



CONTESTATION OF ISLAMIC DISCOURSE ON THE INTERNET

Moderatism, Extremism and Hyper-Nationalism

EDITORS:

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Preface

Over these past few years, the abundance of information on the internet has resulted in an unsettling excess. On one hand, many young people have no writing skills since everything they want to write has been represented by other people's writing provided on the internet. On the other hand, many writings, which are more appropriate to be considered as private notes and supposed to be hidden behind closed space, continue to be published. In the context of media literacy, those writings are actually lacking in principles of decent communication and fairness to be a source of information, as they still need to be thoroughly crosschecked and rechecked before being consumed. Some people experience ambivalence in utilizing the advancement of information and communication technology. Some of them are motivated to call for virtue and prevent injustice.

In addition, the emergence of many forms of hate speech and hostility in online media during the last 2 decades is deeply unsettling. One of the sources of such feeling is the growth of a phenomenon often termed as online radicalization, which refers to the spread of ideological messages and extreme faith on internet-based media. Online radicalization is said to be able to change the mainstream moderate perspective into an extreme ideology which often justifies the use of violence to coerce its cause. In turn, extreme ideologies can nurture acts of intolerance which will lead to acts of extreme violence that can destroy national harmony and humanity.

This book begins as our research report in the Center of Cultural Study and Social Change (Pusat Studi Budaya dan Perubahan Sosial/PSBPS) of Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta (Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta/UMS), titled "Discourses of Radicalism in Website and Social Media." We modified the research report in a relatively short time into a

monograph book so it can be further read, discussed and utilized by wider public. We hope that this book can contribute academically to the knowledge reproduction for theory and research under the same topic, as well as, in practical terms, one of the references for policy to design programs made to build social harmony and develop peace through alternative narratives on online media.

This research was made through a long process. The idea came in mid-2016 from a discussion with Prof. Mike Hardy from Coventry University, United Kingdom, concerning research and program to raise the culture of peace to youth through online media, in an attempt to deter extremist violence. The idea was then developed into a research proposal in early 2017, which was addressed to the Center of Islam and Society Research (Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat/PPIM) of Syarif Hidayatullah Public Islamic University (Universitas Islam Negeri/UINJ) in collaboration with United Nations Development Program (UNDP) through managing of Japanese grant. The joint work of PPIM UINJ and UNDP was then known as CONVEY (Countering Violent Extremism in Youth) Indonesia. After a selection and bidding process with other institutions who also proposed research proposal, our proposal was accepted by Project Management Unit of CONVEY (PMU CONVEY). Obviously the acceptance was accompanied by several revisions. In our experience to process the research proposal, perhaps the back-and-forth revision process with PMU CONVEY was the longest and strictest.

The long process was a result of series of informal discussions to find consensus between our perspective and PMU CONVEY's. Our research topic which was "Extremist Violence in Online Media" was turned into "Radicalism in Websites and Social Media" in accordance with the nomenclature of CONVEY's term of reference. The research implementation itself was only given short time, for 3 months from September to November 2017. We were quite pessimistic to be able to finish this national research in the shortest duration that we have ever experienced for research. Usually we will need 1 semester to 2 semesters for 1 research. As such, we experienced several technical problems during the research, so we proposed an extension for data interpretation, particularly the writing process. Our research was finally done in February 2018, due to the contribution of many parties. The main research

team consists of: Yayah Khisbiyah (research coordinator, Psychology Faculty UMS), M. Thoyibi (deputy coordinator, FKIP UMS), and members including Abdullah Aly (Islam Faculty UMS), Yanuar Ihtiyarso (FKIP UMS), and strengthened by associate researchers including M. Subkhi Ridho (Institute of Islam and Political Research, Yogyakarta). In addition to the core team, there are 2 assistant researchers from FKIP, namely M. Ali Yafi and Yeni Prastiwi. We would also like to express our gratitude to the IT team led by Bana Handaga, who has conducted web scrapping/mining for the purpose of collecting data and Zuly Qodir for his ideas. We were also helped by 9 field assistants: Viska Erma Mustika, Iknandi Intan Permatasari, Ragil Setya Budi, Paksi Hidayatulloh, Istiqlal Assa (Psychology Faculty UMS), Hindun Niyatus Sa'adah (Economics Faculty UMS), Shella Gherina, Dwi Latifatul Fajri (FKIP UMS), and Azaki Khoirudin (FAI UMS). The whole team has intensively worked in 4 cities, i.e. Solo, Purwakarta, Yogya and Jakarta for many activities related to the research project such as workshop for research design, training for field assistants, data mining, focus group discussion, and seminar for disseminating the research findings that involved relevant stakeholders. We would like to express our highest gratitude to the whole research team. We would also like to express our deep gratitude to Rector of UMS, Dr. Sofian Anif and his Deputies; also to Steward of UMS and Central Leadership of Muhammadiyah, who has consistently supported PSBPS since its founding in 2000 as a trans-disciplinary applied research institution in UMS, allowing it to be well known at national and international level.

Our appreciation and huge thanks are also addressed to PMU CONVEY Indonesia which is backed by PPIM UINJ, for their faith and support to us as one out of their 22 partners throughout Indonesia. We need to mention how CONVEY Indonesia has made a tremendous and amazing attempt at capacity building to all of its partners that consist of academic institutions and NGOs throughout Indonesia, in a relatively short time. Convey was not only a donor to the 22 partners' research and advocacy program but also a mentor in academic, management and networking matters as well as expanding a positive social transformation vision. The multiple role played by CONVEY is manifested through many of its systematic and comprehensive programs from proposal review, assistance to every stage of research, managerial

training, national seminar, workshop coordinator, international conference, to workshop for formulating policy briefs. We enjoyed the whole process and we felt better because of it, personally, professionally and institutionally. To Prof. Jamhari Makruf, Saiful Umam, Din Wahid, Fuad Abali, Ali Munhanif, Didin Syafruddin, Jajang Jahroni, Ismatu Ropi and Dadi Darmadi, we would like to express our heartfelt gratitude for their intellectual assistance, wisdom and warm humor despite their busy agenda. We would also like to express our deepest gratitude to UNDP team for their patience in assisting and mentoring: Syamsul Tarigan, Ridwansyah, Jaya Dani Mulyanto, Utami Sandyarini, Narsi, Abdallah and everyone involved.

Finally, it would not be weird for us, as researcher-authors, to be dissatisfied with the quality of this book. If God wills it, we will immediately fix it, which is why input and constructive criticism from dear readers will be very much appreciated.

Surakarta, March 18th 2018

Yayah Khisbiyah

Research Coordinator,

Executive Director of PSBPS UMS

Table of Contents

Preface____ iii

Table of Contents____ vii

Chapter I

Introduction____ 1

Chapter II

Radical Messages:

On Presidential Election, Jakarta Gubernatorial Election and
Fight for Islam Movement____ 5

A. Radical Messages during 2014 Presidential Election____ 5

B. Radical Messages during 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial
Election____ 14

C. Radical Messages during Fight for Islam I and II____ 17

D. Radical Messages after Fight for Islam I and II____ 20

E. Radical Messages ahead of 2018-2019____ 23

Chapter III

Profile of Islamic Organization's Website: Mainstream,
Contemporary and Unaffiliated____ 29

A. Mainstream Islamic Organization's Website____ 29

B. Contemporary Islamic Organization____ 40

C. Unaffiliated Islamic Organization____ 48

Chapter IV

Popularity of Islamic Organization's Website on the Internet____ 65

- A. Mainstream Islamic Organizations' Websites____65
- B. Contemporary Islamic Organizations____66
- C. Unaffiliated Islamic Organization____67
- D. Figure's Popularity on Online Media____70

Chapter V

Discourse Contestation between Mainstream and Contemporary
Islamic Organization's Website____73

- A. The Moderate Message of Mainstream Islamic
Organization's Website____73
- B. The Pragmatic Interest of Contemporary Organizations'
Publicity____80

Chapter VI

Populism of Unaffiliated Islamic Website: Content
Commodification and Reproduction____95

- A. Era Muslim's Response to Radicalism Issue____103
- B. Portal Islam's Response to Radicalism____132
- C. VOA-Islam's Response to Radicalism____140
- D. Thoriquna.id's response to Radicalism____156

Chapter VII

Radicalism in Social Media____161

- A. Social Media Platform____161
- B. Type of Social Media Account____162
- C. Motivation of Social Media Users____164

Chapter VIII

Conclusion____165

Bibliography____167

About the Authors____167

Chapter I

Introduction

INDONESIA, as many other countries, is in a war against the threat of terrorism, radicalism and extremist violence that continues to be more and more complex as time goes by. Nowadays United Nations prefers to use preventive measures instead of countermeasures, which is why the term *Preventing Violent Extremism* (PVE) is more widely used compared to *Countering Violent Extremism* (CVE) in order to promote a more comprehensive, effective, inclusive and sustainable solution to maintain global peace and security. The research conducted by Center of Cultural Study and Social Change (Pusat Studi Budaya dan Perubahan Sosial/PSBPS) of Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta (Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta/UMS) aims to increase new evidence-based knowledge concerning “radicalism and extremist violence,” to be the foundation for policy makers, practitioners and professionals in responding the phenomenon of radicalism and extremism violence, especially the one that uses online website and social media in Indonesia.

Past research in Indonesia has indicated the prevalence of violent radicalism in educational institutions (Setara Foundation, 2015; Wahid Institute, 2016; Maarif Institute, 2015), and on social media (Alvara Research Center, 2017). Overseas research activities have made similar conclusion in regard to online media: Rand Corporation in 2014 confirmed that web-based media plays an important role in the process of radicalization among educated terrorists and extremists. Field data has affirmed that social media increased the chance of individual or group turning radical, as a result of outreach, involvement, information, communication and propaganda from extremists. In line with that finding, Brookings Institute in 2016 reported that more than 46,000 Twitter accounts are controlled by ISIS supporters in order to post violent materials

and contents and in order to recruit new followers through Youtube, Google, Facebook and etc. The increase of connectivity on the internet has exacerbated this severe problem. As such, scholars, policy makers and practitioners who are concerned with this domestic and global violence threat began to re-frame their approaches based on online media and social media.

Meanwhile, researches on radicalism and violent extremism have been criticized, internally and externally, due to framing Islam as a source of radicalism and violence. The critic is also addressed to bias media that tend to focus on violence and incidents in Muslim society, while ignoring other positive and constructive aspects of Muslim society. In Indonesia, the face of radicalism and violent extremism is changing over time; threat of violence from Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Salafi-Jihadist groups in early 2000s is on a decline, paving the way for new threat which came as a result of Arab Spring and ISIS/Daesh' domino effect. Media in Indonesia are among the most vibrant and open in Southeast Asia, and apparently because of it, many challenges have emerged that must be dealt with collectively. Although there have been many past research on radicalism and violent extremism in online media, there has been no academic research that specifically discusses about the use of social media in Indonesia in regard to the production and reproduction of radicalism and extremism discourse. This research aims to fill in that gap, through analysis on the making, diffusion and consumption of radical and extremist messages, by considering the macro geopolitical context of those violent extremist ideologies.

Using the perspective of social psychology, W.T. Root defined radicalism as "deliberately distancing oneself from social habits that have gained social acceptance." However, Root affirmed that whether distancing oneself like that can be considered radical or not will depend on time and place, meaning that radicalism is a concept that will depend on social relativity. For example, putting price tag on products to be sold were considered radical during mid-19th century but nowadays such habit is not only accepted but considered by many as a must.

Joana Pliner (2013) formulated 21 indicators that can be observed when a person is undergoing a radicalization process. Those indicators were grouped into five categories, i.e.: (1) self-identification, (2) dichotomous view

of US versus THEM in society, (3) social interaction, (4) personality, and (5) community.

Self-identification refers to how individual defines themselves; dichotomous view of US versus THEM is how an individual views the whole society as an adversary that they can never follow; social interaction refers to how an individual interacts with society; personality refers to an individual's personality and emotional expression; and community means relation or affiliation with radical groups. Five out of the 21 indicators that were mentioned the most are: (1) change in physical appearance or clothing, (2) cutting off from their previous communities, (3) verbal expression to go against the government, (4) expressing their feeling of being cut off, and (5) direct connection to terrorist groups.

In this research, the concept of radicalism is understood in its wider definition, not only in its relation to resistance against governmental authority, but also resistance against social norms upheld by society in general. Radical messages is not only limited to expressions delivered by anti-government group, but also groups that support the government while deviating with social norms at the same time.

Messages that will considered as radical in social media are messages that contain some or all of the following criteria: (1) expressing hatred to another party, (2) expressing intolerance against another party, (3) resisting legitimate order/system, (4) containing revolutionary sentiments, (5) containing violence, (6) containing threat to another party.

This research utilized a qualitative approach. The data came from websites, social media and informants. We investigated 14 Islamic organization's websites that can be differentiated into three categories: mainstream, contemporary and unaffiliated. Mainstream Islamic organization's websites are websites affiliated to mainstream Islamic organizations. Contemporary Islamic organization's websites are websites affiliated to contemporary Islamic organizations. Meanwhile, unaffiliated Islamic organization's websites are websites not affiliated to the previously mentioned Islamic organizations, but stand on its own by using Islamic attributes. Mainstream Islamic organization's websites consist of NU Online (<http://nu.or.id>) and Suara Muhammadiyah (<http://suaramuhammadiyah.id/>). Contemporary

Islamic organization's website consists of Forum Umat Islam (<http://www.suara-islam.com/>), Hidayatullah (<http://www.hidayatullah.com>), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (<http://www.majelismujahidin.com>), Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (<http://dewandakwah.or.id/>), and Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran (<https://mta.or.id/>). Unaffiliated Islamic organization's websites consist of Portal Islam (<http://www.portal-islam.id/>), Era Muslim (<https://www.eramuslim.com/>), VOA-Islam (<https://www.voa-islam.com>), Muslim Moderat (<http://www.muslimoderat.net>), Arrahmah (<https://www.arahmah.com>), Thoriquna (<http://thoriquna.id/>), and Dakwatuna (<https://www.dakwatuna.com/>).

Social media that we used as source include three platforms, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Meanwhile, the informants that we used as source are social media activists. Data collection was made by using digital survey, interview and focused group discussion (FGD). Digital survey was conducted through web-scraping and web-searching on Islamic organization's website that we researched and on Facebook, Instagram and Twitter accounts. *Digital Survey* was conducted from January 1st 2016 to October 20th 2017. Informants consist of 10 website editors and 15 social media activists which include five Facebook users, five Instagram users, and five Twitter users. Meanwhile, informants in FGD consist of stakeholders from local government, Information and Communication office, Indonesian National Police, media, religious figures and public figures.

This research aims to understand the role of websites and social media in producing and spreading radical ideologies that either support or reject radicalism and extremist violence. In particular, this research aims to: (1) find out the popularity of Islamic organization's website among internet users; (2) compare the popularity of mainstream, contemporary and non-affiliate Islamic organization's websites; (3) describe the response from Islamic organization's websites to radicalism issues; (4) describe the response from social media to radicalism issues; (5) Reveal the motivation behind producing and spreading radical messages.

Chapter II

Radical Messages:

On Presidential Election, Jakarta Gubernatorial Election and Fight for Islam Movement

THIS CHAPTER will specifically discuss on things related to radical thoughts and ideas contained on social media and website which was uploaded and expressed by consumers, followers and netizens in general. This chapter aims to provide more comprehensive description on radicalism messages in Indonesian political landscape and particularly in Islamic society. It should be noted that the discussion in this chapter cannot possibly represent the whole online media and website in Indonesia from political reformation in 1998 up to 2017. This chapter will attempt to introduce readers to the socio-political and religious (Islamism) context that grew in Indonesian website and social media which will be further elaborated within the following parts of this chapter.

A. Radical Messages during 2014 Presidential Election

The victory of Joko Widodo as President of Republic of Indonesia to replace Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) was not as easy as Soeharto or SBY's victory. According to Daniel Dhakidae, Soeharto managed to be a president consecutively due to the fact that his election can be likened to a ritual to appoint Soeharto as the next president. There was actually no election since the winner had already been ascertained simply because there was no other candidate beside Soeharto. Thus, Soeharto appointed as a president through acclamation by Indonesian House of Representatives from 1971-1987.

Post-1998, when Soeharto has fallen due to protest from students, teachers, and civil societies and in collaboration with Army and Police Force, Indonesian political landscape has massively changed. Habibie replaced Soeharto for only a very short term since 1999 was the beginning of direct election to choose

president and vice president in Indonesia. Presidential candidates in 1999 were mostly from parties that win election.

From 1999 to 2004, Indonesia has had three presidents: BJ Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati. In 2004, there were five presidential and vice presidential candidates that fought for the number one position in this country in an election. According to a plenary meeting on Saturday (5/22), General Election Commissions (Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU) decided that the five pairs include Hamzah Haz-Agum Gumelar, Amien Rais-Siswono Yudohusodo, Megawati Soekarnoputri-Hasyim Muzadi, Wiranto-Salahuddin Waid and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Jusuf Kalla.

The five pairs were set to be the 2004 presidential election candidates in accordance with KPU's Decree Number 36/2004 which was read by Safder Yusacc, Secretary-General of KPU, in KPU's headquarter in Jakarta. Meanwhile, a pair from National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa/PKB), Abdurrahman Wahid-Marwah Daud Ibrahim, was ineligible to be a candidate in accordance with BB4 requirement which includes physical and spiritual fitness. KPU asked PKB to fulfill the requirement by changing their candidate, but apparently they did not do it, according to Member and Head of Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidacy Working Group of KPU, Anas Urbaningrum.

With the enactment of KPU's Decree, the security of those candidates was delegated to the police in accordance with Law No. 23/2003 on 2004 Presidential Election. Meanwhile, before the announcement of candidates by KPU, around 300 Gus Dur's supporters rallied a protest demanding Gus Dur to be elected as a candidate in 2004 Presidential election.

Meanwhile, there were three presidential-vice presidential candidates in 2009 election according to KPU's decree: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (the then president)-Boediono (former Governor of Bank of Indonesia), Megawati (former president of Indonesia)-Prabowo (former military officer, now a businessman), Jusuf Kalla (the then vice president)-Wiranto (retired general).

SBY-Boediono. Slogan: SBY Berbudi (Virtuous), Continue! was the slogan used by the candidate pair. SBY-Boediono was endorsed by Democrat Party (Partai Demokrat/PD), PKB, PAN and PKS. SBY was from PD and other small parties, while Boediono was not affiliated to any party. In his early candidacy,

Boediono was opposed and accused of being neoliberal, causing PKS and PAN to reject his candidacy. SBY-Boediono denied such accusation by saying that they only employ People's Economy. SBY's wealth was amounted to IDR 8.5 billion while Boediono, his subordinate, was amounted to IDR 22 billion. Unless he has hid some of his wealth, SBY was practically the "poorest" presidential candidate in that election.

In one of his speeches, SBY explained a strategy to create energy independency in Indonesia. One of them was enacting "Pricing Policy" with the House of Representatives to attract investors to invest in energy sector. Based on that speech, the public believed that, if elected, the pair will continue to increase fuel price because the then fuel price was not "attractive" enough for investors.

Meanwhile, the other presidential candidate was Megawati Prabowo with slogan: Mega-Pro! They were endorsed by PDIP (Megawati), Gerindra (Prabowo), and other small parties. This pair promised people's economy. Based on their track record and scholar's analysis, Megawati is actually a neoliberal-proponent because her presidential term was filled to the brim with retraction of fuel subsidy by Minister of Energy Purnomo Yusgiantoro, causing an increase in fuel price and also selling of SOEs that was done by Laksamana Soekardi. Boediono, who was accused as neoliberal-proponent, was also one of her ministers.

However, the ministers who were accused as neoliberal-proponent, such as Boediono, Purnomo and Laksamana Soekardi, at that time was on SBY's side. While Prabowo, despite being a capitalist himself, was proposing people's economy to return Indonesia's wealth from foreign corporations to the people of Indonesia.

The people economy as proposed by Prabowo (Prabowo-nomics) might have been interesting to many people. However, PDIP was often in opposition with PKS, the Islamic party, on religion-related issues such as National Education Bill and Anti-Pornography Bill, causing them to gain negative sentiments from fanatic Islam voters. Megawati's wealth was amounted to IDR 256 billion while Prabowo was approximately IDR 1.5 trillion.

The presidential candidate that also requires attention was JK-Wiranto with their slogan: Faster is Better! Based on their track record in rising fuel price,

scholars accused JK of being a neoliberal-proponent. However, JK continued to advocate for people's economy and national independency. For example, JK wore domestic-produced shoes. Then, he asked Pertamina to independently manage domestic oil refineries. JK's wealth was amounted to IDR 303 billion while Wiranto was IDR 81 billion. JK came from Golkar Party and grew up in South Sulawesi while Wiranto came from Hanura party and grew up in Java. This was the only pair that consists of non-Java and Java candidate. This can be seen in the following "List of Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidate's Wealth,"

1	Prabowo Subianto	IDR 1.5 trillion and USD 7.5 million
2	Megawati Soekarnoputri	IDR 256.4 billion
3	Jusuf Kalla	IDR 314.5 billion and USD 25,668
4	Wiranto	IDR 81.7 billion and USD 378,625
5	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	IDR 6.8 billion and USD 246,389
6	Boediono	IDR 22 billion and USD 15,000

Source: <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/xml/2009/05/29/15273635/Inilah.Daftar.Kekayaan.Capres>

Apparently the three candidates during 2009 election were faced with issues of liberalism, neoliberalism and human rights, but it was not made a big deal by majority of Indonesian. There were trouble in KPU but it was not as big as 2014 presidential election where there were only two candidates, Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla versus Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa.

According to a report from kompas.com, during the election, Jokowi-JK was the one that most often attacked with black campaign and SARA issues (tribal, religious, racial and interclass issues). Coordinator of Mata Massa Movement, Muhammad Irham, stated that, according to matamassa.org's observation, the two presidential and vice presidential candidates committed violations during the 2014 election campaign. Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla pair, according to Irham, was the one that most often attacked with black campaign and SARA issues. This statement was made by Irham in Media Center of Electoral Supervisory Bodies (Badan Pengawas Pemilu), in Central Jakarta on Wednesday (7/23/2014).

During the campaign, in regard to SARA issues, Jokowi was attacked the most with 69 incidents while Prabowo was attacked with 12 incidents. Irham stated that there were 109 administrative violation reports. From the 109

reports, Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa was suspected of 67 administrative violations while Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla was suspected of 30. The perpetrator of the 12 rest was unknown. In addition, there were 120 reports concerning criminal law violation, with 69 reports addressed to Prabowo-Hatta and 9 to Jokowi-JK. The rest 42 report was unknown.

Meanwhile, there were also 83 reports for other violations with 34 addressed to Prabowo-Hatta, 27 to Jokowi-JK and 22 unknown. Matamassa is an election supervisory program that works with Independent Journalist Alliance (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen/AJI) Jakarta. Matamassa received reports from the society for any election-related violations since June 3rd 2014 (Source: the report was published in www.matamassa.org).

The competition between Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa and Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla intensified ahead of July 9th 2014. Instead of promoting the two candidate's proposed programs or vision-mission, the followers of the two preferred to propagate black campaign.

Black campaign is an act of attacking presidential and vice presidential candidates with personal issues in which the truth is questionable. This black campaign is very unethical and unhealthy for public in general but it was massively circulated in social media in order to create public opinion to certain candidate. The two opposing supporters were both condemning such negative campaign. This type of campaign was based more on desire to spread hatred and prejudice to candidates that have been appointed by General Election Commission. This black campaign phenomenon was not to be underestimated and voters were advised not to get carried away in such campaign.

Prabowo who was endorsed by Gerindra Party, PKS, and PAN became a target of black campaign. Ever since being declared by his party as presidential candidate, his past as a Special Forces Commander-General was often associated with the Team Rose controversy in 1997-1998. This Special Forces team was suspected by many to be the perpetrator of pro-democracy activists kidnapping in 1997-1998. Prabowo, as the Commander-General of Special Forces at that time was used as an argument to vote against him. His political adversaries accused Prabowo of being the main perpetrator behind the activists kidnapping. Gerindra Party as the endorser party of Prabowo denied

such accusation. Prabowo himself affirmed that he was innocent because at that time he was only following his superior's instruction.

Another issue used to attack Prabowo was his dual-citizenship, Indonesia and Jordan. This issue was massively spread through the then popular short message service, BlackBerry Messenger and internet blog. In this case, Prabowo who was dismissed in disgrace by military court was said to request Jordanian citizenship from King Hussein in 1998. King Hussein was said to grant his request and Prabowo's family was very happy with King Jordan's treatment.

The dual-citizenship regulation in Law No. 42/2008 has indeed provided clear prohibition for presidential candidate to own two citizenships. Given Prabowo has settled for quite a long time – almost ten years – in Jordan, this issue was thrown around by his political adversaries ahead of the presidential election. Prabowo's group clearly denied such issue. Hatta Rajasa once stated, "I believe this citizenship issue is thrown around because they no longer have any other issue to be used so they brought up nonexistent issue. It is easy to answer them; it is simply a black campaign."

According to Habiburokhman, as member of Prabowo-Hatta's advocacy team, there were reportedly three forms of black campaign. First, a slander on Prabowo's involvement with 1998 kidnapping case and riot; second, Prabowo asking a Jordanian citizenship in 1999; and third, Prabowo beat someone up when he registered himself as presidential candidate to KPU in May 20th. Twitter account @partaisosmed was mentioned by Habiburokhman in May 24th 2014 as the account behind black campaign on Prabowo's citizenship.

As for the issue of Prabowo beating someone up, it was spread through a video uploaded by Twitter account @SamadAbraham. The video was spread through social network and broadcast message in WhatsApp Messenger. Up to the end of the election, the person who made and spread the video titled "Prabowo Beat Someone Up in KPU" was unknown.

The spread of black campaign in social media such as Twitter, that cornered the two presidential-vice presidential candidates, was often committed by fake accounts that use a public figure's name. For example, Twitter account @SamadAbraham used the picture of former Head of KPK Abraham Samad and they made their tweet as if Abraham Samad uploaded it himself. In response

to the emergence of black campaigns in social media, Mahendradatta, as a member of Prabowo-Hatta's advocacy team, stated that his team will report such incidents to the police and will demand the police to find and reveal the person behind those fake accounts.

In addition to the above issues, another issue that was massively spread among society and on social media in regard to the presidential-vice presidential candidate was SARA issues. SARA issues have emerged during the 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election on the religion adopted by Jokowi. As a result of this SARA issues, some people were doubtful whether Jokowi, the then candidate of Jakarta Governor, was truly Muslim.

The 2014 presidential election was truly harmed by black campaigns that utilized SARA sentiments. In response to this occurrence, Jusuf Kalla, as the vice presidential candidate to Jokowi, stated that such black campaign should be avoided. In order to fight against the circulation of those untrue issues, JK even stated that he was prepared to continuously make clarification to any black campaign made against Jokowi and himself.

Another black campaign addressed to Jokowi-JK also appeared in Youtube. In a 3 minutes 39 seconds video, JK was testifying against Jokowi's candidacy, saying that this country will be destroyed if Jokowi became a president. Oftentimes video used as a black campaign will not be contextualized so people can easily take it for granted.

As a presidential candidate, Jokowi did not only receive black campaign that attacked his Muslim-ness. In Facebook and Twitter, there was an obituary circulated depicting the death of Ir. Herbertus Joko Widodo (Oey Hong Liong), which included Jokowi's picture.

This black campaign was made to be similar to obituary published in newspaper. In that picture, there was a note announcing the "death" of Jokowi on May 4th 2014, *"Has rest in peace on Sunday May 4th 2014 at 15.30, our beloved husband, dad and presidential candidate."*

The Facebook post also contained information on where Jokowi's "remains" will be buried, *"The remains will be buried in PDIP's office in Lenteng Agung, Jagakarsa, South Jakarta and will be cremated on Tuesday May 6th 2014."* In its closing statement, the name of Jokowi's wife, Iriana Widodo, was also mentioned as if she was the one who post that obituary. In the next section,

Megawati Soekarnoputri is also mentioned to send her “condolences,” *“Please accept our condolences: Megawati Soekarnoputri and the whole staff, cadre and 2014 Presidential Election Campaign Team.”*

When asked by journalists, Jokowi said that he used to be attacked with black campaign. However, he also admitted that “RIP Jokowi” is the black campaign that upset him the most. Ahead of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Election on July 9th, black campaign to the two candidates was intensifying. Many were concerned with the prevalence of black campaign near the D-Day of election. Their concern was caused by the circulation of untrue and sensitive issues (SARA).

Chairman of Muhammadiyah, Din Syamsuddin, stated that black campaign will obstruct people’s right to know about the vision and mission of their candidates. Black campaign in social media often utilizes tribal, religious, racial and interclass issues. This situation caused candidate’s campaign team to spend more time to fight black campaign instead of promoting their vision and mission. This phenomenon truly harmed people’s right as voter to know about the programs that will be implemented by their candidates. Political communication scholar, Triyono Lukmantoro, believed that black campaign is a bad and not smart politics. Black campaign that touches on SARA issues is highly un-educative and improper to be implemented in a pluralist country like Indonesia. It will be dangerous for SARA issues to be used as black campaign materials.

Political scholar from Gadjah Mada University, Arie Sujito, stated that each campaign team must reveal the weakness of their competitor through evidences and should not employ black campaign tactics. This is important for voters to judge their track record. Black campaign will not contribute to the quality of election. Every party must raise voter’s awareness to understand that a fair election is characterized by critical thinking not black campaign. Compared to the implementation of 2009 presidential election, black campaign in this election is far more prevalent. This can be seen from the black campaign materials that already contained SARA issues. In addition, the high prevalence is also caused by the high usage of social media. Some of the black campaign issues circulated in social media such as Facebook, Twitter and chain messages include: (1) Jokowi-JK was accused of being a Zionist while Prabowo was

accused of being a Jordanian citizen due to living there for two years; (2) Jokowi-JK will appoint a Shia Minister of Religion while Prabowo was accused of not paying the wage of his employee in Kiani Kertas for several months; (3) Jokowi was accused of being a non-Muslim Chinese while a video was circulated depicting Prabowo beating someone up in KPU; (4) An obituary ad was posted depicting Jokowi's death under the name Ir. Herbertus Joko Widodo and there was a twitter account claiming to be Abraham Samad that mentioned how Jokowi must be protected from murder attempt; (5) Jokowi-JK will retract teacher's allowance policy (Source: Media Indonesia, Monday May 26th 2014).

Social media scholar, Wicaksono, believed that black campaign through social media that attacked Jokowi and Prabowo will continue to increase until the July election. Black campaign in social media such as Twitter and Facebook was filled to the brim with racial and political issues and even the past history of Jokowi and Prabowo. However, Wicaksono mentioned that some people are already aware of the negative impact of such black campaign so they will not take it for granted. Deputy Leader of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla campaign team, Aria Bima, stated that his team has always attempted to counter the black campaign addressed to Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla. However, Aria Bima denied having committed similar campaign against his opponent. Head of Prabowo-Hatta campaign team, Mahfud MD, reminded all of his team not to commit black campaign. Black campaign will only harm the public and the nation in the future. Campaign must be committed in honest, virtuous and ethical manner. Furthermore, people of Indonesia were already living in harmony. The campaign team must not coerce the people, rather they must convince the people to fight and avoid catastrophic effect to this nation. In particular President of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, in his Twitter account gave his response in regard to the prevalence of black campaign close to election, saying that campaign team should focus to help their candidate communicate effectively with the people, instead of attacking their opponent with black campaign.

SARA (gender, religious and racial) issues continued to be prevalent in media discourse and society. History has shown that our nation was built upon diversity of tribe, ethnicity, religion and faith. Thus, SARA issues are

indeed normal to be discussed nowadays but we should have been more self-conscious and objective in understanding such issues. 2014 election was filled to the brim with SARA issues because there was a polarization between groups that compete to win the presidential election. Party-wise, Golkar was supported by Democrat and Hanura. Gerindra was supported by PAN, PKS and PPP. PDIP was supported by Nasdem and PKB.

2014 Presidential Election saw only two candidates competing for the number one position in this country: Jokowi-Widodo-Jusuf Kalla versus Prabowo-Subianto-Hatta Rajasa. The result was: Jokowi-JK obtained 70,997,833 votes (53.15 percent) while Prabowo-Hatta obtained 62,576,444 votes (46.85 percent). This is where radicalism-intolerance and communism issues became an integral part of social media and campaign.

That was the political condition surrounding the 2014 Presidential Election that we have went through. Democratic tension was so intense and competition between candidates was so apparent. The issues that got thrown around were even rougher than 2004 and 2009 presidential election that presented more than two candidates. Party support was also spread among the many candidates. Meanwhile, at the 2014 presidential election won by Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla, political party was clustered to only two candidates that practically forced them to fight one on one. Issues concerning communism, infidelity, non-Islam and Chinese race became an integral part of 2014 presidential election campaign especially in social media and printed media.

B. Radical Messages during 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election

The hype concerning 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election can only be felt even before the election was executed. Rundown for Jakarta Gubernatorial Election has been published (KPU, 2016). Ever since the registration stage, candidate's names were already discussed, whether in real world or internet. Everyone was free to give opinion on the candidate of Jakarta's governor, resulting in many opinions, not only the positive or neutral opinions, but also the negative one.

The rapid development of media resulted in many online media, from news media to social media. Social media was already so many, from Facebook, Twitter, Path, Instagram, Google+, Tumblr, LinkedIn and so on.

Social media were not only used to make friendships but also other activities such as promoting products, buying and selling, and even promoting political party or campaigning for legislative and executive candidates.

Social media, especially Twitter, have already been a very popular communication tool among internet users. During the official conference of Twitter's developer, Chirp, in 2010, a statistic on Twitter user was published. The statistic mentioned that in April 2010, Twitter had 106 million accounts and 180 million unique visitors each month. It was also mentioned that Twitter users will continue to increase by 300,000 users every day (Yarrow, 2010). Digital Buzz, a blog that provides info-graphic statistics also mentioned similar statistics. This was explained in *Analisis Sentimen Calon Gubernur DKI Jakarta 2017 di Twitter* by Ghulam Asrofi Buntoro from Information Engineering Department, Faculty of Engineering, Muhammadiyah University of Ponorogo.

According to Ghulam in his article, it is known that highest accuracy were obtained through *Naïve Bayes Classifier* (NBC) methods for AHY's data, while lowest accuracy were obtained through *Naïve Bayes Classifier* (NBC) for Ahok's and Anies' data. Although resulted in a pretty accurate result, his model still resulted in few errors when classifying data with unbalanced sentiment distribution because unbalanced data will result in wrongly classifying minority class data as majority class data (Kohavi, 1998). Ultimately, it will result in huge gap of value.

Based on previous research, it can be concluded that sentiment analysis can be made to find out society's sentiment especially Twitter's netizen to the 2017 Jakarta Governor's candidates. The goal is to help society determining the sentiments contained in tweets written in Bahasa Indonesia. The sentiment analysis found several sentiments addressed to the 2017 Jakarta Governor's candidate. Highest accuracy value was obtained when using *Naïve Bayes Classifier* (NBC) to classify AHY's data, with average accuracy value amounted to 95%, precision value 95%, recall value 95%, TP rate value 96.8% and TN rate value 84.6%.

Based on the polarization among extreme support groups that exists, we can be sure that SARA issues will be thrown around. For example: Islam versus Christian and Catholic, Native versus Chinese, Army versus Police, National versus Foreign, and so on. Such condition reminds us to the 2017 Jakarta

Gubernatorial Election. Chinese people from West Jakarta told us that all of their family members will vote for Ahok. The reason being? No other than the Ahok factor. Voters data in West Jakarta showed that majority vote for Jokowi-Ahok. The fact is, during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, Chinese groups were advised to vote for Ahok-Saiful due to ethnic similarity. The same is also true for Anies-Sandi's campaign team that advised Betawi people to vote for them. Catholic groups in Ahok's campaign team also advised Catholic people to vote for Ahok.

Revealed in a survey, 71% of Jakarta people were worried with the prevalence of SARA issues during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. They were also worried that the campaign up to April 19th election will only exacerbated intolerance among society. A survey by Populi Center after the first round of Jakarta Gubernatorial Election indicated that SARA issues used during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election were, among others, an advice to vote against non-Muslim and to never pray for the remains of people who support non-Muslim leader.

In addition to dividing society, SARA issues, according to Director of Populi Center, Usep Ahyar, also intimidated people. The rise of SARA issues will lead to the rise of identity politics and some people will be intimidated as the result. Some felt that their freedom of expression was obstructed due to being afraid of backlashes. "It (SARA issues) and identity politics are definitely created intentionally to plant an idea that their group is the most superior while the others are inferior. All of it is caused by social media (Sri Lestari, BBC Indonesia, March 24th 2017)."

The intensification of SARA issues, as stated by Bonar Tigor Naipospos from institute for democracy and peace, Setara Institute, has been utilized by political elites and gubernatorial candidates to gain people's support. Bonar also observed that despite the Jakarta gubernatorial candidate was endorsed by a nationalist party, they still justify the use of SARA issues. Thus, the government needs to deal with it. Bonar believed that legal process has actually been made but social media still needed supervision. Social media turns people into anti-social and selfish person that will force their preference in real world. Bonar suggested state to build a public space, a dialogue space so that those groups can interact with each other (Media, July 14th 2017).

Many of the SARA issues that emerge during 2017 Jakarta Local Election, particularly during the fight between Ahok-Saiful and Anies-Sandi will be reflected in the upcoming 2018 Local Leaders and Legislative Election and 2019 Presidential Election. We can already see examples of campaign through violence today, in social media like Whatsapp, Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Such examples can also be seen in other public religious events.

C. Radical Messages during Fight for Islam I and II

The political situation during the second round of Jakarta Gubernatorial Election was very intense and interesting to be followed. The intense atmosphere of Jakarta was exacerbated by KPU Jakarta's decision that obliged Ahok-Jarot and Anies-Sandy to fight for the second time. The two groups began to consolidate their power to formulate strategy carry their candidates into victory. Among the many strategies that can be employed by the two groups, SARA issues were the ultimate weapon to gain sympathy and support from people of Jakarta. In order to win, SARA issues were thrown around in a structured, systematic and massive manner during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. The rise of SARA issues during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election can be considered as a decline in Indonesia's civilized democracy.

The SARA issues being thrown around during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election can also be seen as the rise of deliberate ethnic and religious-based primordialism. Such political strategy was employed massively during the 1971 general election. This was made after the 1965 Communist's revolt in which the true perpetrator and motive behind the murder of several Soekarno's military officers is still a mystery. In a similar manner, Vedi Hadiz (Vedi Hadiz, *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East*, ISEAS, Singapore, 2016) argued that the rise of primordial sentiment is the rise of Islamic popularism or, according to Bassam Tibi, an Islamism (Bassam Tibi, *Islamisme: Kebangkitan Islam Politik*, Mizan, 2017).

The SARA issues were the only way to defeat Ahok's popularity. In this case, blasphemy against Islam was considered as the right issue to divert public support from Ahok to the other candidate. Series of protest to strike Ahok during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election were triggered by this blasphemy against Islam issue. This was not the end for Ahok's suffering. FPI and other

mass organizations demand Ahok to be jailed without prosecution. What would happen to our beloved country if we let this angry mob expresses their extremist desire as they please? At the end of the day, Ahok was jailed due to SARA politics. As such, it can be said that Ahok was a victim of SARA issues of Jakarta Gubernatorial Election.

Topics on Ahok's ethnicity and religion making him cannot be voted for by Muslim people were the most prevalent during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. Topics on the prohibition of Muslim people to vote for non-Muslim were apparently effective to influence people of Jakarta and even outside of Jakarta. Evidence of this effectiveness can be seen by the huge protest from PAN, PKS and Gerindra supporters that endorsed Anies-Sandi under the name Fight for Islam I and II. The protests itself were held around Istiqlal Mosque's and National Monument's complex under the command of Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam/FPI)'s Rizieq Shihab.

In actuality, the rise of SARA issues in regard to Ahok's presence in Jakarta Gubernatorial Election can be seen as a test to the quality of our democracy in Indonesia. It was a test on whether our democracy has risen from SARA issues into social justice or good governance issues. Even after the blasphemy against religion issue failed to reduce Ahok's popularity, another SARA-related issue was still thrown around. Ahok's ethnicity as Chinese descent was associated to communism. Ahok's Christianity was also being played at with radical politicians spread issues that Ahok will proselytize Muslim people to be Christian. Furthermore, Muslim people were obliged to vote only for Muslim leader. One of examples of radical political tactic was the erection of banners that intimidate fellow Muslim followers. The banner itself stated the prohibition for Muslim people to pray for Ahok's supporter. In order to gain sympathy and victory, fellow Muslim people had no qualm to strike at each other. The label 'infidel' was cemented to Ahok due to his religion. The same label was also cemented to Ahok's supporter even to those that are actually Muslim.

The SARA issues employed by Ahok's political adversaries were already at its most intense. After all, Jakarta Gubernatorial Election remains the barometer of Indonesia's democratic climate. Every citizen from Sabang to Merauke will observe Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. The reason is simple; Jakarta is the

center of Republic of Indonesia. No matter how small, any incident occurred in Jakarta will be known throughout Indonesia. Thus, SARA issues can be seen as a signal for the rise of radicalism and the decline of democracy in Indonesia.

The emergence of issues such as non-Muslim leadership, infidelity and ethnicity, is actually a sign of rising radicalism during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election masked behind Fight for Islam I & II protests. This argument can be proven by looking at the behavior of the campaign team behind Ahok's rival. The obligation to choose Muslim leader, the prohibition to vote for infidel leader, the prohibition to pray for the supporter and voter of Ahok-Djarot, the obligation of Muslim-majority Jakarta people to be led by a Muslim leader, those are real signs of rising radicalism.

In addition, the coercion and intimidation to the nationalist Jakarta people is real fact, not merely presumption. On one hand, the liberal democracy era has brought balance between government and people. People can now control their government. However, on the other hand, the free public sphere will allow radical ideology to penetrate our democracy. This was stated by Head of Indonesian National Police, Tito Karnavian. This is proof that our beloved country is currently under attack and has been infiltrated by radical ideology.

Jakarta Gubernatorial Election was a successful political drama and religious national phenomenon. It was as if religion became the catalyst for national segregation. It can be likened to a civil war with religious issue at its heart.

Reflecting from the situation over the past year, political dynamics appeared to be stable during its early period. The situation was only changed in September after Buni Yani uploaded a video that startled the internet and triggered religious and racial sentiments. Social media was also responsible to the increase of banal debate on the internet. Conflict like this can happen anytime nowadays. Strangers can fight all over the place on the internet simply because of idle matters, such as which religion is more righteous and which race is more superior. However, since small issues like that can grow so big on the internet, our nation can easily be segregated; our plurality will be a destroyer instead of a power. The question is: will SARA issues continue to appear – or will it stop?

D. Radical Messages after Fight for Islam I and II

SARA issues could be part of the rise of Islamism or political religion in Indonesia. Political religion itself is not unique to Indonesia. However, religious issues in Indonesia will always be interesting. SARA issues were one of the focal points of 2017 political dynamics. Political scholar from Exposit Strategic, Arif Sutanto, stated that the combination of politic and SARA can be felt strongly during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. Arif argued that it would not be impossible for political identity to reappear in 2018 Local Election and even 2019 Presidential Election. "Identity-based hatred politics seems to divide society. I'm afraid that this will continue to be bad precedent in the upcoming 2018 and 2019 political year," said Arif on Tuesday (12/26/2017), as reported by Ihsanuddin from Kompas.com – 12/26/2017.

Arif believed that political competition that utilizes SARA issues will cause a huge impact. After all, 2018 Local Election is a warm-up before 2019 Presidential Election. Fierce competition in Jakarta will be shifted to the three biggest provinces of Java Island, West Java, Central Java and East Java. Whoever controlled the region with biggest population will definitely be able to pave their way to the 2019 Presidential Election. Therefore, Javanese regions with huge potential for voting power will be the key battleground and will invite political tension, said Arif. Arif stated that the key to prevent SARA politics will be the awareness in elite level. If elites agree to compete fairly, identity politics can be minimized.

Due to the intensity of SARA issues during the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, General Election Commissions (KPU) has anticipated the wave of SARA sentiments in 2018 Local Election. KPU enacted two KPU regulations as a preventive measure against the prevalence of SARA issues during the Election. KPU's Commissioner, Wahyu Setiawan, stated that, in addition to enacting those two regulations, KPU also cooperate with Electoral Supervisory Bodies (Badan Pengawas Pemilu/Bawaslu) in order to anticipate the use of black campaign and SARA issues. "In regard to the prevalence of SARA issues, we have learned from 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. Like it or not, we are all worried," said Wahyu during the launching event of KPU's slogan, "Sovereign Leader, Strong Country," in Jakarta on Friday (10/27/2017) as reported by Estu Suryowati, kompas.com.

“During the formulation of KPU regulation on campaign and educating society, those (issues) were the main concern of all of us,” said Wahyu. The first regulation was KPU Regulation No. 4/2017 on the Campaign for Gubernatorial and Vice Gubernatorial, Regent and Deputy Regent, and/or Mayor and Deputy Mayor Election. The second regulation was KPU Regulation No. 8/2017 on the Socialization and Education of Voters and People’s Participation during Gubernatorial and Vice Gubernatorial, Regent and Deputy Regent, and/or Mayor and Deputy Mayor Election. Article 17 of KPU Regulation No. 4/2017 stated that campaign materials must respect the difference of tribe, religion, race and class in society. Meanwhile, Article 68 (1) stated that campaign shall not disrespect person, religion, tribe, race, class, gubernatorial and vice gubernatorial candidate, regent and deputy regent candidate, mayor and deputy mayor candidate, and/or political party. Then, Article 29 of KPU Regulation No. 8/2017 regulated that candidates shall not spread tribal, religious, racial and interclass issues.

“The target of socialization and education for voters is, among others, netizens. In essence, we waged war against hoax and slander and invited everyone to consume information in a wise manner. Not every information in social media can be accountable,” said Wahyu in KPU’s Headquarter. Through its instruction, KPU has also instructed Provincial and District KPU to establish a social media team with several accounts.

It appears that KPU understood the important role that social media will play during 2018 Local Election and 2019 Presidential Election campaign. Social media will not be abandoned by campaign teams and candidates to express their ideas or to promote themselves. In that regard, KPU has taken some steps to utilize Facebook, Twitter, etc. in order to educate voters so they can use their rights to vote independently and free from hoax and SARA issues. Therefore, political education must be conducted as good as possible by civil society and state.

Responding to the possibility of SARA issues during 2018 Local Election and 2019 Presidential Election, Minister of Home Affairs asked Bawaslu to crack down any candidates and campaign team that has been proven to use SARA issues in their campaign. As reported in Kompas.com, Minister of Home Affairs Tjahjo Kumolo asked Bawaslu to strongly punish any form

of money politics found during 2018 Local Election. Tjahjo also hoped that police force will be able to help in the fight against money politics. Tjahjo Kumolo stated that an election can only be considered successful if there is no money politics. "I'd say that Bawaslu and Police must affirm their position to deal with any money politics," said Tjahjo in his opening speech during the launching of Electoral Vulnerability Index (Indeks Kerawanan Pilkada/IKP) 2018 in Jakarta on Tuesday (11/28/2017).

Tjahjo Kumolo stated that strong action to deal with money politics is direct intervention from President Joko Widodo. According to Tjahjo, the President advised every candidate to focus more on promoting their program, concept or idea. After all, quality programs from local government are the one that will accelerate development and society's prosperity. Furthermore, Bawaslu and police were also asked to deal with any black campaign that employs SARA issues. The Minister of Home Affairs also stated that SARA-related problems must be the main concern of Bawaslu, candidates, campaign teams and police force.

Meanwhile, in order to anticipate the prevalence of SARA politics during the upcoming 2018 Local Election and 2019 Presidential Election, PBNU also asked the police and government to strongly punish any candidate and campaign team that employ SARA tactics in their campaign. Chairman of Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama/PBNU), Said Aqil Siradj, stated that the prevalence of hate speech on social media was one of the topics he discussed with President Joko Widodo in Merdeka Palace, Jakarta, on Tuesday (9/5/2017). "President asked NU to support and fight hate speech," said Aqil to reporters after his private meeting with Jokowi. Said Aqil stated that PBNU is prepared to support the government to fight hate speech, slander and lie on the internet (Ihsanuddin, Kompas.com – 09/05/2017).

In one of his statements, Chairman of PBNU, Said Aqil stated that he will ask his ranks to deter any hate speech circulated on social media. "There are many smart NU followers that master IT, thus they must actively contribute to deter radicalism on media," he said. Said Aqil stated that slander and hatred will threaten national integrity if let loose. However, he also reminded the government to not only eradicate hate speech that attack them. Said Aqil asked the government to be fair.

The most important thing is that hatred, SARA and other primordial issues must be the main concern of multiple parties. Therefore, anyone who spreads lies for any purpose is a threat to national integrity. Anyone who produces and commits slander must be dealt with by the police force without exception. It is also in this regard that character building and voter education must be strengthened before the 2018 Local Election and 2019 Presidential Election.

E. Radical Messages ahead of 2018-2019

In the 2018 Local Election, it is predicted that SARA issues will continue to arise. This was reported by reporter Ayomi Amindoni from BBC Indonesia that the 2018 Local Election in upcoming June is still under the threat of SARA issues just like the past 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. Basuki Tjahaya Purnama aka Ahok being imprisoned due to blasphemy against religion in order to prevent him from being reelected as Jakarta Governor as well as prohibition to pray for his supporters, appear to be the reflection of SARA threat during that election.

Similar to previous situation in Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, where Ahok-Saiful from PDIP was assaulted by SARA issues, it is predicted that SARA issues will continue to be the source of tension in 2018 Local Election. Executive Director of Election and Democracy Association (Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi/Perludem), Titi Anggraini, believed that SARA sentiments will continue to be the threat to 2018 Local Election and 2019 Presidential Election due to, among others, fierce competition between political parties. They compete as if it is a fight between Islamism and non-Islam – In essence, a fight between the representation of Political Islam and Secular Nationalism.

“Within this fierce competition to win local election, there will always be some people that employ illegal but effective tactics to secure their victory. If asked on the possibility of SARA politics being employed again in 2018, I’d say that the possibility will always be high,” said Titi to BBC Indonesia on Tuesday (01/10/2018). Vedi R. Hadiz argued that this situation occurred because there is no dominant power among the existing political parties. This causes party elites and economic power to be spread among the vying groups in upcoming Local Election and Presidential Election (See Vedi Hadiz, *Ekonomi Politik*

Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru, LP3ES, 2016). The possibility of the prevalence of SARA issues seem to also be the main concern of Minister of Home Affairs, Tjahjo Kumolo, that has advised candidates not to employ such tactics in 2018 Local Election. Rather than that, candidates should promote their program. "Candidates should promote their program and ideas for the sake of their people instead of promoting slander, hate speech, and SARA," said Tjahjo Kumolo to reporters in Jakarta (Kompas, January 28th 2018).

One of the regions predicted to be facing intense SARA politics is West Java. According to Firman Manan, political scholar from Padjajaran University, this is possible due to the characteristic of its voters. Firman Manan argued that the characteristic of voters in West Java is defined by their religiosity and, in recent development, conservative Islam ideology. Therefore, West Java is quite worrying with the competition of five candidate-pairs after Aher-Dedy Mizwar's leadership. The five Gubernatorial Candidates of West Java is Ridwan Kamil, Dedy Mizwar, Ahmad Syaikh, TB Hasanuddin and Dedy Mulyadi.

The same is also true in Central Java, where its Local Election will be a face-off between PDIP's candidate, Ganjar Pranowo and Golkar's Sudirman Said, and in East Java with the fierce competition between Saifullah Yusuf (PDIP) and Khofifah (PKS, Pan and Gerindra). All of these fights can be considered as a 'warm-up' before the 2019 Presidential Election. Many people see the 2018 Local Election as a warm-up before 2019 Presidential Election because the three provinces that will held election this year – West Java, Central Java and East Java – has the biggest population. Therefore, whoever controls these regions can safely claim their seat for the next year's election. As such, 2018 Local Election will be very decisive, given that the existence and power of competing parties will be directly tested, said Titi Anggraini from Perludem,

Therefore, 2018 Local Election can be a warm-up or a test to determine whether they will lose or win. The local election in those three regions will be a mean of testing the power of political party in winning election. As such, winning the Local Election in those three regions will result in positive morale for parties and voters, because 2018 Local Election is only short ahead of 2019 Presidential Election. Perludem analyst, Titi Anggraini, argued that the victory in those three provinces will increase the confidence of political party. On

the other hand, losing in those provinces will downgrade the power of said political party. Hence, political parties are on the mindset that winning 2018 Local Election is no different than winning 2019 Presidential Election.

The political psychology in the making is that winning in 2018 will be closely related to winning in 2019. This is the reason why candidates and their team will go all out in 2018. Winning in 2018 will make them more confident that they will win in 2019. In regard to this situation, there are some regions that we can expect to be infested with SARA politics. So, which region will it be? In actuality, each region has their own potential, but with different issue and scale. Most of the time, SARA tactics employed by candidates will be an anti-thesis of each other, in terms of religion and tribe, for example, said Titi Anggraini.

Regions with history of ethnic, religious and tribal conflict will be more vulnerable, especially if their leaders have something to do with it, she said. For example, tribal issues will be highly probable in North Sumatera in the upcoming Gubernatorial Election. "In North Sumatera, issues concerning Java and Malay ethnic, as well as religion, will be a real threat because the diversity in that place is real." The same is also true in Maluku where SARA conflict during previous election will have a high chance to reappear.

SARA politics emerges alongside the decline of ideology-based political coalition. Unlike the political constellation in previous year's local election or 2014 presidential election, political constellation in 2018 Local Election will be lacking in ideology because political parties that were previously in opposition are becoming coalition partner. In Papua, Gerindra and PDIP build a coalition to endorse John Wempi Wetipo – Habel Melkias Suwae, despite the fact that the two parties were competing in the previous 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election and 2014 Presidential Election.

The same is also true for Democrat Party that cooperates with PDIP. In the 2018 Local Election, Democrat and PDIP agrees to cooperate in two provinces, Central Java and West Kalimantan. In Central Java, the two parties endorse Ganjar Pranowo-Taj Yasin while in West Kalimantan they endorse Karolin Margret Natasa-Suryadman Gidot. Meanwhile, the coalition of Gerindra, Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS) and National Mandate Party (Partai Amanat Nasional/PAN) seems solid to endorse their

candidates in five provinces, including West Java and Central Java. All of these moves can be seen as a try-out stage for political parties ahead of 2019 Presidential Election. In other perspective, this can also be seen as a pragmatic move. However, Deputy Chairman of Democrat Party, Syarifuddin Hasan, denied the idea that their coalition with PDIP is a try-out before Presidential Election since it is merely done to secure victory. According to Syarifuddin Hasan, Democrat Party has no intention to go that way. "We only mean to win gubernatorial election. In terms of national collaboration, it will be a different story," said Syarif to reporters in Parliamentary Building on Monday (01/08/2018). He also stated that coalition between Democrat and PDIP in Local Election is a result of the local political situation that allows coalition with any party. On the other hand, President of PKS, Sohibul Iman, has affirmed that his party's coalition with PAN and Gerindra in the upcoming five local elections – in West Java, Central Java, North Sumatera, East Kalimantan and North Maluku – will likely continue to 2019 Presidential Election. "2018 Local Election is a stepping stone into 2019 Presidential Election. We really hope that this coalition will extend to 2019."

Sohibul Iman also stated that the solidity of this coalition began since the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election when PKS, Gerindra and PAN collectively supported Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno to become the Governor and Vice Governor of Jakarta. However, Aditya Perdana, a political scholar and also Director of Political Research Center in University of Indonesia, argued that political constellation and coalition in local election will not be exactly the same as the political constellation of next year's presidential election. Party coalition during local election, according to Adit, can never be separated with pragmatic and tactical consideration to gain votes. For example, Aditya Perdana observed how Gerindra and PKS made coalition in central and district level, however each one of them yielded different result. Furthermore, Perdana stated "If Gerindra in central gained five votes while in district they gained nine votes, then it would not be the same, meaning that political parties will need to be pragmatic and tactical in building coalition."

The 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election has negatively impacted the democracy in Indonesia. The use of SARA issues in social media, just like what happened during Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, is predicted to

reappear. Politician from PDIP, Budiman Sudjatniko, stated that many are deliberately use SARA politics to gain support and power. Therefore, SARA is highly probable to be used as a weapon by politicians in the upcoming 2018 Local Election and even 2019 Presidential Election. This was reported by *Tribunnews.com*'s reporter, Suherly on 1/16/2018.

The usage of SARA issues in Jakarta Gubernatorial Election and perhaps other provinces will be the challenge in the upcoming 2018 Local Election and 2019 Presidential Election. It will not be easy since SARA politics can easily turn into huge mess, like a fire in dry land. This kind of politics can easily prey on people's ignorance, said Budiman during National Seminar on Political Biology "Politics from Medical Perspective" in National Awakening Museum on Sunday (1/14/2018). He elaborated that SARA issues emerged due to feeling uncomfortable with the current situation.

This kind of people can easily unite and attack others from different tribe, religion, race and class. He argued that SARA issues will always come from politicians who utilized the situation without providing solution. They only spread hatred to gather people around them. According to the PDIP politician, such politician will lead people to hate certain religion or ethnicity. Hence it must be admitted that Jakarta Gubernatorial Election provided an easy way for people to gain mass support. SARA politics is cheap but it will impact voters, especially those with almost no political knowledge and sentimental people. This nation appears to be still very sentimental in conducting politics, meaning that SARA politics can easily be utilized.

Some of the tendencies explained in this chapter might indicate that the year of 2018 will be a year of politics to pave the way for 2019, due to the implementation of Local Election in several provinces and districts. If we failed to plant the idea on the importance of multicultural politics, it can be said that hatred, vanity and persecution will be the main tool of politics.

Obviously we do not want the year of 2018 turned into a year of hatred among people with different political affiliations. There is a need to raise the awareness of social media on the dangers of hate speech. The ultimate end of hate speech will only be persecution against people with different political perspective. *Takfiri* (calling others infidel) to anyone with different political perspective will immediately happen if we failed to socialize the importance

of multicultural politics.

Every citizen has the right to choose their political affiliation. There is nothing wrong with political affiliation as long as such decision was made with critical and informed mindset. It will be a problem if political decision is made based solely on short-term identity accessories. The concerned accessories are populist identities that have become a tendency on the internet and in Indonesian politics.

Public space must be kept away from any form of political and cultural hatred in order to prevent chaotic situation. We might argue that people of Indonesia have their own way to deal with crucial problems. However, it would be unwise if we continued to wait for the occurrence of conflict and victims. It would be unwise if we only relied on the emergence of local wisdom to create a social mechanism process to deal with social conflict. It would be very exhausting!

Chapter III

Profile of Islamic Organization's Website: Mainstream, Contemporary and Unaffiliated

THE ISLAMIC Organization's Websites investigated for this research consist of 15 websites that represent the 3 categories of Islamic organization, i.e.: (1) Mainstream Islamic Organization, (2) Contemporary Islamic Organization, and (3) Independent and Unaffiliated Islamic Organization. Mainstream Islamic Organization is consisted of: Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Nahdhatul Wathan.

A. Mainstream Islamic Organization's Website

1. *Suara Muhammadiyah*

Suara Muhammadiyah (<http://www.suaramuhammadiyah.id/>) is the digital version of Suara Muhammadiyah Magazine which it the official magazine of Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah. Suara Muhammadiyah is a subdomain of Muhammadiyah's official site. Overall, Muhammadiyah has around 550 websites which is divided by two types of domain: main domain and subdomain. The main domain is the website of Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah (www.muhammadiyah.or.id) while the subdomain owned by Muhammadiyah includes: 8 subdomains of its Central Assembly, 7 subdomains of its Central Institutions, 10 subdomains related to special menu, 33 sub-domains of Pimpinan Wilayah Muhammadiyah (PWM) and 496 subdomain of Pimpinan Daerah Muhammadiyah (PDM) throughout Indonesia. In addition to the main domain and subdomains, Muhammadiyah also has a site that is not integrated into the main domain, which is the site owned by various branches of Muhammadiyah (PCM).

This site is managed by Muhammadiyah youth cadres who are members of PT Syarikat Cahaya Media (a charity owned by Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah) and acts as the main mouthpiece of Muhammadiyah

Movement. The contents published in Suara Muhammadiyah site represent the values that Mu-hammadiyah consistently strives for. The contents are divided into these following channels: News, the Movement's Dynamics, Khazanah (Interpretations, Hadith, Faith, Virtues, Community, Halal/Haram, Stories, Sirah, Ibrah), Insights (Anything Muhammadiyah, Islamic Thinking, Opinion, Columns, Cultures, Oasis), Questions & Answers (Faith, Prayers, Muamalah, Family Issues), and Preaching.



Graph 3.1 Suara Muhammadiyah Website

The organizational structure of Suara Muhammadiyah Website consists of: Expert Advisor (H.M. Din Syamsuddin & H.M. Amien Rais), Supervisory Body (H.M. Muchlas Abror, H.A. Munir Mulkhan, H. Suyatno), Chairman (H. Ahmad Syafii Maarif), Deputy Chairman (H. Rosyad Soleh), Chief Editor (H. Haedar Nashir), CEO (Deni Asy'ari), Editor Board (H. Yunahar Ilyas, H. Chairil Anwar, H. Bambang Cipto, Yusuf A. Hasan, Immawan Wahyudi, Mustofa W. Hasyim), Executive Editor (Mu'arif), Editor & Rubric Desk (Budi Asyhari Afwan), Editor (Imron Nasri, Asep Purnama Bahtiar, Mukhlis Rahmanto, Fauzan Muhammadiyah), Secretary (Sethari Rumatika), Reporter (Ganjar Sri Husudo, Sethari Rumatika, Ridha Basri), Layout, Art & Photography (Amin Mubarak, Budi Puspa Wijaya), Language Editor (Lutfi Efendi), Produksi (Dwi Agus M.), Advertisement & Partnership (Ana Fitriana), Circulation (Siti Noor Rohmah Inayati), Agents & Subscription (Wahyu Chusnul Muna), Administration & Marketing (Tri Astuti), and Finance (Muhammad Kais).

For Muhammadiyah movement, the Muhammadiyah website is utilized as: (1) a media to inform the profile, news, events, announcements, Islamic articles, hadith, decree (fatwa) and anything Muhammadiyah; (2) a preaching media to publish contents of: preaching and Islamic studies in the form of text, podcast and video, tarjih decree collection (himpunan putusan tarjih/HPT), Muhammadiyah's decree, and Q&A forum about Islam and anything Muhammadiyah; (4) a media to map the potential of Muhammadiyah's branches; (4) Muhammadiyah's data center; (5) a media for effective intra-organizational consolidation and integration; (6) a media to communicate between members by using forums; and (7) a media to build Muhammadiyah's image on national and international level.

Looking at its vision, Suara Muhammadiyah Online stated: "Muhammadiyah is an Islamic Movement that based itself on Al-Quran and Hadith with *Tajdid* (reformative) spirit and will continue its Islamic missionary work under the principle of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong) in any aspect in order to realize Islam as a blessing to the entire universe towards the real Islam society." As for its mission, it stated: (1) To enforce *Tauhid* purely based on the teaching of Allah and the Prophets from Prophet Adam to Prophet Muhammad; (2) To understand Islam in accordance with logic and the spirit of Islamic teaching; (3) To spread Islamic teaching by referring to Al-Quran as God's final holy book and the Prophet's Hadith to guide everyday life; and (4) To realize Islamic virtue in personal life, family and society. Based on the above vision and mission, Suara Muhammadiyah aims to: "Enforce and uphold Islam towards the real Islam society."

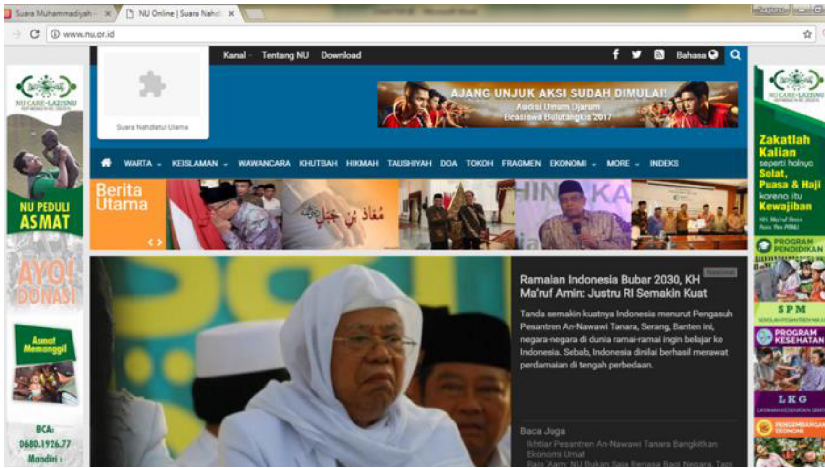
Furthermore, the profile of Suara Muhammadiyah Online can be seen from its frequency in uploading contents, website display (dominant color, illustration, typography and flash), contents, available rubrics, and dominant topics. Looking at its frequency in uploading contents, Suara Muhammadiyah Online uploaded an average of 4 contents per day. As for its color preference, there are six colors: red, white, black, blue, green and yellow with the dominant 3 being: red, white and black. In order to attract readers, there are illustrations such as photos of people, photos of building, and phenomenon relevant with the content. The typography and illustration allows readers to feel comfortable while looking at the website. Finally, the lighting of the website is quite bright,

meaning that reader's eyes will not be easily exhausted.

As a sub-domain, Suara Muhammadiyah Online is the digital version of Suara Muhammadiyah Magazine firstly printed in 1915. Suara Muhammadiyah is a bi-weekly magazine with slogan: "Affirming and Enlightening" and published both in printed and digital form. According to Haedar Nashir (April 26th 2016), Suara Muhammadiyah Online was created as a response to the public's affinity with online media, "Speed, simplicity, convenience and low cost are among the reasons for people to switch to online media. At the same time, we never know when the printed version of Suara Muhammadiyah will stop being relevant for the people, especially in the midst of online media's huge popularity. However, I'm optimistic that, with the enthusiasm from Suara Muhammadiyah's editor, the combination of printed and online Suara Muhammadiyah will show how we can adapt with trends," said Haedar. Suara Muhammadiyah Online is managed by young Muhammadiyah cadres incorporated in PT Syarikat Cahaya Media (charity organization owned by Muhammadiyah Central Command) and well-prepared to be the main ambassador of Muhammadiyah Movement.

2. NU Online

NU Online (<http://www.nu.or.id/>) is the official website of Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama/PBNU). NU Online was first introduced on July 11th, 2003 to provide information about NU and Islam which can be easily accessed by netizens who need it. NU Online was as a response to the drastic societal change as a result of the internet. It focuses on conveying Islamic teachings that is relevant to local people and culture. NU Online develops a moderate and tolerant Islam (*ahlussunah wal jama'ah*) that cares for fellow Muslim and interfaith relations.



Graph 3.2 NU Online Website

As the official website of PBNU, NU Online has a close relationship with the NU organization, as reflected through the content as well as its organizational structure. The content presented on this site is divided into several channels including: News (Regional, National, International and Editorial Excerpts), Anything Islam (Ubudiyah, Sharia, Bahtsul Masail), Preaching, Mentoring, Wisdom, Advices, Prayer, Religious Figures, Fragments, Pesantren (Islamic School), and Others (Opinion, Literary, Cultural Art, Humor, Islamic Education, Islamic Quote, Religious Studies, and Anti Hoax). In addition to these contents, NU Online also includes a number of advertisements. The organizational structure of NU Online is consisted of: Advisory Body (KH. Ma'ruf Amin, KH. Said Aqil Siroj, KH. Yahya C. Staquf, H. Imam Aziz, H. Helmy Faisal Zaini, H. Abdul Mun'im DZ., H. Ulil Hadrawi), Chairman (H. Juri Ardiantoro), Director (Mohamad Syafi' Alielha), Vice Director (H. Syaifullah Amin), Chief Editor (Ahmad Mukafi Niam), Deputy Chief Editor (A Khoirul Anam), Managing Editor (Mahbib Khoiron), Secretary Editor (Alhafidz Kurniawan), Editorial Staff (Sudarto Murtaufiq, Ginanjar Sya'ban, Abdullah Alawi, Fariz Alniezar, Mahbub Ma'afi, Ahmad Fatoni, Hengki Ferdiansyah, Faridur Rohman), IT & Design Staff (Puji Utomo, Ardyan Novanto, Ayi Fahmi, Nurdin), Business Director (Aziz Nasution), Finance (Rizki Wijayanti, Muhamad Yunus), and correspondents (Andi Muhammad Idris: Makassar,

Ajhar Jowe: Kupang – East Nusa Tenggara, Muhammad Faizin: Pringsewu – Lampung, Gatot Arifianto: Way Kanan – Lampung, Muslim Abdurrahman & Syamsul Arifin: Jombang, Qomarul Adib & Istahiyah: Kudus, Aryudi A. Razak: Jember, Wasdiun: Tegal, Hairul Anam: Pamekasan, Rokhim & Ahmad Suhendra: Yogyakarta, Syaiful Mustaqim: Jepara, Aiz Luthfi & Ade Mahmudin: Subang, M. Kamil Akhyari: Sumenep, A. Siddiq Sugiharto: Demak, Rof Maulana: Surabaya, Armaidi Tanjung: Padang – West Sumatera, Diana Manzila & Ahmad Nurkholis: Malang, Muhammad Zidni Nafi: Bandung, Muhammad Ichwan & Muhammad Zulfa: Semarang, Muhammad Kholidun: Sidoarjo, M. Haromain: Wonosobo, Sholihin Hasan: Blora, Tata Irawan: Majalengka, Samsul Hadi: Mataram – West Nusa Tenggara, Syamsul Akbar: Probolinggo, Ibnu Nawawi: Jombang, Ajie Najmuddin: Solo, Husni Mubarak: Tasikmalaya, Ade Nurwahyudi: Bondowoso, M Yazid: Bojonegoro, Anang Lukman Afandi: Banyuwangi, Abdu L. Wahab: Papua, Abdul Majid: Bintan-Kepulauan Riau, dan Nat Riwayat: Banda Aceh.

Historically speaking, NU Online (www.nu.or.id) was first introduced on July 11th 2003 when there was no adequate internet infrastructure. However, due to its visionary sight, NU Online managed to learn much earlier, far before the boom of internet. As such, NU Online can provide decent information on NU and Islam which can easily be accessed anywhere.

By looking at the uploaded contents, we can infer that NU Online is oriented in producing information that is not only accurate, but also reconciling and enlightening. NU Online does not take the method of other websites that rely on provocative news to attract visitors without considering about its impact to the public. NU Online strives to authenticate its news style in order to be different from other websites.

NU Online has two main visions: (1) developing and circulating information at national and global level in order to support Nahdlatul Ulama's struggle towards *Jamiyah diniyah Islamiyah ijtimaiah* and enforce the teaching of *Islam Ahlussunah wal Jamaah an Nahdliyyah*, and (2) managing informational media in order to support Nahdlatul Ulama's struggle towards national prosperity, development, justice and independence especially for NU people as well as realizing Islam as a blessing for the entire universe in Indonesia under the guidance of Pancasila.

As for its mission, there are three: (1) developing an Islamic missionary work to spread Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah an Nadliyyah teaching towards a moderate, balanced, straight and tolerant community by using printed and digital media, (2) Developing several media activities for NU people in order to increase the quality of NU's human resources as well as their prosperity and independence, and (3) developing activities to transform Nahdlatul Ulama's missionary work to middle-class and urban society in collaboration with other institutions, *banom* (NU's autonomous body), and relevant stakeholders. Finally, NU Online aims to: "Preserve, develop and implement Islamic teaching under the guidance of Ahlussunah wal Jamaah based on one of the four schools of thought (Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i and Hambali) as well as to unite Islamic scholars and their followers and organizing activities aimed to foster prosperity, development and human dignity."

Based on their vision, mission and aim, NU Online has five main programs: (1) Consolidating NU members at national level as an agent of change to collectively manage missionary media as the backbone of Nahdlatul Ulama's missionary work in digital era; (2) Coordinating with other institutions, *banom*, and stakeholder network to conduct Nahdlatul Ulama's missionary work in new ground (uncaptive nahdliyin); (3) innovating new model of missionary work to people previously untouched by Nahdlatul Ulama's missionary work; (4) developing and managing Nahdliyin cultural communities to conduct missionary work together in contemporary era; and (5) developing paper, translation and publication of book/holy book as well as informational media under the guidance of Ahlussunah wal Jamaah.

One of the achievements of NU Online was being awarded the best Indonesian website 2004-2005 under the category of social & society according to "Komputer Aktif." Eight years later, on September 23rd 2013, NU Online was among the number one Sunni Islamic website according to MMN Press. MMN Press constantly observed Sunni website and evaluate them based on MMN Press' criteria. As a result, MMN Press chose the 10 Aswaja Islamic websites. For other Aswaja Islamic Websites which have not been selected, MMN Press has also made selection based on certain criteria. It is difficult not to put NU Online as number one. After all, NU Online is the only Aswaja media with the widest network that updates their content every day and

visited as well as referred by other Aswaja media. It is no wonder that NU Online was awarded the best Aswaja Islamic website (September 23rd 2013). That achievement led NU Online to be the best website among other Islamic organizations.

There are at least three factors allowing NU Online to be the best Islamic organization's website. First is the hard work from its crew and good cooperation between stakeholders. Correspondents from many regions have also played an important role to inform NU's activity around them to wider public. Second, the addition of facility and application from NU Online is quite attractive for readers. Third is the frequency of content update, website display (dominant color, illustration, typography and flash), contents, available rubrics, and dominant topics. Looking at its frequency in uploading contents, NU Online uploaded an average of 7 contents per day. As for its color preference, there are six colors: blue, green, black, yellow, white and red, with the dominant 3 being: blue, green and white. To attract readers, there are illustrations in NU Online in the form of photos of people, buildings, events and graphic images of people and others tailored to the narrative in the text.

The selection and styling of the letters, along with their spreading arrangements in the available spaces is very impressive to the readers, making it very comfortable to be read. Lighting in the website looks quite harmonious, making it easier for readers to read it, either quickly or slowly.

The three main factors above need to be maintained if NU Online wishes to stay at higher rank. Furthermore, the number of rubric must also be maintained. We know that, NU Online provides 14 rubrics which consist of: News, Anything Islam, Preaching, Mentoring, Wisdom, Advices, Prayer, Religious Figures, Fragments, Pesantren (Islamic School), humor, Islamic education and cultural art. Their most dominant topic is news and anything Islam. News consists of international, national, regional and editor's pick. Anything Islam discusses about *ubudiyah*, *muamalah* and *bahstul masail*.

In addition to the above, the appeal of NU Online lies in a moderate religious stance in the midst of radical and extreme religious attitudes. This moderate religious stance is chosen since it is associated with NU's ideology of *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. In this regard, NU Online on Friday, July 21st 2017 stated:

"Al-Quran mentioned that difference of religion is allowed let alone

difference of group. What Al-Quran does not allow is making conflict. Hence, Muslim people must uphold moderate attitude (*wasatiyah*) in practicing religion. The principle of *wasatiyyah* means being in the middle – not too far to the left and not too far to the right. Leaning too far to the right will turn people into a carefree liberal. Meanwhile, leaning too far to the left will turn people into a fundamentalist. This moderate attitude is the characteristic of Indonesia that the whole world admires as it allows us to manage our diversity. Indonesia is capable to be the role model of unity in diversity where difference does not obstruct economic growth and development.”

The above quote explained three important role of NU Online: (1) Becoming a good role model for Muslim and non-Muslim alike; (2) Becoming a source of up to date information on Nahdlatul Ulama in order to debunk NU-related hoax; and (3) Becoming a trusted and accurate source of reference for the sake of peace in Indonesia (Teddy Irawan, September 8th 2017 & Abdul Haq, September 16th 2017). The three roles above is quite relevant nowadays where information in social media and website are mostly corrupted by hoax, provocation, slander and other negative things that can hamper national integrity. Social media can even destroy friendships and turn society into chaos.

In this kind of situation, NU Online is not only obliged to produce accurate information but must also be a reconciliatory figure. Many websites are relying on provocative news to attract visitors without considering its impact to society. Should NU Online follow the same path, it will be no different than those sites. Furthermore, it is unfortunate that most of those websites that spread hatred and hoax are using Islamic identity.

NU Online has an obligation to fill the internet with Islamic content. An internet filled only with close-minded religious content will be dangerous for the harmony of interfaith relations in the future. Millennial generations are looking for many kinds of information from the internet, including religious information. Should the information that they accessed are not reflecting the friendlier face of Islam, then Indonesia would be a fertile ground of radicalism.

Obviously, attempts to campaign for a peaceful Islam on the internet cannot be implemented by NU Online alone. Synergy with other Islamic websites with similar vision will also be important. A stick by itself is nothing but

together they can turn into a broom that can clean many kind of dirt. Synergy can especially be done in terms of content collaboration. Quality content from network of moderate Islamic website can be spread by other websites to gain wider outreach. However, it should not exclude other kinds of collaboration such as developing writers' and reporters' quality or fundraising.

In order to grow, moderate Islamic websites must be managed well. It does not necessarily mean they must be managed professionally by paying all of its management. In this case, the most important thing is everyone has a clear responsibility. They need to have good planning, good implementation and good evaluation. Through well-prepared system, media organization will be in a good shape. NU Online should strive to increase their management and, along with other moderate Islamic media, should campaign for a peaceful Islam in Indonesia.

Muhammadiyah and NU website have two similarities. The first is they have similar target reader. The two websites are targeting people inside and outside of their organization. While Suara Muhammadiyah Online targets Muhammadiyah and non-Muhammadiyah people, NU Online targets nahdhiyyin and non-nahdhiyyin people.

Secondly, the two websites are promoting an important agenda for Islamic world, namely moderate Islam or Third Way Islam. Obviously the two have different focus. While Muhammadiyah interprets moderate Islam by emphasizing on the modernism of Islam, NU interprets moderate Islam by emphasizing Indonesian Islam. Both of their agenda are getting rough responses from many radical Islamic organizations. Therefore, NU and Muhammadiyah should be able to present themselves as the two biggest organizations, not only by claiming the number of their members, but also by participating in public discourse. That is of course if they are serious with their agenda of Indonesian Islam and Modern Islam (Akhmad Sahal, 2015). According to Ahmad Sahal, "It is true. In terms of discourse, NU and Muhammadiyah are rather passive, either in social media or in everyday life."

In regard to modern Islam, Muhammadiyah Regional Chief of Central Java, Tafsir, explained that Muhammadiyah is a reformist movement that aims to rejuvenate Islamic understanding by adapting with the time. Islam will always be good in any space and time. Muhammadiyah builds their local

wisdom based on modernity. Muhammadiyah modernizes the community by changing their behavior and mindset. Muhammadiyah builds a modern Muslim community in terms of education and health. Muhammadiyah will not only modernize education in terms of fiqh teaching but also in any aspect required by today's condition. In order to deepen on fiqh, Muhammadiyah has built Muhammadiyah *pesantren* with modern concept in accordance with current development. For example, long ago students in *pesantren* performed ablution using non-flowing water and they got skin disease as the result. Hence, Muhammadiyah designed their modern *pesantren* that has flowing water for ablution to make sure their students continue to be healthy.

In regard to Indonesian Islam, it was explained by KH. Maaruf Amin, Advisory Board of PBNU. He believed that Indonesian Islam is an Islam unique to Indonesia. It is a combination between the theology of Islam and the local wisdom of Indonesia. Due to its unique quality, Indonesian Islam is Islam that exists in Indonesia, but it does not only exist for Indonesia nor is it came from Indonesia. It is an Ahlussunah wal jamaah Islam *a la* NU which was founded by the founding fathers of NU. Hence, it is not attempting to compartmentalize things. There is no change; it is not a different Islam. Indonesian Islam is not a new school of thought. Indonesian Islam is an exception. One of its unique characteristic is the harmonious fusion between Islam and Indonesian culture, but in accordance with sharia and local tradition and rules.

In general, the two websites have eight main differences, which include their respective: history, URL address, frequency of updating content, color usage, illustration, typography, lighting and web management.

Table 3.1
Comparison between Suara Muhammadiyah Online and NU Online

Website	Suara Muhammadiyah Online	NU Online
Differentiating Aspects		
Founded on	November 26 th 2009	July 11 th 2003
URL Address	http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id	www.nu.or.id
Frequency of Updating Content	An average of 4 contents per day	An average of 7 contents per day
Color Usage	there are six colors: red, white, black, blue, green and yellow with the dominant 3 being: red, white and black	There are six colors: blue, green, black, yellow, white and red, with the dominant 3 being: blue, green and white.
Illustration	Photos of people, buildings, events and graphic images of people and others tailored to the narrative in the text	Photos of people, buildings, events and graphic images of people and others tailored to the narrative in the text
Typography	The typography and illustration allows readers to feel comfortable while looking at the website	The selection and styling of the letters, along with their spreading arrangements in the available spaces is very impressive to the readers, making it very comfortable to be read.
Lighting	The lighting of the website is quite bright, meaning that reader's eyes will not be easily exhausted	Lighting in the website looks quite harmonious, making it easier for readers to read it, either quickly or slowly.
Web Management	Decentralized with two domains: main domain and subdomain	Centralized, only single domain

B. Contemporary Islamic Organization

The contemporary Islamic organization's website in this chapter consisted of suara-islam.com (managed by FPUI), hidayatullah.com, majelis-mujahidin (including risalahmujahidin.com), dewandakwah.or.id and lastly mta.or.id

1. *Suara Islam*

Suara-islam.com that represents Forum Umat Islam was first introduced in 2013 to affirm their position online with tagline "Guarding Sharia-Indonesia." Based on that tagline, we can infer that this website does not only care about implementing Islamic values but also how to turn Indonesia into a country that upholds Sharia. Similar to suara-islam.com, majelismujahidin.com

(including risalahmujahidin.com) also has the same orientation to change the state's constitution into Islamic sharia.

On another note, the emergence of contemporary Islamic organization's website is caused by, among others, a partiality in news reporting made by mainstream media which, in general, are not managed by Muslim people. As such, suara-islam exists to correct the imbalance perpetrated by secular media that often discriminates Islam and Muslim community.

Looking at its display, it appears that almost all of the websites managed by contemporary Islamic organizations tend to be dominated by the color of white along with a variety of secondary colors, such as green or black. According to semiotics, the color of white can be interpreted as peace, self-fulfillment and spirituality. The color of white is also often associated with bright, virtue and holiness. In many regard, this color is associated as the color of 'perfection' which means safe, pure and clean. As such, these sites are trying to give an impression of holiness in their objectives or visions. On the other hand, the color of white is often used to depict angels who are always obedient to the God.

Other than white, suara-islam.com uses the color black as its font color. The color black being contrasted with white background symbolizes power and elegance.



Graph 3.3 Suara Islam Website

There are 10 rubrics in this site which includes News, Al Islam, Family, Counseling, Sirah, Harakah, Column, Muslim Community, Youth and Index. Each of those rubrics provides news content or articles written by an individual writer. However, we did not see any dominant writers who are being employed.

The text writing is divided evenly among each reporters and editors.

The number and variety of advertisements in suara-islam.com is quite amusing. Although this site is managed by an Islamic organization, the ads published in this site are not only about Islamic product but includes ads about: asiancancer.com, tirto.id, blibli.com, berrybenka.com, lotte, kayak.com, Qantas, cekaja.com, shopee and elevania.com.

Many of the advertisements published in suara-islam.com are ads that promote online shopping. The existence of ads about online shopping seems to contradict this media's value. As a media that aims to provide enlightenment through Islamic teaching, suara-islam.com should have considered the sharia aspect on each ad published in its website. The dominance of those advertisements is not in line with one of its mission to increase Muslim community's awareness to the reality of life and Islamic teaching as the solution for every problem in our life.

2. Hidayatullah

Similar to suara-islam.com, hidayatullah.com is also dominated by the color of white with black being used for its font and red for the word ".com" and its tab banner.

Red is often associated with energy, war, danger, power, determination, desire and love. Red is a color with the strongest emotional aspect.



Graph 3.4 Hidayatullah Website

According to semiotics, the color of red is often associated with courage. Furthermore, the color of red makes an object more eye-catching. This is suitable to be used as a color for the banner 'Buy Now' and 'Click Here'. As such, we believe that the color choice employed by *hidayatullah.com* is meant to attract readers.

Aside from the existing banners, *hidayatullah.com* also used hashtag as a topic of choice, such as: #ALIRANKEPERCAYAAN; #TABLIGHAKBARGARUT, etc. The choice for topics is based on the trending phenomenon or events. As shown in the Graph 2 above, aliran kepercayaan (sect) is chosen as a topic based on Constitutional Court's decision that accepts the lawsuit against the Article 61 of Law No. 23/2006 and Article 64 of Law No. 24/2013 about the population administration that requires a religion column in Identity Card (KTP). As such, the government is obliged to provide a formal service in the form of administration, religious education, marriage, place of worship, etc.

In terms of rubric, there are 11 provided by *hidayatullah.com* to be consumed by its readers. The eleven rubrics include: news, reviews, articles, columns, Ramadhan, features, specials, consultations, editorial, photos and videos. Each of the 11 rubrics has a more specific sub-section. For example in the news section, there are sub-sections: national, international, halal, international, interview, Palestine today. In essence, the news section contains information about current events that are occurring especially related to the Islamic world. The selection of rubrics and sub-rubric there is certainly in order to target the audience or readers who come from Muslim circles in general and members of *Hidayatullah* in particular.

From the content production side, we see that no author is dominant in contributing writing. The article rubric which is consisted of sub-sections such as opinion, *tsaqofah*, *ghazwul fikr*, literaries and preaching also have no dominant writer. We found something interesting in Column rubric which is consisted of various kinds of analysis. Of the eight sub-rubrics, there is one titled Greetings from Salim which contains writings from Salim Al Fillah, a young Islamic scholar from Yogyakarta. Even so, Salim Al Fillah's writings are adapted from Salim Al Fillah's social media, such as instagram, twitter and facebook. In addition, the website manager also provides a Wisdom Bubble column maintained by Abdullah Sholeh Hadrami and Marrying Heaven column which contains the writings of Muhammad Fauzil Adhim.

Similar to Greetings from Salim's column, the writings in both columns are also adapted from social media.

The next aspect that we see is the presence of advertisements in hidayatullah.com. In our observation, the ads contained in hidayatullah.com are only products managed by Hidayatullah, such as Hidayatullah bazaar that sells Islamic books and clothing. However, there is one external product being advertised, namely Zahir, which is a financial software provider.

3. Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia

This sub-chapter will identify majelismujahidin.com website. In general, majelismujahidin.com is the extension of Majelis Mujahidin, a contemporary Islamic organization founded in August 5th-7th, 2000 during First Mujahidin Congress in Yogyakarta that aims to enforce Islamic sharia, not only in Indonesia, but in the whole world.



Graph 3.5 Majelis Mujahidin Website

Compared to other contemporary Islamic organizations, the productivity of majelismujahidin.com pages is very low. Based on the data search within January 2016-October 2017, there are only 6 posts that can be read by the audience. In general, 83% of the posts are a position statement from the Majelis Mujahidin against some of the popular phenomenon, among others: the prohibition of voting for an infidel leader and position on the usage of pilgrimage fund by the government. Based on the explanation, it can be inferred that Majelis Mujahidin does not use its site effectively in order to

convey their ideas and positions towards the ongoing national phenomenon of the Muslim community. Whereas in fact, Majelis Mujahidin is often regarded as an organization that often uses violence in order to uphold their ideology.

The site display shows that majelismujahidin.com uses white as the dominant color with green and red as the secondary color. White color, like other sites, can be interpreted as peace, self-fulfillment and spirituality. This site is also complemented by the color of red which can be interpreted as the courage to fight. More than that, they use the color of green which is often associated with tranquility and also regarded as the color of Islam.

Content-wise, there are 8 rubrics observed: About us (which contains history, characteristic and their recommendations for Sharia-Indonesia), Press-release (which contains Majelis Mujahidin's position statement on a phenomena), Akhbar (which is the same as a press release but with additional news, Articles which contains collection of writings by Majelis Mujahidin's leaders, Media which has the sub-rubric of teachings and videos, Contact us, Donate to Our Cause which gives an opportunity for visitors to give donation through Majelis Mujahidin, and QIT which is an abbreviation of al-Qur'an Tarjamah Tafsiriyah, a mushaf published by Ma'had An Nabawy.

Majelismujahidin.com only advertises Qur'an Tarjamah Tafsiriyah which has been mentioned in the rubric explanation. The QIT itself is managed by Ahlu Shufah Foundation which also belongs to Majelis Mujahidin. As such, we believe that this site relies on donation which is presented in Donate to Our Cause page.

4. Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia



Graph 3.6 Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Website

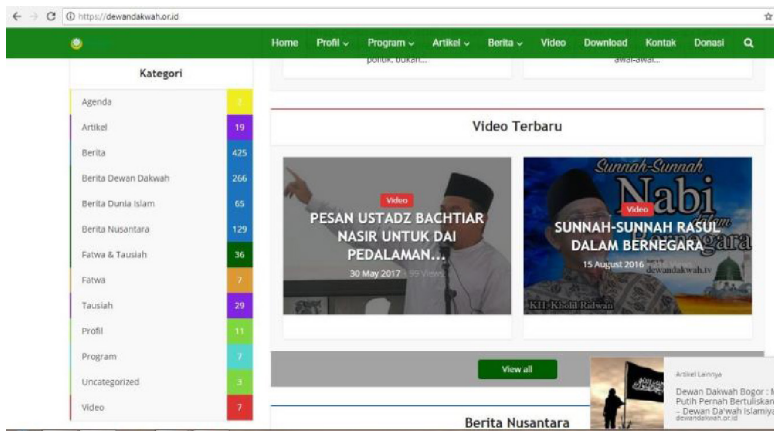
The next Islamic organization that falls into the contemporary category is Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia. In general, there is no vision-mission statement that is written for dewandakwah.or.id. However, we have observed and concluded that the vision and mission of Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia is to realize an Islamic societal order in Indonesia and an empowered and prosperous Indonesia. The vision makes it clear that the orientation of this organization is not just the enforcement of Islamic Sharia, but also on to realize an Islamic society in Indonesia. Therefore, the internalization of Islamic values in life takes precedence over the formalities of legislation.

Based on our observation, the productivity of dewan-dakwah.or.id is, in average, 15 times per month. Our identification during July-September 2017 shows that there are 29 news uploaded from July to September, 16 news that inform about the activities organized by Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia, such community service, fundraising for Al Aqsa and Rohingya, as well as halal bi halal activities. In general, 55% of the news is about the organization and the rest 45% contains trending phenomena, especially related to Muslim community.

Visual-wise, dewandakwah.or.id is almost similar to the website managed by other Islamic organizations with dominant white color and coupled with green. The rubric provided in this site is Home, Profile, Program, Articles, News, Video, Download, Contact and Donate. Overall, the rubrics are rather homogeneous compared to other contemporary Islamic organizations. Even on the Article rubric, the published articles are from the Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia itself.

In terms of advertisement, we did not see any ads posted on dewandakwah.or.id, however there is a donate column for audience who have an interest in participating in their missionary work. Their news rubric is divided into three sub-rubrics: Selected News, National News and Dewan Dakwah news.

Unlike other sites, the dewandakwah.or.id manager provides statistical information on the content of the page as shown in the left-hand side of the following picture:



Graph 3.7 Dewan Dakwah Website

5. Majelis Tafsir Al Quran



Graph 3.8 Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran Website

Compared to other contemporary organizations, Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran (MTA) is probably the most unique. MTA is headquartered in Solo and has experienced a significant development in the recent decade through the leadership of Ahmad Sukino who began to distribute his preach through radio and TV. The mta.ac.id was built in 2012 with its main objective to prepare people in facing globalization. MTA realizes that communication and information are the focal point of modern life. Through this site, MTA hopes

that its preaching can extend to reach all of the regions in Indonesia and even in the overseas.

Our search results, from July to September 2017, found 58 texts produced by mta.ac.id which includes 53 news articles and 5 preaching. Of the total text produced, the news are 100% about the internal activities of MTA, such as Eid al-Adha prayer, national MTA gathering, blood donation and other internal activities. Based on our interview with the website manager, the editor only uploaded information from the MTA itself and did not open an opportunity to contributors or other media. This policy is made as a way to filter the information that will be presented to the reader. Consequently, mta.ac.id is usually only visited by members of MTA.

Visually speaking, mta.or.id is dominated with white coupled by green and yellow. In regards of rubric, mta.or.id facilitates site visitors with several rubrics such as Home, News, Preaching, Our Office, MTA Brochure and Guest Book.

In terms of advertisement, mta.ac.id only posted MTA's ads such as MTA's school, shops and partner organization. Even if there is an ad about BNI Sharia, the one being posted is MTA's ads on special account for zakat.

C. Unaffiliated Islamic Organization

The next discussion will cover websites managed by unaffiliated Islamic organization. These websites are considered unaffiliated because it has no structural alignment with mainstream Islamic organization in Indonesia. There are seven website which will be covered in this part:

- a. <http://www.portal-islam.id/>
- b. <https://www.eramuslimc.com/>
- c. <https://www.voa-islam.com/>
- d. <https://www.muslimoderat.net/>
- e. <https://www.annahmah.com/>
- f. <http://www.thoriquana.id/>
- g. <https://www.dakwatuna.com>

Our research found that all of these unaffiliated Islamic organizations have their own unique vision. However, there are several similarities.

1. portal-islam.id

We were unable to find out the owner or people behind this website. We have attempted to investigate and interview either directly or through video call, but we did not find an answer. On the main page of portal-islam.id, there is a slogan that reads, "Voicing the truth." Based on that slogan, it can be inferred that this website aims to present real and factual news to their readers. However, if it is really the spirit of portal-islam.id, it seems a bit contradictory.

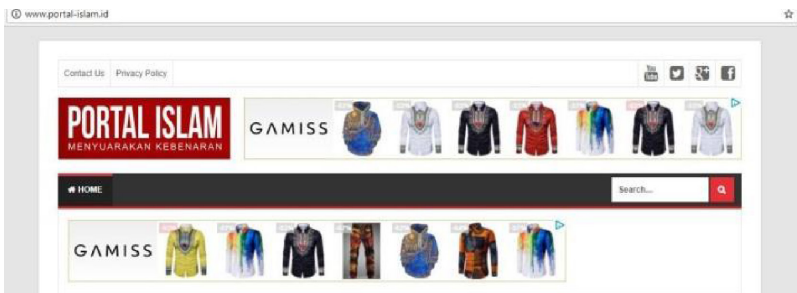
A media that can be used as a reference by the reader should include vision, mission, purpose, editorial team and editorial address. After searching carefully, portal-islam.id does not even have all of those basic requirements. Thus, if it publishes problematic news, then it cannot be contacted for clarification, because there is no contact address and phone provided. The only way to contact the site manager is through their email: portalislam@yahoo.com. The lack of information about them means that we cannot consider portal-islam.id as a responsible Islamic website that can be accounted for the news articles that they published. This page is connected to a social media account that they have, such as a Facebook account under the name of Portal Islam; a Twitter account under the ID of @portal_islam that has joined since October 2014; and also a Google Plus account under the name of Portal Islam, with more than 10 thousand followers.

Every day, this page can upload 5-6 news that contains about social, political, and actual events that are trending. Their news section is divided into six rubrics: Anies-Sandi, Notes, Community's News, International, Islamic World and Variety. The thing that interests us here is the rubric that clearly mentions the name of the governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies-Sandi.

As a popular website among many netizens, this website is actually quite engaging, even when viewed from a mobile gadget. This website also pays attention to color composition with white being the dominant color and red and black as the complementary colors. The color of white can be interpreted as the color of peace, self-fulfillment and spirituality. The color of white is very good to accentuate other colors while appearing simplistic and clean at the same time. The color of red can be interpreted as energetic, powerful, and can even makes pictures and texts appear bigger and closer than it supposed to be.

The color of black can be interpreted as the color of protection and formality. Meanwhile, the interface of this website is divided into two parts. The left – hand side contains main information with its big headline and the right-hand side contains advertisements with variety of colors. As for the typography, they use Arial (body) as the font of choice. Some news that appear as a flash are news about domestic politics.

The space for advertisements in this website is in the right-hand side and in the rubric section, which contains ads about fashion products, hotel booking, political figure's profile, etc. The ads in this page are so general, without limiting it to only Islamic-related products. In fact, ads about online shopping are more dominant. Those products are, among others, chocolate (<http://forever-chocolate.barry-callebaut.com/>) and gamis clothing (<http://www.gamiss.com/>). It seems that any advertisers can be the sponsor of portal-islam.id as shown in the picture below:



Graph 3.9 Portal Islam Website

2. Eramuslim.com

The second website is eramuslim.com. This site is dominated by the color of white as its main background, coupled with blue as the heading for the heading of News, Opinion and other information. This color is probably chosen since the eramuslim logo is started with orange yellow for the word 'era' and blue for the word 'muslim'. The color of yellow is often associated as the color of wealth, while blue is often associated with protection and calmness. The combination between white dominant and blue makes it comfortable for the eyes to see it.



Graph 3.10 Era Muslim Website

A good color composition that can attract readers, even if the website is being accessed from gadgets like smartphone, ipad and tablets, makes it easy to read without straining the eyes.

Eramuslim.com has a tagline of: “The Referred Islamic Media.” The tagline is reinforced in its stated vision of “Becoming the referred Islamic media and advocating for Islamic opinion.” To realize that vision, eramuslim.com establishes its mission “to give unbiased information about Islamic world and benefit for Muslim communities, to provide a tool for Islamic preaching activities, to advocate the opinion of Islamic crusade, to build and solidify the unity of Muslim community and provide a place to learn about Islamic values.”

Eramuslim.com seems to assume that very few Islamic media can be used as a reference in Indonesia, so they try being one instead. This is meant to: “Spread Islamic values even if only in the form of information, Islamic articles or by providing Indonesian Muslim community with solutions to their problems.”

As a media that attempts to be a role model for Muslims in Indonesia, eramuslim.com is quite consistent in presenting news to its audience, which can be seen from the intensity of its content production. Every day, they can produce more than 20 content with a relatively short time span. This means that they can provide information to their audience almost every hour a day through the many rubrics that they have. At least they give 13 choices to the audience to determine which rubric they want to consume, from the national issues, femininity (Muslimah), education and family, business, novels, even consultation forums. Each rubric also has its own sub-rubrics which mean that there are many choices that the audience can take. This makes their management seems professional. This is also supported by their team of chairman, chief editor, editorial staff, advertisement, public relations, IT staff,

and clear address as well as telephone number to be contacted. Eramuslim.com is headquartered in Perum Pratama B3/10 – Bogor, with email redaksi@eramuslim.com and phone number 085811922988. However, when we contacted the editorial team for interview, we were politely declined (for three times). The writing for news, opinions, and other rubrics are mostly done by the editorial team, which consists of Zahid Mangkualam, Dede Z. and Herry K, Kusuma H. As for the ustadz (Islamic cleric) rubric, it contains sub-rubric which allows visitor to ask anything to ustadz Sigit Pranowo LC, an alumnus from al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt. For most Indonesian Muslims, Al-Azhar graduates are always considered to be more Islamic than graduates from other countries. Al-Azhar Cairo is an integral part of Islamic Civilization history as a campus established during the Caliphate of Abbasiyah Dynasty around the 11th century AD which still exists up to this day.

As for the advertisement in eramuslim.com, we observed that the ads published in eramuslim.com are not only promoting the organization's products, which includes self-published books and plaza.eramuslim.com, but can also promote any kind of products. In terms of professionalism, receiving ads from anywhere is fine, but advertising products that contradict with said organization's moral code is an ethical problem.

3. *voa-islam.com*

The next unaffiliated Islamic website is voa-islam.com. VOA-Islam dot com was established in Bekasi, West Java, on April 2009 and officially launched on June 1st, 2009. The website was blocked along with 22 other Islamic websites on March 2015 by Kemkominfo (Ministry of Information and Communication) on the request of BNPT (National Council to Combat Terrorism) who received complaints from the people. Kemkominfo asked the internet service provider (ISP) to block the 22 websites in accordance with BNPT's reports due to the site being indicated as the provocateur for radicalism.

Voa-islam.com's vision is: "1. To become a trusted media that upholds truth and justice in a professional way; 2. To realize a Muslim society that is aware with its grandeur and its role and responsibility in ensuring a dignified civilization."

As for the mission of the website, it is summarized in six items: "1. Preaching about Al Haq wherever, whenever and through any media possible; 2.

Increasing the Muslim community's human resource quality and capability in information and communication technology; 3. Building an online preaching medium to advocate for Southeast Asian Islam community; 4. Ensuring the integrity of Islamic preaching, sunnah, and struggle; 5. Becoming the referred online Islamic media in Indonesia and Southeast Asia; 6. Providing unbiased information on the existence and problem of Islam community in Southeast Asia and in the world.

It appears that voa-islam is not only concerned with Indonesia, since its stated mission mentioned Southeast Asia three times. Aside from being used to spread Islamic value, voa-islam is also used to advocate for Muslim community in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. With an outreach that goes beyond Muslim community in Indonesia, voa-islam has used English to label its rubric. However, the contents inside of that rubric are not written in English at all.

As a cyber-media that has operated for nine years, voa-islam has a slogan of: "Voice of Truth," which obviously refers to the truth as they see fit. The tagline is posted very clearly under their logo, which is a pointer finger pointing up.



Graph 3.11 VOA Islam Website

The intensity of voa-islam.com's content production is considerably high. This is shown by the many rubrics that they have, in which there are ten: Indonesiana, Worlds, Islamia, CounterFaith, Tekno+Mil, Muslimah, SmartTeen, ShareVoices, SyariahBiz and IDC (Infoq Dakwah Center). The rubric is written in English which is in accordance with their mission to spread

their influence to Muslim Community in Southeast Asia.



Graph 3.12 VOA Islam Logo

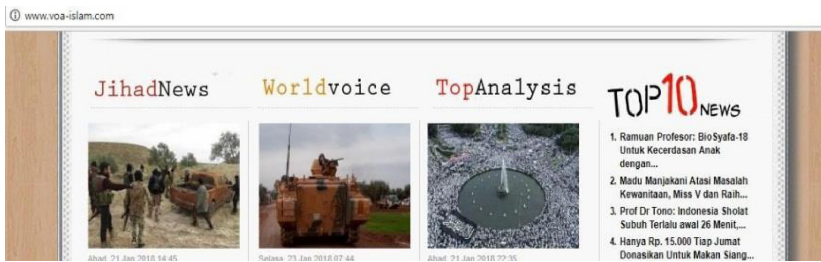
The site's display is dominated with black and red, with blue for tagline and light brown for the background. Headline news is given the biggest space in the middle, with 'IDC' and 'Hot Topics' in the left-hand side. The right-hand-side displays 'Indonesiana' and 'advertisement'. There is a gap in the bottom part which is filled by VIVO (VOA Islam Video Online) and then the rest of the rubrics. All of it makes the page so crowded and exhausting for readers to browse through. In addition, the use of red as the color of headline is really strenuous for the eyes. Voa-islam.com prefers the font Calibri (Body) for their typography. Meanwhile, the flash for each rubric has its own sub-contents, as viewed in the following picture:



Graph 3.14 VOA Islam's Content

Content-wise, there is a sub-rubric called 'JihadNews,' which shows their perverted perspective on the meaning of jihad (crusade). This can be seen from the usage of red color in the word 'jihad' and then pictures of militiamen holding firearms in a chaotic situation of battleground. This is perverted because the most noble of jihad is to suppress our lust while battle in Arabic is

more associated with qital (war) then jihad.



Graph 3.13 VOA Islam

The voa-islam.com has several advertisements, such as ads from mukenariri.com, batamode.com, Pikul Bareng, VOA Islam Shop. In order to attract advertisers, voa-islam.com claims to be visited by more than 2.000.000 visitor/month, with page views more than 6 million a month. It also claims to be visited by Muslim from many parts of Indonesia and also the whole world. They provide a special space for ad banner or text ad, with prices mentioned in the advertisement menu in the bottom part of the page.

As a press institution, voa-islam.com belongs to PT. Visi Media Veteran, founded by Sabrun Jamil. It also mentions its editorial team, head editor, reporter and its address in Veteran Street 48A, Bekasi City, West Java, Post Code: 17141, email: redaksi@voa-islam.com.

4. Muslimoderat.net

The next page is muslimoderat.net. In general, no vision-mission is specifically written on this page. They only listed themselves as a site or online media that is engaged in news, Islamic preaching and Islamic studies by promoting a moderate attitude (tawasuth). This page also claims to be a non-commercial page.

The productivity of muslimoderat.net is rather low. There are only 3-4 posts published in its homepage and most of it is not even new information. The information they publish is mostly about the socio-political phenomena that occurred in Indonesia. In July 2017, for example, there was information about why Kemkominfo blocked telegram applications, which are considered to be a means of communication used by terrorist network. Another example is an

information about the police who found a HTI flag in the home of a suspect in the case of insult to the First Lady (muslimoderat.net, 13/09/2017), the arrest of Alfian Tanjung, a producer for hoax about the rise of Indonesian Communist Party (muslimoderat.net, 12/09/2017), and several other informations.

Visually speaking, muslimoderat.net is quite similar to other Islamic websites with white as the dominant color in the background and blue for the heading.



Graph 3.15 Muslim Moderat Website

The rubrics provided in this site are Home, News, Islamic Studies, Moderate Figure, Love Indonesia, Wisdom, Habaib, Clerics. Overall, there are nine rubrics. We could not get a confirmation whether or not these nine rubrics is based on the nine stars in muslimoderat logo.

One rubric in particular that needs further observation is the 'moderate figure' rubric that features the profile of several NU scholars considered to be moderate, such as KH. Mustofa Bisri and late scholars like Gus DUr, Makhsum Lasem, KH. Bisri Mustofa, KH Muslim Rifa'i Imampuro, KH. Ma'ruf Kedungklo, KH. Abdul Karim Lirboyo, KH. Abu Bakar Bandal Kidul, KH. Wahab Hasbullah, KH. Bisri Syansur (per September 2017). The author believes that this feature is inaccurate as moderate Muslim scholar in Indonesia does not only come from Nahdlatul Ulama. It would be better if they feature Islamic scholars from other Islamic organizations in Indonesia.

As for the advertisement, no ads were found on muslimoderat.net. This appears to be due to the fact that muslimlimodersat.net declares itself as a non-commercial site, thus it cannot put ads on their pages.

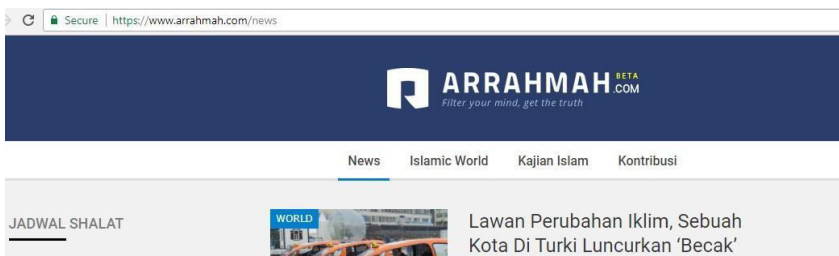
Unfortunately, this site that claims to represent Moderate Islam does not include their real address and phone number, so it cannot be visited directly. Although they include their email: berbagimuslim@gmail.com. It would be

better if they include their real address since it will boost their credibility.

5. *Arrahmah.com*

The site Arrahmah.com was founded by Muhammad Jibril, son of ustadz Abu Jibril, in 2005. It is an Islamic media site that has been around for a long time, long before the proliferation of today's Islamic media. According to Muhammad Jibril, Arrahmah.com was established as a propaganda media and also a media for Islamic struggle. Some other Islamic media that are often associated with radicalism are supported by Arrahmah.com in terms of IT provision. Arrahmah.com is a company that has several businesses, among others: film publishing, book printing, and magazine publishing (Jihad Magz). The magazine 'Jihad Magz' was made in order to call for jihad among Muslims. For Muhammad Jibril, Arrahmah.com was created because the Islamic media is always getting marginalized. Only few see Islamic media as a source of information. Meanwhile, the mainstream media that most people used for their source of information are, according to Muhammad Jibril, a secular media that discriminates Muslim community.

Arrahmah.com that we accessed on January 5th, 2018 is a new look, because at the time we did the interview on October 15, 2017, the site was under reconstruction. Before the reconstruction, there was a rubric named 'jihad zone', but it is no longer available. Here's a post-reconstruction arrahmah.com's display, with four main sections: News, Islamic World, Islamic Studies, and Contributions.



Graph 3.16 Arrahmah Website

The 'news' rubric is mostly international news rather than domestic news. The 'Islamic World' rubric informs about events in many Islamic countries or Muslim-majority countries, such as Syria, Palestine, Algeria, Turkey

and Yemen. The 'Islamic Study' rubric contains the biography of Prophet Muhammad PBUH's friends, and Islam's arguments on the prohibiting or suggesting something based on arrahmah.com's discretion, as can be seen in the picture below:



Graph 3.17 Arrahmah Contents

Meanwhile, the 'contribution' rubric contains: reader's story, reader's voice, citizen journalism and event, as can be seen in the picture below:



Graph 3.18 Arrahmah Website

As for the display, arrahmah.com uses dark blue for the headline, while the rubric and pages uses white with black font. This choice was made to provide comfort to readers who access the site through gadgets or laptop/notebook or desk computer.

In order to get the news to be published, arrahmah.com has a number of recommended field journalists. There is no 'official' journalist recruitment. Their roles are rather similar to a contributor. Institutionally, arrahmah.

com is not a member of the Dewan Pers, which is the official press agency acknowledged by the Government of Indonesia. Arrahmah.com does not want to be under a press council or any other institution. They are also not very active in Islamic media's journalist associations, such as *Jurnalis Islam Bersatu (JITU)* and *Muslim Journalists Forum (Forjim)*, although Muhammad Jibril is one of the founders of JITU.

In terms of advertisement, currently arrahmah.com does not display ads in their page. They believe that by receiving money from AdSense, it means they have accepted and tolerated the fact that the Islamic media is controlled by other people or institutions. We were not able to get more information from Muhammad Jibril about the site's expenditure, which is up to 50 million rupiah, nor how it is spent to pay for journalists or maintenance. When we asked more about it, he only said that the money comes from his personal pocket. It is known recently that Muhammad Jibril also own a fashion boutique in Jakarta.

Arrahmah.com was one of the earlier Islamic websites in Indonesia. They were willing to accept an interview session with us, for almost three hours, due to our affiliation with Muhammadiyah. In that regard, Muhammad Jibril believes that Muhammadiyah is an Islamic organization that still caters for the interest of Indonesian Muslim community. Jibril admits that he has rejected many interview invitations from other media and foreign institutions.

6. *Thoriquna.id*

Thoriquna.id is a page that belongs to the organs of LPPDI Thoriquna. The page does not mention its purpose, vision and mission of thoriquna.id. The 'about' section, which usually includes an organization profile, is used to publish an opinion entitled: "The Jihad of Our Way (Definition of Jihad, Purpose, and Law)," which says that "the noblest form of jihad is bringing arms for a fight in the name of Allah." (<http://www.thoriquna./2017/01/blog-post.html>, accessed on October 16, 2017).

This page also attempts to convince readers of their definition of jihad by quoting the Qur'anic verse, "Strive in the cause of Allah with the utmost jihad" (Al-Hajj 78), without an *asbabun nuzul* (cause and effect) explanation, which should be explained to the reader. *Asbabun Nuzul* in studying the Al-Qur'an verses is very important to avoid false interpretation or even literal

interpretation.



Graph 3.19 Thoriquna Website

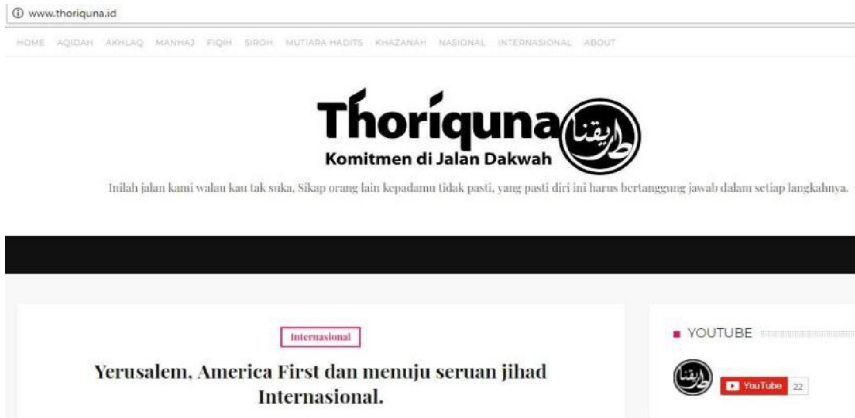
This thoriquna.id page uses black as the dominant color by scribbling its headline in deep black, accompanied by a white background. Other colors are very rarely encountered, except for the illustration of the picture, which mostly uses a burning red color, as in angry conditions, and reinforced by the many mention of the word 'war'. This also appears in the 'Virtue' section, as seen in the following picture:



Graph 3.20 Thoriquna Website

Akhlq or virtue in the teachings of Islam is actually a representation of Muslim behavior in everyday life, such as the way a Muslim treats their neighbor, their natural surroundings, how they receive guests and how they

treats others. But in thoriquna.id, virtue is instead associated with war. When opening the 'home' section, there is no explanation about thoriquna.id. The only thing in that page is an international call for jihad on the United States. The page also says that, in this time and age, we can no longer use pen to jihad and: "Prepare for when the time when we are called to jihad....," a very provocative statement to incite its readers.



Graph 3.21 Thoriquna Website

Source: thoriquna.id accessed on January 5th 2017

Thoriquna.id seems to be rarely updated. The information is not posted daily, but rather weeks. As a media, this is obviously far from being ideal and could bore their readers. This seems ironic when we see the fact that thoriquna.id has 11 rubrics to post their content: home, aqidah, virtue, manhaj, fiqh, sirah, hadith, khazanah, national, international, about.

There are no advertisements on this website, probably because they rarely update their content, which is a bad way to attract advertisers. The writers on this page are mostly represented by thoriquna itself. There is no mention of the journalist name or the name of opinion writer. The only name that we found is the editor's: Abu Fayruza.

Thoriquna.id is also linked with its social media: Twitter, Instagram and Google Plus. Their Twitter account actually published ISIS' flag, as shown in the picture below:



Graph 3.22 Thoriguna's Twitter Account

The Twitter's background only uses black and white. In terms of semiotic, thoriguna.id appears to have similar vision and mission with terrorist organization such as ISIS. If it is true, then their existence can no longer be tolerated, regardless of freedom of expression. Terrorism is a prohibited act based on the official law of this country.

7. Dakwatuna.com

The site dakwatuna.com was founded by Samin Barkah, an alumnus of leadership training at the National Resilience Institute (Lemhanas). Dakwatuna.com has a vision to "Become the largest and most trusted online Islamic media," while the missions are: "1). Providing useful and educational content; 2). Delivering reliable information; 3). Providing a reliable space for aspiration; 4). Providing an effective consulting services; and 5). Providing profitable advertising services ". Dakwatuna.com is managed by Dakwatuna Foundation and has operated since November 14th, 2006. It was first launched in Hamka Hall, Al-Azhar Mosque Jakarta, on 1 Muharram 1428 which coincides with January 20th, 2007, at 10:00 am. The launching event was attended by Hidayat Nur Wahid, Chief of Indonesia's House of Representatives (2004-2009 period) and Dr. Amir Faishol Fath, Head of LKD (Lembaga Kajian Dakwatuna). For the first three years, dakwatuna.com featured Islamic

articles only. It was only in the 2010 that news articles being featured on the site. The materials in question were obtained by journalists who were part of their network, which it calls as an open journalism method. Dakwatuna.com itself does not have a permanent journalist. The open journalism system is similar to how contributor works, which mostly comes from the network of Forum Lingkar Pena (FLP). In its purpose, it is mentioned that dakwatuna.com wishes to “present the tragedies and crises that engulf the people from various part of the world and the accomplishments that should be celebrated by Moslem community as a whole.” This purpose departs from one of the prophetic traditions which declare that Moslem community is akin to a body. If one part of the body feels pain, then the whole body will also feel the same.

As an online media that uses Islamic identity, dakwatuna.com completely displays its entire institutional structure with details. Starting from the presence of the general chairman, the editorial board, the managing editor, the editor and the contributor, all of which having their name displayed clearly. Similarly, the editor address is listed in Epiwalk Office Suites A529, Rasuna Epicentrum. Hj. Rangkayo Street, Rasuna Said, Karet Kuningan-Setiabudi, South Jakarta. Phone: +6281399022427 with email address dakwatuna@gmail.com.

In terms of updating frequency, this page is quite active in providing information, news and opinions to the readers, although not all rubrics are updated every day. As for its visual appearance, this page chose blue as the color of its heading in accordance with the logo of dakwatuna.com itself. Meanwhile, the topics are given a red nuance as a way to show that this site is very energetic in publishing its content. It also has a flash which features information considered important in national and international level, as well as things related to religion.



Graph 3.23 Dakwatuna Website

The manager of dakwatuna.com mentions that it at least requires expenditure amounted to 25 million each month for site maintenance and to

update existing rubrics as well as providing monthly salary to eight people. To get an income, they run ads such as: Almasah (Hijab Advertisement), Air Asia, FBS ads and Tirto.id. app. We believe that this is their method of fundraising to sustain their page.



Graph 3.24 Dakwatuna Website

As an online media that has been around for more than a decade, dakwatuna.com has its share of experience in being blocked for 10 days by Kemkominfo in 2015, due to being suspected of publishing radical contents with relation to ISIS and endangering the public. However, recently they have included confirmation on which kind of rubric or content that the government prohibits. Dakwatuna.com was blocked based on National Council to Combat Terrorism (BNPT)'s request to Kemkominfo. However, the investigation made after that did not find any evidence on BNPT's claim about radicalism content in dakwatuna.com. As such, the block was lifted and the site was allowed to re-operate.

Dakwatuna.com aims to be the go-to Islamic media and to represent Muslim community. As such, they submitted a request to be member of Indonesian Press Council. However, when we interviewed them in 2017, they have not been approved as member of Press Council due to administrative reason. Another association joined by dakwatuna.com's journalists is Muslim Journalist Forum (Forjim).

Chapter IV

Popularity of Islamic Organization's Website on the Internet

The POPULARITY of Islamic organizations among internet users is determined based on the total visit to their website. The calculation for total visit will refer to the ranking made by two institutions: Alexa (<https://www.alexa.com>) and SimilarWeb (<https://www.similarweb.com>). Alexa and SimilarWeb are websites that provide information on the rank of a site based on their traffic. Alexa updates their ranking every day, while SimilarWeb updates their ranking every three months.

A. Mainstream Islamic Organizations' Websites

According to the calculation of SimilarWeb from July-September 2017, Muhammadiyah's website (<https://www.suaramuhammadiyah.id/>) was visited 388,267 (three hundred eighty eight thousand and two hundred sixty seven) times or 129,422 times per month. As for NU Online (<http://www.nu.or.id/>), they were visited 6,585,000 (six million five hundred eighty five thousand) times during the same period or an average of 2,195,000 (two million one hundred ninety-five thousand) per month.

Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017 stated that Suara Muhammadiyah was ranked 8,629th on October 9th 2017 and went up to 8,198th on October 29th 2017. As for NU Online, they were ranked 784th nationally and went up to 705th on October 29th 2017. Meanwhile, in SimilarWeb's July-September ranking, Suara Muhammadiyah was ranked 15,222nd nationally and 577,632nd globally, while NU Online was ranked 959th nationally and 42,312th globally.

The comparison above shows a significant difference between the traffic and rank of Suara Muhammadiyah and NU Online. The high traffic to NU Online is contributed by the following factors: (1) NU Online is a single-domained website (they have no sub-domain), (2) NU Online is the official representation

of PBNU and is referred to by NU people for several circumstances, (3) NU Online built their network and cooperate with correspondents in many parts of Indonesia.

The low traffic to Suara Muhammadiyah is caused by the following factors: (1) Suara Muhammadiyah is not the main domain, as it is simply one of the hundreds of Muhammadiyah's subdomain, (2) Suara Muhammadiyah is not the official representation of Muhammadiyah Central Board nor is it the main reference for Muhammadiyah people, (3) Suara Muhammadiyah did not truly utilize the network owned by Muhammadiyah organization in many regions.

B. Contemporary Islamic Organizations

Based on SimilarWeb's calculation in July-September 2017 period, Hidayatullah (<https://www.hidayatullah.com/>) was visited 4,568,000 (four million, five hundred sixty-eight thousand) times or 1,522,000 (one million, five hundred twenty-two thousand) per month. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Hidayatullah was ranked 1,159th nationally and went up to 1,025th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Hidayatullah was ranked 1,322nd nationally and 51,188th globally.

Suara Islam (<http://www.suara-islam.com/>) was visited 837,172 (eight hundred thirty-seven thousand, one hundred seventy-two) times or 279,052 (two hundred seventy-nine thousand, fifty-two) times per month. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Suara Islam was ranked 5,375th nationally and went down to 6,281st on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Suara Islam was ranked 8,413th nationally and 269,714th globally.

Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran (<https://www.mta.or.id/>) was visited 114,116 (one hundred fourteen thousand, one hundred sixteen) times or 38,039 (thirty-eight thousand, thirty-nine) times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, MTA was ranked 22,335th nationally and went up to 21,566th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, MTA was ranked 32,548th nationally and 1,027,581st globally.

Majelis Mujahidin (<https://www.majelismujahidin.com/>) was visited 60,738 (sixty thousand, seven hundred thirty-eight) times or 20,246 (twenty

thousand, two hundred forty-six) times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Majelis Mujahidin was ranked 116,622nd nationally and went down to 118,415th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Majelis Mujahidin was ranked 525,425th nationally and 1,618,518th globally.

Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah (<https://www.dewandakwahor.id/>) was visited less than 5,000 (five-thousand) times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah was ranked 195,912th nationally and went up to 100,416th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, MTA was ranked 588,149th nationally and 10,091,582nd globally.

Based on the comparison of the five website above, it can be concluded that Hidayatullah website is the one visited the most by internet users with 4,568,000 visits for July-September 2017 or 1,522,000 visits per month. Both Alexa and SimilarWeb ranked Hidayatullah the highest compared to the other four contemporary Islamic organizations. Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah website is the one visited the least by internet users with less than 5,000 visits for July-September 2017.

C. Unaffiliated Islamic Organization

Portal Islam (<https://www.portal-islam.id/>) was visited 8,327,000 times or 2,775,000 times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Portal Islam was ranked 473rd nationally and went up to 463rd on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Portal Islam was ranked 532nd nationally and 26,416th globally.

Era Muslim (<https://www.eramuslim.com/>) was visited 9,521,000 times or 3,173,000 times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Era Muslim was ranked 615th nationally and went up to 581st on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Era Muslim was ranked 489th nationally and 22,825th globally.

VOA Islam (<https://www.voa-islam.com/>) was visited 5,015,000 times or 1,671,000 times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's

ranking on October 9th 2017, VOA Islam was ranked 1,332nd nationally and went up to 1,328th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, VOA Islam was ranked 1,155th nationally and 49,820th globally.

Dakwatuna (<https://www.dakwatuna.com/>) was visited 2,825,000 times or 941,718 times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Dakwatuna was ranked 1,555th nationally and went up to 1,475th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Dakwatuna was ranked 2,403rd nationally and 100,063rd globally.

Arrahmah (<https://www.arahmah.com/>) was visited 1,307,000 times or 35,821 times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Arrahmah was ranked 3,061st nationally and went down to 4,646th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Arrahmah was ranked 3,480th nationally and 137,489th globally.

Muslim Moderat (<https://www.muslimmoderat.com/>) was visited 1,307,000 times or 35,821 times per month during July-September 2017 period. As for Alexa's ranking on October 9th 2017, Muslim Moderat was ranked 3,543rd nationally and went up to 3,470th on October 29th 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Muslim moderat was ranked 3,910th nationally and 141,135th globally.

Thoriquna (<https://www.thoriquna.id/>) was visited 10,048 times or less than 5,000 times per month during July-September 2017 period. Thoriquna remains undetected for Alexa's ranking in October 9th and 27th of 2017. According to SimilarWeb's July-September 2017 ranking, Thoriquna was ranked 444,084th nationally and 6,613,736th globally.

By comparing the traffic and rank of unaffiliated Islamic organizations' websites above, we can conclude that Portal Islam and Era Muslim are the one visited the most by internet users. Alexa and SimilarWeb ranked the two differently. Alexa ranked Portal Islam higher than Era Muslim, while SimilarWeb ranked Era Muslim higher than Portal Islam. However, the gap between the two is smaller than the gap with other sites below it.

Most of the unaffiliated Islamic organizations' websites experienced an increase during October. The site that gained significant increase in terms of

Alexa’s rank is Dakwatuna (80) and Muslim Moderat (73). Meanwhile, Portal Islam, Era Muslim and VOA-Islam experienced a slight increase of 10, 34 and 4 ranks respectively. The site that experienced significant decline is Arrahmah which was downgraded 1,585 ranks from 3,061st to 4,646th.

The traffic data above suggest that most internet users are visiting unaffiliated Islamic organizations’ websites.

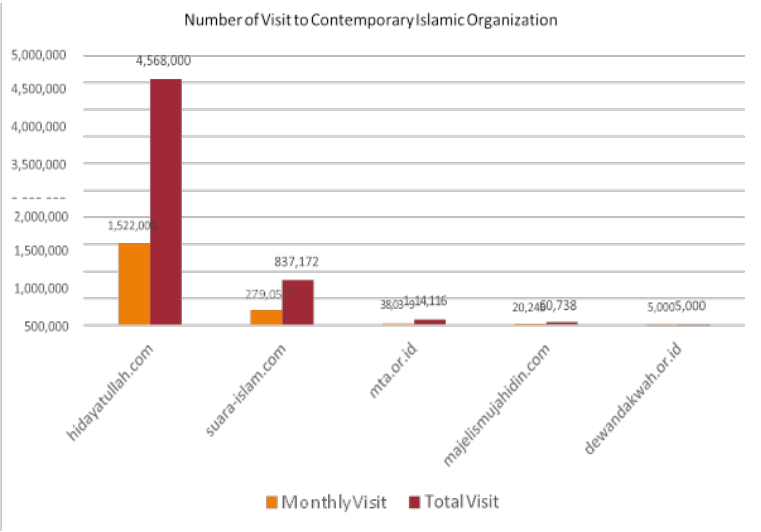


Chart 3.1 Number of Visits to Contemporary Websites

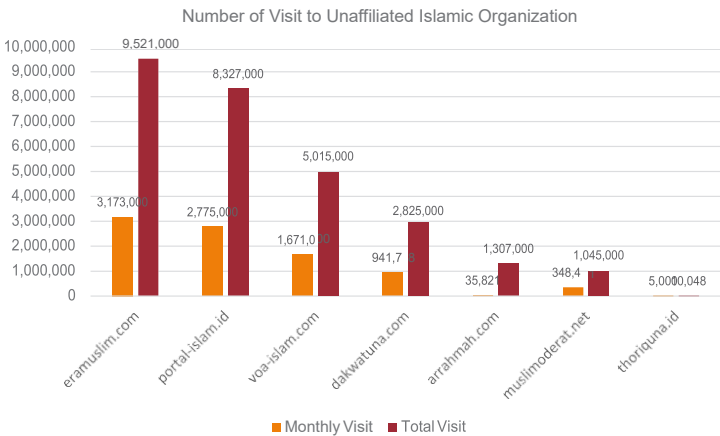


Chart 3.2 Number of Visits to Contemporary Websites

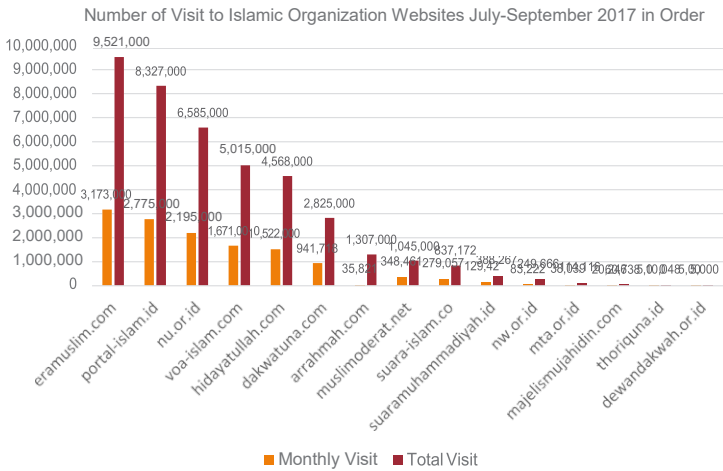


Chart 3.3 Number of Visits to Websites in July-September

D. Figure's Popularity on Online Media

This sub-chapter will explain about the popularity of Islamic figure in 15 websites researched during the 22 months period from January 2016 – October 2017. This explanation is made based on the result of web-scraping method. It should be noted that web-scraping method has several limitations. First of all, the name of certain figure could be mentioned more than once in one article. This is due to the tabulation of the collected text. Secondly, web-scraping cannot identify whether the names mentioned in an article are affiliated to radical movement or not. It is unable to conduct sentiment analysis, only collecting names.

Looking at the top-ten list, Habieb Rizieq Shihab (HRS) was the figure mentioned the most, i.e. 3,704 times on investigated website, followed by Ustadz Bachtiar Nashir (UBN) (2,181), Gus Dur (1,070), Yusril Ihza M (956) and Aa Gym (905). Among the top-five, Gus Dur is the only one affiliated with mainstream Islamic organization, while the other four are not. However, in some cases, UBN often associate himself with Majelis Tarjih of Muhammadiyah Central Board. Hence, people often associated UBN with Muhammadiyah Movement.

Table 3.2
Popularity of Islamic Figure

No	Figure's Name	Frequency
1	Habib Rizieq	3,704
2	Bachtiar N	2,223
3	Gus Dur	1,070
4	Yusril Ihza M	956
5	Aa Gym	905
6	Amien Rais	751
7	Arifin Ilham	699
8	Haedar Nashir	593
9	Ma'ruf Amin	546
10	Din Syamsuddin	458

There are some interesting things that should be noted from the above table. Firstly, although Gus Dur is an NU figure, one of the mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia, his popularity is far below HRS and UBN. This is quite an anomaly since a figure from mainstream Islamic organization, who always uphold peace and unity as well as encouraging interfaith harmony and social justice and supporting Pancasila and Indonesia, is not the most referred person on the investigated website. Therefore, there is a problem indicated in which HRS who represents FPI is far more popular than mainstream Islamic figure. This is in line with the finding from Alvira Research Center's survey in 2017. In terms of popularity, public's level of awareness to FPI, NU and Muhammadiyah is apparently quite high. NU is the most popular one with 97% of respondent aware of them, followed by Muhammadiyah (93.4%) and FPI (68.8%). In fact, FPI has surpassed the popularity of other Islamic organization, such as Lembaga Dakwah Islamiyah (LDII) (35.5%), PERSIS (19%), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) (13.5%) and Front Umat Islam (FUI) (9.8%).

Secondly, the phenomenon of 212 Demonstration during the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial Election is a contributing factor to the popularity of those figures. As has been known, HRS and UBN was the central figure of 212 demonstration which explains the high popularity of them. Habib Rizieq was said to be the figure that could unite Muslim community which has been known for their segregated nature due to having primordial sentiment. His prowess in utilizing momentum allows him to surpass the popularity of

mainstream Islamic figure such as Haedar Nashir and Din Syamsuddin.

Thirdly, HRS' popularity on online media could be associated with several cases addressed to him, such as the high treason case. HRS was reported by Sukmawati on October 27th 2016 in regard to his statement, "Sukarno's Pancasila put faith to God in the ass, while Jakarta Charter's Pancasila put faith to God in the head." In her report, Sukmawati stated that HRS's statement is very inappropriate and should not ever be made by the leader of FPI which is supposed to be affiliated with Muslim community. According to police' statement, HRS was charged with violation against Article 154 a of Criminal Law Book concerning blasphemy against state symbol and Article 3200 of Criminal Law Book concerning defamation against a person who has passed away. HRS' coverage is not only popular in regard to his Pancasila statement but also in regard to the suspicion of him making immoral chats with Firza Husein.

However, although HRS' popularity is higher than UBN, the following chart shows that UBN's popularity is far more consistent than HRS. In fact, in early 2016, UBN was more popular than HRS. Up to October 2016, UBN's chart remains consistent with few insignificant declines. Furthermore, although his popularity was increased in November (due to 411 Demonstration), it was not as drastic as HRS. In the following months up to September 2017, his chart was fluctuated but overall consistent.

Chapter V

Discourse Contestation between Mainstream and Contemporary Islamic Organization's Website

A. The Moderate Message of Mainstream Islamic Organization's Website

In regard to life as the citizen of Indonesia, Muhammadiyah as one of the huge Islamic organizations has rejected radicalism in Indonesia. In addition, Muhammadiyah has delivered peaceful messages through its website for the sake of harmonious, tolerant and peaceful life.

Muhammadiyah's first peaceful message is an invitation to accept Pancasila and Republic of Indonesia as "an inheritance from our founding fathers" as well as the glue that unite us. This message was posted in Suara Muhammadiyah Online, July 15th 2017 edition:

"Muhammadiyah Summit in 2015 has affirmed Pancasila State as a *Darul Ahdi was Syahadah* which roughly translates to a State based on Witnessed Consensus. This document was based on his speech on June 1st 2012 in Parliamentary Building on similar topic. Therefore, every element of this nation must enforce it and deal with any form of violation and perversion to Pancasila. There have been a lot of violations to Pancasila, such as Political Caliphate, communism, secularism, liberalism, capitalism and many other form of extremism. In addition, Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board for 2015-2020, Haedar Nashir, reaffirmed Pancasila as the *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah*. The statement was made during "Ideology Building" event for Muhammadiyah media's activist in Muhammadiyah Central Board's Headquarter in Cik Ditiro (Suara Muhammadiyah Online, July 15th 2017 Edition)."

Meanwhile, in August 11th 2017 edition, SM Online posted a statement from Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board, Haedar Nashir concerning Muhammadiyah's commitment to continue protecting Indonesia,

"... historically speaking, Muhammadiyah played an important role in the struggle toward independence. Muhammadiyah was involved in the

formation and formulation of national philosophy. One of the figures of Muhammadiyah, Ki Bagoes Hadikoesoemo, for example, made a contribution to change the first principle of Pancasila. Ki Bagus did not force Indonesia to be a Sharia-based country. He believed Indonesia should be a Pancasila country that can unite all. As a national philosophy, Pancasila is a noble agreement and national consensus that ties every component of this nation. (Suara Muhammadiyah Online, August 11th 2017 Edition.”

Muhammadiyah’s second peaceful message is an invitation to accept Government’s Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2/2017 on Mass Organization and an appreciation to government’s decision in disbanding HTI. This message was posted in Suara Muhammadiyah Online,

In August 8th 2017, SM Online published a news article about Muhammadiyah Central Board’s statement to Government’s Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2/2017 on Mass Organization or Mass Organization Law. One of the statements was “Muhammadiyah refuses any ideology that turn Islamic caliphate into absolute obligation and/or ideology that negates other Islamic political choice by calling it (un-Islamic or infidel), particularly if the ideology is followed by determination to replace the status quo political system.” Another statement was “Muhammadiyah admits that legal action was necessary to deal with mass organization that has been proven beyond reasonable doubt to developing ideology and/or movement that contradicts Pancasila and/or Republic of Indonesia.”

In May 9th 2017, Suara Muhammadiyah Online published a news article about Muhammadiyah’s appreciation to government’s decision in disbanding Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

Muhammadiyah’s third peaceful message is an invitation to stop vigilantes and acts of intolerance. This message was published in Suara Muhammadiyah Online,

Suara Muhammadiyah Online January 18th 2017 edition published a statement from the Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board for 1998-2005, Ahmad Syafii Maarif, concerning the need to stop mass organization that commits act of vigilantism. Any mass organization shall not violate the law in a Pancasila country. Syafii Maarif called such organization a private police. Hence, he believes that “Private police must be stopped!”

For an example of act of vigilante, Suara Muhammadiyah Online reported a case where Daurah Tahfidzul Quran activity in Karimun Jawa, Jepara, and Central Java was forcefully disbanded by several people who claimed to represent certain organization. Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board, Haedar Nashir, stated his regret to such action. "Acts of vigilantism should not be committed by anyone under any circumstances," said Haedar Nashir.

Suara Muhammadiyah Online January 14th 2017 edition published a comment from Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board, Haedar Nashir, concerning the intolerance phenomenon that occurred in Indonesia recently. Haedar stated that small friction within plural society is a common part of social dynamics. However, it does not necessarily mean that such cases should be allowed.

Suara Muhammadiyah Online January 7th 2017 edition posted a statement from Azyumardi Azra concerning factors that caused the lack of interfaith harmony in Indonesia. However, the biggest factor apparently came from outside, especially ever since Reformasi. "External factor and if we looked over the past ten years, intolerance increased due to the chaotic situation in Middle-Eastern countries. We see Indonesian in ISIS for example. This is transnational motive. Transnationalism is affecting Indonesia," said Azyumardi in Pusat Dakwah Building of Muhammadiyah Central Board in Menteng, Central Jakarta on Friday (1/6/2017).

Muhammadiyah's fourth peaceful message is rejection to power play, radicalism and terrorism. This message was published in the following Suara Muhammadiyah Online. Suara Muhammadiyah Online May 20th 2016 edition posted a warning from the Teacher of our Nation, Ahmad Syafii Maarif, urging the Government of Indonesia to deal with the lasting conflicts in Papua. One of the best methods that can be employed by the government is soft approach, not violence or military approach.

Suara Muhammadiyah Online July 10th 2017 edition published a warning from Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board, Haedar Nashir, concerning the need to be wise in dealing with radical movements. He argued for the use of moderate approach. He did not recommend the use of radical approach otherwise known as de-radicalization.

Suara Muhammadiyah Online February 2nd 2017 published a statement from Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board, Haedar Nashir, concerning

acts of terrorism. In front of US Ambassador for Indonesia, Joseph R. Donovan, during his visit to Muhammadiyah Headquarter, Haedar Nashir stated his opinion that Indonesian Muslims are generally moderate and harmonious. "Indeed we have experienced terror. However, such terror was not committed in the name of religion. All Indonesian Muslim and Muhammadiyah always strive to prevent terrorism," said Haedar.

Muhammadiyah's peaceful message above which was delivered through Muhammadiyah's website was addressed to four parties, i.e.: (1) Muhammadiyah's leadership and members; (2) Employees of Muhammadiyah's charity organization; (3) People or member of Muhammadiyah; and (4) Public in general, particularly Muslim people. In other words, all of the Muhammadiyah's peaceful messages were not addressed for followers of Muhammadiyah Movement but also the whole human race, especially people of Indonesia.

As a huge mainstream Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama has affirmed itself as a socio-religious, societal and national organization in Indonesia. As a socio-religious organization, NU has provided religious service by putting forward moderate attitude. Meanwhile, as a societal and national organization, NU is reaffirming the discourse on the important role of society to build the Republic of Indonesia. The following are several posts on NU Online that conveys how strongly this site has urged for peaceful discourse and nationalism value among NU people.

NU's first peaceful message is an invitation to accept Pancasila as the foundation of Republic of Indonesia. This message was published in the following NU Online's posts.

NU Online on Saturday, October 22nd 2011, published an article explaining how Pancasila is a national philosophy capable to unite the whole nation which consists of different culture, ethnicity and religion toward a united and sovereign country. Meanwhile, Republic of Indonesia is the final form of our nation that must be preserved and maintained.

NU Online on Friday, July 15th 2011 published a statement from KH Mutawakkil 'Allah, Head of PWNU East Java, concerning his warning that anyone and any organization that interferes with Pancasila and National Integrity will have to deal with NU. This strong statement was made by him

in an NU event in Jombang. He also strongly demands the State to deal with anyone that upholds Caliphate idea.

NU Online on September 25th 2017 published a statement from Chairman of GP Ansor, H. Yaqut Cholil Qoumas that explained about the existence of people who interferes with people's life in this country. "These people are questioning our national consensus, despite the fact that our founding fathers have established that consensus as the foundation of Republic of Indonesia," said Gus Yaqut during his opening speech in the seminar *Studying Islam, Social Media and Millennials* in GP Ansor Building in Central Jakarta on Monday (9/25/2017) evening.

NU Online's Editor's Picks on May 10th 2017 stated NU's demand to the government to deal with any organization that has been proven to campaigning anti-Pancasila ideas. Democracy does not mean freedom to express everything. It would be ironic if people were campaigning anti-democratic ideas. This means that Hizbut Tahrir's actions are contradicting with the governmental system employed by many countries around the world. They realized that the existence of Hizbut Tahrir will brought upon problems for our life in this nation. They must be watched out for they are committing high treason to Pancasila.

NU Online's Editor's Picks on June 3rd 2017 mentioned that Indonesia's noble values integrated in Pancasila are recovering their relevance after the emergence of several transnational organizations that uphold caliphate ideology through their massive campaign. It appears that Pancasila has not been fully recognized as the only philosophy of Indonesia. There are some people who remain enthusiastic in campaigning other ideologies. The rejuvenation of awareness to Pancasila as the uniting factor of this diverse nation must be followed up by real action to reinforce Pancasila to everyone, especially young generation.

NU's second peaceful message is an invitation to preserve diversity and to develop interfaith harmony. This message was published in the following NU Online posts.

NU Online on September 26th 2017 published a statement from the Advisory Board of PBNU, Kh. Ma'aruf Amin, to amputate any act of intolerance. "Hence we must abolish and amputate acts of intolerance, it

must be exterminated,” said Kiai Ma’ruf Amin in National Seminar *Measuring Ukhuwah Islamiyah and National Interest* in STAI Al Anwar in Sarang Rembang, Central Java on Monday (9/25/2017). Amputation and abolition, according to Kiai Ma’ruf, must also be made to perspectives that will lead to intolerance, such as the literalist perspective. “Tolerance must be built. Indonesia has gone through many debates before they reach the final result of Pancasila as national philosophy,” he said. Kiai Ma’ruf argued that there are three crucial problems in Indonesian society: Islamism, Nationalism and Humanism. The three must synergize so that Indonesia can be a complete and tolerant nation. After all, intolerance is caused by misinterpretation on Islamism, nationalism and humanism.

NU Online on September 27th 2017 published a statement from Chairman of PBNU, KH. Said Aqil Siroj, who advises Indonesian religious figures not to be provoked by uncertain issues. Furthermore, he invited every religious follower to foster kinship and interfaith tolerance in Indonesia. “Praise to God that we still own a very expensive capital, namely culture, virtue and morality,” he said during his opening speech in the gathering of interfaith religious figures. He argued that Indonesia’s ancestors were capable to banish the Dutch not because of modern armory, but because of the culture of unity, faith and virtue. “We must rebuild our culture. Our ancestors did not make our difference a big deal. This kind of behavior must be fostered once more!” he asked.

NU Online on September 27th 2017 published a statement from Lembaga Bahtsul Masail of Nahdlatul Ulama Central Board (LBM PBNU) concerning hate speech in social media. “We will not discuss about whether hate speech in public space or social media is allowed or not any longer. However, we will try to think about the criteria of hate speech,” said the Coordinator of Bahtsul Masail Commission of NU Summit 2017, KH. Mujib Qoliyubi, to NU Online in Jakarta on Monday (9/25/2017). “In regard to the criteria and measurement of hate speech, we will discuss about it in the upcoming NU Summit 2017. This is an emergency problem; sometimes it contains SARA elements or physical deficit. We should not discuss about halal-haram anymore. The rule is clear. This discussion will be included in *bahtsul masail diniyah maudhuiyah* commission,” said Kiai Sarmidi.

NU's third peaceful message is an invitation to avoid any activities that could result in public anxiety. This message was posted in the following NU Online's post.

NU Online on September 28th 2017 published a statement from Chairman of Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholar (Majelis Ulama Islam/MUI), KH. Ma'ruf Amin, that asks every part of society not to organize "299" action that protests against PKI and Government's Regulation in lieu of Law concerning Mass Organization. "It (the protest) is actually no longer needed," said Kiai Ma'ruf in Jakarta on Wednesday (9/27/2017). The Advisory Board of PBNU that people should trust the process that governed the enactment of that Mass Organization Law.

NU Online Editor's Pick on April 21st 2017 asked people not to spread fake news during Jakarta Gubernatorial Race since it will lead to chaotic situation. Buzzers are creating chaos in society through their social media network. They could not care less about the social effect caused by their uploaded posts. They only care about their personal gain or to secure victory.

NU's fourth peaceful message is a proposal to revoke the citizenship of terrorists. This message was published in the following NU Online's posts.

NU Online on September 25th 2017 published an article reporting the implementation of 3rd Working Group held in Graha Residen Surabaya. One of the topics discussed in that meeting was about the citizenship of those involved in terrorist movement. "In regard to the prevalence of global terrorism, a lot of Indonesian citizens are becoming their sympathizers and some even act as their soldiers," said KH. Ahmad Asyhar Shofwan on Monday (9/25/2017). The Head of LBM NU East Java stated that this has resulted in an idea to revoke the citizenship status of Indonesian involved in terrorist movement overseas. "After all, when terrorists are allowed to go home, they will infect their ideology to others meaning that radical ideology and threat of terrorism will be more and more materialized," he said. Some of the news and editor's pick from NU Online above conveys NU's commitment to combat radicalism in Indonesia. This proves NU's identity as a mainstream Islamic organization on one hand and a socio-religious, social and national organization on the other hand that continues to strive to achieve our founding fathers' goal when they build this nation.

B. The Pragmatic Interest of Contemporary Organizations' Publicity

The next stage of analysis to contemporary Islamic organizations' websites is identifying discourse of radicalism in those websites. Based on our analysis during July-September 2017 period, the productivity level of those websites are as follow:

Table of Content Productivity July-September 2017

No	Name of Website	Number of Text	Internal Text	External Text
1	Dewandakwah.or.id	29	16	13
2	Hidayatullah.or.id	37	32	5
3	Majelismujahidin.com	0	0	0
4	Mta.or.id	58	58	0
5	Suara-islam.com	834	32	802

The above table depicts how those contemporary Islamic organizations are managed. The frequency of content upload in those websites shows how they were utilized to deliver the organization's message or perspective to certain phenomenon.

It is quite interesting to see how suara-islam.com uploaded new content 834 times a month. As reflected by suara-islam.com's vision and mission that conveys their commitment to balance secular media, their significant number of upload shows that they are not only talk but also action. This is different with other contemporary media that tends to be very minimal in their content productivity, such as majelismujahidin.com. Although it has been mentioned clearly in their vision and mission, that Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia is an organization that will enforce Islamic sharia in every aspect of life, they did not do much to realize it. Even when they did produce some texts, it was only an essay written by the leadership of Majelis Mujahidin.

Furthermore, our observation shows that most of the contents from those contemporary media are rather focused on their organizational activity. It means that their online media is only used to promote their organization's activity. As such, their website is only useful for public relations purpose.

This can be clearly seen by analyzing the content of those contemporary media in that three-month period. For example in dewandakwah.or.id, there were 29 articles uploaded during July-September period, 16 of them were information on activities organized by Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia

e.g. social service, fundraising for Al Aqsha and Rohingya, and *halal bi halal* (gathering) event. The rest 13 articles were news about Islamic world such as the release of a film that criticizes *Aku Adalah Kau yang Lain (KAAL)* by Anto Galon that received Police Movie Award (7/6/2017), pilgrimage departure (7/28/2017).

As for International Islamic world, information on the recent condition of Rohingya refugee and Palestine-Israel conflict was still the most dominant discussion. However, discussion on Rohingya became interesting since Dewan Dakwah provided a narrative that exposes the concern of countries other than Indonesia, such as Turkey and Chechnya. The decision to take those two countries' perspectives was not made without a reason. It should be noted that in recent months, Turkey's President, Erdogan, has gained popularity among Muslim people in Indonesia. The bad thing is this sentiment was contrasted with President Jokowi by portraying him as a leader that did not give enough concern to the condition of Muslim people at global level to the point of portraying him as an enemy of Muslim community in Indonesia. Outside of information on contemporary Islamic world, dewandakwah.or.id also provided a narrative on the debate surrounding Mass Organization Law enacted by the government (this topic will be discussed in the next sub chapter: Contemporary Organization and response to Mass Organization Law).

The same trend can also be seen in the Surakarta-based mta.or.id. During the July-September 2017 period, there were only 58 articles uploaded to mta.or.id. All of the 58 articles were about activities held by MTA, whether social or religious activity. One example is an article about the implementation of Silatnas 3 that was held in Manahan Stadium, from the pre-event, during event and post-event.

In addition, during the celebration of Eid al-Adha 1438 H, mta.or.id posted five articles about MTA's activity, from the praying event, slaughtering of *qurban* event to a recap of MTA's contribution during Eid al-Adha which amounted to 34.5 billion at national level. Instead of providing counter-narrative to radicalism, websites managed by contemporary Islamic organizations would rather promote their organizational activity, whereas as an official website, they should be able to provide a narrative that can enlighten public about extremism and radicalism.

Similar to what happened with Dewan Dakwah and MTA, Hidayatullah, which was founded in 1973, also did the same thing. This can be seen from how 32 out of their 37 contents during July-September 2017 period were articles about their internal activity. However, *hidayatullah.com*'s characteristic is rather different compared to *dewandakwah.or.id* or *mta.or.id*. Dewan Dakwah provided a rather balanced content not only about their internal activity but also about Islamic world in general. For example, they published an article about the movie "*Aku adalah Kau yang Lain*" and Dewan Dakwah's statement concerning Mass Organization Law. As for MTA, our analysis concludes that MTA did not provide any response to the contemporary condition of Islamic world either at domestic or global level. They did not even publish a statement about Mass Organization Law or the humanitarian crisis in Rohingya and Israel-Palestine conflict. Hence, MTA's narratives are 100% exclusive to reinforce their organization.

Unlike the two mentioned above, Hidayatullah's content is quite dominated with articles about their organizational activities and they did not provide any response to contemporary phenomenon in Islamic world at national and global levels, except for a response to Mass Organization Law and the idea to reinforce Pancasila as national philosophy, even though Rohingya and Palestine issues are interesting topics to be discussed and can attract public interest.

Suara-islam.com provided a rather unique discourse compared to the three mentioned above. As a media owned by Forum Umat Islam (FUI), *suara-islam.com* was capable to produce 834 posts during July-September 2017 period. Among those posts, only 4% or 32 posts were about their organization, e.g. FUI's statement to Parliamentary Leadership on the raid to LBH Jakarta's office which was suspected of harboring Communist activists. In addition, *suara-islam.com* also made a coverage on Victor Laiskodat which was suspected of committing blasphemy against Islam and several political parties.

In another part, *suara-islam.com* did not only provide news about FUI's activity, but they also cover activities/news conducted by other media. This can be seen in one of their articles which was titled "*Dewan Dakwah Dispatched 103 Scholars from Aceh to Merauke*" which was uploaded on

September 29th 2017 and “Defending Rohingya, Dewan Dakwah Called for Multi-dimensional Jihad” on September 6th 2017. They did not only cover contemporary organization but also mainstream organization, both Muhammadiyah and NU. Example of such coverage can be seen on their article about the construction of Muhammadiyah museum worth 300 billion that draws the interest of the President of Indonesia.

In general, suara-islam.com also provided information on Islamic world whether at domestic level or global level, such as the case of Mass Organization Law, public debate surrounding Full-Day School policy, violence in Rohingya and Palestine-Israel conflict.

By using political economy perspective, we assumed that suara-islam.com is not only motivated by ideological gain but also economic gain. The existence of articles that were not only covering FUI’s internal activity will be necessary to sustain suara-islam.com website itself. We believe that suara-islam.com truly understood that the future of this website will be dependent to the existence of audience that will consume their articles. As such, it can be said that suara-islam.com has conducted commodification practice.

Commodification according to Mosco (2011) is defined as a process to transform goods and services along with their value into a commodity that can be traded in the market. It might be weird, because media’s products are mostly information and entertainment. While the two mentioned products could not be measured like other conventional products, their tangibility aspect will be relatively different than other goods and services.

Although they could not be physically measured, media products can still be traded and have economic values. At institutional level, media crew will be involved to produce and distribute news articles to a diverse consumer. Said consumer can be readers of printed media, television audience, radio listener, and even the State itself with their interests. Media product’s value addedness will be determined by how far it can fulfill the need of individual or society.

Based on our observation, there were two types of commodification performed by suara-islam.com, namely content commodification and audience commodification. Content commodification is conducted by accommodating every Islamic organization (both mainstream and contemporary) in their news articles. Suara-islam.com also covered issues considered to be sensitive

by majority of Muslim community in Indonesia such as Palestine conflict and Rohingya refugee.

In terms of audience commodification, managers of suara-islam.com saw that Forum Umat Islam (FUI) is expected to cater every member of certain Islamic organization. Such formation of audience will be very beneficial for suara-islam.com in regard to the type of visitor to their website. Articles that talk about Muhammadiyah, Dewan Dakwah, Parmusi and other Islamic organization will invite sympathizers of said organization to visit suara-islam.com.

1. Rejection to Mass Organization Law in Contemporary Organization's Website

Based on the July-September 2017 data of contemporary Islamic organizations' websites, we found several posts related to the enactment of Mass Organization Law by the Government, which will be explained in detail in the following table:

Table 4.1

Frequency of News about Mass Organization Law July-September 2017

No	Name of Website	Number of Text
1	Dewandakwah.or.id	4
2	Hidayatullah.or.id	2
3	Majelismujahidin.com	0
4	Mta.or.id	0
5	Suara-islam.com	33

In general, we can see that the most vocal website in regard to Mass Organization Law is suara-islam.com (33 times), followed by dewandakwah.or.id (4 times) and lastly hidayatullah.or.id (2 times). However, mta.or.id and majelismujahiddin.com is rather different since they did not discuss about that controversial law at all.

There are several reasons that could explain MTA and Majelis Mujahidin's absence in this topic. Firstly, based on our interview with the manager of mta.or.id, we were told that MTA will not publish any article based on information from outside of MTA. Hence, any news article published in their website must be based on their internal contributor or members of MTA throughout Indonesia.

Secondly, MTA would rather avoid political, legal and criminal news. We were led to believe that Mass Organization Law is a political and legal matter. Hence, MTA, although they are a mass organization, will avoid producing contents that discuss on that matter. Thirdly, uploading frequency. As explained in the table 1, majelismujahidin.com did not upload any contents during July-September 2017 period. This means that Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia is rather inactive in managing their website. As such, they did not really utilize their website to spread their ideology or perspective.

After finding out about the frequency of news on Mass Organization Law, what was their response to the Law itself? In general, the three contemporary Islamic organizations, i.e. Dewan Dakwah, Hidayatullah and FUI reject the enactment of Mass Organization Law because they believe it to contradict the spirit of reformation, particularly the freedom of association and expressing opinion. According to the three organizations, government should never be an executive institution with an authority to disband mass organization. Instead, that privilege should be given to the court as a judicative institution.

Looking at their coverage, it is clear that Hidayatullah rejects the enactment of Mass Organization Law. This was made clear by a statement from their Chief of Legal Department, Dr. Dudung A. Abdullah, MH (July 20th 2017):

“Dudung believed that Law No. 2/2017 (Mass Organization Law) provides so many opportunity for the government, especially the Minister of Law and Human Rights, to immediately revoke the permit of mass organization, to immediately disband mass organization using *contrarius actus* principle and even criminalizing every steward and member of the banned mass organization through Article 82A. Contrarius actus principle is government’s privilege as decision maker to evaluate and revoke their decision – in this case, the decision to issue a permit for the founding of mass organization. The inclusion of such principle in Mass Organization Law means that the government can revoke founding permit aka disband a mass organization without judicial process. Such thing clearly contradicts people’s freedom of association.”

Furthermore, Hidayatullah through Dudung argued that the principle behind the enactment of Mass Organization Law contradicts 1945 Constitution, especially Article 22 (1), which clearly mentioned that President can only enact Government’s Regulation in lieu of Law during emergency situation. In

regard to that Law, Hidayatullah questioned on what basis can the enactment of Mass Organization Law be considered emergency measure?

However, despite rejecting Mass Organization Law, Hidayatullah through their Central Board Member, Syaifullah Hamid, argued that Government's Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2/2017 that replaced Law No. 17/2013 on Mass Organization should be motivated by the need of development, instead of disbandment or even extermination. Furthermore, he also questioned on whether the members and stewards of a banned organization will be automatically criminalized? Hidayatullah favored persuasive approach instead of the repressive approach provided by the Mass Organization Law.

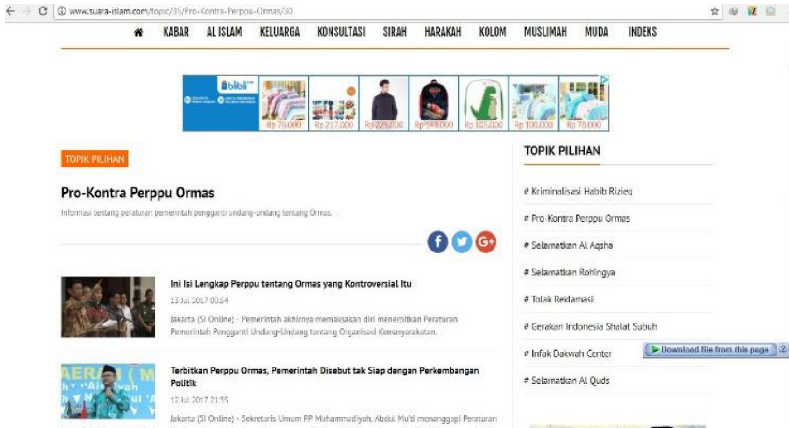
In line with Hidayatullah, Dewan Dakwah also provided their argument to reject Mass Organization Law since they believe that it has disregarded the existence of judicial process for the disbandment of mass organization as well as potentially abusive. Dewan Dakwah is on an opinion that the government should implement Law No. 17/2013 on Mass Organization in regard to punishment against organization that contradicts Pancasila.

Through their Secretary-General, Taufik Hidayat, Dewan Dakwah argued that Law No. 17/2013 on Mass Organization has regulated the obligation of government to first persuade or advice any organization that has been proven to contradict Pancasila, then they can issue some warning, stop their assistance to said organization and freeze their activity. If such measure was proven ineffective, the government can finally submit a request to disband that organization to the court. Those procedures have been well- provided in Law No. 17/2013 and it was made on a just principle, namely by listening to the two parties, both the government and the mass organization, through legal means. Furthermore, Dewan Dakwah was worried that the President will be in conflict with Muslim community. This can be inferred from their news article on July 29th 2017 titled "Dewan Dakwah Worries President will be In Conflict with Muslim Community due to Mass Organization Law."

"Dewan Dakwah is actually worried that behind the enactment of this Mass Organization Law, President Joko Widodo is actually unable to make decision independently, due to being influenced by his political circle whose ulterior motives remain unknown."

Interestingly, suara-islam.com which is owned by Forum Umat Islam

(FUI) uploaded 33 articles on the enactment of Mass Organization Law. They even specifically include #PublicDebateOnMassOrganizationLaw as their Topic of Choice.



Graph 4.1 Display of suara-islam.com

However, although they are an official organization that owns an online media, FUI did not clearly stating their rejection to Mass Organization Law in their articles. Almost all of their articles that reject that law was sourced from other Islamic organization such as Persis (7/26/2017), Hidayatullah and some unaffiliated organization like Islamic Organization Alliance and Youth Alliance and Islamic Student of West Java (10/20/2017). Their arguments were mostly similar to Dewan Dakwah.

Since it has been known through a research by Fahmi (2015) that suara-islam.com is a media affiliated with Forum Umat Islam (FUI), it is quite peculiar that editors of suara-islam.com were not confident to voice their rejection to Mass Organization Law as it was one of the important problems during that period. In addition, their rejection to Mass Organization Law was not only sourced from Islamic organization but also members of House and Representatives and National Commission for Human Rights. In fact, a comment from National Commission for Human Rights was clearly mentioned in suara-islam.com (10/25/2017), as shown in the following:

This (Mass Organization Law) can be used to criminalize citizens who criticize the government on the pretext of 'anti-Pancasila'. This could threaten the future of democracy and Pancasila. Indonesia could potentially be led to

authoritarianism once again. In fact, according to suara-islam.com, one of the Commissioner of Commission for Human Rights during 287 Protests stated that the enactment of Mass Organization Law is procedurally flawed and should be immediately revoked. "Let me affirm it again, Mass Organization Law is flawed because our nation is not under emergency situation. There is nothing wrong with Indonesia," said Pigai during his oration in National Monument in Jakarta on Friday (7/28/2017).

Natalius Pigai is a member of Commission for Human Rights that came from Papua and a Christian. However, he gained support from Muslim community when he delivered his criticism on attempts of 'criminalization' to several scholars in Indonesia. Hence, his participation in the protest against Mass Organization law managed to increase his popularity among Muslim community in Indonesia.

2. Position and Perspective on Pancasila

Over the past five years, especially after the 2014 Presidential Election, discourse on Pancasila versus Islam has been spread massively. Attempts to discredit several Islamic organization on the pretext of being 'anti-Pancasila' and accusing them of their desire to replace our national philosophy with Islamic sharia was not motivated by philosophical or ideological reason. Most of them are rather motivated by political reasons. On the other hand, mainstream Islamic organization such as NU claimed that Pancasila has become an integral part of their organization. Such unilateral claim is sometimes used to 'assault' other Islamic organization. Hence, what is the position and perspective of contemporary Islamic organization in regard with Pancasila? Do they refuse Pancasila and have a desire to replace it? Might it be that Pancasila has been considered to be in line with their goal?

In order to answer the above questions, we expanded our unit of analysis which was originally only three months by adding secondary data to strengthen the discussion. Our analysis concluded that contemporary Islamic organization believes in Pancasila as a national philosophy and they do not consider it as something that contradicts Islamic value. This can be inferred from an essay written by the Chairman of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah

Indonesia, M. Natsir, titled “Return Pancasila to its Constitutional Position,”¹ which generally criticized the state’s position then (1980) that wants to turn Pancasila as a single principle. Natsir believed that the policy to turn Pancasila as a single principle will repurpose the true meaning and function of Pancasila as the meeting point and uniting factor within the context of Bhineka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity). It would be paradoxical, for Natsir, should Pancasila removed their unique characteristic which has been adopted from time to time by many people even far before the birth of Pancasila (Bawazier, 2015) – Third Way Democracy. Similar to Natsir, Husein Umar (Reformata, 2006) also explained that Pancasila is a national consensus that should not be tampered with anymore.

On the other hand, Hidayatullah as an Islamic organization which was founded in 2000 also believed in Pancasila, explicitly and inexplicitly, as a national philosophy that must be preserved in its purest form.² Hidayatullah also claimed that they do not only believe in Pancasila as a concept but they also implemented it in their everyday life. “In essence, Hidayatullah is really Pancasila-ist,” said a member of Muzakarah Board of Hidayatullah, Anshar Amirudin. Such commitment can be seen from the many Hidayatullah activities, such as the usage of consultation mechanism that reflects the fourth principle of Pancasila. Furthermore, Hidayatullah also conducted *istikharah*³ and *istisyarah*⁴ that reflects the first principle of Pancasila on faith to God. However, in many cases, Hidayatullah always insists that Pancasila is inherited from Indonesian Islamic scholar such as Ki Bagus and Wahid Hasyim. Therefore, since the very formation of our national philosophy, Islam has always been accommodative to Pancasila.

Both Hidayatullah and Dewan Dakwah believe in the importance of purifying the interpretation of Pancasila as a national philosophy.⁵ The two organizations believe that the meaning of Pancasila as national philosophy has

1 <http://hidayatullah.or.id/read/berita-utama/2017/10/26/menerapkanpancasila-dalam-kehidupan-berorganisasi/>

2 <http://hidayatullah.or.id/read/ketua-umum/2017/06/09/merawatkemurnian-pancasila-sebagai-dasar-negara/>

3 Terminologically speaking, *istikharah* refers to asking divine guidance.

4 Terminologically speaking, *istisyarah* refers to asking the opinion of a knowledgeable person.

5 <https://www.hidayatullah.com/kolom/catatan-akhirpekan/read/2011/05/16/3640/menjernihkan-tafsir-pancasila.html>

been hugely distorted, as explained by Adian Husaini.

This can be seen from the secular interpretation of Pancasila by, for example, Ali Moertopo of CSIS, who was an influential figure in the policy-making process during the early days of New Order regime. Mayor General (Retired) Ali Moertopo was the special assistant to President Soeharto in formulating Pancasila as the "Ideology of Republic of Indonesia." In regard to the first principle of Faith to One and Only God, for example, Ali Moertopo established that one of the meanings of said principle was the right to change religion. "The right to choose, adopt or change religion is one of the essential rights of citizen, and this right is not something given by the state, thus Republic of Indonesia does not oblige or coerce or forbid anyone to choose, adopt or change their religion."

In another case, Pater Beek S.J. also established that the first principle of Pancasila is religiously neutral – it is not partial to one religion. In this regard, he explained:

"Whoever believes the First Principle also covers faith in no God, atheism (materialism); or polytheism, is no longer stands on Pancasila. The same is also true for anyone who believes that the First Principle of Pancasila only covers Muslim or Jewish people – such person is in essence no longer stands on Pancasila.⁶"

If we look at it much more closely, the formulation of Faith to One and Only God is related to the deletion of eleven words in Jakarta Charter: Faith to One and Only God, with obligation to abide by Islamic sharia for adherents of Islam. As a historical witness, Prof. Kasman Singodimedjo affirmed that "Any interpretation to Faith to One and Only God, whether its historical interpretation or its definition is truly compatible with Islamic teaching," (See *Hidup Itu Berjuang, Kasman Singodimedjo 75 Years-Old* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1982) pp. 123-125).

This is also reaffirmed by a statement from Ki Bagus Hadikusuma, Chairman of Muhammadiyah, who accepted the deletion of those eleven words after he was convinced that Faith to One and Only God is a *Tauhid*. This is also confirmed by Teuku Mohammad Hasan, member of PPKI who was

6 Pater Beek, SJ: *Larut Tetapi Tidak Hanyut*. Penulis : J.B. Sudarmanta. Penerbit : OBOR, 2008

asked to persuade Ki Bagus.⁷

Similar to Hidayatullah and Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah, Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran also stated that Pancasila is a national philosophy that must be preserved and reintroduced to public. This can be seen by the participation of MTA Task Force along with other mass organization to promote the spirit of Pancasila. Although they have not made any explicit statement, MTA's belief to Pancasila can be seen from the texts they produced (both news and articles) which clearly conveys their belief to Pancasila as national philosophy. This can also be seen in President Jokowi's speech in the 3rd Silatnas in Manahan Stadium on September 2017.⁸

"Let me ask the whole MTA family throughout Indonesia to work together with every element of society. Quoting Drs. Ahmad Sukina's statement previously, we need to spread compassion through our missionary work and we must promote harmony and kinship in Indonesia. **We must preserve Pancasila, our national philosophy, our collective home.** We must continue to preserve Unity in Diversity and we must be proud with it."

In addition to the president's claim, MTA's position on Pancasila can also be seen by a statement from Former Military Commander Gatot Nurmantyo who affirmed that Pancasila is a great national philosophy which was created by Islamic scholars. Hence, Gatot affirmed that Pancasila as national philosophy should not be changed anymore.⁹ Based on those narratives we can conclude that MTA supports Pancasila as national philosophy. Furthermore, based on our analysis, we did not find any texts produced by MTA that rejects Pancasila as national philosophy.

However, the position of those organizations are often hampered by the existence of individual or group claiming to be the real Pancasila-ist and discriminate others by labeling them anti-Pancasila. For example, MTA published a text titled "Who can issue a certification for true Pancasila-ist person?"¹⁰, "Allah has taught Muslim community to always commit good

7 Ki Bagus Hadikusuma: etika dan regenerasi kepemimpinan. Author, Siswanto Masruri. Publisher, Pilar Media, 2005

8 <https://mta.or.id/presiden-jokowi-mari-bergandengan-tangansebakarkan-kasih-sayang/>

9 <https://mta.or.id/panglima-tni-pancasila-adalah-dasar-negara-yang-hebatdan-ulamalah-yang-membuatnya/>

10 <https://mta.or.id/siapa-yang-bisa-mengeluarkan-sertifikasi-padamanusia-pancasilais-sejati/>

deed and show their faith to Him, not to debate using buzzwords. Allah has not taught us to only be good at making opinion – we must strive to build harmony and happiness in life... Let us ask, whoever among us can gain the privilege of issuing certificate for true Pancasila-ist person?"

MTA's perspective above clearly conveys their idea that Pancasila should not only be proven in argumentation, or even ceremonial matters, rather it must be proven in action, Pancasila must be realized in everyday life. Chief of House of Representatives, Zulkifli Hasan, stated in MTA's website that people should not judge others by labeling certain individual or group as anti-Pancasila. He also said that people that can be considered anti-Pancasila are those who could not care less about other people's rights.¹¹

The same is also true for Hidayatullah and Dewan Dakwah. They reject the dominance of literalist people who claimed to be the real Pancasila-ist. Pancasila as an attitude cannot only be measured by celebrating the birth of Pancasila, changing profile picture in social media and adding banner that reads "I am Indonesia, I am Pancasila." People who claimed themselves to be the true Pancasila-ist simply because they do such things can be considered as literalists. This argument can be seen in the *ghazwul fikr* column titled "Recalling Memory, Rejuvenating the Meaning of Pancasila."¹² For Hidayatullah, claiming to be Pancasila-ist while accusing others as anti-Pancasila will only diminish the true meaning of Pancasila. Those kinds of people should have tried to understand Pancasila in a more fundamental level. Furthermore, unlike popular belief, religious teaching is not the only one that can lead to the destruction of this country.

As for Dewan Dekwah, they borrowed a statement from Zulkifli Hasan in the M. Natsir Integral Motion memorial to explain that the accusation against Islam for being anti-Pancasila is baseless. People who made such accusation clearly do not understand the history of Indonesia which was inseparable with the sacrifice of Muslim community.¹³

As such, the existence of people who claimed themselves to be the "real

11 <https://mta.or.id/ketua-mpr-zulkifli-hasan-menyampaikan-tausyiah-dipengajian-umum-ahad-pagi/>

12

13 <https://dewandakwah.or.id/zulkifli-hasan-mosi-integral-m-natsirbukti-umat-islam-cinta-nkri/>

Pancasila-ist” and discriminate others is quite concerning. These kinds of people could be dangerous due to being potentially disruptive for national integrity. In that regard, chairman of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, Mohammad Siddiq, regretted the position of Nasdem Party in defending his cadre, Viktor Laiskodat, concerning his controversial speech on August 1st 2017 in NTT,

“These extremist groups are attempting to replace Republic of Indonesia with a Caliphate State. Unfortunately, a lot of political parties that support their cause exist in NTT, e.g. Gerindra, Democrat, PKS and PAN. This national situation is fostering the growth of intolerant groups.”

Dewan Dakwah believed that such accusation could lead to tyranny of minorities. It could be dangerous for democracy and Indonesia. It is clear that it will threaten the Republic of Indonesia as well as the unity and harmony of our plural society.¹⁴

Based on several explanations above, we can conclude that contemporary Islamic organizations are in favor of Pancasila being the national philosophy as understood by M. Natsir. However, there is an additional demand by contemporary organizations to purify the interpretation of Pancasila in accordance with the decision of Nine Committees. Furthermore, they criticized people who claimed themselves as true Pancasilaist while labeling others (especially Muslim community) as anti-Pancasila.

14 <http://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/17/08/08/oud12q330-dewan-dakwah-sesalkan-nasdem-bela-kesalahan-viktor-laiskodat>

Chapter VI

Populism of Unaffiliated Islamic Website: Content Commodification and Reproduction

This chapter will provide in-depth discussion on unaffiliated Islamic organization's website in regard to the existence of radicalism discourse in their contents. Based on our analysis from July-September 2017, the productivity level of those unaffiliated Islamic organization's website can be viewed in the following table:

Table 4.2
Content Productivity July-September 2017

No	Name of Website	Number of Text
1	Eramuslim.com	2,004
2	VOA-Islam.com	1,799
3	Portal-islam.id	1,611
4	Dakwatuna.com	760
5	Arrahmah.com	667
6	Muslimoderat.net	46
7	Thoriquna.id	4

By looking at the above table, we can see how those unaffiliated Islamic organization's websites are managed. The frequency of uploading information in their website will show how those websites are utilized to deliver ideological messages to readers.

Based on eramuslim.com's data, there are 2,004 articles uploaded to this website. Those articles are varied from news, opinion, etc. It means that from among the 2,004 texts, they produced around 668 texts per month, and 23 texts every day, or at least one text every hour. This is no small number, but they cannot be considered productive compared to other 'secular' cyber media that do not use religious identity, since internet traffic is usually measured not in days or hours but minutes and even seconds. Obviously compared to

other unaffiliated Islamic media, *eramuslim.com* is the most productive in uploading content, whether contents they produced themselves or reposted from other site.

As for *voaislam.com*, they are in second position with 1,799 posts during July-September 2017, meaning they produced 599 posts per month, and 19-20 texts per day.

The third position belongs to *portal-islam.id* that uploaded 1,611 articles for three months, meaning they produced at least 537 articles each month and 17 articles each day.

The fourth position belongs to *dakwatuna.com* that uploaded 760 posts in their site. The fifth is *arrahmah.com* with 667 posts. The sixth is *muslimoderat.net* with 46 posts; and the last position belongs to *thoriquana.id* that only uploaded 4 posts during that three-month period.

The number of text that they produce can convey their professionalism and management of their website. Looking at their vision to be one of the biggest and the most referred Islamic media, such in the case of *dakwatuna.com*, their daily production should have been in line with that vision. In terms of content productivity, the top 3 is, respectively, *eramuslim.com*, *voaislam.com* and *portal-islam.id*, followed by *dakwatuna.com* in fourth place that relatively productive in uploading articles, then *arrahmah.com*. During our research, *arrahmah.com* was still undergoing maintenance which explains their level of productivity. The bottom two in terms of productivity is *muslimoderat.com* and *thoriquana.id*.

Internet media is a place for struggle to seize public space – borrowing Jurgen Habermas' term. The internet often, although not always, affects reality; the social, political, cultural and economic practices over the past decades have truly been affected by practices on the internet, especially in regard to radicalism discourse. There have been many studies that point to the influence of the internet to radical transformation of an individual. As has been explained by Vice President Jusuf Kalla, "Technology also turns people to be radical. It turns them to lone wolves. They are not taught by persons. They read on the internet and etc." This statement was made in regard to act of terror in North Sumatera early July 2017.

The top two sites in terms of productivity, *eramuslim.com* and *voaislam.com*.

com, will be analyzed separately in their own sub-chapter. This part will discuss about portal-islam.id as the third most productive unaffiliated Islamic organization's website. Unfortunately, portal-islam.id did not include their vision, mission and goals nor their editorial and address except for their email address. Their tagline is "voicing the truth" but their news tends to be more provocative and sensational instead of objective as their tagline seems to claim. Instead of maintaining journalism ethics, portal-islam.id tends to be the judge to other different groups, or to the government led by President Jokowi who is depicted as a person who keeps lying to the people.

Their sensational and provocative article can be seen in the following picture:



Graph 4.2 Portal-islam.id page

The title of their news is most definitely far from truth. In that article, Home Affairs Minister Tjahjo Kumolo was explaining that despite North Korea being a communist country, they actually respect their founding fathers – thus he questioned why some Indonesians, despite being taught with Pancasila, are questioning their national philosophy. Portal Islam only took some bits of his statement and depicting Tjahjo Kumolo as a communist. This is a practice that violates journalism codes by making news not based on facts. This can be seen in the following quote from portal-islam.id's article:

"Jokowi's Mental Revolution is very absurd. Despite being supported by PDIP, a party that claimed to be the most democratic, most Pancasila-ist, most

Indonesian-ist, they actually know a lot about Marxism and communism (<http://www.portalislam.id/2017/07/absurd-klaim-saya-indonesia-saya.html>, accessed on October 25th, 2017)."



Graph 4.3 Portal-islam.id page

Portal-islam.id did not care about the source of their news. Instead of voicing the truth, they prefer to judge the Home Minister, PDIP, and President Jokowi. News like this is simply baseless accusation and can even be considered as a black campaign against the current government by accusing them as a promotor of communism. Such article will only cause strong reaction from netizen, especially those provoked by their news title which is only taken from bits of Home Minister's speech.

In addition, our analysis found that a huge chunk of portal-islam.id is filled by clickbait titles that will only generate prejudice, such as: "Ahok Disrespects Islam, Terrorists Stay Silent - Ahok Jailed, Terrorist Went Nuts, You Think We're Stupid? (portal-islam.id, July 1st 2017)," "Obama's Hidden Motive when He Went to Indonesia (portal-islam.id, July 2nd 2017)," "Ahmad Dhani" Islam is Slandered! Who Benefits from from Terrorism? Try Use Your Shit Ass Brain to Think (portalislam.id, July 2nd 2017)." Then on August 2017, they posted these following articles: "Watch out with Ahok's Trap! (portal-islam.id, August 6th 2017)," "Allah is Great! Former Priest who Disrespected Islam Now Adopts Islam after being Reported by FPI (portal-islam.id, August 16th 2017)," "Praise to Allah... Jakarta Without Ahok, Schools Can Now Slaughter Livestock (portal-islam.id, August 21st 2017)." Meanwhile, on September 2017 they uploaded the following articles: "What about that Bald Terrorist who Slaughtered Rohingya Muslim? Here is Al-Quran's Signs" and "Ignoring the

Government, Police Allow Rohingya Refugee to Enter Bangladesh (Sunday, September 3rd 2017),” “Allah is Great! Although Obstructed, Thousands of People Defend Rohingya in “Borobudur Protest” (September 8th 2017),” “Kindness is Replaced by Wickedness... During Election Muslim Community was Seduced to Support Suu Kyi, then Got Slaughtered after She Was Put in Charge (September 10th 2017.”

Some of the titles above indicated that portal-islam.id was attempting to seize cyber space by using Islamic idioms in their headlines. Islam is utilized as a political ideology, in order to fulfill their political interest. In addition, this can also be considered as a part of Islamic populism – borrowing Vedi R. Hadiz’s terms – a political movement that drives community into certain sentiment in the name of democracy. Islamic populism grew before and after Arab Spring in some part of Middle East in 2013 (Hadiz 2014 & 2016). Islamic Movement that utilized cyberspace will drive Muslim netizens to reproduce similar content in their social media account or in their blog. Cyber Islamic populism is happening today and is getting more and more prevalent in websites that utilize Islamic identity as their symbol.

Portal-islam.id is designed as a propaganda media. It means that their goal is to change the mindset of general public without providing concrete evidence and sometimes in a subtle manner. In Indonesian Dictionary, it is mentioned that propaganda means explanation (ideology, opinion and so on) which can be right or wrong and developed in order to convince someone to believe in certain ideology, attitude, or action (Online Indonesian Dictionary). They no longer need reliable data or facts to generate news to be informed to wider public. This can be found in articles posted by portal-islam.id though not all of them. However, as a media that claims to be an Islamic media, this is definitely far from the spirit of Islam which emphasizes, among others, honesty, *tabayyun* (check and recheck) and anti-slandering.

Meanwhile, dakwatuna.com and arrahmah.com, as the fourth and fifth unaffiliated Islamic organization’s website in terms of productivity, appears to be more professional in managing their uploaded articles. However, they were blocked for 10 days by Ministry of Communication and Information per recommendation from National Agency to Combat Terrorism (BNPT). They can be considered more professional because they clearly show their

organizational structure from Chairman, Chief Editor, Editorial Board, and they were managed under an Incorporated Company which is the requirement to be a member of Press Council. However, the two have different opinions in regard to being member of Press Council. Dakwatuna.com agrees to be a member of Press Council and they are currently taking care of the administration process while arrahmah.com does not see the need to be a member of Press Council. The two sites also include their editorial address that can be contacted by anyone including their contact person. We were able to interview the leadership of their website. We were actually welcomed in their headquarters in South Jakarta and West Java respectively. Another factor that contributes to their professionalism is their transparent finance. The leaders of the two website were willing to tell us about their detailed budget for their websites, including budget allocated for maintenance and honorarium, though they did not tell us about the source of those budget.

The sixth and seventh unaffiliated media is muslimoderat.com and thoriquna.id, due to having a very minimal level of productivity. They also have very different characteristics. Muslimoderat.net aims to present the moderate side of Islam which they claim as the main characteristic of most Indonesian Islam (mainstream Muslim). Moderate values upheld by muslimoderat.net are very compatible with Indonesian society. Unfortunately, muslimoderat.net tends to only show a portion of the moderatism in Indonesian Islam currently. In this case, they did not expose variants of moderate Islam outside of Nahdlatul Ulama. Although muslimoderat.net does not specifically mention their affiliation to any organization, a close look can tell that they are affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama. This can be seen from the logo they used, which has nine stars and circle-like mosque symbol above the letter 'm' in muslimoderat's logo. However, we were not able to confirm it because they did not mention the name of people who manage this site or even their official address except for email address.

Thoriquna.id, as the seventh and last in terms of productivity, has its own unique characteristic. In terms of productivity, thoriquna.id is very lacking since they did not upload many texts. Among the few that they uploaded, thoriquna.id appears truly radical. This can be seen by how they explicitly wrote that Jihad basically means war in one of their text. Meanwhile, Prophet

Muhammad PBUH himself stated that the most important Jihad is Jihad against lust, which is often associated with fasting ritual during Ramadhan month. This was stated by The Prophet, soon after he returned from a battle against the Quraisy, "My friends, we were just returning from a *sughro* (small) Jihad towards an even bigger Jihad." His friends asked, "My esteemed Prophet, what is that bigger Jihad?" To that The Prophet answered: "The bigger Jihad is Jihad against lust."

Thoriquana.id is very lacking in terms of productivity and professionalism. Their contents are updated very rarely. It will take some weeks before new content can be uploaded for their readers. Although small in number, their contents tend to propagate hostility to fellow religious followers and others with different faith. As has been explained above, the word Jihad in their perspective is closely related to war. This will be dangerous for people who only just learned about Islam that read their piece without critical thinking. They will be led to believe that other form of Jihad is not important. If only they truly learn about Islam, they will surely know that the other most important jihad is to gain knowledge, both religious knowledge and other knowledge in general. As explained in QS At-Taubah [9]: 122, it is stated that: "And it is not for the believers to go forth [to battle] all at once. For there should separate from every division of them a group [remaining] to obtain understanding in the religion and warn their people when they return to them that they might be cautious." The importance of seeking knowledge is also mentioned in QS Sad [38]: 29 which stated: "[This is] a blessed Book which We have revealed to you, [O Muhammad], that they might reflect upon its verses and that those of understanding would be reminded." Meanwhile, an article written by thoriquana.id mentioned that the most important meaning of jihad is to go to battle "against infidel people who brought war to us." This was explicitly stated in their article titled: "Jihad in Our Way" (within the article "Definition, Goal and Law of Jihad, accessed on..."). A simplistic understanding of Jihad as such will be dangerous for the relation between Muslim community and other believers. IN addition, the label infidel is most often delivered to non-Muslim, such as Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Buddha and Confucian people.

The fight to seize public space on the internet through the use of Islamic symbol and identity in Indonesia did not occur without a reason. First things

first, Indonesia is a country with the biggest Muslim population in the world, in which almost 87.7% of its citizens are Muslims. Secondly, contestation of ideology – including Islamism – will be easily spread under small cost through the medium of internet. Thirdly, the huge number of internet user in Indonesia which is amounted to 51% of its citizens or about 132.7 million (wearesocial.com 2017) is a huge market for any ideology, political or economic interest. Fourthly, among those 51%, almost 70% of them are Generation Y and Z which consists of 17-35 years old youth, which is a very productive generation that tends to use social media almost every day for at least 3 hours and 16 minutes (wearesocial.com, accessed on September 30th 2017).

Based on that argument, what happened nowadays is part of a psy war on the internet, a fight to win the heart of the youth (Gen. Y and Z) and to win the seat of power for the next decades. In order to win that fight, most are abandoning ethics and other regulations because they only care about how to change the mindset, logic and perspective of those youth so they will follow them through their websites.

The lack of regulation on internet communication in this country allows an opportunity for those with agenda to manipulate our national philosophy. Under the pretext of freedom of opinion, they utilized this free public space to overthrow democracy by disseminating ‘trash’ ideology – borrowing Syafii Maarif’s term – that actually destroys Islam. Instead of strengthening Islam’s image as the blessing to the entire universe, it actually worsens public perception at national and international level about Islam. This is clarifying the fact that we are currently entering post-truth era which is defined as “ (a term) relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/word-of-the-year/word-of-the-year-2016>, accessed on November 5th 2017).” What is being presented by those unaffiliated Islamic media is comes mostly from personal opinions instead of objective facts. This condition might need a collective effort to deal with it in order to deter the reproduction of hoax by those who utilized Islam as their identity.

The appearance of many online media that utilized Islam as their identity in Indonesia did not progress our media at all. On the contrary, inappropriate information from way too many media followed by lack of professional

management, journalistic code, and ethics, will only lead to people turning away from those unaffiliated Islamic media. However, this situation might just be deliberately designed by owners of those media, because they believe that post-truth era is on their side to win over people's logic.

A. Era Muslim's Response to Radicalism Issue

1. Pancasila, Republic of Indonesia and Caliphate State

Eramuslim.com's response to government's perspective on Pancasila, Republic of Indonesia and Caliphate State is expressed under their narrative of: "Welcome to the Modern New Order." This narrative was built based on government's statement such as statements from Minister of Religion, Lukman Hakim Saifudin. One of his statements was that Religion must be in line with Pancasila, "The government is not against religion, but the government believes that those religions must be in line with Pancasila because every religion understands that Pancasila is essentially their very religious value. If an organization appears and develops an idea to replace Pancasila, for example into Caliphate, then they are no longer religious organization but a political organization. Hence, the government must deal with it." This text was quoted from Minister of Religion Lukman Hakim Saifudin when he commented about the disbandment of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) on July 19th 2017 by Ministry of Law and Human Rights (eramuslim.com Thursday, 26 Syawal 1438H/ July 20th 2017).

Similar opinion was stated by Head of Yogyakarta Religion Office, Muhammad Luthfi Hamid, by saying that school management should be aware of their religious organization's activity to prevent it from being used by certain group to spread radical ideologies. This is not actually a statement against Islamic student's organization (Rohis) – but against the chance of radical group using Rohis to spread their ideology. In addition, the penetration of radical ideology among students is mostly caused by the lack of control to religious extracurricular activity. He believed that Rohis is a good concept but it needs to be guided by school's management so it will not be utilized by other party to spread their ideology. He regretted the fact that there are schools that entrusted their religious event to Rohis without adequate supervision. We always remind the school not to make policies that allow for the growth

of radicalism. Do not let any religious extracurricular activity went without control. Furthermore, it is said that religious activity in school should always be based on character building. This is possible if religious education is delivered proportionally. The first thing that we considered is curriculum. Curriculum must contribute to proportional religious understanding (eramuslim.com Thursday 12 Syawal 1438 H/July 6th 2017).

In addition, a softer statement from the government was also quoted. This came from Commander General Gatot Nurmantyo who stated that the role of Islamic scholar in fighting for national independence was very essential. Spirit of Islam in part of Islamic scholar was a very strong foundation to defend national independence at that time. Hence, history has proven that nationalism was defended by Muslim community. Indonesian Army will not be able to defend against the enemy without support from Islamic scholars. As such, fighting for and defending national independence would not be possible without the role played by Islamic scholars. Therefore, Gatot invited every PPP cadres to realize their party as a home for Muslim community to enforce Ahlussunah Wal Jamaah and Pancasila in Indonesia (eramuslim.com Friday, July 21st 2017).

In another opportunity, Commander General Gatot Nurmantyo added that defending Indonesia is Jihad. If we have a good faith, we will realize that defending Indonesia is a jihad that no one should be afraid of. He explained that essentially every soldier have fulfilled the requirement to commit Jihad for the sake of our country. "When we became soldiers, we have received permission from our parents, we have been medically checked and trained, and all of it is actually requirement for Jihad. With strong faith, those soldiers will be great, professional and strong in their duties, especially in battleground, without fear." (eramuslim.com Thursday, 8 Muharram 1439H/September 28th 2017) On another note, there was a criticism against Minister of Religion's statement on "Religion must be in line with Pancasila." Chairman of Muhammadiyah Youth, Danil Anzar Simanjuntak, for example, stated that Pancasila is created based on religious values, as a consensus of our founding fathers. Pancasila was a product of dialogue between our founding fathers (eramuslim.com Friday, July 21st 2017). Similar criticism was also delivered by Din Syamsuddin, former Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board. He believed that Minister of Religion's statement on the need for school to supervise Rohis activity is bad

education. Minister of Religion should have been grateful with Rohis for their contribution in maintaining student's ethical behavior. It has been known that when there was not enough religion teachers, Rohis has filled in that blank space. Din affirmed that Rohis in schools has contributed to student's religious understanding and character building. While it is true that there are some Rohis that abuse their power, this is what Ministry of Religion should deal with (eramuslim.com Sunday, July 9th 2017).

Since Pancasila is so important for Indonesia's national philosophy, there is a life-time punishment against members of anti-Pancasila organization. Government's Law in lieu of Law No. 2/2017 on Mass Organization mentioned a criminal punishment for members and steward of organization that violates this rule. The punishment could be lifetime imprisonment. Mass Organization Law also regulates punishment for members and/or steward or organization that commits acts of violence, public disturbance, or property destruction with 6 months or maximum 1 year imprisonment. Mass Organization Law also regulated criminal punishment to members and/or steward of organization that commits hostility or abuses the power of religion in Indonesia. They can be punished with lifetime imprisonment or at least 5 years and maximum 20 years. Lifetime imprisonment or 5-20 years imprisonment can also be given to members and/or steward of organization that utilizes separatist organization's symbol, conducting separatist activity, and adopting, developing and spreading ideology that contradicts Pancasila which includes atheism, communism/marxisme-leninism, or any ideas that attempt to replace Pancasila and 1945 Indonesian Constitution (eramuslim.com Wednesday 18 Syawal 1438H/ July 12th 2017).

As for the Caliphate State discourse, eramuslim.com posted Emha Ainun Najib's essay titled "The Scary Khilafah." He believed that ever since 2 or 3 centuries ago, world leaders have agreed to ensure that Muslim people will not unite to prevent the world from being conquered by Caliphate. Thus, the role of world history is to divide and conquer Muslim community in any way possible. Furthermore, through education, media and money, Muslim communities are led to hate Caliphate, Al-Quran and Islam. The world civilization will only be considered successful if Muslim community has wholeheartedly hated Caliphate. To the world today, and even to many Muslim communities: Caliphate is worse

than Communism and Terrorism. In fact, people are more afraid with Caliphate than with demons. Mankind has lived for so many centuries to conduct research for nature and life. They were amazed and they said *Robbana ma kholaqta hadza bathila*: O The Great Caretaker, nothing You created were useless. Even cow's poop can be used as fertilizer. Even trashes can be used. Even rocks can be diamonds. Colonialism gave birth to independence. The fall was reversed with rise. Suffering taught us about happiness.

In other part, Emha quoted the verse *Inni jailunfil ardli khalifah*: For I appointed Caliphs on this Earth. When informing to His staffs about things that he created after the Angel, universe and Genies, God did not call Adam or Human as a new hybrid things, but he immediately called them a Caliph. The concept of Caliphate is part of God's design for human in this universe. It was his script, His vision-mission, His Will. Caliphate is God's constitution. His saints spread His words: blessing in this universe must be nurtured by Human Caliphate. Caliph's duty is to implement it with work ethos, virtue and perseverance no matter how difficult the road they will take. Caliphate is God's design to make sure social justice for mankind. What should we be afraid of? Especially when Muslim community has been divided and conquered and they began to debate about the right or wrong of using music during pilgrimage, of wearing ankle-length trousers to pray, of utilizing mosque to plan for coup d'état. It might need one millennium to be truly afraid to Islam. There is nothing to be feared in the first place. Especially the world today is being led by *udkhulu fis-silmi kaffah*. Enter the *Silmi* insofar as your ability to unite everyone.

Nowadays people should not be too tense when facing Muslim community. The music being debated is music between neighbors, not music of national budget. After all, many people are seeking knowledge without anatomy and many friends are only associating caliphate to Hizbut Tahrir. HTI themselves are not careful enough in discussing about caliphate. As a result, the world and Indonesia only know about HTI when they talked about Caliphate, they did not talk about Muhammadiyah or others. As a matter of fact, the concept of Caliphate was not created by HTI, they are not the only owner of Caliphate and not the only group among humanity tasked by the God to be a Caliph.

Every human being is appointed as a Caliph by the God. I cannot blame or deny the God, because I was not the one who created mountain, river, ocean,

air, solar system, and galaxies. I can't even tell my heart to stop beating. I can't even wake myself up from sleeping. I can never customize the cells in my body or to schedule my pooping time. In fact, the love in my heart appears out of nowhere and it holds the entire universe without any attempt to program it.

So when God said let you be the caretaker of this world, I have no other choice. I am only his staff. Allah is my big boss. Though he provided basic regulation of *fa man sya'a falyu 'min, wa man sya'a falyakfur*: let the faithful have faith, let the traitor be traitorous, I do not want to lose any calculation. I cannot deny my boss' regulation for I have no other place to work or to live. I can never use any vehicle for I breath with His air. Especially when I sleep with my wife, The God is the one with the power to make her pregnant, not me. I'm only enjoying my part. Such kind of things is not in-depth and rational enough to be the individual or collective awareness of Muslim community. So let me ask you this O world, what do you fear from Caliphate? If a Caliphate can be realized, you will be cared by the blessing to the entire universe. If it is not yet realized, and it isn't up to this day. As a matter of fact, Islam is not the same with Arabic. Arabic is not necessarily Saudi. Saudi is not necessarily Quraisy. Quraisy is not necessarily Badwy. What are you afraid of? O World, do not tinker with your victory by your fear to a mirage (eramuslim.com Sunday, August 6th 2017).

One of the things that the world feared from Caliphate concerns the law to cut a person's hand. One of the main needs of every social order, from the smallest to the biggest, is the need of having order that regulate every consequence to every action. Hence, every form of life will have their own regulation, written or unwritten. The same is also true for religion with its role as guidance for mankind, written by God himself for his creations. What God has regulated for human could never make them suffer. Among the many rules written by God for human being is a rule against theft, which is punishable by cutting the perpetrator's hand (QS al-Maidah/5:38-39). However, it should be noted that the hand dismemberment itself must only be made after certain requirements have been fulfilled, which is the existence of two witnesses who are just, Muslim and free (Ibnu Mundzir).

In regard to thievery, Islamic sharia attempts to cater for the interest of many instead of the interest of thief. Providing heavy punishment by cutting hand aims to eradicate people's worry about their property. Hence Allah

made it a whip to punish those thieves and maintain people's safety. This is an appropriate punishment full of meaning. If people could think for a second, appropriate punishment is not a mean to harm the perpetrator, but it is a justice in Allah's perspective which will definitely be good for His creations for He is the Most Knowledgeable on everything. Should this privilege is given to certain judge or group, it will surely create controversy. As the result, we can never ensure justice for human beings to make them feel safe from harm (eramuslim.com Thursday, 18 Zulqa'dah 1438H/ August 10th 2017).

Furthermore, it is said that Caliphate and Islamic sharia will never harm non-Muslim. For example, when Christian Europe was on famine, Caliphate Turkey came to help. This happened during 1845-1852 AD which later known as The Great Hunger or The Great Irish Famine. At that time, the entire Europe was suffering from famine, with the worst occurred in Ireland and Scotland. This phenomenon was caused by repeated failure of potato farm, while the rest of the potato was infested with mold and inedible. In addition, the famine was also caused by England's policy to export potato seed to the North in order to force the cultivation of potato in a land they rented to Ireland farmer with high price. Due to this famine, mortality rate increased, more than 1 million died, and many people migrated, causing Ireland's population to be reduced for 25%.

As soon as he heard about the news, Ottoman Sultan, Abdul Majid I expressed his intention to send about 10,000 sterling to help Ireland farmers. However, Queen Victoria asked that the Sultan only send 1,000 sterling. Queen Victoria's request was indeed weird, because she did not want to be perceived as stingy due to only sending 2,000 sterling, a much smaller number than Sultan of Turkey's offer. So he sent 1,000 sterling, but quietly he sent 3 huge ships with food, shoes and other needs. The Government of England attempted to block those ships, but it managed to safely dock in Port Drogheda. After delivering that ship, Ottoman's seafarer left Port Drogheda to return to Turkey. To express their gratitude to Sultan Abdul Majid I, people of Ireland sent a letter which is still preserved in Turkey's archive museum. In that letter, Irish noble expressed their praise to the Sultan and they hope Ottoman's action can be an example for other European states.

The following is the letter of gratitude from people of Ireland to Ottoman Turkey Caliphate: "We the noblemen, gentlemen and inhabitants of Ireland

want to express our thanks and gratitude for the Ottoman Sultan's munificent assistance due to the disaster of dearth. It is unavoidable for us to appeal the assistance of other countries in order to be saved from the enduring threat of death and famine. The Ottoman Sultan's munificent response to this aid call displays an example to European States. Numbers were relieved and saved from perishing through this timely act. We express our gratitude on their behalf and hope that the Ottoman Sultan and his dominions will be saved from the afflictions which have befallen us," said the Leaders & Noblemen of Ireland. Up to this day, that historic event is still remembered by Irish people, especially those who live around Port Drogheda. The Irish people have considered Turkish as their own kin ever since, which is why people who visit Drogheda will see many Turkish-related things. In fact, one of the football clubs of Ireland, Drogheda United, uses Ottoman's symbol as their club's symbol, in respect to Ottoman Turkey caliphate. They are proud with that symbol while many Muslims are rather proud with club jersey that depicts cross (eramuslim.com Thursday, 18 Zulqa'dah 1438H/ August 10th 2017).

Thomas W. Arnold, a Christian historian, had similar opinion. He believed that peace and tolerance was the best during Islamic caliphate. In his book *The Preaching of Islam*, the Christian historian and orientalist wrote about Islamic Caliphate's fairness to Christian people in Sham which made them prefer to live under Islamic Caliph instead of the Christian Holy Roman Emperor. Sham (present day Syria, Jordan, Palestine) was ruled under eastern Holy Roman Empire (Byzantium) for 7 centuries before they were conquered by Islam. When the Muslim army led by Abu Udaibah arrived in Jordan valley, the Christian locals wrote a letter to him that reads: "My Muslim brothers and sisters, we believe more in your cause than the Roman's, even if they have the same religion as us, because you are more faithful with your promise, more compassionate with us, and Islamic government is much better than Byzantium, because they have robbed us of our properties and houses. People of Emessa closed their gate to Heraclius' army and notified the Muslim people that they prefer to be ruled under the fair Muslim than being oppressed by the unjust Roman Emperor."

That sums up people of Sham's opinion during the age of war (633-639 AD) when Muslim armies were gradually eliminating Roman's armies from that region. Thus, once Damascus in 637 declared their peace agreement to Islamic

Caliphate, which means they can secure their safety, other cities followed suit: Emessa, Arethusa, Hieropolis, all of them made similar agreement with Islamic Caliphate, and they paid their taxes to them. In fact, Patriarch of Jerusalem surrendered his city with similar agreement. Their fear toward Holy Roman Emperor drives them to approach the tolerant Muslim. People of Byzantium can then enjoy religious tolerance, such as people who adopted Monophysism and Nestoria, which was banned for centuries during Christian Holy Roman Empire's rule. They were given freedom to express their religion, but they were told not to employ religious symbol for it will only cause conflict among religions or fanaticism which will only harm Muslim people's feeling. The extent of tolerance during the seventh century can be seen from the requirements given to cities conquered by Muslim armies, in which protection to people's life and property as well as freedom of religion was guaranteed. In return, they were only required to pay taxes to the Muslim army which was relatively smaller than the repressive tax required by Christian Roman Empire.

Islamic Caliphate's security for non-Muslim was also provided by Umar ibn al-Khattab. For example, we can look at the agreement between Jerusalem and Umar when they surrendered themselves to the Muslim army: "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is the security guarantee given by Umar, servant of God, Amirul Mukminin, to the people of Elia (Palestine): He provided to all of us, the sick and the healthy, security for their life, properties, churches, crosses, and everything related to their religion. Churches will not be changed into settlement, will not be destroyed, their properties will not be reduced by any means, there will be no coercion for anything related to their faith, and no harm will be given unto them. It is established that their contribution will be five dinar for the rich, four dinar for the middle-class and three dinar for the commoner. Along with the Patriarch, Caliph Umar may visit holy places and will be respected when he is in the church Resurrection." As for praying matters, the Patriarch allowed Caliph to pray in that place but Umar politely declined such offer as he thought that such thing will let his people to believe that their church is a place for Muslim to pray and they will change it to a mosque. Such tolerant attitude was also shown by Umar to other religious believers, such as when he ordered his people to provide money and foods from *baitul mal* to the sufferers of leprosy and Christians. In fact, in his

last will where he appointed the people who will replace him as the Caliph, he mentioned about non-Muslim people ruled under him: "Truly I wish that the he (the new Caliph) will take care of those non-Muslim people so they can retain God's and Prophet's protection, and I wish that he (the new Caliph) will honor our agreement with them, and he must not saddle them with burdens they can never borne," Thus the history has recorded that peace and tolerance was maintained during Islamic Caliphate (eramuslim.com Saturday, 20 Zulqa'dah 1438H/ August 12th 2017).

That historical evidence was then referred to by eramuslim.com to publish an article titled: "Ignorant People Talking about Caliphate, A Mess Indeed." Indonesian Police was asked to follow up the report from several political parties against Nasdem's Victor Laiskodat for allegation of slandering and defamation. Chairman of Indonesian Volunteer Association (Satuan Relawan Indonesia Raya/Satria), M. Nizar Zahro stated that such dangerous act must not be repeated in the future by anyone. Indonesian police must follow up the report against VBL, said Nizar in his account on Tuesday (8/8/2017). He stated that Victor is too way ignorant in concluding that parties that did not support Mass Organization Law are supporters of Caliphate system. Such ignorance led victor to false assumption that Gerindra, National Mandate Party, Democrat Party, and Prosperous Justice Party are supporting the establishment of Caliphate state. VBL should learn first about Caliphate before he stated such baseless accusation. Victor should be reminded that majority of Muslim people in this modern era no longer believe in Caliphate because they have been enjoying their life under their own governmental system, meaning that the idea of reviving Caliphate is a very utopic idea. Nizar explained that during the process of formulating national philosophy, our founding fathers have debated about the most appropriate philosophy for Indonesia and they finally agreed on Pancasila. Our founding fathers realized that the plurality of Indonesia must be united in a noble agreement. Such agreement is contained within Pancasila and its five principles which are believed to be representative of every element of this nation. Hence it is the obligation of every citizen to defend and strengthen national integrity through Pancasila. By looking at history, it is clear that VBL does not understand how this country was created which led him to that baseless and uncivilized accusation. It is truly weird if

we associate rejection to Mass Organization Law with Caliphate, said Nizar (eramuslim.com Wednesday, 17 Zulqa'dah 1438H/ August 9th 2017).

Islamic Caliphate as explained above will return at the end of time, after the death of Unjust King. Many hadiths from the Prophet has explained that Islamic Caliphate similar to the era of Four Friends (Khulafaur Rasyidin) will return once more. One of them is a hadith that depicts the respective form and stages of power which will occur after his death to the end of time: "The age of prophet will be experienced by all of you for few years, and then Allah will lift it. Then enter period of Caliphate *ala minjah nubuwwah* (Caliphate in accordance with the Prophet) for few ages until Allah lift it. Then enter period of *mulkan aadhdhan* (harmful rulers) for few ages. The next will be period of *mulkan jabbriyyan* (coercive rulers) for few ages until the time Allah has decided. After that is when period of caliphate *ala minjaj nubuwwah* will return once more. Then Prophet Muhammad PBUH went silent [HR Ahmad, Clarified] (eramuslim.com Saturday, 10 Muharram 1439H/September 30th 2017).

2. Unity, Tolerance and Kinship

Eramuslim.com in their many articles have published articles on the prohibition of using veil for Muslim women, which is a criticism to certain Islamic group that could not care less with unity, tolerance and kinship. One of them is an article about "UIN Jakarta Fired a Veiled Lecturer." The rippling effect caused by the disbandment of anti-Pancasila organization is not over. Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah made a policy to fire their lecturers who wear veil after given an option to take it off. Indeed we have enacted strong policy against lecturers indicated to be involved with radical movement, said the rector of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Dede Rosyada in UIN Jakarta's rectorate building in Ciputat on Sunday (7/30/2017). He believed that the female lecturer has been terminated a year ago. The concerned person has been called and interrogated. We gave her an option but she instead chose to participate in her organization. She declined to tell in detail about her organization and activity, which is outside of the norm, so we terminated her. I can't remember the detail, but it was clear that she admitted her choice.

The university has known that said lecturer has different perspective, and they asked the lecturer to take off their veil during class session, but she refused.

At that time she has her own argument on why she wear veil. The university also mentioned that they have a policy against people wearing veil during class session. Dede believed that the university has been really democratic in dealing with her. Due to the said lecturer remain affirmed with her decision, the university has no other choice except to fire her. As for male lecturer, Dede admitted that supervising them is more difficult, especially because most of UIN's lecturer has similar appearance, such as wearing ankle-length trousers and preserving beard. As long as there is no report on that lecturer, we were unable to give any sanction. I am not associating appearance with radicalism, but as long as there is an indication, we will deal with it, he said. The same is also true for lecturers affiliated to HTI and other radical organization – he said that the university has no data about them. As a result, university's supervision to such cases is still very lacking. There are no data about the number of lecturer and student involved with HTI. Up to this day, we have not expelled any lecturer or student affiliated to HTI, he said (eramuslim.com Monday, 8 Zulqa'dah 1438H/July 31st 2017).

Another article published by eramuslim.com was article about: "Pushami: Prohibition of Wearing Veil is a Violation of Human Rights." Indonesian Center for Muslim Rights (Pusat Hak Asasi Muslim Indonesia/Pushami) condemned the prohibition for students to wear veil in Pamulang University in South Tangerang, Banten. Head of Pushami, Mohammad Hariadi Nasution SH, MH, CLA (Ombat) argued that that policy is violating human rights. Wearing veil is part of the ritual of Muslim women, hence prohibiting them from conducting their ritual is clearly against human rights, said Ombat to Suara Islam on Friday (8/11/2017). He also asked that the university respect their student's decision to wear veil. Veiled women are upholding their faith to avoid slander and to prevent her skin to be shown to others, it is actually good, said Ombat. He also questioned the philosophy behind that prohibition – he believed that university should not contradict 1945 Constitution. The university should realize that they belong to Republic of Indonesia and our law has provided guarantee to freedom of worship, said Ombat. Even governmental law can be revoked by Constitutional Court if it contradicts human rights, so university policy should be no different. In addition, Ombat argued that if veil is prohibited due to indication of radicalism, then the university does not

understand religion. They need to explain what makes people radical? Is true that women who wear veil and bearded men who wear ankle-length trousers are radical? If it was the only assumption, then it is a discrimination based on Islamophobia. University should not be paranoid, he said. University as educational institution must be able to respect difference. He also argued that university should not use backward logic by banning veil but allowing people who wear sexy garments. Previously Pamulang University was known to prohibit their students who wear veil. The prohibition is contained in Rector Decree Number 338/A/U/Unpam/V/2017. Although the policy regulated about dress code during class, it is mentioned that veil is not allowed for every student (eramuslim.com Friday, August 11th 2017).

Article about prohibition to wear veil is also published by eramuslim.com titled "Prohibiting Veil, Chairman of Pamulang University Foundation: This Is My Campus, This Is My Rule." Chairman of Pamulang University Foundation, Drs. Darsono finally made public statement about the prohibition to wear veil in his university. This is my house rule. It happened to be that Pamulang University is a private university. This is my campus, this is my rule, he said to kiblata.net in Pamulang University, Pamulang, South Tangerang on Wednesday (8/9/2017). Thus I welcome anyone that can follow my house rule. Darsono also stated that he has no problem with students who disagree with the rule of Pamulang University. This is a rule, so students cannot revoke it. They cannot force me. If they disagree with my rule, they shouldn't be here in the first place. He claimed that veil will disrupt communication because people can only see at their eyes. However, he will not force veiled students to take off their veil. We are not forcing them to take off their veil, it would be human rights violation. But this is our rule, we are prohibiting the use of veil. Furthermore, he explained that there are no students that have been punished because of this rule yet. He explained that sanction will be given to students that can't follow rule. If they violate it, then we will expulse them (eramuslim.com, Friday August 11th 2017).

The weird statement from Minister of Religion was also quoted by eramuslim.com, "Minister of Religion: Muslims Who Are Not Moderate Are Actually Not Muslims." Minister of Religion Lukman Hakim Saifuddin mentioned that *ukhuwah Islamiyah wathaniyah* (moderate Islamic thought) is highly relevant in current age. This teaching demands Muslim community

to preserve unity. The word *wasath* is roughly translated to referee (*wasit*). According to Indonesian Dictionary, *wasit* is defined as the intermediary, the decision maker, and the leader during competition. *Wasit* can also be interpreted as reconciliatory figure during conflict. That is the meaning of *wasath*. *Ukhuwah wathaniyah* considers actions compatible with current condition but still in accordance with Islamic teaching. Lukman also mentioned that a person who can act in accordance with *wathaniyah* will have wide knowledge and pure heart. Therefore, this kind of people will not be seduced by act of extremism. In resolving problem, *wathaniyah* people will prioritize dialogue. Difference is a reality, thus Al-Quran emphasizes dialogue as a solution to preserve togetherness. Lukman believed that *wathaniyah* Islam is compatible to be the reference and goal of Muslim community to build their civilization forward. After all, *wathaniyah* Islam put an emphasis on group interest and unity. So the real Islam is *wathaniyah* Islam. People who claimed to be Muslims while they themselves are not moderate are actually not Muslims. They only put forward their personal agenda on the pretext of group agenda (eramuslim.com Tuesday, 23 Zulqa'dah 1438H/August 15th 2017).

One example of unity, tolerance and kinship in Indonesia, according to Commander General Gatot Nurmantyo is Community Prayer 171717. Community Prayer 171717 was conducted to celebrate Indonesian Independence. This activity is a strong foundation to promote unity among Indonesian. A more compassionate Indonesia will be a good foundation for national unity – a unity despite our difference to pursue the noble goal of our nation.

Based on the spirit of unity and strong desire to gain independence, our national heroes, particularly Islamic scholars, were able to use the slogan “Liberty or Death” as an effective weapon to destroy colonialists and achieve independence for Indonesian. He believed that the words “By the grace of God Almighty and motivated by a noble desire to live a free national life,” as stated in the preamble of 1945 Constitution means that Indonesian independence can only be achieved by the grace of God Almighty hence Indonesian must be grateful for their freedom. We should also remember that Indonesian independence was achieved by a noble desire of the whole people of Indonesia who took no qualm to sacrifice their wealth and life. As such, we must also pray so that Allah will give His grace and compassion to our national

heroes who have sacrificed themselves for Indonesia. As the next generation that enjoys independence, Gatot Nurmantyo invited everyone to pray to God Almighty to enlighten Indonesian with knowledge and wisdom so the people can preserve their independence, able to maintain Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila and unity in diversity. At the same time, we also pray so we will always be given power, patience, diligence and compassion in realizing an independent, sovereign and virtuous Indonesia that will ultimately provide social justice for its people (eramuslim.com Friday, August 18th 2017).

Eramuslim.com also published a counter-productive case toward unity, tolerance, and kinship, "Committing 19 Persecutions, HTI Reported Banser to National Commission for Human Rights." Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia reported Ansor Paramilitary Group (Banser) of Nahdlatul Ulama to National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas HAM) due to allegation of 19 persecutions to their members in many part of Indonesia. HTI's lawyer, Ahmad Khozinudir, claimed that his client has reported Banser because they have taken the role of a law enforcement officer despite not being one themselves. This was committed by our brother, Banser of NU, in the form of obstruction and disbandment of events organized by our sympathizers, members and HTI in many region, said Ahmad in National Commission for Human Rights' headquarter in Jakarta on Monday (7/17/2017). The most famous is Ustadz Felix Siauw because he is a member of Hizbut Tahrir, said Ahmad. Ahmad explained that HTI reported Banser to National Commission for Human Rights because they want to find a better solution in this conflict. This is in order to guide our brothers in Banser NU and also our compassion to them, said Ahmad. In addition to reporting Banser, Ahmad will also report police officer that he claimed to have done nothing in spite of the persecution to HTI member. In fact, Ahmad said that the police has attempted to bribe HTI with money for reparation. Ahmad truly regretted such behavior. He said that HTI has no need for money, but they need their rights. The most unfortunate incident occurred in Semarang. Law enforcers instead promised us money for reparation, said Ahmad (eramuslim.com Tuesday, 24 Syawal 1438H/July 18th 2017).

3. Radical Group and Mass Organization Law

Eramuslim reported about radical group with their article titled "Radical

Militia from Iraq and Syria Recruited Children to be Their Army.” Thousands of children are employed as a soldier in many armed conflicts around the world regardless of how they were recruited or the role given unto them. Child soldiers are victim as their participation in such conflict will leave serious consequences for their physical and psychological being. The recruitment and usage of children under 15 to work as soldier is prohibited by International Humanitarian Law and can be considered as war crime. In addition, according to Human Rights Law, 18 years-old is the minimum age for children to be recruited and involved in battle. In Yemen, Amnesty International has confirmed new evidence proving Houthi group has recruited children under 15 and placed some of them in frontline. In Iraq, War Crime Documentation Center, in their report in May, explained that sectarian militia has trained Iraq children to take up arms. According to the report, these militia are using public facilities such as school and sports field to recruit children. ISIS also committed similar approach. United Nations and many of its affiliates have documented the recruitment of thousands of Syrian and Iraq children to be employed for their suicide attack in frontline. According to UN, ISIS was utilizing the famine situation in certain families to seduce parents to send their children in order to get money. Children employed as soldier will usually receive between four hundred and a thousand dollar each month. Recently, Hizbullah Militia has also recruited children and placed them in armed conflict, especially in Syria. International organization such as UNICEF has considered Hizbullah’s practice to children to be recorded as grave violation of child rights and international law (eramuslim.com Monday, 22 Zulqa’dah 1438H/ August 14th 2017).

Other radical group was also reported by eramuslim.com in their article titled “Houthi Rebel Manipulated Students in School to Go to Battle.” Houthi leaders in Mahwit province of North Yemen and Director of Education Office in Shibam, Abdullah Al-Qassimy are calling their students to go to frontline after finishing their exam. This was announced during field trip to office centers. Houthi Leader said that the real certificate of graduation can be obtained in frontline and not in school. Al Qassimi also added, you can’t just sit here, you need to go to frontline, education will give you certificate of graduation in the form of scorebook, but frontline has a more essential certificate of graduation in the form of certificate of honor. Meanwhile, Al-Mahwit Media Center

reported that agitation from Al-Qassimy to drive students to go to battle has made many students furious. Rebel militia continued to do negative things to education by manipulating the future of education and youth generation (eramuslim.com Monday, 23 Syawal 1438 H/July 17th 2017).

The jihad narrative socialized by radical groups in Turkey was also reported by eramuslim.com. The jihad narrative itself reads “teaching mathematics to students is useless unless they know about the meaning of Jihad.” This jihad narrative is included by a member of National Education Committee in Turkey parliament into education curriculum in Turkey. This was appreciated by member of Development Justice Party, Hakim Ahmed Hamdi alkamili. He believed that the introduction of Jihad in the new Turkey curriculum is a good step forward. He believed that Jihad is one of the most important elements of Islam. Siur Hurriyet supported Alkamili’s statement by saying “... When we looked at the era of Ottoman Sultan, almost every person did not go for pilgrimage because they don’t want to miss Jihad.” Turkey’s Minister of Education Ismail Yilmaz on July 18th explained that national curriculum in Turkey includes Jihad as part of Islamic law materials in school textbook. He also said that Jihad is one of our religion’s aspects. Ministry of Education’s duty is to teach every concept in the right way ... we are also working to fix wrong perspective about Jihad in our teaching. Our ministry has taken a very important decision. If prayer is one of the pillars of this religion, then Jihad can be likened to a tent. A tent can never be built without its pillars. Teaching mathematics to children will be useless if they do not understand the meaning of jihad (eramuslim.com Monday, 1 Zulqa’dah 1438 H/July 24th 2017).

Meanwhile, in regard to the controversial Mass Organization Law, Eramuslim.com also reported it in their article on Amien Rais titled “Mass Organization Law is a Bad Precedent of a Ruler.” Former Chief of House of Representatives Amien Rais raised his concern to the enactment of Government Regulation in lieu of Law Number 2 Year 2017 on Mass Organization. Amien believed that this law is a bad precedent of Jokowi. He has abandoned Islamic decrees. Through this law, the government represented by Ministry of Law and Human Rights and Ministry of Home Affairs can disband any mass organization. So far they might have disbanded HTI which has been clearly proven to contradict Pancasila. So it’s clear that HTI is the first victim, perhaps

FPI will be next, and then others. Amien which currently serves as Chief Honorary Council of PAN expected the House of Representatives to revoke this law. I am afraid Jokowi is wrong. This must be revoked. So what is the solution for organization that contradicts national philosophy? Amien said that it can be resolved through discussion. If there is a dangerous organization that wants to replace Pancasila, just call them and debate them. He stated that he has never agreed to the disbandment of HTI. He believed that HTI is a group of young Muslim people that could provide solution for this nation. The caliphate spirit promoted by HTI does not necessarily mean anti-nationalism, as it contains hope that the ruler of this country will be a religious person who loves truth and hates wickedness. I'd say that HTI is a group of educated Muslim who can solve problem. So what is the problem? Caliphate itself means promoting religiosity and truth in the fight against wickedness and others. Therefore, I'd say that Jokowi-JK must reconsider their decision for this decision will only turn this country anarchical and resulted in unwanted things (eramuslim.com Friday, July 14th 2017).

Therefore, Deputy Chief House of Representatives Fahri Hamzah asked "Constitutional Court to Revoke Mass Organization Law." Deputy Chief House of Representatives Fahri Hamzah stated that the government should not violate freedom of association and expressing opinion through Government Regulation in lieu of Law Number 17 year 2013 on Mass Organization. This regulation has been enacted since the fourth amendment of 1945 Constitution. After the fourth amendment of 1945 Constitution, freedom of association and expressing opinion should not be taken off unilaterally. Fahri believed that the disbandment of organization through this law can be revoked through Constitutional Court review. It cannot be conducted unilaterally through law only. I am afraid that if this law is reviewed it will definitely be revoked. Therefore, he demanded that organization should only be disbanded through judicial process. After all, mankind borrows law from the God to regulate worldly matters but it must only be used by a judge, which is why we call a judge as the representative of God on this earth. As has been known, the government announced the enactment of Government Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2/2017 on Mass Organization. One of its articles provided privilege for Ministry of Law and Human Rights and Ministry of Home Affairs to revoke the legal permission and status of organization that has

been proven to contradict Pancasila. This Mass Organization Law will require acceptance from House of Representatives. In addition, some people will submit judicial review request to Constitutional Court in regard to this law (eramuslim.com Friday, July 14th 2017).

Similar account was also made by Chairman of United Islamic Organization Alliance (Aliansi Ormas Islam Bersatu/ AOIB), Habib Kholilullah Alhabsyi. He believed that Mass Organization law enacted by Joko Widodo can create new chaos. The government's act will only result in new chaos; certainly we will ask Constitutional Court to review it. Habib Kholil's statement was immediately supported by an orator from Jakarta youth movement. He affirmed his resolve to commit jihad to fight against this Mass Organization Law. We only need to wait for a Jihad call from our leaders. We are prepared to take up arms, we are prepared to spill our blood to fight against this Mass Organization Law. Currently, their protests have dissolved. Before it ends, Ustaz Yasin recites a prayer. In his prayer, Ustaz Yasin wishes that Islamic organization and Islamic leader will strive to face any challenge, including Mass Organization Law. Please give our leaders and Islamic organization a power to stay strong. Some of the protesters were in tears. He also advised the protesters to be careful and stay strong. If God wills it, this struggle will be won by Allah. Mass Organization Law was enacted on July 10th 2017. Coordinator Ministry for Political, Law and Security Affairs Wiranto stated that the government hopes people can accept the enactment of Mass Organization Law (eramuslim.com Wednesday, 25 Syawal 1438 H/ July 19th 2017).

One of the chaos resulted from Mass Organization is the 287 Protest (July 28th 2017). If God wills it, 1,000 red-and-white flags will flutter. The Field Coordinator, who is an Alumni of 212 Protest, Haji Daud, stated that the plan was for 287 protesters against Mass Organization Law to bring 1,000 red-and-white flag. "We will show to the people of Indonesia that 212 Presidium is nationalistic." In regard to the 287 Protest, Daud stated that organizers have requested permission from the police. "287 Protest will begin in Istiqlal Mosque, and then we will conduct a long march through the National Monument and Horse Statue to the Constitutional Court Building. The protest is scheduled to be after Friday Prayer to 18:00 PM. We predicted that it will be finished after evening prayer," said Daud. Upon arrival in Constitutional Court Building,

protesters will send their delegate to Constitutional Court Judge to explain about the problems in Mass Organization Law. Meanwhile, lawyer of 212 Alumni Presidium, Kapitra Ampera, said that "287 Protest is not a form of resistance, but it is a correction to government's policy in enacting Mass Organization Law. We correct them because we love this country. Tomorrow all of us will submit our claim representing other mass organizations to Constitutional Court" (eramuslim.com Friday, July 28th 2017) Another chaos was the emergence of 299 Protest which was reported in the article, "Supporting 299 Protest, People Living around Parliamentary Building Created Food Stalls." In the 299 Protest which was held by 212 Alumni Presidium, we can see a tent stands across Parliamentary Building in Senayan, Central Jakarta, which was taken care of by some women who distributed foods to protesters. The distributed foods came from Muslim Community Benhil United which consists of people who live around Bendungan Hilir who supports 299 Protest which was held in Friday (9/29/2017). Mrs. Reni (47) from Benhil who worked in that tent stated that "we did not come from nowhere, we just want to help providing foods and drinks for protesters and pedestrians who walked around Parliamentary Building in Senayan, because today the weather is really hot and people can easily faint so we made an initiative to build this tent." When asked about the budget to provide logistic support, she mentioned that "the budget came from ourselves, we made this tent and passing cars suddenly provide us with boxes of food, drink and snack." In addition to distributing rice, the tent also provided coffee, tea, and chocolate milk for participant of 299 Protest. We can see many pedestrians, both children and adult, who claimed to be participant of 299 Protest asking for rice and mineral water as a supply for their protest this afternoon (eramuslim.com Friday, July 28th 2017).

The 299 Protest was also attended by Amien Rais, Taufik Ismail and several other figures. Several public figures are said to be attending 299 Protest which will be held by 212 Alumni Presidium in front of Parliamentary Building this Friday (9/22/2017). The protest which will campaign against the revival of Indonesian Communist Party and Mass Organization Law will be attended by the 1998 Reformasi Figure such as Amien Rais, senior poet Taufik Ismail, musician Ahmad Dhani and several other figures. If God wills it, national and religious figures will be present. Amien Rais has confirmed

his attendance, I have met him, Gus Nur and Ahmad Dhani will also be attending, said Chairman of 212 Alumni Presidium, Slamet Maarif, in Sunda Kelapa Mosque, Menteng, Central Jakarta on Wednesday (9/27/2017). In addition, constitutional law expert who was the lawyer of HTI, the first victim of Mass Organization Law, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, will also deliver his written oration. Mr. Yusril would like to attend, but he is currently in Thailand, so I will read his written oration, he said. As for the theme of rejecting the revival of Indonesian Communist Party, 212 Alumni Presidium has requested senior poet Taufiq Ismail to read his poem. I was just meeting with Mr. Taufiq Ismail, one of our esteemed humanists. I have requested him to attend and read a poem about the revival of Indonesian Communist Party (eramuslim.com Friday, September 29th 2017).

In addition, it was reported that Fadli Zon and Agus will meet with representative of 299 Protest. Deputy Chief of House of Representatives Agus Hermanto said that Fadli Zon and he will receive a representative of 299 Protest in front of Parliamentary Building. "Some of our brothers and sisters are currently protesting in front of Parliamentary Building, it is obvious that, as a leader of House of Representative, we have an obligation to welcome them," said Agus in Parliamentary Building on Friday (9/29/2017). Agus explained that in their meeting they will discuss about the aim of their protest in front of Parliamentary Building. "Mr. Fadli Zon and I will receive them," he explained. Agus also stated that in addition to Fadli Zon and him, some of the leaders from Commission II will also appear because there are some things that mass organizations wish to discuss in regard to Mass Organization Law (eramuslim.com Friday, September 29th 2017).

The government through Jakarta Police will respond the 299 Protest by dispatching Asmaul Husna Team. Chief of Jakarta Police, General Idham Aziz stated that he will dispatch Asmaul Husna Team to secure the 299 Protest in front of Parliamentary Building. Yes, one of them will be with Asmaul Husna Team, especially since this is Friday and we have experience in such things. I have instructed female police to bring mineral water and candy for protesters, said Idham in Parliamentary Building on Friday (9/29/2017). Idham explained that the dispatched Asmaul Husna team came from West Java and Jakarta. He also said that this team will be commanded directly by

Chief Arif Rahman. He was the commander in that area, he explained. Idham also asked the protesters to immediately dissolve once their representatives have been received by Chief House of Representatives. "If they are already done and their aspiration has been delivered to House of Representatives, we hope they can immediately dissolve themselves in an orderly manner," said Idham (eramuslim.com Friday, September 29th 2017).

Meanwhile, Wiranto who represented Government of Indonesia was reportedly curious with 299 Protest. He said, "Curious: Government Has Banned Indonesian Communist Party, What Are They Protesting Now?" Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law and Security, Wiranto, commented on the 299 Protest about Indonesian Communist Party and Mass Organization Law. He explained that the government has clearly banned communist organization. In fact, Wiranto explained that Mass Organization Law has also regulated prohibition of other radical ideologies, both the extreme right and the extreme left that contradicts Pancasila. In regard to protest against Communist Party, isn't the government has banned them, what are they protesting now? Especially if they protested against Mass Organization Law, there is a process for such thing, if they disagree they can go to Constitutional Court, we shall wait, said Wiranto on Friday (9/29/2017). Wiranto stated that in a democratic country, demonstration is allowed as long as it complies with Law. However, he also asked what kind of protest it will be? As long as the protest is constructive and will not disrupt national stability, then it's fine. The protest itself will be useless anyway. Businessmen were asking me, is it dangerous or not, should we go abroad? The Former Military Commander said that demonstration has its own rule. There is a rule on expressing opinion in public. He said that demonstration could be an attraction for tourist if it is conducted in an orderly manner. As for the rallying of people that causes public anxiety, he said that it should not be allowed. Wiranto asked those who are already protesting to think clearly, not letting themselves being manipulated for unclear goal (eramuslim.com Friday, September 29th 2017).

Furthermore, Jokowi asked Islamic scholars to resolve the chaos caused by his enactment of Mass Organization Law. President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) asked everyone to resolve the chaos caused by the enactment of Mass Organization Law. This was stated by Jokowi after he received

several scholars from Sulawesi in Merdeka Palace on Tuesday (7/18/2017). The most important thing is how society can hold itself to prevent chaos. The government will attempt to maintain national security. Therefore we must resolve anything that will happen in regard to this law. This was also confirmed by leader of Miftahul Jannah Pesantren of West Sulawesi, Thamrin. After meeting with Jokowi, Thamrin mentioned similar message. The most important thing is how society can hold itself to prevent chaos. We will work alongside the government to secure our country. So we were asked to resolve anything that will happen in regard to this law. Thamrin also admits that many people do not understand the government's aim in enacting this law. Hence, Jokowi asked all Islamic scholars to explain the goal of Mass Organization Law to their followers, especially in Sulawesi. It is true that the society needs a lot of explanation to prevent misunderstanding. It is possible that those protesting this law might not understand about it. Mass Organization Law itself has become a hot topic among society. This law will replace an article that regulates organization disbandment must be made through court. Legal disbandment can be immediately taken by the government through Minister of Home Affairs or Minister of Law and Human Rights (eramuslim.com Wednesday, 25 Syawal 1438 H/July 19th 2017).

4. Violence, Radicalism and Terrorism

Nowadays, issues about violence, radicalism and terrorism are among the most phenomenal issue for people of Indonesia. This issue is apparently one of the main concerns of eramuslim.com. The case of cooking-pot bomb that exploded within the complex Kampung Kubang Bereum, Buahbatu, Bandung around 15:30 PM was interesting news for eramuslim.com. The homemade bomb was planned to be exploded in three locations within Bandung. Based on the information that we gathered, the cooking-pot bomb was planned to be exploded in Café Bali in Braga Street, Celengan Restaurant in Astana Anyar and Buahbatu Church, all of which is located in Bandung. However, it appears that Agus Wiguna, the perpetrator, exploded his bomb in his house. The explosion itself did not result in fatalities and his house was not even scratched, as can be seen in the photo. In that photo, we can see a mess of dining table as if it was played around by a cat. Such was the great cooking-pot

bomb said to be capable of causing great explosion, but apparently it could not even scratch a single house (eramuslim.com Sunday July 9th 2017).

Another issue related to violence, radicalism and terrorism was the case of armed assault against Hermansyah, an IT expert from GNPF-MUI. This was a prominent coverage published by eramuslim.com. Anwar Abbas, one of the leaders of MUI asked Muslim communities to condemn that assault. Furthermore, MUI asked the police to immediately resolve this case. MUI condemned any act of violence committed to their brother Hermansyah, in Halim Freeway, which was mortally dangerous for him. He believed that the police should immediately resolve this case before it turns into wild card. The perpetrators must be brought to justice with the heaviest punishment as possible. In addition, he believed that this case, if unresolved, will lead people to make conspiracy theory around it. After all, in regard to his expertise in telematics, Hermansyah has been able to provide alternative perspective for existing cases, meaning that Hermansyah has been targeted in the first place. Therefore, in order to prevent any prejudice and circulation of hoax which will only cause public disturbance, MUI asks the police to act quickly. MUI advised the police to quickly capture the perpetrators and brought them to justice with the heaviest punishment as possible. As has been reported previously, an IT Lecturer from ITB, Hermansyah, became a victim of assault by unknown people on Sunday morning. The incident occurred in KM 6 of a freeway in Cipayung, East Jakarta, said Chief of East Jakarta Police, Andry Wibowo (eramuslim.com Monday, 16 Syawal 1438 H/ July 10th 2017).

In regard to the assault against Hermansyah, Habib Rizieq Shihab (HRS) asked Muslim communities to be careful. The Great Imam of Islam Defender Front asked Muslim communities not to be provoked due to the assault to GNPF-MUI activist, Hermansyah. This was stated by HRS' lawyer, Sugito Atmo Pawiro. Habib deeply regrets this incident; he asked people not to be provoked or making any speculation. They should simply be careful. Sugito also mentioned that HRS greatly condemns this criminal act committed to Hermansyah. "The assault to IT Expert of ITB, Hermansyah, was a grave crime," he said. HRS admits that he is concerned with the existence of certain people who attempts to divide and conquer Muslim community. "He (Habib Rizieq) greatly condemns it," he said. Previously, Hermansyah was assaulted

by some unknown people. The incident occurred in Jagorawi Freeway, East Jakarta around 3:00 in the morning. Currently Hermansyah is under medical care in Hermina Hospital, Depok. Due to that incident, Hermansyah suffers severe wound in his neck area due to being assaulted by sharp weapon. He is also wounded in his forehead, ear and arm (eramuslim.com Monday, 16 Syawal 1438 H/July 10th 2017).

In another article, senior lawyer Mahendradatta is reportedly regretting attempts by certain people to disrespect IT expert from ITB, Hermansyah, and his wife, Irina. It is cruel. After getting beaten up, slashed and now suffering from a severe wound, some people are now attempting to disrespect Hermansyah and his wife. In particular, Mahendradatta is criticizing liberal media that attempted to expose the negative side of Hermansyah family, and the positive side of the perpetrators of that assault. Outrageous, after attempting to expose the negative side of Hermansyah family, the media is now exposing the positive side of the perpetrators. Previously, several media were cooking up an issue that Hermansyah's wife was a former prostitute. This was denied by the spokesperson of Hermansyah family, Ikhwan. According to Ikhwan, Irina has never conducted prostitution. My client (Irina) is a Muslim woman and she denied every allegation of conducting prostitution. Ikhwan stated that after the assault to Hermansyah, a lot of issues are addressed to Irina. As a result, Irina felt pressured and depressed. Up to this day, the police managed to capture four out of the five perpetrators of the assault to Hermansyah in Jagorawi freeway. Four of them are Laurens Paliyama, Edwin Hitipeuw, Richard and Eric. Richard and Eric were captured in Bandung, West Java, while Laurens and Edwin were captured in Sawangan Street, Depok (eramuslim.com Friday July 14th 2017).

According to Ichsanudin Noorsy, PPP politician, Hermansyah has been stalked for quite a long time! The activist and economic scholar came to Hermina Hospital to visit his friend, Hermansyah, who became a victim of assault by unknown people in Jagorawi Freeway. After getting out from the hospital, Noorsy admits that he was startled when he heard that his friend became a victim of assault which forced him to get medical operation. I was surprised to receive a Whatsapp message at 11:00 AM. We used to discuss a lot about IT situation in political and economic terms. He also concluded that there is an indication his

friend has been stalked for quite a long time. I was trying to seek information from the family about this incident, I asked where did it happened, how is it and did they wrote the car's number? The perpetrators used two cars. First he was spattered, and then Herman pursued that car and stopped. Suddenly another car came and hit him. It means that Herman has been stalked, but not for a single night only. The perpetrators must have concluded the right moment to hit on Herman. I'd say there is a possibility for that.

Similar case of violence was also reported by *eramuslim.com*, which was the assault to Novel Baswedan using mercury. We know that Novel's case has not been resolved. Now there is Herman incident. I suspected that in this situation, law is developed not to serve for justice. My suspicion should not been realized – it would be dangerous. Previously, Public Relations of Depok Police, AKP Firdaus, stated that based on the investigation in Hermina Hospital, it is true that there is a patient that became a victim of assault as mentioned in article 170 in conjunction with article 351 of Criminal Law Book around 04:00 AM. The victim was Hermansyah who lived in Tirtajaya, Sukmajaya, Depok, said AKP Firdaus when asked on Sunday, July 9th 2017. He also added that the incident occurred in KM 6 of Jagorawi Freeway (between TMII and JORR freeway), East Jakarta. The victim with his wife was about to return to Depok from Jakarta by using Toyota Avanza B 1086 ZFT. Near the KM 6, victim's car was spattered by perpetrator's car, which was a sedan, and the victim was asked to pull over by the perpetrators then he was asked to open his door. After he got off from his car, Firdaus explained that the victim was immediately assaulted by five people and one of them use sharp weapon. Then, the perpetrators ran away. Due to that incident, the victim was wounded in his head, neck and arm, and the victim sit in his car before getting helped by Jasa Marga officer and brought to Hermina Hospital in Depok. In regard to the motive, Firdaus said he cannot make any conclusion because investigation is still underway. We also have coordinated with East Jakarta Police because the incident occurred in their jurisdiction. It is still being investigated (*eramuslim.com* Monday, 16 Syawal 1438 H/ July 10th 2017).

In addition to figures and activists of Indonesia, *eramuslim.com* also reported about the violence experienced by Rohingya people. The UN has stated that about 123,600 people, most of them are Muslim Rohingya, has

evacuated themselves from the violence in Burma to seek refuge in Bangladesh. The number of refugee continues to sharply increase over the last 24 hours – around 37,000 refugees are fleeing over the border in a single day. Rakhine State is a poor state in Burma and they are bordering Bangladesh's territory. For years, they have been the target of religious violence between Muslim and Buddha. The minority group of Rohingya was forced to live under restriction of movement and lack of citizenship, similar to the case of apartheid, according to scholars. The UN suspected that the Burmese army has committed violation against the human rights of Rohingya minority (eramuslim.com Tuesday, 14 Zulhijjah 1438 H/September 5th 2017). In another article, violence against a 75 years-old granny was also reported. It was reported that the granny was burned alive and beheaded. A day before the attack, people from a village across the river called Dual Toli swam over to escape the army. More than 10 died in the river, according to Petam Ali (30), who sheltered some of the displaced in his family home. They watched their village burn from across the river.

“At 3.30am the next day, Ali heard shooting but was not sure of the direction. I live on the north side of the village and the army had crossed the river further north and was marching down. I left my family to run out to the jungle to try and spot the soldiers. We waited until 8am and then they moved in, wearing dark green clothes. All of them were on foot. I ran back to get my family, but we were too rushed and my grandmother was too old to run. From the forest, we watched them burn our house. It was the first in Tula Toli to be burned, said Ali to Guardian on September 6th 2017. Ali's home, an eight-bedroom wooden structure that he built with his three brothers for 16 members of their extended family, went up in flames fast. Its roof was covered in straw and leaves. The soldiers used rocket-propelled grenades, and they set fire to the houses with matches. Once they had gone past, I went back. All the houses were burned. In the road, I saw a dead man I recognized called Abu Shama. He had been shot in the chest. He was 85. In the ruins of his house, Ali saw the singed and decapitated corpse of his grandmother. Her name was Rukeya Banu. She was 75. When I returned to the jungle, I described the whole incident to the rest. They burst into tears. (eramuslim.com Monday, 20 Zulhijjah 1438 H/September 11th 2017).”

Furthermore, eramuslim.com also reported on the cruelty of Myanmar regime in the massacre of Rohingya Muslim. Human rights defender,

Amnesty International (AI), showed through satellite image that there is a systematic attempt to burn Rohingya village in Rakhine, Myanmar. AI accused Myanmar Army of attempting to get rid of Rohingya. At least 389 Rohingya in Rakhine fled to Bangladesh since violence occurred in August 25th. The incident was triggered by attack to border posts of Rakhine by militiamen. Myanmar army fought back by dispatching military troops. Government of Myanmar stated that 30% of Rakhine villages have been left by its people. Rohingya people that used to dominate Rakhine are considered as illegal immigrant because the Government of Myanmar refused to grant citizenship. AI claimed they have new data based on satellite image, photo, video and witness testimony. All of those evidence point the fact that there is an orchestrated campaign to systematically burn Rohingya villages over the past three weeks. Those evidence are undeniable. Myanmar Army is currently burning Northern Rakhine in a campaign aimed to rid Rohingya of Myanmar. This act of violence is responded by UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres. He believed that Rohingya people are currently experiencing grave humanitarian problem. The Portuguese man also condemns the attack to Rakhine villages. UN Security Council has urged emergency measure to end this violence (eramuslim.com Friday, September 15th 2017).

Another act of violence reported by eramuslim.com was the case of Palestine and Syria. It was reported that 15 Palestinians were wounded by rubber bullets from Zionist army. Confrontation reoccurred in the Asbat Gate of Jerusalem, causing 21 Palestinians wounded, 15 among them due to rubber bullet, as reported by Red Crescent of Palestine. 6 wounded have been transferred to the hospital for further medical attention due to being hit by rubber bullet during that attack. In Betlehem, south of al-Khader village, some people are wounded due to confrontation with Israeli Occupation Forces. According to Committee of Wall and Settlement Resistance in Khadeer, confrontation occurred on Monday night between youths who organize solidarity action for Al-Aqsa Mosque and Israeli Occupation Forces, near the old city valley. The armies were shooting at those youth and some of them were suffocating due to inhaling tear gas (eramuslim.com Monday, 1 Zulqa'dah 1438 H/July 24th 2017).

It was also mentioned that Zionist army shot two Palestinian seafarers. Israeli Occupation Forces caused another trouble. This time, two Palestinian

seafarers were wounded due to being shot on Sunday night in Khan Younis, Southern Gaza Strip. A spokesperson of Health Department in Gaza, Ashraf Qudrah, explained that the two Palestinian seafarers were wounded in their leg due to being shot by Israeli army when they worked in the coastal area of Khan Yunis. In a statement quoted by Anatolia news office, he mentioned that the two victims have been moved to Nasser medical complex in Khan Younis to receive further medical attention. Meanwhile, the Head of Palestinian Seafarers in Gaza Strip, Nizar Ayyash, said to Anatolia that Israeli navy immediately shot seafarers who worked on Khan Yunis waters, causing them to be wounded. Officials of Palestine in Gaza stated that occupation forces were shooting at Palestinian seafarers almost every day. They even wounded and captured some of them under the pretext that these seafarers have went beyond their fishing territory, which is defined to be 6-9 miles on the ocean (eramuslim.com Monday, 23 Syawal 1438 H/July 17th 2017).

The violence in Syria was also reported by eramuslim.com. It was reported that the Syrian Regime has been intensifying the bombing and air strike in the last location to be ruled by opposition, namely Damascus, and this was, according to Syrian rebels, the heaviest attack of this military campaign that has been going for two months. Under the pretext of bombing extremist group in East Ghouta, Syrian government is intensifying their attack in Jopar and Ein-Tirma, which was included as part of armistice area that has been agreed in the previous week under a negotiation intermediated by Russia. The government's attack was launched from the peak of Mount Qaysun that directly faces Damascus. Due to the consecutive three-day attack, it was reported that tens of people have died due to continuous assault. Zamaleka, Harasta and Kafr Batna in East Ghouta also experienced light attack. The government also confirmed that their military campaign was targeting Jabhah Nusra and other extremist group in Al-Ghouta, in which most of them were controlled by the rebels during this six-year battle. Meanwhile, the rebels are accusing the government of exploiting armistice for military gains, and declared that the government has no good will to commit armistice. The rebels are defending their bastion in Damascus after losing Qaboun and Barza (eramuslim.com Tuesday, 16 Zulqa'dah 1438 H/ August 8th 2017).

It was also mentioned that nongovernmental organization Syrian Network

for Human Rights has recorded that Syrian Government has used chemical weapon for five times, after the last attack to Shan Shaikhoun in Idlib last April. This report published by the London-based network declared that the recent chemical attack was launched by the Syrian Government in areas controlled by rebels in Damascus and its suburban area. It was also mentioned that the Syrian Government did not stop the usage of chemical weapon after the bombing of military airport in Homs, which was the base of government's aircraft that committed the attack in Khan Shaikhoun. The report mentioned that the Syrian Government has committed an attack with small chemicals in order to avoid more victims and attracting the world's attention. The network stated that new attack by the government has been known to utilizing a chlorine gas grenade. On last April 4th, Syria launched chemical attack in Khan Shaikhoun of Idlib, causing more than 100 civilians killed, and more than 400 wounded – most of them were children. It was followed by international condemnation. According to the report, there have been 207 chemical attacks from March 2011 to July 31st 2017 and it have killed 1,420, including 1,356 civilians, 186 of them were children and 244 were women, and 57 were rebels and 7 were political prisoners, while at least 6,672 were wounded (eramuslim.com Tuesday, 23 Zulqa'dah 1438 H/ August 15th 2017).

Meanwhile radicalism issue that has been responded by eramuslim.com was Mahfud MD's comment on radicalism. He believed that "There Is No Radicalism in Indonesia, only Poverty and Injustice." Protesting is a legitimate right for people who live in democratic nation. Hence it is fine for people to protest, as long as they do not cause public disturbance. Especially if people are protesting things that must be fight for. The next thing is justice. I'd say: people were protesting and furious not because of ideology but because they felt that they have been treated unjustly. They need justice. Therefore, the next strategy will be enforcing justice. Prosperity, justice and then law, said Mahfud MD in a seminar held by Prosperous Justice Party on Wednesday (9/27/2017), in their office in Senayan, Jakarta. In addition, he believed that the most important thing is creating prosperity. Honestly, I'd say people are following radical movement because they were used by smaller radical groups. These radical groups know that there are many poor and disappointed people in Indonesia, so they use them for their fight. At the same time, radical groups are looking

for a vehicle to express their disappointment. They are not actually criticizing national philosophy, the Pancasila, but they are criticizing the prevalence of poverty. Based on the data I received from a friend, Mr. Halimsyah of Institute of Savings and Loan Guarantor, 0.04 percent of bank account owner in Indonesia is much bigger than the 47 percent of total population. So he made classification of bank account and 0.04% are bigger than the 47%. There are 10 people with a bank account bigger than 100 million of people. So the inequality is really big. This is the reality that can be used by radical group. If asked: how much of our land are actually being controlled by us? There is actually a 1% of Indonesian citizen who controlled 70% of our land, while the 99% were fighting for the rest 30% of our land (eramuslim.com Friday, September 29th 2017).

B. Portal Islam's Response to Radicalism

In general, we can observe a clear bias from Portal Islam based on the articles they produced. Some of their favorite issues include the performance of Joko Widodo in managing his government, the Jakarta Gubernatorial Election issue along with "romanticism of its dynamics," and Rohingya issue, as well as issue on the revival of communism in Indonesia. Criticism against Jokowi's government are prevalent and narrated clearly by Portal Islam, some even use 'sarcastic' language, such as an article published on July 5th 2017 titled "Dear President Jokowi, You Are the One That Should Kiss the Hand of People Because You Were Unable to Fulfill Your Promise or Fight against Wicked Regime" on September 17th 2017.

In regard to radicalism, communism is one of their favorites, with Indonesian Communist Party playing the antagonist role. Several articles were also included with personal experience of historical witness who experienced the dark age and understood the cruelty and terror of Indonesian Communist Party. In addition to Indonesian Communist Party, Priest Wirathu of Myanmar is also one of Portal Islam's favorite antagonists. It even nicknamed Priest Wirathu "the face of terror" due to his brutality.

The following are several articles that should represent Portal Islam's perspective in regard to radicalism:

1. Pancasila, Republic of Indonesia and Caliphate State

Looking at their narrative, perspective on Caliphate has special place in Portal Islam but it is not supported with enough narrative. This can be seen from how conservative they are when discussing about Caliphate. In an article posted on July 27th 2017, this site quoted an opinion from our humanist, Emha Ainun Nadjib, who said “Do not hate HTI, because they want a better life for Indonesia. You should have called them for a dialogue or a 3-5 sessions of symposium so we can talk about it in-depth. If you immediately exterminate them, it will cause some splashes, it will swell, its spore will spread to other organizations. Please don’t be anti-Caliphate, do not seek trouble with Allah because Caliphate is the most fundamental idea of His. We have a family; let us avoid latent conflict with God.”

The caliphate that Cak Nun wrote in that article seems to have a very general and vague idea as he attempted to shift the discourse of Caliphate so it will not simply be understood as a new government system supported by Muslim community. A narrative that might enlighten us on the position of Portal Islam is their article published on August 12th 2017 titled Making Caliphate an Enemy is Jokowi’s Biggest Regret.

This article discussed about how Jokowi made Caliphate his enemy based on a wrong assumption about caliphate and this will be his biggest regret. Jokowi and Laiskodat are two examples of having wrong assumption about caliphate. The two, like many other before them (Islam or not), do not have adequate understanding about Caliphate system. All of them, and perhaps some of us, were only provided with the fearsome aspects of caliphate.

The author, Asyari Usman, explained the positive aspect of caliphate in which Jokowi will regret. He argued that, as a matter of fact, caliphate is a governance ran by people who will only enjoy prosperity after all of his people has gotten it. Caliphate is obliged to (under law) to protect every religious followers outside of Muslim people.

It can be inferred from the lack of narrative on caliphate and the lack of harsh language usage in these articles that Portal Islam did not really pay attention to caliphate issue.

In regard to Republic of Indonesia and the government, Portal Islam made a narrative to criticize the government by claiming that they have revived the new order’s method in maintaining security and political stability. The article written

by Asyari Usman (senior reporter from BBC) was the reference used to support such opinion. In early 1980s, the government felt they have no way to deal with the prevalence of thug in Indonesia. Thus they dispatched their agents to kill them in a secretive manner (popularly known as Petrus). According to National Commission for Human Rights, at least 2000 were killed by Petrus. In fact, other source mentioned that the real number was much more. In urban area, there were many rumors about the discovery of dead thug killed by bullet or other means, including being tied-up and suffocated. They were found in ditch, river or by the wayside. In a biography written by Ramadhan KH and G Dwipayana, Soeharto admits that Petrus agents were dispatched because of the prevalence of thugs at that time. Petrus was indeed successful to spread fear among thugs. There were no thugs at all at that time. Those who managed to avoid Petrus were hiding in fear. This “reign of fear” was very effective to maintain public security. At that time, thugs were indeed the source of fear. They were very cruel and their existence was the original reign of fear. Thus, Petrus’ reign of fear was made to exterminate the thugs’ reign of fear. That was how the past government dealt with the prevalence of thugs. Perhaps due to being inspired by the same story, the current government is attempting to spread their reign of fear as well. The goal is to exterminate hate speech and hoax news. Reign of fear is also committed by the police by capturing social media activists that they believe have committed hate speech and spread hoax news.

The mention of ‘reign of fear’ is used to argue that the policy of capturing social media activity will incite fear from public. Through that narrative, Portal Islam is attempting to argue that the government’s policy is wrong and abusive.

As a response to that wrongful action, Portal Islam advised, more accurately threatened, that the government’s abusive behavior will be appropriately avenged. This was written by Ustadz Salim A. Fillah: Hence we will say that every tyrant and abuser may continue their wickedness, but they will not go unavenged.

2. Tolerance and Unity

Tolerance can be understood as an act of tolerating and respecting others’ perspective, faith, opinion and so on. In this regard, Portal Islam provided another narrative criticizing government’s policy. In an article published on September 6th 2018, Portal Islam discussed a TV program that invited the sixth

president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY).

SBY explained that during his term, he has his own way to deal with criticism. A democratic state should be able to provide a space for public to express their aspiration, anxiety and dislike to government. "Democratic state should provide a space for public to express their thought, perspective, anxiety and also their dislike to the government. As long as it is done in an orderly manner and will not cause public disturbance, I'd say people deserve such space," said SBY. Looking at a glance, there seem to be no problem with that article because it simply tells about SBY's experience when he became the president of this country. However, at the end of the article Portal Islam wrote "SO DIFFERENT, MILITARY BUT DEMOCRATIC, WHILE THE CIVILIAN... AH, WHATEVER."

The use of the word military and civilian is clearly intentional to compare the background of SBY and Jokowi. The next comparison is by labeling democratic in the military and civilian followed by triple dots. Although unwritten, the way the statement is phrased means that the triple dots after 'the civilian' can be replaced with 'undemocratic'. This is emphasized by the use capital words in their statement. In a journal titled All-Caps Typography is Doomed, Paul Lukas explained,

"Typeface is designed to be used with capital and lowercase letters. That's because, from physiological standpoint, lowercase letters are easier to read. They're more distinguishable, they have ascenders and descenders, they have modulated widths, and all this creates a texture that's easier and more pleasing to the eye. Capital letters don't have that." (Hoefler in Lukas, 2013)

Portal Islam seems like they want to yell at the current regime by saying that they are not respecting difference, prohibiting expression and being intolerant against any form of act or speech they consider to be deviating.

In their other article published on September 5th 2017, Portal Islam reposted similar article from Kompas.com on the same date that reported on the statement from Chief of Indonesian Police Tito Karnavian in regard to Rohingya Issue.

Chief of Police General Tito Karnavian believed that there is no need to conduct demonstrations in response to the Rohingya conflict. After all, the government of Indonesia has already taken steps to deal with it. Previously, President Joko

Widodo has asked the Government of Myanmar to stop and prevent violence against their citizen, especially the Rohingya people. Chief of Police Tito who was just returning from pilgrimage also stated that Rohingya conflict in Myanmar became a hot topic in Indonesia not because of its humanitarian aspect but because it is being used to attack Jokowi's regime. Portal Islam then added some response from netizen in response to chief of police' statement,

"As a matter of fact, Muslim community are only demanding the government to do more within their capability to stop the massacre, it's normal. Why must it be responded so politically, and again there is an advice not to do demonstration. If it's true that the government has done something in accordance with our expectation, it's still fine for us to continue protesting as a form of solidarity and condemnation. Going for pilgrimage should have brought self-improvement," said Johan Khan from his FB account. "Weird statement like this is what makes things counterproductive," said @dusrimulya in Twitter. "Chant the name of God, Sir. Aren't you just returning from pilgrimage???" said @trah1967.

Their attempt to manipulate public opinion gives off an impression that they have hidden political motive behind the use of Islamic ideology as their identity.

Portal Islam's perspective on tolerance and unity can be seen clearly in their article published on July 17th 2017 titled Indonesia Belongs to All of Us: Tolerance, Unity and Deviation of the Community. This article was created by KH. Muhammad Najih Maimoen, son of KH. Maimoen Zubaer, one of the prominent figures of PPP. In this article, the author explained his anxiety about the threat to our diversity due to the arrogance of few citizens who are unable to respect difference:

"In reality, signs of division and acts of intolerance came from the political elite who claimed to be democratic. Political speech by Chairman of PDIP in PDIP's 44th anniversary is a form of intolerance and disrespect toward Islam. It has caused friction between religious followers and threatening the unity of Indonesian people. The speech has harmed Islam and Pancasila that believes in One and Only God. They wanted Islam to be weak and silenced. Our leaders and figures were reported to the police one by one due to any accusation. Their mistakes are continuously being scrutinized."

Furthermore, the author expressed his opinion that the relation between

religion and state should not be in conflict with each other. In regard to living as a citizen, religion must be placed in strategic place; it shouldn't be harmed and disrespected. Muslim community has no qualm against Pancasila, we simply can't accept the fact that Islamic sharia should be in the same level as Pancasila. We recognize Pancasila as our national philosophy, but it is not an ideology. Thus a statement "ideology must be fought with ideology" is plainly wrong because they are not on a same level. Let us own and preserve Indonesia without being selfish. Let us share with each other, tolerate each other, not conquering each other. It is our hope that the declaration of *Dzikir Hubbul Wathan* Assembly on July 13th 2017 will reinforce the four pillars: Pancasila, Unity in Diversity, Republic of Indonesia and 1945 Constitution, not being used for secular-liberal political interest.

3. Radical Groups and Mass Organization Law

Mass Organization Law is another hot topic discussed in this Islamic site. Several narratives were explored in a systematic way in order to win out the public in regard to the discourse of Mass Organization Law. This site has made a narrative to counter Mass Organization Law by providing several analyses, chief among them from huge organizations like Muhammadiyah who has been known for their criticism to Mass Organization Law. In an article published in July 13th 2017, Portal Islam wrote:

"Secretary General of Muhammadiyah Central Board, Abdul Mu'ti, stated that the law will cause serious problem if not being well-managed, especially in regard to freedom of association and expressing opinion. Mu'ti stated that the cost of that law will be too expensive if the government only used it to disband HTI."

Still in the same article, Portal Islam quoted an opinion from another Muhammadiyah figure, Busro Muqoddas. The Chairman of Muhammadiyah Central Board stated that Mass Organization Law has a potential to put democracy at risk. "This Law has strong potential to put democracy at risk. Our democracy still needs to be reinforced further, especially by the government," said Busyro. The former chief of Corruption Eradication Commission believed that the Law contradicts 1945 Constitution which guarantees freedom of association and expressing opinion.

Portal Islam also seems to be interested to tell the public that this Mass Organization Law is not supported by public themselves by presenting a poll in regard to the Mass Organization Law. If the law is rejected by House of Representatives, then this Law will not be applied. In that regard, the House of Representatives have begun to seek people's aspiration, chief among them is with the polling. Through their official twitter account @DPR_RI on Wednesday (7/12/2017), House of Representatives has made a poll asking: "What is your opinion on the Government Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2/2017 which will replace Law No. 17/2013?" For the meantime, the polling on Thursday (7/13/2017) morning shows that majority (14,575) votes AGAINST Organization Disbandment Law. The following is the full result for now: 59% AGAINST 33% AGREE 5% NOT APPROPRIATE 3% DO NOT CARE.

In addition to domestic opinion, Portal Islam also reported about foreign opinion that is also against the Mass Organization Law. On July 26th 2017, Portal Islam made an article quoting Amnesty International's statement. Amnesty International, a London-based nongovernmental organization that promotes human rights, has warned the government of Indonesia in regard to the negative impact of disbanding Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia per the enactment of Government Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2 Year 2017 on Mass Organization.

Portal Islam's systematic effort to voice their rejection to Mass Organization Law was furthered by providing counter-data in their article on July 14th 2017 to fight against the narrative provided by NU through one of their organization, East Java Anshor, who claimed that Mass Organization Law is fully supported by Islamic community. "People of Indonesia 100% Supports Mass Organization Law #MassOrganizationLawPreservesRepublicOfIndonesia ??????????????" tweets @ansor_jatim on July 12th 2017.

Portal Islam posted several replies to East Java Ansor's tweet,

Ansor's claim has obviously been rebutted by netizens. "@ansor_jatim where did you get that 100% from? What kind of survey? Don't make any baseless claim. I am NU and I refuse the Law. #RejectAnti-IslamLaw," tweets @FahrurroddiOzil. on the contrary... surveys held by many media showed that MAJORITY OF INDONESIAN CITIZEN ARE REJECTING THE LAW. Survey was made by House of Representatives, CNN Indonesia, Berita Satu, ILC TV One, and even Metro TV showed that MAJORITY ARE AGAINST

THE LAW. WHERE DID EAST JAVA ANSOR GET THEIR RESULT FROM?

In regard to radical group, Portal Islam produced a lot of text that discusses about Indonesian Communist Party which is said to be reviving. Portal Islam made their narrative by reminding readers about Communist Coup and the lesson learned from the government's successful attempt at stopping their coup. In their article published on September 27th 2017, Portal Islam wrote:

"People of Indonesia should be grateful that Communist Coup on September 30th 1965 was stopped by the Army along with the people. Imagine if the communist won in 1965, what will happen? In that regard, Historian of University of Indonesia, Anhar Gonggong, explained that every Indonesian that did not agree with the communist will be killed, if in 1965 DN Aidit and his cronies won the seat of power. "If he (Indonesian Communist Party) had won, we would be dead, but since he lost, he's the one to be dead," said Anhar to covesia.com."

There is a collective awareness that Portal Islam attempted to build in regard to our national history in which the failure of communist coup has saved all of our lives so we must be grateful. In addition, Portal Islam also attempted to open historical wound in President Soekarno's leadership in regard to his speech calling Islamic Conference as "communist-phobia" which leads to hostilities and oppression against Islamic scholars which in turn reinforced the communists. This article is reproducing Buya Hamka's article in rubric "From Heart to Heart" which was published in Panji Mas Magazine in 1967.

On August 17th 1958, with his thundering voice, President Soekarno disrespected Indonesian Islamic Scholar's Conference which was held in 1957. The president yelled that the conference was a "communist-phobia" and it was an amoral deed. The fiery speech was greeted with a rumble from the mass, which was consisted of political party and organization that claimed to be revolutionary and was not having communist-phobia. It was unfortunate, what happened to those Islamic scholars at Palembang, because they were considered to be against revolution. "Their fate is sealed in their forehead," warned the President.

Finally, Portal Islam made a reminded in their narrative that people who refuse the idea of communist revival should be suspected. This narrative was made by quoting an opinion from Minister of Defense Ryamrizard Ryacudu titled Minister of Defense: We Need to Suspect Those Who Claim Communist is Nonexistent, Perhaps They Are also Communists: This state was destroyed

due to the treason committed by the communist in 1965. We were fortunate that we had our army and Muslim community at that time. Minister of Defense: Those Who Claimed There Are No Communist Threat Might be a Communist Themselves. Minister of Defense Ryamizar Ryacudu regretted the existence of people who always deny the latent threat of communist revival.

4. Violence, Radicalism and Terrorism

There is an interesting argument pointed out by Portal Islam in regard to terrorism. In a sarcastic tone, this site mentioned that the recent acts of terrorism, both in Indonesia and other countries, were simply economic commodity for rulers. In their narrative which was published on July 3rd 2017, this site wrote:

In Egypt, AsSisi used terrorism as commodity. Obviously terrorism became his mask to cover for his failure in maintaining economic stability and international trust. As a former head of Egyptian intelligence agency, AsSisi made a fortune by selling explosives. Boom... Explosion in front of the house of Egyptian Attorney General and suddenly the case of Rab'ah murder which was processed in Den Haag Court was not attended. AsSisi's intelligences are prepared to sacrifice anything. Insane people will not be tracked by AsSisi but hundreds of prisoners that have been trained by them are ready to save the face of police and military which was about to be humiliated by the world. Anyone could be a victim. Members of police and military are used to be sacrificial pawn. Who got the benefit? It is the Generals. So it is no wonder that there is similarity in other countries. Mentor and engineer of operation are the same, except AsSisi did not explode cooking-pot bomb or stab police officer during his prayer. It is easy to detect them, except AsSisi will not show its stupidity.

In a sarcastic tone, this site explained that cooking-pot bomb and stabbing of officer in a mosque are designed by rulers in order to attract developed states to grant aid which will improve the ruler's economic condition in the end.

C. VOA-Islam's Response to Radicalism

In some of their articles, voa-islam is promoting Caliphate State. This site conveyed that message in a very clear and systematic manner. This site made a pretty subtle propaganda, from their soft title such as, "Why Should People be Afraid of the Caliphate" which explained about Caliphate by saying that this

is a system that will save everyone.

If only we can think much more clearly, then we will find out that only the Caliphate institution will unite the people. Every human being united under Caliphate, which will cover for many religions, language, tribe and skin color. Caliphate will not only cover for Muslim community but also the whole human being who are willing to comply with the Caliphate's rule.

This argument was then supported by an opinion of many world figures on the positive side of caliphate. There are at least four figures whose opinion was quoted in regard to caliphate.

One of them was TW Arnold,

"The treatment of their Christian subject by of Ottoman emperors—at least for two centuries after their conquest of Greece—exhibits a toleration such as was at that time quite unknown in the rest of Europe (The Preaching of Islam: A History of Propagation of The Muslim Faith, 1896, p. 134)

This site also seems to be capable to read public anxiety, or fear more accurately, on the sustainability of a caliphate state system. In one of their articles, this site discussed in-depth about whether or not caliphate will eradicate diversity,

The first thing that we should notice is that there are no homogeneous states with only one form, one activity, one religion and one tribe. The same is also true with Caliphate. Caliphate is like normal state which will consist of many cultures, languages, religions, tribes and so on.

The religion inside of Caliphate will not only be Islam, but also Christian, Jewish, Majusi etc. Islam will not coerce anyone to pray like Islam does because Islam believes in 'for you your religion, for me my religion.' So how come the caliphate will ban all of them? Caliphate will only apply Islam as a system of life, which includes social, political, economic and legal system and so on. I'm sure that a system as complex as this can only exist within Islam. A system as perfect as this can only exist due to being designed directly by God Almighty based on His Al-Quran and hadith.

Voa-Islam cleverly packaged campaign for the Caliphate in several narratives arranged in systematic manner. In another part, voa-islam criticized the opinion of many people who refused the idea of the Caliphate state. However, it is unfortunate that opinion on the Caliphate is still dominated

with negativity, perhaps due to ignorance or hatred. Demonization of the Caliphate is still conducted by certain parties so this idea will be hated by many. After all, if this concept can be accepted by the society, then wicked rulers who stand under the reign of capitalism will no longer be in power and they will experience great loss.

Many attempts to demonize caliphate and criminalize its activists have been done in an inelegant and ignorant manner, some even violate the rule they made themselves. People were scared and psychologically terrorized with the existence of threatening banner as if this country is under serious threat.

Cruel slander has also been addressed to Islamic scholars and their followers. This is actually a form of treason from wicked ruler to Islam and Muslim community. The Caliphate is not a threat, the Caliphate is part of Islamic teaching. The Caliphate (Imamah) is a general leadership for all Muslim community throughout the world to implement Sharia and spread Islamic value to the whole world.

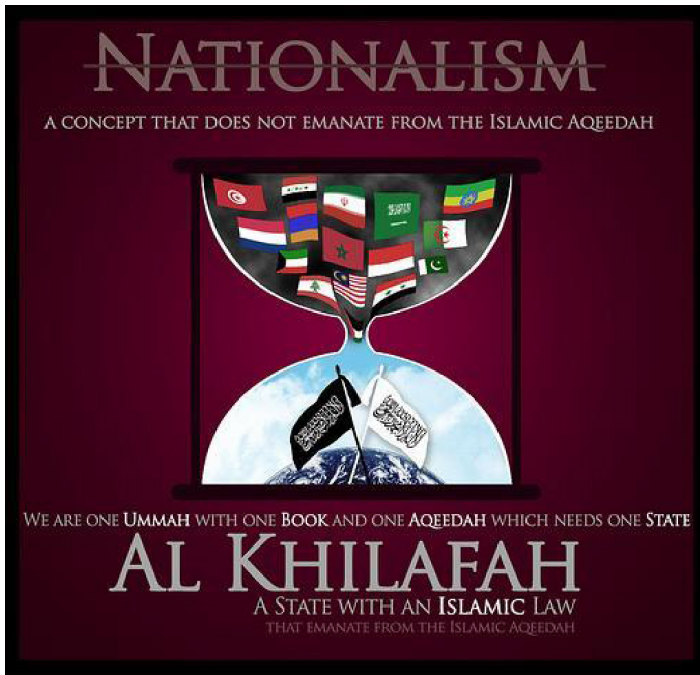
The article also mentioned that Caliphate has been rejected by the ruling government and that the government will do anything to prevent the creation of caliphate system. Looking at the language, there are many harsh dictions employed by voa-islam addressed to people who rejected caliphate, from the word 'demonizing', 'inelegant', and 'ignorant'. In fact the word 'wicked ruler' was repeated twice. The word *zalim* (wicked) came from Arabic word *dholama* which means dark. In Al-Quran the word *zhulm* is used interchangeably with the word *baghyu*, which means violating other people's rights. However, the definition of *zalim* is much more general than *baghyu*, depending on the phrase. Wickedness also have many forms, one of them is shirk.

The word *zalim* can also be used to represent wickedness and inhumane act, a person who loves to see others' suffering, commits injustice and abuses his/her power to destroy others' properties and many more, which essentially points to disgusting and cruel act which contradicts humanity's virtue that should use their mind to do good deed.

The root of the word *zalim* is abusive beyond common sense. The meaning of *zalim* according to language expert and most scholars are: placing something not where they belong, either reducing, adding, changing time, place and

position.” Therefore, wickedness can be interpreted as deviation from rules and sins no matter how small.

Voa-islam’s perspective on caliphate system can be viewed clearly in the following illustration which was employed in one of their articles:



The illustration was posted on June 28th 2017 as an introduction for their article titled Will caliphate system erase diversity? This site’s position is clearly against nationalism due to contradicting Islamic teaching and offering caliphate system. In fact, the illustration depicted that every nation will become one into caliphate system. The hourglass is used as a symbol to convey a message that time will gradually dissolve state system to become one with caliphate system. The message in that illustration is also made clear with choice of color. The purple background is being contrasted with the white of the lower hourglass which contains the Caliphate, especially the upper hourglass which is colored with black. This symbolizes that all nations are in a dark age, wrong and only the Caliphate is clean, good and pure.

Furthermore, this site puts an emphasis that an ideal state will not come from nationalism but only possible under Islamic leadership. Narrative on the

mistake of nationalism is explained by this site on September 23rd 2017 with an article that contained opinion from Zainab:

In the name of nationalism, every nation must maintain its own security. They can't be involved in other state's domestic matters. This kind of perspective is actually ruining the unity of Muslim community. Nationalism has become a dividing line. When Muslim people in other part of the world are experiencing injustice, Muslim countries cannot be involved. That is why bonds of nationalism are a false bond that must be ignored. Muslim should have been united, not divided, as has been said by the Prophet that Muslim are kin to each other, as if they have one body. All of it is obstructed by the wall of nationalism. We have been compartmentalized.

In this article, Zainab mentioned that solution for universal management came from Islam. World order will be harmonious and beautiful under Islamic values.

There is no perfection more perfect than Islamic State. Islamic State is not a demon. People have been scared by rubbishes spread by Islam-hater. Islamic state is depicted as a cruel state due to its sanctions but they were not told about the blessing it will bring. Not to mention, they said that Islamic State is simply an illusion that it only exist in the past. As a matter of fact, the holy books have mentioned that Islam will be glorious once more, what will it mean if not the establishment of Islamic State? It is time for this idealist country to be realized by applying every rules contained within Al-Quran, a country which will not only unite our religion, but every other religions that can comply with it. This ideal country will guarantee security and prosperity of its whole people from education, health and so on. Islam will never abuse non-Muslim. Islam actually taught tolerance and compassion. This country will not coerce other believers to adopt Islam. They are free to worship in accordance with their religion. In fact, if they were abused in an Islamic state, the ruler has an obligation to secure their security. Isn't this a blessing to the entire universe? [syahid/voa-islam.com]

In another part, this site provided their opinion on Pancasila and Constitution. In regard to Pancasila, VOA-Islam stated that Pancasila only belongs to Muslim. This article was posted on September 29th 2017 by quoting the opinion of Chairman Indonesian Muslim Brotherhood (Persaudaraan Muslimin Indonesia/Parmusi), Usamah Hisyam

Pancasila should only belong to the Muslim community because the first principle Faith in One and Only God is a *tauhid* statement. "The first principle is divine matter while the second, third, fourth and fifth principle is human

matters,” said Usamah in a press conference after PARMUSI Silatnas inn At-Tin Mosque, TMII, East Jakarta on Thursday (9/28/2017). Usamah believed that the first principle of Pancasila, Faith in One and Only God, should be the core of other principles and that is why, he believed, Pancasila should only belong to Muslim community.

Furthermore, this site stated that in the implementation of Pancasila values, there is an indication of deviation meaning there is a need for reinforcement. There are at least two articles employed by this site to convey that message. The first was posted on September 28th 2017. The short article discussed about the opinion of Commander General Gatot Nurmantyo that people without religion could not live in Indonesia. This opinion was made because the first Principle of Pancasila said that Indonesia is a country that believes in God.

“That is why if we look at how people are worshipping, whatever their religion is, so long as they believe in one and only God, people without religion could not live in this nation. This was made by heart,” said Gatot Nurmantyo on Wednesday (9/27/2017) in PKS office in House of Representatives. He made that statement because he believed that it is an inheritance that must be preserved after being achieved through heavy struggle. “I have felt how we were dishonored, disrespected, colonialized, and we fought to death for I don’t want my kids to have the same fate as me. That’s why I will preserve it. I will preserve this Pancasila,” he said. After the First Principle can be preserved, then the second principle will give birth to a more civilized people. “The second principle is interaction among human. Indonesia was said to have no human rights, but we are upholding human rights because we treat people of Indonesia justly. As a citizen, people of Indonesia must be united (third principle) regardless of where we came from,” he concluded.

In another part, the importance of religion and Pancasila was also discussed by VOA-Islam on the same day and again by quoting from the military commander.

Do not talk about Pancasila if you can’t even make religion as your pillar of life. Especially people who have this and those idea to show how Pancasila-ist themselves but they are not paying attention to religion. People like that can never make progress for this nation. “How can we preserve Pancasila? We have this and that theory but we forgot to reinforce religion. The second is language. The third is citizenship. When I was a kid, bad score means I can’t be promoted to the next grade. But it has been erased since reformasi,” Military Commander Gatot Nurmantyo explained on Wednesday (9/27/2017) in PKS’ office in House of Representatives, Senayan, Jakarta.

The issue concerning state which was reported by voa-islam was an issue about government. There are several articles discussing about something wrong with our government, whether at local or national level. One of their articles on September 25th 2017 discussed about the importance of maintaining good leadership.

“Warning for the leaders of this nation to reinforce justice has been echoed once more. After all, a leader who pays no attention to such matter will only cause national disintegration. Law enforcement is important because I have made this simulation, based on many books that I read: when a law is not enforced in a country, it will result in disorientation. Disorientation to the national goal. When disorientation is not managed quickly, then it will pave the way for distrust. When law is not enforced, people will no longer trust the law. If distrust is not taken care of, it will lead to disobedient. People will no longer comply. For instances, if no one is listening to the judge: That is a lie. A judge didn’t do anything but he has already been called a liar so his decrees were not complied with. They want to enforce the law but people resisted it. A judge will be beaten up. An attorney got stabbed when he was about to enter the office. A judge is attacked when he was about to start court session. That is what disobedient means. This will lead us to the next stage, namely disintegration,” said Mahfud MD on Wednesday (7/27/2017) in Senayan, Jakarta.

In addition, VOA-Islam also commented on national incidents that involved the president, from the case Papa Wants Stocks to illegal weapon import which leads to conflict between police and army.

They began with a question “What is Happening with Indonesian Leadership Today? Why the President’s Name is Often Mentioned?” This site attempted to attract readers with clickbait title in order to make them believe that the president has lost his credibility due to his inability to deal with his subordinate. In constructing the article, they quoted an opinion of a national political scholar from House of People’s Mandate, Ferdinan Hutahean.

Political scholar stated that the name of President Jokowi has been frequently mentioned. First, the president was mentioned in the Papa Wants Stocks scandal which now ended with President’s intimate relations with Setya Novanto. Secondly, he was mentioned in the meeting between Chief of State Intelligence Agency and Lukas Enembe which was reportedly asked to secure Jokowi for 2019. The story is still rolling and the president has not made a comment. “The most startling was the case of illegal weapon import by non-military institution as explained by Army Commander General. What institution did he mean?

This is obviously dangerous because President Jokowi's name was mentioned."

Ferdinand Hutahean was considered to be significant by voa-islam so they took his opinion in another article titled "Political Situation in Indonesia is Getting More and More Hazy because Officials Are Only Running their Own Agenda," which was published on September 25th 2017.

Over the past week, national political situation has been really hazy, as if people were stirring in dirty puddle. Dirty puddle is an accurate word to describe this condition indeed. People are stirring in the dark, waiting for something to surface. Something which might lead to more instability or other condition, all of it can only be answered by the government. This situation occurred as the result of power struggle among the executive elite. This development is quite interesting as well as disheartening for the future because we can see clearly how executive elites are not united in leading this country – everyone has their own agenda, said the political scholar, Ferdinand Hutahean, through his press conference on Sunday (9/24/2017). He believed that President Jokowi must have been confused to see that his subordinates are playing around with their own agenda and even more confused because he doesn't know how to control all of the toys being played by his subordinates. Political struggle between executive elite occurs outside of leadership structure. "This is the result, politics became problematic not because of politician but because of the executive elites."

The word 'hazy' is employed to give off a murk and dark impression of national political situation. The word *kubangan* (puddle) can be interpreted as a place for cow to poop in a farm while the word *buthek* (dirty) can be interpreted as a very dirty condition. The two words were originally Javanese which means that VOA-Islam believed Indonesian politics today is very dirty and disgusting.

VOA-Islam in their article also criticized the implementation of public facilities that they claim to harming the society. One of them is criticism to Social Security Administrator (Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial/BPJS). By taking several cases where patient was refused by hospital in regard to BPJS facility, the site was on an opinion that the state has done nothing to serve public interest and needs.

Social Security Administrator (BPJS) is a governmental body tasked to implement national health security for people of Indonesia especially the poor one, but is it real? Several weeks ago, BPJS told a story about a baby named Tiara Debora, daughter of Rudianto Simanjorang and Henry Silalahi, who died

because of late attention. Mitra Keluarga Hospital of Kalideres became Debora's final resting place, and Debora was not the only victim. In mid-2016, M.Rizki Akbar (2 years old) died due to heart attack after being refused by almost 6 hospitals because the hospital said they do not accept BPJS. There is also the case of Mr. Agus Effendy who was rejected by Jember Hospital because they no longer have BPJS quota. After going to the hospital for three times, Mr. Agus decided to pay the hospital fee himself and he immediately received medical attention. With all of these facts, should we first check which hospital accepts BPJS before we go to the doctor? Should we be burdened to find out which hospital still has a quota for BPJS patient? Are there any criteria for diseases that will get immediate BPJS attention? If so, what's the point of BPJS? As a matter of fact, Article 29 paragraph 1 of Law No. 44/2009 has specifically regulated the obligation of hospital to attend to emergency patients without thinking about its cost. What's the reality again? Do not blame us if we say that this is not an aid but a burden and we say that the State has done NOTHING in ensuring health security for its people. As for Islamic teaching, it regulates the obligation to be responsible to its people, including in health matters. As such, Security Service is part of public facilities that must be enjoyed by people. Public facilities should be guaranteed by the state as part of State Service to its people, said Prophet PBUH: "Imam (ruler) is a servant to the people and they will be responsible for the people (HR. Al-Bukhari from Abdullah ibn Umar ra.)"

VOA-Islam also paid attention on constitutional issues by producing several articles. VOA-Islam's perspective is more focused on the history of Muslim founding a state, the formulation of constitution and the role that can be played by a Muslim. In regard to the issue of communist ban revocation, for example, this site condemned people who wish to change that ban by saying that they will need to face the wrath of the Army and Muslim community.

To people who wish to revoke the communist ban, PBB politician said that those people will have to face the wrath of the Army, the people and the nationalist-religious groups. After all, the communist ban as mentioned in the House of Representatives Decree is said by MS Ka'ban to be an eternal decree, which is part of this country's history. "House of Representatives Decree No. XXV/66 is eternal. It is a state document. Revoking it means conducting revolution and it will be dealt with by the united power of the Army, the Muslim community and the nationalists," said Ka'ban through his Twitter account. Ka'ban believes that followers or sympathizers of communist are nothing but swindlers who only want to seize power through in-constitutional means. "When communist says democracy, it is simply their trickery to seize power. Then they will eliminate everyone who disagrees with them. Communists defy God, they will have no

problem to defy history, so they will never keep their promise, and they only spout trickery. Such is the mindset of traitor,” In regard to the screening of Communist Coup film, *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI*, Ka’ban believes that it should not be a concern. People who agree with the film should watch it, otherwise they should still be loyal to the Constitution. “The screening of G30S/PKI should not be a concern. It is historical fact. People should not forget about it. Those who disagree should not watch it but they should still be loyal to the 1945 Constitution,” said Army Commander General Gatot Nurmantyo when asked about whether G30S/PKI screening should be supported or not. This is also in celebration of the new Hijriah Year and 10 Muharram. The New Hijriah 1439 is the year of Islam, to build Indonesian civilization in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution. Communist has no place in Republic of Indonesia.”

In another part, VOA-Islam also seems to give a threat to the government. They said that if the government harmed Muslim, it will result in greater and destructive social conflict. This site attempted to expose the dark history of Indonesia in regard to the Tanjung Priok Incident which is said to be caused by allegation of anti-Pancasila to Muslim community.

My father was arrested and imprisoned for 14 years for the crime of treason. He received a pardon because of his loyalty and his punishment was reduced for six years. So he was only imprisoned for eight years. Currently my father is the chairman or rector of an Islamic university in Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta. That was my father’s profile. The New Order’s policy at that time is very repressive with their military power. For example, when a ruler has not enough legitimacy in the parliament then they will add Army group in the house,” he said to reporters recently in KontraS’ office, Jakarta. If they think it was not enough, he believed that the government will reinforce themselves through the parliament.

After the Tanjung Priok incident during that night, he mentioned that there was an order from Army Commander of Jakarta, Try Sutrisno, to clean up that places including bloods spilled in that location by using fire truck. Up to this day, the case or incident has not been fully resolved, although the incident has been processed in court by National Commission for Human Rights at that time. “And then the Commission conducted an investigation and concluded that a grave violation of human rights has occurred in Tanjung Priok in the form of murder, torture, and kidnapping. So they brought it up to Attorney General and a court session was held in 2003 and 2004 in regard to Tanjung Priok incident. There are several names not included in the investigation, only limited to four groups,” he told.

In a more fundamental way, VOA-Islam highlighted the many amendments to 1945 Constitution during Reformasi that has caused misconception in public. This website stated that up to this day, the original format (preamble, bodies and explanation) is still complete. In explaining their narrative, this website took an opinion from Prof. Jimly Asshiddiqie.

“Apparently, there is a significant change to the explanation of 1945 Constitution. In fact, a legal expert mentioned that the change was almost 300%. It is the same constitution, but the content has changed 300%. I called this big bang change. That’s why we must maintain sustainability so reformasi can be maintained. Tolerating sustainability but the change is 300%. As a result, our government undergoes a huge change. This also resulted in the change of official’s mindset. All of us, as citizens, are undergoing a huge change. If we still use the old mindset, then it won’t be compatible,” said Jimly Asshiddiqie, in ICMI office, Jakarta. However, this is our hope after 20 years of Reformasi. “We realize that this huge change is far from perfect and let us reduce excess, add increase deficit. This is the responsibility of our leaders who have been given the mandate. Fix things that need fixing. All because this is an era of consolidation in the history of reformasi,” he said. And in regard to amendment, he believed that the four (amendment) was only annex (change 1-4). “Therefore if we truly wish to understand the whole context of our current constitution, our 1945 Constitution, then we should read all of it in full. Do not only read the footnote. This is our constitution’s story,” he said. So if people claimed that there is no longer explanation of 1945 Constitution, then it is actually not true. “There is preamble, bodies, and explanation. All of it is still exist up to this day. Why? Because what we created was an amendment. It was only an annex. So if people still think that there is no explanation anymore, it’s not true. It still exists. The document itself is still the original one,” he concluded.

2. Unity, Tolerance and Kinship

Issue of unity did not get full attention from this site. We can only find VOA-Islam’s response to issue of tolerance. The angle they chose to report on tolerance is the formal and social perspective used by public to judge protest. This site is clearly in favor of protest; especially the one organized by Muslim community, such as Fight for Islam, 212 Protest etc. By quoting from the opinion of deputy secretary-general of MUI, Ustad Tengku Zukarnaen, VOA-Islam argued that formally and socially, the existing protest has been on the right track to bring benefit for the people.

As an institution, MUI has never prohibited protest. This statement from

Ustadz Tengku Zulkarnain is denying people's assumption that Chairman of MUI is prohibiting protests. Chariman of MUI has never prohibited people to protest. Protest or demonstration is a democratic rights protected by 1945 Constitution, said Ustadz Tengku through his Twitter @ustadtengkuzul on Saturday (9/30/2017). Ustadz Tengku said that demonstration is allowed by constitution and even religion. MUI will never prohibit something that the constitution allows especially if the religion allows it. The only thing that we couldn't allow is spreading hoax, said the white-robed ustadz. Furthermore, Ustadz Tengku explained that there are indeed some security forces who visited KH. Maruf Amin, Chairman of MUI. However, Kyai Maruf Amin has never prohibited protest. "KH Ma'ruf Amin as Chairman of MUI has never prohibited demonstration. Some security forces were visiting his house, not to MUI building. Let me affirm that KH. Ma'ruf Amin, especially MUI, has never officially prohibited demonstration. But we advise all of protesters to act in an orderly manner," he said.

In regard to kinship issue, VOA-Islam seems to be interested to report on the suffering of Muslim people in Rohingya. There are at least 100 narratives produced during July-September 2017 that tell about the suffering of Rohingya Muslim, the need to show solidarity for Rohingya Muslim and fundraising effort to help them, such as the narrative published on September 25th 2017.

Rohingya Solidarity Roadshow managed to visit Bandung and held an event themed 'Rohingya: A Call for Jihad at the End of Time' in Nurul Huda Mosque, Cijerah, bandung on Sunday (9/24/2017). Speakers of several organizations attended the event, such as Chairman of West Java GMPI, Ustadz Anwar Anshori, West Java Activist, Ustadz Rizal Fadhilah, Head of Information and Communication Department of FORJIM, Ustadz Dudy S. Takdir, and LPPDI Thoriquna's Advisor, Ustadz Ashadi. Ustadz Anwar Anshori affirmed that every Muslim must defend their brothers and sisters in Rohingya because Islam upholds the value of kinship and the honor of Muslims.

In an attempt to build Muslim kinship in regard to Rohingya, they published an article on September 20th 2017.

There is no faith for people who do not love their kin like they love themselves. Therefore our love to our Muslim brothers and sisters, especially the Rohingya Muslims, is part of our faith, said Dudy S. Takdir, Head of Information and Communication Department of FORJIM in the Great Conference "Rohingya's Cry is Our Call for Jihad" in Al-Ikhlas Mosque, Paradise Serpong City, Serpong,

South Tangerang on Sunday (9/17/2017) morning. The Great Conference was attended by Ustadz Abu Jibril (Majelis Mujahidin) and Ustadz Mukhlis (Activist of LPPDI Thoriquana). Rohingya Muslims are a part of us. If we couldn't care less with their suffering, if we ignore their rights, Allah will ask at the end of time, "Why did you show no sympathy when your brothers and sisters were murdered by the Government and Military of Myanmar?" said Dudu who is also a journalist of Ahad.co.id.

3. Radical Groups and Mass Organization Law

The first group mentioned by VOA-Islam in regard to radicalism was Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). There are some interesting things that can be found from VOA-Islam's narrative on HTI.

HTI is used as the reference of VOA-Islam writers to attack the government. It should be noted that the main goal of HTI is to enforce Islamic sharia in Indonesia. Attacking the government to replace the current status quo with Islamic system is the main goal of HTI. Like birds of a feather, VOA-Islam launched their criticism on behalf of HTI. However, VOA-Islam's relation with HTI is different with VOA-Islam's relation to other Islamic organization such as FPI. This can be seen in 2016 when issue of HTI disbandment began. VOA-Islam did not immediately defend HTI like when they defended FPI.

In regard to mass organization law, VOA-Islam is quite active in giving their opinion by enacting several articles to criticize the law. Narrative to reject Mass Organization Law began with the report on protests against this law which was conducted by elements of society. This report was published on September 30th 2017 titled "299 Protest Against Mass Organization Law and Communist Revival,"

Approximately 150 thousand people were gathered in front of Parliamentary building after Friday prayer (9/29/2017). People were participating in the 299 Protest to demand House of Representatives to revoke Mass Organization Law and the decision to revoke Communist ban. Friday prayer was previously conducted in mosques around Parliamentary Building and in front of Parliamentary Building. People were organized by 212 Presidium and consisted of many organizations and alliance, chief among them were PETA NKRI, LSPI, FPI, PPMI, Banten Champion, Mother Nation Movement, Echo of Freedom, alliance of Islamic organizations in Greater Jakarta Area and several Islamic study group. Some of them also came from other regions.

Still in the same article, this site argued that mass organization law is a form of fascism and authoritarianism.

It was mentioned that the enactment of mass organization law makes this regime no different than the Pharaoh. "The current regime is no different than the Pharaoh, the enactment of mass organization law is no different than Pharaoh enacting policy to kill every boy in his kingdom so his power will not be usurped," said Ustadz Felix Siauw in his oration.

In their other article, VOA Islam connected the enactment of Mass Organization law with the revival of communist. This article was created by Muhammad Akbar Ali on September 20th 2017.

Many scholars and even commoners were sharing this political analysis article on that issue. In fact, it spreads like wild fire on the internet. Most of the people are in anxiety due to the possibility of communist revival. The craze on communist revival shows that public still remembers the cruelty caused by Communist Coup. This shows that people of Indonesia began to understand what it means to defend this country. On the other hand, it is quite paradoxical that there is almost no action that they took in regard to this situation.

Assumption about communist revival behind the enactment of Mass Organization Law is continuously reinforced with other narrative, such as an article they published on September 29th 2017 that contains Presidential resolution in regard to Mass organization Law and argument that this law contradicts 1945 Constitution.

First of all, Government Regulation in lieu of Law No. 2/2017 is clearly contradicting article 22 paragraph 1, 2 and 3 of 1945 Constitution. If hate speech is prohibited due to causing public anxiety, then hatred law should also be ignored.

Furthermore, communist revival is also included in that resolution,

Secondly, the government should strive to deter the symptoms of communist revival. House of Representatives Decree Number XXV/1966 is still applied up to this day. The Decree regulates the disbandment of Indonesian Communist Party throughout Republic of Indonesian and prohibited every activity to promote communism/Marxism-Leninism. Indonesian Communist Party has committed treason to this country in 1948 and 1965 and they will continue to be a threat that we must be aware of.

In another narrative published on September 29th 2017, this site also wrote that Mass Organization Law has violated the Constitution and this time they borrowed an opinion from Deputy Chief House of Representatives, Fadli Zon.

Fadli, who also participated in that oration, stated that the current Mass Organization Law is contradicting the Constitution. "This Mass Organization Law is contradicting the Constitution," he said on Friday (7/29/2017), in front of Parliamentary Building, Senayan, Jakarta. Fadli believed that there is a contradiction with this law because the state guarantees freedom of association and expressing opinion. Therefore, he stated that this law is contradicting with that freedom. Freedom of Association is guaranteed by our constitution, including expressing written or unwritten opinion, he said, followed by Allah is Great cry. In addition, in order to gather power to revoke this Mass Organization Law, he asked the people to 'consult' with other parties in the House of Representatives, "Gentlemen, all of you should deliver these things to other parties who also revoke Mass Organization Law," he concluded.

4. Violence, Radicalism and Terrorism

Similar to issue on kinship, social conflict between Rohingya and Myanmar government is a favorite topic of VOA-Islam. On one hand, VOA-Islam conducted massive humanitarian campaign to help Rohingya Muslims. On the other hand, this site exposed the terror, intimidation and violence committed by government of Myanmar and other parties that have reduced the security of Rohingya Muslims. This can be seen from the many narratives published in VOA-Islam on September 30th 2017 that reported on the intimidation of Rohingya Muslim throughout Myanmar and other regions.

It seems like Intimidation to Rohingya Muslims did not only occur in Myanmar. Outside of Myanmar, Rohingya Muslims have been intimidated by Buddhist Monk. In Colombo, Sri Lanka, several Buddhist monks attacked a Rohingya Muslims refuge which was made by United Nations. The monks urged the Rohingya Muslims to return to Rakhine where they fled from the military operation in Myanmar.

In addition to Rohingya, violence and terror that occurred in Syria is also reported by VOA-Islam. In fact, VOA-Islam stated that what happened in Syria reminds them of the Holocaust tragedy. This narrative was posted on September 29th 2017.

The siren roars to notify the arrival of Russian and Basyar Asad's regime echoed once again in Idlib City, Syria, after it stay silent for over the past five months. Ever since the last September 19th, when Haiat Tahrir Sham (HTS) group began to launch their two-day operation, Russian aircrafts immediately assaulted three hospitals in Southern Idlib as their response. Basyar Asad and Russia and Iran's response to the Muslim people in Idlib was very cruel. In the

first three days, September 19th-21st, they have launched 500 air strike targeting civilians and rebels.

Meanwhile, at domestic level, VOA-Islam continues to report about the communist tragedy in Indonesian history. Brutality, violence and intimidation of communists were some of their favorite reportage. One example is their article published on September 29th 2017 that explained about the violence committed by Indonesian communist party to Islamic scholars.

However, history shows that Communists are cruel and wicked. Not only that, Communists has repeatedly attempted to replace national philosophy and overthrow the legitimate government. Communists' cruelty can be seen in the Madiun Incident on September 1948. Hundreds of people were beheaded and put inside an old well in the middle of sugar farm in Magetan, East Java. The old well is now a monument equipped with Garuda statue. "Yes, right under that monument was the hole for PKI Massacre in 1948. After the bodies were taken, the well was dumped again. Several years after that we built a monument," said Jumiran (57 years old), who lived in Rejosari Village. When asked about the people who were 'planted' in that well, Pariyem said he didn't really know because he was still a kid. Islamic scholar whose name was engraved in that monument is KH Imam Shofwan. He was a caretaker of Thoriquussu'ada Pesantren in Rejosari, Madiun. KH Shofwan was buried alive in that well after being tortured so many times. In fact, when he was put into the well, KH Imam Shofwan chanted the sound of Adzan. The two sons of KH. Imam Shofwan, Kiai Zubeir and Kiai Bawani, were also buried alive along with him.

Acts of terror committed by Indonesian Communist Party was exposed again in VOA-Islam's article on September 25th 2017. The title was quite provocative as well by saying that Demons and their allies were laughing at the bodies of Communist Coup victim.

Betrayal and Treason of Indonesian Communist Party to the government has been recorded in the history. With the strong backing of history, it is very inappropriate for people to making a big deal about the victims. Revolutionary in accordance with communism is conducted by rebelling against the ruler. This was an instruction from Stalin to Mao Tze Dong in 1927-1931. Mao began from suburban area. Only demon will laugh at Adam and Eve when they were banished from heaven. Only demon and their followers will laugh at the victims of Communist cruelty, MS. Kaban tweeted in his private Twitter account on Monday (9/29/2017). The PBB's Honorary Council seems to regret the fact that many people were accusing the screening of G30S/PKI film as a form of disruption to Jokowi's regime. "It is a great lie if people saying that

the screening of G30S/PKI is an attack to President Jokowi. Those people are just ignorant.”

In regard to the issue of radicalism that is often addressed to Islam, VOA-Islam provided a different perspective which they turn into a narrative to be consumed by the public. Their attempt to redefine radicalism is by denying the stereotype of radical which has been addressed to Islam through their article which was titled “After Communist Now Radicalism, but Why Is It Addressed to Islam?”

There is a Western Scholar who claimed that after the fall of communism, there will be no other ideology beside capitalism. It was considered to be true. However, there is another scholar who believe that after the fall of communism, Islamic radicalism will appear. This is obviously untrue. The fact that there is only one ideology after the fall of communism is true, Fukuyama. However, the threats as argued by Huntington, that is the existence of Islamic radicalism, clash of eastern and western civilizations; it might be true and wrong at the same time. I’d argue that Daniel Behl, Fukuyama, and Huntington, all of them theorized but not all of them were correct. The fact that ideology is all rubbish, as argued by Behl, is true. Whether we want this, this and this, it is nonexistent. All of it was simply a slogan from leaders, he said. This is because, as a matter of fact, radicalism is not only Islam, if we can be honest about it. Each religion could be radical but somehow this issue is always addressed to Islam, Islam, Islam, said Mahfud MD.

The narrative to deny radicalism stereotype was furthered by providing other discourse which is expected to change public paradigm on radicalism as can be seen from their article on September 29th 2017.

In Addition, he believed that the most important thing to be done is building prosperity. “My brothers, Honestly, I’d say people are following radical movement because they were used by smaller radical groups. These radical groups know that there are many poor and disappointed people in Indonesia, so they use them for their fight. At the same time, radical groups are looking for a vehicle to express their disappointment. They are not actually criticizing national philosophy, the Pancasila, but they are criticizing the prevalence of poverty.

D. Thoriquna.id’s response to Radicalism

1. Pancasila, Republic of Indonesia and Islamic Caliphate

Pancasila and Republic of Indonesia is a consensus that has been made by our founding fathers. We only need to fill the independence with productive

and beneficial things. This sub-chapter will discuss how thoriquna.id wrote about Pancasila, Republic of Indonesia and their position in regard to Islamic Caliphate.

Based on the analysis to thoriquna.id's page, there is no narrative about Pancasila and Republic of Indonesia. As for Islamic caliphate narrative, they make a reference to Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab. This can be seen in their article titled: "PUPPET NATION VS MUSLIM COMMUNITY" (<http://www.thoriquna.id/2017/07/kabilah-boneka-vs-umat-islam.html>, accessed on November 5th 2017). This article was written by Muntoha Bulqin. The following is a quote on caliphate posted in thoriquna.id:

"Who didn't know about Abu Lu'lu'ah? He was a Christian commoner who was imprisoned during Nahwan Battle. Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab was killed by this man. Through their hands, enemy of Islam has created movement against this religion..."

The article reported about how Crusader-Zionists – a nickname given to them – will not let Islam to grow strong. The Crusader-Zionist is said to have "puppet" government in Islamic countries, such as Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunis, Thaghut Husni Mubarak as the ruler of Egypt, Thaghut Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, Saddam Husein in Iraq, all of them has been overthrown by Muslim community in their own countries. The same is also true for thaghut Shia Bashar Asad in Syria who still rules but continues to be resisted by Muslim community. The following is the narrative uploaded in thoriquna.id:

"...on January 2011, Thaghut puppet ruler of Tunis has been overthrown by Muslim community in his country. Thaghut Husni Mubarak, the puppet ruler of Egypt has been overthrown on February 2011. Thaghut Muammar Gaddafi, ruler of Libya was hanged by Muslim community in 2013, following Thaghut Saddam Husein who met the same fate in 2013. As for Thaghut Shia Bashar Asad, he is still under attack by Sunni Muslim to avenge the death of their comrades. Thaghut Ali Abdullah Saleh has been overthrown in 2014. There are still many Thaghut puppets to be eliminated by Muslim Community."

The next narrative in regard to Islamic caliphate is in an article written by Muntoha Bulqin titled: "PROPAGANDA OF AHZAB BATTLE" (<http://www.thoriquna.id/2017/07/propagandaperang-ahzab.htm>, accessed on November 5th 2017). The following is a narrative on caliphate which was published in thoriquna.id:

“During the siege of Modern Ahzab army, Muslim community has created *ash-shahwah al-silamiyah* (Islam revival movement) in order to revive **Caliphate**, Islamic government and Islamic revival. The movement has long track record, ever since the jihad experiment of Morocco Youth Movement 1963 to Jihad Experiment of Al-Qaeda on September 11th 2001 that managed to destroy the economic symbol of Dajjal America, WTC” (emphasized by author).

Based on that data, it can be concluded that thoriquna.id is promoting the idea of Caliphate. Based on our analysis, we did not find any sentences that explicitly say their agreement to Islamic Caliphate. However, their support to Islamic Caliphate is inexplicitly conveyed. This is also strengthened by the same name of author in several thoriquna.id’s article, which was Muntoha Bulqin.

2. *Unity, Tolerance and Kinship*

There are no narrative in regard to three things; unity, tolerance and kinship. The slogan in their logo is “Commitment in Missionary Way” seems to have no relation whatsoever with their articles. *Dakwah* (missionary work) came from the Arabic word *da’a*, *yad’u*, *da’wan*, *du’a* which means invitation, call and request. As a terminology, it is defined as: “Encouraging people to do good deed and comply with divine guidance, and to prevent them from wickedness so they can achieve happiness in the world and the afterlife (Syekh Ali Mahfuzh, Hidayat al-Mursyidin ila Thuruq al-Wa’dzi wa al-Khitabah, p.17)”

The meaning of missionary work as can be seen in thoriquna.id’s articles is more about spreading hatred. This is the impression that we get when we looked at their articles.

3. *Radical Group and Mass Organization Law.*

We did not found any position in regard to the existence of radical groups and Mass Organization Law in the thoriquna.id site. This website has never discussed about the socio-political-cultural situation in Indonesia directly. Thoriquna.id is more concerned with connecting the condition of Islamic community in the past to the current age. Furthermore, their articles are rather full with indoctrination.

4. Violence, Radicalism and Terrorism

Narratives on violence and radicalism cannot be found in thoriquna.id. However, their writing style itself is filled to the brim with violence, especially by the mention of the word 'war' as a title for two articles.

Narrative on terrorism in thoriquna.id can be found in article titled "IT ALL BEGINS IN BADAR, WAR=SOLUTION" <http://www.thoriquna.id/2017/07/berawal-dari-badarperang-solusi.html>, accessed on November 5th 2017. This article was written by Muntoha Bulqin and edited by Abu Fayruza:

"This is the Crusade war, a war against terrorism that took a very long time, Said French Foreign Minister, Juppe Allen on March 24th 2011. "We are going to bombard Muslim community in Saudi Arabia from Syria just like we did in Libya. The Crusade War in Libya must be an example for Saudi Arabia, Syria and other Islamic countries," and Libya was bombarded by Pharaoh Barack Obama with his Odyssey Dawn Operation (The italic and bold is originally from the page).

Thoriquna.id does not have enough data to be discussed in-depth, in regard to the keyword mentioned above. Important narratives in regard to Pancasila, Republic of Indonesia, Islamic Caliphate, Unity, Tolerance and kinship, radical group, Mass Organization law, violence, and radicalism were not found in their page.

As for another keyword found in thoriquna.id which is closely related to this research was jihad and war. The word 'war' is even employed as a titled. The word 'jihad' was mentioned in four articles below:

1. PEOPLE'S PARASITE: Mentality of Nation Seller
(<http://www.thoriquna.id/2017/07/benalu-umat-mentalitaspenjual-bangsa.html>, accessed on November 5th, 2017)
2. IT ALL BEGINS IN BADAR, WAR=SOLUTION
(<http://www.thoriquna.id/2017/07/berawal-dari-badarperang-solusi.html>, accessed on November 5th 2017.)
3. PUPPET NATION VS MUSLIM COMMUNITY"
(<http://www.thoriquna.id/2017/07/kabilah-boneka-vs-umat-islam.html>, accessed on November 5th 2017).
4. "PROPAGANDA OF AHZAB BATTLE"
(<http://www.thoriquna.id/2017/07/propagandaperang-ahzab.htm>, accessed on November 5th 2017).

Looking at thoriquna.id's position on radicalism, it can be concluded that this is one of the websites that promote radicalism to netizens with their articles. Without critical thinking in netizen's part, they can easily accept these articles and believe in radicalism which will lead them to justify violence against different religion and faith. Some of them that they do not agree are, among others, Crusadist-Zionist and Liberal.

Chapter VII

Radicalism in Social Media

A. Social Media Platform

We researched three social media platforms, namely Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. First, Facebook (FB) is the biggest social media platform used by all ages. Facebook user in May is estimated to reach 1.94 billion far above Youtube and Instagram with approximately 1 billion and 700 million users. Facebook has undergone significant change in recent years and it has similarities with other social media. At the beginning FB user can only write status on their wall and give comment to other people's wall. Now FB user can use Facebook story to post video, photo, and voice which will be deleted after 24 hours. In addition, Facebook is now equipped with feature to make status with different size and color and different background. Model of friendship in Facebook now use friends and followers. Because Facebook set 5,000 as limit of friend, they now provide a feature for people to follow others instead of making friend request. In addition, FB provided page that can be followed or liked so people can follow recent information on page they liked. Mostly we can like, share and comment in public pages, but not the private one.

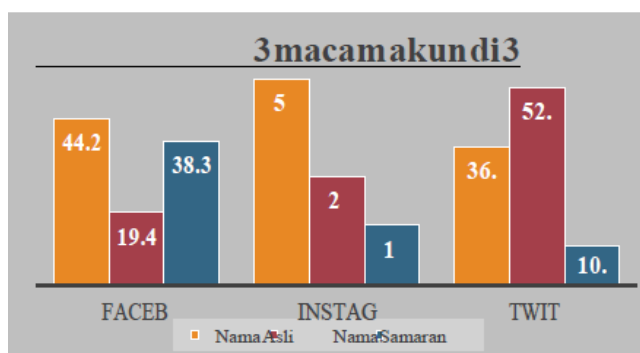
Secondly, Instagram is a social media platform that allows its users to share photo and video in social network. Instagram users can share photo and video (1 minute) and they can write caption instead of status. Now Instagram has new feature, namely Snapgram or Instastory (Instagram stories) which is similar to Facebook Stories. Instastory is a feature that allows users to send photo and video which will be deleted after 24 hours. Contents shared to stories will not appear in profile grid or in Instagram feed. People tend to write their status in Instagram story, and they can equip it with several emoticons. Instagram user is hard to be traced because users are not obliged to mention their background information in Instagram.

Friendship model in Instagram is called “follower” and “following.” Followers are people/account that follows other Instagram account, while following is an account followed by someone. There are two types of ID or account name in Instagram, full name which is mentioned in the bio and “username” which is the name of Instagram account that can be searched by other accounts. Username ID is unique, meaning that one cannot have the same username with others. Similar to facebook and twitter, Instagram can also gain like, comment, tagging and repost. The difference between Instagram and Twitter is that even when an account is set to private, account user can still accept direct message without following the account.

Thirdly, in Twitter there is a term “tweet,” “retweet,” “like,” and “comments.” Tweet is a post produced by an account. Retweet is a reposting of one’s post by another account. Like is an expression of liking certain post by someone. Comment is the written expression made by one account to a post.

B. Type of Social Media Account

We researched 437 accounts which consist of 180 Facebook accounts, 200 Instagram accounts, and 57 Twitter accounts. Those accounts will be categorized into three categories, namely: (1) Account with a real name, (2) account with an alias name, and (3) account with a group name. As for the percentage of those three accounts can be viewed in the following graph:



Graph 5.1 Percentages of Three Accounts in Social Media

FB Accounts with real name: own name and full name such as *Irdiana Wahyuni, Fahmi Yahya Nuryanto, Stefanus Robby Cahyadi G, Andhika Saputra*

Ardhiansyah, or their real name will be mentioned within parenthesis such as *Apiek Danken (Moh Anwar Kholiq)*. Account with alias name will usually combine other people's name, made-up name, short name, and their profile will usually be incomplete. Examples include *Cinta dan Anugrah*, *Tria Minoru*, *Kaum Kecebong*, *Jack, bravo*, *Mak Lambe Turah*, and *Ibnu Fulan* that has been deleted. Account with group name is usually Facebook Page account; they will use the name of certain organization or community such as *Ahmadiyah Menjawab Fitnah*, *Aliansi PNS Anti Korupsi*, *Pemuda Pancasila*, *Cyber Pancasila*, *Indonesia Menolak Syi'ah*.

Similar to Facebook, some Instagram accounts also use real identity as username such as @saraan-driyani, @andria.fp, @sakina_ina, and @ikeramdhanaa. Account with alias name will usually employ made-up name that does not reflect human name in general, such as @pakmadon, @conan_edogawa007, @cebong_otak_korengan, and @coklat_semut. Account with group name will usually employ the name of certain community/group such as @forum-beritaviral, @mediarakyat_, @rakyatbersuara11, and @gene-rasi54.

As in the case of Twitter, some accounts are using their real identity as username, such as: @fahiraidris, @mochpramono, @mahendradatta, and @rizma_widiono. Accounts with alias name are, among others: @Dragon-Aries233, @GuruSocrates, and @AyoeMimin. As for twitter accounts that use group name are, among others: @LaskarCyberMus1, @pengikut_ulama, and @TNasionalis.

All of those accounts can be categorized further into four: (1) producer, (2) distributor, (3) producer and distributor, and (4) consumer. As for the percentage of each categorie, it can be viewed in Graph 5.

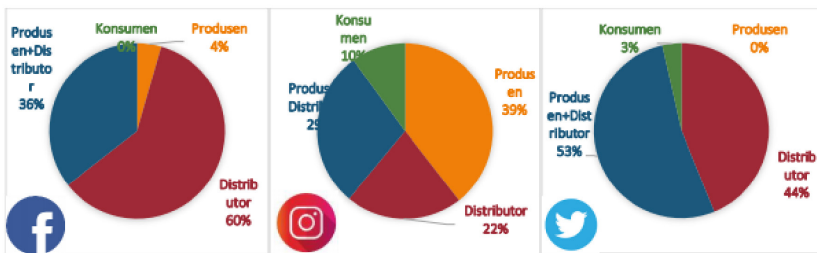


Chart 5.2: Percentages of social media usage in distributing radical messages

Among the 180 Facebook accounts, 8 (4%) has been identified as producer,

108 (60%) as distributor, and 64 (36%) as producer and distributor of radical message. Among the 200 Instagram accounts, 79 (39.5%) were producer account, 43 (21.5%) were distributor, 58 (20%) were producer and distributor, and 20 (10%) were consumer. Among the 57 Twitter account, 25 (44%) were distributor, 30 (53%) were producer and distributor, and 2 (4) were consumer. Radical messages were produced and distributed by social media accounts with alias name and group name.

Most of the social media user in Facebook, Instagram or Twitter, does not provide complete information in their profile. Among the 437 social media accounts in those three platforms, 111 (25.4%) explicitly mention their gender, 157 (35.32%) mentioned their address, 48 (11%) mentioned their education level, but 0% mentioned their school. Among the 111 account that mentioned their gender, 86 (77%) were male and 25 (23%) were female. Among the 157 accounts that mentioned their address, five live in North Sumatera, two in West Sumatera, one in Riau, two in South Sumatera, one in Lampung, 67 in Jakarta, 11 in West Java, four in Banten, 21 in Central Java, eight in Yogyakarta, 19 in East Java, two in West Kalimantan, two in South Kalimantan, one in East Kalimantan, one in Central Sulawesi, one in South Sulawesi, one in Bali, two in NTB, one in NTT, one in West Papua, and one in Papua. Among the 48 that mentioned their education level, 15 of them were high school, one of them was vocational, 27 were bachelor, four were magistrate, and one was a doctor. However, based on our interview with social media users, we received information that they learned about religion from books on history of Prophet, fiqh, Youtube and religious figures. Popular religious figure's name that we managed to obtain through web-scraping is Yusuf Mansur, Abdullah Gymanstiar and Felix Siauww.

C. Motivation of Social Media Users

As for the motivation of social media user to produce, distribute, and consume radical message, it was: (1) desire to turn their social media account into a medium to criticize the government; (2) desire to turn their social media into a medium to stop hoax or unconfirmed news; (3) desire to turn their social media into a medium for missionary work. They believed that aspects that should be criticized include: (1) politics, (2) law, (3) economy, (4) social (5) health and (6) education.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

BASED on analysis in previous chapters, we can make the following conclusions. First, majority of popular Islamic organization's website among internet users are unaffiliated Islamic organization's website. Era Muslim is the most visited Islamic website. NU Online is the most visited mainstream Islamic organization's website, while Hidayatullah is the most visited contemporary organization's website.

Secondly, in response to the phenomenon of radicalism within society, websites from those categories have different positions. Mainstream Islamic organization's websites consistently provide narrative to combat radicalism. Contemporary Islamic organization's website tends to "stay silent" neither supporting nor combating radicalism. They prefer to take care of their internal activity. Some of the unaffiliated Islamic organization's websites contain radicalism contents.

Thirdly, most of the internet user in social media produced and spread radical messages through the use of alias and/or group name. Majority of social media users are producing, distributing and consuming radical message with following characteristics: (a) male, (b) bachelor degree, (c) live in Jakarta, (d) learn about religion from books about history of the prophet, fiqih, Youtube and religious figures. Islamic figures mentioned the most by social media users did not come from mainstream Islamic organization.

Fourthly, motivation of social media users to produce, distribute, and consume radical message is: (1) desire to turn their social media account into a medium to criticize the government; (2) desire to turn their social media into a medium to stop hoax or unconfirmed news; (3) desire to turn their social media into a medium for missionary work.

The research found that mainstream Islamic organization, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, is not popular among social media users,

especially Generation Y and Z. This is an early warning for moderate Islamic organization and Indonesian stakeholders. Despite the fact that the two organizations have been offering peaceful Islamic messages, such as respect to unity, interfaith harmony, social justice, Pancasila and Republic of Indonesia, their figures are apparently not as popular as conservative-Islamist figures that utilize epistemic violence to trigger intolerance and hatred. In addition, there is ambivalence among social media user and Islamist website manager: on one hand they have strong missionary ethos to invite netizens into social progress, but their missionary is delivered through hate speech. This ambivalence is exacerbated by provocation and hate speech in the context of populism politics (George, 2016). There are also the 2 polar opposite that have mutual animosity and reciprocal derogation (Zamperini, 2012; Brewer, 1999; Staats, 1994). Islamic extremism and Islamism tends to be in an opposition with hyper-nationalism (Hadiz, 2017). Voice of moderatism can never be heard during the shouting of the two polar opposites.

Nowadays, the threat of terrorism, radicalism and extremism are getting more and more complex. It will require a new approach that can be more inclusive and holistic by prioritizing prevention instead of combat. In that paradigm, we hope that this research can provide an alternative for policy makers, practitioners, and professionals in responding the socio-religious phenomenon in Indonesia, especially in regard to radicalism and extreme violence. The following are several policy recommendations of this research:

First, managers of mainstream and moderate websites must change their strategy, content, display and outreach of their socio-religious missionary and turn their social media to be more interesting, relevant and compatible with netizens' character, especially for the youth.

Secondly, managers of contemporary and unaffiliated Islamic organization's websites should be involved in attempts to build peace and combat radicalism in order to prevent extreme violence and terrorism, through the use of inclusive approach that prioritizes non-violence.

Thirdly, in order to support attempts to make peace and combat radicalism, there is a need to advocate about internet ethics and literacy to millennial generation.

Bibliography

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Nowadays, threat of terrorism, radicalism and extremism are getting more and more complex. It will require a new approach that can be more inclusive and holistic by prioritizing prevention instead of combat. In that paradigm, we hope that this research aims to increase new evidence-based knowledge on the contestation of Islamic discourse in Indonesia in hope that it can provide alternative foundation for policy-makers, practitioners, and professionals in responding the socio-religious issue in Indonesia.

The research found that mainstream Islamic organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, have been offering peaceful Islamic messages, such as respect to unity, interfaith harmony, social justice, Pancasila and Republic of Indonesia. However, they are not popular among social media users, especially Generation Y and Z. Meanwhile, contemporary Islamic organization such as Hidayatullah, Dewan Dakwah and others are lacking in the promotion of moderate messages through their website. Instead of providing alternative narrative, they prefer to promote their organizational activity.

In another part, moderate Islamic figures that have spread peaceful values and progress are apparently not as popular as conservative-Islamist figures that utilize epistemic violence to trigger intolerance and hatred. In addition, there is ambivalence among social media users and Islamist website managers: on one hand they have strong missionary ethos to invite netizens into social progress, but their missionary is delivered through hate speech. This ambivalence is exacerbated by provocation and hate speech in the context of populism politics. There are also the 2 polar opposites that have mutual derogation: Islamism tends to be in an opposition with hyper-nationalism Voice of moderation can never be heard during the shouting of the two polar opposite.



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