Ideological Construction of the Mass Media: Study of Religious Moderation News in the National Online News Media and its Relation to Moderate Da'wah

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the ideological construction of the mass media in reporting on religious moderation and its relation to moderate da'wah on Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com. This research is a type of qualitative research. News as a unit of analysis was selected by purposive sampling each of 3 (news) for each media. Problems are analyzed with Robert M. Entman's framing analysis which is part of the analysis of mass media texts. This research concludes that Kompas and Media Indonesia construct ideology in religious moderation news which is associated with issues of intolerance and radicalism. These two national media construct news on religious moderation using a moderate national ideology. Concerning moderate da'wah, these two national media do not directly write news with moderate da'wah messages. These two national media construct support for moderate da'wah narratives by constructing religious moderation news. Ideologically, these two national online news media construct news by supporting the practice of religious moderation and the practice of moderate da'wah. The implication is that these two national online mass media need to continue to produce news campaigning for religious moderation and moderate da'wah. News construction related to religious moderation and moderate da'wah needs to be done to help prevent the emergence of radical, extremist, and liberal views.

Keywords: *Construction; ideology; news; religious moderation; moderate da'wah.*

INTRODUCTION

Realizing the practice of religious moderation and moderate da'wah in Indonesia is currently still encountering many challenges, for example, the existence of radicalism (Bourchier, 2019; Marshall, 2018; Pedersen, 2016).

101

Despite, the Ministry of Religion has conceptualized the practice of religious moderation, the notion of radicalism has not been fully resolved (Arif, 2021a, 2020b; Bakti, 2021). Some people even accuse religious moderation is an effort of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia to secularize religion (read: Islam). Religious moderation is considered by some as an effort to deconstruct established Islamic teachings according to the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Irawan, 2018; Nurkhoiron, 2020). As the majority religion, some think that Muslims feel disadvantaged by a religious moderation concept proclaimed by the government and the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia (Bagir & Mubarok, 2021; Muchi, 2022). According to Zulkifli (2021), some people think that a religious moderation concept is just a new model of religious liberalization in Indonesia.

Of course, the problem can be associated with the practice of moderate da'wah that exists in Indonesia today. If realizing religious moderation still faces many challenges from many parties, realizing moderate da'wah also faces many challenges from various parties (Rustandi, 2022). In fact, religious moderation is accused of being an effort to liberalize Islam, which also raises accusations of liberalizing moderate da'wah. In the end, religious moderation is presumed as an effort to remove Islamic da'wah which is considered to derive from the Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet (Lubis, 2019). If efforts to introduce religious moderation arise, then opinions opposing these efforts also arise because they are only viewed as efforts to reduce Islam as an archipelago culture. (Lubis, 2021).

In fact, religious moderation itself doesn't need to be accused as an effort to liberalize Islamic da'wah. The religious moderation proclaimed by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia is an effort to realize moderate da'wah (Arif, 2021). Proposal for religious moderation which is used as a perspective of moderate da'wah is actually present amidst the emergence of liberal and radical Islamic da'wah (Husna & Thohir, 2020). These two liberal and radical Islamic da'wah movements threaten a pluralistic religious life in Indonesia. This cannot be left to occur, so religious moderation is a home for Muslims and people from other religions who want to preach their teachings in moderation (Bakti, 2021).

Besides the above problems, ideological construction in religious moderation news written by the mass media also has an interest, so it

cannot fully solve the problems arising from efforts to realize religious moderation and moderate da'wah in Indonesia. A religious moderation concept and the recommendation to implement moderate da'wah initiated by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia is a text with multiple interpretations or is polysemic in meaning. This is aligned with the view of social construction that texts are the result of production from a social context having many ideological meanings (Ida, 2014; McKee, 2003). Thus, with reference to the constructionist view, religious moderation news in the mass media is a subjective text. For the constructionist school, news writers do not write intact news but write constructed realities. News writers construct ideology in news by creating framing through a set of ideological ideas (D'Angelo & Shaw, 2018; Moon, 2019).

This research focuses on the construction of religious moderation news which will be associated with moderate da'wah, so it needs to explain some relevant previous research. According to Hefni (2020), digital space can be used as a space for mainstreaming religious moderation while building a narrative of moderate da'wah. This idea is aligned with the research results of Thadi (2022) concluding the need for a campaign of religious moderation in the digital space that presents a moderate and humanist narrative of Islamic da'wah. Practicing religious moderation as well as building a narrative of moderate and tolerant da'wah according to Mubarok & Irama (2022) needs to be performed because Islam and the mass media are two things that complement each other. Thus, according to Aprilyawati & Nurudin (2022), the mass media can use a communication strategy providing a narrative of religious moderation while at the same time building moderate and tolerant da'wah.

With its association with journalistic and press media tasks, Saragih & Kholill (2021) offers what is known as journalistic moderation. This idea emerged because journalism and the press might be used as media to disseminate moderate Islamic da'wah. Moderate journalism needs to be campaigned because according to Rohman (2020), the mass media holds a significant role in preventing the development of religious violence arising out in Indonesia. The mass media can serve as a means of representing religious moderation and building news narratives with moderate da'wah content. Islamic national media can construct news with moderate da'wah narratives which are in line with the spirit of religious moderation and nationalist values (Sunaryanto et al., 2022).

Several studies related to mass media, religious moderation, and

moderate da'wah described above have not analyzed the mass media ideology which is also linked to religious moderation and moderate da'wah. To produce new findings, this research focuses on analyzing the ideological construction of the mass media which is linked to religious moderation and moderate da'wah. The objects that are the focus of this research are the online media at www.kompas.com and www.mediaindonesia.com. Although, in some cases, this Kompas.com's news builds a discourse adhering to liberal ideology in reporting on the legalization of driving for women in Saudi Arabia (Fatinova, 2018). Kompas.com also builds framing with the ideology of defending the people, for example, in reporting the Setya Novanto e-KTP corruption case (Hasyyati & Tsuroyya, 2018). In addition, according to Siswanti (2019), Kompas.com reports, for example, on Al-Aqsa humanitarian news, this media framing is inseparable from the political economic interests of the media. With regard to religious moderation, Kompas.com makes ideological framing by supporting Pancasila as the state ideology (Tahrifudin, 2021). In other discourses, Kompas.com writes news with an ideology carrying the spirit of humanity based on the interests of a journalistic code of ethics (Kusnaldi, 2020). All of these viewpoints actually confirm that in one particular case, Kompas.com builds framing with a biased ideology (Prawitasri, 2020).

Despite Mediaindonesia.com stands as a national mass media, it still cannot be separated from partiality (not neutral) ideology, for example, in the first round of debates for the 2019 presidential election (Sapulette et al., 2019). Rozita (2020) also concludes that Media Indonesia builds discourse through news related to the 2019 election using political interest ideology and motives. In other cases, according to Nurhasanah (2011), the editorial policy developed by Media Indonesia is extremely influenced by a nationalism-faced ideology. Besides, according to Mawardi (2012), the framing constructed by Media Indonesia doesn't use framing for the ideological interests of the owners of the mass media (in this case, Surya Paloh as an administrator for the Golkar Party). It can be concluded that Media Indonesia builds its ideology based on political economy interests. In one case, Media Indonesia can be very pro-people and anti-government and in another case, Media Indonesia supports the government according to its political interests (Rosniar et al., 2013).

All of the viewpoints above illustrate that the ideologies of Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com which are formed based on framing can be interpreted differently based on the ongoing case. Elaborating ideas

of Hamad (2015) dan Rusadi (2015), an ideology in the mass media is always subjective based on the interests of each media and cannot be generalized. In the end, the mass media never has a fixed ideology because it always changes corresponding to political and economic interests. (Rusadi, 2015). Framing developed by the mass media always has ideological interests that must benefit itself (Eriyanto, 2012; Mulyana, 2002). Understanding what is informed by the mass media, it cannot use objective measures but rather uses subjective measures and interest bias (Campbell et al., 2014).

The framing tools used to address the above issues are using the framing model from Robert M. Entman. In general, framing analysis is a method in textual research to analyze the frames made by journalists in writing news (D'Angelo, 2002; Reese, 2010). Framing analysis can further be used to interpret the meaning implied in the news written by a journalist. Framing analysis can be used to read the hidden meanings conveyed by news writers in the mass media (Eriyanto, 2012; Rusadi, 2015). Framing tools are not used to calculate generalizations as in quantitative research but rather try to interpret certain texts. Robert M. Entman divides the framing concept into 4 (four) parts, including *defining problems*, *diagnosing causes*, *making moral judgments*, and *suggesting remedy/treatment recommendations* (Entman, 1993: 52).

In simple terms, framing itself is a journalist's method of framing an event to become news (Mulyana, 2002). Journalists frame an event in their own way and have ideological interests. Framing analysis is an analytical tool that is included in the textual analysis domain of the mass media (Eriyanto, 2012; Rusadi, 2015). This textual analysis becomes an important part of qualitative research which is called the production flow of meaning (Eriyanto, 2013). This is because the meaning of a text in the mass media according to the constructionist viewpoint is subjective. Mass media texts carry hidden messages, so a researcher must independently interpret the meaning of the text (Wazis, 2017). This method is different from the flow of quantitative message transmission because the message is visible and countable (Bashatah, 2017; Eriyanto, 2013). The following is a thinking framework adapted from the framing tools of Robert M. Entman:

Table 1

Thinking Framework Based on Robert M. Entman Framing

Analysis Concept	Description
Define problems	How are events related to religious moderation seen by Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com? What kind of problems in the practice of religious moderation is seen by Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com
Diagnose causes	What events related to religious moderation are the reasons for the framing of Kompas.com and Indonesianesia.com news? Who is the cause of the problems in religious moderation news by Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com?
Make moral judgment	What moral values are given to explain the problem of religious moderation by Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com? What moral values are used by Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com to legitimize an action?
Suggest remedy/treatment recommendations	What solutions are offered by Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com to address religious moderation issues? What methods are offered and should be taken by Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com to address religious moderation issues?

Source: Observation, 2023

News as the unit of analysis is determined by purposive sampling according to this research theme. The operational variable in this research is the 'religious moderation' keyword. Researchers determine the news not based on the order of the date or the order of events but based on a relevant theme, i.e., religious moderation. The author enters the web pages www.kompas.com and www.mediaindonesia.com and then types the 'religious moderation' keyword on the search page The researcher then reads some news to determine which news is used as the unit of analysis. The selected news is then determined under the linkage between religious moderation and issues of radicalism, tolerance, and nationality. Subjectively, the researcher then determines 3 (three news) are selected for each media. Thus, 6 (six) news are selected as the unit of analysis.

To analyze the discourse of ideological construction in religious moderation news and its association with moderate da'wah in the two national online media, then the major question are how is the ideological construction of religious moderation reporting and its association with

moderate da'wah on www.kompas.com and www.mediaindonesia.com in the framing perspective of Robert M. Eantman. The major question will then be elaborated with a minor question about what do the problem definition (*defining problems*) of religious moderation and its association with moderate da'wah by the two national media look like? What is the problem and who is considered the cause of the problem (*diagnosing causes*) by the two national online media in association with religious moderation and moderate da'wah? To what extent is the moral value given (*making moral judgment*) by the online media in association with religious moderation and moderate da'wah? To what extent do the two national online media offer ways to solve problems in the practice of religious moderation and moderate da'wah?

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kompas Frames: Religious Moderation Prevents Religious Conflicts

Kompas.com published the news on February 26, 2020, entitled "Jusuf Kalla: Religious Moderation Can Prevent Religious-Nuanced Conflicts". In summary, the contents of the news explain Jusuf Kalla's viewpoints that religious moderation is a tool that can be used to prevent the emergence of conflicts in the name of religion. According to Jusuf Kalla, religious viewpoints that are inconsistent with religious moderation will lead to several conflicts in the name of religion. In the end, religious moderation becomes a form of tolerance building between religious communities living in Indonesia (Hartik & Gabrillin, 2020).

Table 2

Kompas Frame: Religious Moderation Prevents Religious Conflicts

Analysis Concept	Description
Problem Identification	Religious moderation is explained in the framework of preventing conflicts. Religious moderation means establishing a good relationship between religious communities. Religious moderation will be the cause of a good relationship and tolerance. Religious moderation can be started by building brotherhood.

Causal Interpretation	Religious-nuanced conflicts that frequently occur are caused by religious viewpoints that are not accompanied by an understanding of religious moderation.
	Actors causing religious conflict are religious people who do not understand the principle of religious moderation.
	Actors causing the problem are other ongoing conflicting countries because of religion.
Make Moral Judgment	Indonesia can be an example for other countries in applying the principle of religious moderation
Treatment Recommendation	Religious moderation can be started by building a sense of brotherhood between religious communities, fellow nations, and fellow human beings.
	Religious moderation should be manifested by various concrete actions.

Source: Observation, 2023

Problem Identification: Despite the news produced by Kompas using the theme of religious moderation but it is built with more than one theme framing. The source of the news is only one person, i.e., Muhammad Jusuf Kalla but Kompas makes an indirect interpretation of Jusuf Kalla's viewpoints. Religious moderation can be used as a way to prevent religious-nuanced conflicts. Kompas doesn't explain in detail which religions are in conflict caused by a lack of understanding of religious moderation. Furthermore, religious moderation by Kompas is explained as a way to foster a good relationship between religious communities. In these two cases, Kompas develops a framing of religious moderation related to inter-religious issues. In conclusion, Kompas inferences that religious moderation is part of religious tolerance in Indonesian society.

Causal Interpretation: Kompas develops the framing that religious-nuanced conflicts arise due to religious understanding is not accompanied by established knowledge of religious moderation. In overall of news, Kompas wants to explain that religion which is not accompanied by an attitude of religious moderation is very risky. Kompas then develops a framing related to the actors who are the cause of religious conflict, i.e., religious communities and the state. People who don't understand religious moderation even though they are religious will easily create a conflict. Kompas is very clear in writing that a country that is currently in conflict is an example that religious moderation has not been carried out. It can be concluded that conflicts over ineffective religious moderation will cause conflict for the state. In the end, this Kompas' viewpoint is very subjective

because conflicts in other countries are only seen based on religious issues without explaining other issues such as economics, politics, etc.

Make Moral Judgment: Kompas doesn't provide in-depth moral values related to problems arising out, especially religious conflicts caused by a lack of understanding of religious moderation. Kompas even commends the principle of religious moderation which has been successfully practiced in Indonesia. According to Kompas, Indonesia can be an example for other countries in applying the principle of religious moderation. Overall, Kompas has not succeeded in providing moral principles that can be used in resolving religious conflicts both in Indonesia and internationally. Instead of wanting to introduce Indonesia as a successful country in building the principle of religious moderation, Kompas is stuck in a non-objective attitude.

Treatment Recommendation: Kompas doesn't provide recommendations for resolving religious conflict problems caused by the lack of religious moderation implementation. Recommendations written by Kampas, for example, religious moderation can be started by building a sense of brotherhood between religious communities, fellow nations, and fellow human beings. In addition, religious moderation should be realized in various concrete actions. Overall, the solution offered by Kompas is not to address the issue of religious conflict but only associated with the implementation of religious moderation. This solution is written very clearly, because since the beginning Kompas explained that there was only one issue, i.e., religious conflict. Kompas doesn't explain other issues in association with the implementation of religious moderation in Indonesia.

If associated with moderate da'wah, the analyzed news will have a correlation that moderate da'wah can prevent the emergence of religious-nuanced conflicts. Currently, in Indonesia, radical da'wah often appears which actually makes Islamic da'wah encounters more and more challenges. The mass media should produce balanced news by describing what actually caused the failure of religious moderation implementation and its association with moderate da'wah narratives. The mass media also needs to provide recommendations on moral values and suggestions for addressing issues regarding religious moderation activities and moderate da'wah. Under these conditions, moderate da'wah can actually be constructed by the mass media through news related to religious moderation.

Kompas Frames: BNPT and Muhammadiyah Strengthened

Religious Moderation

Kompas.com published the news on April 2, 2022, entitled "Rejected Radicalism and Terrorism, BNPT, and Muhammadiyah Agreed to Strengthen Religious Moderation". In summary, the contents of the news explained that the Islamic mass organization Muhammadiyah and BNPT held a meeting in Yogyakarta in an effort to prevent the spread of terrorism and radicalism. Indonesia is a full diversity and moderation country, so it is very appropriate to develop the principle of religious moderation. In addition, religious moderation can be used to protect the younger generation from the spread of radicalism and terrorism. Religious moderation is also appropriate because Indonesia is a witness country (Chaterine & Patnistik, 2022).

Table 3

Kompas Frame: BNPT and Muhammadiyah Strengthened Religious Moderation

Analysis Concept	Description
Problem Identification	Religious moderation can be used to prevent the spread of radicalism and terrorism.
	Religious moderation can be used as a means of protecting the younger generation from being exposed to terrorism and radicalism.
Causal Interpretation	Radical thinking that wants to replace Pancasila ideology with a religious system.
	The problem-causing actors are some people who have radical views.
Make Moral Judgment	Islam is in line with Pancasila because it is the result of the thoughts of Islamic scholars.
	Protecting the younger generation from exposure to radicalism.
	There is no need to replace Pancasila ideology with the religious ideology of Islam.
Treatment Recommendation	Protecting the younger generation from exposure to radicalism.
	There is no need to replace Pancasila ideology with the religious ideology of Islam.

Source: Observation, 2023

Problem Identification: Kompas describes religious moderation with the emergence of radicalism and terrorism. Kompas describes the problem as inconsistent with the title made. The whole series of activities

between Muhammadiyah and BNPT is not explained in all the contents of the news. The strengthening of religious moderation is not even described more clearly. Kompas explains more about the importance of religious moderation in preventing radicalism and terrorism. Kompas then describes that Islam is in line with Pancasila, so, replacing Pancasila ideology with Islamic ideology is no longer needed.

Causal Interpretation: Kompas develops the framing that the problems in Indonesia are caused by the emergence of radical views. Those views want to replace Pancasila ideology with religious ideology. Kompas doesn't explain clearly which religion wants to replace Pancasila ideology. Kompas doesn't mention that the actor causing the problem is a person or group of people but instead refers to a particular religion (i.e., Islam). This framing can then be read in a quote from Boy Rafi Amar who explains that Islam is corresponding with Pancasila. So, replacing Pancasila with a religious system (i.e., Islam) I no longer needed. The framing developed by Kompas can be interpreted that people who have radical views are from the Islamic religion.

Make Moral Judgment: Kompas develops framing by providing moral values that the collaboration between Muhammadiyah and BNPT is very beneficial for strengthening religious moderation. According to Boy Rafi Amar, the collaboration between Islamic organizations and state institutions is very open, so later it can be used to prevent the emergence of radicalism and terrorism. The moral values developed in Kompas's framing (from Haedar Nashir's opinion) furthermore confirm that the narrative of religious moderation is very appropriate to prevent radicalism and terrorism. Overall, it can be concluded that Kompas develops a framing on the importance of religious moderation in maintaining Pancasila as the Indonesian state ideology.

Treatment Recommendation: However, Kompas has not offered a detailed solution to the problem of the emergence of radicalism and terrorism. In conclusion, according to Kompas, replacing Pancasila ideology with a religious ideology of Islam is not necessary. The solution offered by Kompas, for example, is to provide education about the importance of moderation for the younger generation as an effort to prevent the penetration of radicalism. Kompas develops a framing about the importance of maintaining the integrity of Indonesia as a democratic country. Kompas calls for readers to reject religion with radical views to enter the country with the aim of changing the state ideology. Because

Islam is in line with Pancasila, Indonesia is called a witness country.

If associated with the current moderate da'wah, the results of the analysis above shows that radicalism and terrorism have emerged which threaten a diversity of religions in Indonesia. Religious moderation can be a home for moderate da'wah implementation in an effort to prevent the development of radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia today. Moderate da'wah in this case is of course in line with the values included in Pancasila. So, moderate da'wah which simultaneously campaigns for religious moderation must be in line with the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Of course, the mass media plays a role in constructing moderate da'wah news which is in line with the construction of the value of religious moderation, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution.

Kompas Frames: The Vice President Emphasized the Importance of Religious Moderation

Kompas.com published the news on April 1, 2021, entitled "The Vice President Emphasized Religious Moderation to Prevent Extremism and Intolerance". In summary, the content of the news states that the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, Ma'ruf Amin, explained the importance of religious moderation in preventing the emergence of intolerance, extremism, and discriminatory views. Indonesia is a country with many tribes and various religions, so unity must be maintained through tolerance. In addition, according to Jusuf Kalla, religious attitudes that are not accompanied by an understanding of religious moderation will cause many conflicts. The right way to maintain harmony in Indonesia is by practicing religious moderation (Purnamasari & Erdianto, 2021).

Table 4

Kompas Frame: The Vice President Emphasized the Importance of Religious Moderation

Analysis Concept	Description
Problem Identification	Religious moderation is described as a model of religious relations to prevent the development of intolerance, extremism, and discrimination. Religious moderation is also described as a way to maintain the integrity of the Indonesian nation.
Causal Interpretation	Discriminatory, intolerant, and extremist attitudes Different religious viewpoints without an understanding of religious moderation.

Make Moral Judgment	Actors that cause problems are people who have intolerant, discriminatory, and extremist views.
	Communion is the role of creating harmony in the life of the state and nation.
	In essence, religious moderation builds the principle of equality or gives respect to others
Treatment Recommendation	With the Cross-Religious Easter Celebration, religious leaders can participate in efforts to maintain inter-religious harmony.

Source: Observation, 2023

Problem Identification: Kompas describes the issues of religious moderation with the emergence of intolerance, extremism, and discrimination using two figures' viewpoints from the Indonesian Vice President Ma'ruf Amin and the Chairman of the Council of Indonesian Mosques. Based on Ma'ruf Amin's viewpoint, he explained that in Indonesia conflicts frequently occur in the name of religion. This viewpoint is reinforced by Jusuf Kalla that a conflict in the name of religion has occurred in Indonesia. Kompas only uses the viewpoints of these two figures in defining the problems that occur. This idea illustrates that Kompas wants to try to be objective by using two news sources, i.e., from the government and representatives of Muslims.

Causal Interpretation: Kompas uses Ma'ruf Amin's viewpoint to explain that the cause of religious conflict is developed intolerance, extremism, and discrimination. The framing it develops doesn't mention which actor is the cause of the religious conflict. Kompas doesn't mention religion or certain community groups, so this viewpoint becomes subjective. Newsreaders ultimately interpret their own who are the actors considered to have intolerant, extremist, and discriminatory viewpoints. The causes of the problem are then explained using Jusuf Kalla's viewpoint that religious moderation which is not included in different viewpoints of religious moderation will lead to religious-nuanced conflicts. Based on the viewpoints of these two figures, Kompas develops a framing that the cause of religious conflict in Indonesia is due to intolerant, extremist, and discriminatory attitudes.

Make Moral Judgment: All the news themes deliver moral values about the importance of religious moderation in preventing religious-nuanced conflicts. Besides, religious moderation is a significant tool in opposing the emergence of intolerance, discrimination, and extremism. Communion is the role of creating harmony in the life of the state and

nation. In the very plural Indonesian context, it is very important to develop the practice of religious moderation along with the beliefs, practices, and implementation of each religion's teachings. In broader practice, religious moderation is very important in the framework of building a peaceful Indonesia.. In more specific practice, religious moderation can be implemented by establishing relationships between religious adherents.

Treatment Recommendation: Kompas develops framing by offering solutions to problems with the practice of Cross-Religious Easter Celebrations. However, this actually seems to intermingle the celebration of Christianity with other religions. For Muslim news readers (e.g., researchers) this offer even raises a new problem called religious syncretism. Supposedly, Kompas offers a solution of mutual respect for religious people who celebrate their religious holidays. Kompas can also offer a solution, for example, other people (especially Muslims) will take part in protecting and guaranteeing the safety of Christians who perform Easter celebrations. The offer to solve this problem is very biased because it only uses one figure's point of view, i.e., Ma'ruf Amin.

The analyzed news above can be associated with the importance of moderate da'wah to prevent the development of intolerance, extremism, and discriminatory views. According to Ma'ruf Amin (in the news above), the cause of religious conflict in Indonesia is because of the views of intolerance, extremism, and discrimination. Thus, to prevent this from continuing to happen, it is necessary to have moderate da'wah which plays a role in preventing the development of these intolerance views. Moderate da'wah is highly needed in an effort to build a plural Indonesian nation. If moderate da'wah fails to be implemented then this will have a negative impact on diversity in Indonesia. Muslims as the majority of religious people in Indonesia can participate in efforts to perform moderate da'wah. This effort of moderate da'wah can also be performed using various mass media by constructing news having the value of religious moderation and moderate da'wah narratives.

Media Indonesia Frames: Indonesia Became an Example of Religious Tolerance in the World

Media Indonesia published news on August 4, 2019, entitled "Indonesia Became an Example of Religious Tolerance in the World." In summary, the news content uses information from Jusuf Kalla explaining that as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world and with various

religions, Indonesia is an example for the world in implementing tolerance. Besides, some countries in the Middle East that are currently in conflict can imitate the practice of religious moderation in Indonesia. So, the practice of religious moderation for both Indonesia and Middle Eastern countries can use the Islamic boarding school education model that builds a moderate vision and mission (Chairullah, 2019).

Table 5

Media Indonesia Frames: Indonesia Became an Example of Religious Tolerance in the World

Analysis Concept	Description
Problem Identification	The collapse in many Middle Eastern countries. Sending students was stopped, especially in several Middle Eastern countries.
Causal Interpretation	Countries in the Middle East have not been able to become examples of the application of *Wasathiyah* Islam The actor causing the problem is the Middle East country
Make Moral Judgment	Indonesia becomes an example of tolerance for other countries, especially the Middle East Indonesia adheres to a moderate *wasathiyah* state system
Treatment Recommendation	Indonesia is important to build Islamic-based schools or Islamic boarding schools teaching the concept of moderation. Sending students to study in the Middle East is stopped

Source: Observation, 2023

Problem Identification: Media Indonesia develops framing using one resource person, i.e., Jusuf Kalla. Religious moderation is then described as related to the collapse in many Middle Eastern countries. The conflicts that occur in the Middle East are instead caused by the practice of religious moderation and tolerance in those Middle Eastern countries. Besides, Media Indonesia develops a framing that Indonesia should stop sending students to study in the Middle East (Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Iraq, and Yemen). In conclusion, Media Indonesia sees the problems of other countries in the context of religious moderation. Media Indonesia doesn't discuss other issues such as economics and politics. Media Indonesia doesn't develop problems that occur in the Middle East with other approaches, for example, economics and politics.

Causal Interpretation: Media Indonesia uses Jusuf Kalla's

viewpoints in developing the framing that causes the problem, i.e., the implementation of Moderate Islam (*wasathiyah*) which has not been practiced either in Indonesia or in the Middle East. Countries in the Middle East have not been able to become examples of the implementation of *Wasathiyah* Islam. Not all countries in the Middle East are considered actors causing problems by Media Indonesia. Some Middle Eastern countries that are considered trouble-making actors are Afghanistan, Syria, Libya, Iraq, and Yemen). Several countries in the Middle East are considered to be the cause of the problem because they fail to become an example in implementing Moderate Islam. The impact that occurs is that some of these countries have collapsed to this day. Media Indonesia doesn't use narratives from other sources to explain the causes of the problem and which actors are the cause of the current problem.

Make Moral Judgment: Media Indonesia builds framing by providing moral values in two manners, i.e., in the Indonesian frame and the importance of moderate religion for countries in the Middle East that are currently in conflict. First, Indonesia is a plural nation, so it can be an example of implementing Moderate religion in Indonesia. Indonesia with a Muslim majority country can in fact accept religious diversity. Thus, for the Indonesian people, a very important factor in creating unity is to practice moderate diversity (or *Wasathiyah*). In this case, Media Indonesia wants to explain that the religion that plays a role in developing moderate diversity is Islam and all other religions in Indonesia.

Treatment Recommendation: Media Indonesia offers solutions to problems by not looking at the economic and political context but seeing the importance of education. The solution offered is by building and developing Islamic education which is characteristic of Indonesia, i.e., Islamic boarding schools. So, the way that can be conducted to create unity in Indonesia is by building Islamic education and Islamic boarding schools with a Moderate vision and mission. Indonesia is important to build Islamic-based schools or Islamic boarding schools teaching the concept of moderation. At the level of international relations, the problem offered is to stop sending students to study in the Middle East.

Based on the analysis of the news above, it can be associated with religious conditions either nationally or internationally (especially in countries where the majority are Muslim). Currently, the Middle East majority country is encountering a prolonged conflict. This is a negative image of the existence of a Muslim country and the Islamic religion itself.

In contrast to Indonesia today where there are no conflicts like in other Middle Eastern countries. As a Muslim-majority country, Indonesia can play a role in preventing conflict by implementing religious moderation practices and moderate da'wah narratives. By continuing to campaign for religious moderation and moderate da'wah narratives, Indonesia will become a tolerant country free from religious-nuanced conflicts.

Media Indonesia Frames: BNPT and Muhammadiyah Strengthened Religious Moderation

Media Indonesia published the news on April 2, 2022, entitled "BNPT Collaborated with Muhammadiyah to Strengthen Religious Moderation". In summary, the contents of the news explain that religious moderation is highly needed as an effort to block the development of radicalism that has entered Indonesia. BNPT in the context of implementing religious moderation requests support from all levels of Muhammadiyah leadership. Besides, religious moderation also serves to protect the younger generation from exposure to radical religious views that want to replace state ideology with religious ideology (Prabowo, 2022).

Table 6

Kompas Frame: BNPT and Muhammadiyah Strengthened Religious Moderation

Analysis Concept	Description
Problem Identification	The younger generation is the target of terrorism and radical propaganda
	Strengthening religious moderation still requires support from various parties
Causal Interpretation	The cause of the problem is the spread of terrorism and radicalism
	The cause of the problem is the radical views that want to replace the state system with a religious system
	The problem-causing actors are people with radicalism and theorist views
Make Moral Judgment	Religious moderation is very appropriate in blocking radicalism and terrorism.
	Indonesia is a country with a moderate system.
	The radical thinking that wants to replace the state system is the biggest mistake
	Pancasila is already in line with Islam

Treatment Recommendation	Cooperation in strengthening religious moderation between BNPT and Muhammadiyah.
	BNPT receives input on religious moderation from Muhammadiyah.
	The younger generation must be protected from exposure to radicalism and terrorism.

Source: Observation, 2023

Problem Identification: Media Indonesia describes the problem of religious moderation and the emergence of terrorist radicalism using the viewpoints of two figures, namely the Head of BNPT Komjen Boy Rafly Amar and Muhammadiyah Central Executive Haedar Nashir. According to Boy Rafi Amar, extremist and terrorist ideas are emerging in Indonesia. The BNPT cannot address the issues of extremism and terrorism, so it needs support from various parties, for example, Muhammadiyah Islamic mass organization. Based on Haedar Nashir's viewpoints, Media Indonesia describes the issue of religious moderation in association with efforts of replacing the state system with religion. The emergence of these radical ideas then targets various circles of Indonesia's younger generation.

Causal Interpretation: Media Indonesia uses Boy Rafly Amar's viewpoints to explain that the cause of problems in Indonesia is the spread of terrorism, radicalism, and terrorism views. Created framing doesn't mention radicalism or theorist from a religious perspective (e.g., Islam). The next cause of the problem is radical propaganda targeting the younger generation. Media Indonesia doesn't clearly write down the actors as the cause of the problem of radicalism and terrorism emergence in Indonesia. Media Indonesia only sees the actors as the cause of the problem from the side of views, not people or related to any religion. The framing developed later emphasizes that Islam is already in line with Pancasila, so replacing the state system with a religious system is no longer needed.

Make Moral Judgment: In developing religious moderation framing, Media Indonesia has provided some moral values. According to Media Indonesia, religious moderation is an appropriate model of diversity for blocking the emergence of radicalism and terrorism. This is asserted that Indonesia is a large country that genealogically it uses a moderate state system. Thus, radicalism and terror must be prevented because they are not corresponding to the Indonesian state system. In its history, Islam and Pancasila are two terms that are in line with and complement each other. The most important moral value is that Indonesia is a moderate Pancasila state.

Treatment Recommendation: Media Indonesia develops framing by providing recommendations for addressing issues in several ways that BNPT and Muhammadiyah really need to increase collaboration in countering the development of radicalism and terrorism emergence. The BNPT even explains that it really needs the input of the ulemas, especially from Muhammadiyah, in efforts of implement the practice of religious moderation. Besides, there must be clear efforts to prevent the emergence of extremism and terrorism propaganda that affects the way of the younger generation's minds.. In the end, Indonesia is a moderate country, so replacing the Pancasila state system with a religious state system is no longer needed.

Based on the foregoing results of analysis, it can be associated with the moderate da'wah which is currently performed in Indonesia. The government, in cooperation with the BNPT, has made various efforts to prevent the development of intolerant, extremist, and radical ideas. However, the efforts of these two institutions are not adequate, so they still need support from various parties, especially Islamic organizations in Indonesia (e.g., Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulema). The two largest Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia have played a role in campaigning for moderate da'wah (Muhammadiyah uses the term progressive Islam) and (NU uses the term Islam Nusantara). Moderate da'wah will be successful if it is not only implemented individually, but it requires collaboration between the community, Islamic organizations, and the Indonesian government. Of course, the role of the mass media in constructing news about religious moderation and moderate da'wah narratives should not be forgotten.

Media Indonesia Frames: The Vice President and Inter-Religious Harmony in Easter Celebrations

Media Indonesia published the news on April 1, 2021, entitled "Easter, Vice President Hoped Religious Leaders Maintained Inter-religious Harmony." In summary, the contents of the news explain that based on the explanation by Indonesian Vice President Ma'ruf Amin, brotherhood and harmony serve as the basis for building the unity of the Indonesian nation as a plural nation. Disintegration will easily occur if harmony and unity are not maintained properly. The founders of the Indonesian nation actually practiced religious moderation in various ways, so the unity of the Indonesian nation is still maintained. The model used by the nation's

founders is the theological frame, political frame, sociological frame, and juridical frame (Astuti, 2021).

Table 7

Kompas Frame: The Vice President and Inter-Religious Harmony in Easter Celebrations

Analysis Concept	Description
Problem Identification	Potential disintegration in Indonesia. Welfare and development of the people of Papua have not been realized properly.
Causal Interpretation	A non-maintained proper harmony. The development and welfare of the people of Papua have not been realized properly. Not explained the actor causing the problem.
Make Moral Judgment	Brotherhood and harmony are the values of realizing unity in Indonesia. The integrity of the Indonesian nation can be realized by implementing religious moderation. Easter celebrations can provide inspiration and motivation for all people to continue promoting unity through peaceful means.
Treatment Recommendation	All Indonesian people must maintain and realize the religious agreements built by the founding fathers of the nation through theological, political, sociological, and juridical frameworks. The role of the church association in Papua Land and FKUB can be continuously increased. In particular, for the development and improvement of people's welfare in Papua

Source: Observation. 2023

Problem Identification: Media Indonesia develops framing in describing the problem using only one narration of source, i.e., the Indonesian Vice President Ma'ruf Amin. The problem is then described regarding the potential for disintegration in Indonesia. Media Indonesia is not trying to develop framing to see other issues. If read in-depth, the framing developed is by looking at religious harmony in association with religious moderation. Although in this news, Media Indonesia doesn't discuss religious moderation in depth. The next description of the issues is the development and welfare of the people of Papua which has not been realized properly. Development in Papua is constructed by looking at its linkage with the implementation of religious moderation.

Causal Interpretation: Media Indonesia uses the viewpoints of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia which is not developing the framing of the problem causes in detail. The causes of the problems described are for example, about a non-maintained proper harmony. Media Indonesia doesn't actually develop a framing on the importance of maintaining religious harmony which is associated with religious moderation. Another cause of the problems constructed by Media Indonesia is the development and the welfare of people in Papua which are still lagging behind. Media Indonesia has not yet explained who is the actor causing the problems in those two issues. Created framing tries to construct the problem only and not on a particular person or group. It can be concluded that Media Indonesia is trying to develop framing with an approach of religious harmony and moderation.

Make Moral Judgment: Media Indonesia develops framing by giving more dominant moral values related to the implementation of religious moderation. Brotherhood and harmony are the values of realizing unity in Indonesia. Constructed moral values, for example, the implementation of Indonesian national unity can be realized by good religious moderation practices. Thus, the most important main foundation is religious moderation and not other issues such as economics and politics. Furthermore, the moral values constructed by Media Indonesia are through the implementation of religious holidays, for example, Easter celebrations. The celebration of this religious holiday is an inspiration for the people (especially in Papua) in realizing development and prosperity independently. The Easter celebration contains important moral values in the effort to build Indonesian unity through peaceful means.

Treatment Recommendation: Media Indonesia develops framing by inviting all Indonesian people to exercise their obligations to maintain and realize the religious agreements built by the nation's founders through theological, political, sociological, and juridical frameworks. Through a theological frame, i.e., by always prioritizing and developing an attitude of moderation in religion and cultivating an understanding of the theology of harmony, not the theology of conflict. Through a political frame, i.e., by always prioritizing the four national consensuses. Among them, include Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity). In a sociological frame, i.e., by prioritizing a cultural approach and local wisdom. As well as wise in social interactions. Using a juridical frame, i.e., by always obeying

and complying with all applicable laws and regulations. The momentum of the cross-religious Easter celebration can be a forum to strengthen inter-religious harmony. At a practical level, Media Indonesia calls for the role of the church association in Papua Land, and FKUB can continue to be increased. In particular, for the development and improvement of people's welfare in Papua.

The foregoing analyzed news can be associated with moderate da'wah practices that need to be implemented in Indonesia. Religious moderation and moderate da'wah need to be implemented in the framework of respecting the existence of other religious celebrations (in this news is Easter Holiday). Religious moderation and moderate da'wah are practiced in the interest of maintaining and realizing the religious agreements established by the founders of the nation through theological, political, sociological, and juridical frameworks. Through a theological frame, i.e., by always prioritizing and developing an attitude of moderation in religion and cultivating an understanding of the theology of harmony, not theology of conflict. Moderate da'wah also applies in this manner, i.e., by building an understanding of the theology of harmony, not the theology of conflict. Moderate da'wah is an effort to build the Indonesian nation in line with the 1945 Constitution and the noble values of Pancasila.

Spreading Moderate Da'wah Through Mass Media

The religious moderation established by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia is still being debated. Of course, there are still some groups or thinkers questioning the terminology and function of religious moderation. In fact, several groups are of the view that religious moderation (e.g., Islam) is a continuation of religious liberalization. However, the view that religious moderation is a new form of religious liberalization has been refuted, for example, by Amany, Lubis (2019, 2021a) the Chancellor of UIN Jakarta, who firmly explains that religious moderation and not moderation of a religion. Religious moderation is a just attitude that doesn't follow one pole which is currently growing, i.e., radicalism. Because of elaborating ideas, Sarbini (2017), religion actually in modern society has a moderate function, for example, building the value of rationality.

According to the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia KH. Ma'ruf Amin that religious moderation is a middle way due to the emergence of two poles, i.e., radicalism and liberalism (Kementerian

Agama RI, 2021). In line with the view that Massoweang (2021) religious moderation is a just religious attitude because it is neither extreme right (very liberal) nor extreme left (radical). Arif (2020, 2021) asserts that the attitude of religious moderation is the best religious attitude because it prioritizes justice and proportionality and is neither radical nor libertarian. Based on these viewpoints, it can be concluded that religious moderation is not the same as moderation of a religion. Religious moderation is an attitude in the association between fellow religious people and not a religious attitude in a mere theological sense (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019b: 15-16).

Lubis (2019) explaining that religious moderation is an approach used to counteract various radialist movements that are growing in this world. Religious moderation is an effort to build various values of tolerance, balance, justice, mutual assistance, and prioritizing deliberation in religious and social life to realize Islam *rahmatan li al-'alamin.* Lubis (2021a) asserts that religious moderation is a fundamental pillar for the success of the development process and national cohesion and harmony. Zulkifli (2021: 279) builds a formulation of religious moderation based on a holistic cultural anthropology approach. Zulkifli (2021) proposes the idea of religious moderation as the personality of the Indonesian nation using enculturation, socialization, and internalization strategies. However, the attitude of religious moderation in state Islamic universities in Indonesia still needs to be improved. Because religious moderation, and religious tolerance of PTKIN students in Indonesia are still moderate in general (Zulkifli & Sa'diyah, 2020: 80).

The Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia then proposes several indicators of religious moderation although they could still be constructed in line with the condition of religion in Indonesia. The indicators of religious moderation built by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia are national commitment, tolerance, non-violence, and acceptance of local culture/traditions (Kementerian Agama RI, 2019a: 42). Nationality commitment is an attitude of accepting the nation's principles contained in the1945 Constitution and the implementing regulations. Tolerance is respecting differences and giving other people space for beliefs, expressing their beliefs, and conveying opinions or respecting equality and being willing to cooperate. Non-violence means to reject the actions of a person or certain group using violent ways, either physically or verbally, in bearing the desired change. Acceptance of

tradition means being friendly in accepting local traditions and culture in their religious behavior, provided that they do not conflict with the main teachings of religion (Kementerian Agama RI, 2020).

The indicators of foregoing religious moderation as texts can certainly be developed by scholars. The development of this indicator proves that religious moderation runs dynamically according to the religious conditions of society. Husna and Thahir propose three indicators of religious moderation in schools, namely *tawassuth* (middle), *ta'adul* (fair), and the principle of *tawazun* (balanced) to build a moderate situation, create peaceful, advanced schools, and form a generation with moderate viewpoints (Husna & Thohir, 2020: 199).

In other terms, Arifinsyah et al (2020) view the need for building religious moderation to prevent the development of radicalism. Arifinsyah et al (2020) based on a literature review proposes indicators of religious moderation, i.e., hospitality and compassion, upholding human dignity, and living a life based on religion, morals, and universal ethics. Ali builds and conducts research on student behavior using indicators of tolerance, commitment to nationality, rejecting violence, and being accommodating to local culture. The indicators used by Ali (2020) are the same as the indicators of religious moderation developed by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia.

The above discourse is proof that religious moderation is a text with a subjective meaning. Despite the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia has proposed indicators of religious moderation, it has experienced debate in practice. Religious indicators are sometimes interpreted in various contexts by some thinkers or scholars. The idea of Zulkifli (2021b) about strengthening religious moderation by uniting Islam with traditional culture still needs to be further developed. In this context, traditional culture in Indonesia is very diverse in number and form. Of course, the application of religious moderation must adapt to the traditional cultural context of each place in Indonesia. In implementation in society, although most accept it, there are still some who have not accepted it. This becomes proof that Indonesian society is a plural society. This plural society with various ethnic, religious, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds can understand the concept of religious moderation in their own way (Prihatiningtyas et al., 2021).

Religious moderation then becomes a home for moderate da'wah activities in Indonesia today. Moderate da'wah is an effort to provide

religious opportunities for people of other religions that are different from Islam. Of course, this doesn't apply to what is called religious syncretism between Islam and other religions. Religious moderation and moderate da'wah are meant at the social, cultural, economic, and political levels. Issues of each other's beliefs cannot be interfered with or mixed up. Moderate da'wah is performed in social and other activities. Muslims da'wah in moderation cannot force their beliefs on people of other religions. On the other hand, other people also cannot force their beliefs on Muslims, because they already believe that Islam is the religion that they think is the most correct.

The moderate da'wah performed is inviting to various social and humanitarian activities. Inter-religious people help each other in social activities, etc. For example, Muslims will respect and keep other people who are performing their religious holidays. Muslims also cannot prohibit other adherents from building their places of worship with the condition that all matters regarding establishment permits, etc. have been obtained from the government. On the other hand, Muslims who live in non-Muslim areas are permitted to worship and build places of worship (mosques) provided that they have obtained permission from the local government. In the end, all matters relating to the implementation of religious worship or beliefs must not violate the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila.

In addition to the foregoing explanation, religious moderation and moderate da'wah are activities that must also be conducted by the mass media. Currently, with the presence of the Internet, many online news media have developed, this condition makes it easy for the public to get news related to religious moderation and moderate da'wah. The mass media can construct their ideology which is in line with the values of religious moderation and moderate da'wah. Even though in the end, news interpretation is returned to each newsreader, at least the mass media has played a role in campaigning for religious moderation and moderate da'wah.

CONCLUSION

Kompas sees (*problem identification*) religious moderation issues as related to the emergence of, for example, radicalism, extremism, and intolerance. The cause of problem (*causal interpretation*) by Kompas.com is that they are religious people who do not implement the practice of religious

moderation in Indonesia. The actor who is the cause of the problem by Kompas is called a radical person and wants to replace Pancasila ideology with other ideologies. The construction of a moderate ideology built by Kompas, for example, by writing moral values (*making moral judgment*) that all issues of radicalism, intolerance, and extremism can be resolved by practicing religious moderation in Indonesia. Kompas offers a solution to the problem of religious moderation by building unity among religious communities and protecting the younger generation from the influence of radicalism.

Media Indonesia looks at problems (*problem identification*) by looking at problems internationally and nationally. The problems that occur, for example, the collapse of several countries in the Middle East. Meanwhile, the national problem is the development and welfare of the people of Papua which have not been realized properly. The cause of the problem (*causal interpretation*) for Media Indonesia is caused by the failure to apply the principle of religious moderation in the Middle East and Indonesia. Thus, as a whole the moral values (*making moral judgment*) provided by Media Indonesia, for example, religious moderation play a role in counteracting the development of radicalism. In addition, religious moderation is very important in preventing the emergence of certain groups who wish to replace Pancasila ideology with religious ideology. In the end, the solution to the problem (*treatment recommendation*) offered by Media Indonesia, for example, is building Islamic education and Islamic boarding schools that teach moderate religions, revising for students studying in the Middle East, and celebrating cross-religious holidays.

Based on all of the foregoing conclusions, Kompas and Media Indonesia construct an ideology in religious moderation news which is associated with issues of tolerance, radicalism, nationality, etc. These two national media construct the ideology that religious moderation is an important entity in protecting Indonesia from other ideologies that want to replace Pancasila as an ideology. These two national media eventually construct religious moderation news using a moderate national ideology. This national moderate ideology is the antithesis of the religious moderation ideology which is frequently considered to replace Pancasila ideology with religious ideology. These two national media construct news ideologies based on ongoing cases. Thus, the ideological construction of the two national media can change according to the ongoing cases.

With respect to the narrative of moderate da'wah, the two national

media support moderate da'wah activities. These two national media construct ideologically related news to prevent the emergence of intolerant, radical, and extremist views. Despite the written message is associated with moderate national ideology, this means that moderate da'wah can be performed in line with nationalism in Indonesia. The implication is that these two national online mass media need to continue to produce news campaigning for religious moderation and moderate da'wah. News construction related to religious moderation and moderate da'wah needs to be conducted to help prevent the emergence of intolerant, radical, extremist, and liberal views.

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