# Understanding Islamic Media Ideology: An Analysis of the News Framing on Christmas Celebrations and Its Relation to Religious Moderation

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#### **Abstrak**

# Kata kunci: Ideology, Media, Christmas, Moderation, Framing, Hidayatulla, Eramuslim

This research aims to analyze ideology in news about Christmas celebrations and its association to religious moderation in the Hidayatullah and Eramuslim media. This research uses qualitative research with a constructivism paradigm. In the constructivism paradigm, news is not analyzed objectively based on true or false numbers but based on subjective views of interpretation. The analytical method used a textual analysis of mass media with framing by Robert M. Entman. News as the object of analysis is that 3 (three) news is selected for each of the media. The research conclusion shows that the two Islamic media define the problem, look at the causes of the problem, provide moral values and recommendations for solving the problem to defend the interests of Muslims. The ideology of these two Islamic media wants to enforce Islamic law by prohibiting Christmas celebrations held by Muslims. Celebrating Christmas with Muslims for other groups is a way to embody religious tolerance but for Hidayatullah and Eramuslim, it is considered a threat to the beliefs of Muslims. In association with religious moderation, these two Islamic media have developed a framing based on a single concept, namely religious tolerance. Other concepts, including national commitment, non-violence, and accommodating local culture, are not incorporated in the Christmas celebration news.

#### **Abstract**

## Keywords: Ideologi, Media, Natal, Moderasi, Framing, Hidayatullah, Eramuslim

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis ideologi dalam berita perayaan Natal dan kaitannya dengan moderasi beragama di media Hidayatullah dan Eramuslim. Penelitian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif dengan paradigma konstruktivisme. Pada paradigma konstrukstivisme, berita tidak tidak dianalisis secara objektif berdasarkan angka benar atau salah namun berdasarkan pandangan subjektif penafsiran. Metode analisis yang digunakan adalah analisis tekstual media massa dengan framing Robert M. Entman. Berita

sebagai objek analisis yaitu masing-masing media dipilih 3 (tiga) berita. Kesimpulan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dua media Islamis tersebut mendefinisikan masalah, melihat penyebab masalah, memberikan nilai moral, dan memberikan rekomendasi penyelesain masalah adalah untuk membela kepentingan umat Islam. Ideologi dua media Islamis ini ingin menegakkan syariat Islam dengan melarang perayaan Natal yang dilakukan bersama umat Islam. Perayaan Natal bersama umat Islam yang bagi kelompok lain merupakan cara mewujudkan toleransi beragama, namun bagi Hidayatullah dan Eramuslim dianggap mengancam keyakinan umat Islam. Kaitannya dengan moderasi beragama, dua media Islam ini mengembangkan framing berdasarkan satu konsep yaitu toleransi beragama. Pada konsep lain yaitu komitmen kebangsaan, anti-kekerasan, dan akomodatif terhadap kebudayaan lokal tidak diinformasikan dalam berita perayaan Natal.

#### INTRODUCTION

This research focuses on analyzing Islamic media ideology based on the framing created by news of Christmas celebrations and its association with religious moderation. The Islamic media as intended in this research arewww.hidayatulah.com and www.eramuslim.com. Research related to Islamic media ideology is important because these two media were once blocked by the government because they were considered to publicize a radical ideology (Asril & Galih, 2015; Ngazis, 2015; Sunaryanto, 2018). The blocking of this online site is quite reasonable because Eramuslim has an Islamic ideology using journalism with a propaganda orientation and a violent orientation (Sunaryanto, 2018). In the Eramuslim case, during 5 (five) years, from January 2016 to May 2021, based on 169 Christian news stories, only 3 (three) news stories or 1.8% of news stories were objective (Khusnulkhatimah, 2022). Eramuslim stands on two ideological faces because the first face of this media frames news about conflicts in Muslim countries in a polite way. But in another ideological face, this site is actually categorized as media that builds fundamentalist Islamic ideology (Malik, 2014).

The Hidayatullah site has a fundamentalist Islamic ideology because when framing news related to jihad, it actually has a narrow meaning because jihad is only aimed at fighting infidels and upholding Islamic law in total (Suprabowo, 2020). The narrow meaning of jihad in the news on the Hidayatullah site may occur because it departs from an exclusive understanding considering *liyan* as a negative group, for example, heretics, liberal viruses, anti-religion, etc. (Hatta, 2020). The ideology of one media is certainly dynamic, despite it being considered a supporter of fundamentalist Islam, Hidayatullah tries to be moderate, for example, in the framing of news commemorating the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW (Fatoni, 2017). In reality,



this Islamic site doesn't support the political idea of the Islamic caliphate and rejects religious democracy but supports an Islamic democracy (Mujibuddin & Riza, 2021). These various descriptions can support a single thesis that Hidayatullah is an Islamic news site that is categorized as angry media and not friendly media (Fairozi & Ayu, 2020).

The problem is that people understand the debate regarding Christmas only through information in various mass media. Of course, communities have their own ideologies and cultural contexts, so they differ in understanding the context of Christmas greetings which are associated with religious moderation (Hardianti, 2022). News is a representation of ideology (Ayuningsih et al., 2018; Ghannam, 2011; Visiaty et al., 2021), so when reading news about Christmas, people interpret it according to the ideological context. The polemic of prohibiting Christmas greetings and participation in Christmas celebrations is increasingly brought forward with various kinds of news coverage constructed in online media (Dahlan, 2019; Mariyam, 2020). According to the constructionist view, news is an ideological construction of journalists and the media where journalists work (Musyaffa', 2020). It must be acknowledged that the media has many layers of ideology that are constructed in the written-down news and information (Eriyanto, 2012, 2017; Goodarzi et al., 2021). Thus, news in association with religious moderation and Christmas celebrations is a multi-layered ideological construction in various cultural, political, and religious contexts. Understanding news about religious moderation and Christmas celebrations in online media cannot stem from objective thinking but is more appropriate to be based on social construction (Sunaryanto, Syamsuri, et al., 2022; Sunaryanto, Zulkifli, et al., 2022; Sunaryanto & Rizal, 2023)

Research related to ideology, media framing, and its association with religious moderation has been conducted by several previous researchers. Sunaryanto & Rizal (2023) revealed that the national online media Kompas and Media Indonesia constructed reporting on religious moderation using a moderate national ideology. The research from Sanusi & Muhaemin (2019) revealed that Kompas media constructed its ideology by rejecting intolerance and supporting a moderate, friendly, and not extreme religious understanding. The research from Sunaryanto, Zulkifli, et al. (2022) concluded that the ideology of the Islamic media Republika Online was to agree with the idea of religious moderation based on the spirit of nationalism. All the academic literature described here has not discovered what the ideological construction of Islamic media (Hidayatullah and the Muslim Era) is like and its association with religious moderation.



Therefore, this research is considered necessary to reveal the ideology of Islamic media in news related to Christmas celebrations and its association with religious moderation.

The ideological discourse in the Islamic media Hidayatullah and Eramuslim on the reporting of Christmas celebrations and its association with religious moderation will be answered with a framing analysis by Robert M. Entman. According to Entman (2010), news framing is frequently done by journalists because it often benefits one party over another in a political dispute. Framing can be interpreted as a framing activity in which the central process is when journalists exercise political influence on each other and the public (Entman, 2003). In substance, framing involves important selection in selecting some aspects of perceived reality and making them more prominent in the communicated texts. Framing is used to promote the definition of a specific problem, interpretation of the cause of the problem, moral evaluation, and/or recommendations for solving the problem (Entman, 1993).

Based on the problems and theories described above, the major question in this research is how the Hidayatullah and Eramuslim perform their ideology in reporting news about Christmas celebrations and its association with religious moderation? This major question will be elaborated with a minor question, i.e., what like is the ideological framing of Christmas celebration news on the Hidayatullah and Eramuslim sites, and its association with religious moderation? To what extent can the framing of Christmas celebration news on the Hidayatullah and Eramuslim sites be analyzed from a religious moderation perspective?

#### **METHOD**

This type of research uses qualitative research with a constructivist paradigm. In the constructivism paradigm, news is not analyzed objectively based on true or false numbers but based on subjective views of interpretation. As such, this paradigm places more emphasis on interpreting the subjective meaning of texts in analyzing news considered to have ideological meaning(Sunaryanto & Rizal, 2023; Sunaryanto & Soleha, 2021). This research uses mass media textual analysis which measures no news objectivity but interprets the meaning of the news. This textual interpretation is in line with the idea of Fürsich (2009), Phillipov (2013), dan Tariq Ayoub et al., (2016) regarding how to interpret texts according to context. This model offers what is called two-level text interpretation, namely using framing analysis, whose results are then analyzed under the theory of religious moderation (Kusmidi, 2023).

Framing analysis can be interpreted as a textual research method to analyze the framing of news by journalists in selecting facts and then, turning them into news (Reese, 2010). Framing analysis constitutes a textual analysis model used to disclose the way journalists tell stories with facts. Journalists are considered not to write actual facts, but only tell what they know. Because it only tells stories, the news written is not actual facts because the facts have been chosen according to the journalist's ideology (Eriyanto, 2012; Pratama et al., 2022; Rusadi, 2015). In framing analysis, Entman (1993) divides it into 4 (four) key concepts, including defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies/treatment recommendations). The following is the framework thoughts adapted from Robert M. Entman's framing device:

**Table 1.1** Thinking Framework Based on Robert M. Entman Framing

<b>Analysis Structure</b>	Meaning
Defining	How are events in association with Christmas celebrations seen
Problems	by Hidayatullah and Eramuslim? What kind of problems in the
	practice of Christmas celebrations are seen by Hidayatullah
	and Eramuslim?
Diagnosing	What is the problem with implementing Christmas
Causes	celebrations caused by what is in the news about Hidayatullah
	and Eramuslim? Who is the cause of the problem in Christmas
	celebrations in the Hidayatullah and Eramuslim news?
<b>Making Moral</b>	What moral value is given in describing the problem of
Judgment	Christmas celebrations in the Hidayatullah and Eramuslim
	news?
Treatment	What solutions are offered by Hidayatullah and Eramuslim to
Recommendations	solve the problem of Christmas celebrations? What methods
	are offered and should be taken by Hidayatullah and
	Eramuslim to solve the problem of Christmas celebrations?

News as the unit of analysis is determined by purposive sampling according to this research theme. The researcher determines the news not based on the order of the date or the order of events but based on a relevant theme. The author enters the web pages www.hidayatullah.com and www.eramuslim.com and then, types the 'religious moderation' and 'Christmas Celebrations' keywords on the search pageThe researcher then reads some news to determine which news is used as the unit of analysis. Subjectively, the researcher then determines that 3 (three) news are selected for each of the media, so the number of news as units of analysis is 6 (six) news.

#### FINDING AND DISCUSSION

# Hidayatullah Frames: Outrageous Ave Maria Singing, Adhan, and Christmas Celebrations

Hidayatullah published news on December 31, 2015, entitled "Singing Ave Maria Accompanied by the Adhan at this Christmas Celebration is Outrageous". In brief, this news explains the rejection of religious tolerance which is considered outrageous and uncivilized. According to Hidayatullah.com, religious tolerance should not be done to mingle the teachings of Islam with other religions. Hidayatullah rejected religious tolerance at the Christmas celebrations by singing the Ave Maria song accompanied by the announcement of Adhan at the NTB Governor's official residence. According to Hidayatullah, celebrating Christmas by singing the Ave Maria song accompanied by the Announcement of Adhan was harassment and derogation to Muslims.

**Table 1.2** Hidayatullah Frame: Outrageous Ave Maria Singing, Adhan, and Christmas Celebrations

<b>Analysis Structure</b>	Meaning
Defining	- Religious tolerance doesn't mean mixing religious teachings
Problems	- Religions have their own teachings or dogmas, so they are
	not the same as each other.
	- Singing Christmas songs accompanied by the announcement
	of Adhan is desecration, harassment, and derogation to
	Muslims.
	- Celebrating Christmas by singing the Ave Maria song and
	the Announcement of Adhan is outrageous and uncivilized.
Causal	- The cause of the problem is the Christmas celebration by
Interpretation	singing the Ave Maria song and accompanied by the
	announcement of Adhan.
	- The actors causing religious tolerance are Christians in NTB
<b>Making Moral</b>	- Islam has had its own limits on tolerance based on the Qur'an
Judgment	Surah Al-Kafirun
	- Religious tolerance does not have to mix religious teachings
Treatment	- Not singing the Ave Maria Christmas song accompanied by
Recommendations	the announcement of Adhan

**Defining Problems:** The news made by Hidayatullah very clearly rejects the Christmas celebration by singing the Ave Maria song accompanied by the announcement of Adhan. Hidayatullah believes that the meaning and practice of



religious tolerance are not intended to mingle the teachings of Islam and Christianity. In this case, what Hidayatullah means is the Christmas celebration by singing the Ave Mari song and simultaneously announcing the Adhan. According to Hidayatullah, religious tolerance should not mix religious teachings because religions have their own teachings or dogmas, which of course, every religion is not the same. Hidayatullah then thought that singing Christmas songs accompanied by the announcement of Adhan was desecration, harassment, and derogation to Muslims. This confirms that Hidayatullah saw the problem that occurred because of the Christmas celebration which involved singing the Ave Maria song at the same time as the announcement of Adhan.

Causal Interpretation: Hidayatullah developed the news framing by looking at the causes of the religious tolerance problem attributable to the Christmas celebration by singing the Ave Maria song accompanied by the announcement of Adhan. Thus, the actors who are considered to raise the problem of religious tolerance are Christians celebrating Christmas Day. Hidayatullah quoted the opinion of Tiar Anwar Bachtiar who asserted that singing church songs at the same time as the announcement of Adhan was uncivilized and reckless. Indirectly, Hidayatullah thought that the problem of religious tolerance arose due to religious syncretism or mixing Islamic teachings with Christian teachings. According to Hidayatullah, singing Church songs should not be accompanied by the announcement of Adhan because both are different rituals.

Making Moral Judgment: Hidayatullah made a moral decision precisely in defending Muslims themselves who were considered to be harassed by the Christmas celebration with the announcement of Adhan. The entire content of the news is very biased because the moral values made in the news text were entirely used to defend Muslims. Hidayatullah didn't provide balanced news attempting to defend the interests of Christians celebrating Christmas Day accompanied by the announcement of Adhan. In fact, Hidayatullah could have developed a framing that the sole cause of the problem with Christmas celebrations and the announcement of Adhan was a certain individual fault and not the general cause of Christians. The moral value written by Hidayatullah is prohibiting Christmas celebrations by singing Church songs accompanied by the announcement of Adhan. Singing church songs (the Ave Maria song) at the same time as the announcement of Adhan is a form of desecration and derogation to Muslims. The moral values given are an attempt by Hidayatullah's ideology to defend the interests of Muslims without looking at the interests of Christians.

**Treatment Recommendation**: It is very clear, in terms of ideological interests, Hidayatullah provides recommendations for solving problems by defending the

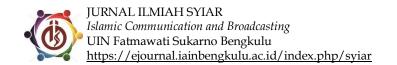
interests of Muslims. This can be seen in the framing development such as the moral value given by Hidayatullah that the Christmas celebration should not involve the ritual of announcing the Adhan. The recommendations for solving the problem given are not based on social context but on the text of Islamic teachings, i.e., the Qur'an Surah Al-Kafirun. Using the argumentation of the Surah in the Qur'an, Hidayatullah strictly prohibited the combination of religious events, i.e., Christmas celebrations accompanied by the announcement of Adhan. Using Tiar Anwar Bachtiar's view, tolerance was not necessary to conduct just for reasons of defending religious interests outside of Islam. This description provides an important conclusion that ideologically, Hidayatullah as an Islamic media views pessimistically towards the practice of religious tolerance in Indonesia.

## Hidayatullah Frames: Brunei Banned Open Christmas Celebrations

Hidayatullah published news on January 9, 2015, entitled "Brunei Banned Open Christmas Celebrations." In brief, the news explained that Christmas celebrations in Brunei Darussalam were banned because they were thought to mislead Muslims. The ban on Christmas celebrations in this country is due to the large number of Muslim people wearing clothes resembling Santa Claus. Muslims were advised to be careful about efforts to openly develop other religions. Other people, for example, Christians who lived in Islamic countries, were banned from openly celebrating their religious holidays. The ban on Christmas celebrations also has consequences in that business centers must remove all Christmas symbols or decorations.

Table 1.3 Hidayatullah Frames: Brunei Banned Open Christmas Celebrations

<b>Analysis Structure</b>	Meaning
Defining	- Open celebration of Christmas in Muslim countries can harm
Problems	Muslims
	- Muslims must be careful about Christmas celebrations taken
	place openly by Christians.
Causal	- Christmas celebrations in Muslim countries
Interpretation	- The use of Christmas clothes by some Muslims
	- Spread of Christian teachings through Christmas celebrations
<b>Making Moral</b>	- Invite Muslims to be careful not to participate in Christmas
Judgment	celebrations.
	- Prohibit open celebration of Christmas in Muslim countries
Treatment	- Prohibit Muslims from participating in Christmas



## Recommendations

celebrations

- Prohibit Muslims from using Christmas celebration attributes
- Remove Christmas attributes in business centers.

Defining Problems: Hidayatullah developed news framing by looking at the issue of Christmas celebrations as a form of threat in the Islamic country, i.e., Brunei Darussalam. Christmas celebrations are non-Islamic religious events that must be banned because they are considered to destroy Muslims. Open celebration of Christmas in Muslim countries can harm Muslims because it threatens the existence of Islamic teachings. The Christmas celebration is considered an attempt to spread the teachings of Christianity and invite Muslims to follow Christian teachings. Hidayatullah in defining the problem saw that the main cause of the problem was the Christmas celebration. It is very clear that Hidayatullah wrote the news that open Christmas celebrations should be banned because they could harm the interests of Muslims. Hidayatullah also saw the use of Christmas attributes by Muslims, for example, wearing hats or clothes resembling Santa Claus.

Causal Interpretation: Hidayatullah developed the framing that the cause of problems in Islamic countries, for example, Brunei Darussalam, was the Christmas celebration. The actors or groups that are considered to be causing problems are religions other than Islam celebrating Christmas Day. According to Hidayatullah, the next cause of the problem is that even Muslims follow Christian religious rituals, for example, wearing clothes and hats resembling Santa Claus. Muslims who take part in Christian celebrations are then also considered actors causing the problem because they are unknowingly said to take part in Christmas celebrations which can destroy their faith. Hidayatullah doesn't see the causes of problems in Muslim countries based on social or political points of view. However, the problem is the Christmas celebration which is even considered threatening the faith of Muslims. The explanation informs that Hidayatullah ideologically and fundamentally supports the Muslims. However, fundamental ideology doesn't provide an opportunity to celebrate their religious holidays in an Islamic country.

Making Moral Judgment: The moral value provided by Hidayatullah was to recommend that Christmas celebrations in Islamic countries be banned from being held openly. Even this moral value is ideological proof that Hidayatullah defends the interests of Islam. Hidayatullah didn't make any other suggestions in association with religious tolerance in Islamic countries. Inviting Muslims to be careful not to participate in Christmas celebrations. According to Hidayatullah, there must be clear boundaries

on religious relationships between Muslims and Christians. This unclear relationship boundary is considered by Hidayatullah a threat to Muslims. Therefore, for Hidayatullah, there is no religious tolerance for the Christmas celebration events that Muslims participate in. This moral value serves as a way to guard against the destruction of the faith of Muslims due to the development of other religions, i.e., Christianity. It is very clear about the moral values the Hidayatullah proposes.

**Treatment Recommendation:** Even Hidayatullah's recommendations resolving the Christmas celebration problem were used to defend the interests of Muslims. The first recommendation is very clear, the problem arising in Islamic countries regarding the open celebration of Christmas threatens the existence of Muslims. Therefore, open Christmas celebrations must be banned by society and the government. It is not enough just to openly prohibit Christmas celebrations, symbols or attributes of Christmas celebrations are banned to wear by Muslims as well, for example, Santa Claus clothes. The prohibition on Christmas and its symbols is not associated with economic issues, so in all business centers, the symbols of Christmas celebrations and all Christmas decorations must be removed. The recommendations for solving the problem written by Hidayatullah seem to harm the diversity of Christians living in an Islamic country. Christmas celebrations in Islamic countries are also very hard to display openly in public places because they are suspected of destroying people's Islamic faith.

## Hidayatullah Frames: MUI Considered that Muslims Took Part in Christmas Services Were Not Tolerance

Hidayatullah published news on December 31, 2019, entitled "MUI Considered that Muslims Took Part in Christmas Services Were Not Tolerance." In summary, the news published the Christmas celebration at the Jawi Wetan Christian Church which was attended by a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf. The Christmas celebration was filled with interesting events in which a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf took part. In another case, the Christmas celebration at St. Vicentius Church, Malang City, East Java, was enlivened by Sufi dancers. Using the opinion of the Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI), Hidayatullah rejected Christmas celebrations attended by Muslims in several regions of Indonesia. The form of Christmas celebrations in Churches which is attended by several Muslims cannot be called a form of religious tolerance.

**Table 1.4** Hidayatullah Frames: MUI Considered that Muslims Took Part in Christmas Services Were Not Tolerance

<b>Analysis Structure</b>	Meaning
Defining	- Celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is not a form
Problems	of religious tolerance
	- Tolerance between religious communities is embodied in
	building national unity in the form of working together in
	the neighborhood and jointly maintaining order, security,
	and peace in each neighborhood.
Causal	- Christmas celebration in Churches with the attendance of
Interpretation	Muslims
	- The actors causing the problem are Muslims attending the
	Christmas celebrations in Churches
<b>Making Moral</b>	- There must be a clear boundary in the rules for good
Judgment	relations between citizens and the worship events of every
	religious follower.
	- An invitation for Muslims not to attend celebrations of other
	religions and cultural arts events of non-Islamic religions.
Treatment	- Religious tolerance can be better embodied in two ways, i.e.,
Recommendations	working together in the neighborhood and jointly
	maintaining order, security, and peace in the community.

Defining Problems: Hidayatullah ideologically developed a framing of Christmas celebrations that was associated with the issue of religious tolerance. Several videos have been circulating on social media showing some Muslims attending Christmas celebrations in Churches in Indonesia. For Hidayatullah, this case is seen not as a form of religious tolerance but as mingling Islamic teachings with Christian teachings. The appropriate religious tolerance for Hidayatullah is not seen in the presence of Muslims at Christmas celebration events. True religious tolerance is in the form of social events, for example, working together in the neighborhood and jointly maintaining order and peace. Using the opinion of the Indonesian Council of Ulema, it is concerned about Christmas celebrations in some regions of Indonesia which are events attended by Muslims. Hidayatullah explained the problem in this case under its defense of Muslims attending many Christmas celebrations.

**Causal Interpretation**: Hidayatullah developed a framing that explains that the cause of the problem arising in society is the Christmas celebration in Churches with the

attendance of Muslims. The actors considered to be the cause of the problem by Hidayatullah are non-Muslims inviting Muslims and Muslims that attend Christmas celebrations in Churches. Another cause of the problem is that Muslims don't understand the true meaning of religious tolerance, so they consciously attend Christmas celebrations in Churches. Another cause of the problem is a lack of clear boundaries between maintaining good relations between citizens and the religious worship events of different religious adherents. Ideologically, Hidayatullah of course, wants to defend the interests of Muslims, so the cause of the problem is the Christmas celebration which even involves Muslims. Implicitly, Hidayatullah wants the Christmas celebration not to involve Muslims in its performance, even under the pretext of practicing religious tolerance.

Making Moral Judgment: Hidayatullah provides moral values which of course, it wants to defend the interests of Muslims considered to be harmed by Christmas celebrations with the attendance of Muslims. For example, the moral value provided is that there must be a clear boundary in the rules of good relations between citizens and the worship events of every religious follower. It is not clear to whom these moral values are addressed, whether the government, society, or religious believers themselves. Even though in reality, the rules on relations between religious communities, have been regulated, for example, in law or social regulations. Another important moral value is Hidayatullah's invitation to Muslims not to attend celebrations of other religions (i.e., Christmas celebrations) and art and culture events of other religions. If this moral value is analyzed, it will come to the conclusion that Hidayatullah rejects the concept of religious tolerance or religious moderation to participate in celebrating other religious cultural events. Ideologically, Hidayatullah ultimately provides moral values according to the interests of Muslims rather than looking at the evolving social context in society.

**Treatment Recommendation**: When reading the entire news, Hidayatullah didn't specifically write about recommendations for resolving the problem of religious with tolerance regarding Christmas celebrations Muslims. Hidayatullah recommendations are not aimed at the government or the teachings of each religion. The recommendations explain that religious tolerance can be better embodied in two ways, i.e., working together in the neighborhood and jointly maintaining order, security, and peace in the community. The recommendation to resolve this problem means that Hidayatullah rejects Christmas celebration events with the attendance of Muslims. According to Hidayatullah, religious tolerance doesn't require performing joint religious worship between religious communities, but it is better to perform social

events, for example, working together, maintaining security, and keeping the environment clean. Muslims have had their teachings, both in terms of religious and social rituals, which cannot be mingled.

# Eramuslim Frames: Ahead of the Christmas Celebration, Babe Haikal Reminded Us **Not to Mingle Beliefs**

Eramuslim published news on December 13, 2019, entitled "Ahead of the Christmas Celebration, Babe Haikal Reminded Us Not to Mingle Beliefs." In summary, the news reported based on the opinion of Haikal Hasan Baras that a polemic about Christian Christmas celebrations had occurred. The Christmas celebration that was held on December 25, 2019, raised a problem that occurred, i.e., religious tolerance. According to Haikal Hasan, in Islamic law, it was illegal; it was clear that there should be no events mingling with religious teachings. Muslims were asked to embody tolerance, but they had to cling firmly to their respective beliefs. Babe Haikal banned Muslims from disturbing Christians who were celebrating Christmas using the foundation of Qur'an, Surah Al-Kafirun. Haikal Hasan asserted that Muslims should not interfere with the Christmas celebrations and appealed to Muslims not to go to the Church to celebrate.

**Table 1.5** Ahead of the Christmas Celebration, Babe Haikal Reminded Not to Mingle **Beliefs** 

<b>Analysis Structure</b>	Meaning
Defining	- There was turmoil just before the Christmas celebrations
Problems	- Mingling religious teachings is illegal in Islam
Causal	- Muslim community that takes part in celebrating Christmas
Interpretation	- Mingling Islamic teachings with Christian teachings
	- The actors causing the problem are Muslims who take part in
	a joint celebration of Christmas in Churches.
	- The actors causing the problem are people bothering with the
	execution of Christmas celebrations
<b>Making Moral</b>	- The importance of building religious tolerance
Judgment	- It is illegal to mingle Islamic teachings with Christian
	teachings
Treatment	- Muslims are appealed not to celebrate Christmas and come
Recommendations	to the Church.
	- Muslims must not bother Christian Christmas celebrations

**Defining Problems**: Eramuslim defines the problem that Christmas celebrations are closely related to the emergence of the polemic on religious tolerance. In Haikal Hassan Baras' opinion, turmoil has occurred ahead of the Christmas celebrations. The problem is also defined that the execution of Christmas celebrations is often associated with the beliefs of Muslims. Ideologically, Eramuslim defines the problems of Christmas celebrations and religious tolerance to defend the interests of Muslims. Eramuslim uses the opinion of Haikal Hasan Baras that the problem for Muslims today is about Muslims must be tolerant of Christmas celebrations. However, Muslims are said to be intolerant if they don't participate in joint Christmas celebrations in Churches. Thus, according to Eramuslim, when Muslims celebrate Christmas, the problems of Muslim beliefs are bothered. The Eramuslim ideology in this news very clearly concludes that Christmas celebrations will become a problem for Muslims if they take part in celebrating it.

Causal Interpretation: Eramuslim developed the framing by explaining that the cause of the problem was due to Christmas celebration events jointly done with Muslims. Christmas celebrations involving Muslims coming to the Church are a cause of problems with Muslims' beliefs or *aqidah*. Mingling Islamic teachings with Christian teachings is the cause of the destruction of Muslims' beliefs. Ideologically, Eramuslim believes that the cause of the problem is a Christian group that deliberately invites Muslims to join in celebrating Christmas in Churches. Thus, the actors causing the problem of the emergence of religious tolerance practices are Muslims taking part in joint Christmas celebrations in Churches. The actors causing the second problem are people bothering with the execution of Christmas celebrations. Despite indirectly, Eramuslim wants to explain that Christian groups are also actors causing problems because they invite Muslims to join in celebrating Christmas.

Making Moral Judgment: Eramuslim provides clear moral values to protect the interests of Muslims. From the news headline, it can be understood that Eramuslim, through Haikal Hassan's views, is giving a warning not to involve Muslims in celebrating Christmas. According to Eramuslim, religious tolerance is absolutely necessary for building religious harmony, but this doesn't mean that Christmas celebrations have to involve Muslims. It is illegal to mingle Islamic teachings with Christian teachings because each religion has its own beliefs. The moral values provided by Eramuslim don't look at the interests of Christians at all. The moral values provided also don't suggest that religious tolerance can be embodied by celebrating Christmas with Muslims.

**Treatment Recommendation**: The problem-solving recommendations put forward by Eramuslim surely want to defend the interests of Muslims. This defense is done because Muslims feel that their beliefs or *aqidah* are threatened by celebrating Christmas with Muslims. Eramuslim, through the opinion of Haikal Hassan Baras, urges Muslims not to celebrate Christmas and come to the Church. By not taking part in Christmas celebrations with Muslims, this is called a true form of tolerance. Religious tolerance doesn't always have to be associated with celebrating Christmas with Muslims. If Muslims don't take part in joint Christmas celebrations, this doesn't mean that they are intolerant because each individual has his/her place in religious beliefs. A form of intolerant action towards other religions is, for example, if Muslims bother Christian Christmas celebrations. A very crucial recommendation for resolving the problem is that Muslims should not bother Christian Christmas celebrations

# Eramuslim Frames: MUI Was Concerned As Muslims Were Too Involved in Christmas Services

Eramuslim published news on January 1, 2020, entitled "MUI Was Concerned As Muslims Were Too Involved in Christmas Services." In summary, this news takes the opinion of MUI Deputy Secretary General Nadjamuddin Romly who questioned the participation of Muslims in Christmas celebrations in several regions of Indonesia. Eramuslim, borrowing the MUI's view, believes that Christmas celebrations in Churches held with Muslims cannot be called an embodiment of religious tolerance. A clear boundary in executing religious celebrations, in this case, Christmas in Churches must be provided. Eramuslim, borrowing the MUI's opinion, hopes that Muslims will not take part in Christmas celebrations in Churches with Christians. According to the MUI, religious tolerance doesn't have to involve Christmas celebrations jointly with Muslims, but rather working together in the social sector, for example, maintaining environmental cleanliness and maintaining order.

Table 1.6 MUI Was Concerned As Muslims Were Too Involved in Christmas Services

<b>Analysis Structure</b>	Meaning
Defining	- Celebrating Christmas with Muslims is not an embodiment
Problems	of religious tolerance.
	- Muslims are not necessary to attend Christmas celebrations
Causal	- Joint Christmas celebrations with Muslims in Churches occur
Interpretation	in some regions of Indonesia.
	- The actors causing the problem are religious groups inviting
	Muslims to celebrate Christmas together in Churches.

# Making Moral Judgment

- A clear boundary in religious relations and limits in practicing each other's religions must be provided
- Muslims are appealed not to attend celebrations of other religions
- Muslims don't execute various Islamic religious cultures jointly with the worship practices of other religions.

# Treatment Recommendations

- Religious tolerance is embodied by maintaining national unity and communion, for example, working together in the neighborhood, and jointly maintaining order, security, and peace in each neighborhood.
- Religious tolerance is embodied by working together to maintain stability, obeying the law, participating in development, and working together to eradicate the drugs rampant.

Defining Problems: Eramuslim uses the opinion of the Indonesian Council of Ulema to define the issue of celebrating Christmas with Muslims as not a form of religious tolerance. Ideologically, Eramuslim sees that celebrating Christmas with Muslims is an act violating Islamic teachings. Problems will continue to arise if Muslims are invited to celebrate Christmas together in Churches. Thus, the problem of embodying tolerance will actually fail when Muslims are instead invited to celebrate Christmas together in Churches. Eramuslim defines the issue of celebrating Christmas together with Muslims based on Islamic interests. Eramuslim doesn't define the issue of celebrations together with Muslims and religious tolerance, for example, based on political or economic points of view. Celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is a matter of Islamic teachings which are even violated by Muslims themselves and groups inviting Christmas celebrations together in Churches.

Causal Interpretation: Eramuslim developed a framing that the cause of the problem was the Christmas celebration in Churches together with the attendance of Muslims. Celebrating Christmas together with Muslims in Churches in some regions of Indonesia was a problem that didn't represent a form of religious tolerance. The cause of the problem that is even forgotten is religious tolerance in the social sector, for example maintaining environmental cleanliness, mutual cooperation, maintaining order, etc. Meanwhile, the actors causing the problem of religious tolerance are religious groups inviting Muslims to celebrate Christmas together in Churches The second actor who is considered the root of the problem is Muslims who deliberately take part in Christmas celebrations in some Churches in Indonesia.

Making Moral Judgment: Eramuslim develops framing by providing moral values to protect the interests of Muslims. Eramuslim uses the MUI's opinion that a clear boundary in religious relations and limits in practicing one's religion must be provided. What Eramuslim means is that celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is a religious relationship that has no clear boundaries, so boundaries must be made according to the teachings of each religion. This moral value is relevant to the recommendation by Eramuslim that Muslims should not attend Christmas celebrations or other religious celebrations. The next moral value brought forward by Eramuslim is that Muslims should not execute various Islamic religious cultures together with the worship of other religions. The moral values proposed by Eramuslim reject the concept of religious tolerance developed so far, in Indonesia.

Treatment Recommendation: Eramuslim proposed a recommendation to resolve the problem of religious tolerance by replacing religious tolerance with social tolerance. Religious tolerance is embodied by maintaining national unity and communion, for example, working together in the neighborhood, and jointly maintaining order, security, and peace in each neighborhood. Eramuslim also proposed solving the problem by looking at the importance of collaborating in law, development, and eradicating drug issues. The problem recommendations brought forward by Eramuslim stem from the view that celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is not considered tolerance. In fact, it is very crucial to build tolerance in the social sector to embody the unity and integrity of the Indonesian nation. Ideologically, Eramuslim provided recommendations for solving problems by looking at problems outside of religious teachings but social problems.

# Eramuslim Frames: Deputy Chief Persis Warned That Tolerance Should Not Exceed the Boundary of Faith

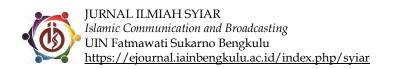
Eramuslim published the news on December 28, 2020, entitled "Deputy Chief Persis Warned: Tolerance Should Not Exceed the Boundary of Faith." In summary, the content of the news is to explain that a polemic occurred in society due to the Christmas celebration which was accompanied by Christmas greetings and the reading of the Qur'an simultaneously. The legal fatwa from the MUI on the prohibition of Christmas greetings and participation in Christmas celebrations by Muslims is not a fatwa to be debated. The law of greeting Merry Christmas in Islam is also never executed in Islam. The area of tolerance must have a boundary and of course, mixing between beliefs of each religion is not allowed.

**Table 1.7** Kompas Frames: Deputy Chief Persis Warned That Tolerance Should Not Exceed the Boundary of Faith

<b>Analysis Structure</b>	Meaning
Defining	- Celebrating Christmas accompanied by reading the Qur'an is
Problems	not a form of religious tolerance
	- The area of tolerance has a boundary and cannot mix
	different religious beliefs
Causal	- Merry Christmas greetings and Christmas Celebrations are
Interpretation	accompanied by reading the Qur'an
	- The actors causing the problem are Muslims themselves who
	demonstratively want to fight, oppose, and even derogate
	the MUI fatwa prohibiting congratulations and celebrating
	Christmas together.
	- Individuals carrying political and economic interests who
	want to create conflict.
<b>Making Moral</b>	- A balance on the boundaries of civility, decency, and
Judgment	politeness must exist, and social interactions must be
	balanced.
	- A boundary set by religion and belief and a boundary set by
	the social life of society must be clear.
Treatment	- Religious tolerance should not be understood as an event of
Recommendations	combining the rituals of certain different religions.

Defining Problems: Eramuslim developed a framing by seeing a joint celebration of Christmas as a problem that may threaten the Islamic faith. Celebrating a joint Christmas accompanied by the reading of the Qur'an is not a matter of religious tolerance but instead constitutes a threat to Islamic teachings. Ideologically, Eramuslim wants to defend the interests of Muslims who should not have to celebrate Christmas together with reading the Qur'an. According to Eramuslim, Islam has its own beliefs and Christianity also has its own beliefs, so both should not be mingled. The fatwa of the Indonesian Council of Ulema on the prohibition of greeting Merry Christmas and celebrating a joint Christmas is not up for debate but must be obeyed. Eramuslim uses this MUI fatwa to very clearly define the problem of celebrating a joint Christmas and that Christmas greetings from Muslims are a threat to the Muslim faith.

Causal Interpretation: Eramuslim developed the framing by explaining that Christmas greetings and Christmas celebrations accompanied by reading the Qur'an



were the cause of the problem. Ideologically, Eramuslim would like to say that the joint Christmas celebration accompanied by the reading of the Qur'an was a factor raising the problem of religious tolerance. Celebrating Christmas together was not necessary because it might even threaten the existence of religious tolerance. According to Eramuslim, the actors causing the problem are Muslims themselves who demonstratively want to fight, oppose, and even derogate the MUI fatwa prohibiting congratulations and celebrating Christmas together. However, Eramuslim also suspects that there are other actors, for example, individuals carrying economic and political interests who want to create conflict. Eramuslim didn't clearly explain the names or groups that were thought to want to create conflict by bringing political and economic interests.

Making Moral Judgment: The moral values provided by Eramuslim include two important issues, namely that a balance on the boundaries of civility, decency, and politeness must exist, and social interactions must be balanced. In other words, celebrating Christmas accompanied by the reading of the Qur'an as well as greetings from Muslims for Christmas is an event violating civility, politeness, and social relations. Eramuslim provides this moral value because it wants to defend the interests of Muslims who are said to have had their own religious values of decency and civility. The moral values provided are of course, ideologically, created to benefit Muslims and their religion. The second moral value is that Eramuslim appeals to provide a clear boundary in regulating religious relations, especially becoming the Islamic *aqidah* (beliefs). According to Eramuslim, issues of *aqidah* in Islam cannot be equated with social rules or relations of religious tolerance.

Treatment Recommendation: Eramuslim provides recommendations for solving problems based on the interests of Muslims explaining that religious tolerance should not be understood as an event of combining the rituals of certain different religions. Therefore, Eramuslim wants to defend the interests of Muslims in issues of religious worship. Eramuslim provides no recommendations for solving problems based on the social interest points of view that make it easier to celebrate Christmas together with Muslims. The proposed problem-solving recommendations are also not specifically based, for example, on the State interest perspective. The only solution to the problem is the idea that Christmas greetings and Christmas celebrations accompanied by the reading of the Qur'an must be banned because they may threaten the Islamic *aqidah*.

Hidayatullah and the Eramuslim: Islamic Media that Rejects Religious Moderation

In all the news analyzed, Hidayatullah strongly ideologically defended the interests of Muslims. As an Islamic media, Hidayatulah defines the problem that celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is not actually called religious tolerance. Executing joint Christmas celebrations accompanied by reading the Qur'an or the announcement of Adhan is a problem that may destroy Muslims' beliefs. If analyzed based on a religious moderation approach, of course, Hidayatullah's ideas are contradictory. The news entitled "Outrageous Ave Maria Singin, Adhan, and Christmas Celebrations." defined the problem that Christmas celebrations accompanied by the announcement of Adhan was an immoral or uncivilized act. If this is interpreted, it will indeed conflict with the current evolving discourse on religious tolerance.

In seeing the cause of the problem, Hidayatullah, of course, wants to defend the interests of Muslims. In all the news analyzed, Hidayatullah wants to explain that Christmas celebrations together with Muslims are the cause of problems with Muslims' beliefs. Hidayaullah's defense of the interests of Muslims firmly proves that it wants the enforcement of Islamic law in a kaffah (in a whole) manner which rejects pragmatic and partial enforcement of Islamic law. As an Islamic media, Hidayatullah remains consistent in adhering to its vision and mission to defend Islamic interests (Zahra et al., 2020). Celebrating Christmas Day together with Muslims is possibly considered by the government and society in general as an embodiment of religious moderation, but for Hidayatullah, it is considered a cause of problems. When looking at this problem, news texts, if they refer to the purpose of writing content promoted by Hidayatullah, will, of be contradictory. Because Hidayatullah is clear course, (see https://hidayatullah.com/tangan-kami), most of the content available on this site follows moderate and tolerant views and teachings of Islam.

As a media that clings firmly to the strict enforcement of Islamic law in a *kaffah* manner, Hidayatullah provides moral values that continue to defend the interests of Muslims. Based on the analysis explained above, the moral value proposed is to ban Christmas celebrations from being held together with Muslims. Even Christmas celebration events together with Muslims that are accompanied by reading the Qur'an or announcing Adhan are contrary to Islamic morals. The reason is that the Islamic morals that Hidayatullah wants are not to mingle Islamic beliefs with Christian teachings. This defense of Muslims constitutes a form of Hidayatullah's Islamic ideology because this media aims to develop Islamic society (Kamil, 2019). This means that everything that is considered to be contrary to the interests of Muslims will be expressly rejected, for example, celebrating Christmas together with Muslims which is considered a way of embodying religious moderation. Hidayatullah stands as a media

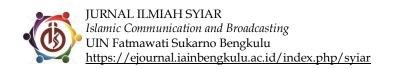


that defends the interests of Muslims, even though the ideology it carries sometimes is rejected by some people in Indonesia. The plurality that Hidayatullah wants to embody is by constantly maintaining Islamic values(Wahyudi & Rifa, 2023).

Eramuslim is no different from Hidayatullah, this Islamic media rejects religious tolerance by integrating religious events. For Eramuslim, celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is a false embodiment of tolerance because it can destroy the beliefs of Muslims. Eramuslim is an ideological Islamic media that is in line with Hidayatullah's vision, enforcing Islamic law is a way to embody the glory of Islam. With its ideology defending Islam, Eramuslim may waive religious tolerance which forms part of the concept of various modes of moderation. Objectivity in reporting is not a necessity for this media because the important thing is defending the interests of Muslims(Khusnulkhatimah, 2022). For Eramuslim, celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is not necessary to carry out because this practice will threaten Islam and of course, the Islamic followers. The rejection of joint Christmas celebrations stems from the idea that moderation is actually an attempt by the West to weaken the power of Islam. The religious moderation the Eramuslim desires is different from the discourse on religious moderation evolving in society today (Nugraha, 2019).

Based on the 3 (three) news analyses above, Eramuslim defines the issue of religious tolerance in association with joint Christmas celebrations as being about the beliefs or *aqidah* of Muslims. Clearly and ideologically, Eramuslim explains that celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is an event that may not be executed. For Eramuslim, reading the Qur'an in Churches during Christmas celebrations is a problem that is not related to religious tolerance or religious moderation at all. This rejection of religious moderation by Eramuslim is natural because even though it defends the interests of Islam politely, according to Malik (2014), even this media is called having a fundamentalist ideology. As an Islamic media, Eramuslim of course, communicates ideological messages in the news it publishes with the aim of defending their ideological interests. The interests of Muslims are the focus of Eramuslim's defense, by forming various propaganda to embed the spirit of pan-Islamism in the wider community (Rizkiansyah, 2013).

Eramuslim then developed the framing by explaining that the cause of the problem of religious tolerance was the Christmas celebration held together with Muslims. Eramuslim didn't see any other causes of problems in the three news it analyzed. The actors considered to be the cause of the problem are groups inviting Muslims to celebrate Christmas together in Churches. In this case, it is very clear that the cause of the problem is explained to defend the interests of Muslims according to



the ideology adhered to by Eramuslim. In defending the interests of Muslims, this Islamic media, firmly rejects joint religious events that are considered not in line with Islam. Attacking other groups in this case is not with insults or harsh sentences but using polite language (Farhan & Zakiah, 2016). Some people may consider that Eramuslim is a media that attacks the practices of other religions or religious moderation in association with rejecting Christmas celebrations together with Muslims. Eramuslim is as if attacking other parties who attack Islamic teachings. This is of course done because ideologically, Eramuslim is indeed founded to defend the interests of Muslims (Sebastian & Yusuf, 2013).

The moral value proposed by Eramuslim in solving the problem of religious moderation is by prohibiting Christmas celebrations together with Muslims. According to Eramuslim, celebrating Christmas together with Muslims is not necessary because it will destroy Muslims' beliefs. Islam and Christianity already have their own different teachings so there is no need to mix these two different beliefs. This moral value firmly defends the interests of Muslims, of course, in line with Eramuslim's ideological goal, namely upholding Islamic law What Eramuslim's ideology looks like can be read in the research of Melati (2020) which concludes that Eramuslim wants to be considered a traditionalist media but still cannot abandon its fundamentalist ideology. The traditionalist-fundamentalist ideology adopted by Eramuslim has one main goal, namely defending the interests of oppressed Muslims.

The problem-solving recommendations proposed by Eramuslim are ultimately in line with the moral values built by this Islamic media. Defending the interests of Muslims is the ideology brought by Eramuslim in providing recommendations for resolving the problem of religious tolerance and celebrating Christmas together. Even though in a single case, Eramuslim also provides recommendations for solving the problem by replacing religious tolerance in joint celebrating Christmas with social events. For example, the solution offered by Eramuslim is cooperation between religious communities (Islam and Christianity) in the fields of law, development, and eradication of drug issues. Resolving the problem of religious moderation by disseminating Islamic values is the ideology built by Eramuslim (Sefrianita, 2011). The representation of Eramuslim media's ideology is that it uses Islam as the vision of the movement (Taqyudin, 2018). Perhaps this is caused by the ideology of Islamism makes Eramuslim reject celebrating Christmas together with Muslims.

#### CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis explained above, Hidayatullah and Eramuslim are media with an ideology rejecting Christmas celebrations together with Muslims. According these both Islamic media, religious tolerance doesn't have to involve joint religious celebrations. These two Islamic media define joint celebrating Christmas with Muslims as an issue that is contrary to religious tolerance. Joint celebrating Christmas with Muslims accompanied by reading the Qur'an and announcing Adhan is considered an event that threatens Muslims' beliefs. These two Islamic media explain that the cause of the problem is the Christmas celebration held together with Muslims. The problem actors are groups inviting Muslims to celebrate Christmas together and Muslims who consciously want to take part in Christmas events together in Churches. The moral value and recommendation for solving the problem proposed by both Islamic media are to prohibit Christmas celebrations together with Muslims.

The conclusion of this research only found one crucial concept in the rejection of the two Islamic media against religious moderation, namely religious tolerance. The results of this research are of course, still subjective because they are the results of textual research and the results cannot be generalized. Further research needs to be carried out to analyze the ideology of the two Islamic media regarding news about Christmas celebrations with Muslims and its relationship to three other important concepts of religious moderation, namely national commitment, non-violence, and accommodating to local culture.

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