape of political and religious communication in fundamental ways. Social media, initially designed as a space for interaction and information sharing, has now evolved into a contested arena of discourse, including by groups advancing transnational ideological agendas (Zhang, 2025). According to Lepage (2016), this dynamic has been strategically exploited by caliphate-oriented movements to disseminate ideological propaganda, build networks, and mobilize sympathizers. Haripin et al. further observed that the use of the internet by radical groups for message dissemination, recruitment, and coordination has become a massive and persistent pattern since the early twenty-first century. Syuhud (2019) adds that Indonesia home to the world's second-largest Muslim population with high levels of internet penetration constitutes fertile ground for the dissemination of caliphate narratives. Nugroho (2020) notes that this propaganda operates

through sophisticated strategies across multiple digital platforms. Its dissemination extends beyond mainstream social media such as Facebook, X, and YouTube to more private and encrypted channels such as Telegram, WhatsApp, and Signal, which are frequently used for organized communication and coordination (Niam & ‘Afifah, 2024).

Natasari (2019) identifies that the primary strength of digital caliphate propaganda lies in its ability to simplify complex religious ideologies into language that is emotionally resonant, accessible, and easily absorbed by wider audiences. Through images, videos, memes, and sermon snippets, complex narratives are transformed into content that appears relatable and relevant to everyday life. This tactic exerts a persuasive force not only by offering knowledge but also by fostering identity and a sense of belonging. Yet behind this appeal lies a serious consequence. Caliphate propaganda embodies a political vision that directly contradicts the principles of the modern nation-state, including Indonesia (Hermawan & Murjoko, 2025). The idea of uniting the Muslim community under a single authority stands in stark opposition to national sovereignty, democracy, and pluralism. Moreover, such propaganda has the potential to foster intolerance, widen social polarization, and provide justification for large-scale acts of violence.

Indonesia thus faces a complex dilemma in addressing this threat. On one hand, the state is committed to protecting freedom of expression and religion; on the other, it must safeguard national security and protect its citizens from exposure to radical ideologies. Data from 2024 illustrates the scale of this challenge: the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), together with the Ministry of Communication and Digital Affairs (Komdigi), removed approximately 180,954 online contents containing radicalism, intolerance, and extremism (BNPT, 2024). Instagram constituted the largest platform for such content (86,203), followed by Facebook (45,449) and TikTok (23,595), while Telegram and WhatsApp also served as notable channels of propaganda. These figures highlight two crucial points: first, caliphate propaganda is both real and massive; second, the digital sphere has become the most active frontline in today’s ideological battles.

However, statistical data alone cannot capture the complexity of this threat. Active internet users—particularly young people and women are more vulnerable to exposure to radicalism. The Radicalism Potential Index of 2022 revealed that these groups scored relatively high (11–12%), with most of their information consumption coming from online channels (BNPT, 2022). This underscores that propaganda is not only about content but also about who is exposed and how they respond. Historically, the idea of the caliphate has surfaced in various forms and intensities. In the era of globalization, this idea has found a new and more effective medium: the digital sphere, which transcends territorial boundaries and connects individuals from diverse backgrounds into virtual communities. This makes caliphate propaganda increasingly difficult to control and more dangerous, as it spreads silently, personally, and massively.

The involvement of younger generations represents a critical dimension of this phenomenon. As primary users of the internet, they are particularly vulnerable to propaganda packaged in creative formats. Widyaningsih (2019) explains that curiosity, identity-seeking, and dissatisfaction with socio-economic conditions are often exploited as gateways to

radicalization. This process does not always occur abruptly but, through repeated exposure, can gradually shape strong beliefs and even loyalty to alternative ideologies (Rinda Widyaningsih, 2019). Furthermore, caliphate propaganda does not operate in a vacuum; it often capitalizes on genuine social grievances such as injustice, corruption, economic inequality, or political conflict (Lepage, 2016). By presenting the caliphate as a singular solution, this propaganda successfully attracts sympathy from those who feel marginalized or disillusioned. In other words, the success of digital propaganda lies not only in its communication strategies but also in structural conditions within society that allow alternative narratives to take root.

This article proceeds from the recognition that digital caliphate propaganda cannot be countered with a single approach. It demands an interdisciplinary understanding: law, to examine the regulatory framework and its limitations; social and political sciences, to analyze its impact on society and the state; and political philosophy, to interrogate the allure of the utopia it offers. Such a multidisciplinary perspective is crucial so that the analysis does not stop at surface-level symptoms but instead probes the deeper roots of the issue. Accordingly, this study asserts that digital caliphate propaganda constitutes a serious challenge for Indonesia and must be understood comprehensively. The problem extends beyond online content; it concerns the future of ideology, social resilience, and political stability of the nation. Thus, a deeper analysis is required to understand the mechanisms of propaganda, its legal and national stability implications, and the strategies that can be developed to counter it.

Research Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach within the framework of critical discourse analysis. The primary focus is directed toward understanding how caliphate propaganda operates in the digital sphere, how it constructs ideological narratives, and what implications it carries for law and national stability. Data were collected through an extensive literature review of national regulations, reports issued by state institutions such as the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) and the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo), as well as research findings from independent institutions on online radicalism and extremism. In addition, secondary sources including academic articles, policy reports, and credible media publications were also utilized to strengthen the analysis. The analysis integrates perspectives from law, politics, and philosophy. This interdisciplinary methodology was chosen to generate a comprehensive understanding that transcends technical issues of content blocking and instead situates digital caliphate propaganda as a complex ideological and political challenge.

Discussion

The Caliphate as an Ideological Utopia in Fiqh Siyasah and Modern Politics

The caliphate in classical Islamic tradition was a political institution that emerged from the historical necessity of the Muslim community following the death of Prophet Muhammad (Fadli, 2018). The early Muslim community faced the urgent question of who would lead and ensure the continuity of the socio-religious order. The answer to this question produced the caliphate system, which over time came to be interpreted in diverse ways by Muslim scholars. Al-Mawardi, in *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah*, emphasized the obligation of the caliph to preserve religion while simultaneously administering the state (Bhat, 2023). Ibn Khaldun, in *al-Muqaddimah*, framed the caliphate in sociological terms, viewing political authority as an

outcome of *asabiyyah* or group solidarity (Ahmad & Sahimi, 2022). Ibn Taymiyyah, in *al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyyah*, conceived government as a means to achieve public welfare, making the state an instrumental rather than a dogmatic entity (Kamali, 2018). These perspectives demonstrate that the caliphate was never a monolithic or static concept, but rather a mechanism adaptable to its social and political contexts.

In contrast, contemporary radical discourse reflects a markedly different orientation. Rather than understanding the caliphate as a dynamic historical product, radical groups simplify it into an absolute doctrine that must be imposed universally across time and space (Marzuki, 2021). This reduction, within the framework of Ambrogio Santambrogio (2023), can be understood as the construction of an ideological utopia. Utopia, as Santambrogio argues in *Utopia without Ideology*, is not merely an abstract dream but a *project of action* a projection of the future claimed as both attainable and necessary through collective mobilization. Radical caliphate propaganda functions precisely in this way: it offers the promise of an ideal political order, ostensibly capable of eradicating social injustice, corruption, and Western domination (Marzuki, 2021).

Yet, as Santambrogio reminds us, utopia is ambivalent. While it can inspire transformative change, it also risks becoming a repressive ideology when imposed in absolute terms. Here Mannheim's insights reinterpreted by Santambrogio become salient: utopia can transform into a "dominant ideology" once it ceases to serve as a critical horizon and begins to bind people into a system that suppresses pluralism. Radical caliphate narratives reveal precisely this tendency. They promise a political paradise while simultaneously eliminating democracy, diversity, and civil liberties. In Indonesia, the manipulation of the caliphate as an ideological utopia is most evident in the preaching strategies of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). As elaborated by Muhammad Nuruzzaman and Syaiful Arif (2020) in *Pancasila vs Khilafah*, HTI constructs a binary opposition: Pancasila is framed as secular, compromising, and incapable of addressing national problems, while the caliphate is depicted as sacred and ideal. Similarly, Ahidul Asror (2015) in *Khilafah dan Terorisme* shows that radical caliphate narratives often serve as gateways to radicalization. By portraying the caliphate as a *shar'i* obligation, radical groups deny the historical reality in which Muslim societies have flourished under diverse forms of governance, including kingdoms, sultanates, and even modern republics (Asror, 2015). This narrowing of meaning carries grave implications, as it provides moral justification for opposing the modern nation-state often labeled *thaghut* (Maarif et al., 2015). From this point, ideological narratives may evolve into violent praxis, with claims of jihad functioning as a legitimizing instrument for armed resistance that connects, in the contemporary context, with transnational terrorism networks (Haikal & Sujadi, 2025).

Historical narratives further reinforce the utopian dimension of the caliphate. Abd al-Qadim Zallum (2002), in *How the Khilafah Was Destroyed*, depicts the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate as a great tragedy caused by Western colonialism and the betrayal of Muslim elites. Such accounts are widely employed by pro-caliphate groups to assert that Muslims have lost their authentic political institution and are therefore religiously obliged to restore it. Yet, within the context of propaganda, this complex history is reduced to political myth. The collective trauma of Ottoman collapse is repurposed as emotional fuel, while the promise of restored glory is offered through the vision of a global caliphate (Çevik, 2024). In this sense, history is not used for critical reflection but as a tool of the *politics of nostalgia* that mobilizes the masses.

The integration of analyses by Nuruzzaman & Arif, Asror, and Zallum with Santambrogio's framework demonstrates the dual function of the caliphate in radical discourse: as both utopia and ideology. As a utopia, it offers an alluring horizon of an idealized future; as an ideology, it suppresses critical reflection and pluralism, binding believers within an illusion of political homogeneity. Here lies the danger: the caliphate is no longer merely a political concept but an ideological project that transforms into a mobilizing machine, threatening national consensus. This critique is vital, especially as many particularly younger generations are exposed to caliphate narratives without critical tools to distinguish them from pure religious discourse. For them, the caliphate may appear as a symbol of piety, whereas in reality it functions as a political ideology. Thus, the caliphate is not solely an internal issue within Islam but a national problem concerning the security of Indonesia's state ideology.

In this context, Santambrogio's concept of a *freely feasible utopia* becomes relevant. A viable utopia is not one that eradicates pluralism but one that can be realized without undermining freedom and diversity (Santambrogio, 2023). From this perspective, the radical vision of the caliphate falls into the category of an "illusory utopia" it promises an ideal world but is impossible to realize without generating repression and conflict. In contrast, Pancasila with its principles of democracy, deliberation, and social justice resonates more closely with the notion of a feasible utopia, as it accommodates both freedom and collective orientation. The foregoing analysis thus demonstrates that the caliphate as an ideological utopia is not a solution but a dead end. It emerges from a simplification of history, disregards the pluralism of classical Islam, and proposes a singular solution that negates freedom. The radical caliphate thereby becomes an ideology that challenges Pancasila and threatens national stability. Hence, understanding the caliphate requires more than a theological lens; it must be examined through the prisms of utopia and ideology to reveal that its promise of restored glory is a dangerous illusion.

The Caliphate's Digital Propaganda and Its Implications for National Stability

The digital transformation of the past two decades has profoundly reshaped the ways in which societies interact, access information, and construct political identities (Hasan et al., 2023). Cyberspace is no longer a mere extension of social life but has become the primary arena in which discourse, ideology, and conflict unfold (Munandar et al., 2025). Within this context, the caliphate narrative has found a new and highly effective medium: the internet and social media. Whereas the dissemination of radical ideology in the past relied on closed forums, printed literature, or conventional religious preaching, today caliphate propaganda is presented in fluid, popular, and less traceable formats. The digital sphere renders caliphate propaganda massive, interactive, and potentially viral:

1. **Digital Patterns and Strategies of Digital Propaganda**

   Aliphate propaganda in digital space operates through systematic and adaptive mechanisms, making it far more effective than conventional channels of ideological dissemination (Syuhud, 2019). Cyberspace provides key strategic advantages: anonymity, global reach, and rapid dissemination. Radical groups exploit these features to promote the caliphate as both an alternative state ideology and a utopian project that appears attainable. Several dominant patterns can be identified.

   First, the exploitation of social media algorithms. Digital platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok are designed to maximize user attention by providing

similar content based on prior viewing or interaction histories. This creates *echo chambers* in which individuals exposed to caliphate-related content are repeatedly fed similar material. Within the context of propaganda, this mechanism reinforces belief systems while closing off alternative perspectives. A young user initially searching for Islamic history videos, for instance, may quickly be redirected towards radical caliphate content through algorithmic recommendations. In this way, algorithms become the "silent allies" of radical propaganda.

Second, cross-platform migration. When radical accounts or channels are blocked, caliphate sympathizers immediately shift to more secure platforms such as Telegram, Signal, or overseas-hosted forums. This renders digital propaganda nearly impossible to eradicate. Blocking measures are only temporarily effective, as radical networks already maintain "digital backups" to ensure narrative continuity. Such resilience illustrates that digital propaganda is not sporadic but carefully designed as a guerrilla strategy (Syuhud, 2019). Third, the *aestheticization* of radical narratives. Propaganda is no longer presented in heavy ideological language but instead repackaged into popular, easily digestible formats. Short TikTok videos with emotional music, humorous memes, or simplified infographics are employed to convey the promise of the caliphate. Religious symbols such as black flags, Quranic verses, or quotations from Islamic scholars are combined with modern visual styles to appeal to younger audiences. This aestheticization underscores that propaganda is not only about the message but also about packaging it in ways that resonate with digital popular culture.

Fourth, the politics of nostalgia. The history of the Ottoman Caliphate's collapse, as narrated by Abd al-Qadim Zallum in *How the Khilafah Was Destroyed*, is reimagined with dramatic visual effects. Muslims are depicted as victims of global conspiracy, while the caliphate is offered as the sole solution for restoring lost glory (Zallum, 2002). In digital propaganda, history is reduced to an emotionally charged political myth. For younger generations with limited historical literacy, this nostalgic appeal is highly effective, offering them a sense of identity as part of a struggle to restore Muslim greatness. Fifth, the use of current issues. Caliphate propaganda deliberately attaches itself to ongoing political or global conflicts. During national political crises in Indonesia, the caliphate is promoted as the solution to democracy's failures. During flare-ups in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the caliphate is presented as a global framework capable of protecting Muslims. In this way, propaganda constantly updates itself to maintain relevance.

Viewed through Ambrogio Santambrogio's (2023) framework, these propaganda patterns represent the concrete realization of an ideological utopia. The caliphate utopia is not left as mere imagination but projected as an imminent and attainable reality. Digital media thus functions as the primary instrument for transforming utopia into collective action. Yet, as Santambrogio cautions, a utopia framed ideologically is prone to repression, as it negates freedom and pluralism. This reveals the danger of caliphate digital propaganda: it promises an ideal world but through an exclusive claim that only one legitimate path exists.

2. Digital Radicalization through Caliphate Narratives

Caliphate propaganda in cyberspace does not stop at the level of idea dissemination; it also operates as a gateway to systematic radicalization. Radicalization, broadly defined,

is the gradual process by which individuals adopt extremist beliefs, reject the legitimacy of the state, and eventually justify or engage in violence (Abay Gaspar et al., 2020; Trip et al., 2019). The internet and social media provide fertile ground for this process due to their anonymity, interactivity, and limited oversight. The initial stage often begins with passive exposure. A social media user might stumble upon caliphate content while searching for Islamic history or Middle Eastern politics. Algorithms then reinforce exposure by recommending similar material. At this stage, propaganda fosters curiosity, sympathy, or normalization of terms such as *daulah* or *shari'ah kaffah*. Repeated exposure can lead to a "cognitive opening," a psychological readiness to embrace new ideas.

The next stage is value internalization. More ideological content is introduced, often within exclusive online communities such as encrypted Telegram groups. Here, the caliphate is no longer framed as information but as normative truth. Religious arguments, citations of Islamic scholars, and emotive rhetoric are used to instill the belief that the caliphate is the only legitimate path. Santambrogio's concept clarifies this process: the caliphate utopia is projected as a realizable future horizon, prompting individuals to align themselves with the collective project.

he third stage is group identification and commitment. Individuals begin to perceive themselves as part of a global movement, often coupled with exclusivist attitudes towards family, school, or local communities. Loyalty to virtual groups supersedes ties to real-world communities. Research by the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict reveals that most terror perpetrators in Indonesia over the past decade went through this stage: their involvement began with membership in online communities offering ideological solidarity. (IPAC, 2024). The final stage is active involvement, which may include non-violent activities such as spreading content or fundraising, but can escalate into participation in acts of terror. At this point, digital propaganda reaches its most dangerous form, as cyberspace not only produces sympathizers but also generates new violent actors.

Ahidul Asror, in *Khilafah dan Terorisme*, underscores that framing the caliphate as a *shar'i* obligation serves as the key catalyst in radicalization. Theological claims provide moral legitimacy for rejecting the modern nation-state, often branded as *thaghut*. Within this framework, digital propaganda functions as a justification device, making violence appear religiously sanctioned. Historical narratives, such as Zallum's account of Ottoman collapse, intensify this radicalization by cultivating collective trauma and anger, which are then directed towards a singular solution: the restoration of the caliphate. As Santambrogio highlights, utopia possesses strong mobilizing power because it is not only an idea but also a promise of a meaningful future.

3. Legal Implications and Threats to National Stability

The phenomenon of caliphate digital propaganda places Indonesia at a difficult crossroads: upholding the rule of law to protect state stability while safeguarding democratic commitments to civil liberties (Pelengkahu, 2026; Pelengkahu & Satria, 2024). Cyberspace not only broadens ideological reach but also tests the resilience of national law and cohesion (Rifa'i et al., 2025). From a legal perspective, Indonesia is not without regulatory instruments. Law No. 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE Law) provides a basis for prosecuting hate speech and radical content, while Law No. 5 of 2018 on Counter-Terrorism (Anti-Terrorism Law) extends the definition of terrorism

to include propaganda, recruitment, and financing (Kadek Rio Teguh Adnyana, 2022). Formally, this reflects state readiness to address ideological threats disseminated through digital technologies. In practice, however, challenges persist.

The transnational nature of the internet often renders national jurisdiction ineffective (Tobing et al., 2024). Content may originate abroad, circulate through international servers, and quickly reach Indonesian audiences. Blocking or reporting to global digital platforms rarely keeps pace with the speed of information flow (Tobing et al., 2024). Authorities are frequently one step behind. Another difficulty lies in the tension between security and freedom. Each account or site blocked by the state is swiftly framed as censorship, provoking claims that the government is curtailing freedom of expression (Raharjo & Bintoro, 2023). This dilemma is inescapable: the state must shield citizens from harmful ideologies while simultaneously avoiding the infringement of civil liberties.

The situation is further complicated by the adaptability of radical groups. Once a channel is blocked, they migrate to alternative platforms, utilize encrypted applications, or cloak their messages in ambiguous religious language. Such content often slips through the interpretive gaps between freedom of religion and incitement to radicalism. Consequently, law enforcement tends to act reactively, intervening after propaganda has already circulated widely rather than preventing its dissemination at the outset. Limited technical capacity also plays a role: addressing digital extremism requires specialized cyber expertise, advanced technological tools, and coordinated inter-agency efforts.

Viewed through Santambrogio's (2023) framework, these difficulties transcend the technical question of legal enforcement. What is at stake is an ideological confrontation: the utopia of the caliphate, which demands total uniformity, is in direct opposition to the rule of law, which is designed to uphold pluralism. Legal regulations will always appear insufficient if assessed solely in technical terms, for the state is confronting a deliberate ideological project that seeks to delegitimize its authority. As Nuruzzaman and Arif observe, caliphate propaganda consciously erodes the foundational ideology of Pancasila. Hence, law enforcement cannot operate in isolation; it must be accompanied by the reinforcement of national ideology. From the standpoint of national stability, digital caliphate propaganda produces layered consequences. At the ideological level, it undermines national consensus by portraying Pancasila as a secular failure while presenting the caliphate as the authentic solution to Indonesia's crises. This binary narrative generates an identity dilemma for Indonesian Muslims: as if they must choose between loyalty to religion and loyalty to the state. Left unaddressed, this can weaken the legitimacy of national ideology and erode social solidarity.

At the societal level, propaganda exacerbates polarization. It divides communities into opposing categories—"authentic Islam" versus "compromised Islam." Social media intensifies this by generating echo chambers in which groups hear only their own voices. The result is widening social distance, weakened solidarity, and heightened risks of horizontal conflict. At the political level, propaganda delegitimizes democracy by framing it as a failed Western system, eroding public confidence in elections, political parties, and state institutions. In the long run, this narrative threatens to generate political instability and mobilize mass rejection of the democratic order. Santambrogio underscores that this is precisely how ideological utopias operate: not as abstract dreams, but as action-oriented projects designed to replace existing systems with totalizing alternatives.

The most visible threat lies in the realm of security. Exposure to digital propaganda has been empirically linked to individual radicalization and acts of terrorism. Research by IPAC (2022) reveals numerous cases in which Indonesian individuals were first exposed to online propaganda before committing violent acts. The phenomenon of lone wolf terrorism individuals acting independently without formal organizational ties but driven by online ideological motivations has become increasingly prevalent. Such threats are exceptionally difficult to detect and preempt. Moreover, caliphate propaganda does not stop at the domestic level. It forges transnational solidarity by connecting Indonesian sympathizers with global radical networks through social media and encrypted platforms. Zallum's narrative of the Ottoman collapse, for instance, is deployed to cultivate a sense of global trauma, binding Muslims across borders under the obligation of restoring the caliphate. Consequently, threats to Indonesia's national stability are simultaneously threats to regional and international security.

Taken together, it is evident that digital caliphate propaganda not only tests the effectiveness of Indonesia's legal framework but also endangers state ideology, erodes social cohesion, undermines political legitimacy, and generates tangible security risks. A purely repressive approach cannot adequately address such complexity. What is required is a comprehensive strategy that combines firm law enforcement with the reinforcement of national ideology, digital literacy, cultural engagement, and international cooperation. Through such measures, the state can not only restrict radical propaganda but also enhance the resilience of society against misleading utopian narratives. This challenge is formidable, yet it constitutes the ultimate measure of Indonesia's democratic maturity: the ability to preserve freedom while simultaneously protecting the nation's foundational consensus from destabilizing ideological threats.

Conclusion

Caliphate digital propaganda in Indonesia constitutes a multidimensional threat that transcends mere online discourse. It functions as an ideological project that undermines state legitimacy and triggers socio-political instability. The utopia of the caliphate, while offering strong emotional mobilization, becomes a danger when imposed as the sole and absolute truth. Confronting this challenge requires a comprehensive approach. Legal enforcement alone is insufficient, given the borderless nature of the internet. Strengthening national ideology, enhancing digital literacy, and fostering inclusive and constructive public dialogue are therefore essential. Equally crucial are cultural approaches and international cooperation to suppress the spread of this transnational ideology. Ultimately, the challenge posed by caliphate propaganda tests Indonesia's resilience as a nation in balancing freedom, diversity, and national security. The ability to protect democratic liberties while preserving national cohesion will determine the maturity of Indonesia's constitutional democracy in facing transnational ideological threats.

References

Abay Gaspar, H., Daase, C., Deitelhoff, N., Junk, J., & Sold, M. (2020). Radicalization and political violence – challenges of conceptualizing and researching origins, processes and politics of illiberal beliefs. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence, 14*(2), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.4119/ijcv-3802

Ahmad, S., & Sahimi, M. S. (2022). Ibn Khaldun's Views on Man, Society, and State in the Light of Al-Muqaddimah. *Malaysian Journal for Islamic Studies (MJIS), 6*(1), 44–52.

Asror, A. (2015). *Khalifah dan Terorisme Pemikiran Islam Kebangsaan Kyai NU: Vol. I*. IAIN

Jember Press.

Bhat, A. H. (2023). Apprehending Al- Mawardi's Theory of Imamate. *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies (IJHSSS)*, *IX*(II), 42–52. https://doi.org/10.29032/ijhsss.v9.i2.2023.42-52

BNPT. (2022). *Partisipasi Aktif Masyarakat Mendorong Penurunan Indeks Resiko Dan Indeks Potensi Radikalisme Dan Terorisme Tahun 2022*. Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme Nasional. https://www.bnpt.go.id/partisipasi-aktif-masyarakat-mendorong-penurunan-indeks-resiko-dan-indeks-potensi-radikalisme-dan-terorisme-tahun-2022

BNPT. (2024). *BNPT: 180 Ribu Konten Bermuatan Terorisme Diblokir Sepanjang 2024*. Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme Nasional. https://www.bnpt.go.id/bnpt-180-ribu-konten-bermuatan-terorisme-diblokir-sepanjang-2024

Çevik, S. B. (2024). Grandiose dreams, mega projects: Ottoman nostalgia in 'new Turkey.' *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, *21*(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1002/aps.1846

Fadli, Y. (2018). Pemikiran Politik Islam Klasik (Studi Awal Atas Perspektif Kalangan Sunni). *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, *2*(1), 89. https://doi.org/10.31000/jgcs.v2i1.777

Haikal, M. H., & Sujadi. (2025). Rekonstruksi Narasi Jihad dalam Media Digital Islamis di Indonesia: Studi Sosiologis terhadap Peran Media dalam Militerisme Kontemporer. *Mukaddimah: Jurnal Studi Islam*, *10*(1), 19–34. https://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/pusat/mukaddimah/article/view/4058

Hasan, K., Husna, A., & Fitri, D. (2023). Transformasi Komunikasi Massa Era Digital Antara Peluang Dan Tantangan. *JPP Jurnal Politik Dan Pemerintahan*, *8*, 41–55.

Hermawan, N., & Murjoko, A. (2025). Reaktualisasi Dakwah Politik di Indonesia: Antara Warisan Khilafah dan Realitas Demokrasi Modern. *Action Research Journal Indonesia (ARJI)*, *7*(2). https://doi.org/10.61227/arji.v7i2.398

IPAC. (2024). *An Indonesian Deradicalisation Program That Works* (Issue 92).

Kadek Rio Teguh Adnyana. (2022). Analisis Perkembangan Jaringan Terorisme Dalam Perspektif Hukum dan Ancaman Global Akibat Penyebaran Terorisme di Indonesia. *Jurnal Pacta Sunt Servanda*, *3*(2), 32–41. https://ejournal2.undiksha.ac.id/index.php/JPSS

Kamali, M. H. (2018). Classical Islamic Political Thought and its Contemporary Relevance. *ICR Journal*, *9*(4), 19–46. https://doi.org/10.52282/icr.v9i4.93

Lepage, Y. V. (2016). Retweeting the Caliphate: the Role of Soft-Sympathizers in the Islamic State's Social Media Strategy. *Journal of Security Studies*, *21*(1), 53–69.

Maarif, A. S., Saifuddin, L. H., Abdullah, M. A., Anwar, S., Azra, A., Ilyas, H., Baidhawy, Z., Latief, M. A. H., Qodir, Z., Tafsir, M., Riyadi, H., AR, M. S., Biyanto, Latif, Y., Dzuhayatin, S. R., & Wahid, W. G. A. (2015). *Fikih Kebinekaan*. PT. Mizan Pustaka.

Marzuki, I. (2021). Diskursus Khilafah dalam Kajian Fiqh Siyasah Klasik dan Kontemporer. *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam*, *15*(2), 325–344. https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v15i2.4159

Munandar, T. A., Saefulloh, F., & Pamungkas, O. (2025). Keadilan Sosial di Dunia Maya: Penanaman Nilai dan Karakter Pancasila di Masyarakat dalam Menggunakan Media Sosial. *Journal of Geopolitics and Public Policy (JOGPP)*, *3*(1), 1–10.

Niam, K., & 'Afifah, F. N. (2024). NARASI KHILAFAH DI ERA DIGITAL: An Epistemological Study of Muslimahnews.net ' s Interpretation of Khalifah Verses. *AL-ITQAN: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an*, *10*(1), 85–115. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.47454/itqan.v10i1.991

Pelengkahu, M. (2026). Reframing the Rule of Law: The Dialectic of Voluntas and Ratio in Kaarlo Tuori's Thought. *Problema. Anuario de Filosofía y Teoría Del Derecho*,

20(e20270), 1–36. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22201/iij.24487937e.2026.20.20270

Pelengkahu, M., & Satria, N. (2024). Web-Based Citizen Contribution : An Model to Optimize Political Participation in the Legislation Function of the Representative Council. *Jurnal Kajian Pembaruan Hukum*, *2*(November), 239–268. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19184/jkph.v4i1.46691

Raharjo, A., & Bintoro, R. W. (2023). Pencegahan Dan Penanggulangan Radikalisme. *Pengembangan Sumber Daya Perdesaan Dan Kearifan Lokal Berkelanjutan XIII*, *6*, 20–33.

Rifa'i, A., Putra, K. A., Rifai, A. A., Izudin, A., & Septiani, E. (2025). State abandonment and the resurgence of Indonesian Islamic State (NII) movements. In *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* (Vol. 15, Issue 1). https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v15i1.141-171

Rinda Widyaningsih. (2019). *Deteksi Dini Radikalisme*. Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Kepada Masyarakat Universitas Jenderal Soedirman. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Rindha-Widyaningsih/publication/333967877_Deteksi_Dini_Radikalisme/links/5ec7848e458515626cbf4bd8/Deteksi-Dini-Radikalisme.pdf

Santambrogio, A. (2023). Utopia without Ideology. In *Utopia without Ideology*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003229339

Syuhud, A. F. (2019). *Islam dan Politik: Sistem Khilafah dan Realitas Dunia Islam*. Pustaka Alkhoirot.

Tobing, C. I., Tiofanny Marylin Surya, Selvias, L. R., Stepania Rehulina Girsang, Putri Berliana Azzahra, Lustri Yolanda Purba, Mahezha Agnia Putera, & Nurrahman Rusmana. (2024). Globalisasi Digital Dan Cybercrime: Tantangan Hukum Dalam Menghadapi Kejahatan Siber Lintas Batas. *Jurnal Hukum Sasana*, *10*(2), 105–123. https://doi.org/10.31599/sasana.v10i2.3170

Trip, S., Bora, C. H., Marian, M., Halmajan, A., & Drugas, M. I. (2019). Psychological mechanisms involved in radicalization and extremism. A rational emotive behavioral conceptualization. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *10*(MAR). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00437

Zallum, A. (2002). *How the Khilafah was destroyed*. Al-Khilafah Publications. http://www.hizb-australia.org/publications/books/HowTheKhilafahWasDistroyed.pdf

Zhang, L. (2025). The Digital Age of Religious Communication: The Shaping and Challenges of Religious Beliefs through Social Media. *Studies on Religion and Philosophy*, *1*(1), 25–41. https://doi.org/10.71204/de63mn10