

## Representation of Radicalism in Local Media

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### ABSTRACT

The media has a special fascination with radicalism. Even though it is an old issue, radicalism is always a topic of coverage that is never overlooked by the media. This is no exception to the local media located in Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Bali, which have the characteristics of each region, and there is always radicalism, which leads to conflict. By using critical discourse analysis methods, this research aims to find out how local media represents radicalism. The results of the research found that the local media considers that the issue of radicalism is an issue that is embedded in the media; where there are activities or issues related to radicalism, it must be spread because of the dangerous effects of radicalism. Local media, in representing radicalism, reinforces the discourse that this radicalism is a dangerous, forbidden, and difficult to eradicate ideology. Local media also represents that this understanding of radicalism is an understanding that intensively and systematically seeks to spread understandings to various groups, with various strategies and media used massively. Local media shows that this radicalism has been developing in Indonesia for a long time and is difficult to eradicate. Its existence often haunts society and the government. There is a slight difference in the way it is represented, *Tribun Bali* represents radicalism inserted in news with other themes. *Tribun Bali* in its reporting about radicalism was not direct. Meanwhile, *Tribun Yogyakarta* and *Ayobandung.com* immediately reported on the issue of radicalism. Differences in local media in representing radicalism are due to differences in each media's interpretation of facts.

**Keywords:** Representation; Radicalism; Local Media; News; Critical Discourse Analysis

### INTRODUCTION

Muslim extremist groups continue to actively spread their extreme teachings, including during the Covid-19 pandemic (Kabir, 2023). Among its spread, this extremist group uses mass media. In the mass media, they represent Muslim groups as being able to act as a factor that can attract and encourage other groups to go to extremes (Kabir, 2023). However, there are also several media that represent it in a contradictory way, namely by representing that radicalism teachings are prohibited in Indonesia. According to Sani (2024) the media also has a responsibility to ensure national security is maintained through its reporting. The media has an important role in disseminating narratives that are contrary to radicalism. Although there are positive possibilities, the success of this counter-narrative depends greatly on the way the messages are conveyed and received by the audience (Horgan, 2020).

The media not only teaches about radicalism to the public, but also provides narratives with in-depth analysis of radicalism. Exploring the dangerous impact of radicalism. This is an

effort to prevent radicalism from spreading in society. According to Ummah (2020), this counter-narrative about radicalism has a role that is as important as information that teaches radicalism, then allows the public to judge and choose the narratives. Some extreme followers of Islam also use social media to spread unresolved narratives about its teachings, in response to online Islamic radicalism emerging in the West and other countries (Ali et al., 2023). In Indonesia itself, there is already a counter-terror program against the teachings of radicalization initiated by the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), with the idea of Islam Nusantara as in the film *Rahmat Islam Nusantara* and a contest on social media entitled *cyber warrior initiative* (Schmidt, 2021).

Radicalism often receives attention from various mass media. Radicalism becomes sensational news and attracts the public. The language used in news about radicalism tends to be more dramatic, and the visual elements are interesting so that apart from being attractive, it can also cause fear and strengthen stereotypes about Islamic groups. This coverage often reinforces negative views of minority groups, especially Muslims, and creates the perception that radicalism is primarily related to the Islamic religion, even though radicalism can also emerge in non-religious contexts (Conway et al., 2020). There are also media that focus on being radical media, as a form of democratic communication. These radical media were especially important for new social movements, where “activist journalists” sought to build a counter discourse (Atton, 2002).

Acts of spreading radicalism do not only occur in the real world, but also in cyberspace on various platforms (Kusuma et al., 2018). Social media platforms also have a crucial role in the spread of radical ideology. According to Berger and Morgan (2021), algorithms on social media platforms often increase exposure to extremist content, which can accelerate the process of radicalization, especially among the younger generation. This happens because radical activists view the internet as a means to spread radical ideas, so that people are exposed to and carry out radical actions indefinitely, and are easily accessible to various groups (Arizal et al., 2021). Facing the threat of radicalism is increasingly challenging due to the growing use of internet technology and social media.

Each media varies in representing radicalism, which can be seen in several research results from researchers. As the mass media often focuses on violence committed by radical Muslim groups, while radicalism from other groups, such as right-wing extremists, more often receives less coverage. This confirms a biased public view, where certain religious groups are often associated with radicalism, while other forms of radicalism are often ignored (Powell & Hawken, 2022). There are also several media that represent it by calling for the avoidance of heresy, campaigns to implement an Islamic state, and Islamic caliphate discourse that promotes anti-democracy (Haramain, et al., 2019). Kompas reflects radicalism that can spark reader interest; The choice of words used shows an attitude of opposition to acts of terror; The inhumane method of reporting on criminal acts of terrorism must be eradicated at its roots. Republika Online and SuaraIslam.com paint a bad picture of radical Islam, such as ISIS which is considered a terrorist group that uses the name of Islam in their actions. Republika Online journalists did not show support for the ISIS group, while SuaraIslam.com responded to this issue in a neutral position. Republika Online and SuaraIslam.com stated that acts of terror by the ISIS group were a threat to everyone (Dewi et al., 2020). Meanwhile, Tempo.co and Republika.co.id describe radicalism as emotional, sadistic, provocative and without confirmation. The words used are excessive, lack depth and change within minutes, and are dramatized and not impartial (Zamroni, 2021).

The media also depicts the state's role in dealing with radicalism in various ways, such as labeling Islamic groups; The government does not yet have a comprehensive concept for radical movements; Handling radicalism in Indonesia has always focused on action and

regulation; The government responds to events by making regulations and proposing policies (Panjaitan, 2020).

Based on the phenomenon of how mass media carries various forms of radicalism, no research has been conducted on how local media represents radicalism in three cities in Indonesia. Even though radicalism is not an issue that is being widely discussed, cases of radicalism also often occur in several regions in Indonesia. The term radicalism has become a hot topic of discussion again in recent years. That is what underlies the importance of conducting this research. These findings can provide an overview of how local media plays a role in depicting radicalism, and can contribute to monitoring the spread of radicalism teachings and practices in the region. The aim of this research is how does local media represent radicalism?

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The final step of a journalist's job is to broadcast news in the media. Before publication in the specified media, journalists and the editorial team check words and language use, add facts and data, and select quotes from news sources to explain the information better. At this stage, journalists and editors need to consider the interests and demands of other parties, so they need to make compromises in presenting news (Croteau and Hoynes, 1997).

Ibrahim (2020) stated that before the media can display the text, the process is very complex and involves many people. Before journalists produce and send news to the editor for distribution to the public, journalists must first interpret the facts and data from direct coverage at the scene or event. In these circumstances, there may be errors or inaccuracies that cause the information conveyed to the public to be interpreted in different ways by other individuals. It is very likely that journalists and the public will interpret this in different ways. According to Hall (2005), when the media report an event, they always include the theme of the event, the various types of people involved, the ideas of the people involved directly or indirectly, the expectations of the parties involved, the chronology of the event, and a description of the situation. events. According to Croteau and Hoynes (1997: 134), media is the result of the journalistic work process. Before being broadcast, the facts contained in the news have gone through a careful selection process by journalists and editors. Some facts and aspects are given very in-depth attention, while others are ignored or even not included in the report.

The effect of how something is represented in the media can be seen from the meaning contained in the media message (news). Messages conveyed through the media have various meanings. Journalists and editors who create media texts need to understand the facts and data they receive before publishing them. After that, they write briefly the facts and data in writing which is then presented to the public in the form of a presentation. People who read, watch, or listen then understand the content of the text. Ibrahim (2020: 67) states that the media involves many parties in the representation process and is a complex process.

Hall (2005) states that when the media displays an event in the news, it is inevitable that the media will describe the topic, group of people, people's views, institutional desires, the process of the event, or the situation that occurred. Through representation, the media sends messages to the public through television screens or print media, which are related to current issues indirectly.

According to Berger and Luckmann (1967), representation is the result of the social construction of reality. Constructionists believe that representations do not only reflect the truth of one individual, but the truth that is constructed by the various parties involved.

According to Schudson (1995: 54), news not only provides a description of the facts themselves, but is also the result of the process of packaging phenomena or reality. Ibrahim

(2020: 72) states that media that displays events in written form is connected to the power behind the writing, such as the ideological power contained in the writing. In the world of journalism, there are various parties who can influence news content, such as journalists, editors, media owners, advertisers and the government. With power, media values also play an important role in every news and are part of media ideology. According to Ibrahim (2020: 72), Louis Althusser stated that ideology exists in representation. In other situations, depiction is a method of expressing ideology, discourse, and power.

According to Adam Briggs and Paul Cobley (1998), representation is used to express ideology and to strengthen and disseminate power implicit in the news, which is similar to the previous concept of ideology in representation. In everyday life, the media presents news as an effort to maintain the continuity of ideology. According to Sonja Foss (in Grossberg, 1995: 295), efforts to maintain ideological dominance require reconstruction, renewal and strengthening of ideology.

In the context of this research, this concept will be used to evaluate the way Ayo Bandung, Tribun Yogyakarta, and Tribun Bali show radicalism. Knowledge of representation methods will be a guide or reference when researching how Ayo Bandung, Tribun Yogyakarta and Tribun Bali depict radicalism. Especially in terms of interpretation, development and ideology of Ayo Bandung, Tribun Yogyakarta and Tribun Bali focused on reporting on radicalism. One of the things to be achieved in this research is this goal.

## **METHODOLOGY**

In this study, the method considered suitable is critical discourse analysis or CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis). For this study, we will use several types of critical discourse analysis, in accordance with Van Dijk's (2009) model of critical discourse analysis. Because the relevance of Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method to the research objective is to describe the language in the news, what is analyzed is the content of the news.

Text, social cognition, and social context are the three primary units of analysis in Van Dijk's (1993) critical discourse analysis method. The analytical unit for this research, however, focuses on the text since, as Van Dijk (1993) explains, text is the most accessible and analyzable element to explore discourse. According to Wodak & Meyer (2001), the text's emphasis on examining the structure and pattern of power is still relevant in situations when the social context cannot be explicitly examined. Gee (2011) argues that text analysis is a first stage that may be carried out independently to comprehend the micro elements of discourse, which further supports the choice of text.

## **RESULTS**

There are 6 news stories about radicalism analyzed on Ayobandung.com, Tribun Yogyakarta, and Tribun Bali. News about radicalism in Tribun Bali, Tribun Yogyakarta and Ayobandung.com is quite diverse, published from January to December 2021. The choice of radicalism news in 2021 is because this year, although there was no major radicalization, in the midst of the Covid 19 pandemic. This issue is still widely narrated by the media, including local media.

In Tribun Bali there are two news stories about radicalism, namely *Wakasau Berikan Pembekalan Tentang Kebahagiaan dan Radikalisme di Lanud I Gusti Ngurah Rai Bali, Aplikasi E-Praja Raksaka Dilaunching Saat Hari Kemerdekaan di Bali, Menerima Laporan Masyarakat*. It is evident from this news that Tribun Bali supports the TNI, which has a

community application. Radicalism promptly reports criminal acts via the application. As a result, both the community and the TNI apparatus gain from the ease with which the former can receive complaints or reports from the latter. The TNI apparatus may readily receive or learn about the numerous anarchic and radical actions that take place in Balinese society as a result of this news, enabling the TNI to effectively attempt to resolve them. Alternatively, the TNI and the community may use this application as a means of preventing acts that could be interpreted as radical.

In *Tribun Yogyakarta* there are two news stories about radicalism, namely *DPRD DIY dan Kesbangpol Tangkal Radikalisme dan Intoleransi Melalui Kegiatan Sinau Pancasila, Cegah Paham Radikalisme, Kesbangpol dan Stakeholder di Purworejo Deklarasikan Garda Bojo*. The story about extremism in *Tribun Yogyakarta* gets down to the heart of the fight against it. *Tribun Yogyakarta* suggests that the Yogyakarta region is struggling with radicalism based on these two news stories. Even though there is a phrase mentioning the declining harmony index, it is evident that the text is about efforts to resolve and be watchful against radical teachings. Despite this, radicalism persists and even grows in a number of sectors.

On *Ayobandung.com* there are 2 news stories about radicalism, namely *Cara Polresta Tasikmalaya dan NU Kota Tasik Cegah Paham Radikalisme, Mengapa Milenial Rentan Jadi Sasaran Radikalisme?* Radicalism is portrayed in *Ayobandung.com* news as one of the teachings that should be avoided and, if at all possible, eradicated. Journalists here use the phrase "radicalism" on par with "terrorism" and "intolerance." Radicalism, terrorism, and bigotry are collective problems that require a single, all-encompassing solution, as directed by the center and the highest echelons of leadership. According to news reports from the Tasikmalaya region, radicalism has proliferated, grown to be a significant threat, and has the potential to undermine social order. Radicalism has become a common opponent and is seen as a harmful philosophy. Therefore, in order to resolve it, the community as well as the police have a role to play, one of which is the community organization from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU).

## **DISCUSSION**

### **LONGSTANDING THREAT**

Based on findings from reports by *Tribun Bali*, *Tribun Yogyakarta* and *Ayobandung.com* related to radicalism, the three media representing radicalism must not be allowed to develop and spread in Indonesia. Whatever the method, this teaching or trend of radicalism must be immediately banned, because it has the potential to threaten stability, chaos, unity and unity, and other things that are detrimental to Indonesian society. The results of research by researchers also show the same thing, that radicalism in Indonesia can affect unity and integrity, mental damage to the younger generation, an increasingly declining economy, and damage to the order of political life (Fealy, 2004; Barton, 2004; Jones, 2016; Abuza, 2003; Fealy & Hooker, 2006).

Apart from that, in their coverage and reporting, *Tribun Bali*, *Tribun Yogyakarta* and *Ayobandung.com* show that radicalism is an issue that already exists in Indonesia and is difficult to eradicate or eliminate. This condition makes people feel disturbed by its presence, because it is dangerous and every government official, starting from elements of the TNI and Polri, continues to look for ways to prevent it. Currently, many people, both at the national and international levels, are very concerned about the problem of radicalism. This occurs because of dissatisfaction with the political, social, economic and religious situation (Kusuma et al., 2018).

Based on researchers' findings, for more than a century, many Islamic movements have emerged that have made significant contributions in a radical direction (Arifin, 2016). Radicalism itself began to appear during the colonial period in Indonesia (Fealy & Hooker, 2006; Van Dijk, 1981). Then in the New Order era, radicalism groups also experienced a revival (Abuza, 2003; Barton, 2004). Seeing the authoritarianism of leaders during the New Order era. In the era of reform, Indonesia experienced political freedom and religious freedom, radical groups also became popular again (Jones, 2016; Fealy, 2016). Likewise, in 2020, the mass media always transformed the discourse of radicalism into extremist violence, and the government inevitably immediately destroyed the radicalism movement (Panjaitan, 2020).

### **IDEOLOGY, LABELS AND MEDIA PARTISANSHIP**

The three local media studied, in representing radicalism, indirectly show their attitude towards the teachings of radicalism. When *Tribun Bali*, *Tribun Yogyakarta* and *Ayobandung.com*, all three of them covered a radicalism event, they showed attitudes, views and tendencies on the issue of radicalism as an ideology, all three labeled this radicalism as a misleading sect or teaching, and how the media sided with it. government. As Ibrahim (2020: 72) said, representation is a means for the media to express ideology, discourse and power. In reporting on radicalism, the media shows its attitude and alignment with radicalism.

Adam Briggs and Paul Cobley (1998) and Grossberg (1995:295) state that representation is a way to convey ideology and power implicit in the news. *Tribun Bali*, *Tribun Yogyakarta*, and *ayobandung.com* have taken a stance on the issue of radicalism in their reporting, namely their stance is at odds with the teachings of radicalism.

In the context of reporting on the topic of radicalism, the media often displays various points of view depending on editorial policy, the ideology held, or the local cultural image where the media is distributed. For example, *Tribun Bali*, *Yogyakarta*, and *Ayobandung.com* tend to be more passive in covering news about radicalism, but still clearly show their support for government policies.

Apart from that, *Tribun Bali*, *Tribun Yogyakarta*, and *Bandung* have a general policy of not getting too involved in the issue of radicalism, and also respecting the local wisdom of Bali, Yogyakarta, and Bandung which are known for being polite in dealing with differences, and having high tolerance for differences. -difference. In representing radicalism, the three media always seek to be safe, not provocative, but still remind readers about the dangers of radicalism.

The way radicalism is represented in the three media is also gently influenced by local wisdom ideology. Bali, Yogyakarta and Bandung are places known for their friendly culture and religion that teaches the values of tolerance. Apart from that, *Tribun Bali* and *Tribun Yogyakarta* focus more on respecting local culture, because Bali and Yogyakarta are famous for their soft culture. Most of the population comes from Hindu and Islamic backgrounds, showing tolerance towards differences in religion and belief. The presence of followers of other religions looks very pleasant when working together in various activities.

One of the characteristics of collaboration is the ability of religious adherents to adapt to the situation. Muslims, for example, still feel comfortable carrying out their religious traditions as part of a Muslim community amidst a majority of Hindus. They can still celebrate Eid traditions at the end of Ramadan by combining Hindu traditions in Bali. The Muslim community often holds the Javanese Magalungan tradition as a substitute for Eid when the month of Ramadan ends. Javanese Magalungan comes from two words, namely Magalungan and Java. Magalungan originates from an adaptation of the Galungan tradition which is closely related to the Hindu religious traditions. Meanwhile, Java is used as a substitute for Muslims because historically, Islam entered and developed in Bali through the Javanese people.

In reporting on radicalism, the state often labels Islamic groups as radical groups. Not only that, the media also reported that the government responded to this incident by issuing a number of regulations and discussing several policies in the media. As a result, actions to label radicalism against Muslims tend to be carried out by the media (Panjaitan, 2020). The three media also quoted the opinions of experts, government officials and sources with a non-existent portion from radical circles as if the media were determining support.

The media (Tribun Bali, Tribun Yogyakarta and Ayobandung.com) can have two roles, namely as a suppressor of radical attitudes or as a trigger for the emergence of radical behavior among readers or the general public. These functions will operate in accordance with the ideology believed by the media. For example, in Bali, Yogyakarta and Bandung, any media will have the ability to read the desires of its audience intelligently. If the majority of viewers in Bali adhere to Hinduism, then it is possible that any media will tend to support the views of Hindu ideology. The formulation of discourse that the journalists develop will take into account the interests of Hindu readers, but still emphasize the importance of objectivity. Likewise in Bandung and Yogyakarta, if the majority of the audience is Muslim, then it is likely that the media will be open to paying attention to Islamic needs and ideology.

The media must maintain its objectivity by showing its support for developing discourse formulations. This is where the media is often considered a double-edged weapon. In the context of representations about radicals, the media clearly does not approve of radicalism.

#### **DIRECT AND INDIRECT**

There is a slight difference, Tribun Bali describes the radicalism inserted in its reporting. In its coverage of radicalism, Tribun Bali did not directly reveal the dangers of radicalism. Radicalism is not the main focus in the news, but is mentioned in the context of other news. Differences in how local media represent radicalism can be caused by different interpretations of facts and data before they are presented in the news. According to Ibrahim (2020), before the media shows the news, there is a complicated process involving many people. Previously, journalists interpreted facts and data from their coverage at the scene. In this case, there may be errors in interpretation by journalists of data and facts.

According to Croteau and Hoynes (1997: 134), before being published, news has gone through a selection process by journalists to choose the facts to be conveyed. There may be some facts that are emphasized and discussed in the news, while other facts are not conveyed or included in the report. Local media do not directly report about radicalism but prefer to insert it, they follow the emphasis of their news on other news, while information about radicalism is additional information.

The step that must be taken by local media is to insert the issue of radicalism in the main event news. Because the media may do this because there are requests or conditions from several parties related to the media. Before the article is published, journalists and editors select words and language use, add and explain facts and data, and select statements from news sources. In this process, journalists cannot ignore the interests and demands of other parties, so they need to make compromises in presenting news (Croteau and Hoynes, 1997).

The inclusion of the government and the majority, apart from supporting it, is also safer because if this is not done, the local media will usually be intimidated. Hall (2005) said that the media always includes the points of view of the various individuals involved when reporting events. It is not surprising that this person's ideas, either directly or indirectly, give rise to expectations from related parties to be included in the news they make.

In these news stories, local media Tribun Yogyakarta represents radicalism by strengthening efforts to counter radicalism through various strategies, so that the problem of radicalism can be completely resolved. It was also emphasized that even in whatever form,

radicalism remains a threat that can appear at any time, by anyone, anywhere, and without realizing it. Ayobandung.com, which is the same as Tribun Yogyakarta, has a focus on finding effective solutions to overcome radicalism in Indonesia, as well as reminding about how radicalism has influenced young people through social media.

Tribun Bali, Tribun Yogyakarta and Ayobandung.com have different approaches in covering news about radicalism, because they involve many parties in preparing the news. According to Ibrahim (2020: 67), media representation involves many things and complex processes, between parties who are considered relevant to the event. The three media that did not directly express their stance were influenced in the process by things they could not face. In fact, representation is a product of compromise. Hall (2005) argues that when the media reports an event in its news, it cannot avoid being influenced by people's views, institutional interests, the event process, or the current situation. With representation, the media communicates messages to the public regarding current issues indirectly.

Berger and Luckmann (1967) also stated that representation is the result of the construction of reality (social construction of reality). Constructionists believe that representations reflect not only one person's truth, but also the truth constructed by all parties involved. The representation of radicalism in Tribun Bali, Tribun Yogyakarta, and Ayobandung.com is the result of manipulation of the facts covered and made into the news. The existence of this reality is true, but there is construction of this reality. During the development process, there will be interpretation and combination of values, or packaging of reality to make it more attractive. In the construction process, there will be interpretation and merging of values, or rearrangement of reality to make it look more attractive. According to Schudson (1995: 54), news is the result of the process of packaging phenomena or reality. The same thing applies to reporting on radicalism in Tribun Bali, Tribun Yogyakarta and Ayobandung.com.

## CONCLUSION

Local media believes that the issue of radicalism has become part of the media coverage agenda that cannot be ignored, so every incident or topic related to radicalism must be echoed to raise awareness of the dangers of radicalism. In describing radicalism, it emphasizes that radicalism is a dangerous view, should not be practiced, and is difficult to eradicate. Local media also illustrates that radicalism is an ideology that intensively and organized attempts to spread radical ideas to various levels of society, using various strategies and media widely.

According to local media, radicalism has been growing and developing in Indonesia for some time, and is difficult to overcome. Often the community and government feel disturbed by his presence. There are slight differences in funding and the way it is represented, Tribun Bali incorporates radicalism into news with different themes. In its reporting about radicalism, Tribun Bali was not direct. Meanwhile, Tribun Yogyakarta and Ayobandung.com immediately reported the issue of radicalism. Differences between local media in depicting radicalism occur because of the way each media interprets existing facts.

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