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Mosques as Dangerous Places: Media Framing of Mosques During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji artikel berita dari media tentang pemberitaan masjid pada masa pandemi Covid-19. Pembacaan dari kajian tersebut dilakukan secara tekstual (deskriptif) dalam konteks ekonomi politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis framing yang fokus menganalisis bagaimana media mengkonstruksi masjid selama implementasi kebijakan penutupan masjid. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Kompas.com dan NU.or.id meriwayatkan penutupan masjid secara konservatif dan bahwa kebijakan pemerintah untuk menutup sementara masjid dari aktivitas ibadah umat Islam merupakan suatu keharusan yang tidak dapat ditentang oleh umat Islam. Sedangkan Republika.co.id dan Suaramuhammadiyah. Id terbingkai dalam narasi kritis bahwa penutupan masjid merupakan kebijakan pemerintah yang tidak konsisten dan diskriminatif. Analisis pada kajian ini meliputi politik redaksional media dalam pemberitaan masjid pada masa Pelaksanaan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat (PPKM). Kajian difokuskan pada Kompas Online, Republika Online, NU Online, dan Suaramuhammadiyah Online. Kepentingan bisnis media dapat membingkai ideologi media dan politik serta salah dalam menggambarkan kontribusi konstruktif umat Islam untuk memerangi COVID-19.

Kata kunci: Framing Media, Covid-19, Masjid

1. INTRODUCTION

The mosque is a symbol of religion and the existence of followers of Islam. The mosque becomes the center of organizing transcendent activities, internalizing and practicing worship, and immanent or externalizing the values and practices of social relations. In the mosque, each congregation shows the practice of worship collectivity and an egalitarian attitude (Kuntowijoyo, 1991). The function of the mosque is as a space for internalizing spiritual values and externalizing social, economic, political, cultural, and humanitarian practices. The Covid-19 outbreak pushed mosques to follow state policy.

A very extreme situation occurred when the government announced the implementation of Emergency Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM) for Java and Bali. Every mosque must be closed for worship activities from July 3 to July 20, 2021. Some Muslims protested this regulation and the government responded by temporarily stopping mass worship by removing the diction of closing mosques.

Both traditional mass media (print, television, and radio) and new media based on internet technology (online media) have covered the impact of the pandemic on the

mosque's ability to function. The topic of the mosque's purpose has gained attention since the widespread gathering of participants (congregations) is perceived as going against the Covid-19 health policy that requires inhabitants to keep a distance. A crowd at a mosque might disregard safety precautions, creating a scenario for the Coronavirus to incubate and spread. Islam has often been portrayed negatively, especially in the context of political news. Throughout the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, which began in 2020 and continues to the present, the media has extensively covered various aspects related to Covid-19, including those associated with Islamic religious practices (Zakiah et al., 2023)

For Muslims and the media, how the media frames mosque activities during the Covid-19 outbreak have taken on an ideological significance. On the one hand, the media ignores the many Islamic communities' and institutions' varied attitudes toward mosque activities during the epidemic. The media construction of mosques affects Islamic attitudes and sociopolitical framework personification.

Research on the effects of Covid-19 spans various aspects. However, there remains limited exploration of the influence of media ideology on political policy. This research aims to provide an overview of the political dynamics of the media in conveying information on public issues. Media ideology is very influential in framing government policy in dealing with Covid-19. The media's political attitude towards the outbreak can represent the political attitude of Muslims towards government policy in dealing with the outbreak.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There are Muslim responses to the government's policy of temporarily closing mosques or temporarily stopping worship activities in mosques. The first group of mosque managers stopped activities in mosques. The second group of managers held limited worship activities in mosques. Third, the management group continues to organize activities at the mosque during the Covid-19 pandemic (Ahmad, 2020). Meanwhile, according to Mujib et al. (2021), groups kept communal activities such as shalawat as a fortress for their immunity in traditional Muslim society. In various reports about Covid, people are often confronted with issues of modernity, such as science and health. Philosophically, modernity and science rely more on the logic of reason than revelation, in contrast to the philosophy of religious approach (Madrah et al., 2021). The massive circulation of false information on social media also triggered distrust of Covid-19. This rapid circulation of information is known as an infodemic. An infodemic occurs when information overload spreads; it may or may not be accurate (Fardiah et al., 2022). In a situation like this, people need help finding reliable sources.

The mosques affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah organizations show different attitudes toward managing mosques during the COVID-19 pandemic. Ahmad (2020) states that the organizational background influences mosque managers in responding to pandemic policies. Muhammadiyah Mosque makes a persuasive, careful, and rational approach to convey messages to mosque congregations.

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They can accept the recommendation for reasons based on religion or health regulations. Meanwhile, mosques within NU have taken a coercive approach or forced residents not to go to the mosque. Such an approach creates a divided attitude; some mosque congregations temporarily follow the call to stop the Friday prayers, and most other mosques ignore the recommendation. He conducted his studies on mosques in the city of Banjarmasin. Meanwhile, similar research was conducted in various cities (Texas, 2021; Apriaji et al., 2021). Meanwhile, studies on the media and the pandemic show that the media frame Covid-19 in two models; (1) Corona in the public health frame. This framing emphasizes the construction of sufferers or victims, risks, and threats of Covid-19; (2) the government's strategy in handling Covid-19 by parsing the sources of Corona news in the media from the Central Government authorities (Ministry of Health, Government Spokesperson in the Task Force for the Acceleration of Handling Covid-19) and the President. News sourced from Kompas online, and Detik.com describes the atmosphere of fear and worry. Prestianta (2021) found that young people use online media to find information on Covid-19.

The literature review above shows that researchers previously studied the various attitudes of mosque managers and their congregations in responding to Covid-19 regarding worship activities in mosques. Research on media and Covid-19 with online media text studies shows that news frames focus on general health and public expression issues. In other words, the specific topic of media in framing mosques during the pandemic has not received special attention from previous researchers. So, researching this topic has a good reason. When it comes to the position of online media, it becomes the second source under social media, which is the reference for Covid-19 information. Therefore, research on the topic of media in framing mosques and Corona-19 becomes alternative research.

Many mosques communities favor eliminating Corona. On the other hand, every media outlet constructs each event using an ideological framework and political and economic interests. Media business interests may frame the ideology of the media and politics in the context of undermining and misrepresenting Muslims' constructive contributions to the fight against COVID-19, as well as the interests of the ruling class in political institutions and the administrative structure of the government.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

Media studies are how Dijk's (1988) news text analysis. Media framing and media discourse (the discourse of news) are two techniques that can be employed as analytical tools that turn text or media news into an artifact and research data, respectively. This analytical strategy is multi-disciplinary, using sociological, political, and cultural theories to help interpret the findings of text analysis (Sobur, 2001). This study examines news articles from the media. In this case, articles regarding mosques during the Covid-19 pandemic. Readings from such a study are done in the context of political economics and textually (descriptively). News texts were gathered from online publications Kompas,

Republika, NU, and Suaramuhammadiyah between March and September 2021. Two independent media firms are Kompas and Republika. The public and nationalistic interests are more strongly represented by Kompas online, which was first created in 1995. Suaramuhammadiyah Online is an illustration of and a source for transmitting knowledge and guiding principles of Muhammadiyah groups.

Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's media text framing method is used in this study's analysis. Not only do they shape the news narrative as a social reality in the minds of the journalists, but they also frame the news as a social or political discourse in the minds of the general audience. Pan & Kosicki (1993) categorized four framing devices, they are: (1) syntactic structure, or how journalists arrange events into a series of narratives in the form of news or other types of journalistic products, such as titles and news headlines (leads); (2) the way news articles are written, facts are presented, and events are described. The script, in this instance, is more well-liked as exclusive news in the 5W + 1H formula; (3) the way journalists present their opinions or thoughts on events using a sentence-by-sentence construction or their favored facts. The media's or a journalist's perspective of a specific event is frequently described in this section; (4) rhetorical structure or how journalists highlight particular meanings in journalistic products created depending on their perception of events.
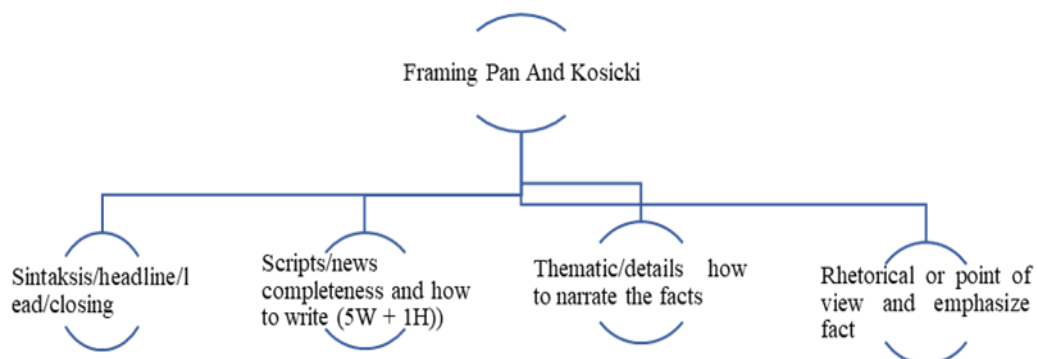

Figure 1. Schema of analysis.

4. RESULT and DISCUSSION

The following theoretical framework on the framing of mind is needed to discuss the results of the framing analysis with the social context. Castells (2013) understands the framing of the mind using certain journalistic products as controlling the public mind to focus on a particular diction, sentence, or message. There is a process of interaction that revolves around how news. Moreover, how people interpret the news content. The framing of the public's mind is mainly done through processes that take place

in the media in producing, distributing, and responding to media information, using agenda-setting, priming, and framing strategies—framing as an essential source to influence the audience about certain information. Castells (2011) argues that journalists, editors, and the media deliberately limit the various political viewpoints and issues they report. Such a strategy is to express the formation of certain opinions to become mainstream or the main flow of information that attracts the public so that the public becomes fixated on the issues in it.

The analysis begins by critically reading the selected media sample and then entering it into the Framing Pan and Kosicki analysis scheme. The expected public response is a topic not in the media, which means it is outside the public's mind. What becomes media knowledge becomes public knowledge. This framing process is deliberately carried out with a particular language so that the message's effect and form have a significant influence. In such a context, on the one hand, the credibility and professionalism of journalists are denser; on the other hand, the constructed messages contain the interests of the company, sponsors or people who help with media costs (advertisers), and the government. The description below will show how each media framed news about COVID-19.

4.1 Media Naration on the Covid-19 Outbreak

From the syntactic elements, Kompas.com news text titles refer to the news source quotes, with the lead or central idea of the sentence being the substance of the statement from the news source. Background refers to events and rules regulating interactions between humans/citizens in a pandemic.

On Kompas.com, the script can be easily understood. The topic of concentration, the dynamics of the pandemic, and government policies to deal with the situation. Who speaks or accesses the media? Kompas chooses official sources such as the vice president, chairman of the Indonesian Mosque Council/DMI, Imam of the Istiqlal Grand Mosque, Governor, Regent, and Mayor. Then how to deal with the pandemic, the diction is very clear that mosques are places where people gather and congregate, meaning that mosques are potential sources of transmission of the Covid-19 virus. How to express with associative sentences such as mosques may be opened, but congregations should not congregate, gather.

In framing events related to the Covid-19 pandemic, especially issues about the virus that are associated with the Muslim community in mosques, Kompas is cautious. It is optimistic about maintaining objectivity, but editorial politics about mosque narratives tend to be a top-down model, with the character of official news sources being very dominant. This medium always maintains a balanced and careful language style in Kellner's language. The founder, Jacob Oetomo, said that Kompas practiced "crab journalism," a journalistic activity that applies the principle of self-censorship, before being censored by other parties (Kellner, 2009).

Meanwhile, Republika.co.id constructs the events of the Covid-19 pandemic in the frame of a relatively diverse narrative. The events are not only packaged in news texts; there are texts containing analyses of events and regulations regarding the mosque.

In the text entitled (headline) Closing of the Mosque for the Emergency Enforcement of Restrictions on Community Activities (PPKM) and the diction hurting the people, it opens with the main statement (lead) about the response of residents, especially Muslims, regarding the closure or prohibition of worshipers praying in mosques and other locations such as Eid al-Adha prayers in the field. The narration of the text about the prohibition is explained by using comparisons from the opinions of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad and other state officials who are Muslims.

Opinions from Indonesian Muslims were expressed in reactions that considered the policy discriminatory because other public spaces, such as the modern market, remained open. When viewed from the risk of transmission, public places have the same potential for virus transmission. At other times, this media is very moderate; by making the narrative of the pandemic situation very urgent, Muslims must support the policy of temporarily closing mosques from congregational activities.

NU's online media directly or indirectly represent the Islamic organization. The vision of NU online places this media as the first choice to obtain reliable information about NU and Islam. So, the voice of NU online is identical to the voice of the NU organization. The news text of Closing Places of Worship and the Benefit of the Ummah, containing a narrative about government policies regarding the closure of worship, is described as a rule from President Joko Widodo to tighten or limit community activities to prevent further spread of the virus (lead). References to religious norms or fiqh rules reinforce the explanation of the prohibition on restricting human movement. These media editorial politics want to show that the rules of the game regarding restrictions on human movement during the Covid-19 pandemic follow Islamic religious norms. This affirmation of the media's ideological stance is expressed in diction and sentences that tend to protect and legitimize the Covid-19 prevention rules; for example, the regulation on closing places of worship should not be opposed, let alone opposed to physical violence. The reason is that the policy is for the good or the benefit of the citizens.

Likewise, NU Online, suaramuhammadiyah, became the mouthpiece of the Muhammadiyah organization as an information medium for Islamic organizations, which KH Ahmad Dahlan founded in 1912. At another time, this media presented a text criticizing the government's strategy to deal with Covid-19 on the news topic Experts at Muhammadiyah Give Notes Regarding Emergency PPKM. In the text Muhammadiyah Supports PPKM to Suppress the Spread of Covid-19, the title is syntactically very straightforward: Muhammadiyah is in line with government policies regarding handling Covid-19. If the first text contains an explanation of government policies, on the contrary, the following text conveys criticism of Muhammadiyah experts. On the one hand, the main points (leads) emphasized are the objective conditions for spreading the Covid-19 virus that is evenly distributed in various regions in Indonesia. On the other hand, there

are management problems in handling the pandemic, from the government's "war" against Covid-19, mitigation management, and transparency. Furthermore, other problems because Muhammadiyah has hundreds of hospitals, the Muhammadiyah Covid-19 Command Center (MCCC), human resources, and field support infrastructure are engaged in helping Covid-19 patients.

Suaramuhammadiyah received various information support from the Muhammadiyah organization network. The effect is that the Covid-19 information is multicolored (various points of view and information content), which has led to the media's editorial political situation leading to criticism of the government, and the information tends to be a bottom-up model.

4.2 **Media Framing Analysis**

As the first two media categories in presenting information, Kompas Online and Republika Online chose different sources. Kompas.com prioritizes official sources of information, such as the news from state officials and official sources from Islamic organizations. Republika also chose government sources, other news sources, and writers from Islamic circles. Kompas.com conveys information in black and white, according to social facts obtained from official news sources. Such a framing strategy gives rise to the interpretation that Kompas.com prioritizes the opinion of the dominant elite from the power environment. These editorial politics show the state's dominance and the narrative text's tendency to marginalize Muslims because these media narratives encourage Muslims to harm all levels of society when they gather in mosques. Participants of worship at the mosque have the potential to become a source of virus spreaders and create clusters of Covid-19 sufferers. Kompas' message is that Muslims only have a single choice, with no alternative. In this case, Muslims are not allowed to gather in mosques, and places of worship must be closed. Worshipping together in the open and praying Eid al-Fitr / Eid al-Adha is also not allowed.

The editorial politics of Republika.co.id is the opposite of that of Kompas.com. Although official sources from the government serve as information material, this media balances with other news sources framed by journalists and writers from outside the media. As a media that claims to have political ties to Islamic elements in Indonesia, this media describes the background of some Muslims rejecting the closure of mosques and stopping activities in them. Republika explains that the mosque closure policy has an Islamic legal basis, but the government's policy should not harm Muslims.

When the government places the benefit of public health as the basis for closing mosques, Republika constructs it normatively, delivered with a narrative that does not dictate and suppresses. Although not firm, Republika still voiced a critical attitude and defended the interests of Islam (Ekasarai, 2015). Meanwhile, NU.or.id and Suaramuhammadiyah. Id narrates their editorial political NU and Muhammadiyah organizations according to the attitudes of their respective mass organizations (Mcquail, 2011; Azis, 2019). These two media frames that closing mosques in the Covid-19

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emergency are work that the government and Muslims must do. However, both differ in narrating how NU and Muhammadiyah respond to these policies.

NU.or.id tends to legitimize state policies, and there is no criticism of the implementation of closing mosques during the Covid-19 emergency. The media's conservative political stance is based on the NU mass organization's attitude that closing mosques are implementing the principle of benefit or taking small benefits and avoiding more significant harm. Although there was some resistance from mosque managers and congregations among *nahdliyin*, this critical attitude was not part of these media texts (Hermanto, 2017).

The top-down text narrative model became the choice of the online NU media. NU Online's editorial politics reproduces the opportunistic attitude that is part of NU's political stance. The phrase about the editorial political goals is identical to NU's stance that it follows government regulations regarding Covid-19 for the common good or benefit.

Suaramuhammadiyah. Id provides many critical narratives on government policies in dealing with Covid-19. Using various sources of information from the government and elements of handling Covid-19 from internal Muhammadiyah organizations, such as the Muhammadiyah Covid-19 Command Center (MCCC).

Concerning the temporary closure of mosques during emergencies and other policies, other studies have shown that Muhammadiyah residents are more accommodating and respond positively to the prohibition of gathering and worshipping together in mosques (Ahmad, 2020). However, the criticism is related to policy consistency, implementation coordination, management transparency—Covid-19, and how to communicate its policies to the public (Ridho Al-Hamdi, 2020). Studies on the problem of handling Covid-19 from various perspectives are part of enriching information in text narratives in this media.

From the discussion about the ideologies of the four media in constructing the Covid-19 emergency policy and closing mosques, the editorial politics of the media can be divided into two, namely conservative and critical (Ningtyas, 2015). Conservative attitudes can be pinned on the editorial politics of Kompas.com and NU.or.id, while critical editorial political attitudes can be defined on Republika.co.id and Suaramuhammadiyah. Id. In addition, the media's editorial politics can be read as a representation of media relations and power. There is a genealogy or historical relationship between power and discourse (Ritzer, 2010).

Kompas.com and NU.or.id narrate that the policy of closing mosques from worship activities is taken for granted, something that should be done and accepted by Muslims. While Republika.co.id and Suaramuhammadiyah. Id narrates that mosque closures must be consistent with other policies, such as activities in public spaces other than mosques, so this problem does not bring stigma and discrimination. Kompas places the government as a superstructure of power that can have an iron fist in handling the Covid-19 pandemic. Kompas.com has become a Covid-19 apparatus. There is a kind of

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phobic narrative that the majority of people contribute the most to Covid-19 patients, so Muslims deserve to be the primary targets for measures to deal with the pandemic.

In various government policies, the narrative text of this media news is informative and, at the same time, legitimizes the policy. Likewise, NU Online its editorial politics legitimize government policies and takes them for granted its policies. This attitude of the media can be interpreted as a representation of the close relationship between NU and the power of President Joko Widodo. Vice President 2019-2024 KH Ma'ruf Amin is leader of AM PB NU 2015-2020. Republika's editorial politics can be categorized as an anomaly because the President Director of Republika Republika, Erick Thohir, is part of President Joko Widodo's power. Regarding the government's policy in dealing with Covid-19, which intersects with the interests of Muslims, this media still applies the character of identity politics. Republika still dares to voice the interests of Islam.

Suaramuhammadiyah expresses critical editorial politics. Although there are Muhammadiyah cadres in President Joko Widodo's circle of power, this media can voice Muhammadiyah's opposition. The massive role of the health sector, related to the central role of hospitals and Muhammadiyah autonomous organizations in dealing with Covid-19 patients, has encouraged the media belonging to this mass organization to voice Muhammadiyah's critical attitude and maintain a distance from the government in the management of handling Covid-19.

Although there are critical media editorial politics, it is not identical that the government's strategy failed to frame mosques as potential spaces to spread the Covid-19 virus. What has happened is that the power apparatus has succeeded in controlling the media to frame citizens' minds that mosques are dangerous during the Covid-19 emergency (Castells, 2011).

Two dominant constructions in the media: First, the function of the mosque as a place of worship must be limited. Such a frame eliminates the broader function of the mosque during the pandemic, including the mosque as a center for first aid for residents, collecting and distributing logistics for residents infected with the Corona-19 virus. Second, Muslims are the majority of citizens who are challenged by regulation. For Muslims who want to worship at home, the government must issue a Covid-19 emergency regulation regulating the temporary suspension of activities at mosques.

5. CONCLUSION

The media frame for the mosque is divided into two. Kompas.com and NU.or.id narrate that the government's temporary policy to close mosques from Muslim worship activities temporarily is a must and should not be opposed by Muslims. While Republika.co.id and Suaramuhammadiyah. Id framed in a critical narrative that the closure of mosques was an inconsistent and discriminatory government policy. Kompas.com puts the government's excuse that mosques as a place to interact and gather in large numbers can potentially transmit the virus. Therefore, mosques are public spaces

that endanger human safety. Meanwhile, NU.or.id puts the reason that closing the mosque is a benefit or articulating a more significant interest so that people (congregants of the mosque) and other residents are not infected with the Coronavirus.

Republika.co.id questioned that public spaces such as malls have the same potential as mosques in transmitting the Coronavirus but that commercial spaces are treated differently. They can be open. The difference in treatment provoked a reaction from some Muslims that the closure of mosques was a discriminatory policy. Meanwhile, Suaramuhammadiyah. Id puts the reason that the policy for handling Covid-19 by closing mosques tends to be inconsistent because the government does not include a mitigation policy for mosque congregations, and the mosque closure policy is not communicated constructively.

The media frame about mosques can be interpreted as representing media and power relations. In the case of Covid-19, especially regarding the temporary closure of mosques, this media tends to be critical, not reflecting the position of its owner in the circle of power. Kompas positions itself as a government apparatus, in more specific terms, as a Covid-19 apparatus, and this media places Muslims as subordinate to government power. NU online represents the close relationship between the NU organization and power because the former Rais Am NU, KH Ma'ruf Amin, became vice president. Republika. Co. id reflects a strange relationship with power. Minister of State-Owned Enterprises Erick Thohir is the owner of PT Mahaka Media Tbk (Mahaka X), which includes the media company. Republika. Muhammadiyah's voice expresses the atmosphere of Muhammadiyah's relationship with the government, which is close (because there are cadres of this organization in the executive). However, the organization keeps its distance from the government.

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