

Research Article

Social criticism of Millennials in the democracy and Islamic Law perspectives

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Bima, who criticized the road conditions in Lampung through his Tiktok account, shocked the Indonesian virtual world. His reckless and resentful actions were taken because he thought that the Lampung authorities did not care about the existing conditions. This action sparked a polemic and drew attention to the Senayan palace and politician circles. For those who support it, this is a form of moral message and social criticism through digital platforms, while for those who reject it, they consider this action as slander, open disgrace, and violating legal and religious norms. Not long after, President Jokowi visited the location called Bima. Many people are grateful to Bima, because not long after the incident there were improvements and changes. Apart from that it sparked other announcers who criticized the development of their regions, such as those in Aceh, Jambi, North Sumatra, and Central Java. The main problem in this study is whether Bima's style of social criticism is in accordance with democratic principles and Islamic legal norms? If they are considered contradictory, then what is the ethics of social criticism on the virtual stage under legal and religious norms? This research is descriptive and qualitative with interviews and documentation as data sources. Research has found that Article 45 Paragraph 3 of the ITE Law and Imam Nawawi's views on *ghibah mubahah* are open spaces for millennials to express socio-political aspirations in both conventional and virtual contemporary spaces. Social criticism must prioritize good faith and methods and avoid hate speech and hoaxes so that the content delivered is easily accepted by others. Bima also set an example for those in power not to be surprised, to get used to criticism, to be tolerant, and to be kind-hearted. Lampung received billions in funding for road repairs.

Keywords: democracy, Islamic Law, millennials, social criticism

1. Introduction

Social media has now become part of the necessities of life that cannot be separated along with the development of technology and information. This is indicated by the increasing number of people who are hunting for various forms of smartphones and internet quota to bridge these interests. The APJII survey in March 2023 stated that 78.19%, equivalent to 215,626,156 people of the total population of 275,773,901 Indonesians use the internet.[1] We should be grateful for this phenomenon because the

Corresponding Author: Nadirsah
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Knowledge E

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Selection and Peer-review under
the responsibility of the
RIICSHAW Conference
Committee.**OPEN ACCESS**

public is concerned with technological and information developments, is news literate, responds quickly to every incident including social, political and community issues as well as being used as a means of entertainment and developing one's skills as well as being an effective medium in the learning process.

According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) for 2022, 67.88% of Indonesia's population aged 5 years and over already own a cell phone.[2] This fact is certainly interesting to observe. Considering that adolescence is a very vulnerable and transitional age, it needs special attention from parents and society. According to Azman, the dependence of millennials on smartphones today makes them very individualistic because they play more in cyberspace and in the end make them seem impolite.[3] There are two interesting things conveyed by Azman, that smartphones make young people individualistic, preoccupied with themselves, don't care and seem impolite or violate ethics. Using social media is not good - one of them will make a person busy with himself, engrossed in playing HP, forgetting the people around him and sometimes even forgetting himself, getting lost and drifting and engrossed in surfing social media. According to Azman, the word impolite can be interpreted as millennials who are not good at using technology in social media, often violate the rules and ignore the social ethics of society, including religious norms, such as viewing or showing inappropriate shows, there are elements of physical violence, bullying and hate speech. Kristina Ayu agrees with Azman, in her opinion that social media can distance those who are near and bring those who are far away, even though digital technology should be a medium for conveying virtues rather than utterances of hate and lies.[4]

Other parties see social media as a means of spreading goodness, *amar makruf nahi munkar*. Social media is also the same as preaching, tabligh and connecting the words of prophecy to the common people so that everything becomes good if it is addressed and used for good including preaching on the political, social and community stage through virtual networking. Rosmalina agrees that social media can also be an effective means of preaching, especially among young people. Apart from being attractive, this facility also provides easy access, especially for those who do not have a specific time to sit in traditional *majlis taklim* assemblies that require a lot of energy. Digital literacy has an extraordinary contribution in building the foundation of the nation's character or behavior as it is today, besides also needing to increase the content of moderation preaching.[5]

From a different angle, people who are already familiar with information technology certainly have a more open space for action to convey political aspirations, social criticism, etc. Most of the people's representatives today are busy with the process

of nominating and verifying parties at the KPU. As a result, what is felt and seen in plain sight, let alone touching on social and development issues, is very easy to convey through other media, especially networked social media such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, tiktok etc. HThis was also agreed upon by Nuryadi, according to him the spirit of democracy has now shifted from the realm of conventional public spaces to virtual technological spaces. The terminology of public space is no longer interpreted as a space where people can physically meet and interact, but has shifted to a virtual social space in the form of expressing messages to netizens across space, boundaries and time. The emergence of virtual public space is sufficient to intensify the process of democratization which gives birth to political revolutions and not the least of which is capable of changing the democratic order.[6] Harry Susanto also agrees that social media is often associated with freedom of information democracy. Social media is able to change someone from a content reader to a content publisher. This is a shift away from the mechanics of broadcast, rooted in conversations between writers, people, and peers. Therefore, there are at least three fundamental elements in social media including; social media involves online networking, continues to experience development from time to time and the latter is participatory, involves many people, viral and uproar.[7]

The social reality of the people who are busy monitoring political developments ahead of the political year with all the hustle and bustle suddenly caused a commotion because on April 7 2023 the world of social media, especially the Tiktok application, was noisy and viral. There is a post from the Tik Tok account @awbimaxrebon with the title "reasons why Lampung is not moving forward" which lasts 3 minutes 28 seconds. The post was made by Bima. This made the people of Lampung excited, especially officials from the Governor of Lampung to the Deputy Regent of East Lampung and suddenly social activists and civilians who had been waiting for change for a long time rejoiced in welcoming this issue. Several sectors that were criticized by Bima included infrastructure, the Kota Baru project, education, bureaucratic governance, agriculture, and crime rates. Bima admitted that much of the infrastructure in Lampung was damaged and the Kota Baru project had been stalled for a long time. Bima also said that education in Lampung was not evenly distributed, leading to dependence on agriculture.[8]

Who actually is Tiktoker Bima, which went viral? His name is Bima Yudho Saputro, a student currently studying in Australia. The Bima family is a corn farmer and processor in North Raman Village, East Lampung. Bima studied at the Diploma of Digital Marketing, Digital Communication and Media Multimedia program, Australian College of Business Intelligence (ACBI). Previously, he had completed his education in the Diploma of

Information Technology, Computer Science and Digital Innovation program, at UCSI University, Malaysia.



Figure 1: Picture of Tiktoker, Bima Yudho Saputro.

Apart from being responded to by Lampung officials, Bima's posts also attracted the attention of Senayan politicians, lawyers (Hotman Paris) and even President Joko Widodo stepped in to directly investigate Bima's tweets. Wasekjen Gerindra Habiburakhman Member of Commission III DPR RI and Almuzzammil Yusuf from the PKS Fraction of the DPR RI also commented and asked the Governor of Lampung and the police to act wisely in responding to the case of criticism from Lampung youth, Bima Yudho Saputro. This case does not need to be brought to the realm of law. Bima is a young Lampung man who is educated and critical, who is studying far away in Australia. He took advantage of the social media trend to criticize the regional government where he was born in the style of young people, so it quickly went viral. According to him, the substance of Bima's criticism was good, it's just possible that a few choices of words were not quite right. This could be questioned and understandable.[9]

Habiburakhman and Muzammil's emphasis is on the choice of word or diction for 'dajjal' which is questionable and understandable. This suggests that Bima's style of social criticism actually contains an element of violating norms. It can be brought into the realm of law through the ITE Law, but that is not more important than the substance of the criticism itself, which in fact has to be more questioned, especially by local power holders. The measure of politeness and the limits of hate speech with the style of social criticism, especially with the style of a young millennial, are indeed rather difficult to distinguish. So we need a clear reference and conception of patent law so that this does not drag on to become a formalistic discussion, forgetting substance. This is an empty space for analysis in this study so that similar things do not arise in the future and we become accustomed to hearing criticism, people's advice but we also feel safe and are not worried about the reaction of the reported party because all parties have the same conception and rule of law .

Article 45 paragraph 3 of Law No. 19 of 2019 Amendment to Law No. 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Transactions states "Anyone who intentionally and without rights distributes and or transmits and or makes electronic information and or electronic documents accessible who has content of insult and or defamation as referred to in Article 27 paragraph (3) shall be subject to imprisonment for a maximum of 4 (four) years and or a fine of a maximum of Rp. 750,000,000.- (seven hundred and fifty million rupiahs)".[10] This article expressly states that anyone who intentionally spreads news containing elements of insult and defamation can be punished and/or subject to substantial material fines. in particular as a tool to silence others when conveying aspirations, including criticism in the political sphere. On the other hand, there are religious norms that people believe in, originating from the Qur'an and Hadith regarding the prohibition of *ghibah* (backbiting), spreading other people's disgrace, suggestions for covering up other people's mistakes and orders to be kind. However, we also cannot ignore Imam Nawawi's explanation, which explicitly states that not all backbiting is prohibited by religion, especially when the perpetrators of the crime are difficult to change, the perpetrators are arrogant, or simply ask for legal explanations and fatwas, all of which are subject to permissible *taskhir* and *tasyhir*. [11]

The two sides of the problem above, both in terms of formal juridical legality and the conceptual basis of religious law, often raise pros and cons and even ignite the social emotions of observers of the problem. Especially when it comes into contact with the axis of power which is often a public question mark when it is brought into the realm of law. Public protests always target the main motives of the investigative process because speech is still considered reasonable and does not violate democratic norms. Of course, these two issues must be clearly explained so that they can be understood proportionally, not stabbing and misusing each other so that the purpose of the law can be upheld as fairly as possible. This study only focuses on the style of criticism of millennials in conveying social criticism with sampling cases of the Bima Yudho post as a real and renewable example.

Several studies have been conducted on millennials and the development of information technology, especially for the millennial generation from various perspectives, both from a political, da'wah and social point of view. First, Nuryadi Kadir with the title "*Media Sosial dan Politik Partisipatif: Suatu Kajian Ruang Publik, Demokrasi Bagi Kaum Milenial dan Gen Z*" published by RESIPROKAL Journal Vol. 4 No. 2 of 2022 UIN Makassar. In this article, Kadir focuses more on the issue of millennial political participation through social media. Second, Khusnul Fatmawati et al highlighted the role of millennials in exercising political control over government policies related to the

budget in DKI with the title "*Demokrasi Dalam Penggunaan Media Sosial (Studi Kasus Postingan di Twitter Tentang Anggaran Lem Aibon Pemerintah Provinsi DKI Jakarta)*" published by the Jurnal Mahasiswa Administrasi Negara (JMAN), Vol. 4, No. 1, May 2020. In this article, Khusnul focuses more on the political role of millennials through the media Twitter regarding budgetary policies from the point of view of democracy and social decency without touching the side of religious norms at all. Third, from a da'wah perspective, Noval Setiawan with the title "*Urgensi Dan Strategi Dakwah Santri di Era Digitalisasi*" published by the Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi Vol. 7, No.2, 2022, UIN Surakarta. In this article, Noval gives a stronger challenge to managers of educational institutions, including Islamic boarding schools, to be able to keep pace with developments in information technology, but he does not conduct an analysis from the point of view of any norms. Fourth, Athoillah Islamy with the title "*Paradigma Sosial Profetik Dalam Bermuamalah di Media Sosial*" published by the journal Tadbir, Jurnal Manajemen Dakwah, Volume 3, Number 1, 2021. Athoillah highlighted the moral urgency in the use of social media by the millennial generation according to the guidelines of the Al-Qur'an and hadith without looking at Imam Nawawi's mubah room. Finally, Fizher Zulkarnaen et al with the title "*Partisipasi Politik Pemilih Milenial pada Pemilu di Indonesia*" published by JPI: Jurnal Politikom Indonesiana, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2020. In this research, the authors focus more on the political participation of millennials and do not touch on the religious norms in the slightest. Of the many articles that have appeared, Khusnul and Athoillah's articles have actually opened a space for discourse on the freedom of millennials in expressing political aspirations, using social media, including the style of conveying digital social messages. But their discussion still looks narrow and inadequate. On this basis, the researchers believe that there is a renewal of study and discussion, especially on the mubah side of Imam Nawawi's style of social criticism, which is why this research needs to be carried out.

2. Methods

This research is in the form of a descriptive qualitative study - a method that describes the condition of the subject or object of research at the time of the research based on the facts that appear. In this study, researchers examine and analyze the phenomenon of millennial social criticism through the social media TikTok (Bima Yudho) with an analysis of the democratic principle of freedom of speech, and the *maqashid syari'ah* theory with the principle of *hifzh al-'irdh* (safeguarding self-respect). The data were obtained through interviews, observation and documentation which were analyzed in

depth to obtain complete conclusions. The purpose of this research is to provide a clear explanation of the space and style of millennial social criticism that does not conflict with religious laws and norms so that the virtual democracy stage can be more democratic like the conventional democracy stage without any differences.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Millennials, Social Media and Political Challenges

The development of information technology cannot be separated from the perpetrators of the era itself, especially those who are currently known as the millennial generation. The millennial generation is also known as generation Y or the straight generation, which is the demographic group after generation X (Gen-X). This generation is the millennial generation who were born between 1980 and 2000. Apart from that, the millennial generation also includes millennials whose ages range from 17 to 37 in 2020. Fizzer Zulkarnain et al. said that the hallmark of generation X is those who are close to online media such as whatsapp, line, instagram, facebook etc. Even these media are often used as a source of information to determine their political choices.[12] Moh. Khorofi quoted Miftah Mucharomah's opinion that the millennial generation has several characteristics, including; no longer believes in one-way distribution of information, prefers cell phones to TV, considers having social media obligatory, dislikes conventional reading, trusts technology more than parents, tends to be disloyal to boss but works effectively, disloyal to job or company, but more loyal to the brand. Millennials live in the information age which makes them grow smart, everything is online including cashless transactions.[13]

The phrase 'finding faith on the internet' (finding religion on the internet) or finding God on the web (finding God via the web) has become a fact which is difficult for anyone to deny. This condition may be addressed unconsciously by some and cause negative effects. For other parties, it has become a powerful weapon to manufacture big ideas and then disseminate them massively through online networks. According to Muttaqin, this is not strange. The youth phenomenon and the influence of social media hit all countries, including even Middle Eastern countries. This impact has long been predicted by Samhan as quoted by Jamal Ghofir. According to Samhan, widespread use of the internet has had both good and bad impacts on religious understanding. It can undermine someone's belief in their religion and this happens even in developed countries like America.[14]

Rakhasiwi's research came to the same conclusion as Ghofir, where the presence of the internet and the emergence of data network-based communication media have facilitated human work in interacting with culture, removing barriers that limit communication ranging from geographical constraints to the time span of sending messages, forming an information society that can easily be access the information itself.[15] Andiwi also expressed concern that there are many negative impacts from the familiarity of millennials with social media, such as cases of bullying, online prostitution, pornography and can even target social conflict, polarize society like in 2019 and it could also happen again later in the political year 2024.[4]

Adimar's research reinforces the findings of Ghofir and Andiwi, according to Adimar, using social media can improve adolescent morals, such as being disciplined in doing schoolwork because there are qualified tools at hand, it's easy to study religion virtually, greeting and helping each other with fast and effective movements, and everyone can express their ideas and ideas to others without any psychological and technical barriers. On the other hand, there are many negative impacts of social media including the many crimes and fraud based on social media, ego and individualism because they are often busy with smartphones, dishonest, full of theatrics and pretending, forgetting prayer times, neglecting school assignments, making things easy. There is already the internet which can give everything and it is not uncommon to be involved in reckless and obscene acts.[16] Athoillah Islamy and Nurul found that the negative impact of social media was felt in middle- and upper-class society. According to them, this happens when the space for personal (individual) private freedom in social media merges into a public space. In addition, it is not balanced with user ethics, such as conveying messages, and dissenting opinions without respect, tolerance and empathy between users, judging one-sidedly and full of hoax news.[17] Likewise Catur Lestari, the global era does require a quick response, including the development of human resources to be ready to face competition. The global era must be faced, it cannot be avoided, and those who are late will be left behind by time and technology. Social media has become a pillar of democracy and has an impact on the role of citizens in governance. This condition can get worse when socio-political issues are associated with leading public opinion towards identity politics as stated by Zainuddin.[18]

Bima's style of criticism with the diction of 'dajjal' which has the connotation of 'humiliation', indulgence in the disgrace of the authorities, social framing of power that is not in favor of the interests of the community, concerning the livelihoods of the poor such as roads, education and health facilities has certainly sparked controversy. Supporting and hindering groups occurred here and there involving politicians, academics, advocates,

even the class of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs and the President following the current public perception of the news above. Then, encourage them to come see firsthand the conditions on the ground.

For the group that refused, they considered that Bima's style and diction could be subject to offenses under the ITE Law so that they could be brought into the realm of law and crime. For groups that support it, Bima's style of social criticism is only the language of young people from millennials who are indeed sometimes ignorant of the way and style but are more focused on the substance of the criticism material conveyed. On this basis, they assess that the legal efforts taken by the apparatus or certain parties who had made the report were considered excessive and ignored the substance, defended themselves and got emotional especially now that we have entered the year of political imagery.

Bima's full criticism can be seen on his TikTok account @awbimaxreborn on Saturday, April 10, 2023. Following is a snippet of Bima's posts on TikTok media;

*"Kenalin nama gue Bima, gue berasal dari provinsi yang satu ini, **dajjal**, dan gue lagi menjalani proses study gue di Australia. Gua berasal dari Lampung dan sekarang ini gua lagi menjalani studi di Australia. Alasan pertama Lampung tidak maju karena infrastruktur yang terbatas. (Introducing my name is Bima, I come from this one province, Dajjal, and I am currently undergoing my study process in Australia. I come from Lampung and now I am studying in Australia. The first reason Lampung is not developed is because of limited infrastructure)*

"Itu aliran dana dari pemerintah pusat itu ratusan miliar ya, bestie. Dan gue enggak tahu tuh sekarang sudah jadi tempat jin buang anak kali." "Dan juga jalan-jalan di Lampung. Ya gue sering bahas jalan karena jalan itu kayak infrastruktur yang paling umum dan untuk mobilisasi ekonomi di Lampung. Tapi jalan-jalan di Lampung tuh kayak 1 KM bagus, 1 KM rusak, terus jalan ditempel-tempel doang," "Salah satunya adalah kecurangan dalam pendaftaran mahasiswa baru. "Gue enggak bilang Lampung itu kekurangan orang pintar ya. Lampung itu banyak banget orang pintar. Menteri-menteri aja banyak dari Lampung, Erick Thohir, Sri Mulyani, ada Menteri Pertanian dari Lampung kalau enggak salah, gue lupa Namanya. (That's the flow of funds from the central government, hundreds of billions, right, bestie. And I don't know that now it has become a place for genies to throw away children." "And also the roads in Lampung. Yes, I often discuss roads because roads are like the most common infrastructure and for economic mobilization in Lampung. But the roads in Lampung are 1 KM good, 1 KM is damaged, then the roads are just tacked on. , " "One of them is fraud in the registration of new students. "I didn't say that Lampung lacks smart people. Lampung has a lot of smart

people. There are a lot of ministers from Lampung, Erick Thohir, Sri Mulyani, there is the Minister of Agriculture from Lampung, if I'm not mistaken, I forgot his name.)

"Cuma proses penyaringan peserta didik yang ada di Lampung itu sendiri, banyak banget kecurangan ya. Bahkan yang berkontribusi itu orang-orang yang bekerja di sektor pendidikan kayak dosen nitipin anaknya, rektor nitipin keponakannya, ini apa sih?" Tidak bisa dipungkiri, Lampung itu salah satu provinsi yang memproduksi banyak banget hasil pertanian kayak jagung, beras ketan, dan lain-lain. Dan kontribusinya bisa mencapai 40 persen lebih, didukung data dari BI. Sektor pertanian terlalu rentan untuk dijadikan pegangan utama ekonomi Lampung. Harga komoditas pertanian terlalu fluktuatif sehingga membuat masyarakat Lampung tak bisa meningkatkan taraf kehidupan ekonominya." Dan sektor ini tuh vulnerable (rentan) kayak fluktuatif gitu, enggak bisa stabil dan yang set harga kan yang di pusat juga gitu. Kadang-kadang anjlok, kadang-kadang naik." (It's just the screening process for students in Lampung itself, there's a lot of cheating. Even those who contribute are people who work in the education sector such as lecturers taking their children, the chancellor giving their nephews, what is this? "It is undeniable, Lampung is one of the provinces that produces a lot of agricultural products such as corn, glutinous rice, and others. And the contribution can reach more than 40 percent, supported by data from BI. The agricultural sector is too vulnerable to be the mainstay of Lampung's economy. "The prices of agricultural commodities are too volatile so that the people of Lampung cannot improve their economic standard of living." And this sector is vulnerable, it's like fluctuating, it can't be stable and the price is set by the central government too. Sometimes it drops, sometimes it goes up)[19]

Not long after Bima's post, the public reacted via social media and print media, and other visuals. It didn't stop there, the impact of Bima's criticism of Lampung's condition led to him being reported to the police by Ginda Ansori. Bima was reported for a case of alleged insult to the Provincial Government of Lampung. According to Ginda, he reported not criticizing the government (Lampung Province) but the words 'this province is dajjal. He admitted that he made the report on his own initiative.[20] Likewise, the online media Viva News.com released the news "Young man from Lampung, Bima Yudho Saputro, was policed at the Lampung Regional Police regarding his criticism which was inserted by the word dajjal regarding the situation in Lampung. Head of Public Relations of the Lampung Regional Police, Chief Commissioner of Police, Zahwani Pandra Arsyad, confirmed the report.[21]

The pros and cons are inevitable. Some people, especially those who have felt affected by the conditions conveyed by Bima, seem to have received large public space and support, drawing the attention of all parties. Finally, it was used collectively to

provide support to Bima. Almost a week since Bima's post, the TikTok media has been buzzing with community support, both from Lampung and other areas with the same fate. On the other hand, counter group, they are making counter posts that describe Lampung is not as bad as what Bima said. Where is Bima's mistake? Is Bima's style of social criticism appropriate and safe from legal offenses, especially Article 45 of the ITE Law? Is there a mubah room for someone who is already annoyed with the ugliness of the perpetrators of 'evil' to broadcast and expose his disgrace in public?

3.2. Social Criticism from the Perspective of Democratic Norms

Talking about social criticism certainly cannot be separated from the issue of values and spirit of social criticism itself because both will influence each other. Someone who criticizes other people with bad intentions and brings him down will certainly try his best in any way so that his opponent falls and is helpless. Conversely, when the adviser on the socio-political stage has good intentions and is sincere, it will certainly give a different impression. According to Wiji, ethics are related to norms or rules that become rules and guidelines for human life regarding noble values in behaving and doing actions in society that must be put forward.[22]

Talking about the role of social media on the political stage is not taboo and new, but common and commonplace. There are many roles that social media can play on the political stage, including as revealed by Atika, namely as a media campaign, media for educating people's politics and finally as a medium for increasing people's political participation.[23] According to Zainal Fatah, citing Habermas's opinions and ideas about a public space that is free from the domination of the authorities seems appropriate to embed on the Internet. Public space which is defined as a space that is easily accessible, free from state and economic pressure, so that citizens are free to carry out political talks in order to realize a common understanding regarding broader public interests can be found easily in Indonesia. The results of the latest survey from WeAreSocial and HootSuite in January 2019 show that Indonesian netizens are really serious about taking advantage of the existence of the internet and social media. The infographic shows that there are at least four platforms with the highest number of users, namely YouTube, WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram.[24]

Further study of the principle of freedom of speech which is one of the main principles of democracy. It certainly has to be seated according to its appropriate station. On the one hand, laws and regulations provide space for every citizen to convey aspirations to all relevant parties according to the existing channels. In political matters, for example,

the state has formed The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, the DPR RI, both at the central and regional levels, which is a bridge between the hopes of the people and the direction of the government. Likewise the executive apparatus, both the highest president and vice president, ministers, governors and mayors and regents, sub-district heads and even RW and RT, all of which are formal political channels for citizens to convey their every socio-political desire. Researchers agree with Kadir and Athoillah that the people must be given ample space to express their aspirations whenever and wherever they are without any power barriers so that the goals of becoming a state can be achieved. But we also have to be aware and know that everything has limits and signs. Criticizing and advising someone is the same as practicing the contents of Pancasila but allowing insults, fake news, provocation, incitement and acts of division and polarization is the same as burying Pancasila itself.

Then where is the *mubah* room? Article 45 paragraph 3 of Law No. 19 of 2019 Amendments to Law No. 11 of 2008 Concerning Electronic Transactions states;

“Everyone who intentionally and without rights distributes and or transmits and or makes accessible electronic information and or electronic documents that contain insults and or defamation as referred to in Article 27 paragraph (3) shall be punished with imprisonment for a maximum of 4 (four) years and or a maximum fine of Rp. 750,000,000. - (seven hundred and fifty million rupiah)”.[10]

This article expressly provides a *mubah* space for anyone to express themselves in virtual space, especially any social media, provided that it does not contain elements of insult and defamation. The words humiliation and defamation are of course not just because they were posted and someone feels insulted and defamed. But of course those that meet the elements of data falsification, fake news and not legal complaints

With regard to reporting on Bima, many people consider reporting efforts on Bima's posts to be flawed in law and social norms. Director General of Human Rights at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Dirjen HAM Kemenkumham) Dhahana Putra emphasized that what TikToker Bima Yudho Saputro said regarding the condition of Lampung Province was a criticism. According to Dhahana, criticism is part of freedom of expression. This was emphasized by Dhahana Putra after Bima's TikToker was reported by a lawyer in the circle of Lampung Governor Arinal Djunaidi named Ghinda Ansori to the Police. Bima was reported for mentioning the words 'dajjal' when criticizing the Lampung Provincial Government regarding damaged roads to education which was colored by the practice of bribery. Criticism is part of freedom of opinion which is not only an important part of a democratic government, but also a key element in human rights guaranteed by the constitution.[25] The same thing was conveyed by a criminal

law expert from Trisakti University, Abdul Fickar Hadjar. He considered that it was a bit excessive if the police were to legally process the report of Lampung advocate Gindha Ansori Wayka against Bima Yudho Saputro. Abdul Fickar stressed that this matter could not be brought up to the realm of law, making it up, the police were exaggerated, there was no criminal element because what was put forward was the reality that had actually happened in Lampung province. According to Fickar, criminal law is breaking down the elements of whether an act meets the elements of a crime to be tried and found guilty or not, so it's not up to the diction.[26]

3.3. Social Criticism Perspective of Islamic Law Norms

What is the view of Islamic law regarding the issue of millennial social criticism which is currently rife in virtual media (the Bima Yudho case)? The concept of news offered by the Qur'an is very significant and contributes to the system of reporting on mass media, especially social media. Several implications of the concept of news in the Qur'an in the reporting system, including news sources must be clear, news must be true, news must match the facts. Second, filtering in receiving information (*tabayyun*), avoiding hate speech over differences Islam has taught communication activities to respect each other and respect differences, both differences over ethnicity, race and culture, as well as differences in choices and opinions, communicate and speak with values good ethics in communication are required to use procedures and language that are both implicitly and explicitly good values.[27] According to Fitria, there are at least a number of principles and ethics in communicating on social media based on Islamic law (the Al-Quran and Hadith), including: *qaulan balighan*, *qaulan kariman*, *qaulan maisuran*, *qaulan ma'rufan*, *qaulan layyinan*, *qaulan sadidan*. All of the principles initiated by the Al-Quran are actually in line with the principles of information democracy where everything must lead to the responsibility of speakers for everything that is said, according to data, facts, considering the culture of society, easy to understand and contains elements of truth. Indonesia as a country with a multicultural society should direct the Al-Quran as a guide for life for Muslims, namely communication on social media with the application of Islamic communication ethics as a solution in various immoral acts of communication. This certainly threatens the order of life of religious communities within the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).[28] Wiji also agrees, the etiquette and ethics that need to be considered by someone using social media include conveying valid and true news, avoiding prejudice, avoiding *sukhriyah* (reproaches), finding new facts and giving news and finally, staying away from *namimah* and pitting one against the other.[22]

The ability of some millennials (Bima's case) to use social media sometimes takes refuge behind da'wah, under the guise of fellow advice and cares about kindness, but in fact forgets the ethics and existing legal rules. The space for preaching and entertainment for millennials on social media is indeed very open and has even become the main topic, as argued by Taufik Rahman. Da'wah must enter the virtual realm, various online media with interesting studies and materials so that the means of social communication are full of benefits and educative entertainment or at least changeable and do not violate ethics. For example, the Tiktok media was originally full of immodest posts but now it has been filled with educational and good content, it all depends on who fills it.[29] From an early age, Wahyudi reminded us of the dangers of social media going beyond ethical boundaries in the midst of an increasing demographic dividend towards the Golden Indonesia era in 2045, so that everyone needs to play their role properly, including parents, educators, law enforcement officers and the government. It is even more dangerous if the social media style is motivated by intolerant understanding or driven by the interests of certain political groups. And it is difficult to adapt to the practice of democracy because it is considered contrary to the conservative direction.[30]

For the Bima case itself, the highlight is Bima's 'naughty' diction by calling Lampung 'dajjal'. This choice of words is considered to be in the realm of insult and defamation so that it can be charged under the article of the ITE Law. However, in fact, law enforcement officials (Polda Lampung) actually stated "The word dajjal uttered by Awbimax Reborn is a noun that does not refer to a particular ethnicity, religion, race or group. Ginda's report to Bima does not fulfill the criminal element, so this report does not fulfill Elements of Article 28 paragraph 2 in conjunction with Article 45A paragraph 2 of RI Law No. 19 of 2019 concerning electronic information and transactions.[31] It can be concluded that Bima's style of criticism, juridically, has not fulfilled the criminal element so that he cannot be prosecuted by law, coupled with the strong support of the community through social media. From a religious point of view, Bima's criticism is still within reasonable limits, *tawashau bilhaq*, and also *tawashau bishabr*.

3.4. Social Criticism and the Millennial Virtual Mubah Stage

Expressing opinions regarding damage to public facilities and poor service, especially via social media, is not included in the tasyhir (spreading) category of faults and ugliness of a person or a particular group. But it is more about conveying aspirations with a method that is faster, more efficient and easier. Although, it is sometimes felt that it endangers socio-political stability, especially before the election year. Supposedly, all

messages conveyed by citizens through any media as long as they contain the truth and are conveyed in a reasonable manner should not be taken too seriously, either by local authorities or law enforcement officials, especially if it reaches criminalization. The social criticism of the millennial generation should be answered by stakeholders and related parties by prioritizing solutions and speed of action. The situation is exacerbated by the increasingly widespread social issues related to religious perspectives which are considered to be rather extreme, both the extreme right and the left, which can lead to new problems such as the ripples of radicalism and other anti-tolerance movements, as researched by Asmawi.[32]

Noval in his research said that social media activists should be framed by a number of guidelines that must be adhered to, including; be critical, creative in creating content and promote acceptable ethics and moral values. Noval's suggestion is not an easy matter, but it must be tried so that the virtual world is not always noisy with various news and ways of reporting that actually cause further commotion, continue to drain energy, busy with small matters, forgetting important and big agendas concerning the lives of many people.[33] According to Nanang, social media activists should take part in making social media a means of welcoming glare (*silaturarahim*), spreading information, preaching, education, recreation, and for positive activities in the fields of religion, politics, economy, and other social and cultural positive benefits.[34]

Islam as a religion, doctrine, belief and Islamic law practice (*fiqh*) as a tool of values and rules in rectifying the procedures for a servant carrying out His great mission to serve Allah has never placed a prohibition on any advances in science and technology. Even Islam itself calls a knowledgeable person the most fearful of Allah. Muhammad SAW himself said that a knowledgeable person is more feared by Satan than a thousand worshipers. The Prophet taught us to greet each other, say hello, pray for people who sneeze, visit sick people, deliver corpses, support orphans, widows and the needy. All of these are items of noble worship in Islam with the principle of treating others the same as oneself. Isn't it that in social media, initially we greet and share with other people about many things even up to personal and very private issues. According to Islamic law, socializing is a social obligation and a demand for humanity itself because no creature can live alone. Islam regulates that mutual benefit can be realized, mutual respect grows and takes care of each other's goodness, then manners and ethics emerge in socializing. Allah commands us to associate with each other without jealousy, mutual disdain, prejudice and prioritizing the principle of protecting the honor of brothers, covering disgrace and not spreading slander. Even Muhammad SAW highly denounced people who spread slander everywhere, create enmity and propaganda because the

abomination that kills one's honor is no less a sin than killing one's soul. In Benny Ridwan's study, social media often creates new phenomena in building social criticism between ulema makers and social leaders which basically boil down to the same task, namely wanting to bring about social change in society.[35]

In one interview, the researchers with a social observer and YouTube media activist, Muslimin (Channel Dr. Imin Studio), he agreed with what was conveyed by Bima. According to Muslimin, currently, millennials adhere to the principle that I post, therefore I exist. When people have reached the peak of their frustration, social media is an option.[36] Likewise with Salma Azizah, Bima Yudho's actions were still within reasonable and good limits and even clearly brought goodness, so there was no need to be overly concerned.[37] The two opinions of social media activists above, although they do not represent all of Lampung's young people, can at least become material for strengthening the results of the researchers' analysis.

Imam Nawawi's views and fatwas cited by Imam Ibnu Muflih regarding the six *mubah* conditions for a person to criticize and even mention the full initials, as was done by Bima and the like among millennials today can be seen from the perspective of Islamic law (hadith on *ghibah*) and norms law of the ITE Law No.19 of 2019 especially Article 45 Paragraph 3. Imam Nawawi's view is very interesting and provides space for carrying out *amar makruf nahi munkar* in the public sphere while still adhering to sharia principles, upholding the maqasid syari'ah principles, especially the principle of *hifzh al-'irdh* (safeguarding honor). The six *mubah* conditions mention the ugliness of people including; report to the authorities (*li al-tazhallum*), ask others for help (*li al-isti'annah*), ask for a fatwa (*li al-istifta'*), give a warning so that others are avoided (*li al-tahdzir*), because the perpetrators wicked and do not want to do evil (*li al-istihtar*) and the latter only provides identification and characterization (*li al-ta'rif*).

In the context of social criticism, millennials such as Bima Yudho can be seen with the legal framework and maqashid sharia (Islamic law) and the ITE Law No. 19 of 2016 Article 3 carefully and broadly so that the criticism and advice conveyed is more emphasized on the content of advice and not to whom is the critic himself. The space for *mubah ghibah* (exposing other people's disgrace) delivered by Imam Nawawi and Ibnu Muflih can be an offer as well as a novelty from this research. In addition to the content conveyed by Bima, it also does not meet the criminal element legally. For this reason, taking care of the legacy of classical *maslahah* while at the same time accepting the renewal of contemporary *maslahah* is a characteristic of the noble value of Islamic law itself. The old traditions in communication must be preserved, and the principles of the

rules of action for the *mukallaf* must prioritize the element of *maslahah*, including social criticism from millennials, which must be upheld.[38]

4. Conclusion

From the data findings above, it can be concluded that social criticism is a social effort made by someone to provide a subjective assessment of a condition that he feels in his daily life as outlined in various media, both classic and contemporary media such as social media such as TikTok.

There are two legal offenses that can be a reference as well as a signpost for someone who is affected by criminal offenses in news transactions or defamation, namely offenses against the ITE Law from a juridical perspective and also the prohibition of *ghibah* and *tasyhir* (publication) and *taskhir* (humiliation) for someone's mistakes in public as mentioned in the Qur'an.

In the case of Bima's post which went viral on social media for his reporting on damaged roads in Lampung with the diction 'naughty' from this one province, the Dajjal cannot be charged with positive law offenses. The diction is part of the expression of freedom of opinion, according to reality, it does not mention certain groups and does not touch on the issue of SARA. However, Bima's choice of diction is still considered impolite, violates religious ethics and is inappropriate. Moreover, he represents the educated people.

As a solution and middle way for the two opposite camps in concluding an assessment of the style of criticism of millennials in addressing current socio-political problems, the researcher offers a solution offer as a novelty of research by referring to the concept of al-ghibah al-mubahah version of Imam Nawawi and Ibn Muflih namely the presence of noble motives in the form of; report to the authorities because they feel disturbed (*li al-tazhallum*), or ask for help from other people (*li al-isti'annah*) for existing actions, or ask for a fatwa (*li al-istifta'*) so that the legal status is clear, or give a warning so that others are spared (*li al-tahdzir*) from the evil of the perpetrator, or because the perpetrator is wicked and is not ashamed of committing a crime (*li al-istihtar*), or simply mentioning special characteristics and mere recognition (*li al-ta'rif*) without no intention of contempt at all. From this gap, Bima can have the status of a complainant to the relevant authorities, asking for help to avoid the ugliness of social facilities that have so far ensnared the people, complaining to 'arrogant' and indifferent rulers, reminding potential voters of the character of prospective leaders who are not pro-people not to elected in an election year, or it could just be to characterize the social conditions of

their own hometown, which in fact are not alone in experiencing a 'bad' fate. Apart from all that, what Bima did in the end had a positive impact (*masalah mursalah*) for the development of Lampung including other provinces, because not long after Bima's post, Lampung received funds from the center for the construction of infrastructure that had been damaged so far.

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