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## Contestation of Islamic Discourse in The Digital Space on Islamic Portals

## Achmad Tohari<sup>1</sup>, Aviv Nafiuddin<sup>2</sup>, Fathul Qorib<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta, Email: tohariachmadd@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup>Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Email: Muhammadaviv73@gmail.com

<sup>3</sup>Kocaeli University Turkey, Email: 236237004@kocaeli.edu.tr

### **Abstract**

Islamic media is undergoing a period of rapid growth, with a proliferation of narratives emerging between conservative and moderate Islamic media outlets. These outlets engage in a dynamic exchange of ideas regarding religious issues in daily social life. This research elucidates how Islamic media framing addresses issues of faith frequently discussed in everyday life concerning two prominent Islamic media portals, Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id. Furthermore, this research elucidates the evolution of Islamic media in Indonesia by examining the historical development of existing Islamic media outlets. This research employs a qualitative approach, utilizing Robert Entman's framing analysis method. The findings of this study indicate that Islamic media portals have grown substantially, particularly with the advent of new media outlets affiliated with the organizations they support, utilizing internet-based media platforms following the New Order. This is exemplified by the discourse on Islam observed in Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id. It appears that the two media portals are mutually reinforcing. However, an analysis of the content of their posts suggests that Muslim.or.id is more active in updating its media content than Nu.or.id, which seems to be awaiting the movement of conservative media discourse on religious narratives.

**Keywords**: History of Islamic Media, Islamic Media Development Map In Indonesia, Profile of Media Portal, Framing Analysis.

## Abstrak

Media Islam mengalami perkembangan yang cepat dengan segala bentuk narasi yang dibangun terlebih antara media islam konservatif maupun islam moderat yang saling memberikan tanggapan perihal persoalan agama dalam kehidupan sosial keseharian. Penelitian ini menjelaskan mengenai bagaimana pembingkaian media Islam dalam melihat isu keimanan yang sering diperbincangkan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari dengan mengacu pada dua portal media Islam populer Muslim.or.id dan Nu.or.id. Penelitian ini juga menjelaskan perkembangan media Islam di Indonesia dengan merujuk pada sejarah media Islam yang ada. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menggunakan metode analisis framing Robert Entman. Kesimpulan dalam penelitian ini ialah portal media Islam mengalami perkembangan yang cukup signifikan, terutama



munculnya media baru yang berkaitan dengan organisasi yang mereka dukung dengan basis media mereka di internet pasca orde baru, antara Muslim.or.id dan Nu.or.id dalam pembahasan tentang Islam terlihat kedua portal media saling berkontribusi, namun dilihat dari isi postingannya bahwa Muslim.or.id lebih sering memuat pembaruan dalam konten medianya dibandingkan dengan media Nu.or.id yang terlihat lebih banyak menunggu pergerakan wacana narasi keagamaan media konservatif.

**Kata Kunci:** Sejarah Media Islam, Peta Perkembangan Media Islam di Indonesia, Profil Portal Media, Analisis Framing.

#### INTRODUCTION

The Internet and online media have become integral to daily life for individuals of all ages. The Internet is a prominent feature of modern life, from teenagers to middle-aged and older adults. This phenomenon results from the evolution of digital technology and media accessibility through smartphones and other digital devices (Kurniawan 2024, 40). This phenomenon is referred to as social change. Previously, individuals would access news and other information through newspapers. However, with the advent of digital media and the Internet, information can be accessed faster and more conveniently. In response to this shift, the Ministry of Communication has emphasized the importance of increasing awareness about Internet use. This is achieved through socialization, literacy training, or education (Abdullah 2019). Given the negative impact of the Internet and online media, the Ministry of Communication seeks to increase awareness of the use of the Internet by conducting socialization and literacy training or education. Failure to do so will further damage future generations (Halim 2015, 133).

While the Internet is often perceived as a source of negativity, it also has a positive impact. Online media offers benefits that facilitate access for those who can use the Internet wisely (Mialawati 2020, 776). However, it is essential to recognize that media outlets may have different goals when running their content sites. In this context, it is essential to understand and anticipate that online media is positive and does not contain harmful elements. In the current digitalization era, gathering information and creating media articles is no longer a matter of going from one source to another. With the advent of technology, it is now possible to argue or submit writing with the current technological facilities(Sari 2015, 41), (Nur 2021, 51)

However, despite the sophistication of contemporary technology, arguments remain challenging to navigate. In the digital realm, messages and arguments must still be filtrated. It is important to note that individuals have a high degree of agency in shaping the narratives presented in online media. In the current digitization of online media, it is evident that this medium is being utilized to disseminate messages or da'wah activities. Consequently, there is a notable diversity in

the content presented by different media portals, particularly in how news and narratives are conveyed (Maghfiroh 2021, 84).

Numerous online media outlets present Islamic issues or narratives using various data sources. This diversity of information makes the exchange of discourse in the articles published by these outlets attractive. The ease of access to online media in the present era has led to a significant increase in the number of people who utilize these outlets for their information needs. The ease of accessing online media has become a common occurrence in the modern era. Consequently, online media is the most widely accessed form of media by a diverse range of individuals, who rely on it as a primary source of information (MWM 2022). In comparison to traditional media, online media is perceived to offer greater accessibility and practicality. In addition to its convenience, numerous online media outlets employ unsportsmanlike tactics to gain visibility, which can potentially lead to the emergence of radicalism and terrorism. Therefore, it is crucial to carefully examine the content disseminated by various media outlets, as each employs a distinct narrative framework. The data from Kominfo in 2019 indicates that 1,500 sites containing radicalism and terrorism content were blocked. Furthermore, 33 Islamic sites were blocked between 2015 and 2017(Kominfo 2021).

The data blocked by Kominfo indicates that the general public's understanding of Islamic media content remains limited. This hinders the creation of dynamic news and the dissemination of compelling da'wah narratives. Online media offers a vast array of content, with Islamic online media portals focusing on various Islamic topics. This is evident in the news articles published on Islamic online media platforms. The most frequently published issues on Islamic media portals are often related to shirk or idolatry. Shirk is defined as an error in worshiping God or, alternatively, as an alliance with Allah. In essence, Shirk is the act of making a counterpart to Allah even though He is the Creator. This is considered a gravest sin, nullifying the practice and precluding rewards. (Ittefaq 2018).

This research will examine the media portals Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id, which have a significant presence in the online media landscape. The two online media portals will be analyzed to ascertain their strategies for managing the news narrative in their online media.

#### **METHOD**

The data analysis method employed in this research is a text analysis model that utilizes framing analysis. This approach allows for the examination of the role of the media in framing Islamic content, specifically the Islamic portals Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id. The analysis considers how these portals present Islamic narratives, representing two distinct approaches to presenting

Islamic content. (Sobur 2001, 16)

It is crucial to have a theoretical framework when conducting research, as it serves to solve the problem under study. This ensures that the research achieves satisfactory results and meets the desired standards. This study employs Robert Entman's framing theory, which elucidates selecting and revealing specific aspects of reality conveyed through the media. Entman's primary focus is selecting issues and emphasizing certain aspects of reality.

#### RESULT AND DISCUSSION

## **History of Islamic Media**

Islamic-oriented news media have a long history, with non-Islamic media often serving as a tool for propaganda to the public, as evidenced by Western media, which presents Islam as a target object in the content of the news it contains (Arifin 2021). It can be argued that Western media has played a role in the construction of Islamophobia. This is evident in the manner in which Islam is represented in the media, which often employs sensationalist and inflammatory rhetoric (Tama 2023). This has led to a backlash from Islamic media outlets, which have responded with a similarly aggressive stance against what they perceive to be a Western campaign to portray Islam in a negative light. The Western media, encompassing various forms of communication such as television, radio, and even newspapers, has been instrumental in disseminating anti-Islamic content, which has sought to discredit the religion (Sa'diyah 2021, 31). It is, therefore, evident that Muslims must be able to counteract the influence of the media, which has sought to portray Islam in a negative light. In order to develop a more nuanced understanding of Islam, it is necessary to engage with the media strategically.

The advent of mass media, which was still reliant on newspapers at the time, marked the inception of Islamic media. Throughout its history, mass media has consistently played a pivotal role in shaping the influence of a country, group, or religion. The mass media exerts a profound and strategic influence, influencing, educating, and forming opinions that are subsequently disseminated to the public sphere (Moll 2020). The Islamic mass media is experiencing a decline due to the anti-Islamic movement, discrimination against Muslims in non-Islamic countries, and conflicts between religious doctrine and secular governance in Muslim countries. A review of the historical development of Nusantara Islamic media reveals that it emerged in 1906 in Malay land, specifically in Singapore. This was initiated by a media outlet called Al Imam, which initially emerged to address the challenges faced by colonized Muslims. The objective of Al-Imam was to instill in Muslims the importance of maintaining their independence from colonizers (Tabaroni 2017, 5).



In 1911, Al Munir media was published, and it served as the inaugural Islamic mass media outlet in Indonesia alongside Alam Minangkabau. Alam Minangkabau media utilized Arabic Jawi with a coverage area encompassing Minangkabau, Mandaling, and Angkola (Tabaroni 2017, 5). While Al Munir is a media outlet with many young people espousing the ideals of the Islamic youth movement, Al Munir also frequently references fatwas published by Al Manar, a mass media outlet based in Egypt. Al Munir became an Islamic mass media outlet that opposed the practice of heresy and criticized the Dutch colonial period. It continued to voice criticism in its media, but carefully and covertly until it received pressure from the Dutch government (Rosyid 2013, 3).

The advent and evolution of media in Indonesia cannot be divorced from the advent of mass media, which commenced with forming several political parties following the country's independence. These parties include Masyumi, the Indonesian Muslim Syuro Council; PSII, the Indonesian Socialist Party; PNI, the Indonesian National Party; and PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party (Prasetya 2019, 25). The National Party and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) were the inaugural political parties to engage with mass media, particularly in newspapers. This is made possible by the 1950 Constitution, which fully guarantees freedom of assembly, association, and expression, including freedom of the press (Sobur 2004, 246).

The dynamics experienced by various newspaper media in the old order influenced the clashes between them and ultimately led to the downfall of journalism as it was previously practiced. This journalism was characterized by sensationalism, with the ruling party being the primary target of criticism from the media of the opposition party (Sobieraj 2010),(McFadden 2016, 66). The Islamic media sector did not diverge from the influence of Islamic-based political parties, which provided financial support rather than professional expertise (Hapsari 2018). This resulted in the management of the media being conducted inadequately, leading to the bankruptcy of the party and the subsequent decline of Islamic journalism. This illustrates the continued reliance on political funding, rather than professional expertise, as a driving force in the sector.

## Islamic Media Development Map in Indonesia

The advent of Islamic media journalism in the public sphere and the emergence of mass media oriented towards Islam, such as the Republican media, prompted the assertion that Islamic media in the new order era is modernization associated with developmentalism (Ardhianto 2018, 155). Concerning another matter, the Republican media presumed that Muslims would be compelled to engage in a struggle to establish Islam as the foundation of the state, as was the case during the Old Order era, namely the Jakarta Charter. Conversely, the potential for discord between interpretations could give rise to the assumption that Islam is incompatible with modernization. In the 1980s, debates emerged that formed a young Muslim intellectual climate among the youth.

These discussions and writings subsequently served as the seeds for Islamic publications that year (Hefner 2008).

The Intellectual Debate led to several publications, including the journal Ulumul Qur'an, Media Dakwah Magazine, and Republika Daily. In addition, several activists established their own media outlets, including Hidayatullah, Sabili, Dakwatuna, and Ummi. At the time, the major publishers began to recognize the potential of the Muslim reader market. Islamic-oriented mass media emerged at this juncture, including Nahdlatul Ulama's Al-Jihad, Al Islam, and Berita NU (Aziz 2019). Then Muhammadiyah with Pancaran Amal, Suara Muhammadiyah, Penyiar Islam, Suara Aisiyah, Panji Masyarakat. Islamic Unity with Al Islam and Al Fatwaa, At Taqwa, and Panji Islam (Rosyid 2013, 3).

The dissolution of the New Order has had a profound impact on the development of Islam in Indonesia, resulting in a proliferation of diverse Islamic forms and styles. This is evident in the emergence of numerous Islamic organizations and groups, many of which claim to represent the Islamic faith. In his analysis of Indonesia's Islamic landscape, Peter G. Riddel identifies four distinct Islamic forces that emerged after the New Order. These are the modernists, traditionalists, neomodernists, and Islamists. Each of these groups, according to Riddel, possesses its characteristics and responses to the pivotal issues that arose in the post-New Order era (Fathurrahman 2001, 214). Should those above four Islamic forces be further minimized, according to Riddel, the resulting position would be as follows: Moderate Islam The two opposing ideologies are those of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, representing the moderate and radical forms of Islam, respectively. The Ikhwanul Muslimun, HTI, and FPI are regarded as radical. The former espouses an open interpretation of Islam, while the latter adheres to a more conservative, literalist approach. This dichotomy is reflected in the differing views of the two groups on issues such as the role of women, the status of non-Muslims, and the nature of Islamic governance (Ummah 2012, 117).

A review of the post-New Order's collapse reveals a notable strength in the Islamic world, as Riddel notes the emergence of numerous organizations espousing an Islamic orientation. This has led to the proliferation of Salafi organizations engaged in media da'wah, particularly in the digital domain. While organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah have historically utilized printed mass media, they have yet to embrace the digital landscape fully. The launch year of Muhammadiyah online, for instance, was only 2005, in contrast to Nahdlatul Ulama's media, pioneered in 2002 by PBNU Deputy Secretary General Abdul Mun'im and inaugurated in 2003. Both organizations commenced pioneering media on the Internet in the 2000s, following the development of media such as republika.com and detik.co between 1994 and

1997. This was followed by tempo.com and kompas.com, among the earliest sites to pioneer online media (Sari 2022, 39).

Suratno's research on Islamic media on the Internet indicates that the transition from the New Order to the Post-New Order period was accompanied by significant turbulence, marked by the resurgence of the Islamic movement in Indonesia and the advent of greater freedom during the reform era (Rahman 2021). However, two distinct currents have emerged in response to these developments. On the one hand, there is a conservative group that advocates for the unification of Islam and the state. On the other hand, there is a progressive liberal group that represents the antithesis of literalism, conservatism, and religious formalism (Simorangkir 2015, 201) In the case of the media owned by the two groups, namely countering each other's thoughts from each media, Conservative Islam posits that exchanging thoughts is a means of safeguarding Muslims from the influences of liberalism, secularism, and religious pluralism. This is in contrast to liberal Islam, which views the exchange of ideas as a tool or way to protect Muslims from conservatism, formalism, and radicalism. Suratno distinguishes between two categories of Islamic thought in online media: Conservative Journalism and Prophetic Journalism. He believes that the ongoing contestation between these two trends will persist alongside the social developments that have emerged since the collapse of the new order to the old order. According to Suratno, prophetic journalism leads to idealism, which he defines as journalism that uses friendly, polite, peaceful, and ideological language in its news or media content. Suratno hopes that readers will gain a deeper understanding of education, peace, and open-mindedness as a way of understanding Islam (Baihaqi 2023, 263).

The prophetic Islamic media is more indicative of the spirit of jihad that leads to pluralism, multicultural progressivism, liberalism, and radicalism. This kind of media leads to media that is peaceful and anti-violence and does not cause conflict on a large scale or in the sense of media that has the concept of what Islam should be. The symbol of this group is sourced on the islamlib.com website, which the Liberal Islamic Network owns. However, it cannot be denied that many other media outlets are allied with other prophetic Islamic media groups, such as the Progressive Journal, Taswhirul Afkar, and Suara Muhammadiyah.

The second is conservative journalism. If we look at the concept of conservatism itself, it is a religious sect that makes the early Islamic tradition between the prophet and the companions as a reference for life that is duplicated in a literal way, and it can be seen that conservatism is an understanding that rejects the presence of modernity and liberal thinking (Halimatusa'diyah 2020, 4). The content of the media presentation can be discerned from the language used and the news content, which is more provocative, intimidating, and non-dialogical (Mahfud 2014, 5). The

character of this journalism shows more hostility and invites conflict. Media outlets included in provocative journalism include Sabili Magazine, Tarbawi, As-sunnah, As-Syariah, and Al-Furqon. Conservative Islam also has its media sites such as arrahmah.com, voa-islam.com, almanhaj.or.id, portal-islam.id, and hidayatullah.com.

Islamic Mass Media in the Post-New Order	
Prophetic Journalism Conservative Journalism	
Multikultural, Pluralisme, Liberalisme	Provokatif, Intimidasi, AntiDialogical
Cordial, Respectful	Less Sociable, Anti-Dialogical

**Table 1.** The Roadmap of Islamic Media

The classification of Islamic media represents the genesis of a media landscape and the trajectory by which Islamic media engages with the global digital age. This classification will also determine the alignment of Islamic media groups with conservative or prophetic media. The two groupings of Islamic online media in Indonesia following the New Order can be seen to be inextricably linked to the issues of monotheism and divinity, given that since the collapse of the New Order, Islamic organizations have emerged to voice their aspirations by creating forums to separate organizations. Islamic media will emerge from this, as will the characteristics of each existing Islamic media.

Religion-based media portals, such as Islamic media, frequently utilize daily issues in religious life that are readily accepted by individuals, as these beliefs are not inherently ingrained in everyone (Ronaldi 2023). This suggests that sociological understandings, particularly those about religion, may occur through messages and information disseminated on the internet or social media without individuals realizing this information is a form of religious propaganda. According to data from PPIM (Center for the Study of Islam and Society) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, religious hashtags on online media from 2009 to 2019 demonstrate that the most prevalent hashtag is #aqidah, with 537 occurrences, followed by #teladanrosul (534 hashtags), and #islam (384 hashtags) (Halimatusa'diyah 2020, 17).

A further examination of other categories, such as general religion, reveals that hashtags such as #islam, #quran, #ramadhan, etc., which are typically neutral, are often used by individuals to express their religious beliefs. These expressions are then disseminated online without demonizing those with opposing views. However, there is a distinction between conservative religious hashtags, which tend to be more conservative, and other hashtags. These include #ahlussunnah, #aqidah, #cara Muhammad, #dakwahsalah, and so on. This data looks at how much

Twitter is used to disseminate information about religious narratives. A review of the research conducted by PPIM reveals that the hashtag #aqidah is the most prevalent in online media on Twitter, with 537 instances from 2009 to 2019 (Halimatusa'diyah 2020).

The data indicates that Islamic online media's development has changed. In this new phase, conservative religious views continue to voice their content through various efforts to attract readers, who are then used as guidelines in life, especially in the world of social media and other Islamic media. In contrast, prophetic media seem silent and not too loud in their media (MT 2019), (Amedie 2015). Islamic media continues to experience a significant increase, with various media increasingly showing its contestation against other Islamic media. It is important to note that the shift of the Muslim public sphere from offline to online or virtual has occurred for some time (Syukur 2021). Ideas developing offline involving Islamic mass organizations have been moving to the digital space or the internet (Iryani 2023). This is because the internet is a new media that can be used as a public space. Consequently, Islamic media has emerged (Hamidah 2023). According to data from Arrahim.id, the ranking of popular Islamic media portals in Indonesia is still controlled by Nu.or.id, which is still ranked first in 2020. The data is as follows:

No	Name	Ranking
1.	nu.or.id	122
2.	bincangsyariah.com	244
3.	islami.co	364
4.	tafsirweb.com	471
5.	muslim.or.id	661
6.	rumaysho.com	675
7.	alif.id	746
8.	portal-islam.id	749
9.	islampos.com	792
10.	almanhaj.or.id	905

**Table 2.** Ranking Islamic Portals (Arrahim.id,2020)

The 2020 ranking data indicates that the Nu.or.id portal site exerts a considerable influence in the domain of Islamic media portals, with a value of 122. This is followed by bincangsyariah.com and islami.co. It can be observed that Islamic media has a considerable degree of appeal in the contemporary era, particularly in light of the transition from offline to online or internet media.

The advent of media in the new public space and the significant development of Islamic online media demonstrate that Muslims in the online or internet world are aware of the times and utilize public space as a discursive space to discuss Islamic issues. This is evidenced by the fact that some media have their style, which is dependent on the ideology used by the media. Puslitbang BALK research indicates that Islamic media have their own ideology and Islamic style. He analyzed 11 website samples from 2017 to 2020 based on SimilarWeb and Alexa.com. His findings revealed significant differences in the political ideology of these websites. These differences were evident in the political attitudes expressed by the websites. When examining the political ideology of Islamic websites, they can be divided into four distinct ideologies.

Group		Information	
Group One	Nu.or.id Islami.co Ibtimes Bincangsyariah.com	Accepting democracy, Pancasila, and not wanting an Islamic state	
Group Two	Era muslim.com Hidayatullah.com	Accepting Pancasila, Democracy, and Wanting an Islamic State	
Group Third	Nahimunkar.com Voa-Islam.com	Rejecting Democracy, the Jakarta Charter Version of Pancasila, and Wanting the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate or NKRI bersyariah	
Group Four	Konsultasisyariah.com Muslim.or.id Rumaysho.com	I do not have a particular political stance or affiliation of a purist Salafi manhaj that is not political.	

Table 3. Political Ideology of Islamic Online Media (PuslitbangBALK, 2020)

The initial group comprises Islamic websites that espouse a moderate political stance. The second group, however, is somewhat ambiguous. While some websites in this group may be classified as moderate due to their adherence to democratic principles, others could be included in the Islamism category due to their alignment with Islamic fundamentalist ideologies. The second group of websites is more ambiguous, espousing Islamist ideals while advocating for a democratic system. According to the Research and Development Agency of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, this group is more aligned with Islamism, as they view democracy as a means of formalizing Islam's role in politics. This is similar to the third group, which also exhibits Islamist characteristics. Finally, the fourth group is a pure Salafi website that is non-political (Riza 2020,



2). Several websites in Indonesia criticize one another on matters of religion. Some of these websites are well-known online, particularly about religious issues that individuals in Indonesia frequently discuss. The following six websites are illustrative examples of this phenomenon:

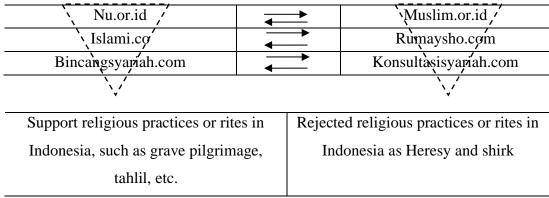


 Table 4. Islamic Websites Criticize Each Other (PuslitbangBALK, 2020)

The six Islamic media outlets each have their perspectives on current affairs, as each is led by scholars who are regarded as authoritative in strengthening the arguments presented on their respective platforms. It is anticipated that with the advancement of Islamic media in the future, the continued existence of Islamic media will facilitate the dissemination of peaceful information in alignment with Islamic teachings and ethical standards in journalism. This endeavor will reinvigorate the fundamental principles of journalism, particularly on Islamic platforms utilized as a conduit for disseminating Islamic propaganda in the digital or Internet age (Falah 2020, 25).

# Profile of Media Portal Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id Muslim.or.id

This Islamic portal addresses several significant issues that frequently arise in society, including idolatry or shirk. This approach is aligned with the stance of the YPIA Al Atsari Islamic Education Foundation, which serves as the foundation for developing Da'wah media within its digital realm. The Muslim.or.id portal represents an Islamic media outlet that, according to Ibtimes, ranks within the top five alongside rumaysho.com (IBTimes 2021). The Muslim.or.id media portal was established by acquiring ownership rights from the YPIA foundation, which oversees numerous da'wah institutions. The administrative headquarters are at Pogung Rejo No. 412, RT 14 / RW 51, Sinduadi Village, Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta. YPIA was previously a da'wah institution that was relatively modest in terms of the scope of its activities. At that time, it was still known as LBIA (Al-Atsari Islamic Guidance Institute), which was established by Ustaz Kholid Syamhudi, Ustaz Abu Sa'ad Muhammad Nur Huda, and Ustaz Fauzan bin Abdillah. This

guidance institution, which operated outside of regular academic hours, focused on providing instruction in basic Arabic language skills and other related activities.

The YPIA subsequently spearheaded the development of digital media, most notably Muslim.or.id. Ustaz Amrullah Akadhinta, Ustaz Satria Buana, and Ustaz Ibnu Mundzir spearheaded this initiative. Muslim.or.id will be managed by a governing body comprising students and college graduates based in Yogyakarta. Muslim.or.id, which adheres to the motto "Purifying Aqidah, Spreading Sunnah," has been instrumental in clarifying the nuances of Aqidah Islamiyah, which can be regarded as a form of worship that deviates from the worship of Allah. In this context, the issue of keakidahan, particularly shirk, is a significant concern for the Muslim.or.id portal (Ypia, 2021).

## Nu.or.id

As with other popular Islamic media portals, Nu.or.id is a da'wah media portal representing the largest organization in Indonesia, namely Nahdlatul Ulama. The NU organization frequently presents a moderate Islamic image, as evidenced by the thought patterns of its scholars and young preachers. Nahdlatul Ulama has a distinctive approach, with its students and clerics often referred to as "village students" or "village clerics." Additionally, Kyai Nu disseminates its ideas about peaceful Islam through cultural channels, frequently emphasizing theological and participatory patterns that reject religious plurality (Handoko, 2018).

Nahdlatul Ulama has emerged as a significant counterforce to the radical ideologies espoused by those disinclined to align with the organization's core principles. NU previously disseminated its ideology through traditional mass media but has since transitioned to a digital media presence with the launch of NU.or.id. There are numerous NU-affiliated media outlets, but the official NU media platform is Nu.or.id, which falls under the Nahdlatul Ulama Board (PBNU) purview. The NU portal is based on Ahlussunnah Waljamaah while maintaining a dynamic approach to disseminating da'wah messages within its surrounding environment. NU.or.id was established in 2002 and formally inaugurated on July 11, 2003, under the guidance of the Deputy Secretary General and inaugural Editor-in-Chief, H. Abdul Mun'im DZ (Nubanyumas 2021). NU.or.id digital media employs Islamic media da'wah to cultivate a sense of national pride and unity. The NU.or.id portal's content encompasses several key themes, including Hikmah, Keislaman, Ubudiyah, Ekonmi Syariah, Tafsir, and Khutbah. Additionally, there is a significant discourse surrounding Islam and its associated laws. NU Media serves as a conduit for disseminating the Da'wah and policies of the Nahdlatul Ulama central board, from the central administrators to the regional and branch administrators.

The NU.or.id headquarters is on the fifth floor of the Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) Executive Board building, located at Jalan Keramat Rayan No. 164, Senen, Central Jakarta. The NU.or.id media portal has gained a favorable reputation among various demographics, from teenagers to adults. This can be observed from its ranking among Islamic media portals, as reported by Ibtimes and based on data from Alexa, which indicates that NU.or.id is currently in the top position (IBTimes 2021). NU was established to address practical requirements to facilitate information dissemination and promote organizational unity (Mun'im 2008). This is evidenced by the considerable number of NU citizens occupying managerial roles at the district, city, and overseas branch levels. These roles encompass 439 branches and 15 particular branches. The Branch Representative Council/MWC comprises 5,450 councils at the district level. At the village/level, the Branch Management encompasses 47,125 branches. This underscores the necessity for robust information technology infrastructure (Nu.or.id 2021).

## A framing analysis of the contestation between Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id

Islamic portals are often the most effective at disseminating their media content in the digital domain. However, an analysis of some posts reveals that they frequently address issues related to tawhid and one's faith. This indicates that the role of media in propagating a particular narrative perceived as arrogant cannot be overlooked.

Consequently, this study will focus on the content of Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id media, specifically the sections about faith-related issues, such as shirk, heresy, and tawhid. The analysis will encompass three posts from a larger corpus of posts on the subject of faith.

Robert Entman's Framing Devices on Posts	Magic and Shamanism Destroy Tawhid
Author	Abdullah Taslim
Issue Selection	The practice of magic and shamanism is a form of
	idolatry that persists in society due to a lack of
	understanding of the principles of tawhid and a lack of
	robust religious conviction.
<b>Aspect Highlighting:</b>	As observed in the post "Magic and Shamanism
	Destroyer of Tawhid," the protrusion above indicates a
	concentrated focus on many discussions, as evidenced
	by the conspicuous use of capitalized letters. This
	emphasis on specific topics about shamans and magic
	within the post is readily apparent.
Define Problem	The phenomenon of shirk has the potential to
	negatively impact the faith of a Muslim (QS Yusuf:
	106).

<b>Diagnose Causes</b>	A dearth of knowledge about Tawheed has the
	potential to result in violations of Tawheed, which in
	turn may lead to a deterioration in the faith of a
	Muslim.
Make Moral	The community must be made aware that consulting a
Judgement	shaman is a grave transgression that undermines one's
_	faith. It is unequivocally forbidden to seek assistance
	from a shaman.
Treatment	It is, therefore, incumbent upon Muslims to safeguard
Recommendation	the integrity of their faith by eschewing and
	repudiating all shamanic practices.

Table 5. Muslim.or.id

Robert Entman's	The utilization of amulets or rajah is still regarded
Framing Devices on	as a shirk, even if it is believed to be merely a
Posts	pretext.
	<u> </u>
Author	Sa'id Abu Ukkasyah
Issue Selection	A review of the arguments concerning the prohibition
	of amulets or rajahs revealed that scholars of
	Ahlussunnah wal-Jamaah, even if they believe in the
	cause alone, are considered to engage in minor shirk.
Aspect Highlighting:	The prominence of an aspect is determined by its ruling, which is referenced as follows: Primarily, the
	individual in possession of the amulet is wholly reliant upon it. Secondly, the act of wearing an amulet
	effectively constitutes an indirect act of attribution of causality to the amulet. In this context, the term
	"cause" signifies that the amulet in question possesses
	a degree of power contingent upon the user's
	perception and belief. This is even though Allah does
	not act as the cause in this process. It is a means that
	leads to significant shirk; thus, although the text states
	that wearing amulets is punished as shirk, it is not
	punished as a major shirk but only as a minor shirk.
	The practice of magic and shamanism has the effect of
	destroying tawhid.
Define Problem	Some individuals utilize amulets and rajahs for reasons
	that are deemed to be forms of shirk. This indicates
	that the scholars of Ahlussunnah concur that utilizing
	amulets and rajahs, even if they are merely perceived
	as a catalyst, is regarded as a form of minor shirk.
<b>Diagnose Causes</b>	Despite the widespread rejection of amulets and rajah,
0	individuals still adhere to these practices. This
	persistence has led Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah scholars
	to conclude that guiding those who wear amulets is
	necessary.



Make Moral	It would be beneficial for people to gain a deeper
Judgement	understanding of the usage of amulets and rajah, as
	both have the potential to result in a verdict of minor
	shirk.
Treatment	Individuals must exercise greater caution in
Recommendation	comprehending the function and utilization of an
	amulet or rajah. According to the tenets of
	Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah, amulets and rajahs,
	regardless of whether they are worn or not, are
	regarded as objects that may potentially lead to the
	practice of minor shirk if the heart remains dependent
	on them.

Table 6. Muslim.or.id

D. L. (E. )	
Robert Entman's	
Framing Devices on	Do not Trust Shamans and Fortune Tellers
Posts	
Author	Nur Rohmad
<b>Issue Selection</b>	The growing prevalence of shamanism has led some
	individuals to assume that consulting a shaman or
	engaging in magical practices is a common
	occurrence. In light of this, the post "Do not Trust
	Shamans and Fortune Tellers" encourages a cautious
	approach to shamanism and fortune telling while
	emphasizing the importance of maintaining high
	devotion to Allah.
Aspect Highlighting:	The content image, which depicts shamanism, is
	accompanied by an exclamation point after the post's
	title, emphasizing the topic.
<b>Define Problem</b>	As Muslims, we are obliged to attribute all things to
	Allah. This is because Allah is the sole arbiter of
	calamity and benefit and, thus, the only trustworthy
	source of knowledge.
Diagnose Causes	It is a notable phenomenon that a considerable number
	of individuals continue to adhere to the practice of
	consulting shamans in order to fulfill their desires.

Make Moral	It would be prudent for the community to be more
Judgement	aware of and avoid shamans or fortune tellers who
	often claim they can bring the spirits of the dead.
Treatment	The solution to the problem presented is to engage in
Recommendation	the acquisition of knowledge from authentic scholars,
	as there is a prevalence of individuals who purport to
	be scholars but are, in fact, practitioners of shamanism
	or fortune-telling.

Table 7. Nu.or.id

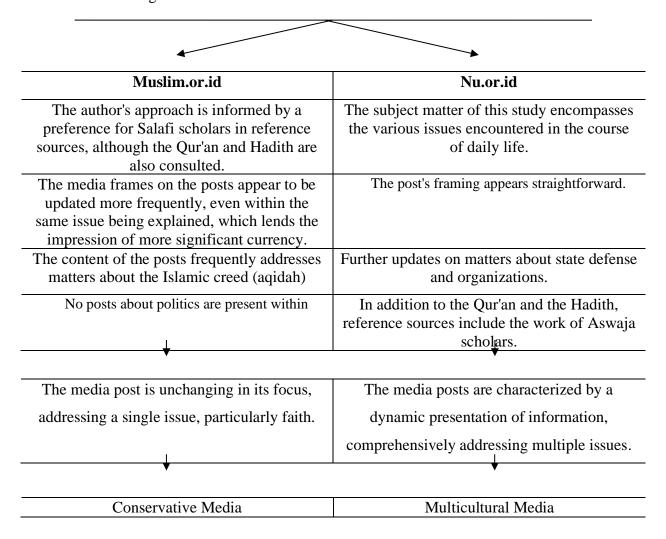
Robert Entman's	
Framing Devices on	A Study of Tawasul in the Context of Ahlussunnah
Posts	wal Jamaah
Author	Al-Hafiz K
<b>Issue Selection</b>	The discrepancy in the interpretation of tawasul has
	led to an ongoing debate, as each party possesses a
	distinct understanding of the concept. This article
	elucidates the perspectives of Ahlussunnah wal
	Jamaah scholars on the practice of tawasul.
<b>Aspect Highlighting:</b>	In the article "The Practice of Tawasul in the View of
• 0 0 0	Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah," the practice of tawasul is
	emphasized, marking an ongoing, unresolved debate.
Define Problem	The crux of the issue can be found in the tawassul that
	frequently occurs within the community and deviates
	from the established definition.
Diagnose Causes	Provide two examples of tawasul that are frequently
	utilized by the community.
Make Moral	The value proposition serves to circumvent potential
Judgement	misunderstandings.
Treatment	The solution to the problem is that the association of
Recommendation	tawasul and polytheism is unsubstantiated and appears
	to be an exaggeration. An examination of the points
	above reveals that the practice of tawasul is entirely
	absent from the actions that are considered shirk.
	Table 9 No. and d

Table 8. Nu.or.id

The analysis of the two portals above demonstrates that muslim.or.id and nu.or.id exhibit a greater dominance in their news ideology, which ultimately influences the direction of conservative journalism. This is evident in the content of muslim.or.id media, which aligns with a pure Salafi understanding. In contrast, the Nu.or.id media portal appears to align with prophetic journalism, given its affiliation with the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, which is regarded as a



moderate entity. Consequently, the media under Nu.or.id is integrated into the management of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization.



**Table 9.** Muslim or.id and Nu.or.id in the frame of Entman's framing analysis

### **CONCLUSION**

In light of the evidence presented, it can be concluded that the Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id portals exhibit distinct characteristics. This is particularly evident in the content published by Muslims.or.id on matters of faith, which appears to be more religiously oriented. Furthermore, Muslim.or.id is affiliated with the YPIA Foundation, which oversees numerous Da'wah institutions based in Yogyakarta. Muslim.or.id is included in the list of websites with pure Salafi views, as documented by the Research and Development division of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The content of the Muslim.or.id portal indicates an Islamist media outlet that eschews the integration of political elements. In contrast, Nu.or.id is distinguished by the content of its media, which remains closely aligned with the organization that oversees it, namely Nahdlatul Ulama.

The following is an analysis of Muslim.or.id and Nu.or.id in the context of Robert Entman's framing: The framing of Muslim.or.id on the issue of faith appears to be somewhat static, with a tendency to fixate on the Qur'an and Hadith, as well as on Salafi scholars. Additionally, the media frequently addresses matters of faith and shirk. In contrast to Nu.or.id, which presents posts and offers a range of solutions to the challenges of faith in Indonesia, the reference sources utilized in posts about faith are drawn from the Qur'an, Hadith, and Aswaja scholars. The topics addressed in these posts are more expansive, encompassing a broader range of issues.

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