

RELIGIOUS RADICALISM FRAME IN THE ONLINE MEDIA NEWS (FRAMING ANALYSIS REPORTING OF “ISIS” IN REPUBLIKA.CO.ID AND TEMPO.CO)

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Abstract

This study aims to explore how the framing of Islamic radicalism through the reporting of the group "ISIS" in two online media, namely in Republika.com and Tempo.co with an impartiality perspective. The research method used is descriptive qualitative by using a discourse strategy that sees the text and its context as information that contributes to communicating the contents of the message. Primary and secondary data are obtained from news canators, online portals and library studies. While the unit of analysis is ISIS radicalism news in Republika.co.id and Tempo.co in the period of August to December 2014 that falls within the three criteria of radicalism news, namely acts of violence, beliefs championed, old-fashioned views or rigid thoughts that underlie acts of violence using techniques framing analysis of Gamson and Modigliani models. The results showed that news about radical "ISIS" included in the category of news construction that was emotional, sadistic, provocative and without confirmation. In addition, the quality of reporting often adorns with words that appear hyperbole and bombastic, the coverage is less profound and changes in a matter of minutes. The trend of Tempo.co and Republika.co.id dramatizes and exaggerates what happens in conflict areas by using connoted language rather than language that has literal meaning. Then it has not fulfilled the principle of impartiality of news which can be seen from the neutrality and balance of news that determines the quality of reporting.

Keywords: *Religious Radicalism; Framing; ISIS; Online Media*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk untuk mengupas bagaimana pemingkaiian radikalisme Islam melalui pemberitaan kelompok “ISIS” di dua media online yaitu di Republika.com dan Tempo.co melalui perspektif imparisialitas. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah deskriptif kualitatif dengan memakai strategi discourse yang melihat teks dan konteksnya sebagai sebuah informasi yang berkontribusi dalam mengkomunikasikan isi pesan. Data primernya dan sekundernya didapatkan dari kanator berita, portal online dan studi kepustakaan. Sedangkan unit analisisnya adalah berita radikalisme ISIS di Republika.co.id dan Tempo.co kurun waktu

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Agustus hingga Desember 2014 yang masuk dalam tiga kriteria berita radikalisme yaitu tindakan kekerasan, keyakinan yang diperjuangkan, pandangan kolot atau pemikiran kaku yang melandasi tindakan kekerasan dengan menggunakan teknik analisis framing model Gamson dan Modigliani. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa berita mengenai radikalisme "ISIS" masuk dalam kategori kontruksi berita yang emosional, sadistik, provokatif dan tanpa konfirmasi. Selain itu, mutu pemberitaan sering menghiasi dengan kata-kata yang terkesan hiperbola dan bombastis, pemberitaan yang kurang mendalam dan berubah-ubah dalam hitungan menit. Kecendrungan Tempo.co dan Republika.co.id mendramatisir dan melebih-lebihkan apa yang terjadi di wilayah konflik dengan menggunakan bahasa yang berkonotasi daripada bahasa yang bermakna harafiah. Kemudian belum memenuhi prinsip imparialitas berita yang bisa dilihat dari netralitas dan keberimbangan berita yang menentukan kualitas pemberitaan.

Kata kunci: Radikalisme Agama; Pembingkaian, ISIS; Media Online

مستخلص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف كيفية تأطير التطرف الإسلامي من خلال الإبلاغ عن مجموعة "داعش" في اثنين من وسائل الإعلام عبر الإنترنت وهما في Tempoco و Republika.com من خلال منظور الحياد. تعتبر طريقة البحث المستخدمة وصفية نوعية باستخدام استراتيجية الخطاب التي ترى النص وسياقه كمعلومات تساهم في إيصال محتويات الرسالة. يتم الحصول على البيانات الأولية والثانوية من قنوات الأخبار والبوابات الإلكترونية ودراسات المكتبة. في حين أن وحدة التحليل هي أبناء عن تطرف داعش في Tempoco و Republika.co.id ، فإن الفترة من أغسطس إلى ديسمبر 2014 مدرجة في المعايير الثلاثة لأخبار التطرف ، وهي أعمال العنف أو القتال من أجل المعتقدات أو الآراء القديمة أو الأفكار الجامدة التي تكمن وراء أعمال العنف باستخدام التقنيات تحليل الإطارات لنماذج Gamson و Modigliani. وأظهرت النتائج أن الأخبار عن "داعش" الراديكالية قد تم تضمينها في فئة بناء الأخبار التي كانت عاطفية وسادية واستفزازية وبدون تأكيد. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، غالباً ما تزين جودة الأخبار بالكلمات التي تبدو مفرطة ومبهجة ، وتكون التغطية أقل عمقاً وتغير في غضون دقائق. إن اتجاهات Tempoco و Republika.co.id تضخم وتبالغ في تقدير ما يحدث في مناطق الصراع باستخدام لغة ضمنية بدلاً من لغة ذات معنى حقيقي. ثم لم تستوف مبدأ حياد الأخبار الذي يمكن رؤيته من حياد وتوازن الأخبار التي تحدد جودة التقارير .

الكلمات الرئيسية: الراديكالية الدينية ؛ التأطير ؛ داعش ؛ الإعلام عبر الإنترنت

A. INTRODUCTION

The ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) phenomenon has begun to be discussed in various national media in Indonesia. That was caused by the emergence of some Indonesian people who began to openly support groups who did not hesitate to disbelieve or even eliminate the lives of everyone who was different from him. Even though ISIS is still

launching terror in the Middle East, but in several parts of Indonesia, declarations of support for this group have emerged. The spread of ISIS in Indonesia is said to be originated from virtual space (online), namely ISIS's youtube video through Indonesian Fighters in Syria, Terrorist Networks in Indonesia and through Indonesian Students in the Middle East. The development of ISIS issues in the media subsequently began to be widely reported in August 2014. There are two factors that made the ISIS issue widely reported in this period. First, there were many actions of public rejection of ISIS both personally conveyed by religious leaders/ community leaders as well as those delivered in groups such as the ISIS declaration of rejection raised by various mass organizations and local governments. This rejection act seemed to take the same time, around 1-5 August 2014. Second, the number of arrests of parties who were considered as supporters of ISIS in Indonesia by the Police. The arrest was not only carried out against suspected terrorists who were supporters of ISIS but also ordinary people who only raised or mounted ISIS flags at their homes. All activities of rejection and arrest of ISIS supporters in Indonesia were reported on a massive scale by online media, especially by *Republika.com* and *Tempo.co*. Even in *Republika.com*, a rejection or arrest event can be reported many times with different angles.¹

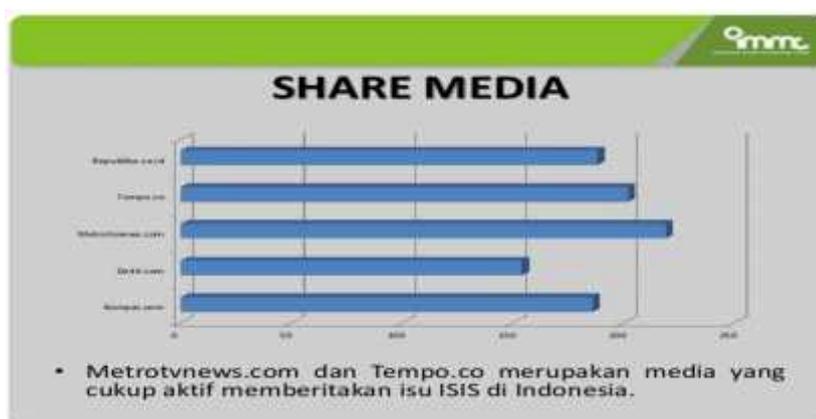


Figure 1. Share Media Online, which is quite active in reporting the ISIS issue in Indonesia
Source: Indonesia Media Monitoring Centre, 2014

According to the IMMC study, the media which reported quite a lot of ISIS were done by *Tempo.co*, and *Republika.co.id*. Each of these online media frames ISIS radicalism which is constructed through various negative news coverage, namely terrorism which is often displayed, both in the form of interviews with terrorist suspects and video testimony of terrorist suspects (www.immcnews.com). This terrorism event is considered as a section to be covered by the mass media because acts of terrorism often display dramatic images such as

¹ Islamic Media Monitoring Centre, Laporan Media Monitoring ISIS di Indonesia 2014. <http://www.slideshare.net/IMMCNews/laporan-media-monitoring-isis> (accessed April 6, 2018).

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shows of massacres, bombings etc. Acts of terrorism are considered to have very high news value because they can have a direct or indirect impact on the community, such as the emergence of anxiety and a tense situation felt by the community. Moreover, the perpetrators of terrorism raised by the media often come from Muslim circles that fight for their beliefs. To simplify these terrorist events, the media often constructs events so as to produce certain frames that are easier to understand and appeal to the public. In general, the frame of radicalism is often used by the media in reporting terrorism. Radicalism referred to in this study is a movement that uses violence to defend its beliefs.

Furthermore, most of the information about terrorism in online media is mostly presented in the form of direct news. This type of news basically prioritizes what aspects, but does not support the availability of information on the type of how and why. In fact, ideally coverage about radicalism also answers the question of how and why through in-depth coverage in order to achieve the impression of news. The big problem that arises then leads to the silencing of reporter's sense in addressing social reality, especially the reality of radicalism. The rise of online media that broadcast radical religious values, reporting violent events clearly, as well as biased reporting and tend to judge certain groups such as minority groups are a concern. Moreover, the news in online media that demands broadcast speed makes reporters ignore the principle of cover both sides. "After the reporters interviewed one party directly wrote the news not seeking opinions from other parties".

Based on the above empirical data presentation, this research is very important in the effort to uncover and dismantle how the efforts to frame Islamic radicalism carried out by two online media namely *Republika.com* and *Tempo.co* through the perspective of impartiality.

The paradigm in this research is constructivist. The media according to the constructionist view is seen as a message construction agent. When media workers cover reality and bring it back to the news. This is inseparable from the perspective and subjective consideration of the media. Automatically the values, ethics, and alignments of media workers cannot be separated from the news². This research uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research explains the phenomenon profusely through deep data collection and belongs to the type of descriptive research that aims to systematically describe the way online media frame radicalism in ISIS reporting. This study uses a framing research strategy. This strategy helps

² Husnan Nurjuman. *Kontruksi Media Islam Indonesia Tentang Pluralisme dalam Islam: Analisis Terhadap Bingkai Majalah Sabil dan Syir'ah tentang Pluralisme dalam Islam di Indonesia*, Tesis Progrsm Pasca Sarjana Ilmu Komunikasi. Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik, Universitas Indonesia, 2006

researchers see how the media discusses an issue. Discourse research strategies place language not only as a tool for sending messages. The discourse research strategy sees the text and its context as information that contributes to communicating the contents of the message. Texts actively build versions of objects, events and categories that exist in the social and natural world so that they do not always reflect these things. Texts do this actively so that texts have social implications.³ Primary data used in this research will be collected through field studies and documentation obtained through news agencies and portals *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.co* which preach ISIS radicalism from August to December 2014. The timing is based on ISIS reporting which increased in early August 2014. Although this issue has appeared since July 2014, the ISIS issue is still covered by news about the Presidential Election. After the hustle and bustle of the presidential election was over, the ISIS issue emerged massively, especially in the period of August- Desember 2014. While secondary data is obtained through library studies, that is, research is carried out by studying and collecting data through literature and relevant reading sources and supporting research.

The unit of analysis in this research is ISIS radicalism news in *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.co* from August to December 2014. *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.co* were chosen because they are online media that are quite active in reporting ISIS issues in Indonesia. In general, the tone of the two media both *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.co* in reporting ISIS issues was more negative in nature. While the timing of data sampling was based on the consideration that the ISIS radicalism movement's bombastic phenomenon began to appear in various mass media, especially online media, from the period August 2014 to the present. However, because the news to be analyzed is news from online media whose broadcasts in one day can be countless, the authors limit it from August to December 2014.

There are two criteria in the selection of an analysis unit; the first is a radical news program that shows the thoughts, reasons, or beliefs of the actors who legitimize their violence. There are at least three things that are strongly related to radicalism based on the limitations of this study, namely acts of violence, beliefs championed, old-fashioned views or rigid thoughts that underlie acts of violence. In this study, the writer will only dissect six news that fall into the radical news category of the ISIS movement as explained above. After that compare the motives of the news between the two online media. Data analysis in this study was carried out with framing analysis techniques to analyze the ISIS radicalism frame published by *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.com*. Simply stated, framing analysis is defined as a

³ Christine Daymon., and Immy Holloway. *Metode-metode Riset Kualitatif: dalam Public Relations dan Marketing Communications*. (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Bentang, 2008).

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method to see the media's efforts to package news. Gamson and Modigliani explain framing as a set of central ideas or ideas when the media understands and understands issues.⁴

McLuhan states that the media is an extension of the five senses. In other words, the presence of the media in communicating is to extend the arms and ears. For example radio is an extension of the ear and television is an extension of the eye (McLuhan, 75:2003). Even McLuhan said that the media alone is a message (the medium is the message). According to him, influencing the audience is not only what is conveyed by the media, but the type of communication media used is interpersonal, print media or electronic media. Meanwhile, the mass media is an institution that acts as an agent of change, namely as a pioneer institution for change. This is the main paradigm of mass media. The mass media acts as an institution of enlightenment of society, namely its role as an educational media. The mass media becomes a media that at all times educates the public to be smart, open minded and become an advanced society. Besides mass media also becomes information media, that is media that at any time conveys information to the public with open, honest and true information conveyed by the mass media to the public, then the community will become a society that is rich in information, a society that is open with information. In addition, information that is widely owned by the community makes the community a global community that can participate with a variety of abilities.

Then the mass media as an agent of change, the mass media also becomes a cultural institution, an institution which at any time becomes a mouthpiece of culture, a catalyst for cultural development. As an agent of change, it is also meant to encourage cultural development to benefit moral people and sakinah societies, thus the mass media also has a role in preventing the development of cultures which precisely damage human civilization and society. Obviously, the practice of "online journalism" began when the famous Mark Drudge through his Drudge Report uncovered the scandal of the affair of US President Bill Clinton with Monica Lewinsky or often called "Monicagate". The news of this scandal began to become a public conversation when an e-mail was sent to 50 thousand subscribers on January 18, 1998.⁵ In every important aspect of this story, according to Lasica (in Kurnia, 2005), when writing Internet Journalism and the Clinton-Lewinsky Investigation, the internet medium was used to "uncover scandalous news, voice new allegations, and release the whole

⁴ Alex Sobur, *Analisis Teks Media: Suatu Pengantar untuk Analisis Wacana, Analisis Semiotik, Analisis Framing* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2002).

⁵ Kurnia Septiawan Santana, *Jurnalisme Kontemporer*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005)

report, the Starr final for his investigation ".⁶ Until the question arises: whether this news is fair and accurate needs to be set aside to reach (the fact) the phenomenon of online journalism is present? Online journalism has fueled alternative trends, claiming that online journalism has changed all journalistic activities and the old activities of the journalism profession. Since then, online journalism has advanced dramatically.

J. Pavlik (2001) explained online journalism as "contextualized journalism" which integrates three communication models, namely multimedia capabilities based on digital platforms, interactive qualities of online communication, and features that can be arranged with various variations (customizable features).⁷ In this connection, Rafaeli and Newhagen (as cited by Kurnia identified five main differences that exist between online journalism and traditional mass media: (1) the ability of the internet to combine a number of media; (2) the lack of author's tyranny over the reader; (3) no one can control the attention of the audience; (4) the internet can make the communication process take place continuously; and (5) web interactivity.⁸

With the various characteristics inherent in online journalism above, it can be said that there are actually quite striking differences in online journalism compared to conventional media. Therefore the advantage of the internet as a communication medium is its ability to change the direction of communication (from communicator to communicant) to two directions (from communicant to communicator). It is this interactive nature that causes the internet to become a media that widens democratic spaces, because society is no longer merely an object of reporting but can also be a subject.

In the terminology, what is meant by radicalism is a movement that is conservative and often uses violence in teaching their beliefs.⁹ Violence in the name of religion / belief is often often linked to the realm of radicalism and terrorism, since the initiation of the Global War on Terror (GWOt) program by the United States after the September 11, 2001 events. (Especially those in the name of religion) have a connection with one another. "The ideology of radicalism is at the root of terrorism, a narrow understanding of a belief, religion, creating conflict so that it commits terror," (Ansyad Mbai - Chair of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT). Radicalism and terrorism are one of the real threats to the life of the global world. The impact of radical movements and terrorists can have implications for economic

⁶ Santana.

⁷ John Pavlik, *Journalism and New Media*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

⁸ Kurnia Septiawan Santana, *Jurnalisme Kontemporer*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005) 137.

⁹ Harun Nasution, *Islam Rasional* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 124.

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and political dynamics that can experience shocks that are not small, so as to create a sense of insecurity in the wider community.

There are 2 (two) types of radicalization processes that commonly occur, firstly due to an identity crisis which is resolved by understanding beliefs that declare violence as a solution, which is generally rooted in concerns about macro conditions such as integration, foreign policy, political development, culture, and the global economy . Whereas the second radicalization process results from the dynamics of social interaction in micro conditions that are influenced by the media, peers, leaders, family members, or the surrounding environment, so that they accept a belief system / understanding that something can and must be done to deal with things that are a threat on the flow of beliefs or understandings that are believed.¹⁰

The emergence of religious radicalism occurs due to things like; 1) Claims of truth, namely religious adherents believe that their holy books do teach monolithic truth (singular), where there are often interpretations that assume that other religions are not true. 2). Obedience is "blind" to religious leaders, namely excessive fanaticism towards religious leaders, so the words of religious leaders are "considered" as essential truths. 3). Efforts to build an ideal era / state, that the religious vision of an ideal age is believed by religious adherents to be the will of God himself. Example: a Taliban regime that commits atrocities against its own citizens under the pretext of obedience to Islamic law. 4). the purpose justifies any means. This sign usually occurs in the components of religion, both related to identity and religious institutions 5). The idea of a holy war (holy war or jihad) which underlies the occurrence of violence and religious conflict, such as bombing actions those are within the framework of upholding God's holy commands which the culprit deems as the holy path.

Based on some explanations of the definition and causes of radicalism, what is meant by radicalism in this research is a movement carried out by individuals or groups who are conservative in upholding their beliefs, so they use violence. Threats or illegal use of violence perpetrated by non-state actors in the form of individuals or groups to achieve political, economic, religious or social goals by spreading fear, coercion, or intimidation explains the definition of terrorism.¹¹ Intermediaries, social networks, internet, and prison environments are considered to have a key role in the process of radicalization of religion which will

¹⁰ Tinka Veldhuis and Jørgen Staun, *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model* (Den Haag: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2009), 63-64.

¹¹ IEP, *Global Terrorism: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism for the Last Decade* (Sydney: Institute for Economics and Peace, 2012), 6.

ultimately lead to acts of religious terrorism.¹² Based on grouping types of terrorism, the dimensions of terrorism can be known through variables and classifications as follows:¹³

Table 1. Dimensions of Terrorism

No	Variable	Classification
1	Number of Performers	Individual and group
2	Supporters	State, Community and Individual
3	Relationship to authority	Anti-governmental and separatist
4	Coverage	Domestic and international
5	Armed status	Civil, military and paramilitary
6	Spiritual motivation	Secular and Religious
7	financial motivation	Idealistic and entrepreneurship
8	Ideology of Politics	Socialist, Fascist and Anarchic
9	Rules hierarchy	Sponsor, leaders, middle leaders and followers
10	Obsession with death	Suicide
11	Methodology	Murder, bombing, kidnapping / hostage, mass poison, biological weapons and cyber terror.

Source: *Processed by the researchers*

Basically, framing analysis is the latest version of the discourse analysis approach, specifically for analyzing media texts. The idea of framing, first put forward by Beterson 1995, which can be used to find out how reality is constructed (framed) by the media in this case is the online media Tempo.co and Republika.co.id. Framing analysis is used to dissect ways or ideologies of the media when constructing facts. While W.A. Gamson and A. Modigliani, define framing analysis as an analysis that sees discourse as a construction of social reality in interpreting relativity.¹⁴ Through the analysis of reality framing that is so complex and complex it is simplified by the media so that it is easy to understand, remember and reality is more meaningful and understandable. In the end framing determines how reality is present before the reader. What we know about reality basically depends on how we frame the event that gives a certain understanding of an event. In simple analysis, framing tries to build a communication of language, visuals, actors, and convey it to the public.

¹² IEP., 13-24.

¹³ Jeff Victorof, *The Mind of The Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches* (California: The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 2005), 5.

¹⁴ William A Gamson. "Media Discourse as a Framing Resource" in Ann N. Crigler (ed.). *The Psychology of Political Communication*. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 1996), 2-3.

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There are two dimensions in framing namely, 1). Selection of meaningful issues in presenting an event a journalist or media crew has chosen the facts on the ground; it is assumed that media workers are not likely to see events without perspective. 2). Emphasizing the issue which means being able to observe how media workers write facts, this process relates to the selected facts presented to the audience. This element of writing facts relates to the prominence of reality. The use of words, sentences or photographs is the implication of choosing certain aspects of reality. As a result, certain aspects that are highlighted become prominent; get more allocation and greater attention compared to other aspects. All aspects are used to make certain dimensions of news construction meaningful and memorable to the public. The reality that is presented prominently or prominently has a greater likelihood of being noticed and influences the audience in understanding a reality.¹⁵

Through framing constructivism approach can be seen as a process of social construction in interpreting reality. This process occurs on two levels, namely the individual level or interpretative level and the level of discourse or culture. These two levels are interrelated in the process of social construction to make sense of reality. There is a relationship between media discourse with public opinion formed in society through a package containing the construction of meaning for the event to be reported (Gamson and Modigliani, 1996: 21-22). According to them, the frame is a way of telling stories or groups of ideas that are organized in such a way and present a construction of the meaning of events related to the object of a discourse.

Related to this research, if you notice there are different frames between Tempo.co and Republika.co.id in constructing the ISIS radicalism movement that occurs outside and inside the country. The event is the same, but the construction of the news is different. The different construction patterns cause differences in how events are understood by the two media. Entman, seeing framing in two big dimensions, namely the selection of issues and the emphasis or prominence of aspects of reality and this factor can further sharpen the framing of news through the selection process of issues that are worth showing and the emphasis on the content of the news. In this case the journalist's subjectivity will determine which facts will be selected and which ones will be highlighted as well as which facts will be discarded and the findings, which side taking highlighted certainly involves the values and ideology of the journalists involved in the process of producing a news.

¹⁵ Eriyanto, *Analisis Framing, Konstruksi, Ideologi dan Politik Media* (Yogyakarta: Obor, 2002), 69-70.

The objectivity of the media is closely related to the impartiality of the news and the independence of the media against the factions. Impartiality or impartiality is one of the concepts that make up the principle of news objectivity. Objective news must meet two conditions, namely factuality and impartiality.¹⁶ In this study, researchers will not use the concept of objectivity as a whole, because the news related to radicalism carried out by *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.co* has fulfilled the element of factuality. Then the concept of objectivity that is of concern is impartiality or impartiality. The general standard used to assess the impartiality of news lies in the balance (balance) and neutrality. This balance refers to a fair and non-discriminatory attitude in the choice of sources. The use of informants' information also presents a variety of different views without any special treatment to certain parties. Then neutrality can be seen from the clear separation of facts from opinions. Neutrality can also be seen from the use of language and images that tend not to support certain parties. The media should avoid evaluating or using emotional words or images that will direct the audience to give a certain assessment or interpretation. In practice, according to McQuail also, when journalists do framing on the news, then it will bring the media away from pure objectivity and contains a number of biases. This is reinforced by excerpts from pages that discuss news biases specifically stating that framing news is one form of news bias. Because through the frame used the journalist will choose the details of the story to be developed and which parts will be omitted and presented implicitly.

Bias in the news can appear in various forms that are generally associated with the choice of words, images and resource persons. In fact, if there is a bias in the choice of words and pictures it indicates violation of neutrality which emphasizes avoidance of using language and images that are emotional and support certain parties. In addition, bias in reporting emphasizes the delivery of different views without special treatment for certain parties. Then there are biases related to word choice such as the use of nicknames or titles, besides that there is also a bias in the choice of word tones such as the use of words that are positive or negative with certain connotations can easily affect the audience. While the bias associated with image selection is a bias in shooting. Some pictures make social media look great; some others just make it look oppressed. Other biases are biased in news placement. The public usually considers the news displayed at the beginning to be more significant than the subsequent news. Bias can also occur in the selection of sources or control of news sources. Each resource person cited on an issue must bring their respective perspectives which can

¹⁶ McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory*, 4th Edition, (London: Sage Publication, 2000).

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influence the position of reporting. The concept of impartiality used in this study is based on Westerhalt and McQuail's explanation which states that media that can report impartially are those who keep their distance from news sources and impartiality in terms of balance and neutrality.

B. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overall, the analysis of news related to religious radicalism in two online media namely Tempo.co and Republika.co.id in the packaging of news each has a different point of view. The news perspective on the packaging of terrorism is most evident in metaphors, depiction and catchphrases. The following will explain the whole construction of ISIS religious radicalism news. Each of the good news originating from Tempo.co and Republika.co.id that represent the category of religious radicalism, namely acts of violence, fought for beliefs, old-fashioned views or rigid thoughts that underlie violence.

1. News Classification of Religious Radicalism "ISIS" in Online Media Tempo.co and Republika.co.id

The presentation and analysis of the news of religious radicalism in these two online media can be briefly framed that; the quality of reporting often adorns with words that seem hyperbole and bombastic in preaching the radicalism of the ISIS movement both in Indonesia and abroad. Second, because of the type of online media that is instant, frequent news coverage that is less profound and changes in a matter of minutes. Third, the tendency of Tempo.co and Republika.co.id to dramatize and exaggerate what is happening in conflict areas by using connoted language rather than literal meaning. Fourth, sometimes it is not objective and contains information that is not in accordance with the reality at the location. This can be seen with the acquisition of news sources that are not directly covered from the scene but recaptured from other news agency sources so that often both coverage and reporting are often unbalanced and biased. This can be known through several types of news reported.

a. Emotional News Construction

Many of the coverage is inserted with an emotional tone. This can be seen through the choice of facts presented or the choice of words used in the presentation of the news. For example, the headline of the news by Republika on the August 1, 2014 edition, at 21:33 WIB with the title: "The ISIS Movement will not be accepted in Indonesia". In the description, Republika deplored the ISIS movement which claimed itself as the Islamic

state of Iraq and the Great Syam or better known as the 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)'. Islam is rahmatanlil'alamin, meaning that Islam is a religion that brings mercy and prosperity to all the entire universe, including jinns and humans, Muslims and infidels, living and dead objects. In accordance in Surat al-Anbiya verse 107:

لَمِينَ عَائِلًا مِّمَّةً رَحِيمًا إِلَّا نَكَسَ لَأَرْ وَمَا

Islam forbids human beings from acting arbitrarily towards Allah's creatures, just look at the words of the Messenger of Allah as contained in the Hadith of the history of al-Imam al-Hakim, "Who arbitrarily kills birds or other animals smaller than him, then Allah will ask responsibility to him".

Whereas ISIS only contains radicalism activities. In connection with this, Republika.co framed its reality by making the politician Ramadhan Pohan as Deputy Secretary General of the Democratic Party say, "It is impossible for a country based on violence like ISIS to be accepted in Indonesia. We reject any extremities, including under the guise of religion, Israel has destroyed the values of religious and humanitarian values. If ISIS is formed by Israel, surely we must be more careful, Indonesian Muslims should not be easily provoked, especially if there are indications of a trap there."

While the Tempo.co media in the same edition, August 1, 2014 at 9:58 a.m., was even more emotional, namely by raising the title: "Syafi'i Maarif: Support ISIS Is Crazy". It was clear that anger over the lack of alertness of the government. In its description of the story Tempo inserted a sense of remorse for the Ministry of Communication and Informatics's inaction in not being able to block the invitation video for the Indonesian people to join ISIS on the YouTube site. Regarding the video of Indonesian citizens who invited to join ISIS circulated on the YouTube site since July 22, 2014 which lasted eight minutes titled 'Join the Ranks'. Although Tempo regretted the inaction of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, the reality was framed by making former Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Board, Syafi'i Maarif as his guest speaker, Maarif said "" Only crazy people want to join ISIS and similar groups, Use common sense and clear views "He said." According to Eriyanto, news models like the one above often provoke reading, because the news has not been confirmed by other parties.¹⁷

There is a lot of news in both media that fall into the category of emotional news, but only a few are felt to represent the researchers listed in the discussion above. Actually

¹⁷ Eriyanto, *Analisis Framing, Konstruksi, Ideologi dan Politik Media* (Yogyakarta: Obor, 2002), 107

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every news dissemination in its mass media both print, electronic and online must pay attention to the seven pillars of journalistic faith, namely; 1) Responsibility. The right of print, electronic and online media to attract readers is not limited to anything other than public welfare considerations. Journalists must not use their power for personal gain. 2). Press freedom. Freedom of the press must always be maintained as a vital human right and the press is free to discuss anything that is not prohibited by law or legislation. 3). Independence. The press must free itself from all obligations except to the public interest. Promoting personal interests that are contrary to public interests or partiality that causes the misuse of truth violates the main principles of the journalistic profession. 4). Sincerity, loyalty to truth and accuracy (sincerity, truthfulness, and accuracy). 5). Honesty in conveying information (impartiality). 6). Be fair (fair play). The press must provide an opportunity for all parties to provide a comparative explanation of what was said. 7). Decency. The press must convey information; however detailed it is in accordance with the moral standards and morality of the community.

b. Sadistic News Construction

In addition, the pattern of reporting is also classified in sadistic news. *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.co* media coverage of the radicalism of the "ISIS" movement led to the detailed and detailed (sadistic) massacres that occurred in several countries could become media courses for followers of other religions to thicken prejudice and stereotyping of Islam as terrorists, in this case ISIS claimed that their movement was based on Islamic ideology. Both in *Republika.co.id* and *Tempo.co* media, many insert sadistic news in their choice of news. For example, the striking news headline by the August 2, 2014 edition of *Republika.co.id* at 13:01 WIB with the topic ISIS Fighting Bodies Hanged and Dragged in the Middle of Baquba City.

The press, besides being impatient, was impatient in reporting ISIS radicalism, especially to *Tempo.co* regarding sadistic cases, even *Tempo.co* and *Republika.co.id* reporters mixed up the news by including their own opinions which were sometimes very provocative. In addition, these two media used images of victims who were shot with blood, images of women who were hung on the edge of the city because they did not want to be married in jihad, etc. Not only that, sometimes online media like *Tempo.co* always take pictures of news illustrations that sometimes have no relevance to the news content and these images can be loaded repeatedly with different news content.

c. Provocative News Construction and without Confirmation

Provocative news construction is based on research results both in Tempo.co and in Republika.co.id, both of these media often choose the title of provocative ISIS reporting. In fact, in every news the two online media always include news links that we can directly visit immediately because they are connected to the internet, for example on Tempo.co the link provided in the news "Iraqi women are put to death for refusing to marry in jihad with ISIS militias ", In this news, the following linkage news titles are provided: (Read: Menko Tedjo Suspicious Hundreds of Indonesians Enter ISIS), (Read: 300 Chinese Citizens Support ISIS, Fight in Syria) and (Read: ISIS Sells Corpses of American Journalists Rp 1,2 trillion). Just looking at the title is full of very provocative intonations that make the reader want to read it right away. The selection of titles without checking and rechecking beforehand even backing up information without checking can harm the individuals or groups mentioned in the news, while the news is not necessarily proven true.

Confirmation of the news may be done as long as the reporter who is reporting is worried that something bad will happen to him, for example when he covers war and massacres so that it is difficult to identify which friends and opponents. Eriyanto also allowed journalists who covered disputes such as riots in one part of Indonesia, for example in Ambon, to choose whether to cover far in front of the battlefield or just to be behind and record what happened, who the victims were and how many people were injured. (Eriyanto, 2002). Many reporters in the Reformation era preached an event without the effort to go into the field to confirm first, or just look for sources who wanted to be interviewed, because the media was pursuing tiras by lifting them. Moreover, online media those are digital, connected to the internet and interactive, which journalists are demanded to broadcast quickly, increasingly foster provocative and unconfirmed news construction practices. Because of the principle of online media reporting every minute when they get additional news, the news that was previously posted will be upgraded and re-edited. The development of the news is not static, so if the first reader does not read the news, finally the information he receives will not be complete or valid. This can have negative consequences for both the reader and the journalist. Reporters who originate news can search for other news sources that do not necessarily have the capability to know the core news of terrorism if journalists are wrongly targeted in confirming informants who are not competent to know about acts of terrorism, and then this can lead to failure.

Both online media, both Tempo.co and Republika.co.id, as digital press media, should not broadcast provocative information that can cause unrest to the public just for

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the sake of broadcasting speed demands and do not make the media as a means to disseminate news/ information in a heated atmosphere of conflict, considering the online media is also a press as a vehicle for mass communication, disseminating information and forming opinions, so it must be able to carry out its functions and obligations as well as possible. In the principle of the Journalism Code of Ethics, actually, the reporters of these two online media in constructing the reality of conflict are not entirely wrong and are also not as perfect as stated in the Journalism Code of Ethics. Because comments from informants that are used as a backrest for information are considered to be true, only without making confirmation, it will reduce the perfection of facts published in the news in the media. Because confirmation or check and recheck really needs to be done given the lack of confirmation of news in Tempo.co and Republika.co.id.

2. Comparison of ISIS News by Tempo.co and Republika.co.id

The comparison of coverage in this point is not intended to say that one media is better than another, but to explain each reconstruction of media reality has its own characteristics, has its own advantages and disadvantages. In media studies there are three approaches that can be used to explain the contents of these media namely; first, the political-economic approach (the political economy approach) which states that the media is more determined by economic and political forces outside of media management. Factors such as media owners, capital and media income are considered to be more decisive in how media looks. These factors can determine what events can or cannot be displayed in the news, as well as the direction in which the tendency of media coverage is directed. Second, the organizational approach (organizational approach), namely that the media manager as an active part in the process of forming and producing news. News is seen as a result of the mechanism in the newsroom. Work practices, professionalism and rules that exist in the organizational space are dynamic elements that influence the reporting. Why does the media report case A, why is it reported in a certain way, the explanation refers to the mechanism that occurs in the newsroom. Third, the cultural approach (cultural approach) which is a combination of a political economy approach and organizational approach. The production process here is seen as a complex mechanism involving internal and external media factors. The media basically

has a mechanism to determine organizational patterns and rules, but the various patterns used to interpret the event cannot be separated from political-economic forces outside the media.¹⁸

Looking at the six news items that have been selected and have been operated using Gamson and Modigliani's knife analysis about ISIS terrorism in Tempo.co and Republika.co.id news that are the unit of analysis, shows how the various terrorist incidents are framed by the two online media. From the six frames in the analysis unit, it appears that the two media frame events with a frame of radicalism that is closely linked to Islamic religious reasons and can even be simplified into Islamic religious radicalism.

In this research, it was mentioned earlier that radicalism is interpreted as a movement carried out by individuals or groups who are conservative in upholding their beliefs so that they use violence. In a variety of terrorism cases, acts of violence committed by a group of people varied, ranging from committing, bombing, mass murder, rape, kidnapping, to committing suicide bombings. So in accordance with the definition of radicalism, this ISIS group has the belief that they stand for in every act of violence. And it turns out that the beliefs championed by this group are mostly related to religious beliefs (Islam), for example by legitimizing their actions as a jihad fi sabilillah and feeling they will not obey the commands of humans because they are considered to retain. And this is the most often a frame in the reporting of terrorism.

The frame of radicalism that is closely linked to Islamic religious reasons in various terrorist events carried out by ISIS can be interpreted as an effort by the media to put them in a position against terrorism. In addition, the emergence of this frame can also be interpreted as an effort to explain the phenomenon of the relationship of Islamic beliefs that are believed to be the perpetrators of terror with the acts of violence they have committed. But in reality, the presentation of the frame of Islamic radicalism was raised in a less impartial/balanced way in presenting the news both in Tempo.co and in Republika.co.id. This presentation which does not fulfill the element of impartiality has led to certain consequences, for example, it is increasingly emphasized that the perpetrators of acts of violence such as killings, kidnappings and bombings labeled as acts of terrorism are religious Muslims. In addition, there will also be an interpretation of terrorism as a terror event carried out by ISIS groups who claim to be "Muslim" for their religious reasons. Even though Islam never teaches evil to other people, on

¹⁸ Agus Sudibyo, *Politik Media dan Pertaungan Wacana*, 2nd ed. (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2006), 2-4.

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the contrary, Islam, which is a religion for all nature, teaches goodness and love, not the other way around.

Based on the news from the two online media, it is clear that the impartiality dimension of the news or the impartiality of the media in framing news is clear. In this research, it is mentioned as one of the elements of the concept of impartial journalism which means balanced and neutral news coverage so that it can present comprehensive coverage. Balance is interpreted as a just, non-discriminatory attitude in the selection of sources, the use of sources, as well as the delivery of different views. Whereas neutrality is interpreted as the separation of facts and opinions, the use of impartial language and images, and the avoidance of emotional words and images. Of the six good news that has been reported by Tempo.co and Republika.co.id which discusses terrorist acts of the ISIS group, the concept of balance and neutrality is not fulfilled, for example in the reporting on Tempo.co, the speakers presented the majority came from the ISIS group.

Automatic views of terrorist suspects will dominate the contents of the news. In each of its news through news frame surgery, ISIS often presents Islamic religious views according to their version which is generally different from the views in Islam in the majority of the world. Islam never justifies violence, but ISIS opinions always contrast with Islam, for instance their view of "jihad" by means of violence such as murder, kidnapping, slaughter and suicide which according to them are aimed at world peace and they feel it is the teachings of Islam. Translating the Qur'an literally without being matched by the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and ijihad of the scholars is feared to be misguided as practiced by this ISIS group. Submission of these views without any explanation or alternative religious views can certainly bring about the framing of Islam as a radical religion. In addition, in the news frame at Tempo.co, the concept of neutrality, one of which is realized by the avoidance of emotional words and images is also not fulfilled because the whole picture displayed in the news is dominated by images of acts of violence with massacres, killings and threats and bombings which are very dramatic.

Different things are presented in Republika.co.id. The use of speakers presented was not only from ISIS groups but also speakers from Islamic religious leaders and the government. In addition, in the initial reporting on ISIS it was clear that Republika.co.id did not immediately give the label "terrorist" to ISIS but still had positive thoughts (khusnudzon) before there was authentic evidence considering the ideology carried by this media was an Islamic ideology so that if there is news relating to the issue of SARA especially the religion

of Islam does not necessarily justify. Although in the aftermath of the news after much evidence of acts of terrorism that led to ISIS, the tone of the *Republika.co.id* coverage also began to get emotional and often display provocative images in every report about ISIS radicalism.

In addition to the concept of balance, the concept of neutrality is also not met properly in *Tempo.co* and in *Republika.co.id*. Considering these two media are online media that demand broadcast speed so reporters ignore the principles of journalism. In every analysis unit's news, there are always words and images that are emotional, sadistic, provocative and without check and recheck. The author considers that *Tempo.co* and *Republika.co.id* journalists reporting on ISIS do not jump into the field immediately, meaning they are not the first people to get the news, but rather pick it up from foreign news agency sources such as *The New York Times*, *Daily*, police stations and even YouTube. These journalists are not in a neutral position in writing ISIS radicalism. His siding with the adherents of his religion was very pronounced when he listened to his preaching. Samples of violence and massacres carried out by ISIS who claim to be more Muslim were affixed to the *Tempo.co* report which had a national ideology compared to *Republika.co.id* which was based on Islam.

The results of the above analysis can be seen based on the dichotomy of the constructionist approach in the context of media studies. Placement of prominent media sources compared to other sources, placing interviews of one character is greater than other characters, impartiality of news that is coverage that is only one side, unbalanced and actually siding with one group according to the positivistic approach is solely due to the mistake or bias of journalists and media concerned. At this point the constructionism approach introduces the concept of "ideology". This concept helps explain how journalists can make news coverage in favor of one view, placing one's views more prominently than other groups. Practices which according to positivistic approach are considered as improper actions in constructionist view are seen as natural and natural journalism practices. But what needs to be underlined is that these practices reflect the ideology of journalists or the media in which they work. (Hall, 263: 1982).¹⁹

In this case the journalist will act more than just gathering facts of the incident. He will explore deeper about the elements of humanity by gathering additional materials such as those concerning emotions, biographical facts, dramatic events, descriptions, motivations, and ambitions that are liked or disliked by society in general. All of these are not events

¹⁹ Stuart Hall, *The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of The Repressed in Media Studies*, London: Methuen, 1982), 263.

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but the background of events; human interest stories contain story value and not news value. Therefore, to understand why such journalistic practices are not by examining sources of bias, but by directing research into the ideological aspects behind the media that give birth to such news.

C. CONCLUSION

The news presentation and analysis of religious radicalism in these two online media can be briefly framed that the quality of reporting often adorns with words that seem hyperbole and bombastic in reporting radicalism of the ISIS movement both in Indonesia and abroad. Second, because of the type of online media that is instant, frequent news coverage that is less profound and changes in a matter of minutes. Third, the tendency of Tempo.co and Republika.co.id to dramatize and overestimate what happens in conflict areas by using connoted language rather than language that is literally. Fourth, sometimes it is not objective and contains information that is not in accordance with the reality at the location. This can be seen with the acquisition of news sources that are not directly covered from the scene but recaptured from other news agency sources so that often both coverage and reporting are often unbalanced and biased. Many of the coverage are inserted with an emotional tone. This can be known through several types of news reported and can be seen through the choice of facts presented or the choice of words used in the presentation of the news.

Republika.co.id and Tempo.co media coverage of the radicalism of the "ISIS" movement led to the detailed and detailed massacre (sadistic) that occurred in several countries could become a media course for followers of other religions to thicken prejudice and stereotyping of Islam as terrorists. In this case, ISIS claimed that their movement was based on Islamic ideology. Both in Republika.co.id and Tempo.co media, many insert sadistic tones in their choice of words. The news about ISIS religious radicalism has not fulfilled the principle of impartiality of the news which can be seen from the neutrality and balance of the news that determines the quality of the news. There is a bias in word choice and image illustration so that the principle of neutrality is violated. In addition, there is also a bias in the selection of news sources, so that news impartiality has not been achieved.

Every news dissemination in its mass media both print, electronic and online should pay attention to the seven pillars of journalistic faith, namely; 1) Responsibility. The right of print, electronic and online media to attract readers is not limited to anything other than public welfare considerations. Journalists must not use their power for personal gain. 2). Press

freedom. Freedom of the press must always be maintained as a vital human right and the press is free to discuss anything that is not prohibited by law or legislation. 3). Independence. The press must free itself from all obligations except to the public interest. Promoting personal interests that are contrary to public interests or partiality that causes the misuse of truth violates the main principles of the journalistic profession. 4). Sincerity, loyalty to truth and accuracy (sincerity, truthfulness, and accuracy). 5). Honesty in conveying information (impartiality). 6). Be fair (fair play). The press must provide an opportunity for all parties to provide a comparative explanation of what was said. 7). Decency. The press must convey information; however detailed it is in accordance with the moral standards and morality of the community.

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