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ANTI-RADICALISM EDUCATION THROUGH ONLINE MEDIA SUARAMUHAMMADIYAH.ID AND NU ONLINE

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ABSTRACT

One of the important functions of mass media, in addition to disseminating information, is as educational (pedagogical). The function of mass media education can be done by displaying news that can foster public awareness about a problem, including radicalism. The radicalism movement in Indonesia strengthened again after the 1998 reform with various issues such as the system of government of the caliphate (Islamic State) and jihad as violence and terrorism. The development of information and communication technology today makes of radicalism spread through online and social media affiliated to radical Muslim groups. So, it is necessary to prevent and inform Indonesian Muslims of the dangers of radicalism through anti-radicalism education, one of which can be done through online mass media from moderate Islamic groups Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The problem of this research is how are the forms of anti-radicalism education 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 anti-radicalism education through suaramuhammadiyah.id is to represent the State of Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah* (state of agreement and witness), and represent jihad as jihad *lil-muwajahah* (earnestly creating something superior). While NU Online represents Pancasila as Islamic, there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila, and represents jihad contextually, such as jihad against corruption, against hoaxes, and jihad against drugs. The representations displayed by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online are forms of anti-radicalism education about the Islamic State and jihad as violence by radical Muslim groups in Indonesia.

Keywords: Anti-Radicalism Education, suaramuhammadiyah.id, NU online, Islamic State, Jihad.

INTRODUCTION

Post-reform in 1998 became the momentum turning point of the rise of radical Muslim groups in Indonesia. The rise of radical Muslim groups post-New Order is referred to as *a conservative turn,* which is the turning point of the rise of conservative Muslim groups marked by the takeover of mainstream Muslim groups, where liberal and progressive thoughts in Muhammadiyah and NU began to be rejected. Including the tendency in the body of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) in decades that began to become more conservative (Burhani, 2013; Ichwan, 2013; Van Bruinessen, 2013). The rise of radical Muslim groups is also characterized by their involvement in various inter-religious conflicts in areas of

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).

At the same time, radical Muslim discourse (radicalism) is also growing predominantly in the public sphere (Hasan, 2005). They conducted "public da'wah" as an effort to Islamize all aspects of life spearheaded by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) (Fuad, 2015). Called radicalism because according to Dawisha (Azra, 2016), they have a soul attitude that leads to actions aimed at weakening and changing the established political order and replacing it with a new system. These Islamist groups passionately proclaim their understanding of the system of government, jihad, and tolerance directly and through their online media, which tend to be radical. They proclaimed the khilafah system of government, which is a system of government that refers to *khulafaurrasyidin* after the death of the Prophet (Azra, 2016) to replace of Pancasila democracy, jihad as a war or act of terrorism against infidels, and intolerance towards non-Muslims.

In its development, 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, but 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 You Tube, Twitter, Instagram, and so on as a medium to spread radical views (Muthohirin, 2015).

The spread of radicalism in online media must be countered with anti-radicalism awareness education in the same domain, namely online media. So, the online media of moderate Islamic groups *(wasithiyah* or middle) such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) became much needed as anti-radicalism education by bringing up anti-radicalism news. 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). Even Muhammadiyah and NU can be considered a world religious heritage (Maman A. Majid Binfas et al., 2018). Although Muhammadiyah and NU have historically and culturally been different (Maman Abdul Majid Binfas et al., 2014), both are now claimed to be moderate Islamic organizations *(wasithiyah).* Muhammadiyah carries the jargon of Islam Berkemajuan and NU flies the slogan Islam Nusantara.

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). The purpose of suaramuhammadiyah.id is (1) to record activities of Muhammadiyah, (2) to introduce profile and contribution of Muhammadiyah to the world community, (3) spread Islamic shiar, and (4) encourage productivity and creativity study about Muhammadiyah and Islam. While the main purpose of NU Online is to proclaim the view to Islam *Nahdliyah* or *Aswaja.*

As the official media of Muhammadiyah and NU, the existence of suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online is certainly very strategic in the context of anti-radicalism education. One side internally both act as a media that provides understanding and strengthening of Muhammadiyah and NU Islamic values to each of its citizens, including anti-radicalism education such as state policy 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.

Anti-radicalism education in this context is carried out through 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). In the context of this research, the new media is suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online.

Based on the background description, the problem that will be examined is how the forms of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online? The aim is to reveal forms of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online.

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 from specific social relationships and contexts. Fairclough critical discourse analysis has three dimensions of analysis, namely text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural 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. The time span chosen is for 5 years, from January 2016 to December 2020.

This method of data collection is documentation, in-depth interviews and literature studies. Documentation in the form of online media coverage suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online on anti-radicalism education. In-depth interviews to dig up data from sources related to anti-radicalism education through online media. The literature study was conducted by collecting studies related to anti-radicalism education obtained through literature.

Data analysis method uses multi-level analysis: text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and socio-cultural analysis. Text analysis is done with critical *linguistic* analysis to understand semantic aspects in online media. Analysis of discourse practices is to understand the process of creating text and its background. Analysis of sociocultural practices, which relates texts, discourse practices to sociocultural contexts or conditions to understand the context of anti-radicalism education.
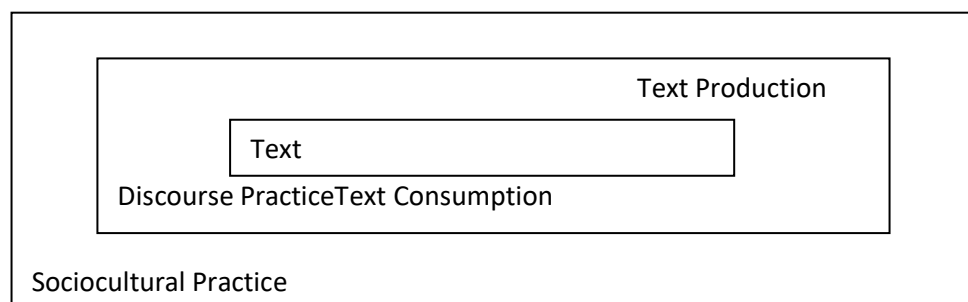

Figure 2. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Dimensions
(Fairclough, 1995)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS
Analysis of Antiradicalism Education Texts suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online

There are three elements that are critically analyzed, namely representation, relationships, and identity. Representation is how events, people, groups, ideas are displayed and depicted in the text. While relationships are how interparty relationships, namely text makers (journalists or editors), readers, and public participants (politicians, figures, scholars, and so on) displayed and depicted in the text. Identity is how the identity of participants, namely text makers (journalists or editors), audience readers, and public participants (politicians, figures, scholars, and so on) displayed and depicted in the text, including how the text maker identifies himself in the discourse displayed (Eriyanto, 2001; Fairclough, 1995)

Based on the results of the text analysis conducted, forms of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online are to represent the basic issues of Pancasila and jihad as different or contrary to Muslim radical groups representation. Suaramuhammadiyah.id represent the state of Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah* (State of Unity and Witness), and jihad as *jihad lil-muwajahah* (really created something superior) as a form of antiradicalism education. While NU Online presents the basic issue of Pancasila State as Islamic, and there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila, and displays the meaning of jihad in a more contextual way such as jihad against Islam, against corruption, against hoaxes, and jihad against drugs. Representation on the issue of the basic radicalism of Pancasila and jihad by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online is a form of anti-radicalism education through online media on the idea of Islamic State and jihad as violence and terrorism in Indonesia.

Aside from its representation, forms of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online can also be seen from the relationships and identities built by the two online media with the organization Muhammadiyah and NU, as well as with radical Muslim groups. The suaramuhammadiyah.id relationship with Muhammadiyah is symmetrical, equally opposed to the idea of an Islamic State, and jihad as violence and terrorism. While the relationship suaramuhammadiyah.id with radical Muslim groups is asymmetrical because the both have opposing views on the basis of the state and the meaning of jihad. NU Online relationship with NU organization is also symmetrical because it both shows that Pancasila is Islamic, and view jihad as violent and terrorism are irrelevant in Indonesia. NU Online relationships with radical Muslim groups are also conflicted because of differences in views on the basis of the state and the meaning of jihad.

From the identity element, forms of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online is to show the identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id as the official media of Muhammadiyah which views Islamic Advanced (Berkemajuan). This online media identity with Advanced Islam positions radical Muslim groups as conservatives, Islamists, and jihadists. While NU online identity as the official media NU confirms its identity as Islam Aswaja (Ahlussunnah wal jamaah), and pins the identity of conservative groups, extremists of the right, and jihadists. This identity affirmation becomes one form of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online.

In more detail, forms of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online on the basic issues of Pancasila state can be seen in table 1 below.

Table 1. Text Analysis of suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online
as Anti-Radicalism Education in the Issues of Pancasila State

Element Text Analysis	Media Online	
	Suaramuhammadiyah.id	NU Online
Representation	Pancasila state as *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah* (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 citizens 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 *(Nahdliyin)* is reciprocal and mutually reinforcing to fight radicalism. 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 *Darul Ahdi wa Shahadah.* The identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id is identical to the identity of Muhammadiyah which follows the doctrine of Islam Berkemajuan. The identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id reader can also be identified with Muhammadiyah who has a progressive Islamic identity. The identities of radical Muslim groups are mentioned as conservatives and Islamists.	NN's identity as an Islamic organization *wasathiyah* (center). NU's identity is identified as a moderate and tolerant (Aswaja). The identity of NU Online readers is *Nahdliyin* which also agrees with Aswaja because most of its readers are *Nahdliyin.* The identities of radical Muslim groups are mentioned as far-right and conservative extremists.

While forms of anti-radicalism education through online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online on the issue of jihad can be seen in table 1 below.

Table 2. Text Analysis of suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online
As An Anti-Radicalism Education in Jihad Issue.

Element Text Analysis	Media Online	
	Suaramuhammadiyah.id	NU Online
Representation	The meaning of jihad as *jihal lil-muwajahah* (struggling to face something to create something	Opposing the meaning of jihad as an act of violence and war, and better describing jihad more contextually

	superior) is manifested in the form of constitutional jihad, anti-corruption jihad, economic jihad, political jihad, literacy jihad, social jihad, and jihad against Covid-19.	with the situation in Indonesia such as jihad against drugs, social media jihad (against hoaxes), anti-corruption jihad, environmental jihad, and so on.
Relationship	The suaramuhammadiyah.id's relationship with Muhammadiyah organizations and their readers is symmetrical, which views jihad as jihad *lil-muwajah* rather than jihad as violent jihad war. Suaramuhammadiyah.id relations with radical Muslim groups are asymmetrical or contradictory because of different understandings of jihad.	NU Online's relationship with NU organization and its readers (Nahdliyin) is sekufu, which interprets jihad more contextually and opposes the meaning of violent jihad and war. NU Online's relationships with radical Muslim groups are the opposite, due to different meanings about jihad.
Identity	The identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id the same as Muhammadiyah identity as an Islamic organization. The identity of suaramuhammadiyah.id reader also understood Islamic Advanced. The identity of radical Muslim groups is jihadists in the name of God.	NU Online identity follows or is equal to NU's identity as an Islamic organization with Aswaja. The identity of NU Online readers also understood Aswaja because they are Nahdliyin. The identities of radical Muslim groups are extreme jihadists or extreme groups.

Discourse Practices Analysis of Antiradicalism Education by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online

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 the suaramuhammadiyah.id for Muhammadiyah and Muhammadiyah citizens is as the official media of Muhammadiyah central leadership (Muhammadiyah Voice Magazine) to spread Islamic shiar. Therefore, in anti-radicalism education on the issue of Islamic countries suaramuhammadiyah.id have the same views as the opinions and principles of Muhammadiyah leaders of Muhammadiyah center boards. 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 Wasyahadah".[1]

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

According to Rizki Putra Dewantoro, regarding anti-radicalism education, suaramuhammadiyah.id directly against radicalism, but rather by promoting moderation.[2] The path of moderation as an anti-radicalism education by the suaramuhammadiyah.id follows the attitude of Muhammadiyah organizations and the views of Muhammadiyah figures displayed 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 de-radicalism program. Especially running the program nationally. If the de-radicalism 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 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. 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.[4]

Regarding the role and function of NU Online as an anti-radicalism education, Syafiq Ali, Editor of NU Online, explained that NU Online 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 of Islam NU 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 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 in the efforts of anti-radicalism education, NU Online represents it by multiplying writings that explain the concepts of Islam related to

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

radicalism. For example, about jihad, the caliphate, non-Muslim leaders, and about not being like non-Muslims and so on"[5]

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 citizens. Regarding Pancasila as the basis of the state, according to Abdul Mu'ti, General Secretary of Muhammadiyah central board (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.[6]

Pancasila as the basis of the state (Pancasila State) was also agreed by the board as well as activists and other Muhammadiyah citizens. 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.[7]

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.[8] 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.[9]

Related to the consumption of the text regarding the State of Pancasila as *darul ahdi wa shahadah,* according to Husnan Nurjuman Muhammadiyah's interpretation is a statement that affirms Muhammadiyah's position after various events and polemic that conflicts between Pancasila and Islam. Muhammadiyah's interpretation 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 symbol.[10]

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.[11] From another point of view, Makmun Murod says:

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[5] Interview with Researcher, January 29, 2019, at Lippo Kemang Village, South Jakarta.
[6] Interview with Researcher, November 16, 2018, at Dakwah PP Muhammadiyah Building, Menteng, Central Jakarta.
[7] Interview with researchers, 12 March 2020, through e-mail.
[8] Interview with Researchers, 24 March 2020, through e-mail.
[9] Interview with Researchers, 25 March 2020, through e-mail.
[10] Interview with Researchers, 12 March 2020, through e-mail.
[11] Interview with Researchers, 24 March 2020, through e-mail.

"Muhammadiyah's 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".[12]

While the consumption of texts about jihad, the views of Muhammadiyah citizens and figures in general are earnest in the way of Allah Swt. and reject jihad in the sense of war. As Husnan Nurjuman views, that jihad is not only interpreted as a physical war against infidels (different religions) or hypocrites, jihad must be understood as an earnest effort to practice the values of Islamic teachings.[13] Likewise, Pradana Boy's view that understands jihad basically means trying hard, diligently working, fighting and defending. Furthermore, jihad is earnest in carrying out every good deed. In this context, the meaning of jihad is very broad.[14]

Related to *jihad lil-muwajahah,* basically, as conveyed by Pradana Boy, in line with the basic meaning of jihad and at the same time the nature of Muhammadiyah as a modern Islamic movement. Moreover, lately, Muhammadiyah has always imaged itself as a Advanced Islam. One of the main characteristics of progress is to propose alternatives.[15] From another angle, Makmun Murod stated that he agreed with Muhammadiyah interpretation related to jihad *lil-muwajahah.* This interpretation is to distinguish with the notion of jihad yang has been understood *bil lafdzi* (only in the mouth), or vice versa at other extreme points, jihad is understood so frighteningly as detonating a bomb, etc.[16]

Regarding jihad as an effort to really create as superior alternative, in the view of Husnan Nurjuman:

The development of technology and life of the modern world, the development of West Civilization which on the one hand also gave birth to various anxiety of modern humans such as environmental problems, exploitation of human, economic inequality, gender bias and other humanitarian problems. Then the emergence of various movements Islam with a counter-productive ideology with the progress of the ummah, then the jihad carried out by Muhammadiyah is to bring forth various alternatives with advantages that match other alternative that have existed.[17]

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.[18] 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

[12] Interview with Researchers, 25 March 2020, through e-mail.
[13] Interview with Researchers, 12 March 2020, through e-mail.
[14] Interview with Researchers, 24 March 2020, through e-mail.
[15] Interview with Researchers, 24 March 2020, through e-mail.
[16] Interview with Researchers, 25 March 2020, through e-mail.
[17] Interview with Researchers, 12 March 2020, through e-mail.
[18] Interview with Researcher, January 29, 2019, at PBNU Office, Kramat Raya, Central Jakarta.

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 like listed in the Qur'an Surah al-Ikhlas.[19]

In the view of Alissa Qotrunnada Munawaroh Wahid (Alissa Wahid), Secretary of the Family Welfare Institute PBNU, Pancasila in its language the Kiai have become *mu'ahadah wathaniyah,* becoming a national agreement. 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.[20]

Regarding the consumption of the text of the issue of jihad, in general the views of NU citizens and figures are to reject the view of jihad in the form of violence and war. As Syafiq Ali views, that jihad can be interpreted broadly and contextually. Jihad is the spirit of defending the threatened, and fighting for what is considered right by religion. "When colonized and rose up against, it was also jihad. Moreover, those who are fighting for their weak interests, face the forces that are hegemony, who oppress it jihad. Fighting for the basic purpose of religion, shiar religion is also worthy of being called jihad. During this jihad always understood war because of the context told the history of the Prophet and his companions war, whereas in the lifetime of Nabi war only many times. So, jihad that's a lot of context.[21]

Therefore, according to Alissa Wahid, jihad is as *mabadi' khaira ummah* (prioritizing the benefit of the ummah). According to Alissa Wahid, building *khaira ummah* is one form of jihad. Jihad in view of NU people are not war but build *khaira ummah*. So, *mabadi' khaira ummah* as one form of jihad. [22]While in the view of Khamami Zada, jihad as *mabadi' khaira ummah* fall into the category of non-physical jihad, which is to give all the ability to realize the benefit of society, such as teaching knowledge, preaching, and being devoted to parents. NU's interpretation of jihad as above is a progressive interpretation so that Muslims do not get caught up in understanding jihad as war only.[23] In relation to the concept of *mabadi' khaira ummah,* Alissa Wahid explained the following:

> "M*abadi' khaira ummah* is the first steps towards *khaira ummah,* in the original concept. So, Kiai Mahfudz Shiddiq at that time said that the NU people had to improve themselves so that their capacity was better and improved competitiveness. That's the original concept. So, can be *khaira ummah*? The first steps how? That is what is then referred to as the *mabadi' khaira ummah* movement, which is to make three characters that are considered important characters to make *khaira the ummah.* The concept *of mabadi ' khaira ummah* was later strengthened into five points, and not only became the character and character of a *Nahdliyin* but became the character and culture of NU as an organization". [24]

Thus, the production of NU Online text on the meaning of jihad is represented contextually in various forms of jihad such as jihad against drugs, jihad against hoaxes, jihad against corruption, and other forms of jihad constitute the actualization of jihad as *mabadi' khaira ummah,* as well as the education of anti-radicalism.

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[19] Interview with Researchers, 17 March 2020, through e-mail.

[20] Interview with Researchers, 17 March 2020, through telephone.

[21] Interview with Researchers, 16 April 2020, through telephone.

[22] Interview with Researchers, 17 March 2020, through telephone.

[23] Interview with Researchers, 17 March 2020, through e-mail.

[24] Interview with Researchers, 17 March 2020, through telephone.

Socio-Cultural Analysis (Context): Radicalism in the New Public Sphere

In its development, along with the rapid advancement of information and communication technology, the discourse of radicalism also shifted from the conventional public sphere, such as public spaces in classes, seminars, and conventional mass media into the new public realm, which is based on internet networks in the form of online media, new media, and social media. The concept *of public sphere* was conceived by critical theorist Jurgen Habermas who is a network for communicating information and views. The public sphere is concerned with public opinion, a term that refers to the function of criticism and control by the public. With regard to the function of public opinion, the public sphere as a domain that connects between state and society, a realm where the public as a means of public opinion (Habermas, 2009). Public society is a fundamental part of socio-political organization because it is a realm where people come together as citizens and articulate their free views to influence political institutions in society (Castells, 2010).

The concept of the public sphere expanded its understanding with the term or concept of the new *public sphere.* There are two things that distinguish the concept of the public sphere from the new public domain. First, it deals with the communication systems involved in it. The new public domain is driven by multimodal communication systems, in which the internet and horizontal communication networks play a decisive role. There is a shift from the public sphere based on national institutions from society with territorial boundaries towards the public domain based on the media system. This media system is referred to as mass *self-communication,* which is a communication network that connects many to *many* in sending and receiving messages (Castells, 2008, 2010).

Second, it relates to participants or actors who are involved in the establishment of public democratization, namely the state, intergovernmental institutions, and civil society. New global public services are built through communication systems and internet networks, such as YouTube, My Space, Facebook, Instagram, and others. Therefore, it is important for these actors to establish relationships in a kind of public debate in the global public sphere. Thus, the consolidation of the communication-based public sphere becomes one of the keys with which states and international institutions can be bound up in a global civil society project. Public opinion through global media and the internet network is the most effective form of encouraging political participation on a global scale, with synergistic connections between government-based international institutions and global civil society (Castells, 2008, 2010).

Radicalism as one of the global issues is certainly a concern for many people, both countries, intergovernmental institutions, and civil society. With regard to the discourse of radicalism in the new public sphere, it can be seen how the issue of radicalism is discussed and constructed by various circles in the new public sphere, such as new forms of internet-based media. One of the reasons why radicalism is becoming a global issue is because of the role of these new media. Fundamentalist Muslim groups, for example, use the internet to articulate their global and local identities, which include political, commercial, ideological, language, and communication or interaction using websites. Al-Qaeda for example, its network of movements operated through worldwide, with various coverage of their political agenda (Khatib, 2019). Al-Qaeda also frequently uses *al-Jazeera,* an independent Muslim television network, as an alternative to CNN (Castells, 2004).

In the Indonesian context, online media has long been used by radical Muslim groups as a seeding field for radical understanding through their discourse. Radical Muslim groups such as Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid (JAT), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), and Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) use their online media sites JAT (ansharuttauhid.com), MMI (majelismujahidin.com), and HTI (hizbut-tahrir.or.id) sites to construct their views on issues

related to democratic values such as human rights issues, religious freedom, groups minority, and freedom of expression (Karman, 2015).

Even radical Muslim groups also use social media such as You Tube, Twitter, Instagram, and so on as a medium to spread their radical views (Muthohirin, 2015). There is a very significant role for social media outlets such as Facebook and Twitter as new arenas for seeding and propaganda of radical Muslim groups such as HTI, Harakah Tarbiyah and Salafist Jamaat. The target is young people who are close to social media so that the messages of radicalism are more acceptable (Muthohirin, 2015). Including targeting students through student organizations on Islamic campuses, such as campus da'wah institute (Afrianty, 2012).

The existence of socio-cultural political context, namely the latent danger of religious radicalism and the increasing role of online media and social media, as well as other internet-based media as new media in the world. The spread of radicalism needs to be anticipated and matched by the increasing role of similar media from the government and moderate Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU. Through suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online, anti-radicalism education can be done by displaying interpretations of radicalism issues such as Pancasila and jihad more contextual in the new public domain.

Discussion: The Role of New Media in Anti-Radicalism Education

The results show how the important role of suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online as a new medium in conducting anti-radicalism education, especially regarding the basic issues of Pancasila and jihad. Through news and articles displayed during 2015-2020, the both official media of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and NU, conduct anti-radicalism education by representing the issue of the basis of Pancasila and jihad with a different and more contextual perspective or 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).* As for jihad, suaramuhammadiyah.id represent jihad *lil-muwajahah* (strive really to create a superior alternative). On the other hand, regarding the state of Pancasila, NU Online represents the basic discourse of the state with Islamic Pancasila, there is no conflict between Islam and Pancasila. As for jihad, NU Online better displays the meaning of jihad in more contextual discourses such as jihad against corruption, anti-drugs, jihad against hoaxes, and the like.

Discourse on the basic issues of Pancasila and jihad represented by the 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, and interprets jihad as a war against the infidels of the enemies of Islam, even terrorism. 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, as well as the issue of jihad. Here, online media becomes an arena of contestation or a fight for the true of two different groups of Muslims whose interests are about the basis of the state and jihad.

Therefore, in the context of anti-radicalism education, what suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online do complements the function and role of online media as a new media for society. 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 old or conventional media are interactiveness, 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 through anti-radicalism education. 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. Jihad as the teachings of Islam. While deliberative democracy is carried out by suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online by representing Muhammadiyah and NU ideas about the system of government and the basis of Pancasila, as well as jihad to be tested with similar ideas from other groups, especially radical Muslim groups in the new public sphere.

In addition, by conducting anti-radicalism education, 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, as well as jihad as a against infidels is no longer relevant. 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. Similarly, jihad as a war against the enemies of Islam by bombing and attacking churches, is an act that is not in accordance with the values of Islamic teachings that are not in accordance with the values of Islamic teachings.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

New media play an important role in anti-radicalism education efforts in Indonesia. Online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online as one of the new forms of media in the efforts to education anti-radicalism represent discourse on the basis of state Pancasila and jihad in contrast to the discourse that arises 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 citizens, but also criticize ideology against religious radicalism as a radical ideology that must be rejected in Indonesia because it is not in accordance with the values of Islamic teachings that *rahmatan lil-alamin.*

As an effort to education anti-radicalism, suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online have featured a lot of anti-radicalism education on Pancasila and jihad in its news and articles. This

effort must still be maintained, if necessary to increase so that anti-radicalism awareness among Muhammadiyah and NU is maintained, especially the younger generation who are likely to be more likely to be able to do so vulnerable to radicalism. On the other hand, the results of this study show the strong role of online media suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online as media that conduct anti-radicalism education. Both represent the state basis of Pancasila national consensus, and do not contradict Islam, as well as the more contextual meaning of jihad not jihad as terrorism. Therefore, for Muhammadiyah and NU citizens in particular, the understanding of Pancasila and jihad represented by the suaramuhammadiyah.id and NU Online should be a common understanding that should be followed and internalized to all members of the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia. Especially among the younger generation who are more vulnerable to being infiltrated by radicalism through new mass media and social media.

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