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Yth. Said Romadlan

Di Communication Science Department of Muhammadiyah University of Prof. Dr. HAMKA

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Judul Artikel: COUNTER-DISCOURSE OF ISLAMIC STATE IN INDONESIA THROUGH ONLINE MEDIA SUARAMUHAMMADIYAH.ID AND NU ONLINE

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COUNTER-DISOURSE OF ISLAMIC STATE IN INDONESIA THROUGH ONLINE MEDIA SUARAMUHAMMADIYAH.ID AND NU ONLINE

Said Romadlan

Communication Science Department of Muhammadiyah University Prof. Dr. HAMKA.

Jl. Limau II, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta, Indonesia

Email: saidromadlan@uhamka.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Discourse of radicalism that proposes a system of government khilafah (Islamic State) to replace Pancasila as the basis of the state strengthened again after the reform era in 1998. Along with the development of information and communication technology today, discourse of radicalism then spread through online media and social media affiliated to radical Muslim groups. Islamic State discourse in online media must be countered with counter-discourse in the same realm. Therefore, the role of online media from moderate Islamic groups such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) becomes needed to match the discourse of these radical Muslim groups. The research problem is how do forms of counter-discourse of radicalism about the Islamic state in Indonesia through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online? The study used Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis method, which focused his analysis on three levels: (1) text analysis, (2) analysis of discourse practice and (3) socio-cultural analysis (context). The results showed that the form of counter-discourse of radicalism suaramuhammadiyah.id about the Islamic State is to represent the State of Pancasila as darul ahdi wa shahadah (state of agreement and testimony). NU Online represents Pancasila as Islamic, there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila. The discourse that represented by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online is a counter-discourse about the Islamic State which is disoursed by radical Muslim groups in Indonesia.

Key Words: Counter-discourse Radicalism, Pancasila, Islamic State, suaramuhammadiyah.id, NU Online

1. INTRODUCTION

Historically, the idea of making Indonesia an Islamic State has emerged and been championed by Islamic figures since before and after Indonesia's independence in 1945. In the period leading up to independence, June 22, 1945, in the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) there was a debate to determine the basis of the Indonesian state and the Preambul of the Constitution. The debate ended through a vote with a result of 45 votes choosing the national basis, and 15 votes voting for the Islamic basis. As a and based on the agreement of the Committee of Nine, consisting of nine people from representatives of the group "Nationalist-Islamic" and "Nationalist-Secular" then produced the "Jakarta Charter". One of the important points of the Jakarta Charter is the inclusion of seven words "with the obligation to implement Islamic Sharia for its adherents" in the first precept of Pancasila (Anshari, 1983) These seven words are considered as the constitutional basis of Indonesia implementing Islamic sharia.

After independence, precisely at the Constituent Assembly, August 18, 1945, the discourse on the application of Islamic sharia again appeared with the proposed abolition of the seven-word Jakarta Charter of June 22, 1945, "with the obligation to implement Islamic

Sharia for its adherents". The proposed removal was initiated by Hatta, who also proposed replacing the word *Muqaddimah* with *Opening*, and the wording of the president must be Muslim. After going through a fairly heated and sharp debate, especially the firmness of the establishment of Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (Muhammadiyah) who did not agree with the removal of the seven words, finally the representatives of Muslims approved the proposal for the removal of the sentence from Pancasila and the Body of the 1945 Constitution (Anshari, 1983) The seven-word is seen by some as the political defeat of the representatives of Islam in the Constituent Assembly. But some others also think it is not the defeat of Muslims, but a gift of Muslims to the nation and independence of Indonesia, in order to maintain unity (Maarif, 2017).

Post-reform 1998, after long silenced by new order power, the idea of establishing an Islamic State and implementing Islamic sharia in Indonesia re-emerged in public spaces. The idea of establishing a Khilafah (Khilafah *Islamiyah*) and upholding Islamic sharia in Indonesia was campaigned by Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) (Arif, 2018), and other radical Muslim groups such as the Indonesian Mujahideen Assembly (MMI), Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) (van Bruinessen, 2002). Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) was founded by Taqiyudin an-Nabhani in Pakistan in 1953. In Indonesia HT was founded and spread by Abd. Rahman al-Baghdadi in Bogor between 1982-1983, which came to be known as Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) (Arif, 2018; Hasan, 2008).

In the current context, the discourse of the Islamic State (Khilafah *Islamiyah*) in Indonesia is increasingly losing its relevance. This cannot be separated from the views and attitudes of the two largest moderate Islamic organizations in Indonesia, namely Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) regarding Pancasila as the basis of the state and its relationship with Islam as a religion. Muhammadiyah and NU as a civil force of Indonesian Islam play a role against the Islamization movement, oppose the enactment of Sharia as a positive law, and reject the reuse of the Jakarta Charter (Hefner, 2001; van Bruinessen, 2003). Muhammadiyah then affirmed the attitude and views regarding Pancasila by positioning Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah* (Unitary State and Testimony). Muhammadiyah's view of Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah* was decided at the 47th Muhammadiyah Conference (Muktamar) in 2015 in Makassar, South Sulawesi. While NU affirms Pancasila as *mu'ahadah wathaniyah* (National Agreement) all components of the nation that must be accepted and maintained. NU's view of Pancasila as *mu'ahadah wathaniyah* was decided at the Bahtsul Masail National Deliberation (Munas) Alim Ulama in Ponpes Kempek, Palimanan, Cirebon, West Java, in 2012 (Romadlan, 2019, 2020).

Nevertheless, religious radicalism movements will still exist and wait for the momentum to rise again. In the current situation for example, along with the rapid development of information and communication technology, radicalism movements also changed their strategies by using a new kind of strategy. By no longer relying solely on public forums, or demonstrations took to the streets, he began to use online media and social media as a tool of his struggle. They target young people or groups such as students on campuses that are close to this new technology or media (Afrianty, 2012). Their online media becomes a seeding field of radical understanding through the discourse they emerge (Karman, 2015). Even in development, they also use social media such as YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, and so on as a medium to spread radical views (Muthohirin, 2015).

Radical Muslim groups through their online and social media continue to discuss issues of radicalism such as the system of government, jihad, and tolerance towards non-Muslims. Discourse of radicalism in online media must be fought with antiradicalism discourse or counter-discourse radicalism in the same domain, namely online media. Therefore, the role of online media from moderate Islamic groups (*washitiyah* or middle)

such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) becomes needed to match the discourse of radical Muslim groups, by giving rise to counter-discourse of radicalism. As is known so far, Muhammadiyah and NU are moderate Islamic organizations in Indonesia and become Islamic civil forces that consistently fight for the growth of democratic values (Burhani, 2012; Hilmy, 2013; Nashir et al., 2019)

Online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online is the official media of Muhammadiyah Islamic organization and NU which serves as a kind of "mouthpiece" that louds the official voices and interests of the two Islamic organizations (Saputra & Nazim, 2017; Sukmono & Junaedi, 2020). As the official media of Muhammadiyah and NU, its existence is certainly very strategic in the context of counter-discourse of radicalism. One side internally both act as a media that provides an understanding of the Islamic values of Muhammadiyah and NU to each of its citizens, including on issues of radicalism such as the basis of the state and jihad. On the other hand, externally, suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online act as a tool to counter views or teachings that are considered deviant or not in accordance with Muhammadiyah and NU Islamic views, including against the views of radicalism that are growing in Indonesia today.

Based on this background, the problem that will be examined is how the forms of counter-discourse of radicalism through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online? While the specific purpose of this study is to show the existence of counter-discourse of radicalism through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online, as the official online media of moderate Islamic organizations Muhammadiyah and NU.

2. LIBRARY REVIEW

2.1 State of the Art

Studies on counter-discourse of radicalism or some kind of counterradicalism and deradicalization in various types of online media in general have indeed been done by researchers before. First, a study by Nafi' Muthohirin, entitled *Islamic Radicalism and Its Movement on Social Media* (2015). The results show a very significant role in social media such as Facebook and Twitter as new arenas for seeding and propaganda of radical Islamic groups such as HTI and Salafist Jama'at. The target is young people who are close to social media so that the messages of radicalism are more acceptable (Muthohirin, 2015).

Second, Rina Sari Kusuma and Nur Azizah, with a study entitled *Against Radicalism through The Website* (2018), which reviewed three websites of the Center for Peaceful Media (PMD) namely, jalandamai.org, damailahindonesiaku.com, and damai.id. This study aims to look at the resistance to radicalism shown in the three websites that describe the existence of two stages of resistance, namely the spread of radicalism sensitively and prevention efforts (Kusuma & Azizah, 2018).

Third, a study conducted by Muhammad Nurrohman, entitled *Analysis of online NU media content on radicalism* (2019), which shows the existence of content that resists radicalism, one of which is published in NU Online. NU Online became one of the online media that did not agree with the idea of radicalism. This reason is reinforced by the existence of seven articles and news on www.nu.or.id website (Nurrohman, 2019).

Fourth, a study conducted by Riyan Fadli on *Counter-Religious Radicalism in Cyberspace (Study Analysis of Online Portals of Islamic Organizations and Government)* (2019). The results of this study show that religious counter-radicalism carried out through online portals has a significant difference. Of the three online portals, the intensity is quite high carried out by Dutaislam.com in countering religious radicalism, while Sangpencerah.id becomes an unproductive online portal. In Nu.or.id post is still normative in terms of counter-religious radicalism and more show news. Nu.or.id more defense of NU-

related issues, editors do more counter-radicalism in general, not specifically discuss radical issues. Dutaislam.com do it hard, the editor takes advantage of the diversity of majas, and the language used by the editor is enough to make their posts more interesting (Fadli, 2019).

Fifth, study by Yani Tri Wijayanti, entitled *Radicalism Prevention through Propaganda Awareness on Social Media* (2020). The results of the study showed that propaganda awareness is important because it is able to increase awareness of information containing radicalism spread through social media so that it can prevent and protect students from exposure to radicalism (Wijayanti, 2020).

The above studies show that online media or *internet-based media (internet based)* becomes a new medium for radical Muslim groups to disseminate their ideological views. Radical Muslim groups use the internet as an effective and efficient medium to make radicalism and fundamentalism a global issue (Khatib, 2019).

On the other hand, the above studies also show resistance or deradicalization efforts by certain online media. However, studies specifically on the role of Muhammadiyah and NU online media, namely suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online in fighting radicalism have not been widely conducted, especially regarding the basic discourse of the state. As an official media owned by two of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, a review of the role of the two online media in preventing radicalism is widely carried out. However, studies on the role of online media are more focused on other media other than those owned by Muhammadiyah and NU. Therefore, this study seeks to show the role of the two official online media of the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia in the prevention of radicalism in the form of counter-discourse on issues related to radicalism displayed in both online media.

2.2 Discourse and Counter-Discourse

This research uses theories or concepts regarding discourse as its theoretical basis. The term discourse was popularized by Michel Foucault. Discourse is the entire domain (field) in which language is used with certain patterns. Discourse can be defined as the entire conceptual region in which knowledge is created or formed, and produced (Lubis, 2014). The term discourse can be used in broad contexts and is used for several disciplines. Discourse covers two areas, the first in the study of languages. Discourse can be understood in the form of social interactions and actions between individuals who interact together in a social situation. Second, discourse can also be used in post-structuralist studies as a construction of social reality (Fairclough, 1995, 2013).

Discourse can also be seen as a relationship between people in the form of speech, writing, and other means of communication, and describes also the relationship between communicative events (conversations, newspapers, articles) (Fairclough, 2010). Discourse, in relation to the understanding of text, is any language standardized through writing. Thus, discourse is always related to the language used. Language in discourse is considered an *event*, which is the language that discusses something (Ricoeur, 2006).

The counter-discourse is a kind of resistance by producing a counter-discourse. When discourse refers to the world depicted, expressed, and interpreted (Ricoeur, 2006), so does counter-discourse. But in counter-discourse what is depicted and expressed is different from what is depicted and expressed in discourse. For example, the term Occidentalism as a counter-discourse term orientalism, or in binary positions such as West-East, Self-Other, Oppressed-Oppressor (Sorensen & Chen, 1996). Counter-discourse can also take the form of for example the term post-colonial as counter-discourse of colonialism and imperialism (Tiffin, 1987). In Foucault's view counter-discourse relates to previously voiceless groups then begins to articulate their desire to resist the prevailing dominance of authoritative discourse (Moussa & Scapp, 1996).

Counter-discourse of radicalism in this context is done in new media. New media is media based on the internet. Technologies that provide convergence, digital networks, global reach, interactiveness, many-to-many communication, and forms of media that one can become a producer as well as a consumer (Flew, 2005). New media actually refers to widespread changes in media production, distribution, and use, especially with regard to digitization and convergence (Flew, 2005; McQuail, 2010). New media are identified with digital, interactive, hypertext, virtual, networking, and simulation (Lister et al., 2009). The characteristics of new media that distinguish it from conventional media are interactiveness, social presentation, media enrichment, autonomy, full of fun, privacy, and personalization (McQuail, 2010).

3. METHOD

This research uses Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method that focuses on language as a practice of power, because language is formed and formed from specific social relationships and contexts. This research uses Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis because it is in addition to being relevant to research problems, also because this method is called the "social change" model that integrates linguistic analysis with social and political thinking, so that the analysis is more comprehensive. Fairclough critical discourse analysis has three dimensions of analysis, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995).

For the determination of sources and online media is done based on criteria. The source is the editor of suaramuhammadiyah.id and editor of NU Online. While the online media selected in this study is the official media Muhammadiyah and NU, namely suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online. Both of these media were chosen because in addition to both internet-based, these both of two online media are official media and become representations of Muhammadiyah and NU that serve as a kind of "mouthpiece" that louds the official voices and interests of the two Islamic organizations (Saputra & Nazim, 2017; Sukmono & Junaedi, 2020). The time span chosen is for 5 years, from January 2016 to December 2020.

Method of data collection is documentation, in-depth interviews and literature studies. Documentation is the collection of data that aims to obtain information that supports data analysis (Kriyantono, 2009). Documentation in this study takes the form of online media coverage suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online about radicalism and counterradicalism. An *in-depth interview* can simply be described as a conversation between a researcher (someone who wants to get information about a subject) and an informant (someone who is considered to have information). In-depth interviews to extract data from sources related to counter-discourse of radicalism through online media, especially regarding discourse practices and sociocultural contexts that surround the process of making texts. The collection of data with library studies is carried out in the form of collection of studies related to counter-discourse of previous radicalism that can be obtained through literature.

For this method of data analysis, this study uses three levels of analysis, namely text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and socio-cultural analysis. Text analysis is done with *critical linguistic* analysis to understand the semantic aspects used in online media. Analysis of discourse practices is an analysis of the results of in-depth interviews with sources to understand the process of making text and its background. Analysis of sociocultural practices, which relates texts, discourse practices to sociocultural contexts or conditions that occur when texts are structured to understand the counter-discourse context of current radicalism.

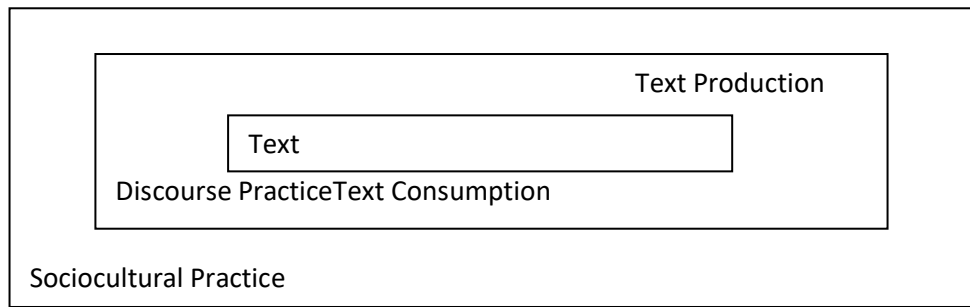


Figure 2. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Dimensions (Fairclough, 1995)

4. RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 Text Analysis

a) Counter-Discourse Representation of the Islamic State

Representation of suaramuhammadiyah.id. As the official media of the moderate Muhammadiyah Islamic organization, suaramuhammadiyah.id presents the idea of the State of Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* (State of Agreement and Testimony) as a counter-discourse of the Islamic State. Articles suaramuhammadiyah.id representing the State of Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah* are displayed and described by suaramuhammadiyah.id including in the article entitled "*Muhammadiyah: Pancasila State Darul Ahdi Was-shahadah*" (26/10/2019), "*Muhammadiyah Positions Pancasila State as Dar Al-Ahdi Wa Al-Syahadah*" (16/06/2016), "*Dar Al-Ahdi Wa As-Shahadah: The Ideal State Concept*" (18/06/2016), "*About the Dissolution of HTI, Haedar Nashir: NKRI Darul Ahdi Wa Shahadah*" (04/03/2020), and "*Muhammadiyah And Pancasila Position as National Consensus*" (03/12/2017).

The representation of the State of Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi Syahadah* as a counter-discourse of the Islamic State is for example displayed and described suaramuhammadiyah.id article entitled "*Muhammadiyah Positions Pancasila State as Dar Al-Ahdi Wa Al-Shahadah*" (16/06/2016). In this article it is written, "*Although there is no state form of Pancasila in the Quran, until now there has also been no better system of government. In addition, some of the principles and values of the Quran have been applied in the state of Pancasila. Muhammadiyah views Pancasila as the meeting point of all components of the nation.*"

Suaramuhammadiyah.id also represents the idea that the State of Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah* is an ideal state concept. In the article entitled "*Dar Al-Ahdi Wa As-Shahadah: The Ideal State Concept*" (04/03/2020), suaramuhammadiyah.id described it as follows: "*This movement aims to establish an international Islamic caliphate under the pretext that Indonesia is experiencing system chaos and is wrapped in many problems, not in line with the aspirations of Islam and Muslims so there needs to be an alternative. They see the only alternative as an Islamic state in the form of an Islamic caliphate and an international nature.*"

Representation of NU Online. As the official online media of NU Islamic organization which is also moderate, NU Online represents the idea that Pancasila is Islamic, and Islam is not contrary to Pancasila, as a form of counter-discourse of the Islamic State. In other words, because Pancasila is Islamic and there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila, the Islamic State or The Islamic Caliphate is irrelevant

and no longer needed in Indonesia. Moreover, according to NU Online in its representation views that the ideology of the caliphate has the potential to break the unity of the Indonesian nation.

NU Online in representing the counter-discourse of the Islamic State does feature and illustrate that Pancasila is Islamic, and there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila. NU Online news and articles representing the alignment of Islam with Pancasila are featured in news titles and articles including in the title "*Kiai Masdar Affirm Pancasila Is Very Islamic*" (16/02/2019), "*Grand Sheikh of Al-Azhar Calls Pancasila Values In Line with Islamic Teachings*" (27/04/2018), "*Yudi Latif: The Principles of Pancasila Justice and Islam are the Same*" (20/01/2018), "*10 Minutes Gus Dur Decides Pancasila is Islamic and Final*" (01/06/2017), "*Pancasila is Islamic, Qur'ani, and Rabbani*" (19/05/2017), and "*Pancasila is not against Islam*" (22/01/2017).

Pancasila is Islamic and there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila as a counter-discourse of radicalism on the basic issues of the state displayed and described by NU Online among others in the news entitled "*Together with NU, Muhammadiyah Affirms Rejecting The Understanding of the Khilafah*" (01/11/2018), in the contents of the news displayed that "the meeting of the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia namely Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, Wednesday (31/10) night seized public attention considering the current situation of the nation. In addition to addressing a number of national problems, the meeting also agreed to strengthen Pancasila as a form and system of Islamic statehood".

b) Relations in the Counter-Discourse of the Islamic State

Suaramuhammadiyah.id relationship. As the official online media from Muhammadiyah, suaramuhammadiyah.id becomes a mouthpiece that vocalizes attitudes, views, and thoughts about all kinds of aspects of life, especially those related to with Indonesianness and Islam. In the context of the counter-discourse relations of the Islamic State, the position of suaramuhammadiyah.id is as a tool of Muhammadiyah organizational strength in fighting or rivaling the discourse of the establishment of the Islamic State (*Khilafah Islamiyah*) in Indonesia. Therefore, the content of the suaramuhammadiyah.id regarding the counter-discourse of the Islamic State both in the form of news, opinions, articles, and others always reflects Muhammadiyah's view as an organization Moderate Islam. "*Muhammadiyah With the State of Pancasila Darul Ahdi Was-Syahadah*" (26/10/2019), "*Muhammadiyah Positions Pancasila State as Dar Al-Ahdi Wa Al-Syahadah*" (16/06/2016), "*Muhammadiyah and Pancasila Position as National Consensus*" (13/12/2017), "*Secretary of MUHAMMADIYAH PP: Pancasila as Contextual Interpretation of The Value of The Qur'an and Sunnah*" (09/07/2018), and "*About the Dissolution of HTI, Haedar Nashir: NKRI Darul Ahdi Wa Shahadah*" (04/03/2020).

The second participant in the text-making relationship regarding the counter-discourse of the Islamic State was the reader of suaramuhammadiyah.id most of whom were Muhammadiyah (*segmented*) citizens. The relationship of suaramuhammadiyah.id with its readers (Muhammadiyah member) is more symmetrical, relatively no difference or conflict of views in many ways, including regarding ideas Pancasila state as *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah* as a form of counter-discourse of the Islamic State or *Khilafah Islamiyah*. Readers suaramuhammadiyah.id as an audience in general accept the idea of Pancasila State as *Darul Ahdi wa shahadah* represented by suaramuhammadiyah.id.

Third parties in the counter-discourse relations of the Islamic State are radical Muslim groups that want to replace Pancasila with the Islamic State. These groups in

relation to suaramuhammadiyah.id are the other parties targeted by the counter-discourse of the Islamic State. The idea of the State of Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah* represented in the content of the suaramuhammadiyah.id is basically addressed to groups that want to establish this Islamic State. While the relationship of Muhammadiyah citizens as readers of suaramuhammadiyah.id with radical Muslim groups is certainly asymmetrical or contradictory because both have views and attitudes which is different. In suaramuhammadiyah.id the relationship between the two is described by Muhammadiyah citizens as parties who want to maintain and maintain Pancasila, while this radical Muslim group is positioned as a party that is they want to replace and change Pancasila with an Islamic State.

NU Online Relationship. As the official online media of the Islamic organization NU, NU Online serves as the voice of PBNU in national and Islamic world, as well as being a reference for NU member (*Nahdliyin*) in responding to various problems that develop, both internally and externally NU. In the context of the Counter-discourse relations of the Islamic State, NU Online's position is of course as a tool of PBNU's power to fight and match islamic state discourse proposed by Muslim groups radicals. Although in general the function and role of NU Online is not solely as a counter-discourse of the Islamic State, but rather to the spread of thoughts NU (Aswaja), but many contents NU Online is good in the form of news, articles, opinions, and so forth to the counter-discourse efforts of the Islamic State. In this context NU Online carries the mission of NU organization as a moderate Islamic organization that rejects islamic state.

The contents of NU Online that show its relationship with PBNU in representing Pancasila are Islamic and there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila as a counter-discourse of the Islamic State, displayed and described by NU Online in its contents. The relationship for example can be seen in the titles including the following. "*KH Ma'ruf Amin Said Indonesia is Darul Mitsaq*" (25/06/2019), "*PBNU Commitment to Keep Pancasila and NKRI Until Any Time*" (08/04/2019), "*Together with NU, Muhammadiyah Affirms Rejecting Understanding the Khilafah*" (01/11/2018), and "*10 Minutes Gus Dur Decides Pancasila is Islamic and Final*" (01/06/2017).

The second relationship in the counter-discourse of the Islamic State is between NU Online and NU member (*Nahdliyin*) as its reader audience. In the relationship, it is more reciprocal and strengthening. In one position, NU Online serves as the official media of PBNU that disseminates thought of NU (*Nahdliyah fikrah*) and the understanding of *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (Aswaja), on all kinds of issues, including the rejection of the idea of the Islamic State (*Khilafah Islamiyah*) in Indonesia to *Nahdliyin*. In another position, *Nahdliyin* as a reader audience NU Online also needs reliable information (*shahih*) about various national and Islamic issues, This includes the problem of religious radicalism that has strengthened in recent decades.

The relationship between NU Online and *Nahdliyin* as its reader is related to the counter-discourse of the Islamic State, where NU Online represents Pancasila as the basis of an Islamic state, and there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila, displayed and described by NU Online in the following titles. "*Kiai Maman: NU citizens must defend Pancasila*" (15/12/2019), which contains "*On this occasion, I convey the importance of NU citizens defending Pancasila. Because the journey of Pancasila from birth to today cannot be separated from the important role of NU and its figures,*" said *Kiai Maman* in front of hundreds of NU Muslimat administrators in Subang Regency. In another news entitled "*10 Minutes Gus Dur Decide Pancasila is Islamic and Final*"(01/06/2017), also shown the relationship between NU Online and *Nahdliyin* in the context of counter-discourse of radicalism.

The next relationship relates to the relationship between NU Online and public participants or third parties in the relationship of a media report, namely radical Muslim groups and Islamists who aspire to Establishing an Islamic State in Indonesia. In relation, NU Online positions these radical Muslim groups as opposing groups that have the power to be fought. Therefore, in the contents of NU Online many display this group as a threat of national unity because of the discourse of the Islamic State that they continue to discuss. As an effort against it, NU Online then displayed also the idea of Pancasila is Islamic and the two do not contradict each other as counter-discourse of the Islamic State.

c) Identity in the Counter-Discourse of the Islamic State

suaramuhammadiyah.id identity. Muhammadiyah organizationally refers to itself as a advanced Islamic organization, a moderate Islamic organization, and an Islamic organization of da'wah amar makruf nahi munkar. In the context of the counter-discourse of the Islamic State, suaramuhammadiyah.id referred to Muhammadiyah as an organization that is based on the State of Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah* (State of Agreement and Testimony) as Muhammadiyah identity. The identity is displayed by suaramuhammadiyah.id in its news titles such as "*Muhammadiyah with The State of Pancasila Darul Ahdi Was-Syahadah*" (26/10/2019), "*Muhammadiyah Positions Pancasila State as Dar Al-Ahdi Wa Al-Syahadah*" (16/06/2016), and "*Dar Al-Ahdi Wa As-Shahadah: The Ideal State Concept*" (18/06/2016).

Muhammadiyah's identity as an organization that is based on the State of Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi wa Syahadah*, confirms Muhammadiyah's rejection of efforts to replace Pancasila, both with the Islamic State and with Communist state, such as in the news entitled, "*Muhammadiyah with the State of Pancasila Darul Ahdi Was-Shahadah*" (26/10/2019). Suaramuhammadiyah.id in the Counter-Discourse of the Islamic State did not explicitly mention his identity. However, the position of suaramuhammadiyah.id as the official media of Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah identity is automatically attached to the suaramuhammadiyah.id. The similarity of suaramuhammadiyah.id identity with Muhammadiyah can be seen from journalists and editors of suaramuhammadiyah.id who are also as Muhammadiyah members dan leaders. Even the Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah Haedar Nashir is the Editor-in-Chief of suaramuhammadiyah.id who also wrote his articles on suaramuhammadiyah.id.

Likewise with the identity of the reader suaramuhammadiyah.id, not explicitly and directly mentioned by suaramuhammadiyah.id what his identity is like. Nevertheless, the identity of readers suaramuhammadiyah.id can be identified because most are Muhammadiyah citizens, both as members and leaders, including people who work in Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah (AUM) as in the field of education, health, social, and so on. As a Muhammadiyah citizen, readers suaramuhammadiyah.id, his identity can be identified just like Muhammadiyah identity as an organization, which is to follow the view of Muhammadiyah State Pancasila as *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah*. The identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id and readers suaramuhammadiyah.id in the context of the counter-discourse of the Islamic State, which is implicitly the same as muhammadiyah identity can be seen on the news, "*Muhammadiyah positions pancasila state as Dar Al-Ahdi. Wa Al-Shahadah*" (16/06/2016).

With regard to the identity of radical Muslim groups that proclaimed the establishment of the Islamic State (*Khilafah Islamiyah*), suaramuhammadiyah.id called it a conservative group and transnational movement that understood Islamism as his identity. In his report entitled "*Muhammadiyah Positions Pancasila State as Dar Al-Ahdi Wa Al-Shahadah*" (16/06/2016), suaramuhammadiyah.id wrote, "*Muhammadiyah*

is in the middle position, guarding and controlling so that the state does not tend to one of the extreme poles, both conservatives who want an Islamic state, or a liberal-secular state. While in the report entitled, "*Dar Al-Ahdi Wa As-Shahadah: The Concept of an Ideal State*" (18/06/2016), suaramuhammadiyah.id also displayed the following content, "*along with the movement emerged also transnational movements that embrace Islamism, which views Islam as an ideopolitical ideology. Based on observations of the movement, Muhammadiyah formulated the concept of 'Daral-Ahdi Wa as-Shahadah' to seal and lock in the thoughts actualized in the movement and efforts to establish a state outside the basic concept of the state that we have agreed together*".

Identity of NU Online. NU organization is known as a traditionalist Islamic organization, by following the understanding of *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* (Aswaja). NU's latest developments identify its organization as Islam Nusantara. In the context of islamic state counter-discourse, NU Online refers to NU as the Islamic organization *wasathiyah* (center), and the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. NU's identity was displayed by NU Online in the news entitled "*Islam Wasathiyah Key to Aligning Religious Values and Pancasila*" (26/02/2020), and "*Together with NU, Muhammadiyah Affirms Rejecting the Understanding of khilafah*" (01/11/2018).

NU's identity as a wasathiyah organization was featured in the news entitled "*Islamic Wasathiyah Key to Aligning Religious Values and Pancasila*" (26/02/2020). While NU's identity as the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia was displayed NU online in its news entitled "*Together with NU, Muhammadiyah Affirms Rejecting the Understanding of khilafah*" (01/11/2018).

NU Online's identity in its reporting on islamic state counter-discourse does not clearly and directly displays the identity of journalists and editors in its news. Nevertheless, as the official NU media that serves as a spreader of thoughts NU (*Fikrah Nahdliyah*), and a source of for Nahdliyin, NU Online has the same identity as NU in general, namely the media that understands *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (Aswaja). Aswaja is the main doctrine of NU member (*Nahdliyin*) which contains views including practicing Islamic teachings with mazdhab, proportional in responding to religious and state relations, and be moderate and tolerant. In addition, NU Online journalists and editors are mostly Ciganjur santri who inherited Gus Dur's moderate and tolerant thinking.

Likewise with the identity of the reader, NU Online does not also mention specifically what the identity of the reader is. Nevertheless, the identity of NU Online readers can be identified as NU member (*Nahdliyin*) who understand Aswaja as well. As an Aswaja adherent, NU Online readers have a moderate view with regard to the relationship between religion and the state. Including the relationship between Islam and Pancasila, which was indeed from the beginning NU accepted Pancasila and did not contradict Pancasila with Islam. In addition, as *Nahdliyin*, NU Online readers also reject the idea of an Islamic State (*Khilafah Islamiyah*).

NU Online identity and NU Online readers who are equally Aswaja-minded, of reject the idea of islamic state or *Islamic Caliphate* because it is not in accordance with Aswaja. On the other hand, NU Online and NU Online readers (*Nahdliyin*) are of the view that Pancasila and NKRI are final, there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila because Pancasila is Islamic. NU's reports related to this can be seen in the following titles. "*Together with NU, Muhammadiyah Affirms Rejecting the Understanding of the Khilafah*" (01/11/2018), "*The Ideology of the Khilafah Is Contrary to the Spirit of Unity in Indonesia*" (03/09/2020), "*Listening again to the Declaration of Pancasila Relations with Islam*" (01/06/2020), "*Pancasila is Islami, Qura'ni, and Rabbani*" (19/05/2017), and "*10 Minutes Gus Dur Decides Pancasila is Islamic and Final*" (01/06/2017).

While related to the identity of radical Muslim groups that proclaim the idea of Islamic State in Indonesia, NU Online calls it the extreme right and adherents of conservatism as their identity. In the news entitled "*Understanding the Potential Caliphate to Give Birth to Conflict for the Whole Nation*" (06/09/2020), NU Online displays the identity of these groups as extreme right groups. While their identity as a conservatism group was displayed on NU Online on the news entitled "*Counter Narrative on the Ideology of the Khilafah Remains Necessary, But...*" (07/31/2020).

Table 3. Text Analysis of suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online as a Counter-Discourse of the Islamic State

Element Text Analysis	Media Online	
	Suaramuhammadiyah.id	NU Online
Representation	Pancasila state as <i>Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah</i> (State of Agreement and Testimony).	Pancasila is Islamic, and Islam is not opposed to Pancasila.
Relationship	Suaramuhammadiyah.id as a tool of Muhammadiyah against Islamic state discourse. The relation of suaramuhammadiyah.id with the audience of its readers or Muhammadiyah member is symmetrical, in the same position against the discourse of the Islamic State. Relations suaramuhammadiyah.id with radical Muslim groups as both opposition parties regarding the state basis of Pancasila.	NU Online as a tool of PBNU's power to fight and match Islamic state discourse. NU Online's relationship with its readers (<i>Nahdliyin</i>) is reciprocal and mutually reinforcing to fight the discourse of the Islamic State. NU Online's relationship with radical Muslim groups as opposing groups that have power to fight.
Identity	Muhammadiyah's identity as a progressive Islamic movement, which is based on the State of Pancasila as <i>Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah</i> . The identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id is identical to the identity of Muhammadiyah which follows the doctrine of Islamic Advancedness. The identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id reader can also be identified with Muhammadiyah who has a strong Islamic identity. The identities of radical Muslim groups are mentioned as conservatives and Islamists.	NU's identity as an Islamic organization <i>wasathiyah</i> (center). NU's identity is identified as a moderate and tolerant. The identity of NU Online readers is <i>Nahdliyin</i> which also agrees with Aswaja because most of its readers are <i>Nahdliyin</i> . The identities of radical Muslim groups are mentioned as far-right and conservative extremists.

4.2 Analysis of Discourse Practices

a) Analysis of Radicalism Counter-Discourse Text Production

Production of suaramuhammadiyah.id text. As the official media of Muhammadiyah organization, suaramuhammadiyah.id has the vision "Become Muhammadiyah and Islamic Media in Indonesia". According to Rizki Putra Dewantoro, Managing Editor and Reporter of suaramuhammadiyah.id, function and position of the suaramuhammadiyah.id for Muhammadiyah and Muhammadiyah member is the official media of Muhammadiyah central leadership (Muhammadiyah Voice Magazine) to spread islamic shiar. Therefore, in the discourse of radicalism on the issue of Islamic countries suaramuhammadiyah.id have the same views as the opinions and principles of Muhammadiyah leaders. Such as following the view of Haedar Nashir, Chairman of PP. Muhammadiyah, regarding radicalism displayed suaramuhammadiyah.id in one of its following contents.

"The reality is that there is extreme radicalism and violence against a handful of Islamic groups such as al-Qaida, ISIS, Jemaah Islamiyah, and similar movements especially those banned in the Muslim world. We are all against such religious radicalism, including if developed in Indonesia. We also expressly disagree with the Islamic movement that carries the understanding and action of establishing a caliphate or Islamic state in Indonesia. All or the largest majority of Muslims have agreed that Indonesia is a national consensus country where Pancasila as the basis of the state is in line with Islam, which in Muhammadiyah terminology as the largest modern Islamic organization in Indonesia is declared as "Darul Ahdi Wa syahadah".¹

According to Rizki Putra Dewantoro, Managing Editor and Reporter suaramuhammadiyah.id, regarding counter-discourse of radicalism, actually suaramuhammadiyah.id not directly against radicalism, but rather by putting forward moderation.² The path of moderation as a counter-discourse of radicalism represented by the suaramuhammadiyah.id follows the attitude of Muhammadiyah organization and the views of Muhammadiyah figures featured in news and articles in suaramuhammadiyah.id. For example, Rizki indicates the contents of the following suaramuhammadiyah.id.

"On various occasions, Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah Haedar Nashir always stated that the government should not be caught up in the deradicalism program. Especially running the program nationally. If the deradicalism program is implemented nationally it will create a tense atmosphere across the country. Safe areas become uncomfortable. People who don't know are interested in being radicalized. In addition, Muhammadiyah also always reminds the government to create fair policies that can prosper the people and create a sense of security. Muhammadiyah also carries Islamic moderation in exchange for the failed deradicalism program, by spreading the understanding of moderate Islam, radical understanding will be eroded by itself"³

Nu Online text production. As the official media of NU organization, NU online's main concern is to proclaim the views of Islam Nahdliyah or Aswaja. NU Online is the official media outlet of NU, where NU Online publishes the official views of the NU General Manager (PBNU), organizational decisions, and also ideas that

¹ [Multiaspek about Radicalism - Voice Muhammadiyah](#), Accessed on September 2, 2021, 10:00.

² Interview with Researchers through WhatsApp (WA), September 1, 2021.

³ [Voice Muhammadiyah Degree Seminar Moderation: Antithesis Radicalism and Deradicalism - Voice Muhammadiyah](#), Accessed on September 2, 2021, 11:13 a.m.

develop in the Nahdliyin environment. According to Syafiq Ali, Director of NU Online, basically the function of NU Online is to talk about NU as a community organization.⁴

In addition, for NU and Nahdliyin, NU Online serves as a medium for spreading NU's vision and mission. For example, regarding the acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the state among Nahdliyin, NU Online plays a role by building a narrative that is in accordance with NU khittah by multiplying writings that do contain moderate Islamic teachings. For example, NU Online in providing understanding to NU citizens about the basis of the state exists by producing writings that explain why NU does not demand an Islamic state. According to Syafiq, this is not a new discourse. "These things were rewritten to show that our elders had already discussed this matter. We can refer to their views as to why they accept Indonesia does not demand an Islamic state."⁵

In addressing the issues of radicalism, in NU Online there is relatively no difference of views. All almost agree that religious extremism is not justified. Because there isn't any in NU. Anyone who truly studied NU's scientific history, NU's political history, NU's social history, and NU's religious history will have no difference of views and agreement on this radicalism. Therefore, according to Syafiq Ali, Director of NU Online, innature addressing the issues of radicalism, NU Online also voiced NU's understanding of radicalism even though PBNU never had *guidelines* against NU online. The editor of NU online is relatively independent in deciding based on the *Nahdliyah fikrah* and organizational decisions throughout its history, both regarding Pancasila, jihad, tolerance, and in view of non-Muslims.

Regarding the role and function of NU Online as a counter-discourse on radicalism, Syafiq Ali, Editor of NU Online, explained that NU online's main concern is not to combat radicalism. NU online content is more on how to keep NU teachings embraced by the majority of Indonesian Muslims. "If teachings or interpretations Islam NU, it embraced by the majority of Indonesian Muslims inshallah Muslims will not become radical. Because NU was on the basis of his *tawasuth*, moderate, tolerant, accept Pancasila in the context of state ideological politics, will not support ISIS, or any form of caliph, even Islamic sharia NU does not support", explained Syafiq. More on this, Syafiq Ali said:

"NU Online's main concern in proclaiming views Islam Nahdliyah or Aswaja is still referred or embraced by the majority of Muslims, then by itself will be able to suppress radicalism in Indonesia. Moreover, as NU online is also widely read by non-NU circles, it is read not only by those in the countryside but also in urban areas that come into contact with transnational ideas, radical ideas. Even the existence of NU Online is not to counter radicalism. But to proclaim our own religious ideology, our own religious views, our own religious interpretations, because with it we believe we can suppress the degree of radicalism."⁶

In an effort to counter-discourse radicalism, NU Online represents it by multiplying writings explaining the concepts Islamism associated with radicalism. For example about jihad, khilafah, non-Muslim leaders, Islamic mayotirani, and about not being like non-Muslims and so on.

⁴ Interview with Researcher, January 29, 2019, at Lippo Kemang Village, South Jakarta.

⁵ Interview with Researcher, January 29, 2019, at Lippo Kemang Village, South Jakarta.

⁶ Interview with Researcher, January 29, 2019, at Lippo Kemang Village, South Jakarta.

b) Analysis of Radicalism Counter-Discourse Text Consumption

Suaramuhammadiyah.id text consumption. In the consumption of text, it will be studied how the production of texts produced by suaramuhammadiyah.id about radicalism discourse is consumed, interpreted, and understood by Muhammadiyah member.

Regarding Pancasila as the basis of the state, according to Abdul Mu'ti, General Secretary of Muhammadiyah central leadership (PP), that the form of Muhammadiyah's preferred state is clear, which prioritizes Islamic society, not Islamic state. In the view of Muhammadiyah, the state of Indonesia on the basis of Pancasila is an Islamic state, meaning a country that is in accordance with the teachings of Islam even though Indonesia is not a country based on Islam.⁷

Pancasila as the basis of the state (Pancasila State) was also agreed by the board as well as activists and other Muhammadiyah member. According to Husnan Nurjuman, Deputy Secretary of the General Health Board (MPKU) PP. Muhammadiyah, Pancasila is a consensus choice or agreement of the founders of NKRI, which Islamic groups are one of the parties involved in the agreement. Among these Islamic groups there are also Muhammadiyah leaders. As members of community groups whose representatives also agree on Pancasila as the basis of the state, then everyone whose group is represented in the agreement, should be in a position to accept Pancasila as the basis of the state.⁸

Pancasila state as a consensus was also approved by Pradana Boy ZTF, member of the Tarjih Assembly and Tajdid PWM of East Java. According to Pradana Boy, for the Indonesian nation, Pancasila is actually final. There is no need to argue anymore, because Pancasila is the result of the national consensus of the Indonesian nation, and the consensus was only reached after a long and not easy process.⁹ Meanwhile, Makmun Murod, Deputy Secretary of the Institute of Wisdom and Public Policy (LKHP) PP. Muhammadiyah, considers that Pancasila is the best middle ideology. "Pancasila is a form of middle ideology, the result of a long dialectic between Islam and the State. Pancasila is the middle ideology between Capitalism and Communism, between theocratic and secularism. As a middle-of-the-nation state and the result of dialectics, I value Pancasila as the best form of ideology," explained Makmun.¹⁰

Related to the consumption of the text regarding the State of Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah*, according to Husnan Nurjuman interpretation Muhammadiyah is a statement that affirms Muhammadiyah's position after various events and polemic that conflicts between Pancasila and Islam. Interpretation Muhammadiyah about Pancasila as the house of agreement and the house of proof explained Muhammadiyah religious understanding that prioritizes the practice of the substance of the teachings of Islam in the action-social action of humanity rather than the just symbol.¹¹

According to Pradana Boy, Muhammadiyah's interpretation of Pancasila state as *darul ahdi wa shahadah*, is a testament to Muhammadiyah's strong commitment to safeguarding the Indonesian state. It is also an affirmation that Muhammadiyah does not want to question the form of the right country for Indonesia.¹² From another point of view, Makmun Murod says:

⁷ Interview with Researcher, November 16, 2018, at Dakwah PP Muhammadiyah Building, Menteng, Central Jakarta.

⁸ Interview with researchers, 12 March 2020, through e-mail.

⁹ Interview with Researchers, 24 March 2020, through e-mail.

¹⁰ Interview with Researchers, 25 March 2020, through e-mail.

¹¹ Interview with Researchers, 12 March 2020, through e-mail.

¹² Interview with Researchers, 24 March 2020, through e-mail.

"Muhammadiyah interpretation is very proportional, and not excessive. Muhammadiyah organizations are advanced, do not like to talk that smells of jargon such as Pancasila "price of death". It's very much an exaggeration. Muhammadiyah prefers to refer to as the State "consensus" and "witness" which provides "proof" with real work in the community".¹³

Nu Online text consumption. In the production of a text on counter-discourse on radicalism, NU Online presented the issue of Pancasila as the basis of the state by displaying Pancasila is Islamic, and there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila. In the consumption of the text, it will be studied on how the views of NU figures on counter-discourse of radicalism about the state policy of Pancasila.

Pancasila as the basis of the Islamic state affirmed by Helmy Faishal Zaini, Secretary General of PBNU, that Pancasila's first precept is divinity, islamic religious values, so it cannot be bumped and not confronted with Pancasila, but sought his suitability.¹⁴ The view that Pancasila is not contrary to Islam was also affirmed by NU activist, Khamami Zada Vice Chairman of LAKPESDAM PBNU. According to Khamami, on the religious side, Pancasila is not contrary to Islam. Pancasila is in accordance with the values of Islamic teachings, such as divinity, humanity, unity, consultative, and justice. In fact, the first Precept of Pancasila, the Supreme Divinity, became the theological foundation of the Indonesian state. This first precept animates the other four precepts, and becomes a mirror to the conception of tawhid as listed in the Qur'an Surah al-Ikhlâs.¹⁵

In the view of Alissa Qotrunnada Munawaroh Wahid (Alissa Wahid), Secretary of the PBNU Family Welfare Institute, Pancasila in its language the Kiai have become *mu'ahadah wathaniyah*, becoming a national agreement. So, all nations or communities have agreed norms. Norma was mutually agreed deliberative, but also not. Pancasila was deliberative, carried out officially, in official spaces and canals with representatives who were considered representative at the time. Then *binding*. So, Pancasila as a contract social is done deliberative.¹⁶ Pancasila as *mu'ahadah wathaniyah* as a social and political contract was conveyed by Syafiq Ali:

"We need a social and political contract that ensures that everyone feels safe, agreed, *legitimate* so that we can build a good life. Therefore, what NU formulated is appropriate, namely *mu'ahadah wathaniyah* as a social system, political system, and a good social contract to ensure everyone living under the umbrella is the same".

4.3 Analysis of Socio-Cultural Practices (Context): Radicalism in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the radical movement of religious is rediscovered its existence after Suharto's New Order regime collapsed. Their emergence is characterized by the expansion of salafists in several cities in Indonesia by displaying Islamic attributes such as robes, turbans, long beards, pants, and the like. Radical Muslim groups in Indonesia and Southeast Asia are the result of the transmission of Islamic orthodoxy in the Middle East brought to Indonesia by students and teachers who had studied there (Hasan, 2008). There are at least five groups that can be categorized as radical Muslim groups in post-New Order Indonesia, namely the Indonesian Mujahideen Assembly (MMI), Jemaah Islamiyah

¹³ Interview with Researchers, 25 March 2020, through e-mail.

¹⁴ Interview with Researcher, January 29, 2019, at PBNU Office, Kramat Raya, Central Jakarta.

¹⁵ Interview with Researchers, 17 March 2020, through e-mail.

¹⁶ Interview with Researchers, 17 March 2020, through telephone.

(JI), Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Laskar Jihad (JI), and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) (van Bruinessen, 2002).

The rise of radical Muslim groups post-New Order is the duck behind the rise of *conservative* Muslim groups in Indonesia. *The conservative turn* was marked by a takeover of *mainstream* Muslim groups where liberal and progressive thoughts in Muhammadiyah and NU began to be rejected, especially during the both of Islamic organization in 2005. This includes a tendency in the body of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which in recent decades began to become more conservative (Van Bruinessen, 2011, 2013).

In Muhammadiyah, *conservative turn* began to appear during the leadership of A. Shafi'i Maarif in 2000-2005, and strengthened at the 45th Muhammadiyah Conference in Malang in 2005. It was marked by the takeover of Muhammadiyah leadership by conservative Muslim groups, the organization's response on women's leadership issues, and the assault on the Muhammadiyah young intellectual network (JIMM) which was considered liberal (Burhani, 2013). The most obvious conservative turn was in 2005, when the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) gave a fatwa that secularism, pluralism, and religious liberalization (Sipilis) were incompatible with Islam. The fatwa is believed to be the inspiration of radical Muslim groups, and is supported by other conservative Muslim groups. Other MUI fatwas marking the *conservative turn* are condemning the practice of interfaith prayer, banning interfaith marriage, and banning Ahmadiyah (Ichwan, 2013).

The emergence of radical Muslim groups post-New Order can be traced through two roots. First, the political dynamics of the 1940s involving Masyumi and Darul Islam (DI). Second, there is a transnational Islamic network. After as a political party Masyumi was dissolved by Sukarno, and Parmusi as a new container of Islamic party successor Masyumi during the New Order was widely intervened by the ruler, then Masyumi figures established the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII). The focus of the DDII movement is proselytizing primarily against Christianization in Indonesia, and they established good relations with Saudi Arabia. In the next development was formed the Islamic Committee for Solidarity of the Islamic World (KISDI), which on the reform has closeness to ICMI (Association of Indonesian Muslim Scholars). In the 1999 elections, Masyumi supporters founded the Star Moon Party (PBB), but some other supporters joined the Golkar Party through the HMI (Islamic Student Association) network (van Bruinessen, 2002).

Darul Islam (DI), known as a rebel group during Sukarno's time, which was later successfully crushed. In the early days of the New Order government, DI was "revived" by Ali Murtopo to confront the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) under the name "Jihad Command". In its development this Jihad Command turned against the new order rulers with its radical actions such as the bombing of Borobudur Temple and BCA, as well as the Tanjung Priok demonstrations that killed many Muslims. DI's figures are Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir, who are considered to have ties to Masyumi and DDII. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir upon his return from Malaysia then founded Jemaah Islamiyah which was affiliated with al-Qaeda led by Osama bin Laden. At the Muslim Congress in Yogyakarta in 2000, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir was appointed leader of the Indonesian Mujahideen Assembly (MMI) (van Bruinessen, 2002). DI members then spread into various organizations including DDII, Laskar Jihad, Jihad Command, and JAT (Hadiz, 2016).

The second root of radical Muslims in Indonesia was the influence of transnational Islamic movements through campus mosques in Indonesia in the early 1980s. The initial influence was the impact of the Iranian Revolution, which spread through the thoughts of Muslim intellectuals such as Ali Shari'ati and Muthari, especially regarding the Islamic revolution, defending the rights of the weak and oppressed, as well as on new

interpretations of the qur'anic text. One of the campus Islamic movements was the Tarbiyah movement at the Salman Mosque of Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), which later inspired similar movements on various other campuses. This movement indoctrinates its members through a *usrah approach*, one of which is to reject Pancasila. They influenced the thoughts of al-Maududi, and the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt, especially with the jargon of the Muslim *Brotherhood*. During the reform period this group represented itself into the Justice Party (PK) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which fought for the return of the Jakarta Charter in the MPR (van Bruinessen, 2002).

The rise of radical Muslim groups in Indonesia after the New Order was marked by, first, the emergence of new political parties, including Islamic political parties that followed the first general election in reform era, June 7, 1999. Second, the revival of hardline Muslim groups such as FPI, MMI, and Laskar Jihad. Third, the increasing demand of a number of regions in Indonesia to implement the Regional Regulation (Perda) of Islamic shari'ah. Fourth, the increasing popularity of hardline Islamic media, such as Sabili and Suara Hidayatullah (Salim & Azra, 2003) In addition, post-Suharto Islam is also characterized by the involvement of radical Muslim groups in various inter-religious conflicts in areas in Indonesia, the emergence of jihadist groups that wage war and violence, and the emergence of acts of terrorism that attack various places, hotels, tourism, and churches (Van Bruinessen, 2013).

In the context of counter-discourse of radicalism, what suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online represent on the basic issues of the state is a response to the socio-cultural and political situation that developed at that time. About the basis of the state, suaramuhammadiyah.id represent it with the discourse of the State of Pancasila *Darul Ahdi wa* (State of Agreement and Testimony). While NU Online proclaims Pancasila is Islamic, there is no between Islam and Pancasila. The discourse of both Muhammadiyah and NU's official online media is a counter-discourse against the main idea of radical Muslim groups that want to establish a Khilafah State (*Khilafah Islamiyah*) and uphold Islamic sharia in Indonesia. This idea was primarily campaigned by Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT) (Afrianty, 2012; Arif, 2018; Karman & Hamad, 2019). The idea of establishing an Islamic state and upholding Islamic sharia in Indonesia is also supported by other radical Muslim groups, including MMI, JI, FPI and PKS (van Bruinessen, 2002).

HTI can be called as a pioneer of the idea of establishing a Khilafah State in Indonesia. Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) was founded by Taqiyudin an-Nabhani in Pakistan in 1953. In Indonesia HT was founded and spread by Abd. Rahman al-Baghdadi in Bogor between 1982-1983, which came to be known as Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). HTI declared its organization after Suharto's New Order collapsed, by holding the "Conference of the Islamic Caliphate" in Jakarta, in the 2000s (Arif, 2018; Hasan, 2008). In the late 2000s, HTI together with other radical Muslim groups brokeup the First Mujahideen Assembly Congress in Yogyakarta, which then elected Abu Bakar Ba'asyir as Amirul Mujahideen (Mubarak, 2007). In the congress attended by historian Deliar Noer, Kiai Alawy Muhammad from Madura, and Hidayat Nur Wahid, the President of the Justice Party focused his agenda on initiating the implementation of Islamic sharia in Indonesia by forming an Islamic State. According to van Bruinessen (2002), this congress was seen as a reunion of the Darul Islam group, which at the time of the New Order was an opponent of Suharto.

As a transnational movement, HTI has never been a political party despite political interests. The main idea of HTI is to establish Khilafah Islamiyah and uphold the implementation of Islamic sharia in Indonesia (Mubarak, 2007). They believe that the

concept of a "caliphate" state and the application of Islamic sharia all problems in Indonesia can be overcome. So, the purpose of HTI is to establish the form of state *Khilafah Islamiyah* as a replacement for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and uphold the application of Islamic sharia as the basis of the state to replace Pancasila. Although in some aspects the emergence of HTI can be considered the rise of Muslims due to its wide influence among campuses (Santoso & Sjachro, 2019), the idea of establishing an Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia by HTI is ideologically criticized by Muhammadiyah as an ahistorical and full of contradictions.

5. DISCUSSION: The Role of New Media in Counter-Discourse on Radicalism

The results show how the role of *suaramuhammadiyah.id* and NU Online as a new medium in countering radicalism discourse, especially regarding the basic issues of Pancasila. Through news and articles displayed during 2015-2020, the both of official media of Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations, Muhammadiyah and NU, counter-discourse radicalism by representing the issue of about the state policy of Pancasila with a perceptive or different point of view. Regarding the basic issue of Pancasila state, *suaramuhammadiyah.id* presents the discourse of the State of Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah* (Unitary State and Agreement) as a counter-discourse of the Islamic State (*Khilafah Islamiyah*).

Discourse on the basic issues of Pancasila represented by *suaramuhammadiyah.id* and NU Online above, are different and contrary to what is displayed by online media affiliated to radical Muslim groups. The group's online media presents the issue of the government system and the basis of the state by rejecting democracy and Pancasila. It was at this point that there was a discourse and counter-discourse between the online media of moderate Muslim groups and radical Muslim groups on the issue of the system of government and the basis of the state. Here online media becomes an arena of contestation or a fight for the true meaning of two different groups of Muslims whose interests are about the basis of the state.

Therefore, in the context of counter-discourse of radicalism, what is done *suaramuhammadiyah.id* and NU Online complements the function and role of online media as a new media (*new media*) for the community. New media is media based on the internet. Technologies that provide convergence, digital networks, global reach, interactivity, many-to-many communication, and forms of media that one can become a producer as well as a consumer (Flew, 2005). New media actually refers to widespread changes in media production, distribution, and use, especially with regard to digitization and convergence (Flew, 2005; McQuail, 2010). New media are identified with digital, interactive, hypertext, virtual, networking, and simulation (Lister et al., 2009). The characteristics of new media that distinguish it from old or conventional media are interactivity, social presentation, media enrichment, autonomy, full of fun, privacy, and personalization (McQuail, 2010).

The function of a new medium corresponds to its characteristics including as a medium of interaction, expression and social identity, getting pleasure, and so on. But in addition, the function of the new media is to increase political participation and democratization. The new media became a new kind of forum to develop the goals and opinions of interest groups, providing a space for dialogue between groups, including between politicians and citizens. Furthermore, new media can finally create deliberative democracy in the form of interaction and exchange of ideas in the public sphere (McQuail, 2010).

Suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online as one of the new forms of media in this context have taken their roles and functioned their positions in political participation and public democracy. Political participation by *suaramuhammadiyah.id* and NU Online is manifested in the form of voicing the interests and views of Muhammadiyah and NU as a

moderate Islamic organization regarding the system of government and the state basis of Pancasila. While deliberative democracy is carried out by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online by representing Muhammadiyah and NU ideas about the system of government the basis of Pancasila to be tested with similar ideas from other groups, especially radical Muslim groups in the new public sphere.

In addition, by conducting counter-discourse on radicalism, suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online demonstrate the critical role and function of online media. Both online media owned by Muhammadiyah and NU not only function functionally as a medium of information for Muhammadiyah and NU citizens, or just as a medium that voices views, and brings teachings of the islamichood and Aswaja (Saputra & Nazim, 2017; Sukmono & Junaedi, 2020) But furthermore, suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online also criticized ideology against religious radicalism as an ideology or ideology that must be rejected in Indonesia, and not in accordance with the values of religion. The teachings of Islam are *rahmatan lil-alamin*.

In suaramuhammadiyah.id the idea of an Islamic State or Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia is an ahistorical and utopian idea, with the current Indonesian context. While in the view of NU Online, the Khilafah State initiated by radical Muslim groups has the potential to divide the unity and unity of the Indonesian nation, it is not suitable to be applied in Indonesia. Moreover, in the view of NU Online Pancasila it is very Islamic so no more Islamic State is needed in Indonesia.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Conclusion

First, based on the results of text analysis in suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online shows that regarding the basic issues of Pancasila state, the suaramuhammadiyah.id represents Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah* (State of Agreement and Testimony). While NU Online represents Pancasila is Islamic, and there is no opposition to Pancasila. The representation of both Muhammadiyah and NU's official online media as a counter-discourse of radicalism regarding the idea of establishing an Islamic State (Khilafah Islamiyah) in Indonesia carried by radical Muslim groups.

Second, based on the analysis of socio-cultural practices (contexts), counter-discourse of radicalism represented by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online on the basis of the state is surrounded by situations where the phenomenon of revival arises. Radicalism movement in Indonesia after the collapse of the New Order. These radical Muslim groups seized and controlled Muhammadiyah, NU, and MUI organizations. In addition, radical Muslim groups such as MMI, HTI, JAT continuously strive to establish an Islamic State (Khilafah Islamiyah) and uphold Islamic sharia in Indonesia. In another context, the phenomenon of strengthening radicalism movement in Indonesia is also accompanied by measures by radical Muslim groups using online mass media and social media as a medium of spread the idea of radicalism. They use new media to construct their views on democratic issues such as human rights, religious freedom, minority groups, and freedom of expression.

Third, new media play an important role in counter-discourse efforts of radicalism in Indonesia. Online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online as one of the new forms of media in efforts to counter-discourse radicalism represents discourse on the basis of Pancasila state in contrast to the discourse raised by online media radical Muslim groups. In addition, suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online demonstrate the critical role and function of online media. Both not only serve as a medium of information for Muhammadiyah and NU member, but also criticize ideology against religious radicalism

as an understanding or radical ideology that is It should be rejected in Indonesia because it is not in accordance with the values of Islamic teachings that *rahmatan lil-alamin*.

6.2 Recommendation

Result of research this show role strong online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online as the media do counter-discourse Radicalism. Both represents Pancasila as state consensus national and not conflicting with Islam. So, from that, for citizen Muhammadiyah and NU understanding about Issues basis the state represented by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online should become understanding together that must followed and internalized to all member second organization Islam biggest in Indonesia. Most important to circle generation young that more vulnerable infiltrated understand radicalism through media mass new and the media social.

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