

ISLAMISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF ISLAMIC POPULISM THE ROLE OF DA'WAH MEDIA IN MASS MOBILIZATION ON "BELA ISLAM" ACTION: CASE STUDIES OF DAKWAH SYARIAH RADIO (RDS FM) SOLO

Ari Alfiatul Rochmah

CRCS Universitas Gajah Mada (UGM)

Email: ari.alfiatul.r@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract: *This article aims to analyze the raft of Dakwah Syariah Radio (RDS FM) as one of the radio stations of Islamic radical movement in Solo, on mobilizing for the 'Bela Islam' actions both in Solo and Jakarta from Islamic Populism perspective. Vedi Hadiz defines Islamic populism as an asymmetrical social class movement, even with class interests that may be antagonistic and different levels of using Islam as a shared identity. To that end, the populist Islamic movement becomes a fairly recent phenomenon in which various Islamic organizations even from different platforms such as FPI, HTI, and MMI can move in a momentum. This article will examine how the RDS FM in its broadcast to mobilize participation in the anti-Ahok rally by looking at the broadcast, website, social media and brochure papers. By using qualitative method, this article try to analyze the data by deep interviewing the radio's staffs and anchor, also the radio's broadcast on air, on line, or by website and social media. This article argues that radicalization in a macro level such as economic and political repression, can provoke radical Muslim euphoria to the local and global history of Islamist movements by using the rhetoric of religion and the enforcement of Islamic Shari'ah to fight 'the kafir', as well as opposing the leadership of Basuki T. Purnama which is non-Muslim. Through the perspective of Islamic-populism, the political and religious actors also use the media like radia by its broadcast and social in the process of mass moilization.*

Keyword: *Islamic Populism; Media; Islamism; radicalism; RDS FM; Solo.*

Abstrak. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis siaran Radio Dakwah Syariah (RDS FM) sebagai salah satu stasiun radio gerakan radikal Islam di Solo, dalam menggalang aksi 'Bela Islam' baik di Solo maupun Jakarta dari perspektif Populisme Islam. Vedi Hadiz mendefinisikan populisme Islam sebagai gerakan kelas sosial yang asimetris, bahkan dengan kepentingan kelas yang mungkin bersifat antagonis dan tingkatan yang berbeda dalam menggunakan Islam sebagai identitas bersama. Untuk itu, gerakan Islam Populis menjadi fenomena yang cukup mutakhir di mana berbagai ormas Islam bahkan dari platform yang berbeda seperti FPI, HTI, dan MMI dapat bergerak dalam suatu momentum. Artikel ini akan mengkaji bagaimana RDS FM dalam siarannya memobilisasi partisipasi dalam unjuk rasa anti-Ahok dengan melihat siaran, situs web, media sosial, dan kertas brosur. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif, artikel ini mencoba menganalisis data dengan melakukan wawancara mendalam kepada staf dan penyiar radio, juga siaran radio di udara, online, atau melalui situs web dan media sosial. Artikel ini berpendapat bahwa radikalisasi di tingkat makro seperti represi ekonomi dan politik, dapat memancing euphoria Muslim radikal terhadap sejarah lokal dan global gerakan Islam dengan menggunakan retorika agama dan penegakan syari'at Islam untuk melawan 'kafir'. , serta menentang kepemimpinan Basuki T. Purnama yang non-Muslim. Melalui perspektif populisme-Islam, para pelaku politik dan agama juga menggunakan media seperti radia dalam penyiarannya dan sosial dalam proses moilisasi massa.

Kata Kunci: Populisme Islam; Media; Islamisasi; Radikalisme; RDS FM; Solo.

Introduction

The enormous process of 'Bela Islam' action requires mass media such as radio and social media networks as a means of forming and disseminating narratives to unite Muslim solidarity. In this case, the solidarity between participants formed by a shared emotional sense as Muslims of their religion, then forming a social platform in a demonstration movement. Durkheim interpreted that a social solidarity was formed because of the social reinforcement of Islam as a common moral order and supported by the same emotional sense. (Durkheim, 1984) For that Radio Dakwah Syariah Solo or better known as RDS FM, is one of the many radio nuances of Islam such as MHFM, Radio MTA, Al Hidayah FM, etc are scattered in the City of Short Axis, has a role in the process of mass mobilization and the formation of social integration this. Although not as popular as electronic media such as television, radio can master a broader audience through streaming sites and social media optimization.¹ This is evidenced by the lectures and dialogue in response to the blasphemy case carried out by former Jakarta governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) until the broadcast of every action of 'Bela Islam' directly by the radio station. The fact is that the action centered in the capital Jakarta provides a stimulus for the course of a series of actions held in several areas, including Solo, through a narrative of the same emotional formation in the participants' sense of defending harassed religion or audiences who just want to be involved or curious, and gathered on those actions. Here are some 'Bela Islam' actions held in Solo under the command and supervision of the Surakarta Syariah Board (DSKS):

Bela Islam Action in Solo

Date	Form of Action
1 4 November 2016	A total of 250 members of various Islamic organizations (mass organizations) in Solo following a demonstration in Jakarta. Islamic organizations in Solo who took part of the action include Laskar Umar Islam Solo (LUIS), Forum Komunikasi Mosque Activist (FKAM), Ponpes Al-Mukmin, and teenage mosque. This action was dispatched from the DSKS office which also became the coordinating agency.
2 2 Desember 2016	Under the coordination of DSKS, thousands of masses consisting of Islamic elements such as mass organizations, educational foundations and student organizations spilled along Slamet Riyadi road to conduct long marches that ended at the Gladag

¹ Research on preachers radio has been done by PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in nine cities that are Bogor, Cirebon, Tasikmalaya, Solo, Yogyakarta, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Batam, and Mataram. This research found that the salafi/Islamist is more aggressive preaching through radio because it is considered as a medium of dakwah which is cheap and can be reached easily. Accessed from <http://www.madinaonline.id/s5-review/isu-media/temuan-riset-ppim-salafi-lebih-agresif-berdakwah-melalui-radio/>

		Roundabout. This action was held simultaneously with a similar action held in Jakarta.
3 11 Februari 2017		Known about 500 Solo Muslims will leave for Jakarta on Friday 10 February 2017, to follow the action of Bela Islam. DSKS has facilitated two buses for representatives of 13 organizational elements in Solo and there are 10 buses carrying other periods from Solo coming from mosque officials and other groups. The departure of this group was released directly by the Indonesian Islamic Council of Surakarta.
4 12 Maret 2017		Unlike the previous actions, this time DSKS held Alumni Reunion 212 in the form of tabligh akbar di Ibadurrahmaan Mosque, ex Goro Assalam, Pabelan. The event was attended by hundreds of original participants alumni aimed to keep the relationship and spirit 212.
5 28 April 2017		Massa held an Islamic Defense Action in the area of Roundabout Gladak, Solo. Previously they held a long march from West City to Gladak. In the action, they demanded the defendant's alleged blasphemy case, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, prosecuted five years in prison instead of one year in prison with a two-year probation period. The action was followed by various Soloraya Islamic organizations such as Laskar Umat Islam Indonesia Solo, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, Muhammadiyah Youth Branch Blimbing, and others.
6 2 Desember 2017		Chairman of DSKS, Muinudinillah Basri off the entourage of Soloraya Muslims Alumni 212 Reunion Reunion participants to be held at Monas. The group departed this morning Friday, December 1, 2017, from SPBU Jongke, Laweyan, Solo using 50 buses. Some elements of Muslims who follow this action include FKAM, LUIS, KPM, FOSAM, AL HUDA, AUIK, and elements from other cities.

The emergence of various actions of Islamic solidarity can be one of the symptoms of the birth of Islamic populism. In contrast to a series of protests or demonstrations made by some parties to government policies that are considered repressive and lame to one group, the populist movement refers more to the fusion of various interests, aspirations and grievances from the crossing of various social classes such as urban society, lower to middle class society, as well as the marginal segmentation of existing powers. Vedi R Hadiz in his *book Islamic Populism in Indonesia and The Middle East*, states that the Islamic populist movement as an asymmetrical movement of social class, even with class interests that may be antagonistic and different levels of using Islam as share identity (Hadiz, 2016). The 'Bela Islam' action that succeeded in shaping the solidarity and mobilizing the inter-class interests is what Hadiz calls, New Islamic populism. He mentions that the previously mentioned Ummah narrative does not

² Surakarta Sharia Council (DSKS) is an institution consisting of ulama-ulama solo that provides a place for Muslims as a place of reference in solving the problems of the ummah, especially in the issues of sharia. DSKS was declared on March 8, 2013 at Masjid Mujahidin Banyuwang, Solo and chaired by Muinudinillah Basri who is also a member of Sharia RDS FM Board.

refer only to a particular Islamic group or Islamic feature, but has already involved another group that was once excluded. (Hadiz, 2016) The support is given to Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Head election that was not included in the group such as FPI for example, is now solidarity in one ummah beyond the power that is considered corrupt and marginalizes the Muslims. In addition to political factors by opposing government policies that are considered unfair, economic factors also become one of the reasons for the emergence of this populist movement. Uneven economic access in both rural and urban societies in the era of globalization and the emergence of free market areas cause segregation in society. Noorhadi in *The Making of public Islam* that emerged during the New Order era until now is actually inseparable from the existence of globalization and modernization itself. (Noorhaidi, 2009) In other words, the interclass group incorporated in this populist movement has a purpose against the oppression of their economic access which they have considered to be dominated by western capitalism. Hafez and Wiktorowicz argue that the Islamist Movement in Egypt, for example, is not only caused by ideological or psychological factors, but it is driven more by exogenous factors, such as repressive government policies and certain economic interests (Hafez & Wiktorowicz, 2003). So it is not surprising that radical Islamic movements that previously only moved on their respective shades and territories, such as FPI, MMI, HTI, etc later found their momentum in this 'Bela Islam' action as a resistance to the exclusion and access of government policy. Although it is undeniable that there are elite interests for certain political purposes, but narratives such as Chinese, blasphemy, and kafir are brewed by the media able to provide stimulus to this populist movement.

Although exogenous factors have a more significant influence on Islamist groups to join the Islamic Populist movement, internal factors cannot be separated to describe why individuals or groups are following this series of 'Bela Islam' actions. To explain this, Alex P. Schmid--researcher at the International Center for Counter Terrorism The Hague (ICCT-The Hague), recommends three levels of unit analysis why a person or group joins this radical movement (Schimid, 2013): a) Micro level; includes the motives of each individual why he joined this radical movement. Schmid mentioned that the motive can be triggered by several factors such as the feeling of alienation, marginalization, and identity crisis. Hafez and Wick categorize these micro levels in the

psychological factors and socioeconomic background of each individual; b) Meso level explains how the environment supports and shapes individuals to join radical movements. This can be driven by a sense of identity similarity and then by using religion to form moral engagement and forming joint group integration; c) Macro level reveals political economy factors such as government policies that are perceived as repressive and harmful to their group. Macro level is what actually gives the most influence on this populist Islamic movement.

All three levels are certainly not able to stand alone, each affecting each other with each other. For this article try to analyze how the role of RDS FM in providing stimulus to each individual or group to join in Islamic populism movement this. In addition to using three stages of radicalization by Schmid above, this article also attempts to analyze using the theory of Hate Spin from Cherian George to see how the role of RDS in playing the narrative and shaping offended feelings. In the formation, this article will use the two categories of hate spins, incitement - in the form of incitement in the form of messages that attack other groups - and also indignation which is nothing other than a legitimized self-defense that itself becomes the object of being attacked or hurt. In addition to looking at the phenomenon of this populist movement, this article also uses the theory of Hafez and Wick on Islamic Movement. To further limit the explanation of the Islamic Movement, it takes only two aspects of the political opportunity structure: accessibility of the institutionalized political system and the nature of state repression.

The Profile of RDS FM

Radio is not like social media that is considered more interactive and quickly informed the latest information that is considered important. But for certain segments of society, especially Muslims, radio is still seen as an effective medium of dakwah, has a wide range of coverage, and most importantly does not require high operational costs. Even with the development of technological progress, now radio can also be reached more widely through website media, streaming, and social media optimization especially Facebook, Instagram, youtube, and WhatsApp. As one of the da'wah radio in Solo City, RDS FM also broadcast its dakwah spread through the use of these media.

Located in Northern Solo with Frequency 101.4 FM, in cooperation with PT. Citra Mandiri Perkasa Lestari, Radio Dakwah Syariah (RDS) FM can broadcast in Solo City and surrounding areas with the

slogan "With Sharia Life becomes more beautiful". Established on January 1, 2011, broadcast format presented to focus on the broadcast of interactive studies, information, wondering wonders, stories, and Murat al-Qur'an.

One of the things that distinguish RDS FM from other dakwah radios is the existence of sharia councils that play a role in providing consultation and control over programs and broadcasts. Interestingly, the four members of the sharia council came from different pesantrens but had similar patterns or patterns. Based on my interview with one of the RDS FM staff, that aside from being a consultant and control over the broadcast program, these four councils are highly regarded and experts in the field of sharia. Until not infrequently events or programs on the radio is also filled by one of the sharia board or broadcasted directly from the boarding schools where the ustadz originated.

"Every broadcast program should always be monitored so as not to be separated from sharia corridors because so far we see not a few radios that are far from their initial vision as a radio propaganda. In addition, the four boards drawn from different backgrounds of the pesantren can illustrate that we are not affiliated with any one group. Because it keeps coming back to our vision of 'Becoming a Shari'a Dakwah radio that benefits the world and the Hereafter'." (Faqih, 2017)

But if we observe more deeply that in addition to the action of 'Bela Islam' which is always broadcasted live by RDS FM it turns out there are similarities, in which DSKS which is the coordinator in each action is chaired by M. Mu'inudinillah Basri who is also a member of RDS FM sharia council. Responding to this RDS FM said that:

"Yes, indeed, Ustadz Mu'inudinillah other than being a sharia council in RDS FM, he is also the Chairman of DSKS. Precisely it is necessary considering the main purpose of the sharia council is as a control institution, it can also align with the decisions that will be issued by DSKS with the program in RDS." (Faqih, 2017)

Yet from the view point of populist Islam precisely, the existence of sharia councils in RDS FM is one way of integration between Islamic groups with different backgrounds. In other words, each boarding school that became the background of each Sharia council certainly has distinctive characteristics and vision of different missions, but the sharia council is able to integrate each other in a mission syiar application of Islamic Sharia through the radio. Likewise, these radio stations are able to present as a

tool capable of coordinating hundreds of masses in a single command from DSKS. This is just like McQuail's view that the media can serve as a mobilization tool that is the role of mass media in disseminating information and campaigning events that occur or issues in circulation and then make it a discourse in the public space to then produce integration in the community who have attention to the issue (McQuail, 1984). The integration that occurs in society, such as making Islam as a moral order and hegemony then encourage people to take action against Islam that is abused by Ahok.

In addition to the linkage between RDS FM and DSKS in structural and concentration on the same Shariah council, in the broadcast program that was presented was indeed support the provision of Islamic law in accordance with the second mission. As a matter of fact, there is still a polemic about the relationship between the two, whether the sharia council and the DSKS that only control the existing programs in RDS FM so as not to be separated from the Syariah trajectory, or instead RDS FM is a medium they use as a mobilization tool and integration in society by making the application of Islamic law as moral order?

The Radio Station Programs

No.	Daily Program	Jadwal
1	Bacaan Zikir dan Murattal Pagi	05.00 - 05.30
	Kajian Keislaman (Kalam) Pagi	05.30 - 06.30
3	Assalamualaikum Indonesia	07.00 - 09.00
4	Ensiklopedi Islam	09.00 - 10.00
5	RDS Update	09.00 - 11.00
6	Murattal Siang dan Azan Zuhur	11.00 - 12.30
7	RDS Niaga	12.30 - 13.00
8	Salam Silaturrahim	13.00 - 14.30
9	Azan Ashar dan Murattal Sore	14.30 - 16.00
10	Kajian Keislaman (Kalam) Sore Aqidah	16.00 - 17.00
11	Zikir dan Murattal Petang, Azan Maghrib	17.00 - 18.00
12	Maghrib Mengaji	18.00 - 19.00
13	Editorial RDS	19.45 - 20.00

In order to answer the above questions, deeper and more focused research is needed on the relationship between the two institutions. But in general, we can draw the threads that the RDS FM radio station has a crucial role in the process of integration and mass mobilization of the 'Bela Islam' action in Solo City in particular. Next, we will analyze how the mobilization strategy through the media point of view through Hate Spin, and Islamic Movement patterns.

From Radical Movement to Islamic Populism

Dakwah Media Roles

If we observe radical Islamic movements often appear in countries that uphold the values of freedom and democracy like Indonesia. The principles of freedom of expression, the accessibility of government policy, and the freedom of the market economy have not been able to address the social inequalities that exist in society. So that, these exogenous factors trigger the emergence of resistance from the people like radical Islamic movements. We certainly need a deeper study of whether this is the impact of the democratic failure itself or indeed there is a certain monopoly of elite interests. But agree or not, the populist Islamic movement is one of the arenas for radical Islamic groups to oppose government policies that do not side with them by creating a monopolistic market.³ In other words, they use the principles of freedom in democracy to fight democracy itself.

This is certainly a paradox to the freedom of democracy itself, the mass media which is the arena of public contestation and the means of channeling the aspirations of the people to the government are often acknowledged by certain interests. In other words, media such as RDS FM radio station can not be separated from the interests of Islamic groups behind it in the mass mobilization of this populist Islamic movement. The media often play the discourse to play public discourse. Cherian George in his theory Hate Spin shows that the media play a role in playing the formation of a sense of harm for a group triggered by events or provocative content. Hate spin itself mean as a "two-pronged political strategy of vilification or manufactured indignation used as a means of mobilizing supporters and coercing opponents. Hate spin can center on race, language, nationality, immigrant status, and other markers of identity." (George, 2016) In 'Bela Islam' action, we can see how the media is forming debates in the public sphere whether what Ahok does is a blasphemy of Islam or not. To analyze it Cherian George divides the Hate pin into two, incitement (Hate Speech) and indignation (Taking Offence).

Incitement (Hate Spin)

Incitement or more commonly known as hate spin may be interpreted as hate speech, or more broadly an act of communication committed by an individual or group in the form of provocation, incitement, or insult to another individual or group based on an identity such as race, religion, ethnicity, etc. George added that the worst impact incitement can cause is fear, discrimination, violence, and genocide against the discriminated group. (George, 2016) In the formation of RDS FM incitement often broadcast lectures or content in cyberspace containing hate speech against Ahok. In one of the lectures broadcast on the radio:

"...Muslims must unite to uphold the religion of Allah, against those who defame Allah's religion. We have done one jihad by participating in the action of defending Islam, because whoever helps the religion of Allah, Allah will always provide help to him. So our task now is to continue guarding the legal process, and to win it constitutionally, to demand law against religious pens."⁴

From that statement, we can see how hate spins are shaped to against blasphemy by Ahok. To analyze this point, referring to George, that there are several aspects of hate spin, the first is a shared identity, in which case RDS FM uses Muslim identity as a common identity to defend Islam. Second, creating the others, ie by saying other people are not part of it that must be resisted, in this case, RDS FM refers to Ahok who is labeled as 'kafir' and the blasphemy of Islam. The third, blaming the other for their problem is to blame Ahok as a capitalistic Chinese henchman and wants to master the economy in Indonesia. This can be seen in some RDS FM postings on social media like youtube, Instagram, and Facebook.

Even though radio is an air-based media, various online posts and publications are quite capable of creating construction and accommodating the movements of various Islamic organizations in Solo under the command of DSKS. The virtual space provides an online news site opportunity to provide for public participation. The comments room becomes an opportunity for the public to participate in discourse struggles that occur both in the offline and online realms (Pamungkas & Oktaviani, 2017).

³ The change of liberal capitalism into monopoly capitalism became the discourse that Habermas feared in contestation in the public sphere. In other words, the freedom of public sphere of interest from the dominance of media, markets, and bureaucracy. (Habermas in Hardiman, 140-142)

⁴ One of the narations conducted on the reunion of the "Bela Islam" action that was held in Solo on March 12, 2017 and broadcast by RDS FM.

Indignation (Taking Offence)

Indignation (taking offense) is a strategy that puts itself as a victim who is attacked or hurt by the action (George, 2016). In this case, the media expands the hegemony that the blasphemy of religion committed by Ahok has hurt the Muslims. In this case, RDS FM often broadcasts the recitation or discussion in the 'Editorial RDS' program to discuss videos deemed as a blasphemy by Ahok and oversee every trial and then make it in the public sphere with listeners. RDS FM discourse has then provoked a reaction from the public and establish integration among Muslims in an action. Integration between different groups of Muslims can be done easily by the radio which also has a sharia council that comes from the diverse background of da'wah. Through coordination under DSKS and through this radio broadcasting, they use Islamic costumes and symbols to mobilize the masses. The construction of identity is perpetuated by social media, even though the account owner has been lost, his identity can be found through social media. Likewise with the Islamic Defending Action event, the identity of a Muslim can be known by his attitude on social media in responding to actions. The similarity of Muslim identity which was hurt by Ahok's statement was used as a narrative to unite Muslims from various groups.

"...as I said at the beginning that RDS is a media of the people, and has no partisanship of any one group. As for why we broadcast the course of action is none other than to uphold sharia and defend the religion of God. The joining of Muslims is proof that Muslims are strong, and we will also join with fellow Muslims who defend the religion of Allah and uphold His Shari'a." (Faqih, 2017)

The two points in this hate spin cannot be separated, they affect each other and depend on each other. But what needs to be seen here is what interests behind the mass mobilization with this hate spin strategy. Although for them it is an attempt to defend his religion it is inevitable that this is a political agenda to bring down Ahok from power. Even after Ahok was imprisoned even though this action continues, it indicates that there is greater elite political interest for the 2019 presidential election, as evidenced by the approach of political elites such as Prabowo and certain political parties in the movement. In this case, the media will always have an important role in the process of integration and mobilization of the period, in Socio-centric theory of mass communication primarily views the media as a reflection of political and economic forces (McQuail,

1984). In other words the media does have an influence and can be used as a tool for certain political interests.



AjengCute16 @Ajeng_Cute16 · 24 Okt 2017

Temen2 ini adalah partai2 yg hri ini sdh berjuang membela Islam meskipun hasilnya blm berpihak. yuks 2019 pilih partai Pembela Islam



The narratives used in the formation of hate spin must be admitted not only succeeded in imprisoning Ahok. More than that, this is able to influence the political map in the 2019 Elections through the coupling of opinions which parties defend Islam and not. This was done by utilizing the same identity as fellow Muslims, where the party which helped defend Islam was equally hurt by Ahok's blasphemy Ahok. It is this commonality that drives the emergence of narratives to elect these parties to the upcoming political agenda.

Political and economic motives

Exogenous factors such as economy and politics are often the trigger in radical movements and certainly in this populist Islamic movement. Especially if we look at the action of 'Bela Islam' is very loaded with the momentum of the elections of Jakarta, even further this is still used as a strategy for the 2019 presidential election. In explaining the exogenous factors behind the Islamist movement, Hafez and Wiktorowicz explain there are at least two aspects of the structure of political opportunity, the first is accessibility of the institutionalized political system and the nature of state repression.

Accessibility of the institutionalized political system

Accessibility to the political system is indeed an important factor for this populist movement. Hafez and Wiktorowicz stated that an accessible political system could diminish radical Islamist movements because they guarantee their access both substantively and procedurally and they can influence policy both formally and informally. While

the political system is inaccessible when this radical Islamic movement cannot give effect formally or informally either in substance or procedurally. (Hafez & Wiktorowicz, 2003)

For a democratic country like Indonesia that has access to a wide-ranging political system both formally and informally, it should not give a gap to the emergence of this populist Islamic movement. Yet I see that this is a time-bomb effect caused by the New Order masses in which individual freedoms are restrained and restricted by state rules. Until radical Islamic movements that used to only move in the underground, now it appears as a grudge effect against the system that used to oppress them. The era of freedom now they use as a field of their movement by destroying democracy itself. One of them is the freedom of the media that is not adrift of space and time until they use the public discourse tool to attack state policy and bomb populist Islam. This case is certainly a polemic in democracy, because populist Islam born of democratic freedom by the power of the majority, is capable of destroying democracy itself.

The series of actions carried out by several mass organizations and paramilitary groups of Muslims shows that there is currently a shift in interest among Islamists who initially rejected all aspects of democracy as a thought system, but now they are actually pursuing interests in the system. This is reinforced by the results of research reports on religious life in Indonesia in April 2019, by the UGM CRCS and the Pusad Paramadina. The report stated that the 2019 elections had succeeded in inspiring the nonviolence of Poso and Bima jihadists to channel the political aspirations of some members of this group who had been involved in terrorism. The opinion of the jihadists who saw the 2019 election as a land of struggle for Muslims, encouraged them to take part in this contestation both by participating directly in the running and by following the action to oversee the process in this democracy. Even this pattern does not only occur in Poso or Bima. According to Rochmah (2019), the large number of paramilitary and jihadist groups in Solo also shows the same pattern of change in movement. Where in addition to the action above the shari'ah effort was also carried out in the legislative area through the Islamic party.

However, the populist movement and even the electoral political participation of jihadists cannot yet be used as a benchmark for their support of the democratic system. As revealed by Vedi R. Hadiz, populism in Islam uses the word "ummah" as a proxy for demos that exclusively defends the interests of Muslims. However, Let alone supporting democratic

values in government, this populism tends to favor anti-democratic forms of government. Like the form of a state with the stipulation of sharia law, the form of a theocracy state which in the beginning takes the form of the Khilafah and the Islamic State (Hadiz, 2016).

The nature of state repression

State repression will emerge if we are in a country that has an authoritarian system of government. But what about Indonesia's democratic system? Is not the control of the government done by the people directly? Then why are radical Islamic movements still emerging? To answer that, borrow Hafez and Wik's theories that the state repressions that trigger the emergence of radical Islamic movements are actually in the timing of repression. In timing of repression, they divide it into two, preemptive and reactive timing (Hafez & Wiktorowicz, 2003). Repression is preemptive when applied before opposition movements are formed, whereas reactive when applied during a demonstration period in response to opposition.

If we look at the facts of history the actual emergence of the Islamist movement in Indonesia is the impact of the New Order government policy. While the period of reform that opened the tap of freedom also seems not too strongly include this group on the transition of power. Islamic political parties that are perceived to be their representation in government are also less able to accommodate their interests in government and have less than strong influence with pre-existing political parties. So populist Islamic movements eventually became the only way for Islamists to influence government policy, or it could be a way to overthrow the current government. The choice of populist Islamic movements is also seen as an easier path in the era of democracy than the radical and violent way of destroying freedom and capitalism using the values of freedom itself.

Conclusion

The democratic system that upholds the rights and freedoms of individuals and gives equal rights in participation in the political system, for each group seems unable to stem the rise of radical Islamic movements. The economic and political interests of a handful of elite are more able to provide a stimulus for the group in the name of Islam. Even the media that should be transparent, it is now co-opted and make the hegemony period with religious romance. Surely this becomes a paradox for the course of

democracy, the freedom that exists is destroyed by the values derived from freedom itself.

For that, I argue, in guarding democratic freedom the government must also implement a strong legal system. Not that the law should be repressive, but the government needs to create trust in society against the policies made. In addition, the economy is also a crucial factor in maintaining the stability of the state and democracy. Whether we agree or disagree, we must recognize that invoices at a micro level such as socioeconomic background also have a significant influence on why one belongs to the Islamist movement.

Reference

- Cherian George, 2016, *Regulating Hate Spin: The Limits of Law in Managing Religious Incitement and Offense*, International Journal of Communication 10.
- Denis, McQuail, 1984 *Mass Communication Theory*, SAGE.
- Fauzi, I. A. (2019). Dkk, *Laporan Kehidupan Beragama di Indonesia: Pemilu dan Jalan Non Kekerasan Para Jihadis: Laporan dari Poso dan Bima*, CRCS Gadjah Mada University dan PUSAD Paramadia
- Hadiz, Vedi R. (2016). *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hafez & Wiktorowicz, "Violence as Contention in the Egyptian Islamic Movement," in Wiktorowicz (2003), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Indiana University Press.
- Noorhaidi Hasan, (2009) "The Making of public Islam: pety, agency, and comodification on the lanscape of the Indonesian public sphere.
- Pamungkas, A. S., & Octaviani, G. (2017). Aksi bela islam dan ruang publik muslim: dari representasi daring ke komunitas luring. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 4(2).
- Schimd, A.P. (2013), *Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review*, ICCT – The Hague Research Pape.
- ROCHMAH, A. (2019). *Orientasi Keagamaan dan Budaya Politik Santri di Kota Solo (Studi Perbandingan di Pesantren Al Muayyad Mangkuyudan, Pesantren Majelis Tafsir Al Quran, Pesantren Modern Imam Syuhodo)*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Online www.rdsfm.id

<https://www.solopos.com/2017/04/28/foto-demo-solo-massa-gelar-aksi-bela-islam-di-gladak-813193>;

<https://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/politik/17/02/06/oky6jn377-ini-sikap-pcnu-solo-terkait-aksi-bela-islam-112>;

<https://koranpanji.com/2016/12/05/di-solo-aksi-bela-islam-212-membanjiri-kawasan-gladag/>;

<https://www.panjimas.com/news/2017/03/12/spirit-212-ribuan-alumni-aksi-bela-islam-di-solo-hadiri-tabligh-akbar-yang-digelar-dsks/>;

<https://jurnalislam.com/pagi-ini-50-bus-kafilah-reuni-212-soloraya-berangkat-ke-jakarta/>;

Other Sources

Interview via whatsapp messenger application with Faqih one of the staff of RDS FM on December 9, 2017 at 13:45-15.30

Rekaman Siaran Kajian Islam Radio Dakwah Syariah (RDS FM) 12 Maret 2017