Construction of radicalism and communication in groups that are considered radical

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Abstract This study aims to determine the conditions that encourage the construction of radicalism in Bengkulu and how it affects the formation of communication patterns in the SS group who are considered exposed to radicalism. The theory used to understand the formation of the narrative of radicalism is the construction of social reality from Berger and Luckman. The research method uses a constructivist paradigm with a case study approach. Data collection techniques using interviews, observation, and literature review. The results of the study found that the construction of radicalism in the SS group was formed by two factors– the first was the SS group's rejection of long-standing community traditions such as *tahlilan*, grave pilgrimage, and *yasinan*; the second is the factor of the mass media showing terrorist actors who use the same symbols as the symbols worn by the SS group. The impact of the radicalism label is that the communication formed in the SS group is exclusive, while the village community applies one-way communication in understanding the SS group.

Keywords: construction; mass media; radicalism; SS group; stigma

INTRODUCTION

The results of the 2017 BNPT (National Agency for Combating Terrorism) survey have placed Bengkulu province as an area that has the highest potential for radicalism in Indonesia (Syafirdi, 2017). The results of the survey can be seen in Table 1. The placement of Bengkulu as the area with the highest potential for radicalism is quite surprising because the results of the 2016 BNPT release regarding twelve provinces in the red zone of radicalism and terrorism, Bengkulu Province are not included (Fitriana, 2016).

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Table 1. The Five Radicalism-Potential Province According to BNPT (2017)

No	Province	Potential Radicalism
1	Bengkulu	58,58%
2	Gorontalo	58,48%
3	Sulawesi Selatan	58,42%
4	Lampung	58,38%
5	Kalimantan Utara	58,32%

Source: (Syafirdi, 2017); (Supono, 2017)

The inclusion of Bengkulu in table 1 is an interesting study to see how this understanding is communicated in groups that are considered exposed to radicalism. Bengkulu's condition, which is far from the centre of national publications, but is considered a time bomb for radicalism, is something that must be explained immediately to anticipate the area. The inclusion of Bengkulu in the table above is an interesting study to see how this understanding is communicated in groups that are considered exposed to radicalism. The appearance of Bengkulu on the radar of the National Agency for Combating Terrorism (BNPT) in 2017 became an early warning for the local government and society, especially the younger generation. Although the Bengkulu campus was not included in the ten universities observed by BNPT because it had been exposed to the radicalism (Sugihartati, Suyanto, & Sirry, 2020, p. 5), it is necessary to anticipate how the radicalism movement has spread in the Bengkulu area. Anticipating the spread of radicalism requires the involvement of all parties, including community organisations (Agastia et al., 2020). This condition is followed by the research of Chalmer (2017, p. 346) which states that successful deradicalization is community-based action. Therefore, when Bengkulu is included in the province with the potential for radicalism, efforts are needed to carry out a disengagement program for groups that are considered exposed to radicalism in achieving their goals (Hwang, 2017).

The concept of radicalism is understood as extreme attitudes and thoughts urging drastic socio-political changes (Adnan & Amaliyah, 2021, p. 27). This definition approach is difficult to use to identify radicalism in Bengkulu because the research conducted by researchers has not found any violent efforts in Bengkulu to make changes related to certain understandings. Another definition of radicalism is an understanding that believes that carrying out Islam is fundamentally the solution to the current problems where Muslims are under pressure and have to fight back (Fuad, 2020, p. 98).

The results of the research by Febrini et al. (2016) just revealed that the people of Bengkulu City understand radicalism as hard-line groups who try to enforce Islamic law as a way of jihad. The results of the literature search that the researchers conducted also found several factors that were considered the cause of Bengkulu being considered to have the greatest potential for radicalism in Indonesia. These factors are fanaticism, information technology, poverty, educational background, and religion. Previous studies on radicalism in Bengkulu focused more on public perceptions, while field research on the condition of groups

considered to be embracing radicalism was minimally conducted in an academic context. In its development, the issue of radicalism and terrorism is no longer an issue that is 'away' from the community. Every level of society has discussed this topic in their social environment (Widyaningrum & Dugis, 2018, p. 46).

The narrative of radicalism is a discourse that is communicated in the public sphere, therefore winning the discourse battle is one of the efforts in countering radicalism and terrorism (Pektas, 2021, p. 208; Schmidt, 2021, p. 242; Sugihartati, Suyanto, & Hidayat, 2020, p. 313). The practice process of understanding radicalism can be seen from the communication patterns they apply in their daily lives. Based on these arguments, this research focuses on the practice of group communication which is considered to have the potential for radicalism. The choice of this research point of view is based on the researcher's assumption that radicalism cannot be seen from the symbols worn but from their understanding of these symbols (Putra, 2020, p. 229). This condition is also motivated by the results of pre-research interviews conducted by researchers in 2020 where the understanding of some people towards radicalism and terrorism is concluded from the use of clothing, beards, and veils.

This study explores the potential for radicalism in groups suspected of being exposed to this notion. Based on the results of initial interviews with the chairman of *Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI)* (Indonesian Ulema Council) Rejang Lebong and the community in Unit 1 Northern Bengkulu, information was obtained about the SS group in Rejang Lebong Regency and North Bengkulu Regency whose activities were monitored by police on suspicion of embracing radicalism. The initial information from the pre-research conducted by the researcher became the starting point of the research to explore information about how radicalism is embedded in a group. Researchers visited groups labelled as exposed to radicalism in a sociological approach to communication. Groups that are considered exposed to radicalism will be examined by looking at their communication practices to understand the concept that is considered a manifestation of the potential for radicalism.

As a starting material, the researcher conducted a search for previous research conducted by Sary (2017) which revealed that fanaticism in one school of thought is one of the causes of the emergence of radicalism. In addition, it was revealed that the misuse of information technology and the lack of parental participation were barriers to preventing radicalism in students. The next finding was obtained from a study conducted by Febrini, Aisyah, Khoiri (2016) which stated that weak economic factors are one of the reasons why individuals participate in terrorism networks. In addition to the economy, low educational background, and religious knowledge but a high religious spirit are other factors for someone to enter a radical movement.

The subsequent investigation of the documentation of radicalism and terrorism in Bengkulu through news sites in the mass media provides an

overview of Bengkulu's relationship with acts of terrorism in several areas. Bengkulu began to be indicated by terrorism starting with the JW Marriot bombing in Jakarta in August 2003. Asmar Latin Sani, the perpetrator of the suicide bombing at the JW Marriot was registered as a Bengkulu resident. Not only as a suicide bomber but Bengkulu was also used as a place to store and prepare bombs before they were used. The process of preparing for the act of terrorism involved Noordin M Top, Dr. Azhari, Moh Rais, Toni Togar, Joni Hendrawan, and Sardona Siliwangi (Siswoyo, 2017, Bakhori, 2004). Sardona Siliwangi himself is a Bengkulu resident who was sentenced to ten years for being proven to have participated in storing and controlling explosives with the intention of terrorist activities (Bakhori, 2004).

Furthermore, the name Bengkulu Province was again associated with terrorism in 2014 during the terrorist attack in Sarinah, Jakarta. One of the terrorists who was shot dead was Hendi Albar, who was identified as a resident of Air Sebayur Village, Ketahun District, North Bengkulu (Siswoyo, 2017). Furthermore, Bengkulu was again linked to terrorism when in August 2018 Special Detachment (Densus) 88 Anti-terror held a silent operation and arrested six suspected terrorist members of the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) network in Bengkulu City (Putro, 2018).

The results of information search through mass media studies also reveal Bengkulu's position as a stopover, transit, and hiding area for terrorist actors. In early 2003, before the explosion at the Jakarta JW Marriott Hotel, Noor Din M Top with Rais and Dr Azhari had moved and lived in Bengkulu (Julikawati, 2010). In addition, Ambo Intan, one of the Poso terrorists from the Santoso network, also went into hiding and was arrested in Bengkulu in March 2014. In addition, two terrorist convicts in Bengkulu Prison had moved from Jakarta. Suyitno, the terrorist network of Santoso and Muhammad Amin alias Amin Mude, facilitated the departure of six people who were going to Syria. Amin Mude himself in January 2019 was released on parole while still being obliged to report once a month to the Bengkulu Attorney Office (Terkini, 2019).

Rohimin, chairman of the Bengkulu MUI in 2014 once revealed the reason why Bengkulu is an area that is often associated with terrorism (Firmansyah, 2004). According to Rohimin, Bengkulu Province is considered a conducive place for bases, transit, and seeding of terrorist cadres. This conducive condition for terrorists is due to the culture of the Bengkulu people who are 'ignorant' and do not care about other people's activities. In addition, according to Rohimin, the development of Islam in Bengkulu, which is merely a 'transit', is one of the reasons why Islam in Bengkulu is not deeply rooted. However, according to Rohimin, Bengkulu is not a place for terrorist acts, Bengkulu is only a place of preparation while the actions themselves are carried out in other cities. however, the Bengkulu local government must remain vigilant, because according to research by Sugihartati, Suyanto, Hidayat (2020, p. 313), the current understanding of radicalism and terrorism uses social media a lot to socialise and recruit new members.

Cyberspace has become a real force that connects the solidity and militancy of radical groups across countries. Its existence offers convenience in interacting, organising, recruiting, propaganda, and fundraising. It is not surprising that the existence of social networks has also changed the strategies and patterns of terror that are more massive and systematic. In fact, in the second decade of the 21st century, there is a tendency for radical groups to increase their interaction and propaganda in the virtual world. They create certain pages to spread hate ideas and ideas, radical understanding, threats, and self-taught methods of making bombs (Muthohirin, 2015, p. 250).

The strengthening of the Islamic radicalism movement is also indicated by the existence of pages, accounts on social media, online portals, and Islamic-based publications that are intentionally created to propagate violent ideologies, hate speech, the establishment of an Islamic state, and blasphemy against western products. (Muthohirin, 2015). Khamami Zada explained that some Islamic books, magazines, and online portals were affiliated with religious organisations or individuals with radically oriented Islamic ideologies (Muthohirin, 2015). The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in 2011 has identified seven forms of using cyberspace for the benefit of radical groups, including Propaganda, recruitment, funding, training, planning, spreading terror, and cyberattack. In many cases, this cyberspace strategy has been practised by all networks of terrorist groups, both at the global level (Al-Qaeda and ISIS) and locally (Jemaah Islamiyah and Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid) (Muthohirin, 2015).

This study uses a constructivist paradigm with a case study approach. The research questions focused on the conditions that shape the construction of radicalism in Bengkulu and their impact on communication patterns that occur in groups considered to be embracing radicalism. The research subjects were members of the SS group in two districts, namely Rejang Lebong and North Bengkulu. To complete the portrait of the group considered to be embracing radicalism, people around the SS group were also used as research informants. Research informants are members of groups that are considered exposed to radicalism. Data collection techniques using interviews, observation, and documentation analysis. The data that has been collected was analysed using the Miles and Huberman (1994) approach which focuses on the description of the field data. To ensure the validity of the data, this study also uses source triangulation and time triangulation. The indicators of achievement in this study are the description of the conditions that shape the construction of radicalism in the community and the identification of communication patterns that are the way to spread the narrative of radicalism in Bengkulu.

METHODOLOGY

The method used in this research is in the constructivist paradigm with a case study approach. The case study was chosen because the

researcher saw that the problem being studied was a real-life case in a contemporary setting (Creswell, 2014, p. 135). The case study approach can provide an in-depth understanding of the case being studied. The research subjects are the SS group who are considered as exposed to radicalism in Rejang Lebong Regency and North Bengkulu Regency. To see the process of forming stigma against the SS group, the village community where the SS group is located is also the subject of research.

To obtain the data needed, the researchers interviewed informants consisting of Hijazi (Regent of Rejang Lebong), Iqbal Bastari (Vice Regent of Rejang Lebong), Mabrur Syah (Chairman of MUI Rejang Lebong), Village Apparatus in Jambu Keling Rejang Lebong, Islamic boarding schoolteacher in Jambu Keling Rejang Lebong, religious activist in Rejang Lebong. Meanwhile, in North Bengkulu, the researcher interviewed the head of the SS group in Unit 1, youth leaders from Unit 1, village officials in Unit 4, and the community around the SS group in Unit 1 and Unit 4 of North Bengkulu.

Table 2. List of Research Informants

	Name	Background
1	Hijazi	Regent of Rejang Lebong
2	Iqbal Bastari	Vice Regent of Rejang Lebong
3	Mabrur Syah	Chairman of MUI Rejang Lebong
4	Andi	North Bengkulu Unit 1 youth leaders
5	Sumito	Village officials in Unit 4 North Bengkulu
6	Reza	Administrator of Islamic Foundations in Rejang Lebong distric
7	SP	Teacher at the Jambu Keling Rejang Lebong Islamic Boarding School
8	ZS	SS Group Leader in North Bengkulu Regency

Source: research result (2019)

The focus of research informants is to answer how the communication and interaction of SS groups inside and outside the group. Data collection uses various sources of information consisting of interviews, observations, literature reviews, news studies, and reporting on cases of radicalism and terrorism in Bengkulu. The data analysis carried out is a holistic analysis of the whole case. The researcher conducted a case description and focused on the elements that were considered important in the research. After getting the important themes, the researcher confirms and interprets the meaning of the case.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Description of SS Groups Considered Exposed to Radicalism

Those who are considered exposed to radicalism in North Bengkulu Regency and Rejang Lebong Regency are community groups who live amid village communities. They are in one village area and are officially recognized as residents of that village. The group that is considered exposed to radicalism is better known in the community as adherents of the SS or called the SS group. The striking difference between the SS

group who are considered exposed to radicalism and the village community is the use of clothing attributes that are used in daily life. Male members of the SS group generally wore a *gamis* (overalls from the top of the body to the ankles) with pants above the ankles, in general terms called *cingkrang* pants (long pants that don't reach the ankles) and wore a hajj hat. Female members of the SS group use a hijab *syar'i* (women's clothing that covers the whole body except the face and palms, does not show curves, and is not flashy in colour) and their face is covered with a veil except for the eyes, the colour of clothing used is generally black. The striking difference in clothing also reinforces the different beliefs of the SS group and the villagers in general.

Even though they live side by side in a village area, the SS group has its facilities in meeting the needs of their group, especially those related to prayers. The SS group in Rejang Lebong owns land used for religious studies and is slightly separated from the villagers. On the land, there are places of worship, residences for people who study religion, and small plantations to support the group's economy. Meanwhile, the SS group in North Bengkulu was concentrated in two population units. They live amid society but still have a place of worship that is specifically used as a place to gather and study religion.

The SS groups in Rejang Lebong and North Districts have someone who is considered the leader of the group. The leader becomes a reference for other members in making policies regarding the attitudes and opinions of the group in everyday life. In North Bengkulu, because two SS groups are living in separate places, two elders are considered the leaders of the group.

Stigma and Communication Barriers of SS Groups with Surrounding Communities and Government Agencies
In general, there are no challenges that arise from the difference in appearance and perspective between the SS group and the village community, but these differences still cause social distance between the two. The social distance is formed because each group can meet its own needs. The impact of these conditions is that interaction becomes limited which results in communication being rarely carried out.

Based on interviews with youth leaders in Unit 1 Bengkulu Utara, it was found that one of the communication barriers that arose between the community and the SS group which was considered radical was the emergence of prejudice and labelling attached to the SS group. This condition is one of the factors that makes communication limited and takes place more between members of each group. One of these prejudices emerged from the police who regularly visited one of the SS groups in the Jambu Keling area, the Rejang Lebong Regency.

According to SP (one of the teachers), their place was initially routinely visited by the police to find out what was being taught to those who lived there. This is done because the place where they live is

associated with radicalism and terrorism which are currently being discussed in the mass media.

"… labelled as radical. Yes, that was before. (because) we wear cingkrang pants, beards, and veils. Mr Bahrudin Haiti has denied that all of this is not a sign of a radical, a sign of a radical person from his ideology, how do we know? When we sit down with them, ask them how they think about this country, well from there the answers appear…" (SP, Teacher at the Jambu Keling Rejang Lebong Islamic Boarding School, interview August 2019).

SP considers that the appearance approach to label someone who's exposed to radicalism and terrorism is something that is not appropriate. He regretted that the police were still using this approach to his group. SP also admitted that their group is very open if the police want to dig up information about what they are doing, but the approach should not place them as a group exposed to radicalism before they understand it well.

The police' prejudice against the SS group in Rejang Lebong is also not limited to exposure to radicalism but also about doubts related the nationalism of the SS group in the Homeland and obedience to the leaders of the Republic of Indonesia. According to village officials in Unit 4, the SS group was branded as dangerous because they were deemed not to love the country and did not respect the Indonesian flag. Faced with this prejudice, SP answered loudly.

"… Our obligation in Islam is to obey the leader as long as the leader does not disobey Lord God, right? Until we say something like this, the Republic of Indonesia is shouting, if this nation is attacked, it will be destroyed, we will see who is at the forefront, who dares to sacrifice their blood for this nation, I will say it like that. Are they the talkers or the accused like us?" (SP, Teacher at the Jambu Keling Rejang Lebong Islamic Boarding School, interview August 2019)

SP has strongly denied the prejudice about not being nationalist and not loving the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). This prejudice causes polemics when the symbols of the state do not exist in the area where they live. To anticipate this, at the entrance to his teaching place, SP installed a pole with a red and white flag flying over it. However, according to SP, currently, some police are starting to soften up against the SS group. Through regular dialogues, both formally through meetings, as well as through direct visits to the SS group's study site, several police concluded that there were no signs of radicalism at that location. According to SP, some security personnel has even sent their children to study at their place.

Apart from the police, figures from the MUI in Rejang Lebong also labelled the SS group in Jambu Keling as a monitored group for fear of

being exposed to radicalism. This description was obtained from one of the MUI figures through direct interviews with researchers.

> "…we were involved by the police in the deradicalisation program, both for those in detention, as well as for groups considered exposed to radicalism such as the SS group…" (Syah, MUI Rejang Lebong Administrator, interview September 2020)

Communication between the MUI Rejang Lebong Institute and the SS group where SP taught was hampered. This condition is caused by the existence of prejudice and labelling that comes from the point of view of the symbols used. One of the unique things about this is the pants, veil, and beard.

> "… Now, he talked about the beard problem, *cingkrang* pants are freedom in our religion, our beliefs are there for a reason and there is an argument. Yes, beard, *cingkrang* pants, veil right. I convey the reason there is proof, we don't need to explain, you already know this argument, here is the hadith, in the Qur'an this letter is explained, if we are like this (considered wrong) just delete it and delete the Qur'an. Because our guidelines are both holding on to the Qur'an and hadith, we all claim that, if there is a problem we return it together, sit down, why do we have beards, this is our reason…" (SP, interview August 2019)

Attributes that are interpreted as symbols of radicalism become obstacles in the interaction of the SS group with the surrounding environment. The assumption that terrorists use attributes like those used by the SS group also strengthens the stigma.

> "... the understanding of radicalism and terrorism is still unclear below (in the community), people only know that terrorists and radicals are from the veil, beard, *cingkrang* pants because that's what they see on TV..." (Andi, North Bengkulu Unit 1 youth leaders, interview August 2019)

The results of the interview illustrate that there is a contribution to reporting on terrorism actors with the stigma that is in the minds of the people. Mass media and social media in reporting terrorism cases often display perpetrators in certain profiles. The perpetrators of terrorism in the mass media and social media are shown in the form of beards, *cingkrang* pants, black foreheads with wives wearing long hijabs and veils. The appearance of terrorists and their families displayed in the mass media and social media makes the public perceive these profiles as a sign of someone who is indicated to be a terrorist. The issue of terrorism that always coexists with the issue of radicalism makes the profile of terrorist actors in the mass media a profile of those who are exposed to radicalism in society. This stigma attached to the SS group became one of the barriers to communication between them and government institutions.

Another communication barrier came from the community around where the SS group lived. The limited interaction and limited information raise the prejudice of the village community towards the SS group. One of these prejudices is about the radicalism embedded in the SS group, both in Rejang Lebong and in North Bengkulu.

"... That group (the SS group) lived among themselves, separated from the village community. Yes, they only wore beards and veils. In the past they did not want to raise the Indonesian flag, I threatened them, if they didn't want to, I would expel them from the village. ..." (Sumito, village officials in Unit 4 North Bengkulu, interview September 2020)

Based on this statement, the prejudice of radicalism is present because they see the symbols and actions worn by the SS group, which they know as perpetrators of terrorism and radicalism in the mass media. Some of these symbols are the veil, cingkrang pants, beard, not carrying the red and white flag on the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia. According to Suhartomo (a resident of Unit 1 Northern Bengkulu) what created social boundaries between the SS group and the surrounding community was a customary practice in daily life that was carried out by the community but was not practised and even rejected by the SS group. Some of these traditional practices are grave pilgrimage and *tahlilan (*The tradition of reading verses of the Qur'an and praying together to give the reward to the person who dies). For the villagers, what they have been doing for a long time is no longer a debate, but according to the SS group, it is against religious teachings because it has no basis. For the SS group, anything that is unfounded is considered heresy (heretic in Islam tends to be interpreted negatively because it is related to sin).

Based on Suhartomo and Sumito's previous statements, it can be concluded that the social distance between the SS group and the village community is caused by using the same symbols as terrorists in the mass media and the rejection of traditions carried out by the community which is considered to have no basis in Islam. This condition eventually gave birth to a stigma that the SS group was exposed to radicalism. Social distance has an impact on the lack of communication that takes place between the SS group and the village community. The assumption that they are different from each other both from the village community and from the SS group makes communication that takes place limited.

Another condition that strengthens social distancing is the location of residence. In the observations of the researchers, the location where the members of the SS group lived was generally somewhat separate from the rest of the village community. In Unit 1 and Unit 4, North Bengkulu, the residence of the SS group leader is about 100 meters from the community settlement. In Jambu Keling Rejang Lebong, the SS group was separated by about 200 meters from the settlements of other villagers. Members of the SS group also did the same thing by living

more around their leader or gathering with fellow SS members. This choice of residence directly formed the settlement of the SS group which was slightly separated from the settlements of other villagers. The impact is that when the traditions or habits of the people who are rejected by the SS group take place, the presence of the SS group who does not participate will be very visible. The researcher also found that the SS group had its place of worship which was different from the place of worship used by the villagers. This condition occurs because the SS group has a pesantren as a place to study religion, a mosque as their centre of worship is in this Islamic boarding school, so the worship activities of the SS group do not use the existing worship facilities in the village.

Formation of the Radicalism Label

The basic principle of the Berger and Luckman approach objectively is the understanding that humans are influenced by the surrounding environment. This environmental influence is the basis that the knowledge possessed by humans is the result of the social interactions that they live in everyday life. The family is the initial environment in which individuals interact and learn about the knowledge (Nursanti et al., 2021, p. 240). Therefore, according to Berger and Luckman, social reality is not a social fact but is shaped by individual experiences in interacting that produce knowledge. Therefore, the radical label attached to a group is a process that occurs from the interaction of rural communities that produces knowledge. Berger and Luckman also provide a subjective approach to understanding how reality is constructed by humans. The subjective approach is the flexibility of individuals who have a certain tendency to interpret the reality they face (Dharma, 2018, p. 2). In this situation, the individual has the creativity to construct reality according to the understanding he has. Departing from the thoughts of Berger and Luckman, subjectively the label of groups exposed to radicalism is a form of definition of the situation from the surrounding community towards members of the SS group.

Based on the statements of previous research informants, the process of forming a definition of this situation is influenced by two factors. The first is the media exposure factor and the second is the interaction factor between community members and between communities and members of the SS group. The existence of mass media is indeed missed in Berger and Luckman's approach. Nowadays it cannot be denied that the existence of mass media and social media has accelerated the process of forming the construction of reality. Berger and Luckman's approach, which only looks at social interactions in the formation of knowledge, is currently perceived as less able to explain how knowledge is formed in the era of technology and information. The current distribution of information has taken place rapidly and widely to form mass opinions that lead to the formation of reality in individual lives (Karman, 2015). This condition can explain how media exposure, especially regarding the

arrest of terrorist groups, forms the basic framework of how the characteristics of someone who is considered a terrorist and exposed to radicalism is. This media exposure becomes the basic intake for the formation of the concept of mind in the minds of the people. This mind is imprinted and strengthened from time to time when the media continues to preach terrorism with various symbols displayed at the time of the arrest. The strengthening of the concept of groups exposed to radicals is obtained by adjusting the symbols seen in the mass media with symbols seen in the environment. The similarity of the symbols reinforces the assumptions that people have in mind about radical groups that are close to terrorism. Thoughts about groups exposed to radicalism continue to develop when interacting with other community members. In the end, the exchange of meanings thickens and reaches the level of stereotypes and prejudice. In the symbolic interactionism theory approach, the meaning that is present in the minds of both the community group and the minds of the SS group is obtained from the interactions that occur on both sides. This meaning ultimately becomes the basis for action. The results of these interactions ultimately create meaning in each group about how to position themselves when dealing with other groups.

Berger and Luckman distinguish between knowledge and consciousness. Knowledge is understood as an activity to reveal reality, while awareness is understood as how a person knows himself when faced with a certain reality (Dharma, 2018:2). Experience in limited interactions and exposure to mass media reporting terrorism cases using certain symbols used by perpetrators has shaped the knowledge of the village community to label the SS group as a group exposed to radicalism. This knowledge becomes the basis for labelling the SS group. At the same time, the results of the ongoing interactions also make individuals reflect on themselves. Village communities reflect and realise that they are not a group exposed to radicalism. The reflection of the village community that they are different from the SS group is a form of awareness in Berger and Luckman's concept. This awareness in addition to creating boundaries for differences also creates a label attached to those who are different from them as groups exposed to radicalism. This prejudice arose because their previous reflections found that the symbols, they saw on television were like the symbols worn by the SS group. This similarity of symbols is the entry point for the birth of prejudice in the SS group. At the same time, members of the SS group also reflected on themselves that their perspective on living life and religious orders was different from the village community around them. The result of this reflection raises awareness that they are different and raises an assessment of the way people carry out traditions and religion. The reflection of both parties is an effort they make to get the meaning of how each party's point of view.

Self-reflection in village communities who continue to experience strengthening judgments in daily interactions creates a stigma of

radicalism to the SS group. Based on discussions with Suhartomo (Community Unit 1 Bengkulu Utara) Self-reflection in the village community gave birth to the stigma of radicalism in the SS group. This stigma was born from differences in the way the SS group dressed and behaved, which were generally different from the village community. Still, according to Suhartomo, this stigma continues to be thickened because, in some traditional practices that are often carried out by the village community, it turns out that the SS group does not follow it. Traditions such as the grave pilgrimage and *yasinan* (read the letter, Yasin, in the Alquran together) which were seen as positive from the community's point of view were rejected by the SS group who held the opposite view. This difference in appearance and behaviour creates social distance which at the same time raises the judgment of each group. In general, both parties consider themselves to be more righteous and better than the other group. The stigma of radicalism arises from this condition because of mutual judgment between groups.

Limitations of Interaction That Form Exclusive Communication Patterns in Groups Labeled as Exposed to Radicalism

In general, the theory of social reality construction emphasizes the process of rationalising individual experiences and interpreting them through language in communication. Departing from this assumption, the actions taken by both those who label and those who are labelled radical are a process of rationalisation when both parties interact. The labelling action taken by the public to the SS group is a process of rationalising the similarity of symbols they see in the mass media which is strengthened when communicated with other individuals. The SS group who was labelled as a group exposed to radicalism took rationalisation actions by strengthening group ties and limiting interaction with village communities who had negative stereotypes and prejudices against the SS group. The condition that underlies the rationalisation of both parties is the basis for the formation of communication patterns between the village community and the SS group. Lumentut's writing (2017, p. 4) describes the pattern of communication as a relationship pattern of sending and receiving messages from individuals or groups to get an understanding. Knowing communication patterns can provide an overview of how the message exchange process takes place in an organisation or group. An organisation or group shows the structure and working relationships of the communication patterns that are applied to them internally. In addition to the internal organisation or group, communication patterns are also able to explain how the relationship between groups and between organisations.

The limited interaction between the villagers and the SS group made the communication that took place also minimal. Although in practice there is still ongoing communication between the SS group and the villagers, this communication is limited to the surface to maintain the

relationship. While social dependence in everyday relationships tends to be avoided. Both groups try not to depend on other groups for their needs. This condition was created because the SS group in fulfilling their needs as much as possible was obtained from members of their group. The impact of this affects the communication patterns that develop in the SS group. Therefore, the communication that exists between the SS group and the surrounding community is running modestly. In the context of communication, indirectly the communication formed in the SS group leads to exclusivity. In the community when the village government's formal institutions do not play an optimal role, informal institutions such as the tackle assembly and volleyball community are used as an alternative meeting between community members (Suyono et al., 2021, p. 13). This situation makes informal institutions a communication forum for villagers to obtain information and references about radicalism and terrorism.

Exclusive communication is a form of communication that is only intended for those who are members of the group. This communication is motivated by the belief in the similarity of values and the similarity of behaviour of the members of each group. This is commonplace because the communication that occurs is related to beliefs and understanding of something they believe in everyday life. In the case of the SS group, the limited interaction also supports the emergence of exclusive communication oriented towards the internal group compared to the external group. Exclusive communication in practice is focused on the purpose of the communication being delivered. Messages in exclusive communication are more oriented towards internal groups and are not addressed to other groups. Even the messages in this exclusive communication are only for internal needs and are limited not to be conveyed to those outside the group.

In the principle of communication, there is jargon that the closer the identity, the more effective communication will be. The SS group has social boundaries with the surrounding community because of their differences. These differences start from attributes such as clothing and beliefs such as the values they believe in every day. These differences in attributes and beliefs ultimately become the identity of the SS group that can be distinguished from the identity of other groups. Based on the communication principles above, the exclusive communication situation applied by the SS group can be understood as a form of effective practice of shared values that form the basis for communication.

Exclusive communication is also a form of response used by the SS group to the views of other groups towards them. When the issue of radicalism and terrorism spreads, the similarity of attributes used by the SS group with the perpetrators of terrorism and radicalism in the mass media and social media has an impact on the image of their group. In the end, the label of groups exposed to radicalism encouraged the SS group to strengthen the bonds between members. In the practice of

daily life, the social boundaries accepted by the SS group originate from the attributes they wear daily that are different from those of the surrounding community. This condition was further strengthened by the beliefs of the SS group which differed from the way people lived. When the surrounding environment gives a negative stigma to the SS group, their efforts are to strengthen the bonds between group members. This condition is the only option because depending on other social environments will be difficult because they have previously received social restrictions due to different attributes and beliefs. In the end, the exclusive communication that is built is also one of the efforts to strengthen the bonds between the members to survive.

Thus, the exclusive communication carried out by the SS group is a reaction they have received so far from the surrounding environment. Exclusive communication is their effort to maintain their identity as well as the values they believe in so far. Differences in understanding about some life activities which if communicated to the outside will become a conflict, encourage this exclusive communication. This method was chosen by the SS group to maintain their existence both in attributes and in carrying out daily activities. Exclusive communication that is more aimed at internal interests is also a response to the pressure of symbolic violence through labelling groups exposed to radicalism. This condition was driven by the news in the mass media and social media which were considered by the public and government institutions to have a lot in common with the SS group.

One Way Communication and *Taklid* Communication

Even though they live together in the same area, residents with the SS group experience limited communication. The difference in values in the practice of everyday life is one of the contributing factors. The result of this condition is the lack of dialogue between the village community and the SS group. The communication process becomes a one-way street where each group is firm in its stance on certain values. The communication that occurs is only limited to conveying what they believe to be true. When the common ground is not found in communicating, then, communication avoidance occurs. So that the assessment of the SS group in the village developed without undergoing a process of clarification and verification.

One of the factors that made communication between groups not established effectively was the attitude of the SS group that followed what was conveyed by the group leader. This condition makes the attitudes and actions of SS members take place in an instructional manner. Communication within SS members about their values is in the form of instruction. What the leaders say becomes the basis for them to do something. This made the SS members only believe the words of their group leader. As a result of this belief, if the villagers gave an argument about an incident related to belief, the SS group members found it difficult to believe. This condition hinders communication. In

Islam, the characteristic in which a person only listens and carries out the orders and appeals of the leader is called *taqlid or taklid*. In the context of this research, communication that occurs within the SS group in the context of carrying out religious values can be called *taklid* communication.
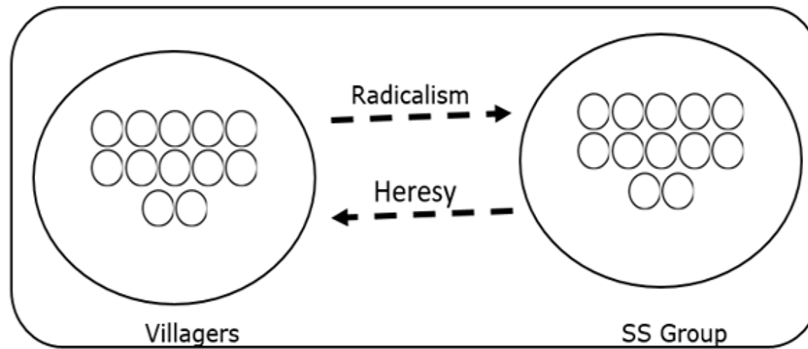

Figure 1. The Pattern of Communication between the village community and the SS group in Bengkulu. Source: Results of Research Data (2019)

Figure 1 illustrates that the limited interaction makes the communication that occurs between the community and the SS group becomes one-way. The impact of one-way communication is the lack of explanation of the views of both parties. Both parties have a negative view of each other, where the community views the SS group as being exposed to radicalism, while the SS group views the community as carrying out a heretical tradition that deviates from religion.

One-way communication in the SS group occurs in two contexts. The first is communication in interaction with the village community. In communication with village communities, one-way communication is a consequence of limited social interaction from both parties. One-way communication occurs especially in situations related to the values and beliefs held by the SS group.

The informants' previous statements have illustrated that differences in interpreting traditions and customs have hampered communication and took place more effectively in each group, both in the village community and in the SS group. In this incident, the SS group viewed the traditions and customs of the village community as having no roots in the Islamic life that was brought to life at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. On the other hand, the village community also believed that the SS group's rejection of community traditions and customs was a form of radicalism. Just like the SS group, the village community also did not discuss this view with the SS group. The second context of one-way communication in the SS group occurs internally. There is a belief that those who know more and ultimately are considered more knowledgeable about Islamic values are their leaders, then their perspective on an event will be returned to the leadership's decision. In the context of the SS group, those who are considered leaders are individuals who are also considered clerics. The interpretation of events, attitudes, and behaviour of SS group members will be largely

determined by the policies taken by their leaders. The process is more on belief because it is considered more understanding and more knowledgeable. In this context, the SS group applied one-way communication, both in the context of receiving instructions and in the context of executing. This condition is also the basis for the formation of one-way communication among villagers. Members of the SS group believed more in and obeyed what was instructed by their leader compared to village officials. In terms of interaction, the communication pattern applied by SS members contributes to shaping the exclusive life of the group.

CONCLUSION

The construction of radicalism embedded in the SS group is the result of conditions that cause social boundaries between them and the village community as well as the news in the mass media about terrorists who use the same symbols they wear daily. The mass media has guided the audience to capture the symbols of radicalism from the attributes attached to terrorist actors. These symbols are recognised in the form of growing beards, the use of '*cingkrang*' pants, and the veil. The lack of knowledge about what is called radicalism makes a shortcut in understanding the concept using symbols that are recognised through mass media impressions. The use of symbols in identifying someone exposed to radicalism makes groups that use the same or similar symbols directly get stigma from the community.

The compilation of knowledge from the mass media about radicalism is strengthened in community interactions. The results of community interactions with SS groups who have the same use of symbols with terrorist actors in the mass media further strengthen the stigma. This condition was strengthened by the different perspectives on the traditions and customs of the people who were rejected by the SS group. The tradition of pilgrimage and *tahlilan* which was considered good by the community was rejected by the SS group for not participating in these activities. The SS group's refusal to follow the traditions and customs of the community reinforces the stigma that the SS group is exposed to radicalism.

The communication pattern that developed in the SS group who were considered exposed to radicalism occurred in several models. The first is the exclusive pattern of communication. This communication pattern takes place in groups that are considered exposed to radicalism. The SS group communicates more with their fellow members in their daily activities. In fulfilling their daily needs, they communicate more with each other to find solutions to what they are experiencing. This condition makes communication patterns that develop in one direction. The surrounding community in understanding and assessing the group labelled as radicalism builds their assumptions among them without communicating with the group labelled as radicalism. Meanwhile, groups that are considered exposed to radicalism also do the same thing in

communicating. In addition, there are beliefs from certain groups who only believe and obey what someone they trust says. A pattern of *taklid* (follow the opinion of others without knowing the source or reason) communication, following the leader. This makes if the one who says something to them is not part of them, then the word will not be accepted.

Based on the results of the study, the interaction and communication that developed within the group and the public became one of the factors why the issue of radicalism was considered high in Bengkulu Province. Radicalism is currently still at the issue level, while the practice of radicalism itself still needs to be studied before being concluded as the area with the highest radicalism in Indonesia.

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