Bibliometric Analysis of Publication Trends Related to *Hizb Ut-Tahrir* Indonesia (HTI) Before and After Dissolution

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Abstract:

The main objective of this study is to map the academic development and thematic shifts in research on Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) before and after its official dissolution (2010-2023). Previous studies highlight HTI's evolution as a transnational Islamic movement and the growing scholarly attention following the Indonesian government's 2017 ban. Despite its termination, HTI remains central in academic debates on Islamic ideology and socio-political dynamics. This study employs a quantitative bibliometric method using Dimensions data to examine structural patterns in HTI research. VOSviewer is used to visualize co-authorship networks, keyword clusters, and institutional contributions. The findings reveal 402 publications, with a significant rise in output after HTI's dissolution. Ideological contestation, da'wah strategies, and political activism dominate the thematic landscape. Indonesia remains the primary hub of HTI-related scholarship, with significant contributions from the University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and PTIQ Institute Jakarta. Key thematic clusters include Islamic movements, political Islam, the caliphate discourse, constitutional debates, and liberal Islamic networks. These findings demonstrate HTI's continuing relevance in discussions on Islamic identity and social movements in Indonesia. This study maps HTI's scholarly trajectory and recommends expanding comparative analyses of post-ban transformations of transnational Islamic movements.

Key Words: *Hizb Ut-Tahrir Indonesia, Community Organizations, State Ideology, Bibliometrics*

Abstrak:

Tujuan utama penelitian ini adalah memetakan secara komprehensif perkembangan akademik dan pergeseran tematik dalam studi tentang Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) dengan membandingkan tren publikasi sebelum dan sesudah pembubaran resminya (2010-2023). Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kuantitatif dengan pendekatan bibliometrik berdasarkan publikasi di Dimensions, serta memanfaatkan VOSviewer untuk mengidentifikasi hubungan antarjurnal, negara, dan kata kunci. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 402 artikel terkait HTI yang terbit pada 2010-2023, dengan peningkatan signifikan setelah organisasi tersebut dibubarkan. Faktor ideologis yang bertentangan dengan dasar negara serta aktivitas dakwah menjadi tren utama dalam publikasi mengenai pembubaran HTI. Topik HTI tetap relevan untuk memahami dinamika gerakan sosial dan perkembangan ideologi di kalangan

kelompok Islam Indonesia. Sebagian besar publikasi berasal dari institusi dalam negeri, terutama Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta dan Institut PTIQ Jakarta, dengan Indonesia sebagai pusat kajian HTI baik sebelum maupun sesudah pelarangan resmi tahun 2017. Analisis menggunakan VOSviewer mengidentifikasi tema-tema utama seperti gerakan Islam, Islam politik, konstitusi Indonesia, khilafah, dan jaringan Islam liberal. Temuan ini menunjukkan korelasi kuat antara kajian HTI dan perdebatan mengenai peran Islam dalam konteks sosial-politik Indonesia, serta menegaskan bahwa meski telah dibubarkan, HTI tetap menjadi fokus penting karena sifat transnasional dan daya tarik ideologisnya.
Kata Kunci: *Hizb Ut-Tahrir Indonesia, Organisasi Kemasyarakatan, Ideologi Negara, Bibliometrik,*

INTRODUCTION

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is a transnational movement that promotes the Caliphate as an alternative to the nation-state in Indonesia. (Wahid et al., 2024). This organization employs a framing approach to disseminate its ideological and political mission in Indonesia systematically, achieving notable success in garnering public participation. However, there has been criticism of HTI's presence as a transnational Islamic political party that asserts that it works across the Islamic globe to bring the ummah together under a unified caliphate political authority.

This movement originated in the post-reform era and was formally recognized as a mass organization in 2000 (Hermawan, 2021). It is essential to acknowledge that concepts related to Hizbut Tahrir have been present in Indonesia since the early 1980s, facilitated by interactions with the Hizbut Tahrir community in the Middle East, notably with Al-Baghdadi (Rubino et al., 2017). Subsequently, Hizbut Tahrir activists have predominantly engaged with Islamic student organizations at universities across Indonesia, subsequently broadening their influence to encompass larger communities (Aswar et al., 2020). HTI, through its sermons and political tactics, aims to critique the democratic system, which it perceives as a Western construct, and to argue that the Indonesian state is inequitable and has failed to ensure prosperity for its citizens because it has not fully implemented Islamic law.

This movement seeks to revive the Islamic Caliphate system and fully implement Islamic law because it believes it is the root cause of Muslims' problems, including the lack of general leadership and political participation (Adam, 2022). This movement seeks to establish an Islamic political and social order that may be incorporated into laws and the constitution. This supports HTI's assertion that Indonesia requires Al-Khalifah al-Islamiyyah, a more extreme and comprehensive system. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, an extra-parliamentary political movement, fights for the reestablishment of Islamic life under the Islamic Caliphate system and provides global leadership for Muslims to implement Islamic law fully (Juliansyah, 2017).

In 1983, Hizb ut-Tahrir entered Indonesia brought by Abdurrahman Al-Baghdadi (Muhammad, 2017). Hizb ut-Tahrir first spread in the city of Bogor

through da'wah held openly at Istora Senayan. At the time when Suharto led Indonesia, Hizb ut-Tahrir was still preaching secretly because of the government regime that prohibited movements that did not adhere to Pancasila. At the time when Suharto led Indonesia, Hizb ut-Tahrir was still preaching secretly because of the government regime that prohibited movements that did not adhere to Pancasila. Suharto's resignation in 1998 created greater space for various Islamic groups to speak out. There is an increasing perception in the broader community that the political, economic, and legal reforms carried out during the reform era have not had a significant impact on people's lives. This precondition confirms HTI's claim that Indonesia needs a more radical and comprehensive system (*Al-Khalifah al-Islamiyyah*). HTI has grown rapidly in Indonesia and has recruited hundreds of thousands of active members, called hizzbiyyin (Rahman et al., 2023).

After Reformasi, Hizb ut-Tahrir continued its activities in various regions of Indonesia. Making Sharia discussions and spreading the idea of the Caliphate is the goal of Hizb ut-Tahrir to embrace Muslims in Indonesia's non-Islamic state policy. The Caliphate has become the ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir in a country that is seen as the correct concept of an Islamic state (Setiawan, 2025). These are various Islamic countries that adhere to Western government systems. This is the goal of Hizb ut-Tahrir: to promote the concept of a caliphate state in countries that adhere to the western system of government. Islamic thought is the basis of HTI, encompassing Islamic laws and beliefs. All the results of HTI's thinking can restore Muslims and preach by establishing the Caliphate (Rijal, 2022). Based on its goal, life under the Islamic State led by the Caliphate can provide a path in accordance with Islamic Sharia law. A caliphate leader applies laws based on the Qur'an and Hadith, carrying out the duties of the messenger and the teachings of Allah SWT throughout the world (Hayati, 2017).

Since its establishment in 1983 and its dissolution in 2017, HTI's development in Indonesia has been relatively fast and successful. Mohammad Nawab Osman even stated that HTI has become a model chapter for other HTs worldwide (Alvian, 2023). Mohammad Osman's claim is not without reason, for example, in February 2004, more than 50,000 HTI members marched on the main streets of Jakarta, Surabaya, Makassar, and other major cities. To commemorate the 80th anniversary of the establishment of Hizb ut-Tahrir. Then, the peak of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's success is increasingly evident in its organizing the International Caliphate Conference, which was attended by more than 100,000 Hizbiyyin members from around the world. What makes HTI extraordinary is that, among the many Islamic political movements in Indonesia inspired by the Middle East, HTI is the only organization controlled by foreign leadership, whose ideology is sourced solely from the Middle East, and whose agenda is transnational (Osman, 2010).

Since Hizb ut-Tahrir entered Indonesia, various da'wah activities have been carried out. However, one of the ideologies of the Islamic Caliphate is contrary to Indonesia's Pancasila ideology. In his precepts, there is nothing that opposes the Shari'ah. Basically, Pancasila is not part of an Islamic state and is not sharia. This is in accordance with Nahdatul Ulama (NU) holding its congress in 1936 in Banjarmasin (KUSUMA, 2019). On July 19, 2017, Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) was officially dissolved by the Minister of Law and Human Rights. This has become a topic of discussion among Indonesians regarding the dissolution of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (Marfiando, 2020). HTI's dissolution in Indonesia was due to a difference between its ideology and the current Indonesian ideology, namely Pancasila. The dissolution of Hizb ut-Tahrir (HTI) in Indonesia has become a hot issue among the public.

Several studies regarding Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia have indeed been confirmed. One of them is Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman's writing, entitled Transnational Network of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia which explores how Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia has become a model chapter for other international HTs (Osman, 2010). Furthermore, there is a paper by Iqbal Rasyad and Gonda Yumitro, titled "Bibliometric Analysis on the International Publication of Muslim Brotherhood," which provides a general overview of trends in international publications related to the Muslim Brotherhood (Rasyad & Yumitro, 2023).

The dynamics of academic papers regarding Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia are continually evolving in tandem with its political movements. Recent research has predominantly concentrated on the qualitative examination of HTI's ideological opposition and its survival strategies post-ban. The state's policy and nationalism narratives concerning the dissolution of HTI were scrutinized (Aswar, 2022a). At the same time, HTI's strategies for sustaining its presence in the Indonesian political arena were evaluated (Kibtiah & Putri, 2021). Moreover, the core political ideologies that sustain the movement's continuity have been articulated (Zulkarnain, 2020). Nevertheless, these studies predominantly utilize qualitative political methodologies and have not quantitatively analyzed the overarching trends of academic focus on this subject.

Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap by providing a comprehensive bibliometric analysis of publication trends related to Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), specifically comparing the periods before and after its dissolution. Unlike previous research that focuses on the *Muslim Brotherhood* or general Islamic movements (Rasyad & Yumitro, 2023), this research offers a novel contribution by visualizing shifts in research topics, keywords, and international academic interest in HTI using VOSviewer. It addresses the question: how has the map of developments and research themes regarding Hizb ut-Tahrir in Indonesia shifted following its official disbandment?"

RESEARCH METHOD

This research employs a quantitative, bibliometric analysis approach. This approach was chosen because it allows for a comprehensive mapping of the intellectual structure and evolutionary trends of a specific research domain over a significant period, making it highly suitable for observing shifts in academic discourse. Data was collected from the Dimensions database, a platform that aggregates journal articles, books, and conference papers. Dimensions was selected as the primary data source due to its extensive coverage of not only highly indexed journals but also regional publications, which is crucial for capturing the whole landscape of studies on HTI in the Indonesian context (Hook et al., 2018).

The data collection process involved searching for the keyword "Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia" across the 2010-2023 publication period. This timeframe was chosen to enable a balanced comparative analysis between the period before HTI's dissolution (2010-2016) and the period after (2017-2023), with an equal 7-year interval. The search was filtered to include "articles" as the publication type and covered all subject areas. The search in Dimensions yielded 402 publications. These were then categorized by timeline: 70 publications were identified in the pre-dissolution period (2010-2016), while a significant increase to 332 publications was observed in the post-dissolution period (2017-2023).

The obtained publication data were analyzed and visualized using VOSviewer software. VOSviewer was used for its effectiveness in constructing bibliometric networks, which are essential for identifying relationships among journals, co-authorship patterns, and keyword co-occurrences. By visualizing these networks, the study can detect specific clusters and research themes that emerged before and after the ban. This visualization directly supports the research objective to uncover the dynamics and thematic shifts in the academic study of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia.
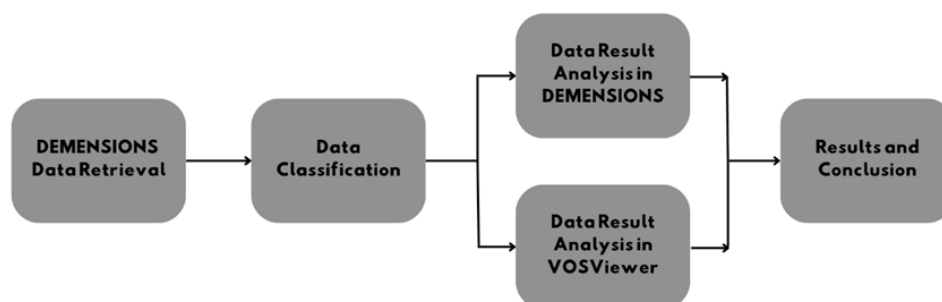

Figure 1. Stages of Bibliometric Analysis

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
Publication Trend of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)

As shown in Figure 2, 404 publications were found in the Dimensions database when the phrase "Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia" was used in the search results. The article has been written from 2010 to 2023. In 2018, it had the highest

number of publications with 56 articles, while in 2010, the lowest was 1 article. The publication trend of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia from 2010 to 2023 has increased. 2017 marks the beginning of an increase that continues through 2023, totaling 334 publications. The dissolution of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia may have caused this. Compared with 2010 to 2016, when Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia published a total of 70 publications, it remained active as an international political organization.
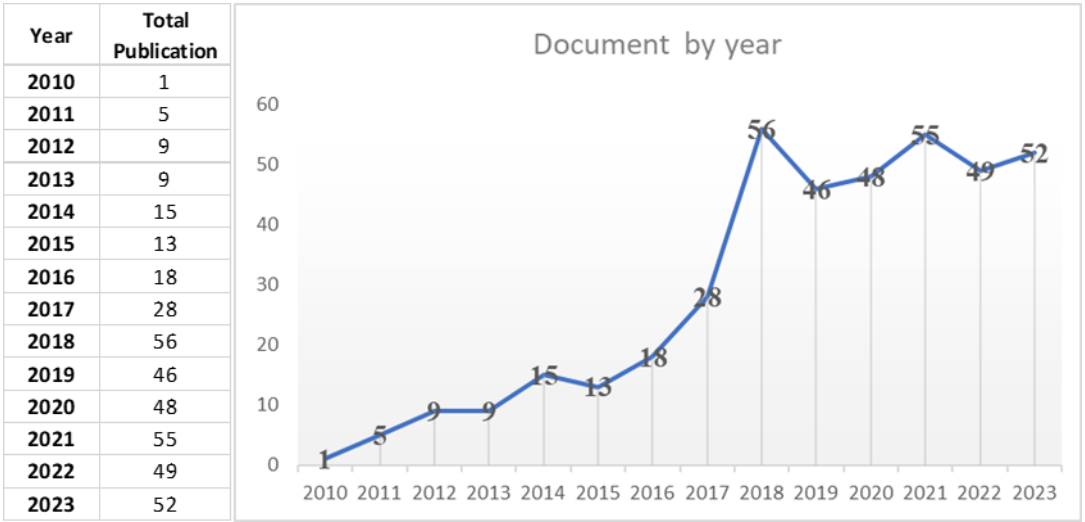
Year	Total Publication
2010	1
2011	5
2012	9
2013	9
2014	15
2015	13
2016	18
2017	28
2018	56
2019	46
2020	48
2021	55
2022	49
2023	52

Figure 2. Publication Trends of Hizb ut-Tahrir and Indonesia

Number of publications in each research category

The dimensions database refers to the total number of publications grouped by a specific category or field of research. Figure 3 displays the 15 categories of results of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. Philosophy and Religious Studies rank first with 323 publications. The second position is Human Society with 169 publications. The third position is History, Heritage and Archaeology with 99 publications. Meanwhile, the lowest position is occupied by Environmental Sciences with one publication.
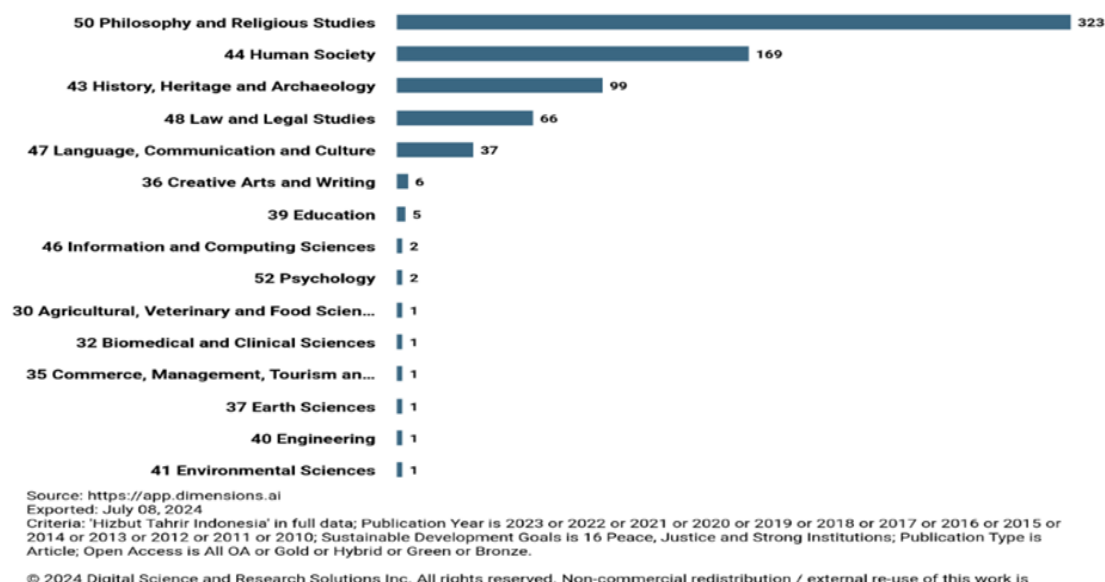
Figure 3. Number of publications in each research category

Source: Database Dimensions

Researcher Article Productivity

The productivity of researchers' publications is a primary metric in bibliometric analysis. The number of publications provides a precise, easy-to-calculate quantitative measure of a researcher's or research group's scientific output (Figure 4). According to Dimensions data, the author identified 10 scholars who were prolific in publishing on Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. Zuly Qodir and Lufaefi are productive researchers who publish articles on HTI.

Name	Organization	Country	Publications
Zuly Qodir	Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta	Indonesia	4
Lufaefi Lufaefi	PTIQ Institut Jakarta	Indonesia	4
Denys Shestopalets	National Academy of Science of Ukraine	Ukraine	3
M Nurul Ikhsan Saleh	Universitas Islam Indonesia	Indonesia	3
Ali Kusno	Universitas Mulawarman	Indonesia	3
Peter Suwarno	Arizona State University	United States	3
Fahlesa Munabri	President University	Indonesia	2
Syahrul Rahmat	Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Sulthan Abdurrahman Ria	Indonesia	2
Syamsuri Syamsuri	Universitas Tanjungpura	Indonesia	2
Anton Minardi	Universitas Pasundan	Indonesia	2

Figure 4 Number of Researcher Article Productivity

Source: Database dimensions

Co-Occurrence Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

Co-occurrence analysis helps to understand how specific keywords appear together in the same document, thus providing insight into the relationships between topics and the structure of research networks within a particular field. VOSviewer is a tool used for bibliometric visualization and analysis. One analysis technique is co-occurrence. To further analyse co-occurrence, the dataset from 404 publications is stored in Comma-separated

values (CSV) format. After that, the CSV dataset is imported into the VOS viewer, and keyword extraction is carried out from the abstract and title.
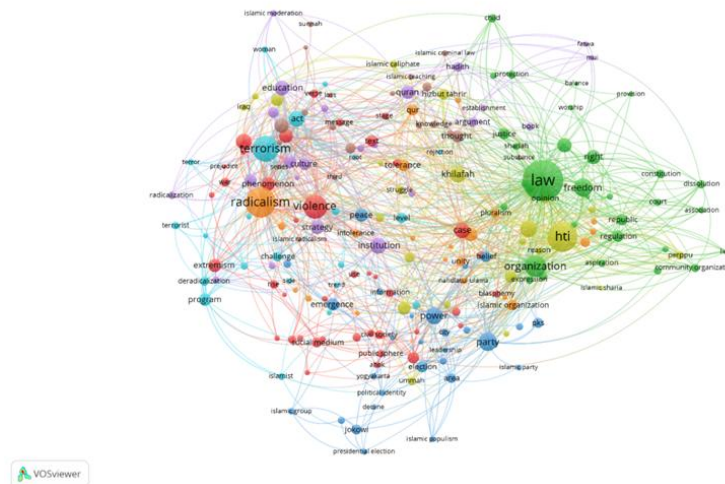

Figure 5. Co-Occurrence Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia
Source: Using VOS viewer

Based on Figure 5, the author obtained a network visualization of the co-occurrence of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia research for the period 2010-2023. From 404 article publications, eight thematic clusters were identified, each with keywords that frequently co-occur. The red cluster includes terms such as blasphemy, civil society, democratization, extremism, FPI, hate speech, Islamism, Islamophobia, jihad, phenomenon, religious extremism, religious organization, social media, and violence. The light green cluster contains keywords like accordance, Aceh, association, authority, community organization, dissolution, freedom, government regulation, human rights, justice, law, legislation, and shariah. The dark blue cluster consists of depth interviews, elections, ethnicity, failure, followers, independence, Islamic groups, Islamic parties, Islamic populism, political identity, political Islam, and presidential elections. The yellow cluster covers Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Iraq, ISIS, Islamic Caliphate, Islamic movement, Islamic shariah, khilafah, nationalism, NKRI, Syria, and ummah. The purple cluster includes argument, culture, education, establishment, fatwa, hadith, Islamic moderation, MUI, pesantren, Quran, radicalization, religious community, religious leader, religious moderation, school, student, and university. The light blue cluster contains act, contribution, deradicalization, equality, Islam Nusantara, Middle East, moderate Islam, rejection, terrorism, and Islamist. The orange cluster comprises an important role, the Indonesian nation, intolerance, Islamic organization, mass organization, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, pluralism, radical group, radicalism, religious freedom, religious radicalism, state ideology, tolerance, violation, and the younger generation. Finally, the brown cluster includes application, fundamentalism, Indonesian person, Islamic criminal law, Islamic fundamentalism, Islamic radicalism, Islamic teaching, knowledge, sunnah, tradition, transformation, and transnational Islamic movement.

Publication Cluster 2010-2016

This cluster comprises several publications on the development and dynamics of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's primary strategy to expand its vision and mission is to mobilize support to make Indonesia part of the global Caliphate. In practice, HTI is described as part of a spectrum of fundamentalist Islamic movements that seek to restore and apply Islamic law in every aspect of human life, while rejecting the influences of modernization and secularization, which are considered contrary to Islamic values (Huda, 2010). HTI and other fundamentalist movements have the same goal, namely the enforcement of Islamic sharia as a whole and the formation of a society that is entirely based on Islamic principles. They believe that this is the only way to achieve justice and prosperity in society.

Hizb Tahrir Indonesia, *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI), *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI), and Forum Komunikasi Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah *(FKAWJ)* are conservative groups that reject the ideas of liberal Islamic movement groups. There are two ideas from the liberal Islamic movement, namely secular state theology and religious pluralism. Secular state theology is the concept of government and politics separated from religious influence, while religious pluralism is the concept that co-existence can coexist peacefully and respect the diversity of religious views. Of course, this contrasts with conservative groups, where this idea seeks to eliminate the influence of Islam from public life and replace it with values that they consider alien to the faith and unity of Muslims (Qodir & Latief, 2011).

The discourse on the establishment of an Islamic state and Islamic sharia in Indonesia increased after the fall of the New Order regime. Several radical Islamic groups and Islamic political parties support the formalization of Islamic Sharia. However, some reviews of rejection in the effort to establish an Islamic state and Islamic sharia. This is because Islam should be the foundation of the nation and Islam is not the basis of the state (Asroni, 2022). In addition, the process of Islamization in Indonesia began to be discussed by Islamic political party groups. This Islamization shows the same views as Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia regarding support for the restoration of the Caliphate in the world. The actions of this Islamic political party are still criticized and considered to create religious freedom (Perez, 2011). Sharp criticism of the Indonesian government, which is deemed to have failed across various areas, including politics, the economy, law, education, culture, and security. HTI, together with the *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI), rejects the democratic system because it is considered contrary to Islam and as the cause of the multidimensional crisis in Indonesia. In addition, HTI is included in the category of contemporary revivalist movements that seek to apply Islamic sharia (Nurhakim, 2011).

Despite the criticism, HTI's involvement in the political aspect continues. One of them is legislation implementing Sharia in Aceh. HTI and other Islamic organizations, such as the *Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia* (KAMMI),

affiliated with the *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS), participated in the mobilization of demonstrations in support of the Qanun Jinayat, which was passed two weeks before the end of the 2009 parliamentary term (Ichwan, 2011). This shows HTI's involvement in the political and legislative process related to the implementation of Islamic Shari's in Aceh. In addition, they are also involved in post-Tsunami humanitarian activities that help them build networks and recruit members in Aceh. Through these activities, HTI seeks to strengthen the implementation of Islamic Shari'a in Aceh and influence the province's political and social direction.

HTI is expanding its network in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY). HTI entered through a student organization called Santer (Santri Terbang). Santer is a group of students who are thirsty for religious knowledge but have minimal access to it (Muhsin, 2012). DIY is known as a student city with the potential to be an agent of change, thereby giving students freedom of expression and political participation. Students are the target of HTI's da'wah, in which they introduce religious activities such as Mabit, Da'wah, and Halaqa (Rokhmad, 2012). This creates an opportunity for HTI to provide intensive coaching and cadre development and to hold various activities on campus. The Rajab Conference (KONJAB) 1432 H, held in Yogyakarta, is a forum organized by Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) to promote da'wah and to spread ideas about the Caliphate (Junaedi, 2012).

To reduce and prevent radicalization of extremism, the Indonesian government created the "National Program to Counter Radical Terrorism". This program involves several government and non-governmental institutions with a human rights principle approach. However, the program has also drawn criticism from some radical Islamists who consider that the program violates human rights principles and represents a form of state intervention in the religious life of its people. HTI, through its spokesman, Ismail Yusanto, argues that deradicalization efforts are part of a broader process of de-Islamization and are related to the United States' war on terrorism. The main problem is not Islamic doctrines such as jihad or sharia, but global injustice and inequality between Muslims and the West (Hilmy, 2013).

In the context of the debate on the principle of the state in Indonesia. Several Muslim communities, including Hizb ut-Tahrir, support the implementation of the Jakarta Charter as a principle of the state. This charter contains the idea of an Islamic state that obliges Muslims to carry out Islamic law. Hizb ut-Tahrir, together with the Mujahideen Assembly and the Islamic Defenders Front, actively reinforced this idea (Al-hamdi, 2013). Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) has a critical view of democracy. They consider democracy to be the cause of the people's misery and a tool of neocolonialism that causes Muslims to be colonized by foreigners. Democracy is contrary to Islamic law because it develops the idea of freedom that is considered incompatible with Islamic teachings. In addition, democracy fails to deliver essential welfare to the Indonesian people and merely anesthetizes them with unrealized dreams of

justice and prosperity (Al-Amin, 2014). HTI is only oriented towards the formation of a transnational Islamic state under the sole leadership of the Islamic caliph in accordance with Islamic teachings. The application of Islamic shari'ah must be the basis of the state and society, not a Western democratic system that is not in accordance with Islamic values (Basyir, 2014).

HTI's political ideology has received criticism from the Indonesian Salafi community. Salafis consider Hizb ut-Tahrir as a group that deviates from the correct method of da'wah because of their focus on politics and the establishment of a global Islamic state (Khilafah Islamiyah). HTI ignores the core of Islam's mission, which is the call to monotheism, and prioritizes the political aspect (Iqbal, 2014). Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia's (HTI) concept of political economy is based on the capitalist economic system, which is considered to prioritize material prosperity over ethical and spiritual values. They argue that the Islamic financial system should not be separated from its spiritual and moral foundations. States must play an active role in ensuring the equitable distribution of wealth and the fulfillment of basic individual needs. HTI emphasizes the importance of sharia compliance in economic activities and advocates for a state-run system to ensure the Well-being of all citizens. This approach is rooted in their ideological and historical perspective that sharia is the ultimate solution to economic and social problems (Irkhami, 2014). HTI is one of the Islamic fundamentalist groups in Indonesia that has an ideological goal to establish an Islamic caliphate. HTI categorically rejects ISIS's claim as a legitimate caliphate because the methods and strategies used by ISIS are considered contrary to sharia. HTI prioritizes a peaceful and negotiated approach in establishing a caliphate, in contrast to the violent and militaristic approach adopted by ISIS (Sahid, 2014). The method of violence carried out by ISIS is considered not in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet. The enforcement of the Caliphate must be carried out in a fair, comprehensive, and Islamic sharia-compliant manner, and must be bai'at by Muslims as a whole (Shofwan, 2016).

Publication Cluster 2017-2023

The results of publications from 2017 to 2023 in bibliometric analysis, are a category of publications based on the dynamics of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia after the Indonesian government dissolved it. Several academics are interested in researching the dynamics of the spread and influence following the dissolution of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. Since 1952, Hizb ut-Tahrir has spread widely under the leadership of Abdul Qadim Zallum. At that time, Hizb ut-Tahrir was headquartered in London and was still a contemporary Islamic group unknown to the public. The ideology and methods of Hizb ut-Tahrir have evolved as it adapts to different political and social contexts. Hizb ut-Tahrir spread widely across several countries, aiming to promote its vision of the Islamic Caliphate (Kibtiah & Putri, 2021).

Beyond rejecting democratic governance, HTI explicitly opposes the principles of secularism, liberalism, and pluralism. Drawing on the ideologues like Abdul Qadim Zallum, the group perceives democracy as a system of *kufr* (infidelity) and views liberalism as a dangerous ideology that threatens Islamic morality by prioritizing individual freedom over divine law. Furthermore, HTI maintains a rigid stance against religious pluralism, asserting the exclusive truth of Islam and framing Western influence, particularly from the United States, as a hegemonic threat to the Islamic world (Maksum, 2017). The statehood concept promoted by HTI offers the *Khilafah* not merely as a political structure, but as an antithesis to Western ideological hegemony. In this view, democratic systems and secular governments are assessed as imported products of Western civilization (capitalism) that are incompatible with the Islamic creed (*aqidah*) (Sudarman, 2017).

HTI has lost its public visibility and organizational symbols but has demonstrated significant resilience by adapting its survival strategies. Research indicates that the movement has shifted underground and leveraged social media platforms to disseminate its ideology. By employing softer narratives that critique the secular system and promote Sharia without explicitly displaying their official attributes, activists continue to propagate their agenda despite the restrictive political environment (Aswar, 2022b). Leveraging the post-authoritarian democratic opening, HTI expanded its operations from private cadre training (*tatsqif*) to public mass mobilization. By organizing large-scale demonstrations and publishing the *Al-Islam* bulletin, the movement sought to propagate the agenda of Sharia and the *Khilafah* to the wider public, signifying a strategic move to garner broader political support from the *Ummah* (Rijal, 2022).

Hizb ut-Tahrir is a social movement developing in Indonesia. This relates to the characteristics of a movement of individuals with a common goal. The presence of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Indonesia can provide solutions to social problems in Indonesia by establishing an Islamic Caliphate system (Azman, 2018) and changing the views of Muslims in Indonesia to play a significant role in shaping sharia and caliphate law. Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is actively involved in social movements in Indonesia, promoting its ideology and goals through mass demonstrations, public meetings, and media statements. It was initially affiliated with FUI *Forum Umat Islam* (FUI), a coalition movement aimed at improving coordination among Islamic revivalist movements in the country. However, HTI withdrew from FUI due to difficulties resolving ideological differences among movement members. However, HDI (Hizb ut-Da'wah Indonesia) emerged as a new movement founded by Al-Khaththath after his dismissal from HTI. HTI and HDI play a role in providing organizational resources and mobilizing the necessary structures for FUI activities (Munabari, 2018). Overall, HT and its Indonesian branch, HTI, played an essential role in shaping the discourse and movement around political Islam in Indonesia. Therefore, although HTI and HDI

have historical relationships and ideological similarities, they are separate organizations with different leadership and organizational structures.

This dissolution fundamentally changed the landscape of the political Islam movement in Indonesia, forcing HTI to adapt to new operational conditions outside the formal legal framework. These changes included a shift to a covert da'wah strategy, in contrast to the more transparent approach taken during the reform era (Muazaroh, 2019). This phenomenon also raises questions about the effectiveness of government policies in countering ideologies deemed contrary to Pancasila, given that the Caliphate's ideology continues to spread online and through informal networks. This indicates a shift in the organization's strategy from an overt to a more covert, fragmented mode, which, in turn, complicates surveillance efforts by security forces (Azizah et al., 2023).

The Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia approach is considered easy for the Indonesian people to accept. This shows how to embrace the community by not committing violence. In addition, the dissemination of the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia idea through da'wah, education, and the self-development of Muslim individuals. *Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* (LDK) plays a role in establishing and developing Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia. LDK established the *Forum Silaturahmi Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* (FSLDK) to serve university alums in Indonesia. HTI's ideas and ideology are then developed on campuses and carried out intensively and cooperatively through the network of *Badan Koordinasi Lembaga Dakwah Kampus* (BKLDK) (Muhsin et al., 2019).

Nevertheless, Hizb ut-Tahrir is a controversial organization that has been banned in several countries due to its radical ideology and alleged involvement in promoting violence and terrorism. Although Hizb ut-Tahrir's vision is contrary to Indonesian ideology, this approach is acceptable and is developing in several regions of Indonesia. This difference is why the Indonesian government dissolved Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Social media is a place for HTI to spread da'wah and its ideology. A preacher named Felix Siauw is a Chinese Muslim affiliated with HTI. Felix Siauw spread various social media platforms to spread his da'wah. Therefore, Siauw's use of social media and visual aesthetics, along with his ethnic Chinese background, conversion status, and affiliation with HTI, make him a unique player in the bustling Islamic da'wah market in Indonesia today (Hew, 2018). It also shows that Felix Siauw's da'wah is a strategy to normalize religious radicalism and to attract a wider audience.

Nevertheless, HTI openly embraces the Indonesian nation-state and the existing democratic system. Felix Siauw embraces this strategic ambiguity in his entertaining yet conservative, relaxed yet personal, and political yet personal approach to da'wah. Activists or members of HTI apply two strategies to delegitimize religious moderation campaigns. First, they undermine the campaign's legitimacy by spreading distrust of the concept of spiritual moderation and of the authorities and members of society who support it. They

described the campaign as an act detrimental to Islam and called the authorities and their supporters evil or corrupt. Second, HTI activists seek to legitimize their vision of establishing a global caliphate by encouraging resistance to the authorities and fellow Muslims who support religious moderation (Alvian, 2023).

This dissolution fundamentally changed the landscape of the political Islam movement in Indonesia, forcing HTI to adapt to new operational conditions outside the formal legal framework. These changes included a shift to a covert da'wah strategy, in contrast to the more transparent approach taken during the reform era (Muazaroh, 2019). This phenomenon also raises questions about the effectiveness of government policies in countering ideologies deemed contrary to Pancasila, given that the Caliphate's ideology continues to spread online and through informal networks. This indicates a shift in the organization's strategy from an overt to a more covert, fragmented mode, which, in turn, complicates surveillance efforts by security forces (Azizah et al., 2023).

In addition, the digital space has become an essential arena for HTI to continue spreading its narratives and ideology, taking advantage of easy access to information to recruit and maintain its support base amid physical restrictions. Such online activities reflect the organization's strategic adaptation to government restrictions, shifting from public demonstrations to virtual platforms to spread ideology and recruit new members (Habibi & Yahya, 2023). This phenomenon underscores the ongoing challenge for the government to mitigate the spread of radical ideologies, especially in the context of a rapidly evolving digital landscape (Dulkiah et al., 2023). The continued spread of HTI ideology in the digital realm is also supported by the organization's ability to adapt and transform into an underground movement, leveraging its prior experience with political pressure (Fatmawati et al., 2020).

Islamic populist narratives circulating on social media, including those that fueled political polarization such as in the 2019 presidential election and cases of blasphemy. In the 2019 presidential election, Group 212 mounted significant opposition to the Joko Widodo administration, which was perceived as implementing secular policies and marginalizing Islamic interests, including by dissolving HTI (Muharam et al., 2021). This group's affiliation with Prabowo Subianto's camp brought with it an ideological narrative oriented towards a caliphate system, thereby triggering perceptions of a threat to the state ideology. This sparked widespread concern among nationalists and traditional Islamists, particularly Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which viewed this agenda as a threat to Pancasila (Sihidi et al., 2020). It is this fear of the caliphate agenda and radicalism that has driven the solid support of NU and nationalists for Jokowi as an effort to stem ideological infiltration.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study demonstrate that research on Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) remains highly relevant and continues to attract scholarly attention even after the organization's dissolution. The analysis reveals that 402 publications discuss HTI, with journals as the dominant medium, indicating sustained academic interest in HTI as a significant Islamic social movement and ideological actor in Indonesia. A key insight from this study is that the banning of HTI did not reduce academic engagement; instead, it shifted research toward themes of ideological contestation, constitutional debate, and the persistence of transnational Islamic networks. Methodologically, this study contributes to the literature by applying a bibliometric and visualization-based approach through VOSviewer, offering a renewed perspective on the structural dynamics, thematic clusters, and institutional networks shaping HTI research. The identification of dominant themes such as political Islam, Islamic movements, the Indonesian constitution, and the caliphate discourse strengthens scholarly understanding of how HTI continues to shape discussions about Islam's role in Indonesia's sociopolitical landscape.

However, this study also has several limitations, particularly regarding the scope of references and keyword selection, as the analysis relies primarily on the single keyword "Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia," which may exclude related terms or broader thematic variations. The dataset is limited to publications indexed in Dimensions, meaning studies in other databases or unpublished works were not captured. Future research should expand the range of keywords, incorporate additional databases, and employ mixed-methods approaches such as surveys, interviews, and comparative case studies to obtain deeper insights into demographic factors, including gender, age, and regional variation. Such comprehensive approaches will provide a more robust foundation for policy development, especially in designing targeted counter-narratives and understanding the ideological resilience of HTI within Indonesian society.

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