



# When Civil Servants are Exposed to Radical Understandings: Analysis of State Apparatus Receptions about Reporting on Deradicalization Terrorism Programs on Metro TV

Afdal Makkuraga Putra\*<sup>1</sup>, Raden Bagus Yuniadji<sup>1</sup>,  
Heri Budianto<sup>1</sup>, Riza Darma Putra<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universitas Mercu Buana, Jakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Universitas Pancasila, Jakarta, Indonesia

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## Abstract

This study examines the public reception of reporting on the deradicalization of terrorism on Metro TV. The method to be used is reception analysis from the Stuart Hall model. Reception analysis is an alternative approach to studying audiences and how to interpret messages received from a media; the starting point of this research is the assumption that the meaning contained in mass media is not only found in the text. The subject of this research is civil servants in the Secretariat of the Vice President. The study results show that in the hegemonic-dominant position of acceptance, informants accept and share media values on the issue of radicalism. Informants agree with media statements that show the existence of radicalism in society and threaten the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. The conflicting evidence is low because several events in Indonesia indicate the existence of activities that are considered radical. Weaker resistance to media messages means a relatively strong media position influencing informants' acceptance of the text. In the position of oppositional acceptance, the informants' political awareness and reactions to the construction of media information, especially the problems of radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia, are not easily influenced by the structure of media information.

**Keywords:** Deradicalization, reception analysis, television, civil servants.

## Introduction

One of the problems faced by the Indonesian nation in the last 20 years is the rise of acts of terrorism based on religious sentiments. The act of terrorism that is most remembered is the Bali bombing incident on October 12, 2002. Two discotheques exploded, Paddy's Club and Sari Club. This event is known as the Bali Bombing. After the 1st Bali bombing, Indonesia was repeatedly rocked by acts of terrorism in several areas. The targets for acts of terrorism are diverse.

There are houses of worship, embassies of foreign countries, hotels, and entertainment venues.

One of the highlights of this war against terrorism is that many civil servants are exposed to this notion of radicalism. Research by The Habibie Center, as stated by Program and Research Director Muhammad Hasan Ansori, in 2017 showed that at least 30% -40% of civil servants in Indonesia had been exposed to radical views. The rapid spread of this influence can not be separated from

\***Author Correspondence:** Afdal Makkuraga Putra, Email: [afdal.makkuraga@mercubuana.ac.id](mailto:afdal.makkuraga@mercubuana.ac.id); Raden Bagus Yuniadhi, Email: [rbagusy@gmail.com](mailto:rbagusy@gmail.com); Heri Budianto, Email: [heri.budianto@mercubuana.ac.id](mailto:heri.budianto@mercubuana.ac.id); Riza Darma Putra, Email: [rizadarmaputra@univpancasila.ac.id](mailto:rizadarmaputra@univpancasila.ac.id).



technological advances, where one can easily access information from various sources. One of the very massive ones is cyberspace. Terrorist activists saw this opportunity, which they followed up by creating narratives through various blogs, which can be accessed by anyone, anytime and from anywhere, as long as they have an internet connection.

For civil servants who do not understand what and how terrorism moves and lack national insight, these writings affect them very quickly. Therefore, it is not surprising that every year the number of civil servants exposed to this understanding continues to increase because they are unknowingly being led toward the radical movement of terrorism. The Minister for Administrative Reform, Tjahjo Kumolo, said 70 civil servants in 2020 were subject to sanctions for being involved in terrorist movements. In 2021 there will be 40 civil servants who were dismissed because of the same problem (Pythag Kurniati, 2020). This tendency is a worrying phenomenon; Rizal Sukma (2004) stated that radicalism is only one short step toward terrorism." This can be seen when many terrorists legitimize their actions with the radical religious views they adhere to. This opinion aligns with Sedgwick (2007) that radical ideology is undeniably important in producing terrorism (Sedgwick, 2007).

The threat of terrorism against the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) has existed since independence. This threat increased significantly when Indonesia transitioned from the New Order to the Reformation Era, especially in the early 2000s (Yunanto, 2017). According to Yunanto, the action was carried out in the most common ways, including; bombings include, suicide bombings, attacks on security forces, sabotage

and kidnappings, robberies, and other acts that cause disturbance to the general public. One form of the crime of terrorism was the November 30, 1957 bombing when President Soekarno came to the Cikini College (Percik), where his sons and daughters went to school, to celebrate Percik's 15th birthday. A grenade explosion welcomed the president's arrival and killed nine people and injured 100 people, including the presidential guard. (Khumaini, 2017).

The national counterterrorism agency (BNPT) deradicalization program has been in the spotlight after a series of suicide bombings and acts of terror in several locations in Indonesia, starting from the Mobile Brigade Headquarters (Dec 2018), three churches in Surabaya, Sidoarjo (May 2018), to the Riau Police Headquarters (May 2018).

In this study, civil servants became the research subject because the results of a survey by the Alvara research institute were quoted by the Director General for Politics and General Administration of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) and Major General (Purn) Soedarmo. The survey said 19.4 civil servants in Indonesia disagreed with Pancasila's ideology. In fact, according to Soedarmo, the rejection of Pancasila among civil servants is the cause of weak national security. The research institute's survey also gave some interesting indications regarding civil servants' attitudes toward global issues. A number of civil servants feel closer to contributing to the Palestinian cause than to contributing to the people of Eastern Indonesia. Many civil servants are also indicated to be close to LDII (Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia/Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institute) and HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia).

Indonesia's ongoing struggle against terrorism has made the deradicalization program the government's main concern (Sila & Fealy, 2022). The National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) is primarily responsible for persuading terrorists to stop, if not reject, violence as part of the Islamic struggle. However, the depth of distrust and hostility hampers its ability to confront terrorists and other radical communities these communities feel for the state. And security services. As a result, the BNPT partners with Muslim civil society organizations (CSOs) in running anti-terrorism programs for jihadists. The dominant Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah, have been at the forefront of state-CSO counter-terrorism cooperation. Continue Sila and Fealy. Eastern Indonesia has experienced constant terrorist activity over the last two decades, including many fatal attacks on the police. The article takes a case study of a CSO initiative in the city of Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, with special attention paid to Ustadz Gunawan, an important figure in local jihadist circles which, in 2019, renounced violence and became a supporter of peaceful jihad. Their research examines the history of extremist jihadism in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, and counter-radicalization efforts carried out by civil society organizations and state institutions. Their findings suggest that three main factors—personal relationships between jihadists and CSO leaders, family pressure, and generous material incentives from state agencies—have created space for the promotion of peace in communities that previously condoned, if not supported, jihadist enmity (Sila & Fealy, 2022).

Groeninck (2010) conducts a study on theological counternarratives of the

deradicalization movement in Belgium. The study focuses on certain Islamic authority figures who have been included as 'key figures' in Belgian deradicalization policies since 2015 to formulate a theological counter-discourse. The first question is how these figures of these Muslim authorities distinguished their position as 'non-state' actors maneuvering the negotiating space within secular power structures. Second, this contribution reflected how they negotiated what Talal Asad called the 'secular episteme' in their formulation of theological counternarratives, as well as how things are concerned with the process of ethical self-formation and the establishment of 'proper' authorities. Instead of regarding them as submissive agents of a secular sovereign state, the concept of 'border thinking' is used to value the inter- and intra-traditional situations from which they try to renegotiate horizons hope incorporated in hegemonic secularism (Groeninck, 2021)

Muhammad & Hiariej (2021) conducted a study on deradicalization for those labeled as radical in Indonesia. They argue that deradicalization is a hegemonic project that seeks to master and master the meaning of "good Indonesian citizen". Examining how Islamic radicals respond to this process, the study shows that deradicalization has paved the way for this group to become radical differently. Adopting the virtues of good Indonesian citizenship, they define it as an alternative hegemonic project against injustice. They also interrogate and take a critical stance on government policies and officials. Thus, deradicalization has become politically saturated and exemplifies the process of discursive exclusion. Radicals reject such exclusion and develop their discourses that promote justice. These two hegemonic

projects basically compete with each other—but also contaminate each other—in forming the ontological horizon known as “good Indonesian citizenship”.

At this point, and beyond the scope of the study, the power struggle has the potential to be developed into a platform for democracy, understood as the organizing principle of existing political power. Democracy will treat good Indonesian citizenship as an open meaning, while finished, constantly changing and shaped by power struggles. Unfortunately, each side is dominated by a moralistic tone and the perception that the other side is an illegitimate enemy. Contest and rivalry have given way to annihilation; one can only exist with the annihilation of the other. This impasse seems to be reflected in the current democratic regime (Muhammad & Hiariej, 2021)

## Method

This study stands on a critical paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1990), which defines social science as a process that critically uncovers the “real structures” behind the illusion of false needs as manifested by the material world to help humans increase social awareness. That they can manage social transformation and improve their living conditions. It uses the acceptance analysis method developed by Stuart Hall (Pillai, 1992) from the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), University of Birmingham, which is useful in reception studies. According to Hall (reception analysis is a public-based theory that aims to discover how various members of society with different backgrounds and characteristics give meaning to certain content. Hall assumes that researchers need

to make a reception analysis to focus on social and political contexts in producing and consuming media content (interpretation). Audience acceptance studies focus on the active publics' ability to position the audience as consumers and mean producers. Active audiences are seen from the perspective of the audience's ability to serve as producers of meaning and not just as passive recipients of the messages offered by the text (Barker & Jane, 2016). The television audience is not a homogeneous mass but a heterogeneous mass consisting of individuals with different cultural competencies. Thus, audiences from different backgrounds will inevitably make meaning in different ways (Barker & Jane, 2016).

The most important concept of coding is the process of making messages follow a certain code, while the concept of decoding is the process of using codes to make meaning of messages. Encoding and decoding have a meaning structure that is only sometimes symmetrical. The level of communication symmetry depends on the equality of the relationship between the sender of the message and the recipient of the message (code generator and code recipient) (Ott & Mack, 2014).

There are three types of recipients of their messages (Hartley, 2012):

1. The type of dominant message recipient occurs when the audience receives the message from the media completely and makes the message's meaning as expected so that the audience is in a dominant position. In this case, communication occurs perfectly.
2. The message acceptance type of negotiation occurs when the audience has a fairly good understanding of what the

media displays, but the audience needs to make the same sense of them all. Reception in this type of message reception contains two elements: adaptive and oppositional. This phenomenon indicates that the message was negotiated.

3. This negotiation of receiving alternative or oppositional messages occurs when the audience completely rejects the messages sent by the media so that the audience is in an oppositional position. They reject the message because it does not match the audience's knowledge or values.

Focus group discussions with the following informants: 1) Adi Pramono, 2) Donny Widhyanto, 3) Putra Yuda Ivada, 4) Ruddy Awaludin, 5) Suryanti Pangestu Prihandini, 6) Raden Rhina Anita Ernita Martono, 7) Sinto Weni, and 8) Wahyu Karoulina.

## Results

Various interpretations of texts constructed by the media. The diversity of audience interpretation results from differences in socio-economic backgrounds, such as class, gender, and subculture. Audiences are always active, not passive and that media content is diverse and subject to interpretation (Morley, 2003).

Knowledge sets and past and present experiences are also important considerations in active audience studies. Viewing experience stands at the interface between the media (and its interpretation) and the whole life of the viewer, with all the attention, experience, and knowledge involved (Lievrouw & Livingstone, 2010). Therefore, the researcher also explored the social factors of the informants and connected them with the informants'

interpretation of the problems that often arise in studies of radical terrorism.

We found five important themes in the program: 1) Intolerance is increasingly widespread in Indonesia. 2) The program for the deradicalization of terrorism in Indonesia is important and urgent. 3) Efforts to combat radical terrorism by improving the curriculum at the lowest level and supervising teaching staff. 4) The outbreak of radicalism has become a real threat to the peace and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, so it must be eradicated from its roots. 5) Deradicalization missions are vulnerable to government use to silence political opponents.

Pramono, Widhyanto, and Weni stated that society values tolerance. This opinion is based on their experience in the neighborhood. Religious life is carried out with mutual respect for the celebration of religious holidays. Weni believes that in society, there is a growing understanding and mutual respect without discrimination in matters of religion. Pramono added the importance of a human rights approach in building a house of worship so there is no prohibition, coercion, or engineering. In everyday life in the neighborhood, the informants considered that tolerance, especially in religious life, was well maintained. However, according to Widhyanto, news and information containing intolerance are more often found on social media. Meanwhile, different acceptances regarding harmony and tolerance in Indonesia were seen in the views of several other informants, Prihandini, Martono, and Kaorulina.

According to Kaorulina, although it is fairly good, certain conditions disrupt harmony and tolerance. In some cases, this atmosphere is often influenced by other

factors, such as political contestation in the momentum of regional head elections, presidential elections, or legislative elections, where identity politics with ethnic, religious, racial, and inter-group nuances often becomes a campaign commodity. The same opinion was conveyed by Prihandini and 6, that although harmony and tolerance have been well established, there have been cases in several areas where clashes or frictions still frequently occur.

Ivada and Awaludin, had different views from other groups of informants. The construction of media texts mentions the rise of intolerance in Indonesia. Awaludin seems intolerant of certain groups. According to Awaludin, this intolerance attitude is a necessary radical attitude in fighting for goals.

The third precept of Pancasila implicitly shows the existence of diversity and differences. An attitude of tolerance is necessary to maintain harmony and unity. Ivada's view that connects Pancasila with a dichotomous attitude between the majority and minorities intends to show the denial of the attitude of tolerance that occurs in society. Ivada's statement about inter-religious harmony forums shows that issues of harmony and tolerance are a concern in the life of the nation and state. Inter-religious harmony forums also indicate the issue of harmony and tolerance as a sensitive issue that easily ignited into horizontal conflict. However, at the same time, it is also a strategic issue that strengthens the spirit of nationalism.

Different meanings between each informant regarding the prevalence of intolerance in Indonesia. The views of informants suitable for the meaning of media text can be found in Ivada and Awaludin. The meaning of the informants is in line with

the dominant code of the media. According to Hall, this position of acceptance is called the dominant-hegemonic position. Second, informants with appropriate meanings with media texts but are accompanied by certain conditions can be found in Prihandini, Martono, and Korulina. Hall refers to this position as a Negotiated position, where the public generally accepts the dominant ideology, but this acceptance is public. Has limitations through the selection process on whether or not an ideology is adapted in a limited context and scope. Third, discrepancies in the meaning of the media text with the informants' interpretation were found in Pramono, Widhyanto, and Weni. In this position, the meaning of the informants was in contrast to the media's message. This position of acceptance is called the Oppositional position.

On the important and urgent theme of the deradicalization program for terrorism, it also found mixed reception from informants. The first group consisted of Pramono and Ivada. Pramono agreed that the deradicalization of the terrorism program was important and urgent. Pramono stressed the importance of fair and equal treatment of any religious group that is indicated to carry radical views, not just certain groups. The emphasis conveyed by Pramono indicates that certain conditions must be met in the media text statement. Ivada considers it important, but according to him, the deradicalization process is an activity that takes place in stages. In the meaning of Ivada, urgency is defined as an activity limited by time, so it is feared that the deradicalization program will not run as optimally as expected.

Thus, there is a similar acceptance position for Pramono and Ivada. The two informants view the deradicalization program

as an important program. Even so, the two informants put forward certain conditions, fair treatment of all religious groups indicated to be radical (Pramono) and parameters that made it an urgent program, not because it was limited in time (Ivada). The two informants are in a negotiated position, where accepting the dominant ideology has limitations or conditions that need to be adapted in a certain context and scope.

There are several informants whose views are in accordance with the meaning of the text constructed by the media. They are Awaludin, Prihandini, Martono, Weni, and Kaorulina. Awaludin interprets the deradicalization program as a tool to prevent societal divisions. In line with the views of Awaludin, and Prihandini, they have interpreted the importance of the deradicalization program for creating security in society. Weni believes that the deradicalization program is very important.

To prevent former terrorism convicts from being involved in the same crime again. The informants unconditionally agreed to the text submitted by the media. Thus the acceptance of these informants is in a Dominant Hegemonic position.

Widhyanto stated that the program was important but not urgent. Widhyanto's reception position has a discrepancy with the media text statement. "Important and urgent" are key phrases in media text construction. However, Widhyanto only rejects one element of the phrase. This rejection shows that Widhyanto has a position of acceptance opposite with the construction of media texts.

The media also constructs texts which state that radicalism has become a threat to the state, so it must be eradicated. Regarding

this statement, eight informants agreed with their respective reasons. Widhyanto stated that he agreed because he considered radical terrorism criminal and contrary to humanity. Widhyanto also stated that radical terrorism contradicts Pancasila, the Constitution, and religious beliefs. Ivada emphasizes taking action against perpetrators and spreaders of radical terrorism and the importance of prevention through education simultaneously. Awaludin agrees by emphasizing legal action for perpetrators and spreaders of radical terrorism. Weni saw that the reason for radical terrorism must be eradicated completely because it endangers the younger generation, who will become the nation's successors. Kaorulina reasoned that even if a little radical terrorism emerged, it would become bigger with the emergence of a new generation that would continue this understanding. Prihandini agreed with this statement and was worried about the emergence of new radical seeds that would get bigger. The next concern was conveyed by Martono, the division of unity due to terrorism.

There was conformity with the media text, where each informant had his reasons for expressing approval. Widhyanto and Awaludin considered it important to eradicate radical terrorism because it was considered criminal and negative. Ivada views the importance of law enforcement and prevention through education as a simultaneous policy. This argument is in line with the statements of 8 informants who argued that the implementation of strict policies by the government engendered public trust. The suitability between the informants' meaning and the message maker's dominant ideology shows these informants' acceptance to be in a dominant-hegemonic position.

Pramono conveyed a slightly different acceptance position. Pramono stressed the importance of communication as a persuasive effort to eradicate radical terrorism. Pramono stressed the importance of using soft power and the precautionary principle to eradicate radical terrorism. Do not let, because a handful of people have a radical understanding of terrorism. The Government views all as having been exposed. This condition is a condition for accepting informants, where in this position, the informant accepts the dominant ideology with certain limitations that can be adapted. This meaning shows the acceptance of informants in a negotiated position.

Several themes in the OPSI MetroTV shows analyzed in this study indicate an ideological battle. The text of the speech, news angles, and graphic illustrations in the form of photos or graphics that reproduce events to become news is strongly influenced by the ideology of the media concerned (Sanusi & Muhaemin, 2019).

The ideological battle occurs in the context of the political dynamics of the state on a macro-scale of Indonesia as a nation and on a micro-scale involving conflicts of interest of political actors (individuals and groups) and their political affiliations. In the country's political interests, the ideology in question is Pancasila. The motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* respects diversity upholds tolerance, protects and unites the Indonesian people in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), deals with ideologies considered different and intolerant, and tends to impose their will as absolute truth. This attitude is how the media constructs ideological battles, as seen in the themes analyzed.

Media text statements are dominant discourses due to the reproduction of media ideology within the framework of power relations with political forces in which the media is affiliated as Mubarok & Wulandari (2018) argue that media content is full of various interests surrounding it. In the power relations of the media and dominant political forces, one of the goals is to maintain social order or hegemony. Mass media, according to Soalohon & Santoto (2017), can be a tool to build public opinion and a dominant ideology for the interests of the dominant class (Soalohon & Santoso, 2017)

Receiving information involves changing environmental messages into a form that can guide behavior. This active process contains three elements of selection, interpretation, and retention (Ruben & Stewart, 2016). The selection element works like a filter, prioritizing competing information sources to allocate attention. This massive flow of information indicates that the audience, under certain circumstances, always chooses certain sources of information to use, ignoring others.

Ruben & Stewart's opinion reconciles the concept of audience acceptance with the critical paradigm used in this research. In Horkheimer's view, critical theory aims to restore humans as subjects who control their own social reality (Hardiman, 2018). The selection process revealed by Ruben & Stewart shows what Horkheimer said about humans as subjects who control their social reality.



Table 1. Mapping Preferred Text Audiences

No	Theme	Informant							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Intolerance is increasingly widespread in Indonesia.	Oppositional	Oppositional	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Negotiated position	Negotiated position	Oppositional	Oppositional
2	Terrorism deradicalization program in Indonesia is an important and urgent program.	Negotiated position	Oppositional	Negotiated position	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic
3	Efforts to combat radical terrorism by improving the curriculum at the lowest level and supervising teaching staff.	Oppositional	Negotiated position	Negotiated position	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic
4	The outbreak of radicalism has become a real threat to the peace and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, so it must be eradicated from its roots.	Negotiated position	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic	Dominant-hegemonic
5	Deradicalization missions are vulnerable to government exploitation to silence political opponents.	Dominant-hegemonic	Oppositional	Negotiated position	Oppositional	Negotiated position	Oppositional	Oppositional	Oppositional

■ Dominant-hegemonic ■ Negotiated position ■ Oppositional position

### Discussion

Reception analysis focuses on individual attention in mass communication (decoding), the process of meaning and in-depth understanding of media texts and how individuals interpret media content (Baran, 2011). The position of the audience's acceptance of theme, as shown in the Table 1, divided into three positions of acceptance, a) Hegemonic-dominant position (dominant-hegemonic reading); b) Negotiated position (Negotiated reading); and c) Oppositional position (Oppositional 'counter-hegemonic reading).

The production of media texts stating that intolerance is increasingly widespread in Indonesia is divided into three acceptance positions. Even though two informants with acceptance positions agreed with the construction of media texts, most informants were in a position that was not completely or even totally opposite to media construction. Most informants experienced that many groups and communities still maintain and uphold tolerance in society and religion. The

informants wanted to show that although incidents of intolerance exist, they are limited to certain areas and cases. The informants' opinions differ from the construction of media texts, which means that individuals actively interpret media texts by giving meaning to their understanding of experience according to what they see in everyday life (Hadi, 2010).

The deradicalization of terrorism programs in Indonesia is important and urgent. The majority of informants agreed with this statement. However, two of them put forward certain conditions, fair treatment of all religious groups indicated to be radical and a time limit. One important element in receiving information is interpretation. Interpretation occurs when we make sense of cues in our environment – whether we consider them important or trivial, serious or funny, new or old, contradictory or consistent, funny or alarming (Ruben & Stewart, 2016). The informant's statements were contradictory about the importance of the deradicalization program (important but not urgent), showing that the interpretation

process carried out by the informant resulted in interpreting the text as something important but not worrying, and therefore not something urgent. Nonetheless, based on the general acceptance of the majority, it was concluded that the deradicalization program had the support of informants.

Preferred media texts on efforts to combat radical terrorism by improving the curriculum at the lowest level and supervising teaching staff received various responses from informants. Five informants agreed with the text, two agreed but with certain limitations that could be adapted at the local level, and one disagreed. The acceptance of the text must be distinct from the social context, especially regarding religious education carried out by the community.

Media is integrated into one's daily social life (Jensen, 2002). Media is part of social life, and humans are connected to media in their respective social settings. The production of media texts in the preferred text is in a social context where the deradicalization program is closely related to religious education, the curriculum used, and the teaching staff. This social context is also related to the experience and understanding of informants in decoding media texts. Informants who rejected this statement and considered it exaggerated based on their experience at the level of education and the religious community they had joined for quite a long time. In the media text, the keywords interpreted by Pramono are 'improving the curriculum' and 'supervising the teacher' referring to his experience, which is redundant. According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary online, 'supervision' means primary supervision, supreme control,

and supervision. This understanding brought the informant's concern about the state's excessive interference in religious life.

The position of accepting informants who agree with media texts is based on direct experience or information from outside themselves about teaching materials or curricula related to religious subjects that are not appropriate for the age of students. Meanwhile, the position of acceptance negotiated was based on the consideration of informants who were concerned that the curriculum or teaching materials actually featured certain symbols and stereotypes directed at certain religious groups. This application is intended so that children's understanding of radical terrorism does not narrow only to certain religious groups. The informants' considerations in the study of mass communication mentioned Undue identification, i.e., failure to see the difference between members of different categories or groups being considered the same or equated. Another term or term for categorical thinking is categorical thinking. In everyday conversation, he sometimes refers to exaggerated generalizations (DeFleur & DeFleur, 2022). One of them is associating people with clothes symbolizing a certain religion to be considered terrorists.

The outbreak of radicalism has become a real threat to the peace and integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, so it must be eradicated from its roots. The preferred text was received positively by all informants. Seven informants are in a position of acceptance, according to media statements. Meanwhile, one informant agreed with the statement but provided certain conditions, upholding

the law and human rights. The informants' positive reception shows the media's strong influence on them informants. Media will be strong when media credibility is high, evidence conflict is low, individuals share media values, and audiences need guidance (Littlejohn et al., 2016). The informants agreed with media statements that showed radicalism in society and threatened the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The conflicting evidence is low because several events in Indonesia indicate the existence of activities that are considered radical. Informants receive and share media values on the issue of radicalism. This news strengthens the position of the media in influencing informants' acceptance of the text.

The last preferred text of the media states that deradicalization missions are vulnerable to government use to silence political opponents. Regarding this statement, given the partiality of the broadcasting media, MetroTV, the text has the opposite intention. MetroTV has a close relationship with the center of power. In this case, The media agenda expressed in text production is determined by some combination of internal programming, managerial and editorial decisions, and external influence from non-media sources, such as socially influential individuals, government officials, advertising endorsements, etc. (DeFleur & DeFleur, 2022; Littlejohn et al., 2016).

MetroTV owner and chairman of the Democratic National Party (NasDem) Surya Paloh, during a political speech at the opening of the IV national meeting (Rakernas) and the sixth anniversary of the 2019 NasDem Party firmly supports President Jokowi to continue as president. As a result of this political choice,

the Nasdem Party won a ministerial position in the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin cabinet. Chairman of the NasDem Party, Surya Paloh, is grateful that three of his party cadres have been trusted by President Joko Widodo to become Ministers of the 2019 Advanced Indonesia Cabinet. Those who have become ministers include Johnny G. Plate, Syahrul Yasin Limpo, and Siti Nurbaya Bakar.

The construction of media texts is arranged to see the position of acceptance of texts by people suspected of having conflicting interests and goals. The media's power in setting society's agenda depends on its relationship with the center of power (Littlejohn et al., 2016). The closeness of the relationship between the elite class and the media will likely influence the media agenda. The elite class, as the dominant ideology owner, will use the media as an ideological instrument for their group. In the reproduction of group ideology through MetroTV, it was found that the response of the majority of informants expressed their disapproval of the text. The disapproval means that the informants do not see the deradicalization policy as a tool to silence political opponents.

Nonetheless, one informant agreed with the media text. Informants suspect a hidden agenda related to the power relationship between the media and power. The media's power in determining society's agenda depends on its relationship with the center of power (Hadi, 2010). The elite class's close relationship with the media will likely influence the media agenda. The elite class, as the dominant ideology owner, will use the media as an ideological instrument for their group.

## Conclusion

Informants' knowledge of the power relations between the media and the government affects the audience's acceptance of the news or texts produced by the media. The acceptance of certain information also includes informants' assessment of media independence, which can vary depending on consumption patterns and news/information preferences that are always accessed by the audience. This pattern forms an autonomous and independent knowledge system. The pattern of information perceived by readers becomes the strength of the audience in behaving toward media hegemony.

In the hegemonic-dominant acceptance position, informants accept and share media values on the issue of radicalism. Informants agree with media statements that show the existence of radicalism in society and threaten the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The conflicting evidence is low because several events in Indonesia indicate the existence of activities that are considered radical. Weaker resistance to media messages indicates a fairly strong media position influencing informants' acceptance of the text.

In the position of oppositional acceptance, the informants' political awareness and their reactions to the construction of media information regarding political issues, especially the issues of radicalism and intolerance in Indonesia, are not easily influenced (vulnerable) by the construction of media information. This characteristic of the audience is because they have knowledge, experience, values, etcetera. That enables the audience to carry out the process of selecting and evaluating media texts, media agendas, and media institutions.

The study results also show that all informants agree that at a certain scale and certain layers of society, intolerance towards diversity of beliefs is indeed more prominent in several political events in the country. The informants wanted to show that even though incidents of intolerance exist, they are limited to certain areas and cases.

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