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Riots in Indonesian Main Island: Peace Action of Defend Islam Impact on Economic Environment in Local Media Discourse

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Abstract: Indonesia is a maritime country with the largest numbers of islands in the world which covering more than seventeen thousands islands. There are thousand tribes and ethnics with their cultures suppose to be enriching the diversity of Indonesia. However a series of riots happening in Indonesia including *Aksi Bela Islam (ABI)* recently challenging the *unity in diversity* of Indonesia. This present study tries to describe *Aksi Bela Islam (ABI)* (The Peace Action of Defend Islam) rally that run peacefully brings impacts on Indonesia economic sector as stable social and political condition will bring significant impact on Indonesia economic sector. The rally is a long journey of Indonesia of Muslim majority to seek justice as the Republic of Indonesia State Police seems not to be serious to handle the Islamic blasphemy case. Through the framing approach, it will be described how ABI brings impacts on the economic sector focusing on the study on the media perspectives. From the perspective of one leading economic magazines in Indonesia *Bisnis Indonesia*. The framing from the media evidently showed that the rally followed by millions of Indonesian Muslims does not bring negative impacts on the economic sector of Indonesia since it run peacefully, well manage and safe so the market gives a positive response and appreciation to the action.

Keyword: Media Discourse, Indonesian Economic and Islamic Movement

1. Introduction

It is interesting to read an article tulisan “*MUI, Gerakan Islamis, dan Umat Mengambang*” (MUI: the Indonesian Ulama Council), the Islamist Movement and Swing Muslims’ by Nur Ichwan (2016) regarding the different perspective on the Peace Action of Defend Islam that takes place as an attempt to demand justice by the majority of Muslims of Indonesia. In his presentation, Nur Ichwan explained that by the end of 2016, Indonesia was slanted by *Aksi Bela Islam (henceforth: ABI)* rallies carried out on October 14, 2016, November 4 and December 2 - the two latter rallies are known as the ‘411’ and ‘212’ Actions. These actions were triggered by the statement of the Governor of Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (a.k.a: Ahok), in Kepulauan Seribu on September 27, 2016 that is convicted of blaspheming against the Koran, the Ulama and even Muslims around the world. The proponents of these rallies demand that Ahok be immediately arrested and imprisoned.



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The rallies were followed by various elements of Muslim society mobilized from various regions in Indonesia. Some estimated that the number of Muslim taking a part in these rallies was approximately seven million. However, based on the mathematical calculations on Google map, it is estimated the number was lower reaching about 2.3 million. Whatever the exact number is, there has been no protest of Indonesian Muslims involving a very huge number of participants so far.

The actions were taken along with the high tension of Jakarta gubernatorial election campaign of 2017, followed by three candidates and their running mates, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono-Sylviana Murni, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok)-Djarot Saiful Hidayat, and Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno. The first and the third candidates and their running mates are all Muslims, while the second candidate and his running mate are non-Muslim and Muslim. The second candidate, the incumbent had stirred up a controversy after Joko Widodo was elected as the president of Indonesia and Ahok, previously deputy governor substituted Joko Widodo as the governor. From the start, even since Joko Widodo-Ahok won in the election, the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) had become the opposition and taken the resistance movement.

When Ahok started to place his gubernatorial position, FPI appointed KH. Fakhurrozi Ishaq a shadow governor, Ahok is known for his uncompromising style of leadership and his frank style of speech. Some of his policies are considered controversial. In one of his speeches, he said that he would dismiss FPI. The speech made FPI that claims the movement of '*nahi mungkar*' (abandon bad ones) increasingly inflamed. Anti-non-Muslim and anti-Chinese sentiments are echoed through various forums and media. The peak of the controversy was that when the non-Muslim Chinese figure commented on '*dibohongi pakai al-Maidah 51*' (lied with al-Maidah 51) that is assumed to be edited by Buni Yani with "lied with al-Maidah 51" on his Facebook wall on October 6, 2016 (Nur Ichawan 2016). Nur Ichwan (2016) affirmed clearly that all the boisterous movement of ABI started from there. Islamist movements were then mobilized maximizing networking and social media usage and cyber army by framing the 'blasphemy' against the Koran and an insult to Ulama and Muslims. The anti-non-Muslim and anti-Chinese were combined with the political agenda of gubernatorial election of DKI Jakarta. Under such circumstances, "religious opinions and attitudes" emerged, which were then popularized as 'fatwa' (order) issued by MUI. The council assured that Ahok did commit blasphemy against the Koran, Ulama and Muslims. Ahok-Rizieq hostility then found its momentum to be blown up as Ahok-Muslim hostility, and even hostility between Christian (religious mission) and Chinese (business, even in certain cases between Chinese communism versus Muslim. The blown hostility was successfully used to convince a huge number of Muslims to participate in the rally of ABI 1, 2 and 3.

Businessmen, of course, require peaceful and stable political atmosphere as a guarantee for them to invest. In the writer's point of view, the super peaceful action of ABI certainly brings an impact on the economic development of Indonesia nowadays regardless whether the impact is significant or not. The impact can be seen from the way entrepreneurs to respond the ABI actions in Indonesia, such as (1). Before ABI run, a lot of businessmen went abroad. (2). Investors postponed investing their capitals in Indonesia (3) Businessmen strongly rejects the rallies resulted in unfavorable business atmosphere and made economic activity hampered. From the perspective of Culture and Media Studies, the phenomenon of ABI rallies is certainly interesting to be studied, especially on how the mass media in Indonesia do the construction on informing of the demand of the majority of the Muslims. Considering the politics and economy of the media, the owners of the media, of course, believed that this case is different and the way to reconstruct it is different too. The above fact raised a research question: *What are the impacts of the Peace Actions of Defend Islam on the Indonesian economic sector from the mass media perspective?*. From the research question, the purpose of this study is designed. The purpose of this study is to find out patterns of mass media framing about the Impact of the Peace Actions of Defend Islam on the Indonesian Economic Sector.

2. Methodology

There are a number of studies that seek to examine the relationship between the growth of Islamic movement in post-reform Indonesia and the political-economical condition that surrounds it. Hadiz (2014) argues that the post-reformist Islamic movement in Indonesia is characterized by the expansion of the social base of the movements. The Islamic movement that is often supported by the merchant class, little bourgeoisie, or educated middle class is now supported by a large alliance deriving from cross-class.

Further, the Islamic movement, in this case, uses the rhetoric of the Muslims to influence and to change the existing political-economic condition in such a way that resources can flow more for the movement. Meanwhile, in his study of the Islamic vigilantism group in Jakarta, Wilson (2011) argues that along with the fall of Suharto, the political elite approached the vigilantism groups in order to gain support, especially from conservative Muslims. It made the vigilantism groups no longer merely a client of the political elite as they experienced during the New Order. The vigilantism groups grew to be an established actor in the Indonesian political arena and their existence is required by the political elite to keep their power stable. At this point, the rhetoric of Islamic morality is present to legitimize the existence of the vigilantism groups in the political arena. At this point, the vigilantism groups have freedom to channel resources for themselves as well as the group they represent.

Rizky Alif Alvian affirmed that the strengthening of Islamic narrative in the political arena of Indonesia reflects not only efforts to change the distribution of resources within society but also the fragility of pluralism issue where economical gap and uncertainty grow in society. The inability of the narrative of pluralism to integrate the difficulties of community life into its systematic explanation of the world created so-called *Laclau and Mouffe* as a 'dislocation'. At this point, if a gap between the daily experience of society and the narrative that seeks to confine the experience, other narratives can penetrate and fill the gap left by the narrative of pluralism. The right-wing populism primarily supported by Front *Pembela Islam* (FPI) (Islamic Defenders Front), *Gerakan Nasional Pengawal Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (GNPF-MUI) (National Movement of the Fatwa Guards of the Indonesian Ulama Council), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and other elements of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah gain a lot of support and the climax was in ABI because the promotion to defend Islam was strongly echoed at the moment. The existence of the right-wing populism, therefore, is not merely instrumental to the interests of the group that carries it. The strengthening of Defend Islam issue also enabled a transformation process that preceded it. ABI provided means for community to voice their unrest while at the same time the right-wing populism tried to understand the daily experiences of the community.

Robert N. Entman is one of the experts who laid the groundwork for framing analysis for media content studies. The concept of framing is written in an article for the Journal of Political Communication and other journals that implanted the concept in a media case study. The concept of framing by Entman is used to describe the selection process and to highlight certain aspects of reality by the media (Eriyanto, 2001). In Entman's point of view, media framing is implemented in four stages. The first stage is Defining Problems. This stage is the master frame / the most important frame. The second stage is Diagnosing causes (estimates the cause of the problem). It is a framing element used to frame who is considered an actor of an event. The cause here can refer to what, but may refer to who. The third stage is Making moral judgment (making moral choice). Framing Element is used to justify / to argue the definition of problems that have been made. The fourth stage is Treatment recommendation (Emphasizing problem solving).

Therefore this descriptive qualitative study used the framework inline with the constructivist paradigm proposed by Schwandt, 1994: 128. Therefore this study considers that there is no objective reality, because reality is created through a certain construction process and view. This study aims to

describe and summarize various conditions, situations or various phenomena of social reality that exist in the society that became the object of research, and attempt to pull that reality to the surface as a characteristic, character, model, sign or picture of condition, certain situation or phenomenon. Thus, the qualitative descriptive format is more appropriate when it is used to examine problems that require in-depth study such as the study of consumer behavior, media effects, and implementation of a policy (Bungin, 2008: 28-29), namely by using sentences that correspond to theories contained in the presentation of data.

Table 1.
Research Unit (*Bisnis Indonesia*)

No	Edition	Headline
1	5 Nov. 2016	<i>Jakarta Terkendali</i> (Jakarta under Control)
2	3 Dec. 2016	<i>Damai Tertib Aman</i> (Rallies are Peaceful)

3. Findings and Discussion

How the Peaceful Actions of Defend Islam as an attempt to seek justice for the majority of Indonesian Muslims on the blasphemy against the religion by the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Ahok bring impacts on the economic sector in the media frame. In the discussion, the framing will be analyzed based on Robert N Enman model which represented by the headline.

3.1 The Headlines

The Peaceful Action of Defend Islam held on November 4, 2016, went so peaceful that it did not bring negative impact on economic sector of Indonesia is *defining problem* of *Bisnis Indonesia* headline, “*Jakarta Terkendali*” (Jakarta under Control), Saturday, November 5, 2016 Edition. Even, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo expressed to the community leaders, the Ulama who coordinated their people and control the action so that it ended peacefully. The factual text is written:

Presiden Joko Widodo menghargai aksi unjuk rasa yang tertib dan damai. Kepala Negara juga menyampaikan terimakasih kepada tokoh dan ulama yang memimpin ummatnya mengawal aksi unjuk rasa sampai maghrib bisa berlangsung tertib dan damai (*Bisnis Indonesia*, ***Jakarta Terkendali***. Edisi, 5 November 2016, Hal. 1)

(President Joko Widodo appreciated the peaceful and orderly rally. The President also expressed his gratitude to the prominent figures and Ulama who coordinated their people in controlling the rally until the maghrib that can run orderly and peacefully (*Bisnis Indonesia*, Jakarta under Control. Edition, 5 November 2016, p.1)

The Peaceful Action of Defend Islam (ABI) is framed by the media on two stressing points that basically do not bring negatively impact on economic sector of Indonesia: *Firstly*, that the Peace Action of Defend Islam (ABI) that run in Jakarta is positively responded by market makers and businessmen. Secondly, ABI that run peacefully became an indicator of the maturation of the democracy in Indonesia. The two factors mentioned above are *diagnose course* of the headline. The fact is written as in the following:

Para Pelaku Pasar dan kalangan usaha merespons positif demo yang berjalan damai dan disebut mencerminkan semakin matangnya iklim demokrasi di tanah air" (Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta Terkendali**. Edisi, 5 November 2016, Hal. 1)

(Market markers and businessmen respond the peaceful rally positively and the rally reflects that democracy in Indonesia is getting better and better (Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta under Control**. 5 November 2016 Edition, p.1)

The Chairman of Kamar Dagang dan Industri (Kadin) (the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of DKI Jakarta, Salman Simanjorang appreciated and strongly affirmed that this is a strong signal for potential investors and economic actors not to hesitate to invest in Indonesia. The fact is written as in the following:

Ini membuktikan kita sudah dewasa dalam berdemokrasi dan menghormati perbedaan yang ada. Ini juga sinyal yang kuat bagi calon investor dan pelaku ekonomi untuk tidak ragu menanamkan modalnya di Indonesia (Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta Terkendali**. Edisi, 5 November 2016, Hal. 1).

(This proves that we have grown up in democracy and respect the diversity. This is also a strong signal for potential investors and economic actors not to hesitate to invest their capital in Indonesia (Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta under Control**. 5 November 2016 Edition, Page 1)

That ABI does not affect the decline of Indonesian economy can be seen from various perspectives. Fundamentally, it can be seen when ABI run, Composite Stock Price Index (IHSG) and Rupiah currency strengthened on the day despite weakening in the morning session. It certainly makes moral judgment of the 'Jakarta under Control' headline. The fact is written as in the following:

Dari pelaku pasar keuangan, pada sesi perdagangan kemarin, Indeks Harga Saham Gabungan (IHSG) dan mata Uang Rupiah kompak menguat setelah dibuka melemah pada sesi perdagangan pagi. IHSG ditutup menguat 0,62% atau 33,16 poin menuju 5.362,66. Indeks berhasil bergerak dalam rentang 5.303,36 – 5.362,66 dan berbalik menhijau pada sesi II setelah dibekukan melemah pada posisi 5.310,78 (Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta Terkendali**. Edisi 5 November 2016, Hal. 1).

(From the financial market markers, at the previous day trading session, both the Composite Stock Price Index (IHSG) and Rupiah currency strengthened after opening weakened in morning trading session. IHSG closed up 0.62% or 33.16 points to 5,362.66. The index moved within the range of 5,303.36 - 5,362.66 and turned in session II after it was recorded weakened to 5,310.78 (Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta under Control**. 5 November 2016 Edition, Page 1).

Meanwhile, the treatment recommendation is that the Republic of Indonesia State Police will investigate the allegation of blasphemy against Islam in which the reported doer is the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. The fact is written as in the following:

*Sebelumnya, Polri menyatakan akan mengusut dugaan penistaan agama dengan terlapor Gubernur DKI non aktif Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. Bareskrim Polri telah mengagendakan pemeriksaan Ahok pada Senin (7/11) dan mempersilahkan Ahok menghadirkan saksi lain (Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta Terkendali**. Edisi, 5 November 2016, Hal. 1).*

(Police had affirmed before that it would investigate the alleged blasphemy in which the reported doer is the non-active Governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. Criminal Investigation Board of the Republic of Indonesia State Police has scheduled a preliminary investigation on Ahok on Monday (7/11) and ordered Ahok to bring another witness (*Bisnis Indonesia, **Jakarta under Control***, 5 November 2016 Edition, Page 1).

The peaceful, orderly and safe rally involving millions of people got the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo decide to attend and do the Friday prayer amid millions of mass action. Jokowi passed through the south gate of *Istana Merdeka* at about 11:30 pm, accompanied by Vice President Jusuf Kalla and a number of *Kabinet Kerja* ministers. Some colleagues of *Istana Merdeka* suggested that The First Person of the Republic of Indonesia met the crowd. However, some others prohibited Jokowi to attend the historic moment. That the president came after he had obtained security assurance from the Commander of the Presidential Security Guards, Brigadier General Bambang Suswanto who affirmed that the atmosphere was fairly safe, and eventually Jokowi came is the *dignose course* of *Bisnis Indonesia* headline written “**Damai Tertib Aman**” (Peaceful, Orderly and Safe, Saturday, December 3, 2016 Edition. The fact is written:

*Bahkan Presiden Joko Widodo dan Wapres Jusuf Kalla turut bergabung salat Jumat bersama lautan massa di Lapangan Monumen Nasional (Bisnis Indonesia, **Damai Tertib Aman**. Edisi, 3 Desember 2016, Hal. 1).*

(President Joko Widodo and Wapres Jusuf Kalla even joined the Friday prayers together with millions of the rally participants at the National Monument Square (*Bisnis Indonesia, Peaceful, Orderly and Safe. December 3, 2016 Edition, P. 1*)

Then, in the next analysis that becomes *make moral judgment* is that ABI 212 that went peacefully made the market and entrepreneur enthusiastic and show positive trends. More specifically, the Rupiah exchange rate moved in the green territory along the trading that coincides with ABI 212 which closed Rp.13,512/US dollar. In addition, IHSG (Composite Stock Price Index) climbed and closed 0.91% by 47.2 points to 5245.96. The composite index even climbed 2.61% from 5122.1 of the previous week. This condition is affirmed by the statement of Chairman of Apindo (Indonesian Entrepreneurs Association), Hariyadi B. Sukamdi. He said “*berbagai ancaman yang menakutkan berhasil dibalik oleh Presiden. Ini akan direspons positif oleh pelaku usaha*” (‘various threats that are frightened are successfully settled by the President. It will be positively responded by the business actors’). Furthermore, Chairman of Kadin (Indonesia Chamber of Commerce and Trade), Rosan Roeslani said “*Semua damai, semua positif*” (‘It is peaceful, it is positive’). The fact is written:

*Nilai tukar Rupiah bergerak di teritori hijau sepanjang perdagangan kemarin hingga ditutup Rp. 13.512 per dolar AS. IHSG ditutup naik 0,91% sebesar 47,2 poin ke level 5.245,96 pekan ini, IHSG melesit 2,61% dari 5.122,1 pekan sebelumnya (Bisnis Indonesia, **Damai Tertib Aman**. Edisi, 3 Desember 2016, Hal. 1).*

(Rupiah exchange rate that was in the green territory in the yesterday's trading session closed Rp.13,512/US dollar. Composite Stock Price Index recorded increased 0.91% or 47.2 points to 5245.96 this week, the stock index climbed 2.61% or 5122.1 of the previous week session (*Bisnis Indonesia, Peaceful, Orderly and Safe. Edition, December 3, 2016 Edition, P. 1*)

Then, the *treatment recommendation* is referring to the statement of the Minister of Religious Affairs, Lukman Hakim Saifuddin “*Ya tentunya kita sudah tidak mengharapkan lagi ada aksi. Ini kan tuntutan mereka sudah, agar (Ahok) diproses hukum.*” Hal senada juga disampaikan oleh Kapolri Tito Karnavian “*Tidak ada satu pohon pun yang patah. Yang melaksanakan kegiatan ibadah bentul-betul menjaga agar pohon tidak rusak*” (‘Yes, we certainly do not expect any action anymore. The participants of the rally had voiced their demand that Ahok be investigated. The Chief of the Indonesia State Police, Tito Karnavian also affirmed that ‘There is no even single tree damaged. Those who did the worship truly keep the tree is not damaged (Bisnis Indonesia, ***Damai Tertib Aman***. Desember 3, 2016 Edition, P. 1).

3.2 Impact of ABI: Economic Sector

Indeed, the social political atmosphere is very influential on the economic development of a nation. Stable economics and security is an ideal condition expected by the market and business actors. ABI which is a place to express freedom of speech to demand justice will generally be judged differently by the market. Different from other rallies, ABI 212, which runs very peacefully is very positively responded by the stock market and business actors. In this paper, the writer will attempt to explore the impact of ABI on the economic sector in a different perspective that is in the view of the mass media. The two major national media (*Bisnis Indonesia* and *Kontan*) which write ABI as headlines affirmed in almost all of their headlines that ABI has no negative impact on economic sector, meaning that only one of the four headlines that stated that ABI brings negative impact on economy but the impact is even not significant. The following table illustrates more detailed about the headlines written in the media.

4. Conclusions

The objective of a research commonly is to answer the research problem and prove the research objectives. Therefore, based on the research findings and data interpretation in the previous chapters, the writer draws following conclusions:

First, ABI is framed by the media on two stressing points that basically do not bring negative impact on Indonesia's economic sector: (1) ABI running in Jakarta is positively responded by market makers and businessmen as it runs peacefully, orderly and safe. (2) The peaceful rally is an indicator of the maturity of the democratic climate in Indonesia. *Second*, the angle of *Kontan* is different from that of *Bisnis Indonesia* in the construction of the reality of ABI. An action that ends unrest must be stopped, if not, it will impact on crippling economy of Indonesia. *Third*, ABI 212 that went peacefully made the market and businessmen enthusiastic and positive market response can be seen. In addition, Rupiah exchange rate that was in the green territory in the yesterday's trading session that coincided with ABI 212 closed Rp.13,512/US dollar. In addition, IHSG (Composite Stock Price Index) climbed and closed 0.91% by 47.2 points to 5245.96. The composite index even soared 2.61% from 5122.1 of the previous week trading session. *Fourth*, ABI 212 brings no impact on the Composite Stock Price Index. The stock price index is even influenced more by global sentiment such as the OPEC decision in which Indonesia withdrew temporarily from the policy of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. The stock exchange price index strengthened supported by the strengthening of the exchange rate to US dollar. Rupiah perched at Rp. 13,463/US dollar.

A research is not 100 percent accomplished if it does not close with recommendations or suggestions. The recommendations of the study are as follows: *First*, this media research uses Robert N Entman framing model and an opportunity to carry out similar studies using other framing models is possible. *Second*, in addition to framing, to obtain a comprehensive research findings, the writer recommend to study the same object in the perspective of discourse analysis, content analysis and other research approaches.

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