

Daftar Pustaka

- Abar, A. Z. (2005). Masa Depan Jurnalisme Republika: Pertarungan Realitas dalam Media Berita Islam. Dalam I. S. Ibrahim (Penyunt.), *Media dan Citra Muslim dari Spiritualitas untuk Berperang menuju Spiritualitas untuk Berdialog* (hal. 439-452). Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Abuza, Z. (2007). *Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Adam, A. (2018, Februari 9). *Benarkan Bisnis Media Online Tak Secerah Masa Depan Internet?* Diambil kembali dari tirto.id: <https://tirto.id/benarkah-bisnis-media-online-tak-secerah-masa-depan-internet-cEv5>
- Ahnaf, M. I., Maarif, S., Asyhari-Afwan, B., & Afdillah, M. (2015). *Politik Lokal dan Konflik Keagamaan Pilkada dan Struktur Kesempatan Politik dalam Konflik Keagamaan di Sampang, Bekasi, dan Sampang*. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies / CRCS.
- Althusser, L. (2006). *Tentang Ideologi: Marxisme Strukturalis, Psikoanalisis, Cultural Studies*. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Althusser, L. (2015). *Ideologi dan Aparatus Ideologi Negara*. (Z. M. Hussein, Penerj.) IndoPROGRESS.
- Altinordu, A. (2010). The Politicization of Religion: Political Catholicism and Political Islam in Comparative Perspective. *Politics & Society*, 517-551.
- Amnesty International. (2014). *Prosecuting Beliefs: Indonesia's Blasphemy Laws*. London: Amnesty International Ltd.
- Arianto. (2011). Ekonomi Politik Lembaga Media Komunikasi. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 191-203.
- Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia. (2017). *Penetrasi & Perilaku Pengguna Internet Indonesia 2017*. Jakarta: APJII Press.
- Azra, A. (2006). Indonesian Islam, Mainstream Muslims, and Politics. *Taiwanese and Indonesian Islamic Leaders Exchange Project* (pp. 1-11). Taipei: The Asia Foundation in Taiwan.
- Azra, A. (2012). Revitalisasi Islam Politik dan Islam Kultural di Indonesia. *Indo-Islamika*, 233-244.
- Bertrand, J. (2004). *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourchier, D., & Hadiz, V. R. (2003). *Indonesian Politics and Society*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Brunello, A. R. (2014). The Effects of Politization and Moralism in Religion and Public Thought. *Journal of Social Science for Policy Implications*, 259-322.
- Burhani, A. N. (2013). Liberal and Conservatife Discourses in The Muhammadiyah: The Struggle For The Face of Reformist Islam. In M. v. Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam Explaining the "Conservative Turn"* (pp. 105-144). Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Crouch, M. A. (2012). Law and Religion in Indonesia: The Constitutional Court and the Blasphemy Law. *Asian Journal of Comparative Law*, 1-46.
- Dhakidae, D. (2003). *Cendekiawan Dan Kekuasaan Dalam Negara Orde Baru*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama.

- Facal, G. (2019). Islamic Defenders Front Militia (Front Pembela Islam) and its Impact on Growing Religious Intolerance in Indonesia. *Trans Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 1-22.
- Fairclough, I., & Fairclough, N. (2012). *Political Discourse Analysis A method for advanced students*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London, New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse Textual analysis for social research*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Febriani, I. S. (2010). *Analisis Deskriptif Manajemen Redaksi Pada Republika Online*. Jakarta: Skripsi, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah.
- Fenton, A. J. (2016). Faith, Intolerance, Violence, and Bigotry Legal and Constitutional Issues of Freedom of Religion in Indonesia. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 181-211.
- Fenwick, S. (2017). *Blasphemy, Islam, and the State: Pluralism and Liberalism in Indonesia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archeology Of Knowledge and The Discourse On Language*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fuchs, C. (2008). *Internet and Society: Social Theory in the Information Age*. London, New York: Routledge.
- George, C. (2017). *Pelintiran Kebencian Rekayasa Ketersinggungan Agama dan Ancamannya bagi Demokrasi*. Jakarta: Pusat Studi Agama dan Demokrasi (PUSAD) Yayasan Paramadina.
- Habermas, J. (2003). Intolerance and discrimination. *Oxford University Press and New York University School of Law*, 2-12.
- Habibi, M. (2017). Analisis Politik Identitas di Indonesia. *Working Paper*, 1-22.
- Hadiz, V. (2010). *Localising Power in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hadiz, V. (2010). Political Islam in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia. *Crise Working Paper*, 1-37.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2008). Towards a Sociological Understanding of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Indonesia*, 638-647.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2011). Indonesian Political Islam: Capitalist Development and the Legacies of the Cold War. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 3-38.
- Hamid, A. (2014). Jokowi's Populism in the 2012 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 85-109.
- Hatherell, M., & Welsh, A. (2017). Rebel with a Cause: Ahok and Charismatic Leadership in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 1-17.
- Hefner, R. (2000). *Civil Islam: Muslim and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Hefner, R. (2005). Muslim Democrat And Islamist Violence In Post-Soeharto Indonesia. In R. Hefner (Ed.), *Remaking Muslim Politics: Pluralism*,

- Contestation, Democratization* (pp. 273-302). Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Hefner, R. W. (2000). *Civil Islam Muslim and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Hefner, R. W. (2011). Where have all the abangan gone? Religionization and the decline of non-standard Islam in contemporary Indonesia. In M. Picard, & R. Madinier (Eds.), *The Politics of Religion in Indonesia Syncretism, orthodoxy, and religious contention in Java and Bali* (pp. 71-91). Routledge: New York.
- Hefner, R. W. (2017). Christians, Conflict, and Citizenship in Muslim-Majority Indonesia. *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 91-101.
- Herlambang, W. (2013). *Kekerasan Budaya Pasca 1965: Bagaimana Orde Baru Meletigimasi Anti-Komunisme Melalui Sastra dan Film*. Tangerang Selatan: Marjin Kiri.
- Heryanto, A. (2006). *State Terrorism and Political Identity in Indonesia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hiariej, E. (2010). Aksi dan Identitas Kolektif Gerakan Islam Radikal di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 131-168.
- Hill, D. (2007). *The Press in New Order Indonesia*. (G. L. Soerjoatmodjo, Trans.) Jakarta: Equinox Publishing.
- Hill, D., & Sen, K. (2005). *The Internet in Indonesia's New Democracy*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Honna, J. (2005). *Military Politics and Democratization in Indonesia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Howard, E. (2018). *Freedom of Expression and Religious Hate Speech in Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- Human Rights Watch. (2013). *Atas Nama Agama Pelanggaran terhadap Minoritas Agama di Indonesia*. United States of America: Human Rights Watch. Diambil kembali dari Human Rights Watch.
- Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*. London: Yale University Press.
- Ichwan, M. N. (2013). Toward A Puritanical Moderate Islam: The Majelis Ulama Indonesia And The Politics of Religious Orthodoxy. In M. v. Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam Explaining the "Conservative Turn"* (pp. 60-104). Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Ida, R. (2014). *Metode Penelitian Studi Media dan Kajian Budaya*. Jakarta: Prenada Media Group.
- Ismail, H. (Ed.). (2009). *Siding And Acting Intolerantly: Report of Freedom of Religion/Belief in Indonesia 2008*. Jakarta: SETARA Institute.
- Jenkins, H. (2004). The Cultural Logic of Media Convergence. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 33-43.
- Jorgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: Routledge.
- Kaligis, R. A. (2014). *Marhaen dan Wong Cilik Membedah Wacana dan Praktik Nasionalisme bagi Rakyat Kecil dari PNI sampai PDI Perjuangan*. Tangerang Selatan: Marjin Kiri.

- Keller, A. (2009). *Tantangan Dari Dalam: Otonomi Redaksi 4 Media Cetak Nasional: Kompas, Koran Tempo, Media Indonesia, Republika*. Jakarta: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Khadafi, A. (2017, Maret 14). *Memahami Bahtsul Masail GP Ansor Soal Pemimpin Non-Muslim*. Retrieved Mei 2, 2019, from tirto.id: <https://tirto.id/memahami-bahtsul-masail-gp-ansor-soal-pemimpin-non-muslim-ckEt>
- Klinken, G. v. (2007). *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia Small Town Wars*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Koesoemawiria, V. E. (2017). Indonesia: Evicted Community in Jakarta Moves Forward. *Stiftung Asienhaus*, 1-3.
- Latif, Y. (2012). *Inteligensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Inteligensia Muslim Indonesia Abad Ke-20*. Jakarta: Democracy Project: Yayasan Abad Demokrasi.
- Latif, Y., & Ibrahim, I. S. (2007). Kehadiran Republika dan Wajah Pers Kita. Dalam I. S. Ibrahim (Penyunt.), *Media dan Citra Muslim: dari Spiritualitas untuk Berperang menuju Spiritualitas untuk Berdialog* (hal. 453-466). Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Leksono, N. (2007). Surat Kabar di Tengah Era Baru Media & Jurnalistik. Dalam S. Sularto (Penyunt.), *Kompas Dari Belakang ke Depan Menulis dari Dalam* (hal. 261-288). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Levin, A. (2010). *The Cost of Free Speech: Pornography, Hate Speech, and their Challenge to Liberalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Liddle, R. W. (1996). The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 613-634.
- Maarif, A. S. (2012). *Politik Identitas dan Masa Depan Pluralisme Kita*. Jakarta: Democracy Project.
- Mahony, I. (2010). Diverging frames: A comparison of Indonesian and Australian press portrayals of terrorism and Islamic groups in Indonesia. *the International Communication Gazette*, 739-758.
- Mallarangeng, R. (2010). *Pers Orde Baru: Tinjauan Isi Kompas dan Suara Karya*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia.
- Margianto, J., & Syaefullah, A. (2014). *Media Online: Antara Pembaca, Laba, Dan Etika*. Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen Indonesia.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. London: SAGE.
- Menchik, J. (2016). *Islam And Democracy In Indonesia: Tolerance Without Liberalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mietzner, M. (2006). *The Politics of Military Reform in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Elite Conflict, Nationalism, and Institutional Resistance*. Washington: East-West Center Washington.
- Miichi, K. (2012). The Role of Religion and Ethnicity in Jakarta's 2012 Gubernatorial Election. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 55-83.
- Moon, R. (2018). *Putting Faith in Hate: When Religion Is The Source Or Target Of Hate Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mosco, V. (2009). *The Political Economy of Communication Second Edition*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

- Mosco, V. (2009). *The Political Economy of Communication Second Edition*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Mosco, V., & Fuchs, C. (2013). Introduction: Marx is Back - The Importance of Marxist Theory and Research for Critical Communication Studies Today. In C. Fuchs, & V. Mosco (Eds.), *Marx and The Political Economy of the Media* (pp. 1-22). Leiden, Boston: BRILL.
- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2015). Political Islam and Religious Violence in Post-New Order Indonesia. *MASYARAKAT: Jurnal Sosiologi*, 1-22.
- Murdock, G. (1982). Large corporations and the control of the communication industries. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Culture, Society, and The Media* (pp. 114-147). London and New York: Routledge.
- Musthafa, B. M. (2017). *Wacana Komunisme dalam Pilpres Tahun 2014 di Indonesia Pada Portal Berta Online Tempo.co dan Republika.co.id*. Surabaya: Skripsi, Universitas Airlangga.
- Naipospos, B. T., & Hailili. (2015). *Dari Stagnasi Menjemput Harapan Baru Kondisi Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan di Indonesia 2014*. Jakarta: Setara Institute.
- Nairn, A. (2017, April 19). *Investigasi Allan Nairn: Ahok Hanyalah Dalih untuk Makar*. Diambil kembali dari tirto.id: <https://tirto.id/investigasi-allan-nairn-ahok-hanyalah-dalih-untuk-makar-cm2X>
- Nasir, M. A. (2014). The Ulama, Fatwa, and Challenges to Democracy in Contemporary Indonesia. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 489-505.
- Nugroho, Y., Putri, D. A., & Laksmi, S. (2012). *Memetakan Lanskap Industri Media Kontemporer di Indonesia*. Jakarta: CIPG dan Hivos.
- Ognjenovic, G., & Jozelic, J. (2014). Introduction: The Power of Symbolism. In G. Ognjenovic, & J. Jozelic (Eds.), *Politicization of Religion, the Power of Symbolism* (pp. 1-6). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Osman, M. M., & Waikar, P. (2018). Fear and Loathing: Uncivil Islamism and Indonesia's Anti-Ahok Movement. *Cornell University Press*, 89-109.
- Osman, M. N., & Abdullah, N. (2018). Islamisation in the Indonesian media spaces new sites for a conservative push. *Journal of Religious and Political Practice*, 214-232.
- Porter, D. (2002). *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*. London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Porter, D. J. (2002). *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Pour, J. (2007). Kearifan Mengintip Ke Belakang Keberanian Menatap Ke Depan. In S. Sularto (Ed.), *Kompas Dari Belakang Ke Depan: Menulis Dari Dalam* (pp. 119-138). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Pour, J. (2007). Kearifan Mengintip Ke Belakang Keberanian Menatap Ke Depan. Dalam S. Sularto (Penyunt.), *Kompas Dari Belakang ke Depan Menulis dari Dalam* (hal. 119-138). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Power, T. P. (2018). Jokowi's authoritarian turn and Indonesia's democratic decline. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 307-338.
- PT Mahaka Media TBK. (2017). *Annual Report 2017*. PT Mahaka Media: Jakarta.

- PT Tempo Inti Media Tbk. (2016). *Laporan Tahunan PT Tempo Inti Media Tbk 2016*. Jakarta: PT Tempo Inti Media Tbk.
- Purnama, T. S., & Zulkarnain, F. (2016). The ISIS Movement and The Threat of Religious Radicalism in Indonesia. *MIMBAR*, 31-39.
- Rahman, T. (2017). Contextualizing jihad and mainstream Muslim identity in Indonesia: the case of Republika Online. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 1-18.
- Rakhmat, J. (2005). Media Massa dan Pemberdayaan Umat. Dalam I. S. Ibrahim (Penyunt.), *Media dan Citra Muslim dari Spiritualitas untuk Berperang menuju Spiritualitas untuk Berdialog* (hal. 491-500). Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2008). Religion, Politics, and Social Dynamics in Java: Historical and Contemporary Rhymes. In G. Fealy, & S. White (Eds.), *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia* (pp. 115-136). Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Salim, A. (2011). Between ICMI and NU: The Contested Representation of Muslim Civil Society in Indonesia, 1990-2001. *Al-Jamiah*, 295-328.
- Sen, K., & Hill, D. (2005). *The Internet in Indonesia's New Democracy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Sen, K., & Hill, D. T. (2007). *Media, Culture, and Politics in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox Publishing.
- Steele, J. (2007). *Wars Within: Pergulatan Tempo, Majalah Berita Sejak Zaman Orde Baru*. (A. Zulkifli, Trans.) Jakarta: Dian Rakyat.
- Steele, J. (2011). Indonesian journalism post-Suharto Changing ideals and professional practices. In K. Sen, & D. T. Hill (Eds.), *Politics and The Media in Twenty-First Century Indonesia* (pp. 85-103). London and New York: Routledge.
- Sudibyo, A. (2001). *Politik Media dan Pertarungan Wacana*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Sukanto, A. (2013). Ketegangan Antar Kelompok Agama Pada Masa Orde Lama Sampai Awal Orde Baru: Dari Konflik Perumusan Ideologi Negara Sampai Konflik Fisik. *Teologi Indonesia*, 25-47.
- Sularto, S. (2007). Dari Sang Pemula Ke Sang Pengibar Bendera. Dalam S. Sularto (Penyunt.), *Kompas Dari Belakang ke Depan Menulis dari Dalam* (hal. 49-88). Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- Syarif, M. I. (2018). Political Discrimination Against Non-Muslim in Contemporary Indonesia. *International Conference on Law and Justice* (pp. 69-72). Atlantis Press.
- Tapsell, R. (2018). *Kuasa Media di Indonesia*. Tangerang Selatan: Marjin Kiri.
- Telle, K. (2017). Faith on Trial: Blasphemy and 'Lawfare' in Indonesia. *Ethnos*, 1-19.
- Tempo. (2003, Desember 31). *FPI Minta DPR/MPR Kembalikan Pancasila Sesuai Piagam Jakarta*. Diambil kembali dari Tempo.co: <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/37730/fpi-minta-dprmpr-kembalikan-pancasila-sesuai-piagam-jakarta/full&view=ok>
- Umar, A. M. (2010). Melacak Akar Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 169-186.

- van Bruinessen, M. (2013). Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and The "Conservative Turn" of The Early Twenty-First Century. In M. van Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam Explaining the 'Conservative Turn'* (pp. 1-20). Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.
- Wahid Institute. (n.d.). *Tentang The Wahid Institute*. Retrieved from wahidinstitute.org: <http://www.wahidinstitute.org/wi-id/tentang-kami/tentang-the-wahid-institute.html>
- Wichelen, S. v. (2006). Contesting Megawati: The Mediation of Islam and Nation in Times of Political Transition. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture (Special Issue on Islam and the Media)*, 41-59.
- Widhana, H. D. (2016, November 17). *Asal Usul Delik Penistaan Agama*. Retrieved from Tirto.id: <https://tirto.id/asal-usul-delik-penistaan-agama-b49e>
- Widoyoko, D. (2017). Ahok and the rise (and fall?) of state capital. *new mandala*, 1-8.
- Wijayanto. (2017). Fearing the majority: Catholic media in Muslim Indonesia. *Media Asia*, 33-39.
- Wilson, I. (2014). Resisting Democracy: Front Pembela Islam and Indonesia's 2014 Elections. *ISEAS Perspective*, 1-8.
- Wilson, I. D. (2018). *Politik Jatah Preman Ormas dan Kuasa Jalanan di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*. (M. J. Suryana, Penerj.) Tangerang Selatan: Marjin Kiri.
- Witschge, T. (2004). Online Deliberation: Possibilities of the Internet for Deliberative Democracy. In P. Shane (Ed.), *Democracy Online* (pp. 109-122). New York, London: Routledge.
- Woodward, M. R. (2001). Indonesia, Islam, and the Prospect for Democracy. *SAIS Review*, 29-37.
- Yudha, S. W. (2012). *Radikalisme Kelompok Islam (Analisis Struktur-Agen Terhadap Wacana Radikalisme Kelompok Islam Pasca Orde Baru)*. Depok: Tesis, Universitas Indonesia.
- Zada, K. (2002). *Islam Radikal: Pergulatan Ormas-Ormas Islam Garis Keras di Indonesia*. Jakarta Selatan: TERAJU.