

ESENSIA

Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin

Religious Inclusivism in Indonesia : Study of Pesantren An-Nida and Edi Mancoro, Salatiga, Central Java

Masroer

المعاملة مع البيئة في منظور القرآن الكريم
(دراسة التفسير الموضوعي- السياقي)

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Shalat Tarawih Juziyyah in Madrasah Huffadz: Community of Memorizers of Quran, Identity Politics, and Religious Authority

Waffada Arief Najiyya

Syaikh Abdul Latief Syakur's View on Moral Values in Tafsir Surah Al-Mukminun

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(A Theological Study of Bulu' Nene')

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The Construction of Terror Communicating of ISIS News In Social Media

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Abstract

Global era with its advanced technology has provided small terrorist groups a powerful instrument—social media which is intentionally or unintentionally used to serve their interest. As believed, the terrorist does their action by giving significant impact to publicity. As a terrorist organization, ISIS realized the potentials of social media-oriented terror, in terms of its effectiveness in reaching huge audiences. The spread of the ideology, which is called jihadi virus, is limited in the physical world, however it is possible to spread within social media regardless of time and space. Discursive framework method in constructivism paradigm has led to a conclusion that reality constructed in social media such as twitter, facebook, whatsApp, BBM, path, and other applications are carefully planned in a form of disinformation tactics (propaganda), economic pressure, socio-cultural, and ideology. The impact of social media reveals interesting results that ISIS has formed symbolizations and image changes and raised attention towards the issue. In communication terrorism Joseph Turman's approach, as one of constructionist approach, it analyzed that ISIS actions are rhetorical actions (such what messages are conveyed, whether it is a persuasive meaning and symbols that appear; acts of terrorism that is produced and delivered to the wider world; elements of rhetoric including labels, definitions, and symbolism in terrorism; public orator about terrorism; and the relationship between terror and the media), in both written and spoken language, there is always possibility for manipulation and receptive communication.

Keywords: *terror, communicating, construction, social, media*

Abstrak

Era global dengan perkembangan teknologinya seakan telah memberi kelompok teroris suatu instrumen yang kuat- media sosial secara sengaja atau pun tidak sengaja untuk melayani hasrat mereka. Bahkan diyakini lebih dari itu, tindakan teroris sendiri tidak akan berdampak bila tidak terpublikasi secara luas. Organisasi teroris ISIS sangat menyadari potensi media sosial sebagai sarana yang dapat diorientasikan pada aksi-aksi teror mereka, dengan kata lain secara efektif untuk meraih audiens yang besar. Media sosial seperti tweeter, facebook, whatsapp, BBM, path, ipad, dan aplikasi jaringan lainnya tampaknya memang mampu mempromosikan perbuatan-perbuatan mereka secara efektif. Dampak lintas media sosial mengungkapkan hasilnya bahwa ISIS mampu memainkan simbolisasi dan citra dan meningkatkan tensi kepentingan pada isu-isu seputar mereka. Melalui "teori Communicating Terrorism" yang dilahirkan Joseph Turman (2010) menjelaskan bahwa aksi-aksi ISIS bisa dikatakan lebih dari tindakan retorika (sebagai suatu simbol-simbol dan pesan-pesan), yang mereka tuliskan dan ungkapkan melalui bahasa yang penuh makna, yang berpotensi selalu manipulatif dan komunikasi yang reseptif. Penyebaran ideologi, sebagai apa yang kita sebut sebagai virus jihad, yang terbatas pada dunia nyata, tapi melalui media sosial bisa menjadi keluarga dan teman tanpa batas ruang dan waktu, membantu memperluas landasan dan percepatan radikalisasi dan perekrutan anggota teroris.

Kata Kunci : *Konstruksi, Komunikasi, Teror, Media, Sosial*

Introduction

According to the Indonesian National Counter-terrorism Agency (widely known by its Indonesian acronym: BNPT), it is estimated that 500 to 700 Indonesian people—including women and children—have joined ISIS. The perpetrators might be changed, but the social networks and virulent ideology remain the same and continue to evolve, supercharged with the advance of smartphones and social medias. The spread of the ideology, which is called jihadi virus, is limited in the physical world, however it is possible to spread within social media regardless of time and space. Indonesians sympathetic to ISIS are active on social media, helping broaden the base and speeding up radicalization and recruitment. While some have clear ties to the old JI network, others have no ties at all. ISIS is reaching new demographics. Head of ISIS may be the most skilled organization to use social media for propaganda and radicalization. Its slick video with consistent message is spread for different cultures and is aimed to gather attention from marginalized and disenfranchised youth. Authorities around the world have identified 4 phases of radicalization: agitation, playing on personal vulnerabilities like poverty, trauma, injustice leading to hopelessness and fear; self-identification peer pressure, group-think or the urge to belong, gratification; indoctrination capacity-building, personal assurance; and, violent extremism action, sacrifice and personal fulfillment. Through each step of this conversion funnel, the potential member becomes increasingly isolated from their families, loosening their bonds with the society. When those bonds are torn, it is easy to join ISIS.

The following are some recent news of terrorism that takes place in Indonesia retrieved from several national and online media, two members of Mobile Brigade Corps were stabbed after an attack near Indonesian National Police Office in South Jakarta, June 2017. Soon after

he carried out the action, Mulyadi who was stated unstructural or the lone wolf of ISIS fled himself towards Blok M bus station before he got a shot as the result of neglecting the officer warning. In Mei 2017, bomb explosion occurred in Oikumene Sengkotek Church, Samarinda, East Kalimantan. The bomber who is known as a weapon supplier from South Phillipines came to Indonesia through Nunukan Regency which is located near the border line of Malaysia. In April 2017, Rian, a police officer, died as a victim of bomb explosion that occurred in Kampung Melayu, East Jakarta. Reportedly, one of his senior died in the same incident.

A series of terroris arrest in Indonesia by local counter-terrorism squad (Densus 88) was significantly published in news media. For example, the arrest of terror suspects with initials HSS, the member of terror group Ansorut Daulah (JAD) in a house located in Cianjur Regency, West Java, who prepared to attack Cisaat and Cianjur police station in July 2017. Densus 88 shooting on six terrorists in Tuban, an arrest of pan bomb suspect in Cicendo Bandung area by the help of students of SMAN 6 Bandung, an arrest of a man named AAB alias Abu Umar who is suspected as a perpetrator of terror in Caaringin, Sukabumi Regency in July 2017. As well as a number of similar arrest action by Densus 88 around Pandeglang, Serang Banten, Malang, Jambi, Poso, Cipayung East Jakarta, Cileunyi Bogor, Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta, Cilegon Banten, Purwakarta, Ngawi Central Java, and so on.

In Indonesia, the use of social media has been proven through the case of a terrorist defendant Wendy Frebiangga. According to his confession in West Jakarta State Court on June 10, 2013, he mentioned that internet is one of the media that has been used by radical groups to disseminate radical ideologies as well as to commit acts of violence and terror. ISIS has already entered and alleged to have spread

in Indonesia. The police have detected it. ISIS radicalism is a serious threat to the nation and state according to Chief of Coordinating Team for Combating Terrorism Kemenko Polhukam Ansyad Mbai in a dialogue in Prime Time News Metro TV, Friday (13/3/2015) night. According to Ansyad, it needs a legal basis to regulate the sovereignty of the state and protect the Republic of Indonesia from radicalism, such as ISIS. The Police actually has insisted for establishment of a law that protects the sovereignty of the state. The Citizenship Act is not enough to prevent radicalism. Moreover, the sanction of the citizenship act is quite simple: Indonesians joining radical movements abroad are only punished for counterfeiting passports. The State Sovereignty has not been included, there are two things that the government should do to prevent the spread of radicalism, including ISIS. Firstly, support the Police to clean up the remaining terrorist networks. ISIS is not much different from terrorism. Secondly, the government must empower Islamic mass organizations. The government can not only rely on discourses and speeches. The government must reach the mosques. Thirdly, the government should control the excessive amount of terrorism news on the mass media.¹

Most media organizations are aware that terrorist groups manipulate them for their interests, so the media is expected to report these important events with a border line in between professionalism and public interest. What is not expected is media coverage that can actually stimulate subsequent incidents. The role of the media is very significant for terrorists, especially the online media with wider and unlimited number of audiences. Some news on the internet where acts of terrorism and victims are so explicitly aired has shown that censors does

¹ Irfan, ISIS Sudah Masuk Indonesia (Kades Koordinasi Pemberantasan Terorisme Kemenko Polhukam Ansyad Mbai) reported on Maret, 13, 2015 in Metrotvnews.com

not even seem to exist, for example, the ways of beheading, torture, hostage taking, and the use of extreme weapons. The intention of showing explicit news to enhance the impression of terror and fear is called communicating terror.

Perspective or Paradigm

One of the most recent and best approach to terrorism and communication is proposed by Joseph Tuman (2010) in his landmark *Communicating Terror: The Rhetorical Dimensions of Terrorism*. Both the title and subtitle lead the reader to expect something about the communicative content of terrorist acts. He also dedicates two chapters to terrorism as a “communication process with rhetorical dimensions.” He has a sophisticated view on the communicative process in relation with terrorism that we think is correct. He asserts that meaning is embedded in acts of terrorism, just as it is in all acts. Its symbolic content places it within a discursive framework method, but its meaning is always mediated by “official discourse with particular emphasis on the public address of government leaders or that of terrorists”.²

Furthermore, to understand the construction of terror communicating to ISIS in social media by discursive framework method, constructivist paradigm is considered to be very crucial for the study because it is seen as a series of theoretical beliefs of researchers (or metaphysics) that is closely related to the principles of study from beginning to the end. Belief is the basis in determining the right approach or perspective to conduct the analysis. The following are the meanings or essence of the basic belief in constructivist paradigm which includes ontology, epistemology, and methodology.³

² Josep S.Tuman. *Communicating Terror: The Rhetorical Dimensions of Terrorism*. San Francisco State University, USA. SAGE Publications, 2010

³ Norman K.Denzin & Yvonna.S. Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (London. SAGE Publications, 2010)

Ontology: Relativist. The study of the realities of terror communicating to ISIS in Indonesia through social media will reveal reality based on reports or texts expressing a form of diversity or not singularly, carefully planned and constructed, in a form of disinformation tactics (propaganda), economic pressure, socio-cultural influences and surely ideology. In addition to the mentioned before are inevitable spiritual or mental constructs, based on the social and experiential (experience), the setting is local and natural (although the elements are often divided between text and the constructor of texts (ISIS news and media persons), even across individuals: terrorism observers, government, opinion leaders, and the community and the form of experience, observation, and analysis towards terrorism reports in their social media or depends on individuals or groups who holds the construction. This position must be distinguished, both in terms of normalism and idealism.

Epistemology: Transactional and subjectivist. The writer of terror communicating to ISIS in Indonesia through social media is assumed to be interactively connected, so "literally created analysis" becomes part of the investigative process.

Methodology: Hermeneutical and dialectical. The nature of terror communicating terror to ISIS in Indonesia through social media based on social construction emphasizes that individual

construction processes can be generated and filtered only through interaction between and among author and informant (text and the person who construct the text). This diversity of construction is interpreted using conventional hermeneutic techniques, then distinguished and compared through dialectical exchanges. The ultimate goal is to filter a consensus construction that is continuously informed and updated.

Result and Discussion

The Communicating Terror (CT) approach itself specifically explains that the meaning of terrorism is socially constructed and encourages a new understanding about terrorism, especially as a communication process, between terrorists and more than one audience. In brief, the understanding of communication terror (CT) describes how acts of terrorism create rhetorical actions: What messages are conveyed, whether it is a persuasive meaning and symbols that appear; acts of terrorism that produce and communicate to the wider world; elements of rhetoric including labels, definitions, and symbolism in terrorism; public orator about terrorism; and the relationship between terror and the media. This is a unique communication perspective because it focuses on explaining how terrorist rhetoric is actually a form of war through words, symbols, and meanings

The aspects of communicating terror approach can be described in the scheme below:⁴

⁴ Look Joseph Tuman. 2010

Elements	Indicators	Devices
The transferring of message	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Persuasive meaning - Emerging symbols 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - analogies, - metaphors, - theories, - ideologies
The terrorism action which to result and communicate to the worldwide	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategy act - Speech act 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attrition - Intimidation - Provocation - Spoiling - Outbidding - illocutionary - Perlocutionary
The elements of rhetoric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Labels - Definitions - Terrorism' symbols 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Symbolic function (meaningful violence) - Discourse function (recognition, legitimacy, political end)
The public orator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethos - Logos - Pathos 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Credibility Believability - Denotations of words Emotional appeals
The relations terrorism and media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotions - Publications - Distributions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Contend intentionally to manipulate and propaganda

Some of the most chilling examples of persuasive communication come from the middle of the past century, particularly in the speeches made by Adolf Hitler at the gigantic Nazi Party rallies in the 1930s and early 1940s. Mass of people appeared to be mesmerized to the extent that they would do whatever the dictator willed them to do. More generally, the study of persuasive communication is related with the study of leadership, rhetoric, and social mobilization and crowd behavior. However, communication studies on the relationship between persuasive communication and attitude change is more narrowly focused, and is most closely associated with terrorism. The persuasive impact of message generated by mediated terrorism depends on the nature of

the message or narrative created by the media.⁵

Since the offense began on 9 June 2014, a couple of Twitter accounts claiming to represent ISIS in Iraq and Syria have been active in providing live updates on the group's operations and images illustrating their development. Although the accounts have not been officially endorsed by ISIS, they have been widely promoted as official regional Isis accounts by the group's many online supporters. Isis has launched a social media campaign and is posting (mainly on Twitter) photos and statements to highlight its military strength and territorial advances in Iraq. On 15 June 2014, it posted images of what appears to be dozens of captured

⁵ Claude H. Miller & Mark Landau. J. Communication and Terrorism: A Terror Management Theory Perspective, *Communication Research Reports* Vol. 22. No. 1, February 2005, 79-88

Iraqi security personnel along with threats and messages to surrounding town residents. Those photos includes ultimate killing of the soldiers. The material went viral on the internet and was widely shared by ISIS supporters. According to a web-based data mining software, a large number of pro-ISIS tweets originated from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf countries. In its Twitter feeds, Isis gives extensive details of its operations, including the number of bombings, suicide missions and assassinations it has carried out, and of checkpoints and towns it controls. The top Twitter hashtags used by the group include: “#Baghdad_is_liberated” and “#Iraq_is_liberated”. In addition to the hashtags, the group produces professional promotional videos and urges support for its “one billion campaign”, which calls on Muslims to post messages, photos and videos on Twitter, Instagram and YouTube in support of Isis. One video, posted on 17 June 2014, shows an Isis member speaking in French and asking Muslims to support Isis. Many videos are also posted with English subtitles or translation. Isis launched a global online campaign on 20 June to support the group’s operations in Iraq and Syria. The group is initiating a Twitter hashtag in Arabic which translates to #theFridayofsupportingISIS, asking supporters around the world to wave the Isis flag in public, film themselves and upload the clips on social media platforms. In April 2014, the group developed a free internet application called The Dawn of Glad Tidings, which automatically posts tweets - approved by Isis media managers - to the accounts of the application’s subscribed users. The posts include hashtags, links, images, videos and other content. Almost 40,000 tweets were posted in a single day during the recent clashes in Iraq. One post which went viral was of an image of an armed jihadist gazing at the ISIS flag flying over Indonesia with the inscription in Arabic: “We are coming, Indonesia. “The application is

promoted by some of the organization’s leading figures.⁶

The mediated ISIS’s terrorism promotes public thought and discussion on matters important to terrorists. ISIS’s Terrorism is also a symbolic and dramatic stories that induce a high degree of audience involvement. A number of scholars have emphasized the dramatic attributes of mediated terrorist episodes which produced message accounts through the use of analogies, metaphors, theories, and ideologies. Audience perceptions of terrorists are formulated on the basis of the attitudes, symbols, and theoretical constructs employed by credible media storytellers. As the dramatic development of a media story becomes more intricate, the involvement of viewers and the persuasive impact of the story increases. Audience involvement in media stories is important because message make arguments that are persuasive to audiences. (These arguments are not always based on formal logic. Often rhetoric on behalf of or by terrorists is dismissed as irrational, because it fails the “Rational world paradigm” applied to it. Such dismissals falsely assume that the message of terrorists and their spokespersons only influences people through coercion, and not through persuasion. Instead of focusing on formal logical analysis, the persuasive appeal of terrorists can be assessed by focusing on the message rationality of media stories generated by acts of terrorism .⁷

Aubrey Fisher (1987)⁸ suggest that the informal logic described by narrative rationality, “the logic of good reasons,” provides an appropriate test for evaluating mediated terrorist discourse, because it regards human values as more persuasive than other modes of

⁶ Gardner, Frank. How do terrorists communicate? Accessed in November 2, 2013 in BBC security correspondent <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-24784756>

⁷ Op.cit, 82

⁸ Op.cit, 85

arguent. Values serve as powerful psychological forces that provide warrants for accepting or rejecting the message we encounter. Narrative theory predicts that stories which exhibit a greater probability (coherence) and fidelity (verisimilitude) will most likely become guides for thought and action in our lives. Media stories of terrorism that are coherent and consistent with the realities experienced by media audiences will have a greater impact than stories that fail to provide warrants for the actions of terrorists.⁹

The Terrorism Action Which To Result And Communicate To The Worldwide

The emphasis on terrorism's effects has prevailed in parts of communication as well, particularly among those who study how terrorists use mass media to accomplish their instrumental ends. Arguably, however, as a terror act, it has some strategy logics and communicative content. Therefore, some psychologists, sociologists, communication scholars, and rhetoricians have been attentive to the communication and actions aspects of terrorism, particularly emphasizing audience. What is striking in these treatments, however, is that they generally stop identifying any message content that is meant to be conveyed through the act. In this part, they are proposed to build on these prior strategy act and communication analyses and take them one step further. First, there are five principal strategic logics of costly signaling at work in terrorist campaigns: a. attrition, b. intimidation, c. provocation, d. spoiling, and e. outbidding.¹⁰ In an attrition strategy, ISIS's terrorists seek to persuade the enemy that the terrorists are strong enough to impose considerable costs if the enemy continues a particular policy. ISIS's

terrorists using intimidation try to convince the population that the terrorists are strong enough to punish disobedience and that the government is too weak to stop them, so that people behave as the terrorists wish. A provocation strategy is an attempt to induce the enemy to respond to terrorism with indiscriminate violence, which radicalizes the population and moves them to support the ISIS's terrorists. Spoilers attack in an effort to persuade the enemy that moderates on the terrorists' side ISIS are weak and untrustworthy, thus undermining attempts to reach a peace settlement. ISIS groups engaged in outbidding use violence to convince the public that the ISIS's terrorists have greater resolve to fight the enemy than rival groups, and therefore are worthy of support.

Searle (1969) state that terrorism action comprises of illocutionary and perlocutionary. The illocutionary act is the utterance itself in whatever language it is uttered. The illocutionary act is the kind of speech act performed thereby, such as stating, requesting, commanding, condemning, and so forth. It is the illocutionary act that describes or identifies an actual *doing* a doing that is done with words. Whereas, the perlocutionary act is the effect of such illocutionary acts on their audience(s): understanding, compiling, obeying, repenting, and so forth.¹¹

First, illocutionary acts are ordinarily understood as ways of doing things with words as a communicative act, terrorism represents the reverse case: saying something by doing something. Thus, we seek to complete the picture toward which the prior analyses point. We seek to draw out explicitly what the communicative content is. To that end, we develop a typology of primary objectives that ranges in intentionality from mere instrumentality to the morally communicative. We want to move beyond an

⁹ Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 1, Summer 2006, 49-51

¹⁰ Look Claude H. Miller & Mark. Landau. J.,83

¹¹ Ashley Pattwell, Tyson Mitman, and Douglas Porpora. Terrorism as Failed Political Communication, *International Journal of Communication* 9, 2015, 123

objectivist interpretation of terrorism, which exclusively understands it by its origins and targets, as opposed to the illocutionary acts it sometimes performs. Applying speech act theory to terrorist acts can raise a question of intentionality. Manifest intentions, however, are generally decipherable from context alone. When it comes to the most communicative of terrorist acts, we can also look at avowals at what documented terrorists say they were trying to communicate.

For example, a strategy developed over years has evolved into a sophisticated campaign and now, at the center of the world's attention, ISIS is using its skill to communicate directly to audience in the worlds, especially in Indonesia. "The first big turning point was Mosul," said Emerson Brooking, a research associate at the Council on Foreign Relations, referring to ISIS's capture of the city in early June. "ISIS put a lot of pre-planning into the social media arm of this offensive, and the effort paid off." After Mosul, Brooking said, "You see a significant spike in English-language videos and images."¹² At this point ISIS's online efforts were largely still part of an inside conversation cut off from the world public. Most messages were directed either to other parties in Iraq and Syria or to a sympathetic audience of jihadist and potential recruits abroad. Another illocutionary' stactic ISIS developed was tweeting pictures of administrative services in the areas under its control that were meant to show its ability to govern. The images of ISIS in Syria that are published in the social media documented the group's brutality. But to a local audience it was showing both piles of corpses and its fighters passing out, while it turned the rest of the world into a graveyard. Then, on June 10, after ISIS captured Mosul, its messages circulated in the social media. The majority of the group's posts were still in Arabic but English tweets

¹² Isis is using social media to reach you its new audience in <https://www.thedailybeast.com>

and translated videos surged as ISIS targeted a world audience. One meme clearly aimed to recruit young people was the image of two ISIS fighters posing over a caption comparing jihad to the video game Call of Duty.

Second, perlocutionary acts. The perlocutionary act is the effect of such illocutionary acts on their audience(s): understanding, compiling, obeying, repenting, and so forth.¹³ Addressing its social media audience, ISIS is actually speaking to at least two different groups. To the vast majority who are repulsed by the group it is boasting of its power and trying to make people believe that even inside nation they are vulnerable. But there is a far smaller and more dangerous group that ISIS isn't trying to scare, but inspire. ISIS wants to "keep their rhetoric out there, keep themselves visible and hope that someone acts on it for them".

More aggressive act followed. Some of it was meant to invoke the spectator of ISIS as an omnipresent force, like the video of an assassination of hostage from America, James Foley and other that spread in social media. Unlike the cloistered online forums where jihadist groups once did most of their communicating, Twitter and Facebook are both open and public by nature. That meant that as ISIS took to these platforms it became easier for any fighter on the battlefield to pose next to mutilated bodies and post images that could easily be seen by anyone following the fighting. The people who saw it most often in 2013-2017 days were ISIS supporters, who were turned on by the savagery, and the group's enemies, who must have feared that it could happen to them next. It chooses photos that have the potential of having a strong impact, presumably to create fear among its enemies and win the admiration of other radical groups.

The impact of ISIS's action in Indonesia,

¹³ Op.cit, 123

January 2016, ISIS claimed responsibility for a series of hand grenade and shooting attacks in central Jakarta, which killed at least seven people including foreigners. As shocking as the attacks were on one level, they were not a complete surprise to counter-terrorism experts, who long feared such an attack. Indonesian police later claimed the attacks were ordered and funded by IS and believe a key organizer, Indonesian jihadist Bahrun Naim, is currently living in Islamic State's de-facto capital Raqqa in Syria. As the world's biggest Muslim nation Indonesia is particularly vulnerable to radical Islamist terrorism. In February 2016 the ABC revealed ISIS was actively preaching at mosques in Jakarta and recruiting supporters to travel to Syria to join the jihadist cause. Counter-terrorism authorities believe as many as 500 Indonesians have left to fight with ISIS in Syria and Iraq. Many have returned. They say many IS members in Indonesia were once members of Jemaah Islamiyah, the now-defunct jihadist group responsible for the Bali bombings and other attacks. ISIS has also been blamed for earlier bomb threats in Jakarta, including a thwarted chlorine bomb attack in February 2015, and till happened in 2016-2017 too.

Actually, the last stage corresponds to the phenomenon of the emergence of the influence of Islamic state in 2013 in Indonesia and the participation of Indonesians in the Syrian civil war. This stage shares similarities with Indonesian participation in the Afghanistan war in the 80s. The participation of Southeast Asian fighters in the Islamic State is represented by the establishment in September 2014 of Katibah Nusantara which is formed by nationals from Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. Katibah Nusantara has shown important military capabilities. For instance, it took five Kurd held territories in 2015. According to different sources, the number of Indonesia's in Syria is around 700. Compared to the Muslim

population in Indonesia it is an extremely low percentage but qualitatively relevant.

This idea is connected to the resilience of the jihadist movement in Indonesia. One important variable emerging from the impact of IS in Indonesia is how deep and enduring is the resilience of the jihadist movement. As defended by Solahudin "The resilience of the Indonesian jihadi movement is impressive. It has survived under varied political circumstances, from authoritarianism to democratic rule. The Resiliency of the movement reflects the persistence within of the Islamic community sections in Indonesia of the notion of upholding Islamic law. This is very important, since the outbreak of the long terrorist campaign of JI in Indonesia in 2000 more than 400 terrorists have been arrested, more than 50 are on the run, about 100 have been killed in police operations and there have been 15 suicide bombings in the country some of them with very little international attention but with a powerful symbolism like the suicide bombing at mosque At-Taqwa in Java being the first targeting a mosque and replicating the suicide attacks on mosques in countries like Iraq and Syria. This ideas is also supported by Charles Lister, "Taken globally, the younger generation of the jihadist community is becoming more supportive of ISIS, largely out of fealty to its slick and proven capacity for attaining rapid results through brutality".¹⁴

History in Indonesia shows that a weak Indonesia is the perfect victim for terrorism. The words of the expert Greg Fealy (2007) are clear and could be replicated again at present "Indonesia is unlikely to rid itself of terrorism and other forms of violent Jihadism in the near future. The porosity of Its borders, the widespread corruption within its customs and immigration services, the ready availability of arms and explosives, and the continuing

¹⁴ Tran. M and Weaver. M, Isis Announces Islamic Caliphate in Area Straddling Iraq and Syria, accessed in 2014 in <https://www.theguardian.com>.

presence of deeply aggrieved Muslim groups create an environment which is conducive to continuing militant action".¹⁵

One question, why Indonesian's people interested to join ISIS conflict? To answer this question I will use two vital documents; *Joining the ranks*, a video released by IS targeting Indonesian audience and an IPAC report *Indonesians and the Syrian conflict*. Based on the arguments exposed by Abu Muhammad al Indonesia in the viral *Join the ranks* video calling for Indonesians to come to Syria, it's possible to draw the following reasons to join ISIS:

- It is religious mandate. "To wage jihad and to emigrate to the Islamic state is obligatory".
- A tool to stop the humiliation infringed by Taghut "oh brothers for the shake of Allah, are you pleased with being humiliated, oppressed and ruled by the tawaghit?"
- ISIS has established a real Islamic state ruled by the sharia law "IS implements the sharia law in the entire land"
- Deeply Anti-western: "united Muslims lands and demolished the Sykes picot borders that were made by the Kuffar".¹⁶

The Elements of Rethorics : Labels, Definitions, and Symbolism in Terrorism

The lack of research on terror communicating continues beyond definitions. Thus, even when the literature calls attention to terrorism's rethorics force, it overlooks what the rethorics devices is. In both written and spoken language, there is always possibility for manipulation and receptive communication. Manipulation as a discourse marks the use of different data or information with one aim, to seduce the public, that is to direct the attentions of the audience toward a messages or meaning which the authors, without paying attentions about the difference of the validity

¹⁵ *Indonesian and Malaysian Support of the Islamic State*. (USA: US AID, 2016)

¹⁶ *Al Hayat Media Center*, Join the Ranks from The Islamic State, diakses 2016 in <https://www.youtube.com/watch>

of the data, tends to challenge to achieve a total control over the recipients of the data¹⁷

Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2014)¹⁸ point out that "historically, rhetoric has not always been linked with an earnest concern for objective truth". Indeed, Plato branded rhetorical skill as a "knack", without any concrete comprehension of the discussion at hand. Though this is a fairly drastic description, in fact, many associate rhetoric are with both emptiness and extravagance. However, Plato's uncompromising opinion on rhetoric does not universally true. Clearly, rhetoric contains no inherent morality, and that the proper moral application of rhetoric depends entirely on the intentions of the speaker: "Rhetorical skill cannot operate unless there is insight, which will entail a proper empathy with the persuadee, an understanding of his or her needs, and a sense of the emotion that invests them". Once in possession of this insight, the speaker will attempt to exploit the "ideological, personal and contextual elements" in their rhetoric .

My analysis is that the rhetoric that is generated through an act of terrorism is often organized by the news media into a dramatic narrative that helps terrorists to achieve their objectives. To understand how this occurs, the rhetorical functions of mediated terrorist discourse and the persuasive appeals of a mediated narrative will be considered. The theoretical explanation offered in this essay will then be applied in an analysis of the ISIS. Mediated terrorism functions rhetorically in two ways:

First, terrorism has a symbolic function. An act of terrorism is both physical (meaningful violence) and symbolic (capable of audience inducement).

¹⁷ Ejupi Vlora, Siljanovska Liljana, and Iseni Arburim, The Mass media and Persuasion. *European Scientific Journal* edition vol.10. No.14 May 2016

¹⁸ R. Cockcroft and S. Cockcroft. *Persuading People: An Introduction To Rhetoric*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014

Physical (meaningful violence): Rather, the use of violence by terrorist actors is a strategic choice to communicate, through violence, that problems exist. Bombs, assassination, suicide bomb, hostage, or hijacking that is intended to influence others has a meaning, because it involves the use of symbols as a means of rethorics. Terrorists use violence as a communication strategy to provoke effects that are not necessarily directly connected to the victim population. The effectiveness of violence lies not in the violence itself (the capacity for destruction) but in propaganda generated through the symbols, act, and through the various communication protocols adopted by terrorist groups to influence and coerce target audiences. Among those communication protocols, terroristic meaning that use the Internet to reach large and disparate audiences have attracted considerable attention.¹⁹

A study by the RAND Corporation tested five assumptions in the literature with regard to internet radicalization and found that empirical evidence existed to support the assumption that the Internet creates more opportunities to become radicalized and serves as a space for individuals to find support for their ideas among like-minded individuals. The study also found the assumptions that the Internet accelerates the process of radicalization and promotes self-radicalization without physical contact were not supported.²⁰

Symbolic (capable of audience inducement): The symbolic function of terrorism occurs when a terrorist act induces an audience to search for motives and meanings to explain and interpret the act. In this case, when an audience read or watch of a bomb

that exploded in a church or mosque or on the street, the audience wants to know who planted the bomb and why. Some acts of terrorism of ISIS/ISIL are meant to speak for themselves, as in the case of bombings not accompanied by ideological claims or statements. Such acts are rhetorical, without spoken communication, because they include symbols of power that influence people. For example, a powerful symbolism like the suicide bombing at mosque At-Taqwa in Java being the first targeting a mosque and replicating the suicide attacks on mosques in countries like Iraq and Syria.

The implicit message of such acts is that the world must pay attention to what the terrorist is trying to communicate. Terrorists are dubbed with a rich variety of labels, ranging from murderers to freedom fighters. Some of these labels are loaded with positive values (e.g., liberation movement, popular front, freedom fighters) that may affect the image and attitudes held by a public unacquainted with the issue.²¹

A group of people who examine terrorist online activity approach the problem by examining both terroristic content (including the ways in which ISIS's terrorist content appears online) and the ways in which the terroristic narrative appeals to certain groups of users.

First, Though the stage has been given far more consideration in the literature, there is an emerging interest in understanding why and how terrorist narratives are so seductive to particular targets. Anne Aly argues for an approach to understanding the appeal of Jihadi-Salafist terroristic narratives that recognizes the role of the audience as active players in the process of message transfer, influence and indoctrination. She offers a model for understanding the appeal of the online narrative that takes into account how needs that are shaped by social roles are

¹⁹ B. Nacos. *Mass-Mediated Terrorism*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003

²⁰ Ines von Behr, Anaïs Reding, Charlie Edwards, and Luke Gribbon, Luke. *Radicalisation in the Digital era: The Use of the Internet in 15 Cases of Terrorism and Extremism*. Brussels: RAND, 2013

²¹ Edith Hilde Kaiter. *Globalization, Modern, Terorrism and Media. "Mircea cel Batran" Naval Academy Scientific Bulletin*, Volume XIX Issue 2, 2016

gratified by the attributes, content and the context of different media platforms.²²

Second, terrorism generates discourse function. Although a terrorist act usually affects a small number of people directly, the discourse generated during a terrorist incident has a much broader impact. Terrorists use words to pursue their objectives, not just violence. Terrorist discourse functions rhetorically when terrorists strategically disseminate statements to obtain specific objectives. Dowling (1986)²³ argues that three of these objectives are to gain *recognition*, to *acquire legitimacy*, and to *achieve political ends*. The ability to achieve these objectives is greatly determined by the type of media coverage terrorists attract. Extensive media coverage enhances the rhetorical power available to terrorists, because it enables them to gain public recognition and present their claims and ideologies to the public. *The first objective of terrorist discourse*, the gaining of recognition, occurs when an audience identifies the terrorists with a specific cause. For example, most people would be able to identify the major objective of the ISIS (The Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham) also commonly known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL): to gain the Islam of khilafate in the world. Without media coverage of ISIS objectives, such an association would not be made by the general public. *The second objective of terrorist discourse*, achieving legitimacy, occurs when the causes or demands of terrorists are perceived as being justified by accepted values such as self-determinism. ISIS look for partners from within the target communities actively involved in online to ensure legitimacy and appeal to the target audiences. As mentioned, the source of popularity remains identified and clear evidence suggests that there is some

actions among ISIS communities that the actual source and motive for the campaign originates in the ISIS. Though this suggestion requires validation, it is important to ensure that the campaign is constructed to gain a legitimacy by such rhetorics (maybe allegation) and that, even if proven correct, the perceived persuasion with transnational or global audiences.

To gain a legitimacy, as Singh states the actions of Katibah Nusantara in Middle East “gives hope and support to the local outfits in the region by legitimizing this cause, which have suffered from security operations since 2002 Bali bombings”. With this in mind, terrorism in Indonesia is still a threat but compared to the past, especially with two major terrorist groups in the history on Indonesia, Darul Islam and JI, terrorist threat in the country is much weaker than in the past and secondly it doesn’t have the capabilities proven by Darul Islam, ruling some part of Indonesia territory or JI launching a deadly terrorist campaign with the arrival of the new political period. In fact, the trend in the number of attacks and in the number of casualties is a compelling argument to state that *Indonesia is winning the war on jihadist domestic terrorism* .

The Public Orator of Terrorism

The persuasiveness of the rhetorician is highly dependent on several factors. One of the most important factors is the construction of a dichotomy between the speaker and his or her opponents. Through frequent references to the speaker’s virtue, and just as frequent references to his or her opponents lack there of, “speakers make themselves appear honorable and praiseworthy, and make their opponents appear wicked”. There are two ways the speaker can achieve this end. *First*, speakers must align themselves with their audience’s political standing, and *second*, speakers must appear to

²² Ane Aly. The Terrorists’ Audience: A Model of Internet Radicalisation. *Journal of Australian Professional Intelligence Officers*, 17, 2009, 3- 19

²³ Singh. J. Katibah Nusantara: Islamic States’ Malay Archipelago Combat Unit. *RSIS Comentary*, No 126, 2015, 26 May 2015

share personal similarity with their audience.²⁴

Viewing the communication that occurs during a mediated terrorist event as storytelling enables one to evaluate the adherence to the persuasive messages of terrorists and their spokespersons as a selection process. In this process the public chooses from a competing set of stories in order to give meaning and understanding to the behavior of terrorists. A story that makes sense and sounds right will be more adhered to by an audience than a story that does not seem reasonable. In summary, a terrorist event that receives extensive media coverage functions rhetorically, because it is a special kind of symbolic act, a mediated narrative, that generates persuasive communication. To obtain their political goals, terrorists need to provide credible source of information to the audiences whose behavior they hope to influence. Terrorists persuade to two key audiences by media: governments whose policies they wish to influence and individuals on the terrorists' own side whose support or obedience they seek to gain. The targeted governments are central because they can grant concessions over policy or territory that the terrorists are seeking. The terrorists' domestic audience is also important, because they can provide resources to the terrorist group and must obey its edicts on social or political issues. These strategies form a theoretically cohesive set that we believe represents most commonly used strategies in important terrorist campaigns around the world today.

Mediated terrorism of ISIS produces stories that display the human emotions, struggles, values, motivations and needs of its participants and can captivate an audience with a constructed reality that affects public opinion. ISIS is sending emotion and values appeals by media to audiences in social media, called is speaker or communicator. Regardless the message or

appeals contain morality or immorality, he or she still be a speaker or orator. Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2014)²⁵ suggest that rhetoric contains no inherent morality, and that the proper moral application of rhetoric depends entirely on the intentions of the speaker: "Rhetorical skill cannot operate unless there is insight, which will entail a proper empathy with those convinced, an understanding of his or her needs, and a sense of the emotion that invests them". Once in possession of this insight, the speaker will attempt to exploit the "ideological, personal and contextual elements" in their rhetoric.

The implementation of rhetorical devices and appeals to *pathos* and *ethos* are common strategies used by rhetoricians, includes ISIS' terrorists.

Appeals to *Pathos* : Aristotle defines the main purpose of appeals to *pathos*, "to denote all kinds of emotional influence on the audience, potentially affecting attitude or choice". Not only can *pathos* affect attitude and choice, it can influence biases dictated by emotions, and in some cases even entirely change an audience's mind on a previously biased topic. However, they make a clear distinction between the two, following Aristotle, stating that *pathos* is "neither wholly propositional nor strictly "syllogistic", nor is it wholly under the rule of *logos*, reason". Regardless of the fact that *logos* facilitates emotions, and can identify the reasoning behind an emotional response, it can neither induce them nor manipulate them. Furthermore, once an appeal to *pathos* has been successful, the resulting emotion can "warp the mind and thence will strongly determine how it perceives and interprets any 'premises' presented to it, which it attends to, which it allows to count most powerfully, and which it ignores". Therefore, *pathos* has the ower to "extinguish thought or force it into certain channels".²⁶

²⁵ Look R. Cockcroft and S. Cockcroft. 2014

²⁶ Alan G. Gross and Arthur E. Walzer. *Rereading Aristotle's Rhetoric*. SIU Press, 2008

²⁴ Hyde, J. M. *The Ethos of Rhetoric*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.2004)

This is a highly effective strategy in governing the subsequent processing of argumentation in a dialogue, argument, or speech of ISIS. *Pathos* is not only closely related to *logos*, but also to *ethos*, or an appeal to ethics. Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2014)²⁷ describe the relationship between the two: "*Pathos* means *adfectus* (the whole range of emotion directed towards a person or object, and denoted by the word *affect*) includes the audience's emotional response to the topic (*pathos*), and to the persuader's personality and stance in treating that topic (*ethos*)". The character, or rather the perceived character, of the speaker greatly influences the audience's acceptance and reaction to any attempts at appealing to *pathos*.

For example, we refer to the *mujāhidūn*. A word can be found in so many articles in social media, including detik.com's news about ISIS. That article illustrate how references to the *jihād* fighters are extremely emotive in their language. "The *mujāhidūn* represent the epitome of sacrifice", "The noblest of deaths" and "*Mujāhidūn* only accept victory or *shahīd*" are highly reminiscent of archetypal hero as the martyr, whose sole purpose (self-sacrifice) is realized when he makes the transition from spiritual immaturity to spiritual maturity. Death is not to be feared, but to aspire to, if one is in service to a higher power or the greater good. For the *mujāhidūn*, there is no middle ground.

Appeals to *Ethos* :Similar to Plato's view on the lack of inherent morality in rhetoric, Aristotle claimed that *ethos* did not concern the inherent worth of the speaker, but instead had everything to do with establishing credibility and believability of the speaker for the sake of the audience" (Hyde 2004). Modern *ethos* can be defined as "the set of values held either by an individual or by a community, reflected in their language, social attitudes and behavior"²⁸.

Ethos, then, is not just a quality of a speaker,

but also of that speaker's audience. Indeed, Hyde states, "For example, we admire those who love their friends more than we admire those who love their money because loving friends is more 'honorable'". Knowing this, therefore, would prevent an aware speaker from appearing to love the idea of wealth more than the idea of friendship in order to appear more relatable to the audience. However, an audience might have the opposite opinion and favor the speaker who chooses wealth over friendship. In this case, the opinions and moral standing of the audience is "more persuasive than what is actually honorable". Therefore, contrary to Plato and Socrates, *ethos* is not only a characteristic of the rhetorician, but also of his or her audience. The persuasiveness of the rhetorician is highly dependent on several factors, one of the most important factors is the construction of a dichotomy between the speaker and his or her opponents. Through frequent references to the speaker's virtue, and just as frequent references to his or her opponents lack thereof, "speakers make themselves appear honorable and praiseworthy, and make their opponents appear wicked". There are two ways the speaker can achieve this end. First, *speakers* must align themselves with their audience's political standing, and *second*, speakers must appear to share personal similarity with their audience. Furthermore, the religious appeal of *ethos*, stating, "the enduring emotive power exercised by the sacred texts of all major religious traditions should be recognized as a form of *ethos*".²⁹ Religious appeals to *ethos* are often and widely implemented by rhetoricians aiming to align themselves with religious audiences or ideologies. Aligning oneself to the *ethos* of an audience, however, is not the only manner in which persuasive success can be achieved. There are rhetoricians who are able to accomplish an extremely powerful

²⁷ Look Cockcroft and Cockcroft. 2014

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Ibid

form of persuasion, namely to “move the audience to conform to the speaker’s *ethos* and modify the audience’s habits and values .³⁰ A terrorist try to deliver the messages in media, of course to construct a credibility. Credibility of the source is a decisive factor for ensuring the persuasiveness of any communication. Terroristic narratives derive their authority from the master narrative that draws on sacred texts. Terrorism authority in ISIS is, however, not flexible and contentious, allowing for pro narratives to similarly draw on sacred texts to establish credibility, particularly on the Internet, though his message is deviant or hypocrisy. For example, terrorist’ statement, “O you who have believed, when you meet those who disbelieve advancing, do not turn to them your backs” and “And if those who disbelieve fight against you, they certainly would have turned their backs, then they would have found neither a *Wali* (protector) nor a helper”, passages from the *Qu’ran* detailing the courage of the *mujāhidūn* in contrast with the cowardliness of the *kuffār*, are clear appeals to *ethos*. The narrator’s appeal to *ethos* here is twofold: he aligns himself as a staunch religious believer who trusts in the word of the *Qu’ran*, and he also manages to portray the *mujāhidūn* as the brave warriors being quoted in the passages who are under the protection of Allah. In line with Hyde (2004),³¹ the narrator not only aligns himself with religious fundamentalism, he also relates to the audience’s political inclinations. Islam has been politicized by ISIS under *Shari’ah* law, and therefore these appeals does not speak only to religious fundamentalism to *ethos*, but also to political. Therefore, according to Campbell’s (1991) martyrdom of the archetypal hero, the *mujāhidūn* are untouchable and pure given their special status afforded to them by Allah.

³⁰ Look Hyde 2004

³¹ *ibid*

The Relations of Media and Terrorism

Social media can be an objective instrument for disseminating fear to many certain group and people. Thus, media become significant instrument or channel in disseminating terrorism’s existence. Meanwhile, the current issue shows that the truth in the content of media is often distorted and the audience’s perception has been manipulated by world conventions. This theory is known as “Agenda Setting”. It relays on a reward that can be given to the terrorist as media active user. This reality implicates many thoughts that the terrors seem reasonable. Using media control, the terrorists gain their power. In that case proves that media and terrorism are correlated and complementary each other in a broadly sense. When a brutish progenitor, Jordanian *Jihadist*, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi discovered the utility of uploading his atrocities videos to the Internet, ISIS has been recognized the power of digital media early on. Then the group was growing rapidly and the propagandists surpassed and humiliated their bitter rivals in al Qaeda by applying the best invention. ISIS maximizes its goal by exploiting variety platforms; social media networks such as Twitter and Facebook, peer-to-peer messaging apps like Telegram and Surespot, and content sharing systems like JustPaste. Indeed, it decentralized its media operations and keeps its content media which is made by autonomous production units from West Africa to the Caucasus, a geographical range which does not only refer to the group as the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), a moniker that undersells its current breadth .³²

As Hoffman (2008)³³ explains the above mentioned symbiosis, “without the media’s coverage, the act’s impact is arguably meaningless. Its impact is only limited to

³² Nancy Jamal and Jihad Al-Tattan. Communicating Terrorism. www.derasat.org.bh

³³ B. Hoffman, B. *Inside terrorism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008

the immediate victim or attack rather than a wider 'target audience' at whom the terrorist's violence is actually addressed to. Moreover, ISIS uses media as a fighting force. According to *Documenting the Virtual Caliphate* (DVC) on October 2015 which has been reported by the Quilliam Foundation, the organization has uploaded up to 38 new content videos, full-length documentaries, photo essays, audio clips, and brochure in many languages such as Russian to Bengali in 20 minutes per day. Its channels is not only in those features but also the Western brands, marketing firms, and publishing outfits from PepsiCo to BuzzFeed that connects their messages to customers. ISIS also makes few innovation techniques and improve the user engagement. This features use a narrow variety contents which serve the smart audiences. (BuzzFeed's directories aim at giving its service to groups such as smart Army or native Floridian.) Only a small part of ISIS's online output depicts a sadistic act on the assumption that the group itself is notorious. It does not portray the public-works projects, economic development, and military triumphs, but frequently represents certain Muslim community in the world. The content itself intends to convince the prospective recruits on the true narrative of the fundamental organization. It narrates the stable and growth of Muslim empire. (ISIS slogan is "*Baqiya wa Tatamaddad*" Remaining and Expanding). Furthermore, a digital propaganda has motivated over 30,000 people to turn their backs on everything. They have ever journeyed thousands of miles into dangerous lands in order to find a hoped paradise.³⁴

On the other hand, kidnapping and hostage are the core news for mass media to inform because both news are dramatic and updated. It can raise a great deal of public attention, the reader or viewer ratings, and also the profit of

the media companies. Mass media will always inform the terrorist attacks based on the public's curiosity that matter. Wilkinson points out that every percentage of raised rating will increase the annual profit up to ten millions pounds. In addition, he asserts that the chief editors are not aware on the political implications which have caused their relentless struggle in order to increase the rating profits. In his thesis of the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and media shows that the terrorism is a psychological weapon in media which depends on transmitting the threat or terror to the public and that is the essence of both symbioses. According to him, he has found the evidence of the nature of relationship between terrorism and media in the following facts; terrorists show their treat in public space and media has right to open its community to be showed in media which brings the manipulation and exploitation. A political science, Professor Abraham Miller talks about the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and media that both froms can step out. He notes that terrorism can narrate any dramatic events and stories in media. No matter how horrible is it in getting the media's attention. Terrorism like an *ill-mannered infant*, sort of media's stepchild. A stepchild is the media that can not be ignored or dennied its content entirely.³⁵ Since July 2014, ISIS has used social media, propaganda, and recruitment videos which have been released by *Al-Hayat Media Center* to persuade Indonesians, Filipinos, and Malaysians to travel and join with ISIS community. ISIS does not play a distinct threat in Southeast Asian region. A great number of Indonesians and Malay who speak foreign has been enough to form its own fighting unit in Syria, known as *Katibah Nusantara*. It has been established on September 2014 through the series of *bayat* (pledge of allegiance). *Katibah* recruits its member aggressively in many regions

³⁴ Look al-Hayat.2016

³⁵ Look Joseph Turman, 2010

that provide a social platform. It looks forward to settle in and connect with other ISIS members. Meanwhile, the tutorials are used as the tool and tactical training.

The characteristic of media and terrorism's relation has been studied by other authors. Tuman (2010)³⁶ suggests that the relationship of all mass media with terrorism is almost the same as in the popular entertainment media. Tuman adds that both relations sometimes show how the terrorist manipulates the news to ensure media's promotion, publication, and distribution of their rhetorics to wider audiences. This symbiosis nature depends on a large area either in government or non-government. In fact, since the rise of IS in 2013, Indonesians organizations have transformed into the Islamic groups. Some of them have supported IS fully, such as *Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid* and *Mujahidin Indonesia Timur*. Meanwhile, the other important groups like *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* has rejected the affiliation with IS. It shows disagreements and divisions between the two big contemporary international of *Jihadis* groups above. The ISIS's interest has been recognized in media using the rapes, murders, and other criminals. Those acts are not permitted in media space to justify their criminal acts or to express new public threats or violence that the terrorist claimed as *Jihad act*. Hoffman finds the answer to the question that terrorism is different to other types of crime because its drama in the media is shown as "the real news".

Therefore, Indonesian government should take care more seriously of this asymmetric warfare which directly or indirectly existed in the media including the mainstream media, such as social media. With its bigger political role in the world and solid economic growth, Indonesia is not fully safe from any terrors. On the contrary, this condition will make the country vulnerable to attacks with the asymmetric war tactics.

Conclusion

The social constructions certainly have advantages over other traditional approaches. The terrorism, especially ISIS's acts in the world has been a social problem for the existence of the people with independent ideas. This view comes from constructionist understandings. In this case, the social construction of terrorism is shaped by social media. ISIS plays its role on the rhetoric in every stage. Therefore, this article focuses on the 'rhetoric' and discursive framework method which shows terrorism act and how it is constructed by them. They look it from a fear communication perspective. This analysis uses a 'communication terror' approach in investigating the ISIS's action. This approach is one of the most recent and best approach over the terrorism and communication. Tuman (2010) in his innovative book "Communicating Terror: The Rhetorical Dimensions of Terrorism" states that ISIS/ISIL carries out the news in Indonesian social media based on the concepts of how terrorism acts and the use of the rhetoric acts which consist of these questions; what messages or persuasive meanings are going to be transmitted to the public? And what symbols that emerges in media to persuade the audiences and make them sympathize on ISIS?. Many contents in the media may become source of ideas to ISIS's terror, for example public sentiment in the twitter, facebook, whatsapp, BBM, and other webs. ISIS constructs its symbols extensively and systematically in many operations such as in bombings, suicide missions, and assassinations. They have carried out those operations in many situations, detained some people, and controlled the town. They want to communicate the act of terror to the worldwide. This strategy has been developed over years. It has evolved into a sophisticated campaign. ISIS uses its skill to communicate directly to the audience in the world, particularly in Indonesia. These actions

³⁶ ibid

are illocutionary and elocutionary construction that can be applied by ISIS as the terror acts in social media. ISIS terror's act indicates as a signal of condemnation, the illocutionary force of the act. The elocutionary construction is the effect of the act. However, it may range from the repentance, indignation or outrage. For the example, the last stage has influenced the phenomenon of the emergence of Islamic state in Indonesia and Indonesians participation in Syrian civil war. The participation of Southeast Asian fighters in Islamic state is represented by the establishment of *Katibah Nusantara* on September 2014 which has been formed by nationalist of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines. In the rhetorical elements like labels, definitions, and symbolism in terrorism; Such as bombs, assassination, suicide bomb, hostage, or hijacking which are intended to influence others. Those involvements are the construction of symbols as the rhetoric features. Terrorists construct violence as a communication strategy to accomplish their goals without necessarily addressed directly to the victim. ISIS strategy lies not on the violence itself (the skill to destroy) but in propaganda using symbols, act, and various communication protocols which have been adopted by terrorist groups to influence and coerce the target audiences. Those communication protocols and terror use the Internet as a media to reach wider audiences. In this case, ISIS has given consideration over Indonesia. In addition, public orator and its relationship in terrorism and media: The terrorists as the orators try to deliver their messages in media. Their oration in media shows that they tend to build trust. The trustworthiness is a decisive factor to ensure the persuasive communication. The terrorists narrate and construct their authority which is taken from the sacred texts. The terrorist authority in ISIS is inflexible and contentious in giving the narratives that is drawn on the sacred

texts in order to create the truth, particularly in the Internet, though its message is deviant or hypocrisy. The relationship between terrorism and media: The current fact shows that ISIS emphasizes on a fighting force. The organization has released about 38 new content videos, full-length documentaries, photo essays, audio clips, and pamphlets in many languages such as Russian to Bengali in 20 minutes per day.

Its ideology has spread as Jihadi's virus. Its virus can appear in any forms, such as in sympathy. Indonesians sympathy to ISIS can be seen from the social media usage. ISIS uses the social media as a basis to accelerate the radicalization and to increase the recruitment. Then, many questions will emerge on that matter as "What if the wrong discourse leads to the wrong policies? Do the constructivists take any responsibilities at all?" In this case, the core of terrorism studies points out that the constructivism is not aimed at upholding the correct or the real truth of terror, but at destabilizing the dominant discourse or interpretations without paying the attention to 'what if' questions. ISIS has already entered and spread in Indonesia and ISIS radicalism is a serious threat for Indonesia. Indonesia needs a legal law to regulate the sovereignty of its state and to protect the Republic of Indonesia from radical terror, such as ISIS's rhetoric in social media. The Police, government, and people must insist to fight terrorism.

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2. Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, *Metodologi Syarah Hadis Era Klasik Hingga Kontemporer (Potret Konstruksi Metodologi Syarah Hadis)* (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2012), 20.
3. Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, "Living Hadith in a Family: Reinventing Model of Research in Hadith Using Etnografi Research", *Proceeding International Seminar on Sunnah Nabawiyah and its Contemporary Challenges*, 10-11 September 2014, Brunei Darussalam.
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Rahmawati, Nor Elysa. "Penafsiran Muhammad Talibi tentang *Ummatan Wasathan* dalam al-Qur'an", *Skripsi fakultas UShuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta*, 2014.

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