

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Backgrounds

After 9/11 tragedy in New York, Islam became the main attention and opinion in the world, especially in Western countries. The international society has claimed that some terrors and bombs are done by Islam radical groups. It means that radicalism in Islam has a negative meaning. It also becomes the stereotype on Islam in general, especially in some countries that have Moslems population. There are some reasons why Islam became the main issue in the world now. One of the reasons is the awakening of Islam in some countries.

The awakening of Islam, such as in Southeast Asia, has defined as a threat and barrier for modernization process. It also becomes one of the triggers that radicalism in Islam is not negotiable with the globalization era. Some writers, scholars, and politicians have differences to define the ‘awakening’ of Islam. It refers to something scary like Khomeini revolution, punishment of decapitation, bombings, etc. (Kuntowijoyo,1991:47). Islam has described also as aggressiveness, militant, and exclusiveness. Professors Akbar S. Ahmad wrote in his article “Negative images of Moslem in the West” and he explained that with media descriptions of a ‘criminal culture’, to many in the West, Islam appeared to be force for anarchy and disorder. This statement shows us that there is no option to describe Islam except violence (Sukidi, 2000:248).

In addition, the opinion about Islam has spread out through the society by mass media and organizations. Mass media have the important role to build public opinion about any issues. They have their own way to write about something based on their perspective, objective, and interest. For instance, there was a cartoon published by *The Economist*, London that described United States as a captain in football team which is holding a globe and there were two rivals both on the left and on the right sides. On the right side, there was a big rival with “Climate Change” word written on the helmet, and on the left side there was another rival “Iran” word written on the helmet. Then, the United States as a captain said to the Iran “*I still regard you as a huge threat to this planet*”. (The Economist, *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs: March 2008 Vol. XXVII No.2*, p. 66). That sentence could be explained that Islam which represented by Iran still becomes a threat on the earth according to the United States opinion as a world police. This cartoon also told us that the Climate Change which is becoming the global issue in the world is not really important than Iran does right now. The word “threat” probably refers to the barrier of modernization process or democratic process that United States tried to spread out in the world.

In politics area religion still has a position although some secular countries said that religion and politics must be separated. But in fact, the countries that claimed themselves as the secular couldn't be separated between politics and religion. For example in United States which is known as a secular country still using the Bible in the presidential state under oath ceremony. So,

religion has an important role in world and it can be an issue that influences the policies in some countries especially the western countries. On the other hand, religion has the basic identity that makes an antagonism between one religion and others. The characteristics of the religion are always not debatable, exclusive, particulars and primordial (Effendi, 2001:24).

Another action that has done by a certain Islamic group happened in Jakarta on June 1st, 2008. An Islamic group that named as Front Pembela Islam (FPI) made an anarchy action toward Aliansi Kebebasan untuk Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan (AKKBB). This action was completely horrible, whatever the reasons, it made a stereotype of Islam in negative side. Imam Prasojo wrote in an article that we must recognize if the negative image or stereotype of Islam was created by a certain group of Islam that using violation in their way to spread out the value of Islam (Tempo, 9-15 June 2008:152).

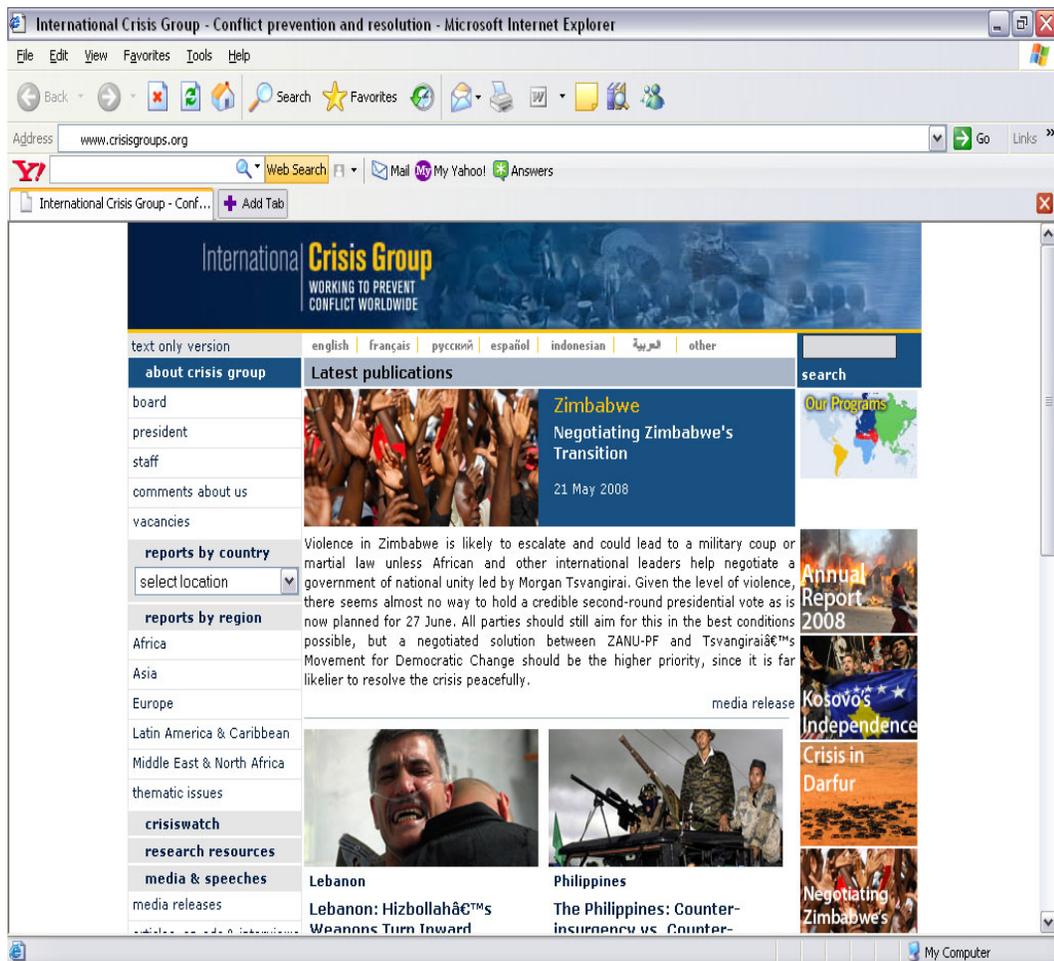
On the other hand, we must realize that Arab cultures influence Islam in many sectors. The history showed that in the fourth century prophet Mohammad came with Islam doctrine in Arab. That is why we can see Arab cultures on the face of Islam, such as the architectures of Mosque, the language of Qur'an, and even in fashion style. But it makes some interpretations about Islam. Many people whether Moslem or non-Moslem; have thought that Arab and Islam are the same.

Based on that reason, some Moslems are trying to explain and to re-interpret the doctrines of Islam. They argue that Islam and Arab cultures are

different. This group, who try to re-interpret Islam, is called 'liberal Moslems' by the people or Moslems who believe that Islam and Arab cultures have close relationships. It causes there are two terms in Islam, 'fundamental Islam' and 'liberal Islam'.

The liberal Islam groups criticize the implementation of Islamic law in some Moslems countries. An example that had happened in Arab in 2002, made some critics from liberal Islam group. A law in Arab says that young women are not allowed to escape from the fire disaster until they wear *abaya* (a cloth that covers all parts of body, except face and hand). According to the Saudi Arabia news, there were 15 students died and dozens of them hurts when the 'religion police' forcing the students back to the fire to take and wear their *abaya*, it seems to kill their selves (Manji, 2008:131).

It is not only the media which interested in Islam, but also some organizations done the same. One of the organizations which has concerned about Islam is The International Crisis Groups (ICG). It is a multinational non government organization that the central office is located in Brussels, Belgium. The ICG is led by Gareth Evans as the President and Chief Executive, and in Indonesia is led by Sidney Jones as a senior adviser for Asian region. This organization focuses on prevention and resolution of conflicts by analyzing and advocating some issues in some areas. But after the 9/11 tragedy, it focused on the issues about Islam and its conflicts included Islam radicals. Gareth Evans as the President and Chief Executive of ICG was awarded as Asia's Hero 2005 by



Picture 1.1 The main page of ICG website. Source:

www.crisisgroups.org, May 15th, 2008.

Time Asia magazine (<http://www.tempointeraktif.com>, 19 December 2002). This magazine also wrote that ICG was “the problem solver” for any problems in Asia. One of the problems that had solved by the ICG was Bali bombing in 2002. It was predicted by the ICG through Sydney Jones as the analyst two months before the bombing happened.

Besides publishing the articles and reports through mass media, such as print media or television, the ICG also has published their articles and reports on the internet through e-mail and website. There are two ways to get the articles and reports on the internet, by receiving e-mail and visiting the website on www.crisisgroup.org. Both of them need an ID, so we have to register first as the member of the website.

The ICG became popular in Indonesia when Sidney Jones wrote an article about Bali bombing in 2002. She mentioned that Abu Bakar Baasyir involved in the bombing. It became a controversy and that statement got some critics and protests from people who support Baasyir. Even this case was reported to the police department by Majelis Mujahiddin Indonesia (MMI) where Baasyir becomes the leader. (<http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/nasional/>, 19 December 2002). Conflicts in Poso and Papua also became the attention of Crisis Group. Conflict in Poso was predicted a terror action. But actually it was a complex conflict; there were some reasons why conflict happened in Poso. It involved ethnics, military, and migration. It was a deadly conflict and based on religion issue between Moslems and Christians (<http://www.mediaindo.co.id/berita>). Papua also became a serious issue when Manokwari, one of the cities in Papua, declared itself as “Bible City”. Christians believed that Manokwari is a Christian city and it came to Papua at the first time, but Moslems who came to Papua from Java and Sulawesi believed that Islam is the first religion in Papua. To solve that

problem, local government tried to make local regulation planning (Raperda) which declared Manokwari as Christian City and it's prohibited using religion symbols, such as jilbab, cross, etc., in public area (www.gatra.com/2007-05-07/versi_cetak.php?id=104380).

International Crisis Group Indonesia also concerns in doing some researches about conflicts in some areas in Indonesia. As we know that in some areas in Indonesia there were horizontal conflicts such as in Aceh, Sampit, Poso, and Papua. Conflict in Aceh tends to be political conflict between separatist group and central government of Indonesia. But it also has effect to the society in Aceh. The other conflicts like in Poso, Sampit, and Papua tend to be social conflicts between two groups of societies. For instance, in Poso and Papua well known as religion conflicts between Moslems and Christians; these conflicts seemed to be deadly conflicts if there were no solutions for them. Based on those reasons, International Crisis Group has tried to find out what actually happened in those areas are. By doing researches and publishing reports about conflicts in Poso and Manokwari, Papua, Crisis Group want to prevent the deadly conflicts. The reports which are published by International Crisis Group have titles as: "Indonesia: Tackling Radicalism in Poso" and "Indonesia: Communal Tensions in Papua". Those reports become International Crisis Group reports number 75 and 154 for Asia Briefing Report. Those two reports explain the reasons of conflicts and also who the masterminds are. There are also two groups that identified as Islam and Christian; they seemed to be the masterminds of conflicts. But there are some

questions in those reports; we should make sure that there is no certain group that marginalized in the reports. By analyzing those two reports, we we'll see what happen in Poso and Papua.

If we look at the reports and articles which published by the ICG, we can assume that radicalism in Islam is refers to the violence and terrorism. For instance, one of the articles on November 19th, 2007 that had a title “Deradicalization and Indonesian Prison” gives us an assumption and negative stereotype toward Islam radical. This article explained about the efforts that had to be done by Indonesian government in order to decrease the radicalism in Islam (deradicalization) and there was also a suggestion for Indonesian government to propose some sponsors for donating their money to this program. The ICG assumed that radicalism must be eliminated from Islam through this program. Even the economic activities of radical Islam must be noticed; otherwise it can be the funding of some illegal activities. We can see this assumption from the article that had a title “Indonesia: Jemaah Islamiyah’s Publishing Industry” on February 28th, 2008 that explained about Jemaah Islamiya’s businesses.

The other example is the article that published by International Crisis Group (ICG) on May 15th, 2008 has a title “*Hizbollah’s Weapons Turn Inward*”. In that article, the fundamental Islam group represented by Hizbollah, a group that has claimed as a terrorist by the United Nations, and here is the article:

“...No party can truly win in this increasingly volatile lose-lose confrontation. Hizbollah clearly prevailed in the military showdown, demonstrating its ability to overrun any opponent. Politically, however,

the balance sheet is far different. Outside its own constituency, it is seen more than ever as a Shiite militia brutally defending its parochial interests rather than those of a self-proclaimed national resistance. The blatantly confessional aspect of the struggle has deepened the sectarian divide, something the Shiite movement long sought to avoid. Hizbollah's principal Christian ally, General Michel Aounâ Free Patriotic Movement, appears deeply embarrassed. Although Lebanon intense polarization might enable him to retain most of his followers in the short term, over time his alliance with Hizbollah will become ever more difficult to justify. The government has remained in place and will be able to continue rallying domestic and international support..."

This article tells us that Hizbollah has an important role in the political situation in Lebanon. Hizbollah is represented as a military group that seems to be scared.

This situation is interesting if we look at the background of ICG with its foundations. One of the foundations that have given their money to support this organization is Ford Foundation. It is a charitable foundation that focuses on advance human welfare and supports programs that promote the peaceful resolution of conflict. It has been criticized from various groups because its activities that seem to support one group than the others. In 2003, it was criticized by pro-Israel US news service "Jewish Telegraphic Agency", for supporting Palestinian NGOs that undertook anti-Zionist activities at the World Conference Against Racism and that were accused of anti-semitism. The other one is about the position of Ford Foundation; some critics accuse The Foundation of being a front organization of CIA. It means that The Foundation probably has done some intelligence activities during its programs. It might have happened too when the ICG made some researches and published its articles and reports about radicalism in Islam. It might have had any interests in Islam and decided to pay more

attentions. Through this research we'll try to find out how this organization represents the face of Islam especially in radical side.

B. Problem Statement

Based on those reasons and data we will find out how is the representation of fundamental Islam in the Asia Briefing reports number 75 “Indonesia: Tackling Radicalism in Poso” and number 147 “Indonesia: Communal Tensions in Papua” which are published by The International Crisis Groups (ICG) through its website on www.crisisgroup.org ?

C. Research Aims

The aims of this research are to make people understand how radical Islam is represented in the Asia Briefing reports number 75 “Indonesia: Tackling Radicalism in Poso” and number 147 “Indonesia: Communal Tensions in Papua” that have been issued by The International Crisis Groups (ICG) through its website on www.crisisgroup.org, on May 2008, and to criticize inequality between dominant group and marginalized group so that we can do some actions and efforts to make equality between two groups.

D. Research Benefits

1. Theoretically

Theoretically this research gives us enrichment in communication science, especially in discourse analysis.

2. Practically

Practically this research gives its contribution to the society in understanding the content of media and hopefully becomes reference for people who want to analyze the same issue. The most important is to open the eyes of our people that in every issues there is hidden message or interest.

3. Socially

Socially this research can be a contribution to the society in understanding and knowing that there are certain groups which dominating the other groups by using texts as the media. So, hopefully this research will help people to think critically to the texts or any messages, especially in mass media.

E. Theories Framework

1. Interpretive Perspective in Communication Studies.

Any kinds of media, such as print media, electronic media, or internet have the main goal to deliver the messages to the audience. Communication is the point. A good communication must be able to deliver the messages to the audience without any barriers or noises. So, we have to know what the communication is. It will help us to understand the elements of a good communication.

John Fiske as a scholar who concern with communication studies have many assumptions about communication. He assumes that all communication

involved signs and codes and based on his assumptions, he has a general definition about communication as “social interaction through message” (Fiske, 2004:8).

There are some points that called as fundamentals of communication. Those explain that there are some important things in communication. Those fundamentals can be determined as a definition of communication:

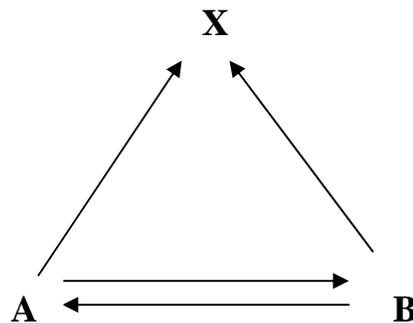
“Human communication is the process through which individuals—in relationships, groups, organizations, and societies—respond to and create message to adapt to the environment and one another” (Ruben, 1998:16)

This definition is very helpful for us to understand what the communication is. In addition, communication has several elements that guide us to implement in our daily lives. There are so many definitions from the communication scholars, but we will not discussing all of them in this paper. Whatever the definition of communication, we must understand the basic of communication so that we can certainly understand the other parts of communication as well.

The other important part of communication is the models of communication. Many people have their own arguments about the definition of communication. Some of them believe that communication happens when we are talking or interacting with the other people, but the other people have different idea. Writing an article or watching a television program a communication process a well. Both of those statements are true, it depends

on our understanding of communication. So, it is important for us to look at some communication models.

Theodore Newcomb has made a model of communication that specifically looks communication from social-psychology perspective. He argued that communication is a way that possible for human to orientate themselves effectively toward their environment. It emphasizes on a balancing between powers and that every changing in a system will influence in a whole system (Mulyana, 2000:143). This model shows us the role of communication in a society or a social relation.



Picture 1.2 Newcomb model of communication

In that picture, A and B are communicator and communicant. They could be individual, groups, industry, management, or government. X is the outer part of their social environment. ABX is a system that its internal

relation has dependency each other. If A change, so B and X will change too, and so on.

This model explains to us that as a society member, we need information in our daily lives. In a democratic society many people thought that information is a right, but in fact information is also a necessity for us. Without information we couldn't be the part of a society (Fiske, 2004:48)

Every people have their own perspective in understanding a phenomenon. They are sometimes different in their approaches to communication. It is very common in communication when the audience make a different understanding toward a message that has delivered by the communicator. There are two perspectives in communication; those are objective perspective and interpretive perspective. An objective scholar understands a message as true as the reality, there is no hidden or latent message. Unlike an objective scholar, an interpretive scholar understands a message as critical process of communication.

These scholars, who have done interpretive analysis, have variety of brand names: hermeneuticists, poststructuralists, deconstructivists, phenomenologists, cultural studies researchers, and social action theorists, etc. According to interpretive scholar a truth doesn't have singular meaning, but a truth has various meanings. In correlation with communication studies a text may has any kind of meanings. On the other hand, behavioral scientists who believe that a truth is singular said that moral and value as the point of

objectivity. They assumed that morals and values are the most important parts of study. Therefore, the interpretive scholars believe that the ability of human to choose is what makes humanity different with the rest of creation. The critical interpreters insist that knowledge is never neutral (Griffin, 2000:13).

The interpretive social science emphasizes to the texts that refer to the conversation, pictures, reading texts, or articles. When studying the text, the interpreters try to understand the meaning inside the text. They try to find out whether there is subjective meaning or not. They also examine the text as a part of the whole system. It is possible for the interpreter to discover that a text or a message might have been constructed. So, the point is that a text or a message may have correlation with the social system.

In general, the interpretive approach is:

“The systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds (Neuman, 1997:68).

2. Critical Tradition in Communication Studies

In fact, both of critical and interpretive research existed to oppose the positivistic research. They argued that social world always change, so they have to observe the changing and to find out the best method for assessing the social needs. They believe in term of relativism that everything is relative and nothing is absolute. It depends on the purpose of the researchers for doing research. The critical research is traced to Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and

was elaborated on by Theodor Adorno, Erich Fromm, and Herbert Marcuse. They were convinced that “all previous history has been characterized by an unjust distribution of suffering” (Griffin, 2000:43)

Griffin also categorized three points that involved within the critical theory; those are about the control of language, the role of mass media, and the blind reliance on the scientific method. In the situation around us we can find easily a reality that we can criticize. For instance, there are some advertisements on TV that may have racial discrimination. Usually black people shown as the low class society or represent uneducated people. It shows that the message has been constructed by another people, institutions, or organizations. In fact, black people not always represent crimes or uneducated people. So, this is the main goal of critical science to criticize the reality that not always true.

In general, critical social science defines social science as:

“a critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves.” (Neuman, 1997:74)

Neuman, also mentioned the characteristics of critical researcher, such as asks embarrassing questions, exposes hypocrisy, and investigates conditions in order to dramatic grass-roots action (Neuman, 1997:74). Critical tradition shows that power, oppression, and privilege are the products of

certain forms of communication throughout society, making the critical tradition significant in the field of communication theory today.

Stephen W. Littlejohn mentioned in his book that the critical tradition stands in opposition to many of the basic assumptions of the other traditions. Heavily influenced by work in Europe, by US feminism, and by postmodern and postcolonial discourses, this tradition is growing in its popularity and impact on communication theory (Littlejohn, 2005:46).

There are three essential features of critical tradition (Littlejohn, 2005:47). First, the critical tradition seeks to understand the taken-for-granted systems, power structures, and beliefs—or ideologies—that dominate society, with a particular eye to whose interests are served by those power structures. Second, critical theorists are particularly interested in uncovering oppressive social conditions and power arrangements in order to promote emancipation, or a freer and more fulfilling society. Third, critical social science makes a conscious attempt to fuse theory and action.

One of the theories that involved to the critical tradition is postcolonial theory. It refers to the study of “all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day”. Postcolonial scholars study many of the same issues as critical and cultural studies do—race, class, gender, sexuality—but always as they are situated “within geopolitical arrangements, and relations of nations and their inter/ national histories”. They also focus on what is called “neocolonialism” as it occurs in

contemporary discourse about “others”. For example the terms of *first* and *third* worlds to discuss “developing” nations, in the massive transference and “invasion” of US culture into all parts of the world, and in treatments of nonwhite races as “other” in US media.

The postcolonial project brings the facets of the critical tradition—concern with domination, ideology, and power—to the global scene. It seeks to offer ways that we can listen to those who have been colonized in all kinds of ways by Western discourses and can begin to bring them into the conversations about identities, politics, globalization, and power (Littlejohn, 2005:332).

The other social theory in critical tradition is structuralism. It is obviously emphasizing on the linguistic structure. The modern structuralism has a basic source from linguistic. A linguist from Switzerland, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) had an important role in developing structural linguistic and also on the other fields. The main concern of structuralism is language structure, or social structure that can be interpreted like language.

Linguistic structuralism emphasizes that human beings make their own environment, and the other aspect of social live has been created by language structure. More generally, structuralism can be understood as an effort to find out general structure that involved in human activities (Ritzer, 2004:51).

Mass media, whether print, electronic or online, has an important role to spread out ideologies of superior or dominant groups. It creates symbols

and images that oppress marginalized groups. Dennis McQuail mentioned that there are five major branches of critical media theory (Littlejohn, 2005:292). Those are Classical Marxism, Political-economic media theory, Frankfurt School, Hegemonic Theory, and Cultural Studies.

The first is classical Marxism. Here, the media are seen as instruments of the dominant class and a means by which capitalists promote their profit-making interests. The second is political-economic media theory. In this theory, media content is a commodity to be sold in the marketplace and the information is controlled by the owner of the media following the marketplace needs. In this case, profit is the main purpose and the media doesn't care about the positive values.

The third is Frankfurt School. This school of thought, which sees media as a means of constructing culture, places more emphasis on ideas than on material goods. Here, the elite groups have a dominant role to deliver their ideologies. They create media manipulation of images and symbols to benefit their interests.

The fourth is hegemonic theory. It has a definition as the domination of a false ideology or way of thinking over true conditions. Here, the media obviously play a major role in spreading out ideology to the society. The dominant ideology becomes the main issue and marginalizes the other groups.

The last is socio-cultural approach or cultural studies. It emphasizes on cultural meanings of media products; it looks at the ways media content is

interpreted, including both dominant and oppositional interpretations. Those critical theories have gained presence in North America, but their real development occurred in Europe and Latin America.

Ideology also becomes an important part of critical thinking. There are three definitions of ideology by Raymond Williams (Fiske, 2004:228):

1. A system of belief that signaling certain group or class.
2. A system of illusionary belief—untrue consciousness—that can be contrasted with real knowledge.
3. General process of meaning production and ideas.

Ideologies can be transformed into society through books, organizations, families, and media by state which has interests. It's well known as Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) by Louis Althusser.

3. Stereotype, Ethnocentrism, and Prejudice

As a human being, we cannot live alone; we are social creations that need to live with the others. Now we live in a multicultural condition that proofed by the globalization era. Many people from around the world have connection and relationships in certain situation. They have different cultures, customs, languages, ethnics, etc. So, cultural understanding is the most important key to communicate with the other people in the multicultural communication.

In multicultural communication it is important to understand about worldview that influences the meaning of the messages. It is sets of attitude, beliefs, and values that are followed by an individual or a group who grow up in a culture (Mulyana, 2004:32).

When we meet an individual or a group from different countries, perhaps we will judge them based on our experience or assumption. We may have our own conclusion about them. For instance, we assume that African-American people have low education. In fact, not all of them have low education, some of them are better in education. It is caused by our knowledge that has influenced by media or public opinion about them. So, we believe and make generalization that all of them are the same. Those are what we called stereotype.

“Stereotype is a generalization about people, places, or events held by many members of a society.” (Gamble, 2004:97)

They argued that stereotyping leads us to oversimplify, overgeneralize, and grossly exaggerate what we observe. It could be in a negative or positive term. Stereotype can be found everywhere, we can't reject it. It is dangerous because we have an opinion about group that the sources perhaps not true. We can make misrepresentation by stereotyping a group. When we stereotype, we repeatedly use the same thoughts, or fixed mental images, to “print” the same judgment repeatedly.

Liliweri (2005:209) mentioned according to the Hewstone and Giles (1986), there is relationship between stereotype Liliweri and communication. There are four conclusions about stereotype process.

- a. Stereotype process is the result of our preference to anticipate level quality of certain relationship between group members based on psychological characteristics. More negative we make generalization; it is more difficult to communication with the others.
- b. Stereotype influences step of individual in information process. Many researches showed that every individual is able to memorize good or bad information. Sources and targets of information influence the information process that is received or delivered.
- c. Stereotype creates expectation to the certain group members (in group) toward the other group (out group).
- d. Stereotype hampers our patterns of communication attitude with the others (out group).

The next step after stereotyping is prejudice. It is more dangerous than stereotype. The first time classic definition of prejudice was introduced by a psychologist from Harvard University, Gordon Allport, that wrote the concept in his book *The Nature of Prejudice* in 1954. Prejudice comes from the word *praejudicium*, that is statements or conclusions about something based on superficial feeling or experience toward someone or groups (Liliweri,

2005:199). He also said that prejudice is an antipathy based on wrong generalization or inflexible generalization.

From that definition, we can say that prejudice involves attitude, thinking, faith, belief, and not an action. Prejudice also consists of three types: affective, cognitive, and behavioral. Affective refers to the negative feeling, cognitive refers to think about a stereotype, and behavioral refers to an action in case of discrimination. Gamble also has the definition about it.

“Prejudice is a biased, negative attitude toward a particular group of people; a negative judgment based on membership in a social category.” (Gamble, 2004:97)

To avoid stereotype, we must realize that we are all individual; we have different characteristics, behaviors, and lives. We are communicating with a person, not with a group or stereotype. When we communicate with American, it means we communicate with an American, not a whole Americans. Some Americans may have bad habits, but not all of them.

Another thing that we have to avoid in communication process is ethnocentrism. We often feel the best group or ethnic, everything about our group or ethnic is true and better than the others. Ethnocentrism is the idea that one's own culture is superior to all others (Verluyten, 2000:46). The opposite of ethnocentrism is cultural relativism, which is the belief that each culture develops its own standards in order to determine which values and practices are acceptable.

We can see ethnocentrism in Europe when Hittler proclaimed that Aria (Europeans) is better than other ethnics in the world. So, he eliminated ethnics outside Aria. Other example may be found around us. However, we must understand that our stereotype of any group is necessarily based on incomplete information, although maybe some of our stereotypes are true, they are never completely true.

The word ethnic comes from Greece word; that is *ethnos*. It means a nation or a human. Generally it is defined as a social group that is influenced by race, language, value, culture, etc; and it is indicated a majority or minority group in a society. For example we often say *Eurocentric* to explain culture from Europe as the majority ethnic (Liliweri, 2005:8). He also mentioned in his book that Koentjaraningrat argued ethnic as a social group or human being that has interaction system, norms, and continuity and identity that uniting all of the members; also has its own leadership system.

In addition, media has important role in order to make stereotype and perception. We often find on television or print media that shown black people as entertainers or athletes or maybe in a movie we saw Arabians as terrorists, low educated people and close to violations. Those made the viewers believed that what they watched were completely true. They might conclude that all Arabians are the same, so when they meet or communicate with an Arabian they will have the same perception as they got through media.

4. Representation

Media globalization has resulted in the wider circulation of many media texts. Concentration and conglomeration have altered the scope of media content (Devereux, 2003:132). This reason shows us that mass media has an important role for delivering any interest, especially the media content. It easily represents the minority groups in a media setting. In this case, minority groups, gender, the third world, poverty, and refugees are often represented by the media as the second class of society. In addition, unequal power obviously becomes the main issue in a media setting.

The media contents, whether print, electronic or online, unconsciously or consciously represents certain groups, ethnics, gender, or cultures in our daily lives through advertisements, news, pictures, drama, etc. For example in the movie, we often find the black people are represented as low-educated people and criminals. In fact, not all of them are the same as in the movie.

In discourse analysis we talk about inequality where one group is superior to the others. Text is media to show inequality and to represent the superior and the marginalize groups. Representation refers to the how an individual, a group, an idea/ an opinion represent in a text or news (Eriyanto, 2001:113).

The description of a group or an individual could be in the negative or positive side. To support its description, the writer puts words, sentences, pictures, or accent in a specific way. It will show how the group represented.

The study of representation was developed by Stuart Hall at the University of Birmingham, England in 1963. He concerned in Cultural Studies and it is focused on the political implications of mass culture. There are four ideas that are central to cultural studies: hegemony, signs and semiotics, representation and discourse, and meaning and struggle. Hall sees representation as an act of reconstruction rather than reflection. The idea of representation is a way of critically understanding culture that is usually focused on single images (Hall, 1980). Hall understands that communication is always linked to the power, and power in society influences what gets represented in the media.

The study of representation also can be found in semiotic study. Roland Barthes (1973; 1977; 1984) is one of the scholars who concerned about semiotic tried to explain representation through his studies. Barthes provided, over a period of three decades, a range of analytic writings dealing with the whole spectrum of human semiosis—food, fashion, entertainment, art, music, photography, etc.—and established, whether in his theoretical writing, in his literary analyses, or in his journalistic commentary on the mundane, evidence of the systematicness and connectedness of meaning in a multiplicity of cultural modes. (van Dijk, 1997:261). Barthes also wrote about

the 'mastercode', it is the form of representation which provides the central means of thinking about and comparing other modes of representation. It remains the most fully articulated form of human representation and communication.

Kress, Leite-Garcia, and Van Leeuwen argued that in our view, that all systems of human communication must serve three requirements (Van Dijk, 1997:261):

- a. To represent and communicate relevant aspects of the social relations of those who are engaged in communication
- b. To represent and communicate those events, states of affairs, perceptions, which the communicator wishes to communicate
- c. To enable the production of messages which have coherence, internally as a text, and externally with relevant aspects of semiotic environment (the 'context', so called)

From those three requirements we can conclude that all of the texts in communication are represent what the communicators want to communicate. It means that there are some hidden messages behind the texts.

To represent can be defined as *to stand for*. It becomes a sign for something or someone, a sign that unequal with realities which are represented. There are two meanings of representation. First, representation as a social process from *representing*, and second representation as product of social process *representing*. The first meaning refers to the process, and the

second meaning is product of making sign that refers to the sign (O'Sullivan in Noviani, 2002:61).

In the concept of representation, images or signs are conceptualized as reality representation that is valued its truth, reliability, and accuracy. Douglas Kellner mentioned that there are two concepts of representation; those are true representation and dissimulation or false representation. This dissimulation is using hidden images, and ideologies that make distortions. In representation process, there are three elements. First, something that is represented called as object. Second, representation itself, that called as sign. Third, sets of rules that decide sign correlation with the main problem called *coding*.

5. Fundamental Islam

The words modernism and fundamentalism were not come from Moslems society, but they were from western scholars who concern about religion and in frame of the history of their religion. The radical groups in Islam have existed after Prophet Muhammad died. They were trying to find the solution of some problems that they faced in their daily lives. When Muhammad was alive, Moslems could solve their problems by asking some questions to the Prophet. Radicalism in Islam has the main purpose to keep the purity of Islam in the future when there is no Prophet after Muhammad.

The current reasons why there are fundamental groups in Islam are the domination of Western cultures and the expansion to the East that make Moslems society want to do resistances. In some countries where Moslems

become the minority want to convey their aspiration as well as another citizens. But mostly they become the second citizens as the minority. So they feel necessary to do something different to attract the government's attention, one of the examples is by doing terror.

There are more specific reasons why fundamentalism in Islam appeared. Politic has become one of the reasons. For instance the victory of Afghanistan that had supported by America to bring down Barbek Kamel government as a Soviet Union's puppet government has become the trigger of fundamentalism, radicalism, and even terrorism movements. (Thontowi, 2004:43). Leonard Binder as a scholar who concern about Islam also has his own opinion. According to him the growing of the fanatic small group becomes a political movement is caused by some reasons, including the behaviors of role model who showed so loyalty that he or she never feel afraid to sacrifice their life. (Binder, 2001: 253)

Ulil Abshar Abdalla as the leader of Jaringan Islam Liberal (JIL) who has liberal thinking about Islam gave a definition about radical Islam in his interview with *Tempo* magazine. He also mentioned the persons who involved in radical groups such as Abu Bakar Baasyir and Imam Samudra:

“Radical Islam is a combination from many things. Its religion understandings are literal, word for word, and have a certain view that their group is better than the others—even different religion or same religion which is different opinion—as the fault.” (Abdalla, 2005:253)

People sometime thought that fundamentalism always has a negative meaning, but in fact it also has a good meaning. It is important for keeping the religion believers do the roles that their religion teaches. Musa Keilani defines fundamentalism as “religious and social movements that encourage Moslems back to the principles of Islam that fundamental, back to the ethic purity by integrating in the positive way (with religious doctrine), back to the relationship balances between human beings and God, human beings and society, and human beings and themselves.” (Keilani; Mahendra, 1999:16)

In term of Christianity, fundamentalism is the literal interpretation towards the Bible and religious texts which is inherited, and defies other interpretation whatever to these texts, although in many cases in the form of allegory texts, spirituals and Sufis-tic symbols, besides defies critical discourses that was written about Bible and The Holy Book. From those interpretations, the Protestant fundamentalism followers believe in the return of Christ physically to govern the world in a thousand year, because they interpret “Johannes dream” (The Dream Book, section 10, verses 1-10) with literal interpretation. (‘Imarah in Thontowi, 2004: 46)

6. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the research methods in communication study. CDA is introduced by Teun A. Van Dijk, a scholar who concern in discourse analysis. Actually there are also some types of discourse analysis such as Sara Mill, Fairclough, etc; but most people use Van

Dijk as discourse analysis type. It is easily to find the sources and to look at the other researches as the reference. He argues that analysis, description, and theory formation play a role especially in as far as they allow better understanding and critique of social inequality, based on gender, ethnicity, class, origin, religion, language, sexual orientation and other criteria that define differences between people (Van Dijk, 1997:22).

This analysis is not only about theory itself, but also about social and political. By using this method, we hope that there will be change in political and social situations. Theoretically, the descriptions of discourse focus on various structures (Van Dijk, 1997:5). For instance, a grammar may describe sentences as a series of words that occur in a specific order. In other words, a structural description should spell out the various relations and conditions that define the discursivity of sequences of sentences.

F. Research

1. Type of Research

This research is a qualitative explanatory research and uses discourse analysis as the communication research method. Explanatory research focuses on causes and reasons. The keyword of this research is “why” (Neuman, 1997:20).

2. Research Method

Teun A. Van Dijk model is chosen in this research because he elaborates the discourse elements so that is used practically. This model is well known as social cognition. He argues that research on discourse field is not only based on texts analysis, but also how the texts are produced. The elements of discourse by Van Dijk, can be seen below (Van Dijk, 2001:228):

DISCOURSE STRUCTURES	OBSERVED THINGS	ELEMENTS
Macro Structure	Thematic Theme or topic that is principled in a text.	Topic
Superstructure	Schematic How the part and structure of text are packaged in a whole text.	Scheme
Micro Structure	Semantic Meaning that will be emphasized in a text.	Background, detail, aim, pre-suspicion, nominalization.
Macro Structure	Syntaxes How the sentence that is chosen.	Sentence form, coherence, and pronoun.
Micro Structure	Stylistic How the diction that is	Lexicon.

	used in a text.	
Micro Structure	Rhetoric How the emphasizing is done.	Graphic, metaphor, and expression.

a. Discourse

There are many concepts or definitions of discourse. Every scholar has their own ideas about it. One of the scholars who has concerned about discourse analysis is Teun A. van Dijk. He has explained and written about discourse analysis in many terms. He argued that discourse is obviously involved in the reproduction of many other forms of domination and inequality. In fact, discourse theory in philosophy tradition is very old theory. Kleden has mentioned that Aristotle has discussed thoroughly in his work *De interpretatione* (Sobur, 2001:47).

If we look at the dictionary, there are some definitions of the word ‘discourse’. The term discourse can be defined into some concepts; it depends on the situation where the word is used. Firstly we have to understand the term of language as well. It is important because ‘discourse’ is closely related with language; some scholars agree that discourse is a form of language use (Van Dijk, 1997:2). Language is not only about verbal communication such as speeches or speaking, but also about written communication such as articles,

news, etc. In the spoken language such as speech, we can analysis the messages by paying attention to the intonation, volume, emphasize, pronunciation, and other properties that involved the speech.

From the language viewpoint, discourse can be determined as the form of language on the sentence that consists of a theme (Sobur, 2001:11). This statement refers to the theme, without theme there is no discourse. So, theme is the most important part of discourse.

Another context of discourse may be found in ‘the discourse of liberalism’, in this case discourse also refer to ideas or ideologies. So, in this area we are going to discuss deeper about discourse analysis. Van Dijk mentioned that there are three dimensions of discourse; those are language use, the communication of beliefs (cognition), and interaction in social situation. He added that perhaps most importantly, discourse analysis provides the theoretical and methodological tools for a well-founded critical approach to the study of social problems, power, and inequality. For social scientists, discourse analysis stresses that social and political institutions, organizations, group relations, structures, processes, routines, and many other relevant phenomena, also need to be studied at the level of their actual manifestations, expressions or enactment in discourse as language use, communication and interaction (Van Dijk, 1997:32).

In discourse analysis, Van Dijk introduced Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), it is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the

way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 2001:352). He also mentioned that critical research on discourse needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its aims:

1. As is often the case for more marginal research traditions, CDA research has to be “better” than the other research in order to be accepted.
2. It focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than current paradigms and fashions.
3. Empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary.
4. Rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure.
5. More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.

b. Meaning

Discourse analysis has closely relation with linguistic studies. Many linguists have studied about meaning in a sentences, articles, or speeches. On the other hand, as mentioned by Van Dijk, meaning is a very fuzzy concept,

which itself has many meanings. Meaning is associated with the mind of language users.

Meaning has very important role in discourse analysis studies. As we may know that every sentence, every paragraph, or every speech has its own meaning. Van Dijk mentioned that there are two important elements in a discourse analysis in relation with meaning. First, we have study the micro level of analysis, and second we have to study the macro level of analysis (Van Dijk, 1997:9). At the micro level, meaning relations between prepositions of a discourse obey a number of coherence conditions. The other element is macro level of discourse. With the description of the macro level of discourse meaning we leave traditional linguistics and grammar behind us, and encounter such typical discourse notions as topics or themes. Both topics and themes are very important parts in a text or talk. With topics or themes we may know what the authors or the speakers talked/ wrote about. Without them we don't know what we are talking or reading about. John Fiske argued that meaning has been produced through active and dynamic process; either from producer or audience sides (Eriyanto, 2001:88)

c. Social Cognition and Discourse

Social cognition and discourse are two fields that have correlation each others. Susan Condor and Charles Antaki explain about social cognition and discourse. Social psychologists use the term 'social cognition' to refer to the mental processing of information about the social world. On the other

hand, some theorists use the term ‘social cognition’ to imply a concern for the social nature of perceivers, and for the social construction of our knowledge about the world.

In addition, discourse is conceived not as a matter of the comprehension and production of unsituated propositions, but rather as a social event which is in some sense action in its own right, and in either talk or text. For example the formulations of decisions in group talk (Van Dijk, 1997:334).

d. Analysis Framework

Van Dijk has made the analysis framework that will be very useful for the students to understand discourse analysis. In sum, the research scheme and the method in Van Dijk’s framework can be seen below.

STRUCTURE	METHOD
Text Analyzing how discourse strategies that is used to describe someone or phenomenon. How textual strategies that is used to eliminate or marginalize a group, an idea, or a phenomenon.	Critical linguistic

<p>Social Cognition</p> <p>Analyzing how the reporter cognition in order to understand someone or phenomenon that will be written.</p>	<p>Deep interview</p>
<p>Social Analysis</p> <p>Analyzing how discourse which is developing in the society, production process, and someone reproduction or phenomenon was described.</p>	<p>Literature studies, history investigation.</p>

There are 15 elements in discourse analysis that can be analyzed. These are brief explanations of the elements.

a. Thematic

Thematic element refers to the general description of texts. It is called as main idea, summary, or main point of the texts as well. The important point of van Dijk idea, discourse generally has been created in the general rule (macrorule). Texts are not only defined reflecting an opinion or topic, but also a coherent general opinion. Van Dijk mentioned it as global coherence, which is parts in the texts which refer to a main point/ idea, and those parts supporting each others to describe general topic.

b. Schematic

Generally, texts or discourse has a scheme or plot from the beginning until the end. Plot shows how the parts of the texts are ordered and create a whole meaning. Scientific discourse such as journal or paper also has a scheme; it is shown by abstract, background, objective, hypothesis, content, and conclusion. News has a scheme as well, although it doesn't ordered in a linear frame such in the journal.

c. Setting

Setting is the part of news that can influence meaning or semantic. A reporter or journalist when they are writing news, often showing the setting of cases. Setting is important to direct readers' opinion in case to support or to ignore the idea. It can be a justification of the idea in a text. So, texts setting are a useful element because it can show us the idea of journalists or reporters.

d. Detail

This element refers to the information control that is shown by someone. Communicators will give us a lot of information that give benefits to themselves. In opposite, they will give us lack information if there are no benefits for themselves. Detail is a strategy for the reporters to express their attitude implicitly.

e. Aim

Aim has the same definition like detail. The reporters will write anything that give benefits to themselves and they will explain it explicitly and clearly. The final objective is to give public any information that gives benefits to the communicators. In the context of media, aim shows how the reporters using language to show up the truth and trying to hide the untruth information implicitly.

f. Coherence

Coherence is combination between words or sentences in a text. Two different kinds of sentences or words that describe different realities can be combined so it looks coherent. Coherence can be found by looking at the conjunction words that are used to connect the facts. The conjunction words can be causal clause, time, situation, condition, etc. coherence also an element that describes how cases connected separately by the reporters.

g. Conditional coherence

We can easily find conditional coherence by looking at the clause as an adverb. A clause is very important to reflect communicators' interests because they can give good or bad explanation toward a case. As an explanation it is not really important whether there is a clause or not. But, this conditional coherence can be a good explanation to show how a hidden idea is expressed in a sentence.

h. Distinguishing coherence

It is the opposite of conditional coherence. Distinguishing coherence refers to the statement how two cases or facts are distinguished. Two different cases can be manipulated by the reporters and it seems like contrast by using this element. This element has several effects, but we can easily find different assumptions from the public.

i. Negation

This element is a form of discourse that describes how the reporters try to hide what they want to express implicitly. Generally, negation seems like the reporters agree to the reality, but in fact they disagree by giving argumentations or facts. On the other words, negation is a discourse strategy where the reporters delivering their arguments and ideas explicitly. Negation is an element where we can see easily the expression of reporters that is delivered implicitly. So, it is important for us to criticize the aims of reporters or writers, we should know the real aim why they wrote like that.

j. Sentence form

Sentence form is a syntaxes side that related between the ways of logical thinking, that is causality principle. This logical causality can be defined as the order of subject and object. This form is not only about grammar, but also the meaning that is formed by sentences. In an active structure sentence, someone becomes a subject of the statement, and in a passive sentence someone becomes an object.

k. Pronoun

It is an element to manipulate language by creating an imaginative community. Pronoun is a tool that is used by communicators to show where the positions of the reporters in a discourse are. To express our ideas, we can use pronoun “I” or “we” to describe that our ideas are ours. The using of plural pronoun such as “we” or “us” have an implication that create solidarity, public interest, and reduce criticize and opposition to us.

l. Lexicon

Basically, this element shows us how someone choosing the words. We can use any words that we want to describe a fact or a case. A word can be used to show our ideology. The same facts can be described by using different words. For example, we can use the word “murdered” or “killed” to describe a case of assassination.

m. Presupposition

It is a statement that is used to support meaning of a text. It is also called as pre-assumption. If we agree with a statement or a fact, it is easy for us to make assumption before knowing the real fact. We can make a conclusion before the result comes.

n. Graphic

This element is a part to examine what is emphasized by someone from a text. We can easily find in the news or headlines by looking at the

words or titles. We can look at the caption, italic words, bold, raster, picture, or table to support the idea. It attracts the audiences or reader to pay more attention on those parts.

o. Metaphor

In a discourse, a reporter is not only delivering messages through texts, but also through idiom that is aimed as ornament of the news. This metaphor is using by the reporters to express their ideas, or to justify a fact to the public. They also use idiom, or expression from the Holly Verse to support the main ideas.

3. Data Collecting

a. Literatures Study

This research also uses literatures to support data and analysis. By reading some books from the library and browsing articles from the internet, we can analyze the problem. Data can be found also from the newspapers or magazines, both conventional and online sources from the websites. This study allows us to take some note or opinion from any scientists to analyze the problem.

b. Interdiscursive

To examine how the meanings are produced by the writer, we need a cognition analysis and social context. To understand and to see how the writer

producing meanings, we can use interdiscursive by examining or seeing the other publications, press conferences, press releases, and reports that have correlation with the topics or themes. This process also involves how an event interpreted and concluded by the writer that will write in news or writing.

3. Research Schemes

This research consists of four parts. There are chapter I, II, III, and IV.

Chapter I is an introduction. It consists of background of the problems, research aims, research statements, benefits, theories framework, and research methods. Chapter II is a general description of the research object. It explains the profile of the research object. Chapter III is a study. It examines the object and data research to find out the result. And the last is Chapter IV; it is a conclusion that shows the result of research.