Islamic Movement Global Jihad: Analysis of online media framing

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ABSTRACT

In 2015-2016, news in online media related to jihad issues developed significantly, marked by the emergence of various religious sites. However, in the Indonesian context, there has not been much literature that specifically explores the relationship between online media ideology and religious issues. To fill this gap, this article aimed to analyze the framing of Islamic online media related to the issue of jihad. This research used descriptive qualitative to analyze the issue of jihad in online media. The Entman framing theory applied in this study, including jihad as war, improving welfare, dangerous jihad, enforcement of Islamic law and jihad against the authorities. The study focused on four Islamic sites of Arrahmah.com, Hidayatullah, Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia, NU online and Republika online from 2015-2016. The results showed that Arrahmah portrayed jihad in the framework of war to uphold Allah's law, while Hidayatullah.com framed jihad as a real war. Hidayatullah focused on liberating Muslim lands related to conflicts in the Rohingya and Palestine. In comparison, NU Online uplifted jihad for the welfare of the community. One of the biggest frameworks was to defend the state for the welfare of society, eradicating ignorance and poverty, and anti-corruption jihad. In the fourth media, Republika online emphasized social welfare and jihad and pushed it over other news. From the analysis, the issue of jihad was framed differently by online Islamic media. Consequently, the difference was in the selection of events, the frequency of news titles, the emphasis on the selection of words, examples and illustrations.
Keywords: framing, jihad, online media

INTRODUCTION

The momentum of the fall of the New Order regime has been utilized very well by radical groups to rise, especially in the world of cyber and information technology developments that impact the development of new media through the internet. The emergence of new media is indirectly changed

the 'face' of the mass media today. The mass media no longer a 'monopoly' of the owners of capital, but now the typical audience can access the media with minimal costs. The new media also has 'blurred' the line between producer and audience messages in the media. Nowadays, everyone can be a message producer, as well as the audience on the internet as supported by the Sydney Jones research results, a researcher at the Institute for Analyst of Conflict (IPTC) said that terrorist groups use social media to propagate in Poso, showing the very strategic power of online media.[1]

This phenomenon prompted the emergence of internet sites indefinitely. The phenomenon is in line with the results of research by Bergin in the Australian Strategic Policy report published in 2009 that the number of Internet users has increased by 900% from 2000 to 2009 driven by the increasing cheapness of getting a website domain, and even easier to upload and download media content.[2] Similarly, the identical rises also happened in the world of propaganda sites of Islam with a variety of information about Islam's growth. Islamic groups or individual preachers leveraged this opportunity to participate and take part in spreading Islamic teachings and development information.[3]

The development of these Islamic sites and then raises its concerns amidst the government. Twenty-two Islamic websites blocked the access of authorized providers in the country. The reasons for the government's worries are the propaganda of radicalism, the issue of global *jihad* ideology, and the spread of terrorism among the community. The government argued that the content of the blocked sites contained the propaganda of radicalism, contrary to the philosophy of life of the Indonesian nation.[4]

This paper aimed to get a review of how the media framed Islam's online issue of jihad. As the theme of jihad, radicalism, and terrorism is framed as a global issue, a question arises about the portrayal of Jihad in the Islamic media online such as Arrahmah.com, Hidayatullah, NU Online and Republika. The four online media were chosen because of differences in ideological backgrounds. Bargin and said that the Arrahmah website (Arrahmah.com) was a militant Islamic media. The founder of Arahmah was Muhammad Jibril, a senior member of the Islamic congregation. Hidayatullah.com was chosen because it was conservative.[5]

The media that represents the moderate Muslims in this discussion is NU online (nu.org.id). NU online is the official website of the Nahdhatul Ulama organization, one of the largest Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia. As

an official website, NU online publishes organizational activities and NU's views on current issues. In addition, this website also provides sermon material, prayers and articles written by NU leaders.

Meanwhile, Republika is a media with the Muslim target audience.[6] Unlike the previous two online media managed by individuals and mass organizations, Republika is a commercial mass media with a corporate form. Therefore, Republika has an approach and considerations that are not the same as Arrahmah and NU online in publishing news. The primary consideration of Republika in publishing news is to get as much profit as possible by reaching as widest Muslim audience as possible.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach by applying the method in analyzing the framing of the process related to the issues of radicalism, jihad and terrorism. Islamic sites are selected based on alexa.com because it has the most extensive search metric panel that accesses popular websites around the world. Data regarding the most frequently accessed Islamic sites, the top ten Islamic sites with the highest number of accesses, are selected as a research subject, while the unit of analysis is all news containing words describing violence such as radical jihad and terrorists from 2015 to 2016.

The period of January 2015-2016 was chosen with the consideration that during that time several important events occurred, such as ISIS executing its prisoner, the Sarinah bomb, the murder of Siyono by Densus 88 while still being investigated, and the proposed revision of the terrorism law. The case of the suspected terrorist Siyono's death became controversial because Siyono, who was only a terrorist suspect, was killed by a member of Densus 88 who was guarding him. In 2017, after a year had passed, this case reappeared in various media because the killer had not been appointed as a suspect.[7]

LITERATURE REVIEWS
A. Definition of Radicalism

Radicalism in terms of language means a movement that wishes for changes in the social and political situation by force or drastic measure. However, in another sense, the essence of radicalism is the concept of mental attitude in carrying the change. Meanwhile, Radicalism is a notion that is made up of a group of people who intend to change the social and political reform drastically by using violent means.[8] Radicalism is the embryo of terrorism since it

aspires to change something totally and revolutionary by overturning existing values drastically through violence and extreme actions. There are several characteristics that can be identified from a radical attitude and understanding: 1) intolerant (do not want to respect the opinions & beliefs of others), 2) fanatical (self-righteous, others are wrong), 3) exclusive (differentiate themselves from other Muslims) and 4) revolutionary (tend to use violent ways to achieve goals).

However, when viewed from a religious point, it can be interpreted as a religious ideology that refers to the foundation of religion supported with very high religious fanaticism, making it prone to using violence to different people to actualize the religious ideas which embraced and believed to be accepted by force. Radicalism is a very conservative movement and often resorts to violence to teach their beliefs. Since Islam is the religion of peace, it does not justify the use of force in spreading the practice of religion, religious ideas, and political views.[9]

Adjie Suradji expressed that the definition of radicalism is equal to terrorism. But then he uses the term radicalism to distinguish both. Radicalism is a policy, and terrorism is part of radical policies. Radicalism contains a mental attitude that leads to action aimed at weakening and changing the order of establishment and replace them with new ideas. For the latter meaning, radicalism holds a negative understanding and can even be dangerous as the extreme left or right.[10]

Radicalism is an embryo for the birth of terrorism. Radicalism is an attitude that craves a total change by overturning the existing values drastically through violence and extreme actions. Several characteristics can be recognized and understood from radicalism such as 1) intolerant (do not value the opinions and beliefs of others), 2) fanatic (always feel alone; consider everyone else wrong), 3) Exclusive (distinguish themselves from Muslims in general) and 4) revolutionary (likely to use violent means to achieve the goal).[11]

B. Definition of Extreme Beliefs

Extremism is a strong idea or belief toward something beyond the limits of reasonability and contrary to ruling law. Extremism often uses violent and fanatic means in achieving the goals. Extremism resulted in contradictions between each other, causing mutual suspicion, resulting in a split between one another, causing social breakdown.

Extremism is a form of abuse of political activities that take advantage of

the group or organization. Meanwhile, the term extremism is to describe a doctrine of using all means to achieve its objectives. Extremism is an exaggeration in religion, applying religious principles rigidly beyond the norms.

Extremism with a broader sense, including:

1. Fanaticism (*ta'ashub*), in one opinion, does not recognize others and cannot correctly apply religious values and tend to be violent.
2. Tend to prejudice and claim other people with different interpretations as an infidel.
   a. Right extremism (religious fundamentalists)
      Right extremism is a term that refers to a segment of the political spectrum usually associated with conservatism, classical liberalism, religious right groups.
   b. Left Extremism (Communist)
      The group that is usually associated with the flow of socialist or social-democratic.

Everyone agreed that none of the religion's teaching instructs the followers to commit violence and destruction. Hendrapriono stated that violence, anarchy, and all forms of radicalism are against religious values that teach people to be good to all God's creatures.

C. Islam Online media development in Indonesia

The fall of the Suharto regime is the start of the momentum of freedom for the media in Indonesia, started from the abolishment of License for Publishing Business Press during the reign of President Habibie, which previously restricted the circulation of the media. Since the license was no longer valid and was replaced by Law No. 40/1999, the policy of press in Indonesia turned into the liberal press because it limits government intervention in the freedom of the press.[12]

In the reformation era, the emergence of mass media grew exponentially, including Islamic Media. Many Islamic magazines had sprung up. Though some had been published in the Suharto era, at that time, they could only circulate internally. For example, some militant magazines with Salafi backgrounds such as the Sunnah, Assyariah, An Nashihah, Fatwa, Qiblati, Marriages and ElFata.

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In this reform era, the internet becomes a new media emerging in Indonesian society. This new technology also brings about changes in the media landscape in Indonesia. Muslim activity using the internet to spread ideas about Islam and their attention grows along with the conditions around them in accordance with their ideological background.

Grifith et al. found that the websites of the hard-line ideological groups used various media to spread their ideological beliefs. They were able to create a larger community with shared values ideologically with a much larger amount than they had before the internet. The Islamist group also includes drawings and specific issues to create effective processes to indoctrinate and organize group members.[13]

The online Radicalism phenomenon emphasizes the growth of groups with specific attention through the internet, which was formed by people who do not know each other between Internet users and to develop a sense of greater closeness among the members. If this proximity has been established, then the openness among users who do not know each other is also increased to build a sense of closeness between them. Therefore, to develop ideological attention and to get the attention of the wider community, many new websites used names and symbols of Islam. Some examples are the salafy.or.id (2005), alsofwah.or.id, eramuslim.com (2005), arrahmah.com (2006) and muslim.or.id (2008).[14]

Some researchers have investigated the use of websites to spread the messages of radicals in Indonesia. Bergin et a., in a special report for the Australian Strategic Policy Institute issued in March 2016, reported that Internet users in Indonesia had risen sharply to 900%. Bergin et al. also found that the number of websites with radical messages increased dramatically, from only 15 in 2007 to 670 in one year.

In this report, Bergin identifies various administrators of these radical websites, namely the Muslim radical groups, schools, and sympathizers. Hui also explores how these radical websites often misrepresent the injustice and the threat to the lives of the *mujahid* (*jihadists*), also praise for those who have been 'martyred'.[15]

Bergin categorizes Arrahmah administrators from the group of radical Muslim fundamentalism. Arrahmah.com founded by Muhammad Jibril, son of Abu Jibril, the most influential person in the

Jama'ah Islamiyah. Muhammad Jibril established a media network Arrahmah, a publishing company that produces a variety of media such as CDs, magazines (Jihadmagz),[16] books and videos about Jihad.

In March 2015, the government of Indonesia banned Arrahmah.com along with 21 other Islamic sites with charges of propagating ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) belief to the Muslim community of Indonesia. There were 22 online sites suspected of radicalism: Arrahmah.com, voaislam.com, Ghur4ba.blogspot.com, Panjimas.com, Thoriquna.com, Salanoline.com, Aqlislamiccenter.com, Kiblat.net, Dakwahmedia.com, Muqawamah.com Lasdipo.com, Gemaislam.com, Eramuslim.com, Daulahislam.com, Soutussalam.com, Azzammedia.com, Dakwatuna.com, Khafilah mujahid.com, Annajah.net, Muslimdaily.net, Hidayatullah.com.

After careful investigation, the charges against 22 Muslims banned sites is not proven. Therefore, Arrahmah.com and several other sites can continue to operate until now, only thoriquna, khafilamujahid, an-najah.net, dakwahmedia.com gemaislam.com, daulahislam.com and Indonesia support islamicatate.blogspot.com that cannot proceed further. Media representing the selected moderate season in this discussion is NU Online (nu.org.id). NU Online is the official website of Nahdlatul Ulama organization, one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia. As an official website, NU Online publicize the organization's activities and NU views on current issues. More-over, this website also provides sermon materials, prayers and articles written by the leaders of NU.

Republika is a medium that has a target audience of Muslims. Unlike the previous online media managed by individual and mass organizations, Republika is a commercial mass media to shape the company. Therefore, Republika's approaches and considerations are not the same as Arrahmah and NU Online in portraying the news. The primary consideration in the Republika in publishing a story is to benefit as much to achieve the broadest reach possible toward the Muslim audience.

D.   Media Framing

The word 'framing' means the process of giving more attention to an issue in the mind of a person. Framing has been used in many fields such as sociology, politics, linguistics, psychology and art,[17] frame as a 'scheme to interpret' someone by placing, perceiving, identifying and labeling a situation or information.

In the field of psychology, it is associated with the process of individual cognition, which brings up the information process. In the political area, Entman defines framing as public opinion in which the elite politicians control the democratic process. The formation of frames allows the political elite to direct the 'truth' in the majority of public opinion favorable local government.

Entman describes the four steps in the process of framing: defining the problem, diagnose why to make moral judgments and recommend solutions. Defining the problem is to determine the causative agent associated with gains and losses in the context of the current cultural values. Once the causative agent is found, then the second step of the process is to diagnose the cause of framing begins with identifying and background pressure that causes the problem. The third step is to make a moral assessment to evaluate the causative agent and its effect. The final step is to offer alternative solutions to resolve the issue and predicted subsequent effects.

Entman also defines the process of framing that appears on the four stages of the communication process: a communicator, receiver, and cultural texts. The framing process at the level of communicators occurs when a communicator makes decisions about what to say, guided by the frame or viewpoints, organize their belief system. The framing process occurs in the text when representations appear in the text, namely the presence or absence of keywords, phrases, stereotypical images, and resources that lead to specific research. The recipient or audience may have the same or different frame of media content. The process of framing in cultures is established from the empirical custom frame through discourse and thinking of most people in the socio-cultural environment.[18]

Furthermore, Scheufele describes the process of framing a circle includes a frame-building process, frame-setting, framing effect levels of individual and audience of journalists that connects the individual frame by media. Scheufele frame-building process is defined as involving the formation of media frames that require resources that affect the creation of the frame as the value of media professionals and journalists, organizational pressures, and other external sources of influences as political actors, interest groups and other elites. The results of the frame-building can be seen in the media frames.

Once the media frame is formed, the next step is frame-setting. This process involves the perception of the audience and attributes highlighted by the

media frames to construct frames audience called frames setting. The level of influence of individual frames occurs when the individual frames (in this case, frames the audience) have deconstructed. The unique effects can be in the form of behavior, attitude or the result of thought. The final step in the process of framing is to involve journalists who are also at the same time into the audience. In this step, together with an audience of journalists are considered 'normal' and affected by media texts as well.[19]

Van Grop concluded that the analysis of the frame is a dynamic process of the social construction of reality, and therefore framing studies should use a constructivist paradigm approach. Van Gorp found in the process of finding the frame either in the media or in the form of the audience, subjective interpretation of the researcher can not be avoided.

The reporter also only accepts as reality; then, by selecting and constructing specific facts, they emphasize particular evidence in the news, and consequently, the audience also pays attention to the evidence.[20] The process of choosing and building this issue is also the necessary procedure for framing a message.

In the context of media frames, this discussion should discover the possibilities inherent in the media frame by exploring a number of elements in the text. In contrast, in the frame of the audience, the critic must explore the interpretive view of specific issues related to the audience.

Media frames can be searched by identifying keywords, phrases, stereotype images, resources and sentences containing facts and opinions contained in the media frame would then be consumed by the audience, which will affect their daily conversation. Analyzing the media frames can be used to browse the media production process, how journalists convey the information in the media, and how it is represented in newspapers, television and websites. However, frames in the media can influence the audience, and a different audience would probably catch a different frame toward an issue when compared to the existing frame in the media.

Analyzing the media frame, including the analysis of media production and media contents. The report of media production includes how media represents an issue. Researchers in this area analyze the frame in the news media, including examining the influence of social institutions, structural strength and professional practitioners, and also the value in selecting and shaping the media frame. The analysis of media content includes media representation of the events or to specific issues, such as poverty, radical Mus-

lims and the war against terrorism.

Kiousis explained the internal and external characteristics of the emphasis on the media issue. External features are visibility, consisting of attention and interest, including the number of the media's problems, while the benefit is news placement, size, pictures, graphs and other illustrations to attract the audience. In contrast, the internal characteristics include valence issues classified as positive, negative and neutral.[21]

RESULT & DISCUSSION

Islam Online Media Framing Issues Jihad against radicalism and terrorism. The issue of jihad in a frame in 5 main topics, namely: Jihad is a war, a jihad to improve the welfare of the community, jihad is earnest, jihad to enforce the law of Allah and *jihad* against the rightful ruler is *zalim* as can be seen in the table I.

Table I. Recap of Framing by Online Media Coverage of Jihad Issues in Islam

No	Frame	Online Media				
		Arrahmah	Hidayatullah	NU	Republika	Total
1.	Jihad is a war	131	9	12	15	167
2.	Jihad is for the welfare of society	0	2	100	29	131
3.	Jihad to uphold the religious laws of God	55	3	16	6	80
4.	Jihad is taking seriously	1	7	47	23	80
5.	Jihad against the *dzalim* ruler	52	33	0	1	86

1. Arrahmah.com

Online Islamic Media Arrahmah.com broadly publicize news of the struggle of many jihadists who joined the IIA (Islam International Al Jazair) and the fight against ISIS, so Arrahmah tends to frame the issue of Jihad as fighting the infidels. So the large part of the Jihad Arrahmah frame is within the meaning of war and enforces the Sharia of Allah.

Furthermore, some frames exist only in the media Arrahmah.com, *jihad* is the solidarity of faith aimed to liberate people from oppression, jihad against the Shia, while the theme of jihad to uphold the Shariah of Allah only Arrahman.com believe that leaving jihad caused humiliation of Muslims. It means that the issue of jihad in Arrahmah.com is a war against the *dzalim* ruler and enforce Shari'a of Allah.

2. Hidayatullah.com

In Hidayatullah.com, the most prominent jihad frame is the war in earnest. Hidayatullah focuses on Muslim land acquisition related to the conflict in Rohingya and Palestine.

While in other cases, it focuses more earnestly to try your best and jihad in wealth. It is fascinating to examine not only the theme of jihad minimal frame but no jihad frame against the *dzalim* ruler. Hidayatullah activities focus on community empowerment requiring various parties' cooperation, especially those in power, deliberate actions taken by editor in chief of Hidayatullah.

3. NU OnLine

Focus Frame of the issue of jihad at NU Online is jihad for the welfare of society. One of the largest jihad frames at Nu Online is a jihad to defend the state, jihad to public welfare, framing of NU populist with cultural propaganda and the fight against ignorance and poverty and anti-corruption jihad.

Generally, jihad framing in Nu Online is quite varied. However, no *dzalim* ruler framing similar to Hidayatullah. NU possibly does not conflict with the government, so that framing of dzalim ruler is unnecessary.

4. Republika OnLine

A large part of the jihad frame in Republika Online is improving social welfare and jihad in earnest. Jihad of making peace is more prominent than other framings. Republika tries to put themselves in a neutral position and does not favor one group of Muslims. Therefore keeping inter-group harmony becomes important to Republika since, from the beginning, it positioned itself as a reference for Indonesian Muslims.

CONCLUSION

From the above analysis, it can be concluded that the issue of jihad is framed differently by each online Islam media. The difference was apparent in the selection of events, the frequency of the selection and loading of news, emphasizing aspect in the choice of words, examples and illustrations. The meaning of jihad has different interpretations, even among Muslims. Some interpret it as a seriousness that someone strives for in struggling to uphold the religion of Allah. In comparison, according to the KBBI (Big Indonesian dictionary), the word jihad has three meanings: (1) all efforts to achieve goodness (2) serious efforts to defend the religion of Islam by sacrificing property, body and soul (3) holy war against infidels to defend Islam.

The jihad framing on Arrahmah.com media, hidayatullah.com, NU Online, and Republika Online also showed the difference in meaning. Arrahmah's framing about the causes of jihad because of Allah's promise of the ultimate victory for the mujahid is going to heaven (QS Al-Taubah; 111), and as for the jihad activity that Arrahmah.com means is liberating everything, for example, a form of oppression and slavery that was carried out by "*thagut*" and defending and upholding Islamic law, and jihad becomes compulsory for all believers.

In comparison, NU Online and Republika Online defined jihad in a broader sense, such as prospering and building society, jihad against lust and ignorance. Also, another meaning of jihad is by defending the country, being serious in the path of Allah. In relation to that, NU Online also recommends jihad assets and jihad against corruption. Rais Suriyah PBNU KH Subhan Makmundalam in *harlah* 33 at MAN 1 Brebes February 2016 stated that currently Muslims must do economic jihad instead of taking up arms, send children to school and treat sick parents.

Meanwhile, Republika Online proposes Jihad actions with peaceful jihad, political jihad and seeking knowledge. According to Prof. Achmad Satori of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, the most relevant jihad is peaceful jihad, which focuses on the fields of education, economics and politics.

From the explanation above, the jihad frame in the media Arrahmah.com and Hidayatullah.com is different compared to NU Online and Republika Online. The framing of jihad in Arrahmah and Hidayatullah.com is interpreted in a narrow sense by fighting against infidels, upholding Islamic law for all Muslims. Therefore the humiliation and fall of Islam will come if jihad is abandoned. On the other hand, NU Online and Republika Online issue a broader meaning in this Islamic Jihad. It is also interpreted as being really serious against corruption, wealth jihad, political jihad to jihad in peace,

However, the four online media studied have the same frame for the reason of Muslim jihad. All four platforms agree that jihad is the obligation of all Muslims and to uphold Islamic law. Also, the research found that online Islamic media with various ideological backgrounds have different perspectives. The issue of jihad from its meaning is in accordance with its ideology, similar to the theory put forward by Entman, which offers moral judgment or moral evaluation, showing how the media offers a solution to problems in the news. As a result, researchers can see how the media selects issues and highlights particular aspects.

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