



# MASYARAKAT INDONESIA

## MAJALAH ILMU-ILMU SOSIAL INDONESIA

VOLUME 46

NOMOR 2, DESEMBER 2020

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### PAGEBLUG DAN PERILAKU IRASIONAL DI *VORSTENLANDEN* ABAD XIX

**Heri Priyatmoko dan Hendra Kurniawan****ABSTRAK**

Wabah penyakit atau dalam bahasa Jawa disebut pageblug tidak hanya terjadi pada masa pandemi Covid-19 ini. Pada abad XIX pernah terjadi pageblug. Akan tetapi, penanganannya pada saat itu banyak yang menganggapnya sebagai “perilaku irasional.” Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji peristiwa pageblug di Vorstenlanden atau wilayah kekuasaan kerajaan pada abad XIX dengan memakai perspektif sejarah lokal. Dengan metode sejarah, diketahui bahwa pageblug adalah kondisi nestapa yang disebabkan oleh wabah penyakit seperti kolera yang memakan banyak korban jiwa dan menimbulkan kepanikan di tengah masyarakat. Dalam alam pemikiran irasional, pageblug dipahami sebagai ulah setan dan Nyai Ratu Kidul. Sementara itu, dalam pemikiran logis kala itu, wabah dipicu oleh perubahan musim kemarau yang berkepanjangan yang pada saat itu perkara perilaku sehat masyarakat belum mengemuka. Penduduk menyikapi pageblug dengan aneka tindakan irasional, misalnya mandi dan minum air kolam yang dipakai mandi oleh raja. Mereka juga mempercayai obat kolera berbahan rumput teki yang diberikan oleh Sunan Lawu. Dengan ilmu titen atau pengalaman empiris tersebut, mereka membuktikan bahwa unsur alam itu dapat menghalau pageblug, tanpa harus pergi ke dokter yang jumlahnya terbatas pada abad XIX.

**Kata kunci:** Pageblug, Perilaku Irasional, Vorstenlanden

DDC: 303.23

### COVID-19: MELACAK JEJAK ISLAMIC STATE DI INDONESIA DALAM JARINGAN MEDIA SOSIAL

**Prakoso Permono, Amanah Nurish, & Abdul Muta’ a****ABSTRAK**

Para pendukung ISIS di Indonesia menunjukkan keaktifan di media sosial khususnya pada masa pandemi Covid-19. Artikel ini berusaha mengeksplorasi dan menganalisis narasi Islamic State di jejaring media sosial didasari pendekatan etnografi digital yang dilaksanakan pada Maret hingga Juli 2020 menyusul merebaknya pandemi Covid-19. Etnografi yang dilakukan berfokus pada empat grup atau kanal pendukung ISIS berbahasa Indonesia di Telegram. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ISIS dan jaringannya di Indonesia sebagai aktor rasional tengah berusaha memanfaatkan berbagai kesempatan serta kerentanan masyarakat yang muncul menyusul pandemi Covid-19 untuk kepentingan memperkuat radikalisasi dan usaha untuk mendapatkan dukungan akar rumput dengan menjangkau komunitas Islam yang lebih luas. Penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa jaringan ISIS di Indonesia pada masa pandemi Covid-19 mengeluarkan narasi-narasi anti-pemerintah maupun anti-etnis Tionghoa yang lebih mutakhir dan personal. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini ialah bahwa di balik narasi yang disebarkan oleh jaringan ISIS di Indonesia terdapat sebuah ancaman tersembunyi bagi masyarakat Indonesia.

**Kata kunci:** Covid-19; Etnografi Digital; Islamic State; Indonesia; Media Sosial



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DDC: 302.23

## **TEORI KONSPIRASI DAN KETERPUTUSAN MODERN DI TENGAH PERSEBARAN COVID-19 DI INDONESIA**

**Ibnu Nadzir**

### **ABSTRAK**

Di tengah penyebaran wabah COVID-19 di Indonesia, pemerintah banyak mendapatkan kritik karena ketidakmampuan dalam merumuskan strategi penanganan yang tepat. Selain dari tidak berfungsinya birokrasi, tingkat kepatuhan yang rendah dari warga negara Indonesia terhadap protokol kesehatan, menambah kerumitan dampak COVID-19. Salah satu faktor yang berpengaruh dalam perilaku tersebut adalah tersebarnya informasi palsu dan teori-teori konspirasi yang berkaitan dengan virus tersebut. Bagaimana kita bisa menjelaskan luasnya persebaran teori konspirasi di tengah ancaman virus COVID-19 di Indonesia? Artikel ini mengajukan argumen bahwa persebaran teori konspirasi di tengah pandemi merefleksikan kontestasi yang tengah berlangsung terhadap legitimasi politik di antara negara dan masyarakat. Untuk menjelaskan argumen tersebut, artikel ini akan memaparkan tiga momen kritis yang menjadi landasan dari persebaran teori konspirasi di Indonesia. Pertama, teori konspirasi digunakan sebagai pondasi dari rezim otoritarian Soeharto, dan kemudian melekat dalam institusi sebagai instrumen penting untuk mempertahankan kekuasaan. Kedua, pertautan antara ekosistem demokratis dan penggunaan media sosial memungkinkan masyarakat untuk merebut teori konspirasi sebagai alat perlawanan dan skeptisisme terhadap pemerintah. Ketiga, ketegangan negara dan masyarakat terkait otoritas kebenaran tersebut menguat dalam konflik terkait penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia. Pemerintah mencoba mempertahankan legitimasinya melalui ketidakterbukaan terhadap informasi tentang COVID-19. Sebaliknya, sebagian kelompok masyarakat merespons ketidakterbukaan tersebut dengan melakukan penyebaran teori konspirasi yang menjustifikasi ketidakpatuhan pada protokol kesehatan. Kontestasi ini memperburuk dampak dari penyebaran COVID-19 di Indonesia

***Kata Kunci:** teori konspirasi, COVID-19, Indonesia, media sosial*

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DDC: 362.89

## **REAKSI PENDUDUK DI WILAYAH MINIM AKSES PADA FASE AWAL PANDEMI COVID-19**

**Mochammad Wahyu Ghani dan Marya Yenita Sitohang**

### **ABSTRAK**

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pengetahuan dan reaksi penduduk di wilayah minim akses yaitu Kecamatan Silat Hilir, Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu, Kalimantan Barat, pada awal terjadinya pandemi COVID-19 di Indonesia. Pengetahuan tentang COVID-19 yang cenderung terbatas membuat akses terhadap informasi yang benar dari sumber terpercaya menjadi sangat penting. Hasil observasi partisipan yang dilakukan menunjukkan bahwa penduduk Kecamatan Silat Hilir memiliki kemampuan literasi informasi yang masih minim terkait COVID-19. Salah satunya ditunjukkan dengan perilaku reaktif dalam menanggapi hoax terkait pencegahan COVID-19. Berdasarkan hasil observasi yang didukung oleh data sekunder, variabel seperti topografi wilayah, minimnya akses listrik dan internet, serta rendahnya tingkat pendidikan membuat penduduk Kecamatan Silat Hilir tidak berdaya mengolah informasi terkait COVID-19 di fase awal pandemi. Oleh karena itu, pembangunan infrastruktur yang dilakukan di daerah minim akses, khususnya di Kecamatan Silat Hilir harus juga disertai dengan peningkatan kemampuan literasi sumberdaya manusia, salah satunya melalui aspek pendidikan.

***Kata kunci:** akses informasi, pengetahuan COVID-19, Kecamatan Silat Hilir*

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DDC: 302.4

## **PERSEPSI PUBLIK TERHADAP PENULARAN PANDEMI CORONA KLASTER EKS IJTIMA ULAMA DI GOWA**

**Ali Kusno dan Nurul Masfufah**

### **ABSTRAK**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi persepsi publik yang berkembang terhadap eks peserta Ijtima Ulama di Gowa yang dianggap sebagai salah satu klaster persebaran pandemi corona di Indonesia. Pendekatan penelitian menggunakan analisis wacana kritis model Fairclough. Pendekatan itu memungkinkan penggunaan bahasa dalam

wacana ditempatkan sebagai praktik sosial; wacana atau penggunaan bahasa dihasilkan dalam sebuah peristiwa diskursif tertentu; dan wacana yang dihasilkan berbentuk sebuah genre tertentu. Data penelitian berupa wacana tanggapan para pengguna Facebook terhadap pemberitaan tentang pandemi corona kluster Gowa. Teknik analisis data menggunakan model interaktif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa setelah kegiatan Ijtima Ulama di Gowa, para eks peserta kegiatan tersebut mendapat beragam stigma negatif. Sebagian besar warganet beranggapan bahwa eks peserta kegiatan di Gowa sebagai salah satu penyebar wabah corona di Indonesia. Meskipun para eks peserta kegiatan Gowa sudah menjalani proses karantina dan pengobatan, tetap mereka mendapatkan perlakuan yang tidak menyenangkan dari masyarakat sekitar, terkesan eks kegiatan Gowa dan keluarga dikucilkan meskipun sebenarnya masyarakat lebih menaruh diri. Berdasarkan hal itu, dapat dinyatakan bahwa pemahaman agama yang terkesan membabi buta akan sangat berbahaya bagi kehidupan umat Islam. Penanganan lebih tegas terhadap kejadian serupa agar masyarakat agar lebih patuh terhadap kebijakan pemerintah.

*Kata kunci: Kluster Gowa, pandemi korona, wacana kritis*

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DDC: 303.3

## **KOMUNIKASI KRISIS PEMERINTAH INDONESIA DALAM PENANGANAN COVID-19**

**Muhammad Saiful Aziz dan Moddie Alvianto Wicaksono**

### **ABSTRAK**

Dalam kurun waktu lima bulan terakhir, dunia sedang dihindangi oleh krisis pandemi Covid-19. Pandemi ini menjangkit lebih dari 200 negara termasuk Indonesia. Secara global, imbasnya tidak hanya pada krisis kesehatan dan krisis ekonomi, melainkan juga krisis politik. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji komunikasi krisis yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Indonesia dalam menangani Covid-19. Artikel ini menggunakan metode penelitian studi kasus dan metode pengumpulan data studi literatur. Adapun artikel ini berkesimpulan strategi rebuilding posture yang berisikan langkah apologia dan compensation menjadi pilihan terbaik bagi Pemerintah Indonesia. Lalu terdapat beberapa langkah yang perlu dilakukan. Pertama adalah kecepatan dalam menyampaikan pesan-pesan atau informasi kepada masyarakat, kedua konsistensi dalam setiap informasi atau pesan yang disampaikan kepada masyarakat, ketiga prinsip keterbukaan, keempat menunjukkan sense of crisis dari berbagai elemen pemerintah kepada publik dan stakeholder, kelima perlunya memperkuat komunikasi internal dari unsur pemerintah, keenam perlunya memperkuat transmisi pesan komunikasi kepada publik.

*Kata kunci: Komunikasi Krisis, Pandemi, Covid-19, Pemerintah Indonesia*

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DDC: 305.5

## **KEBANGKITAN DOKTER PRIBUMI DALAM LAPANGAN KESEHATAN: MELAWAN WABAH PES, LEPROSA, DAN INFLUENZA DI HINDIA BELANDA PADA AWAL ABAD XX**

**Siti Hasanah**

### **ABSTRAK**

Dalam upaya memutus mata rantai wabah dibutuhkan sinergitas yang kuat antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah, antara dokter dan masyarakat, maupun sesama dokter itu sendiri. Dalam tatanan birokrasi kesehatan kolonial, awalnya dokter pribumi selalu mengalami diskriminasi dan pada beberapa kasus hubungan dengan dokter Eropa tidak harmonis. Namun terjadinya wabah-wabah mengharuskan mereka tetap bersinergi. Awalnya dokter Eropa lebih dominan untuk menjadi tokoh-tokoh kunci dalam penelitian laboratorium dan pencarian solusi ketika terjadi wabah. Lalu trend-nya berubah sejak awal abad ke-19. Kebangkitan dokter pribumi yang tidak terlepas dari revolusi pendidikan STOVIA dan kemunculan Vereeniging van Inlandsche Geneeskundige, sebuah perkumpulan dokter pribumi pada tahun 1909. Dua faktor ini mendorong para dokter pribumi semakin melibatkan diri dalam kerja-kerja penelitian hingga tahap mempengaruhi kebijakan pemerintah. Aspek utama yang dibicarakan ialah kebangkitan dan sinergitas yang dibangun antara para dokter khususnya dokter pribumi dalam menangani beberapa wabah. Dr. Cipto Mangoenkoesoemo dalam pemberantasan wabah pes di Malang, dr. Abdul Rivai yang lantang bersuara di Volksraad mendorong pemerintah segera tanggap saat terjadi wabah influenza, dan JB Sitanala yang menjadi tokoh kunci penyelesaian wabah Lepra hingga prestasinya terdengar di forum-forum kesehatan internasional.

*Kata Kunci: Kebangkitan dokter pribumi, kesehatan masa kolonial, Wabah pes, influenza, dan lepra*

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DDC: 303.48

## **DINAMIKA INDUSTRI MUSIK INDIE JAKARTA DAN WILAYAH SEKITARNYA PADA MASA PANDEMI COVID-19 GELOMBANG PERTAMA**

**Puji Hastuti**

### **ABSTRAK**

Tulisan ini bermaksud menguraikan dinamika kehidupan pekerja industri musik indie Jakarta dan sekitarnya yang mengalami perubahan pada masa Pandemi Covid-19. Ekosistem industri musik indie yang semula sangat mengandalkan ruang pertemuan fisik dan komunal harus beradaptasi dengan kebijakan pembatasan sosial akibat pandemi. Kondisi tersebut menarik perhatian penulis untuk mengamati dinamika kehidupan para pekerja industri musik indie dalam menghadapi keterbatasan tersebut. Dalam kurun waktu pemberlakuan kebijakan pembatasan sosial hingga adaptasi kebiasaan baru atau dikenal dengan new normal, penulis melakukan pengamatan terhadap kegiatan pekerja industri musik indie yang ditampilkan dalam beberapa platform media digital. Hasilnya, penulis menemukan geliat para pekerja industri musik indie Jakarta dan sekitarnya dalam menghadapi pandemi Covid-19 mencakup beberapa aspek berikut: 1) solidaritas komunal, 2) adaptasi kebiasaan, 3) eksplorasi ruang komunal digital, dan 4) masa kontemplasi dan menghasilkan karya baru. Kesimpulan dari hasil temuan tersebut, pandemi Covid-19 telah menumbuh-kembangkan kembali semangat komunalitas, meski sekaligus juga menampilkan celah bagi absennya peran negara terhadap jaminan kesejahteraan layak bagi pekerja industri musik. Di samping menguatnya ikatan komunalitas pekerja, keterbatasan yang dialami akibat masa-masa pandemi justru membuka peluang usaha lain bagi para pekerja industri musik. Terakhir, pandemi Covid-19 dapat menjadi momentum bagi era baru ekosistem industri musik indie Jakarta bahkan kota-kota lainnya di Indonesia dengan kemajuan teknologi pertunjukan digital dan rilisan karya baik audio maupun video yang dapat digarap menggunakan media rekam sederhana dari rumah atau home recording.

***Kata Kunci:** pekerja industri musik, musik indie Jakarta, pandemi Covid-19, adaptasi, ruang komunal digital*

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DDC: 353.6

## **RUMAH SAKIT BERI-BERI PADA PERANG DI ACEH DAN MUNCULNYA KEBIJAKAN KESEHATAN KOLONIAL 1873-1900-AN**

**Wahyu Suri Yani dan Agus Suwignyo**

### **ABSTRAK**

Selama Perang di Aceh (1873-1900an), penyakit beri-beri menyerang tentara Belanda dan menyebabkan banyak kematian di pihak Belanda. Namun tenaga medis kolonial memerlukan waktu lama—hampir 20 tahun—untuk mempelajari jenis penyakit ini dan cara pengobatannya. Artikel ini mengkaji upaya-upaya pemerintah kolonial dalam menangani dan memitigasi penyebaran penyakit beri-beri selama perang di Aceh. Melalui arsip Algemene Secreterie Atjeh Zaken, Geneeskundig tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie dan sumber primer lain, artikel menunjukkan perubahan konsep tentang kesehatan dalam kebijakan medis kolonial antara lain didirikannya rumah sakit khusus beri-beri di Sumatra Westkust. Artikel ini menegaskan bahwa usaha pengobatan di rumah sakit khusus dalam menghadapi beri-beri sebagai wabah baru, menjadi etalase utama dalam menjawab persoalan beri-beri yang juga telah merebak di berbagai pusat pemerintahan Hindia Belanda. Diskursus tempat sehat dan topografi kesehatan Sumatra Westkust yang menekankan pendekatan lokalitas dalam penanganan kesehatan masyarakat, menjadi bagian dari proses panjang dalam penemuan zat anti beri-beri atau tiamin.

***Kata Kunci:** perang Aceh, wabah beri-beri, topografi kesehatan, kebijakan medis kolonial, Sumatra Westkust*

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DDC: 353.9.

## **TINJAUAN BUKU**

### **COVID-19 DAN PERJALANANNYA: DARI KRISIS KESEHATAN HINGGA DINAMIKA KEBIJAKAN DAN TATA KELOLA**

**Riqko Nur Ardi Windayanto**

Judul Buku: Tata Kelola Penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia: Kajian Awal. Penulis: Para Akademisi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik, Universitas Gadjah Mada serta Wawan Mas'udi dan Poppy S. Winanti (Eds) (2020). Penerbit: Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, xxii + 372 hlm.



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### EPIDEMIC AND THE IRRATIONAL ATTITUDE OF VORSTENLANDEN IN 19TH CENTURY

**Heri Priyatmoko and Hendra Kurniawan****ABSTRACT**

Epidemic, in Javanese called pageblug, not only happened in this Covid-19 era, but also happened in the 19th century. But, the way to handle the epidemic at that time is considered as irrational. This article aims to discuss the events of the pageblug in Vorstenlanden or the royal domain in the nineteenth century using the perspective of local history. With historical method, it is known that pageblug is a miserable condition caused by an epidemic such as cholera which takes many lives and causes panic in the community. In the realm of irrational thought, pageblug is understood to be the work of Satan and Nyai Ratu Kidul. Whereas in logical thinking at the time, the plague was triggered by prolonged dry season changes, not the healthy behavior of the people. Residents respond to the pageblug with various irrational actions, such as bathing and drinking pool water which is used by the king to bathe. They also believe in cholera drug made from grass puzzles given by Sunan Lawu. With the knowledge of titen or empirical experience proving them natural elements can drive the pageblug, without having to go to a doctor who is very few in the nineteenth century.

*Keywords: Pageblug, Irrational Behavior, Vorstenlanden*

DDC: 303.23

### COVID-19: INSIDE INDONESIA'S ISLAMIC STATE SOCIAL MEDIA NETWORK

**Prakoso Permono, Amanah Nurish, and Abdul Muta'a****ABSTRACT**

ISIS affiliates in Indonesia have been involved actively in social media particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic. This article is trying to explore and analyze Islamic State affiliates daily narrative in their social media network based on digital ethnography conducted between March to July 2020 following the Covid-19 outbreak. The ethnography focuses on four ISIS affiliate's Telegram channel and group. We found that ISIS affiliates in Indonesia as a rational actor have been capitalizing on opportunities brought by Covid-19 and vulnerabilities in Indonesia's society to strengthen radicalization and grassroots support from broader Muslim communities. This research also finds more advanced and personalized anti-government and anti-Chinese rhetoric being emphasized by Islamic State affiliates in Indonesia during the pandemic and concludes that behind Indonesian ISIS narratives during the Covid-19 pandemic emerges hidden imminent threats to the society.

*Keywords: Covid-19; Digital Ethnography; Islamic State; Indonesia; Social Media*



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DDC: 302.23

## **CONSPIRACY THEORIES AND MODERN DISJUNCTURE AMIDST THE SPREAD OF COVID-19 IN INDONESIA**

**Ibnu Nadzir**

### **ABSTRACT**

Amidst the global outbreak of COVID-19 in Indonesia, the government has been under the spotlight for not being able to formulate a proper response. Aside from the malfunctioning bureaucracy, the low compliance among citizens toward public health advice complicates the impact of COVID-19 in Indonesia. One factor that contributes to the attitude of society is the spread of false information and conspiracy theories associated to the virus itself. How do we explain the propagation of conspiracy theories under the threat of COVID-19 in Indonesia? The article argues that the spread of conspiracy theories amidst the pandemic reflects the on-going contestation of political legitimacy between the state and society in Indonesia. To elaborate this point, the article elucidates the three critical junctures that buttressed the propagation of conspiracy theories. First, conspiracy theory was utilized as a foundation of authoritarian regime of Soeharto, and later became an institutionalized tool to maintain its power. Second, the entanglement between democratic ecosystem and proliferation of social media after Reformasi, has enabled society to appropriate conspiracy theories as a form of resistance and skepticism toward government. Third, the tension between state and society in regards to the authority manifested on the contention on COVID-19 management in Indonesia. The government have been trying to maintain the legitimacy by being secretive on COVID-19 information. At the same time, some elements of society responded to the secretive government with propagation conspiracy theories that also justify public disobedience toward health protocols. These combinations have further exacerbated the impact of COVID-19 in Indonesia.

*Keywords: conspiracy theory, COVID-19, Indonesia, social media*

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DDC: 362.89

## **HOW PEOPLE IN THE REMOTE AREA REACT TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN THE EARLY PHASE**

**Mochammad Wahyu Ghani and Marya Yenita Sitohang**

### **ABSTRACT**

This article aims to analyze the knowledge and reaction of the remote area population which is the Silat Hilir District, Kapuas Hulu, West Borneo, at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. The knowledge about COVID-19 is still limited so that access to valid information and reliable sources becoming very important. We conducted a participant observation to collect the data. It shows that the population of Silat Hilir District has a poor understanding related to COVID-19. They also tend to react to the COVID-19 hoaxes. Based on the observations which are supported by secondary data, variables like topography, lack of access to electricity and internet, and low level of education make the population of Silat Hilir District unable to process the information they received. Therefore, the development of infrastructure in remote area must also consider the increase of community literacy skills, for example through the education aspect.

*Keywords: access to information, COVID-19 knowledge, Silat Hilir District*

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DDC: 302.4

## **PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF PANDEMIC CORONA TRANSMISSION CLUSTER EX IJTIMA ULAMA IN GOWA**

**Ali Kusno1 and Nurul Masfufah**

### **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to identify the growing public perception of the former participants of Ijtima Ulama in Gowa, which is considered as one of the corona pandemic distribution clusters in Indonesia. The research approach uses the critical discourse analysis of the Fairclough Model. That approach allows the use of language in discourse to be placed as a social practice; discourse or language use is generated in a specific discursive event; and the resulting discourse takes the form of a particular genre. The research data is in the form of discourse on Facebook users' responses to the news about the Gowa cluster corona pandemic. Data analysis techniques using an interactive model.

The results showed that after the Ijtima Ulama activities in Gowa, the former participants of the activity received a variety of negative stigma. Most of the citizens think that the ex-Gowa activity is one of the spreaders of the corona outbreak in Indonesia. Even though the ex-participants of Gowa activities have undergone a quarantine and treatment process, they still get unpleasant treatment from the surrounding community, it seems that the ex-Gowa activities and their families are ostracized even though the community actually withdraws. Blindly understanding of religion will be very dangerous for the lives of Muslims. More stringent handling of similar incidents so that people are more compliant with government policies.

*Keywords: Gowa cluster, corona pandemic, critical discourse*

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DDC: 303.3

## **CRISIS COMMUNICATION OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT IN HANDLING COVID-19**

**Muhammad Saiful Aziz and Moddie Alvianto Wicaksono**

### **ABSTRACT**

The Ministry of Education and Culture has launched the National Literacy Movement in 2016, which has been implemented in schools, families, and communities. The National Literacy Movement proposes six basic literacies, namely: language, numeracy, science, digital, finance, and culture and citizenship. In this case, cultural and civic literacy receives less attention because it arguably contributes less competitive value in facing the 21st-century global competition. Besides, cultural and citizenship literacy is the foundation for the formulation of five basic characters encompassing religious, nationalist, independent, integrous, and cooperative. This article will examine what subjects which can increase student awareness, especially in junior high school in supporting cultural and civic literacy and what aspects which can be contributed from those subjects. This study uses a qualitative method strengthened by desk research. Results show that subjects that are considered to increase student awareness of five basic characters, including Social Studies, Arts and Culture, and Education for Pancasila and Citizenship. Social Studies encourages students to have social awareness and be able to live together in a pluralistic society. Art and Culture contributes as a foundation to preserve Indonesian's arts and culture in facing the era of modernity. The Education of Pancasila and Citizenship encourages students to understand and execute their rights and obligations as Indonesia's citizens.

*Keywords: cultural and citizenship literacy, five basic characters, subjects, students*

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DDC: 305.5

## **THE RESURRECTION OF INDIGENOUS DOCTORS IN THE MEDICAL FIELDS: ENCOUNTERING THE PLAGUE, THE LEPROSY AND INFLUENZA OUTBREAKS IN THE NEDERLANDSCH INDIE IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY**

**Siti Hasanah**

### **ABSTRACT**

In order to break the epidemics chains, a strong synergy is needed between the central and local governments, between the doctors and the community, as well as among doctors themselves. In the colonial health bureaucracy, indigenous doctors always experienced discrimination. In addition, the relationship between the indigenous doctors and the European doctors was not harmonious. However, the occurrence of epidemics required them to continue to work together. Initially, European physicians were more dominant to become key figures in laboratory research and the search for solutions when an outbreak occurred. Then the trend changed since the early 19th century. The rise of indigenous doctors was inseparable from the STOVIA educational revolution and the emergence of Vereeniging van Inlandsche Geneeskundige, an association of indigenous doctors in 1909. These two factors encouraged indigenous doctors to get more chances being involved in their researches to the extent it could influence the government policy. The main aspect which is discussed is the resurrection and synergy that was built between doctors, especially indigenous doctors in dealing with several outbreaks. Dr. Cipto Mangoenkoesoemo in eradicating the bubonic plague in Malang, dr. Abdul Rivai, who spoke out loudly in the Volksraad, encouraged the government to respond immediately when an influenza outbreak occurred, and JB Sitanala, who was a key figure in resolving the leprosy outbreak, until his achievements were heard in international health forums.

*Keywords: The resurrection of native doctors, colonial health, bubonic plague, influenza, and leprosy*

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DDC: 303.48

## **DYNAMIC INDIE JAKARTA MUSIC INDUSTRY AND THE SURROUNDING AREA IN THE FIRST WAVE COVID-19 PANDEMIC TIME**

**Puji Hastuti**

### **ABSTRACT**

This paper intends to describe the dynamics of workers' lives in Jakarta's indie music industry and the surrounding areas, which experienced changes during the Covid-19 Pandemic. The indie music industry ecosystem, which previously relied heavily on physical and communal meeting spaces, adapted social restrictions due to the pandemic. This condition attracts the author's attention to observing the dynamics of the indie music industry work workers' lifesaving these limitations. In the period of stipulating social restriction policies to adapting new habits or known as new normal, the standard observations on indie music industry workers displayed on several digital media platforms. As a result, the authors found the movement of indie music industry workers in Jakarta and its surroundings in facing the Covid-19 pandemic covering the following aspects: 1) communal solidarity, 2) habitual adapt chronic exploration of digital collaborative space and 4) a period of contemplation and producing new works. The conclusion from these findings is that the Covid-19 pandemic has re-developed the spirit of communality, commonality at the same time. It also presents a gap for the absence of the state's role in ensuring decent music industry workers' welfare. Besides the strengthening of workers' communal ties, the pandemic's limitations have opened up other business opportunities for music industry workers. Finally, the Covid-19 can be a momentum for a new era of the indie music industry ecosystem, Jakarta and even other cities in Indonesia with advances in digital performance technology and the release of works both audio and video that can be worked on using simple recording media from home or home recording.

*Keywords: music workers industry, Jakarta indie music, Covid-19, adaptation, digital communal space*

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DDC: 353.6

## **THE BERI-BERI HOSPITAL DURING THE WAR IN ACEH AND THE EMERGENCE OF A COLONIAL MEDICAL POLICY 1873-1900S**

**Wahyu Suri Yani and Agus Suwignyo**

### **ABSTRACT**

During the war in Aceh (1873-1900s), a number of soldiers from the Dutch side suffered from beri-beri. The disease caused many casualties. Yet, it took the colonial medical force no less than twenty years to scientifically understand the disease and its cure. The aim of this article is to examine the policies that the colonial government made in the handling and mitigation of beri-beri during the war against the Aceh people. Using archives from Algemene Secretarie Atjeh Zaken, Geneeskundig tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie and other primary sources, this article show the changing medical concepts in the colonial policy, inter alia by the founding of beri-beri specialized hospital in Sumatra Westcoast. It is argued that the attempts to quarantine beri-beri infected soldiers in the Aceh War created a basis of colonial medical policy on beri-beri for the larger context of the Netherlands Indies. Discourses about medical topography, which emphasized the importance of local elements in the treatment of beri-beri patients, were part of the long process of the invention of beri-beri drug, tiamin.

*Keywords: Aceh War, beri-beri, medical topography, conial medical policy, Sumatra Westcoast*

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DDC: 353.9

### **BOOK REVIEW**

## **COVID-19 DAN PERJALANANNYA: DARI KRISIS KESEHATAN HINGGA DINAMIKA KEBIJAKAN DAN TATA KELOLA**

**Riqko Nur Ardi Windayanto**

Judul Buku: Tata Kelola Penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia: Kajian Awal. Penulis: Para Akademisi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik, Universitas Gadjah Mada serta Wawan Mas'udi dan Poppy S. Winanti (Eds) (2020). Penerbit: Gadjah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta, xxii + 372 hlm.

## COVID-19: THE TRACE OF INDONESIA'S ISLAMIC STATE ON SOCIAL MEDIA NETWORK

### COVID-19: MELACAK JEJAK ISLAMIC STATE DI INDONESIA DALAM JARINGAN MEDIA SOSIAL

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#### ABSTRAK

*Para pendukung ISIS di Indonesia menunjukkan keaktifan di media sosial khususnya pada masa pandemi Covid-19. Artikel ini berusaha mengeksplorasi dan menganalisis narasi Islamic State di jejaring media sosial didasari pendekatan etnografi digital yang dilaksanakan pada Maret hingga Juli 2020 menyusul merebaknya pandemi Covid-19. Etnografi yang dilakukan berfokus pada empat grup atau kanal pendukung ISIS berbahasa Indonesia di Telegram. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ISIS dan jaringannya di Indonesia sebagai aktor rasional tengah berusaha memanfaatkan berbagai kesempatan serta kerentanan masyarakat yang muncul menyusul pandemi Covid-19 untuk kepentingan memperkuat radikalisasi dan usaha untuk mendapatkan dukungan akar rumput dengan menjangkau komunitas Islam yang lebih luas. Penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa jaringan ISIS di Indonesia pada masa pandemi Covid-19 mengeluarkan narasi-narasi anti-pemerintah maupun anti-etnis Tionghoa yang lebih mutakhir dan personal. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini ialah bahwa di balik narasi yang disebar oleh jaringan ISIS di Indonesia terdapat sebuah ancaman tersembunyi bagi masyarakat Indonesia.*

**Kata kunci:** Covid-19; Etnografi Digital; Islamic State; Indonesia; Media Sosial

#### ABSTRACT

ISIS affiliates in Indonesia have been involved actively in social media particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic. This article is trying to explore and analyze Islamic State affiliates daily narrative in their social media network based on digital ethnography conducted between March to July 2020 following the Covid-19 outbreak. The ethnography focuses on four ISIS affiliate's Telegram channel and group. We found that ISIS affiliates in Indonesia as a rational actor have been capitalizing on opportunities brought by Covid-19 and vulnerabilities in Indonesia's society to strengthen radicalization and grassroots support from broader Muslim communities. This research also finds more advanced and personalized anti-government and anti-Chinese rhetoric being emphasized by Islamic State affiliates in Indonesia during the pandemic and concludes that behind Indonesian ISIS narratives during the Covid-19 pandemic emerges hidden imminent threats to the society.

**Keywords:** Covid-19; Digital Ethnography; Islamic State; Indonesia; Social Media

#### INTRODUCTION

In the first term of the Coronavirus outbreak in Indonesia, some national mass media portray Islamic State as an impotent threat in the region. This assumption is attributed to ISIS's magazine al-Naba in early March 2020 with an article entitled "Sharia Directives to Deal with Epidemics" that urges the reader to "flee from the one afflicted with leprosy as you flee from a lion" (Al-Tamimi,

2020). Some of Indonesia's online media in the first place take that narrative alone as a sign of ISIS refraining from their violent manner. Online media with nationwide readers like TribunNews and SindoNews even using exaggerated clickbait titles like "It Turns Out ISIS Also Fear Corona" and "Known for Their Fierce, But Turn Out They Fear Corona" (Berlianto, 2020).

While on the contrary there are reports and commentaries from scholars across Indonesia and abroad that stated the opposite. Ackerman and Peterson wrote that terrorists despite their ideological background, by their nature as asymmetric adversaries, will try to exploit the pandemic in many ways to achieve their goal (Ackerman & Peterson, 2020:59-60). A report by the Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) on Covid-19 and ISIS in Indonesia report that there is no single narrative among ISIS affiliates in Indonesia, some believe that the prophet teaches to protect themselves from the pandemic while some believe that Covid-19 is God's army sent to help the mujahedeen to conduct jihad (IPAC, 2020).

Along with the IPAC report, Arianti and Taufiqurrohmah also emphasize ISIS affiliates groups such as Jama'ah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), Jama'ah Ansharut Khilafah (JAK), and Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT) will maximize their action either for recruitment – radicalization or planning attacks (Arianti & Taufiqurrohmah, 2020:13-17). Whereas for Mujahidin Indonesia Timur's (MIT) guerillas based around Poso, Covid-19 is considered as leverage for their hit and run tactic. MIT's leader Ali Kalora in a video stated that Covid-19 will weaken the authority and he urges all mujahedeen to conduct jihad wherever they are. Moreover, Ong and Azman in their article also indicating that there is a possibility for ISIS affiliates using Covid-19 as a weapon by spreading the virus targeting authorities (Ong & Azman, 2020:18-20).

Besides, there are also empirical indications of increasing activity particularly from ISIS affiliate group Jama'ah Ansarut Daulah (JAD) and Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT) during the pandemic. Based on data obtained from Detachment 88, 228 terrorists suspect were arrested from March to the end of 2020 across Indonesia, the majority of the detainees are strongly suspected JAD and several other Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI) members. Furthermore, since March there were three attacks either from JAD or MIT members, two attacks targeting police officers, and the

other one targeting a civilian cooperating with the police.

Nevertheless, these reports and articles only focus on terrorism as a physical form of attack, partially neglecting the fact that in the case of Indonesia terrorist depends greatly in radicalization process that in some case literally attacking heart and mind of the people. ISIS and other jihadists are well known to utilize the digital space for their cause, from propaganda, recruitment, online training, planning for logistic support, regrouping, attack planning, to funding with misuse of charity and even fraud (Golose, 2015:32-38). For specific instance, the first generation of jihadists in Indonesia went through face to face radicalization in a very clandestine small group, however, since the rapid development of the internet the term online radicalization has become more familiar. For ISIS affiliates in Indonesia, it is a common practice to sworn allegiance to al-Baghdadi or later to Abu Ibrahim al-Quraishi through social media. Therefore, a variety of ISIS online activities become more significant to analyze than before during the pandemic.

This research aims to explore and analyze ISIS affiliate's narratives in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic. This is an important question to answer not only for academia but also for the policymaker, particularly in Indonesia. As Sun Tzu wrote "know thy self and know thy enemy", meaning it is an important factor to firstly understand our strong and vulnerabilities while maintaining vigilance from all threats by understanding the enemy, take precautions and attack the enemy before the battle has even started (Yuen, 2014). To understand ISIS and its affiliates we use the rational choice theory in this research and also compare it with the finding of this research to test whether the rational choice theory is applicable to analyze group's and individual's rationality levels. This research also will confront some media coverage with the actual and theoretical fact with this research's findings to show errors made by media coverage on ISIS threat during the beginning of the Covid-19 outbreak.



## METHOD

### Digital Ethnography Inside ISIS Network

Doing ethnography is almost impossible due to Covid-19 restriction in many parts of the world, hence, in the meantime, digital ethnography seems to become more promising. Digital ethnography starts with the argument that the phenomenon in digital space is related to the real-life phenomenon (Horst & Miller, 2013:13). In this particular research, joining the conversation in ISIS social media networks should be considered no less ethnography than fieldwork. In fact, digital ethnography is the safest way to do ethnography with a terrorist group or affiliate that will not likely happen with other approaches. This approach also enables us to reach deeper into the Indonesian ISIS social media network. All data and findings below are based on data collection from the beginning of the first Covid-19 positive case in Indonesia on March 2, 2020, until mid-July 2020 by joining groups and channels of ISIS affiliates in Telegram.

This research focuses on four Indonesian-speaking Telegram groups and channels that shown clear affiliations to ISIS by their identities, group profile with ISIS's logo, sticker being used, chats among members, and its content such as JAD's leader Aman Abdurrahman writings and audio recordings, Bahrun Naim's books, and articles from various ISIS official sources like al-Naba. Some of these indications are also linked to a Telegram group "*Just Terror Taktik*" which was mentioned in several court verdicts against Indonesian ISIS members. Three of these groups are using ISIS-related names such as "*daulah*" or state, "*kekhilafahan*" or caliphate, and "*akhir zaman*" or the end of the world related to ISIS claims as the God's doomsday force. By going deeper this research found another group operating clandestinely using the name "supermarket", a word without any relation at all with ISIS. Each group serves a different purpose and has a different number of members, the first group has 55 members mainly serves for discussion, the second has 56 members for publication repository, the third and fourth have 281 and 126 members serve as active sharing and one-way communication

group. All the publication in these group or channel are in Bahasa or has subtitles, almost all publication is clearly made by Indonesian while others identified from various common ISIS sources like Dabiq, al-Naba, Ammaq, etc.

The existence of these kinds of groups and channels is indeed a serious and fundamental problem in the effort to counter violent extremism. Although Telegram has its own policy and active surveillance program "*ISIS Watch*" established in November 2019 that actively deleting accounts, channels, and groups based on build-in reports from other users (Griezis, 2020). Adapting to this campaign, ISIS affiliates across the world in Telegram uses more clandestine measure such as uses usernames with no relation to ISIS such as "supermarket", "*info loker*" translated to job vacancy info, or "*taaruf*". Particularly in Indonesia, based on our interview with a former high ranking official of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), there are two reasons why the authority let some of the jihadist group or channel to exist, (1) for intelligence gathering purposes and (2) the ability of jihadist to re-emerges with a new group and channel make it hard to control. The second reason is the reality in Indonesia's jihadist social media network, and therefore it needs urgent attention particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic when people massively emigrated to the digital space.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Rationalizing ISIS's Narratives

As mentioned before by Ackerman and Peterson (2020) that a terrorist group like ISIS is an asymmetrical adversary in nature. Everything considered as a threat for us is an opportunity for them, and during the pandemic, the main hypothesis is that groups like ISIS and its affiliates will take the advantages brought by the pandemic for their cause. This hypothesis is also based on the rational choice theory, according to Crenshaw, this theory explains that the decision making process within terrorist groups including their strategy is based on a strategic and rational calculation, calculating whether a strategy is more advantageous to achieve their goals is an example of a strategic and rational calculation

(Schmid, 2011). The findings of this research in some part will support this theory, while in other part bring the debate of its reliability in the case of Indonesia.

It is important to firstly understand the form of the Islamic State global network. As mentioned by Zelinsky and Shubik (2020) that terrorist group spread and emerges in three kinds of form, a hierarchy structure with some sort of central authority and strategy, venture capital in which resources provided by the central authority but each group has its autonomy, a franchise where there are a central authority and command but the operational depends on each group, and a brand where there is no central command and each group operates also with their own resource. In this kind of categorization, in the case of Indonesia, ISIS comes in the form of a brand where the legitimization of the *daulah*, the leadership of the caliph, the use of its logo, and mainly the ideology, hence, ISIS encourage autonomy to its affiliates in Indonesia and also to depends on their own resource. Yet, we argue that this metaphor of business enterprise by Zelinsky and Shubik should consider another form of an international corporation, where the branch work for their own profit while at the same time support the corporate and vice versa. This kind of relations exists in Indonesia.

Data from our digital research found that during the pandemic there are plenty of Indonesian ISIS narratives consistent with ISIS's global narrative. For instance, the rhetoric against closing mosques, canceling the Hajj, and particularly calls to action and capitalize the pandemic for their cause can be found in both global and local narratives. Gambhir (2015) explains this as ISIS's far abroad strategy, to shift the attention from the Middle East to other parts of the world caused by its affiliate's attack in their own country. This is also why ISIS uses the strategy of *hijrah* to encourage people to join the *daulah* in Syria dan Iraq, but at the same time use the strategy of *bay'ah* to encourage the growth of its far abroad affiliates and to launch attacks in their own country (Gunaratna, 2016). As the impact of losing its territories in the Middle East, ISIS now eagerly try to regain its former territory and rebuild its

relevance among the people, the pandemic is the right time to execute this plan, this explains the same narratives to launch attacks in ISIS global narratives and the narratives circulated in Indonesia. The rational choice theory is fit into this kind of scenario.

Nevertheless, the same theory is challenged by the unique cases we found during our ethnographic works in the digital field site. During the pandemic, we are not able to conclude any single narrative on the pandemic in Indonesian ISIS affiliates social media network. Some group members mentioned the pandemic as western nations and even Chinese conspiracy, while some others consider the virus as *thaun* or merely a pandemic. A former jihadist in our interview mentioned that jihadist in social media tends to have dispute opinion on many issues, and many jihadists are spreading their own opinion based on their own initiatives. This finding challenges the rational choice theory to rationalize acts of individuals within the group, Although the group has its own rationality and strategic assessment to propagating call for actions, individual within the group have their own assessment in the very fundamental issue of the pandemic itself. In this scenario, the rational choice theory will not be able to generalize the action of individual members of the group.

### **Inside ISIS Social Media Network**

ISIS affiliates in Indonesia are well aware that their activities in social media networks are subjected to surveillance by the authority. Therefore, all the groups or channels are operating clandestinely or semi-clandestine. All members are prohibited to show their photo, real name, and mention where they are come from, members continuously remind each other and newly joining members about this policy. They are also sharing infographic entitled "Internet Security" that serves as a guideline for the new member, this guideline direct member not to share personal information and reminds that the authority might try to infiltrate the group and pretending as mujahedeen, and on daily basis, they removed member suspected as *jasus* or spy.

This research believes that the group members were not knowing each other and found the group or channel by searching for a specific keyword. By using specific keywords like *daulah* (state) or *kekhalafahan* (caliphate) made this group accessible to the broader Muslim community in Indonesia, particularly supporters of Islamic organizations advocating to establish a worldwide caliphate with a non-violent approach such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). In general ISIS affiliates in this Telegram groups interested to access specific publications such as the newest updates from the central caliphate and ISIS's affiliates leader in Indonesia, *nasyid* or song, sermon recording, infographic, magazine, circular, and question and answer related to jihad or Islamic teaching. Some newly joining members are introducing themselves as newly *hijrah* person, referring to migration from darkness to enlighten, who want to understand the pure teaching of Islam.

The most interesting group is the first group that serves for open discussion. While the channels only have silent readers, in the first group members are actively communicating and responding to each other. Regardless of this research believe that the members do not know each other, but the discussions showed there is senior and junior member relation proofed by one or two people that answer questions from the member. Although ISIS and its affiliates JAD work in more decentralized networks compared to Al-Qaeda with Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia, JAD still has its leadership and specific religious authority. This is typical to ISIS or Al-Qaeda affiliates group to have senior member serves as the authority, and disobedient and subordination through the rank is regarded as a serious offense.

Altogether we divide the narratives into six main topics. Starting with a discussion on the Covid-19 outbreak, jihad and terror attack, how to become an ISIS member, anti-government sentiment, and lastly anti-Chinese sentiment. This research has the very reason to believe that ISIS narratives in social media amid the pandemic and its effect on society should not be taken lightly, considering the match between the narrative and existing vulnerabilities in the society. This

research believes that Indonesian ISIS members and affiliates are spreading narratives below with a strategically rational calculation. In line with rational choice theory, that terrorist organization using terror as an instrument and tactic to achieve their goals based on a rational calculation (Schmid, 2011, pp. 221-222).

### **Indonesian ISIS on the Covid-19 Outbreak**

ISIS central in mid-March published an article in their online caliphate magazine al-Naba urging its follower all over the world to continue jihad wherever they are. The article mentioned clearly that all mujahedeen should take this pandemic as an opportunity to plan and execute an attack that will make the enemy lost its capabilities to retaliate nor reducing any fatalities attack and show no mercy (Al-Tamimi, 2020). Although this magazine is entirely published in Arabic, it still reaches Indonesia in the translated version and is scattered through Indonesia's ISIS social media network. Despite that clear call to jihad, ISIS affiliates in Indonesia ultimately remain in dispute when understanding Covid-19.

The main narrative in ISIS's social media network shown a clear message that Covid-19 is God's will to help the mujahedeen. While very minority believe Covid-19 as a conspiracy made by the infidel. But basically, it does not matter whether ISIS believing in either of those two narratives, because eventually there are only two outcomes of those narratives, to launch an attack according to call for jihad or doing *i'dad*, referring to preparation to jihad including maintaining the spirit of jihad among member and rallying support to boost recruit. Both narratives in ISIS daily conversation are considered as the right thing to be done, however, they are repeatedly affirming that jihad is still the highest virtue in Islam.

Even though they are repeatedly stating that Covid-19 is a soldier sent by God to help the mujahedeen, still, on the contrary, ISIS members are frequently discussing how to end the pandemic and use it as fuel for their propaganda. For instance, besides claiming Covid-19 as reinforcement from God, ISIS also claims that Covid-19

is punishment for mankind's sins by submitting to human-made law and violating God's law at the same time. In the discussion, they argue that the only way to stop God's punishment is to establish a worldwide caliphate and turn back to Islamic teaching rather than only depend on scientific research for the Covid-19 vaccine. The contradiction in both claims shown that there is a loophole in ISIS propaganda if confronted by simple logic and critical thinking skill. But again, the idea to establish a worldwide caliphate has many supportive bases from non-violent Muslim communities that believe establishing a caliphate is part of Islamic teaching including 14,5% of Indonesian in favor to support changing Indonesia to become a caliphate (Ali, 2018:22).

Like their counterpart in the Middle East, ISIS in Indonesia also regularly doing situation assessments to maximize every opportunity for their cause. ISIS through al-Naba magazine demonstrates their ability to assess the situation properly by mentioning vulnerabilities brought by the Covid-19 pandemic to countries in general especially economic impact following the Covid-19 pandemic. ISIS Indonesia strategy handbook (2019:7&13) and some training modules we successfully access from their social media network peculiarly stated that deep assessment including gathering information to plan strategy is essential to every ISIS operation. And by using the enemy's vulnerabilities could maximize the advantage for the attacker. This handbook indicates that ISIS affiliates in Indonesia must be well aware of Covid-19 and its impact on their attack target or radicalization target, particularly for high-level ISIS strategist.

### **Indonesian ISIS on Terror Attack and Weaponing Covid-19**

During the Covid-19 pandemic, ISIS networks are consistently spreading the call for jihad and martyrdom. Martyrdom is considered among ISIS members in Indonesia as the highest virtue for every Muslim, and the narrative is continuously being encouraged through chat, video, or magazine. Some members even anonymously stated in the discussion that other ISIS members will take good care of the martyr's family, supporting

each other in terms of financial and moral support in the jihadist community is a common practice called *amniyah* and it works to reassured loyalty from other group members. Indonesian ISIS leader and death row inmate Aman Abdurrahman in his video sermon accessible on YouTube never begin his sermon directly urging for jihad, but starts with an ideological basis called "*tawhid*" or the concept of monotheism in Islam, and most importantly, refusal to submit to other than God or idolater (*thaghut*). This is how ISIS approach its member through hearth and mind.

Jihad is certainly a daily narrative for ISIS in Indonesia. Whether by discussing the virtue of martyrdom or encouraging each other to take action with the example of an ISIS attack in Indonesia or abroad. We found that Indonesian ISIS member discusses an infographic that shown 49 ISIS successful operations abroad within a week in mid-April 2020 with the same period of time of around 10 terrorist arrest operations across Indonesia mainly in Java between April 11 to July 10. While several reports, in general, stated that the healthcare facility could become a vulnerable target (Mahadevan, 2020:1-5). But we believe that in the context of Indonesia, ISIS will not likely target healthcare facilities since it was not found in their narratives. The discussion in social media also only calling all *anshor daulah* or helper of the caliphate to target police and its anti-terror special force, army, *jasus* or spy, and all anti-caliphate in general by killing or kidnapping. By mentioning the anti-caliphate, ISIS affiliates are referring to the moderate Islamic community specifically the largest moderate Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). ISIS identified NU as one of their biggest ideological enemies in Indonesia.

Besides the usual modus operandi, several reports stated that ISIS could be inspired to use Covid-19 as a weapon (Ackerman and Peterson, 2020:20). We cannot find any conclusive evidence except just an indication that ISIS could see the opportunity to use Covid-19 as a weapon. The main indication is ISIS in Indonesia is well-known for using suicide attack either with a bomb or even with merely a knife. In the 2018 Surabaya bombing, even an ISIS affiliate family consisting of a couple and their four children



with the youngest only 9 years old conducted a suicide bombing in three different churches, these attacks were highly praised in the Indonesian ISIS magazine *al-Fatihin* (2018:7). ISIS in Indonesia also well-known to try using a simple homemade chemical bomb for 6 attack plans since 2011 (Sanjaya, 2020). We also found 107 extremely detailed training modules regarding explosive craft and using all material available to cause an enormous bomb impact from traditional plant-based bomb to chemical material like sarin and ammonium nitrate. ISIS is clearly legitimizing any strategy even involving children in a suicide mission.

According to their discussion, we know that ISIS believes a hadith that stated death by Covid-19 is equal to martyrdom by suicide bombing. But on the other hand, they also discuss a video that shows a woman spitting on foreign currency claimed as an Iranian Shi'a strategy to spread the virus. The member unanimously condemns the video. We suspect that this video means to be anti-Shi'a propaganda which has been one of ISIS's ideological platforms. Taking these empirical findings into account we conclude that for precaution, we believe that Indonesian ISIS members can deliberately use Covid-19 as a weapon by spreading the virus. Hence, the possibility is quite low, taking into account the process of the Covid-19 test and the involvement of health institutions and the government in the test process. Using the virus is also will not have any assured and direct, and lethal impact on the target. Therefore, using the virus as a weapon is not a strategic choice.

In the current context, following the pandemic, digital activities become more vulnerable to cyber-attack by different groups with different backgrounds. While in the context of Indonesia we have not found any data to support the likelihood of an advanced cyber-attack by ISIS during the pandemic, although in a 335 pages training book written by Indonesian ISIS leader Bahrin Naim dedicating one chapter to the use of technology. The chapter contains detailed instructions on how to use technology particularly digital space, from securing online communication, hacking and carding, using virtual currency, to web scams. Still, to date, Indonesian ISIS only

detected using those advanced technologies for raising funding besides other common jihadist activity in digital space.

### **Indonesian ISIS on How to Become Member**

Member of ISIS social media network is increasing during the pandemic. Mainly ISIS affiliates in these Telegram groups are interested to access general publications. While newly joining members mainly discuss questions and answers related to jihad or Islamic teaching. In every introduction of a new member, all members will welcome them with a hospitable welcome and kind words. Member calls each other brother to foster brotherhood and trust, in this particular case joining the group is more feels like joining a fraternity than a terrorist supporter group.

After the new member following the discussion for some time, some senior members will share criteria to become *anshor daulah* in an infographic. Prospective ISIS supporter is supposed to meet the criteria and worthy joining the rank, among the criteria are following the leader of the caliphate, defend the faith, spreading messages of the caliphate from official channel, and keep the secrecy of the network. The prospective member also must not disobey their leader and contradict any narrative from the official source. After accepting these criteria senior members will send a sworn of allegiance text to ISIS leader Abu Ibrahim al-Quraishi in Arabic and Bahasa, by reciting the oath of allegiance new members considered themselves officially as *anshor daulah* submitted to ISIS leadership.

The radicalization steps online are using the same pattern as offline radicalization in Indonesia. The first step is to synchronizing ideological perspectives and recruit's views on issues happening around. The first step is crucial to disengage prospective member from any barrier to further change their perspective completely and to make the recruit feels welcomed and appreciated in the group. The next step after continuous radicalization through discussion and indoctrination is the oath of allegiance, whereas the final step is when the recruit ready to take any action. Mainly the target for recruitment in Indonesia is youngsters



around 20-37 years old (Mapparessa, 2019:107-112). Now, the online oath of allegiance and radicalization make the process even shorter.

We have great concern about the growing radicalization among Indonesian youngsters. Research has shown that 7,7% of Indonesia's Muslim population equal to around 11 million people are willing to join violent extremism action toward different groups (Wahid Foundation, 2017). Setara Institute (2020) analyze high school student perspective toward violent extremism and recorded 35,7% are inactive intolerance, 2,5% actively intolerance, and 0,3% shown they are favorable to act of terror. More distressing data come from Wahid Foundation's research on Indonesia's Islamic study group in high school that showed 68% are willing to join the jihad in the future and 6% specifically stated their support for ISIS (Huda, 2017:13). The only thing needed is access to the group that facilitates this extremist view into action and life pressure.

The pandemic also caused concern among youngster that lost their job. Injustice feelings can spread to the broader public easily, as research has shown that fear levels are high among low-paid Indonesian that are affected the most by the pandemic. Until June 2020 around 3 million Indonesian majorities worked in the informal sector lost their job, in the more general population the trends shown salary reduction is common among low and middle-class Indonesian (Soderborg & Muhtadi, 2020). Youngsters at their young age tend to take personal significance as an important aspect of their life, struggling for a job, feeling alienated, and certain economic demands from family members could lead to personal significance issues that serve as a basic factor to join violent extremism group (Kruglanski et.al., 2014). Feeling injustice, anger, legitimizing terror, and access to the violent extremist group is a perfect situation to climb up Moghaddam's staircase to terrorism (Moghaddam, 2005). Becoming part of a bigger cause, welcoming group, and a place facilitating their frustration and anger in the ISIS social media network could instantly serve as an escape.

## **Indonesian ISIS on Anti-government Rhetoric**

Propagating anti-system and anti-government is common for ISIS and other jihadist groups in Indonesia. For instance, calling democracy and the whole system in Indonesia and the world is against the teaching of Islam is nothing new. But during the pandemic, we find that ISIS has been using more specific issues adapting to the pandemic, and therefore could easily reach a broader Muslim community in Indonesia. At the peak of the Covid-19 outbreak, ISIS's social media network discusses government policy closing worship places, banning prayer in congregation, and canceling Hajj as one of the five pillars of Islam is portrayed as anti-Islam policy. These are considered very distressing for many Muslim communities in Indonesia.

By reaching to more personal and relevant issues during this pandemic, ISIS is reaching and attracting more general audiences. These issues used by ISIS are also highlighted by the general Muslim community and even drown public protest. For closing mosques, a poll by news agency Kumparan (2020) on May 12 shows that 39,21% public opposed the policy. In the case of the Hajj pilgrimage 221.000 pilgrims already waited years for their embarkation (Bona, 2020). ISIS in Indonesia has been referring to ISIS spokesman Abu Hamzah al-Quraishi's official release translated to Bahasa stating that closing mosque and canceling Hajj when at the same time tolerates other secular activity during the pandemic is a solid proof of neglecting Islam. The exact same narrative can be found in the Muslim community's daily conversation.

Besides closing mosques and canceling Hajj, a bill was proposed in the house of representatives regarding guidelines for national ideology and the 5 basic values of Pancasila. This proposal excludes a resolution that serves as a legal basis to ban communism in Indonesia. almost all Muslim communities including the moderate community strongly opposed to this proposal, the concern and issue of resurrecting Communism in Indonesia and old wounds between the Muslim community and the Communist party during the attempted coup emerge not only in strong oral

opposition but also in a rally in the capital city. A former Indonesian jihadist leader stated the public protest responding to the proposal is a momentum to be exploited by ISIS to spread its narrative to the general Muslim population that the government is pro-Communist and therefore against the Muslim community in general. ISIS in Indonesia once again has shown its capability to adapt to current issues.

Even though these anti-government narratives are not deliberately stating any direct violence, eventually neglecting the narrative could become a blowback to the government considering radicalization as a dynamic process that can escalate in a certain condition. Following the pandemic, a survey by Indikator (2020) shown that between May and July 2020 public trust in national government performance decline by 5% and 11% for the Ministry of Health in particular. Besides that, in democratic predominantly Muslim country Indonesia, political Islam, religious populism, and mobilization of Islamic right-wing groups for a political purpose have been around since the reformation back in 1998 (Hadiz, 2010). Also the rapid growth of puritan Muslim communities and conservative turn among general Muslim society following local and global political climate at the time (van Bruinessen, 2013). It makes the authority more permissive as these narratives are considered merely extreme views without any actual action.

### **Indonesian ISIS on Anti-Chinese Sentiment**

During the pandemic, anti-Chinese sentiment emerges again in ISIS social media network discussion. For instance, one group disseminate a video where many lookalikes Chinese were coming out from the airport's gate claimed as Jakarta's International Airport seems to look like Beijing Airport. This anti-Chinese sentiment rooted in the society back around the reformation, in 1998 there were huge riots in the capital city targeting the Chinese and their property. This sentiment was not started as a religious conflict but then escalate after Jakarta's general election in 2017 after the incumbent Chinese and Christian Governor accused of blasphemy and insulting

Quran verse before the election (Setijadi, 2017). This anti-Chinese and eventually become anti-Christian / non-Islam sentiment continuously become part of Indonesia's politics among the elite to gain certain group support especially Islamic conservatives who claim themselves as *pribumi* (native). However, we consider this narrative a minor compared to the anti-government narrative, but the potential of this narrative could bring sympathy to the extremist group should not be taken lightly.

Anti-Chinese sentiment also escalates in Islamic communities following Uyghur and Chinese government re-education camp policy. We can easily see sermons and videos condemning atrocities by the Chinese government portraying Chinese Communist versus Islam in all Indonesian Muslim social media platforms responding to developing issues in China. Besides Palestine, Rohingya, and Kashmir, Uyghur is massively discussed and drawn public protest by Muslims in Indonesia, and the doctrine of *ummah* or commonly narrowed the meaning to worldwide bonding based on Islamic faith become one of the natural fuels for this issue. Besides the issue of Chinese Uyghur, there is also Chinese sentiment based on economic depravity and political populist rhetoric against Chinese foreign worker and investment in Indonesia, this has continuously become a mainstream accusation toward the government and its policy that portrayed as pro-Chinese.

As a matter of fact, anti-Chinese rhetoric among Indonesian ISIS is nothing new, but the current pandemic situation caused by a virus that originated from China, flown of Chinese workers to Indonesia, and anti-Chinese-Communist sentiment following a bill proposal mentioned before make the rhetoric become more relevance to capitalize than before. Reports have also shown that some Indonesian ISIS members taking the initiative planning attack on the Chinese community di Indonesia. In 2019 terrorist perpetrators arrested by the police after stabbing Minister Wiranto known had discussed planning an attack targeting Indonesian Chinese target with his small group while the actual attack never takes place (IPAC, 2020). In well-documented court verdicts from 2012 to 2019 there were several failed

plans from Indonesian ISIS members to attack a Chinese temple in North Sumatra, rob Indonesian Chinese small business and store, and bombing Chinatown in Jakarta. All these plans are related to similar rhetoric toward what happened to Uyghur people, anti-Chinese, Communist, and the government portrayed as pro-Chinese.

### **Challenging Media Coverage**

With all of these findings above some media have proven failed to identify the nature of Indonesian Islamic State affiliates, their ideological basis, and the main goals of the groups. Failed to identify both, media then made fundamental misinformation to the public that ISIS will likely de-escalate their violent activities during the pandemic. While in fact ISIS clearly stated that its main goal is to establish a worldwide caliphate, meaning that every form of government in the world is its opponent. ISIS is also stating clearly that the instrument of the group is violent jihad, glorifying suicide attacks as a martyr, and urging its member to take opportunities brought by the pandemic for their cause.

Jihadist groups and ISIS affiliates in Indonesia also made it clear their goals and push factor to become a member of the group. There are 6 main mindsets background of jihadist in Indonesia, to establish an Islamic State, desire to fight against injustice and un-Islamic system, the claimed of truth legitimacy and closed-minded group, jihad and war is considered the only way, jihad and this way of life will bring them to heaven and rewarded by God, and the quest for personal live significance in individual context (Sarwono, 2012).

All this combination made common members who often act as executors believe in a very fatalistic ideology with life in a mortal world is no longer important because the immortal heaven promise is more appealing (Azra et al. 2017). Their slogan is “either live in glory, or become a martyr”, and the same slogan is also used by many non-violent Islamic groups in Indonesia. Because of that, there is no such thing as the absence of threats worldwide in this warfare against fatalist ideology that continues to grow stronger and deeper in the consciousness of some

community. In the case of the Islamic State, they might have lost their territory, leaders might be killed, funding might be cut from the source, but ideology is a much more complex issue to tackle.

Another important aspect of ISIS’s main narrative and goal is daulah or caliphate. The fact that ISIS is the only terrorist group that succeeds to form a caliphate makes the concept of the caliphate a very important part of ISIS propaganda and the main attraction for recruits. Indonesian ISIS continuously using the slogan “Daulatul Islam baqiyah” translated to “Eternal Islamic State” in their online chat and other publication. The spirit to establish a worldwide caliphate is still playing a major role inside Indonesian ISIS member minds, they have sworn allegiance to the new caliph and anything that prevent their cause to become reality will be considered enemy and killing is the only way. This cycle will not stop following the pandemic and we find no evidence that the threat will decrease, this cycle is an unending spirit of terrorism.

### **CONCLUSION**

There are three main intentions behind ISIS narratives in Indonesia. Firstly, to attract existing ISIS affiliates around Indonesia to take part by launching terror attacks across Indonesia and causing unrest in the society during the pandemic, either using usual tactics or other potential tactics like weaponing Covid-19. Secondly to radicalize broader populations and delegitimize government policy during Covid-19 and eventually blaming the whole system to intensify radicalization to its affiliates and attract recruit and sympathizer, and thirdly they are using the momentum of Covid-19, anti-Communist, and anti-Chinese sentiment as tools to reach broader Muslim population and potentially causing political uncertainty and even ignite horizontal conflict. All three show Indonesian ISIS’s ability to cope and adapt to the current development.

ISIS strategy is sophisticatedly designed by capitalizing on vulnerabilities during the Covid-19 pandemic. Before the pandemic, Indonesia’s society already had many vulnerabilities that developing constantly during the pandemic due to many reasons from economic depravity, hidden

ethnic-religious sentiment, growth of puritan and conservative groups, migration to digital space, and political momentum like the communist revival issue and framed anti-Islam policy during the pandemic. ISIS repeatedly using these issues in their narrative and daily conversation in social media observed in this research. The threat in digital space does not perish, it has been shifting and adapting to the broader target audience and capitalizing on developing issues within the society. From a more ideological based narrative to more policy and personalized narratives such as closing mosques, Communist revival, and Hajj pilgrimage cancelation that can reach out to broader Muslim populations.

Although several threats are not directly advocating violent action, continuous radicalization to broader Muslim populations and pre-radicalized populations of young people clearly make these narratives an investment for future violent extremism threat to Indonesia. The authority needs to be aware of this development, ISIS will not only likely conduct a physical attack during the pandemic but also attacking the heart and mind of broader Muslim communities. Unless the vulnerability can be diminished, or the narrative can be stopped which is not likely to happen in democratic Indonesia then this should be considered as a hidden threat that requires an immediate response.

Lastly, it is also clear that some media had been false covers ISIS and its threat by neglecting the fact that they are talking about an “unending spirit of terrorism”. There is no such thing as an absence of threats like mentioned by some of Indonesia’s media in warfare against the total destruction of the world system and civilization ideology oriented, with members who value death over life, and an asymmetric adversary like ISIS. This research concludes that the overall assessment of Indonesian ISIS threats is not likely to decrease solely because of the Covid-19 pandemic.

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