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Counter Hegemony Online Media Reporting on Marginalized Religious Groups: A Case Study of the Serikat Jurnalis Untuk Keberagaman (Sejuk)

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Abstract/Abstrak

The media ecosystem in Indonesia still does not provide a safe space for marginalized religious groups. Information on marginal religious groups is commodified so that these groups are only used as objects, not news subjects who can tell their point of view. Serikat Jurnalis Untuk Keberagaman (Sejuk) seeks to combat this hegemony by advocating journalists regarding coverage of marginalized religious groups. The theory used is the Counter Hegemony Theory and the Concept of Disinformation Capitalism. The research method was descriptive qualitative with a single case study type. Data collection techniques were carried out using semi-structured interviews and the use of literature. The analysis and validity of the data in this study used triangulation techniques. The analysis was performed by data reduction and data grouping to conclude. The result of the research was that the commodification of information occurred because positive information on reporting of marginal religious groups does not generate profits, so that information is limited and not reported. The information, in this case, is political and inaccurate, which means that positive information related to the harmonious practices of marginal religious groups is overshadowed by information related to conflicts and threats against these groups. Sejuk's efforts as an organic intellectual group against media hegemony has changed the perspective of journalists in covering marginal religious groups. Journalists, who have been in contact with and received Sejuk training might write stories that do not stigmatize this group. Even so, there are challenges in the practice of Sejuk, namely the resistance to Sejuk is quite large due to increasingly intense advocacy.

1. Introduction

The reform era caused many changes to occur in Indonesia: some positive and some negative. In the context of religious freedom, the conditions that occurred in the reform era were worse than in the Suharto era (Conversation, 2020). This is because Suharto's downfall has worsened religious laws and exacerbated social discrimination against minority religious adherents. The implication is that the number of social discriminations in Indonesia has increased dramatically from 1998-2003, which was marked against the Christian minority by burning churches, bombings on Christmas Eve, and communication conflicts in Ambon and Poso (Sumaktoyo, 2020).

Even though some of the communal conflicts subsided in 2003, they did not completely disappear because the conflicts continue to this day in a relatively mild form. This is supported by the Setara Institute Report which records that there have been more than 2,400 cases of violations of freedom of religion and belief in the 2007-2019 period (Tempo.Co, 2019). The highest number of victims came from Ahmadiyya backgrounds (554 cases), followed by religious people (334 cases), Christians (328 cases), individuals (314 cases), and Shiites (153 cases). The latest data from the Setara Institute Report found that there were still 318 violations against freedom of religion and belief in 2021 (Institute, 2021).

The aggressive treatment of marginal religions is also offset by media discrimination against this group. Based on the contents of online media coverage regarding diversity issues, 40.5% described the conflict and the description of the conflict was higher than efforts to reconcile the conflict (Sumaktoyo, 2020). Research conducted by (Heychael et al., n.d.) also explains that the content of messages in the reporting of marginal religious groups only focuses on reports of conflicts and threats. Marginal religious groups cannot present a more complete picture of how communities negotiate and celebrate differences in daily life. Thus, this group is only a news object, not a subject. This is then exacerbated by the flood of digital information which causes tension between redundancy and pluralism of information that is disseminated through digital platforms (Emmanuel Marty et al., 2011). Therefore, the discourse that appears in digital platform-based media shows inequality that occurs in the structure of the media and society (Gilang Desti Parahita et al., 2021). As a result, the news presented is not neutral and ignores the interests and information needs of marginalized groups. In the context of religion, this issue becomes easily viral in online media that marginal religious groups are increasingly pressured in the digital space and often stigmatized (Sejuk.Org, 2022).

The media, in practice, are now no longer just a source of information but an economic source of profit. So, do not be surprised if there is currently a lot of news bias in the media, both conventional and online. This is what is called the commodification of information, where information is used and valued based on the benefits derived from that information (Çıdık & Boyd, 2022). Commodification explains the mass media capitalist system, which seeks economic and political benefits by commodifying production in the media industry (Putri & SM, 2018). The commodification of information causes the media to fail to report all aspects of the news, so that the impact is that someone or several groups will be affected by the news (Richard West/Lynn H Turner, 2017). In this case, stigmatization of marginal religious groups will continue in society.

The above is commonplace in a media hegemonic culture, where the media generates hegemonic discourses (Karppinen, 2016), that is, some people will benefit from the news while others suffer losses. This hegemonic discourse is also seen as capable of eliminating the plurality needed in alternative discourses in the media space (Yoed-tadi & Personal, 2020). Therefore, reforming the media landscape and the presence of groups that oppose hegemony is logical and important to provide space for the voices of marginalized groups that have no place in the media. Sejuk, an association of journal-

ists, seeks to provide space for marginalized religious groups to speak out amidst the dominant mainstream discourse which often discredits and stigmatizes these religious groups.

As an actor in ideological struggles related to diversity, Sejuk tries to come up with new ideas to form a tolerant and diverse society with media support. As Gramsci explained, intellectual groups not only practice and teach science but also in the construction of hegemony. On that basis, Gramsci classifies this group as organic intellectuals. Then, he became part of the spread of ideas in society and the ruling class active descendants in forming the desired society (Benedetto Fontana, 1993).

The Union of Journalists for Diversity (Sejuk) was founded in 2008 by journalists from mainstream media, human rights activists, interfaith dialogue, and writers. Sejuk was established amid a growing trend of conservatism among journalists and mass media reports that cornered minority groups, victims of discrimination and violence in the name of religion (Sejuk.Org, 2008). They seek to advocate for the entire ecosystem in media to change perspectives in reporting on marginalized religious groups. Meanwhile, Sejuk's existence can broaden access for journalists and provide insight into various issues related to reporting on marginalized religious groups.

As for research on resistance to the culture of media hegemony, many have been carried out before. Research (D. Clark, 2020) entitled *Drag Them: A Brief Etymology of So-Called "Cancel Culture"* seeks to carry out dominant discourse on social media by utilizing Twitter social media. This allows users to actively mobilize topics outside of the dominant discourse until they go viral and form a collective to demand justice for marginalized racial groups. Then, the use of social media as a tool to oppose the discourse of media domination is also carried out by (Chan, 2018), in which Facebook becomes a process of discourse to oppose the dominant discourse. Meanwhile, the research conducted (Budarick, 2018) reveals that to fight against media hegemony, the media is advised to take an agnostic pluralist approach from Chantal Mouffe's perspective by restructuring media policies and workers.

So therefore, the novelty of this research is the researcher wants to see *counter-hegemony* media culture in the context of groups that carry out resistance in Antonio Gramsci's perspective, no longer in the perspective of Chantal Mouffe's public space or the use of social media as a means of resistance. In the Gramscian frame, academics see "fighting" against this condition to influence the social and cultural meaning of a message in society (Robert, 1995).

Based on this initial explanation, media hegemonic culture is understood as a condition of domination owned by individuals behind the mass media associated with a certain way of life and way of thinking. This method is then disseminated to the public using media (Alltheide, 1995). Altheide pointed to more specific individuals, namely journalists and the ecosystem in the media. Therefore, it can be said that the individuals referred to here are those who play a role in taking messages from media production. However, as described above, media authority is directed to the interests of the owners and their groups. Then, this research will describe how the commodification of information can occur in the production of media messages? How to create media that is oriented towards marginalized communities, in this case, marginal religious groups?

As for measuring the resistance to media cultural hegemony, researchers will analyze how the commodification of information can occur in the news. After that, the researcher will look at how the counter-hegemony is carried out by Sejuk in Antonio Gramsci's counter-hegemony perspective, where he coined the term counterhegemony to describe the process that individuals go through in creating ideas and discourse to question preconceived notions, beliefs, and norms of behavior that should be. Therefore, this research has two objectives. First, understanding how online media commodifies marginal religious group information. Second, to understand how Sejuk changed

journalists' online coverage of marginalized religious groups *against hegemony*.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Diversity Media in the Press of the Digital Age

Diversity in the media can be interpreted as a plurality of voices, analyses, and issues expressed in diversity (San, 2016). Media pluralism in the digital era is still very much discussed in the academic realm because there is still a lot of disinformation in the news in the global context and in Indonesia (Gilang Desti Parahita, 2017). The flood of information in the digital realm causes tension between information redundancy and pluralism (Emmanuel Marty et al., 2011). The implication is that the diversity of the press in online media is even lower when compared to reporting in newspapers. This is based on research in several British, American, and European countries (Humphrecht & Esser, 2018) (Beckers et al., 2019).

In the Indonesian context, there are several problems in media diversity, namely press freedom is still under threat, the quality of online reporting needs to be re-measured, and the diversity of media and press is also experiencing a weakening (Gilang Desti Parahita et al., 2021). Meanwhile, online reporting is currently based on market profits, so reporting often ignores the importance of pluralism or diversity itself (Susanto et al., 2020). As a result, news coverage does not fully support diversity and there is still non-neutrality in reporting on diversity.

Diversity issues have not yet been covered by the media. Online media reporting on diversity issues cannot comply with existing guidelines due to editorial considerations (Susanto et al., 2020). Meanwhile, the existence of power relations structurally in the media gave birth to hegemonic discourses in the media which would then prioritize information based on profit and power rather than the interests of society (Karppinen, 2016).

2.2 Capitalism and Disinformation

Information has become the main commodity that is produced and sold for profit in the relationship between capitalism and information. Alvin Toffler reveals that information is a difficult concept for a capitalist economy because the information is unlimited. Therefore, to benefit from the information, the information must be limited through information attachment. As a result, in this capitalism, accurate information often has no value, and vice versa, inaccurate information will generate financial, political, and propaganda benefits. So, information that is inaccurate but has a selling point is an important element in generating profits (Marshall et al., 2015).

Information can be restricted by claiming ownership. This claim to ownership stifles innovation because the owner can benefit or direct it, which hinders cultural development and ironically undermines originality. The information society requires innovation for cultural development, but the profit relations within capitalism hinder it. The more capitalist a company is, the less production and innovation there is. The process of domination becomes driven not by production but by the appropriation of information and culture (David Harvey, 2007)

This capitalism controls and regulates its resources to utilize information. Information from known and reliable sources will spread faster than more accurate information from unknown sources. In this information capitalism, the value of information is determined by money. Trading generally relies on information, but complete information must be limited as a tool for a specific purpose.

In the capitalist system, it is explained that if the information is distributed evenly. As Mark Porat said, "*Traders live off imperfect information*" (Daniel Burstein, 1995). This means that any trader or company owner can generate and convey false and false

information for his benefit. The company's ability and capacity to disseminate false and fake information is a strategic resource of the company.

In short, informational is trapped by the paradox that the information society requires free and easy distribution of information to carry out new explorations and adapt to changing conditions. At the same time, information must be limited to generate profits and maintain dominance (Marshall et al., 2015).

2.3 Counter Hegemony Antonio Gramsci

The irony of the media is that they present the illusion of diversity and objectivity when, in fact, they are the clear instruments of the dominant order. In communication science, especially in *the study of Cultural Studies*, known terms *counter-hegemony*, which means rejecting the existence of hegemony. *Hegemony* is an attempt made to influence a group or follow the way of thinking of a particular group by providing an understanding that is considered correct so that the hypnotized group thinks that the understanding provided by the group is valid to apply. In fact, without realizing it, they have been stirred up by certain groups with interests (Norman Fairclough, 2013).

Against hegemony is important in Cultural Studies because it can show that people do not always obey and obey what the media gives. Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist, does not see the media as a passive tool. However, counter-media in the complete form of space, language wars, or symbol wars fight for public acceptance or romantic ideas (Richard West/Lynn H Turner, 2017). Gramsci has always seen cultural resistance as an attempt to shift the position of people (dominant groups) by seeing ordinary people as culture-makers, counter-hegemony. By opposing the class holistic view, in which bourgeois groups have dominant ideologies and values, Gramsci embraces marginalized groups to form *counter-hegemony* in resistance and negotiation efforts (Curthoys & Docker, 2017).

Gramsci's theory says that there are two types of intellectuals in hegemony, traditional intellectuals, and organic intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals are seen as more independent, autonomous, and distanced from community life. They observe people's lives from a distance and are often as conservative (anti-change) as chroniclers, philosophers, and professors. The second is an organic intellectual who instills ideas, which spreads ruling class ideas, and actively shapes the desired society. Intellectuals who play an active role in diverse ideas can be said to be organic intellectuals to realize their revolutionary ideas in creating cultural change by preaching to marginal groups, especially marginal religious groups (Benedetto Fontana, 1993).

3. Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach that aims to explain the phenomenon in depth through the collection of data that is as deep as possible (Rachmat Kriyantono, 2014). The instrument used in qualitative research is the researcher himself as a tool that collects data. In the qualitative research process, the researcher focuses on learning the meaning of the participants on certain problems (W.Creswell, 2018). This qualitative approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data from observed sources, so this research uses descriptive qualitative research. In this study, the descriptive qualitative method helps the writer examine how Sejuk as an organic intellectual group communicates effectively to fight media hegemony.

The types of research in this study are *single case study*. Case study as a scientific research method, as said (Fidel, 1984) that this method is field research and is specifically directed to examine symptoms as they are without significant intervention from researchers. The implication of this method is to produce a comprehensive and holistic understanding

of the cases studied, while producing theoretical scientific propositions regarding the phenomena studied. The case that forms the basis and subject of this research is the Union of Journalists for Diversity (Sejuk). The existence of a series of communication actions that constitute resistance carried out by this group is an attempt by media discourse to corner or stigmatize marginal religious groups. Sejuk advocated reconciliation between journalists, editors, journalist associations, and stigmatized groups by providing new discourse in the media. Media discourse always sided with the dominant group and did not give space to marginalized religious groups. Sejuk's efforts to carry out resistance will be studied in depth using this case study method.

Meanwhile, the data collection in this study was carried out using semi-structured interview techniques and literature. The interview involved one of Sejuk's founders and two online media journalists who participated in Sejuk's activities. For data analysis and validity, the writer used source triangulation. Then, the analysis is carried out by reducing the data, grouping it by theme, and interpreting it to draw conclusions about the research objectives was the analysis.

4. Results

4.1 Commodification of Online Media Reporting Information on Marginalized Religious Groups

This research showed that there is a commodification of information related to the reporting of marginal religious groups. Meanwhile, the content of coverage of marginal religious groups only focuses on reporting conflicts that concern the audience. Meanwhile, the media does not report inspiring facts, such as harmonious practices or tolerant practices that are not reported by the media. The media tends to report on heated conflicts, for example, the case of "*The Banning of the Sunda Wiwitan Inscription in Kuningan*". Moreover, some journalists and the ecosystem in the media still regard this issue as a sensitive issue and the impact is a negative response from society, especially for local media.

"If the national media is arguably immune to FPI and intimidated by Islamist hardliners, but the local media still feels this is a tall order. Due to limited media (journalists and tribal chiefs are few and easy to identify), if it is to cover sensitive issues like this group, they prefer to be self-censorship (not coverage) for fear of being protested by hard-liner Islamic groups and their coverage tends to side with the majority of the dominant group" (Tantowi, one of the founders of Sejuk, 2022)

Several online media news portals also do not allow journalists to cover this issue because they believed in this marginal religious group is considered heretical by society and requires journalists to write reports on alternative media platforms.

"When I raise the theme of reporting on sexual violence, the media where I work are very welcome. But when I wanted to write about the Ahmadiyya issue, I had to go through a long debate with the leadership. My leadership does not allow it because religion is considered heretical in society. In the end, I wrote about the issue of Ahmadiyya in the Transito Lombok refuge at the Multatuli Project. Because when waiting for local media to publish news, it is impossible" (Susi Gustiana, Kompas Sumbawa Contributor, 2022)

Meanwhile, the representation of marginalized religious groups in the media has yet to get a place, and they are often used as objects of exploitation. This group does not even get space to share their perspective.

“Marginalized religious groups when used as news sources, only represent a few paragraphs of the whole story. Those who get more shares are elite groups such as the police, district heads, or opposing groups (the majority). For example, in the case of Ahmadiyah in Singtang, the Malay group (opposing groups) and government officials get a larger share of the source. Therefore, the diction used makes these marginal religious groups disobey existing regulations. News headlines also tend to corner this group” (Tantowi, one of the founders of Sejuk, 2022)

Meanwhile, in practice, some journalists and the media ecosystem still pay attention to the practice of sensationalism and pursuing clickbait for profit, especially in online media reporting. This practice of online journalism also often ignores the public interest because the work process is concise a short duration. This is what then makes marginal religious groups increasingly pressured in the digital space

“Journalists who still do not understand and have not established closeness with marginal religious groups still often make sensational news and ignore their interests. They create fake, gratuitous, and often stigmatizing news. They do things like this to get the audience’s attention and media benefits.” (Susi Gustiana, Kompas Sumbawa Contributing Journalist, 2022)

According to Tantowi, this stigmatization will continue in society, as long as the media landscape is like way, thus journalists must reform to end the authorities’ commercialization of this hegemonic discourse. When journalists are not given training and awareness of this issue, this dominant discourse will continue to last and marginal religious groups will increasingly have no safe space in online media.

4.2 Counter Hegemony Sejuk towards Reporting on Marginal Religious Groups

This research showed that Sejuk’s efforts have been able to change the perspective of journalists regarding news coverage of marginal religious groups. Meanwhile, Sejuk’s method counters internet media coverage of fringe religious organizations, which typically corners and stigmatizes them. This resistance effort manifested in several forms.

Following its vision to form a society supported by mass media that respects diversity, Sejuk conducted workshops and several activities to support diversity. Workshop activities started in 2008 and are only held once a year. However, starting in 2010, the Sejuk workshops are held 3 times a year. During the training, Sejuk provided a stimulus to journalists in providing new perspectives on diversity and human rights issues. Sejuk presents a narrative about the current condition of diversity, which is quite apprehensive and requires the active role of journalists to improve it. Sejuk’s advocacy for local media has grown as they have worked with national media journalists.

Meanwhile, Sejuk’s form of resistance to online news, which often discredits marginalized religious groups, consists of 4 things. First, news writing. In every workshop or training, Sejuk provided a stimulus to journalists regarding a new perspective on news writing related to marginal religious groups. For example, the selection of news titles, selection of diction, and selection of sources. The selection of news titles and the selection of dictions is regulated so as not to seem to corner marginal religious groups. Diction such as misguided titles and the use of clickbait is no longer in use.

In terms of sources, dominant groups are typically used to report on marginal religious groups, preventing minor religious organizations from sharing their perspectives. Therefore, the selection of sources is important in framing a story. Susi, a kompas.com journalist, also explained that after following training Sejuk, it has been selfish *to cover both sides* meaning not involving the government or my dominant group, but also giving space to marginalized groups because the job of a journalist is to voice the public interest, not the government’s interest.

The expected results from the Sejuk training in news writing support diversity, as in Susi's article entitled "*Saya Ingin Hidup Bahagia di Rumah: Perempuan Ahmadiyah di Transito*" (Gustiana, 2021). Meanwhile, this can be seen from the writings of Abdullah Fikri, a Kompas journalist, who also explains that the technique of writing news about this sensitive issue becomes clearer and counters the narrative with more emotional media reporting. Fikri's writings are also more friendly to these marginal religious groups: *Mengulas Penolakan Sunda Wiwitan sebagai Masyarakat Hukum Adat* (Abdullah Fikri Ashri, 2021c), *Juwita Djatikusumah Tembang Perjuangan Sunda Wiwitan* (Abdullah Fikri Ashri, 2021a), *Penghayat Kepercayaan: Sulitnya Kita Menikah "Resmi"* (Abdullah Fikri Ashri, 2021b).

As an effort to actualize writing as mentioned above, Sejuk has created guidelines for diversity in coverage aimed at journalists based on Law No. 40 of 1999 (article 6 letter b) and Law No. 32 of 2022 (article 2 and article 36 paragraph 5 letter c). The guidelines will soon be ratified or "waiting for the hammer" from the Press Council. This guide emphasizes the importance of compiling a Diversity Journalism Guide because the articles in the Press Law and Journalistic Code of Ethics related to reporting on diversity issues are still general, and it is hoped that this guide can reaffirm provisions relating to reporting on religious issues. However, enacting these guidelines is not a rule that will curb the work of journalists. So, this guide is not intended to limit freedom but to maintain and expand the limits of human freedom. The guidelines for writing the news are explained in table 4.1

Before Coverage	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Commitment not to involve personal beliefs that will lead to bias in presenting facts 2. Consider resigning from covering conflicting matters or events involving personal interests (<i>conflict of interest</i>) 3. Learn the background of events based on SARA 4. Prepare a reporting framework in promoting peace 5. Promote attitudes against violence
During Coverage	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do not encourage parties to commit violence 2. Do not use insulting words 3. Not interview sources in a discredited way, especially when based on biased personal beliefs 4. Not through conflict 5. Behave critical of the statements of each source which refers to the principles of human rights and applicable legal norms
At the Time of Display	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Airing the show sitting on things that are honest and true 2. Do not display statements from sources justifying discrimination and violence 3. Prioritizing the precautionary principle in reporting 4. Do not use hateful terms 5. Do not use direct quotes that contain hate speech 6. Do not lead or direct facts that have the potential to expand the conflict 7. Do not display photos, videos, audio, and sensational graphics (blood, corpses, <i>violencekekejian</i>, etc.) 8. Do not display attributes that are irrelevant to the case and does not to generalize 9. Not insulting, displaying stereotypes, or causing prejudice to mean the group
After viewing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Immediately make corrections and corrections proportionally if journalists find out that there was an error in covering beforehand

Table 4.1 Guidelines for Covering Diversity Issues (Source: Sejuk)

The second form of resistance is reconciliation between journalists and marginalized religious groups. Sejuk provides a meeting room between journalists and marginalized religious groups in workshop activities. This activity took the form of intense interaction and conveying aspirations, in which marginal religious groups expressed their disappointment with the media and their hopes for the news. This marginal religious group admits that they are disappointed with media coverage so far that they do not trust the media, moreover, news on religious issues easily goes viral in online media. The implication is that marginal religious groups become afraid and do not want to be interviewed by journalists. As a result, through this interaction journalists realize that their writing is wrong and has harmed marginalized groups.

At this meeting, marginalized religious groups also shared that their condition currently receives less attention from the state. This can be seen from the case of the Ahmadiyya group in West Nusa Tenggara who lived in the Transito refugee camp because they were expelled from their hometown. Journalists can be emotionally affected by these marginal religious groups' messages. This implies that journalists now view this group as stigmatized and neglected by society and the state. This is where the media is required to carry out its role as a watchdog, namely demanding that the state protect all citizens amid diversity issues.

Then, the third form of resistance is Sejuk building networks with marginal religious groups. In practice, when a conflict occurs in an area, Sejuk immediately visits the area and conducts training involving local media journalists. This is what is then referred to as a "*media visit*." In this activity, Sejuk tries to build trust and provide facts about the conflict. This network then makes it easier for journalists to find and cover the conflicts that occur against marginal religious groups.

"I have a good relationship with this marginal religious group. As much as possible, be their friend so they don't think that journalists only date when there is news. I can also interview Ahmadiyah in NTB because it is Sejuk. Because I carry the name Sejuk" (Susi Gustiana, Kompas Sumbawa Contributing Journalist, 2022)

On *media visit* activity, journalists can write news that is not stigmatized against marginal religious groups. Meanwhile, the fears of marginal religious groups are slowly disappearing and they can believe and tell stories to the media. The results of building this network are: (1) if something happens to marginal religious groups, they can contact the media or journalists. If there are *hoaxes* in online media, then it can provide facts to journalists; (2) the media no longer makes the news that stigmatizes marginal religious groups because they have direct contact and see directly the facts that occur on the ground, resulting in journalist sensitivity; (3) if it is not the editors or journalists who meet that cause the news to be fake, then getting the right of reply and the right of correction is easy because of this meeting.

5. Discussion

5.1 Commodification of Online Media Reporting Information on Marginalized Religious Groups

In the context of the commodification of information, it is explained that the information conveyed is biased because the information that is disseminated is based solely on profit. This becomes commonplace in the relationship between capitalism and information. This is what Toffler explained that to benefit from information, the unlimited amount of information must be limited (Marshall et al., 2015). The implication is that the media only reports news that is profitable even though the news has no value. In the end, the information is accurate, but it will be tough to disseminate because it is

not profitable. This happens in the case of online media reporting on marginal religious groups because reporting on conflicts, threats, and sensationalism is more profitable than broadcasting practices of this group harmony. This limitation of information is the first factor that causes commodification to occur.

Restricting information is closely related to the pretext of ownership or authority over information because media owners have the authority to limit information to be disseminated. In the case of reporting on marginal religious groups, some local media owners do not allow their journalists to report on diversity issues, especially for marginal religious groups. This is because the media owner does not want a negative impact on his media so he has the authority not to broadcast the news. Since the story is not profitable, journalists can't report positive practices of the marginal religious organizations that strive to reduce the stigmatization of this group.

It can also be said that journalists cannot make changes regarding news coverage because the profit relations in the capitalist system prevent this. The more capitalist a media or company is, the less innovation or change there is. The process of domination here is not driven by production, but by the appropriation of information itself. Thus, this limitation of information hinders journalists' efforts to provide positive space for marginalized religious groups.

Then the commodification of information occurs because the value of information is determined by money. Therefore, people who have interests and money can hide information that has an unfavorable impact. In the end, they follow the voice of the majority or dominant group which is considered beneficial and has a positive impact for the company. As Mark Porat said, "traders *living off imperfect information*" (Daniel Burstein, 1995). Thus, any organization founder can produce and spread misleading information.

To make use of information, capitalism also controls and regulates its sources. Sources from marginalized religious groups only represent a few paragraphs of the entire story. Meanwhile, the media gave a bigger share to government officials and the majority group in reporting. As for the Ahmadiyya case in Sintang, Malay groups (opposition groups) and government officials received a larger share of resources. Therefore, media reports on marginalized groups still favor the majority and marginalize religious groups.

In practice, according to (Marshall et al., 2015) information from known and reliable sources will spread faster than more accurate information from unknown sources. The value of this source then depends on how far it can take the audience's trust. Religious leaders from the majority group and government officials are more capable of gaining public trust than leaders of marginalized groups who are still stigmatized. In this case, it can be said that the information is political and inaccurate. This is where bad information (conflicts and threats of marginal religious groups) can overpower good information (harmonious and tolerant practices of marginal religious groups). This is because, as a commodity, information is tailored to favorable expectations and biases, not a focus on accuracy. In the end, the messages conveyed to the public become biased so the stigmatization of marginal religious groups continues. This is where this commodification of information then provides a description and perspective of society towards marginal religious groups.

In the digital realm, online media can reach a wider audience. However, in practice, online journalism prioritizes speed and relies solely on official statements. Online media sometimes uses sensationalism, disinformation, and clickbait on reporting marginalized religious groups. Thus, this group is pressed into the digital area. This is because the information in the capitalist system tends to be related to the pleasures, profits, and interests of the owners, fear, anger, and emotions, this information leads to sensationalism and the planting of false and misleading information.

Information is freely exchanged in the digital realm. This is considered capable of resisting the commodification of information because, with the free exchange of information, everyone can fight for the accuracy of the information. Freelancers, not journalists, provide informal information on the internet, making them a weak and parasitic information exchange alternative.

Therefore, in the discussion that follows, the researcher wants to see how groups of mainstream media journalists (not freelancers) try to fight the commodification of information related to reporting on marginal religious groups. Are they still weak or parasitic alternatives in information exchange? On the margins of information capitalism, grassroots groups or alternative groups become normalized (Rachel Botsman, 2010). However, how significant the success it is still difficult to predict.

5.2 Counter Hegemony on Preaching of Marginal Religious Groups

The commodification of information causes information to become inaccurate due to elements of certain group interests. The result is that some people benefit while others suffer losses. In reporting marginal religious groups, marginal religious groups often receive stigmatization due to the commodification of information. This is common in media hegemony, where the dominant group gains an advantage over other, usually weaker groups.

Term *counter-hegemony* is known in the science of communication, especially in studying *Cultural Studies*. Counter hegemony is an attempt to fight hegemony that harms some parties and benefits other parties (Richard West/Lynn H Turner, 2017). It seeks to see the point of view of racial minorities and oppressed groups. The results of this study show counter-hegemony and ideological struggles in the realm of popular culture. The counter-hegemony in this study was carried out by the actor, namely Sejuk, towards online media hegemony regarding the discourse of media coverage of marginal groups, namely marginalized religious groups.

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist, does not see the media as a passive tool. However, counter-media forms space, language wars, or symbol wars struggle for public acceptance or ideological ideas (Richard West/Lynn H Turner, 2017). Sejuk's position in the digital community, which takes different actions from media coverage, makes it an actor in popular culture's ideological conflict by rejecting dominant ideology and values and subsequently adopting marginalized groups' ideology, resulting in counter-hegemonic formations.

Sejuk's efforts to build a new civilization of media literacy, especially online media, have resulted in action and resistance against past discourses. A new discourse was born from an activity initiated by Sejuk to change the perspective of journalists in news writing. Sejuk makes writing guidelines that follow the path or rail of journalism regarding this diversity issue. This guide does not curb journalistic freedom but expands the boundaries of human freedom. With this guide, counter-narratives during the current media discourse are more pronounced and applied, so that media coverage does not only corner marginal religious groups.

Sejuk, as an actor in ideological struggles related to the struggle for diversity, tries to keep coming up with new ideas and ideas in the formation of the desired society, namely a society that is tolerant and respects diversity with the support of the media. As Gramsci explained, intellectual groups not only practice and teach science but also in the construction of hegemony. On that basis, Gramsci classifies this group as organic intellectuals. Because of that, he became part of the dissemination of ideas within the ruling class society and his descendants were active in shaping the desired society.

In practice, Sejuk, an organic intellectual, seeks to participate in the construction of hegemony. They try to change the way journalists view this group. Sejuk advocates for national and local media in various regions. Even when there is a religious conflict

in an area, Sejuk recommends and approaches him personally to the conflict area. For example, in the case of Ahmadiyah in Lombok and the obligation to wear the hijab in Padang, Sejuk has advocated and made a personal approach to the area with the local media. Even though these two regions have a strong majority culture that rejects the existence of Sejuk considered liberal, Sejuk continues to provide education to journalists, both organizationally and personally.

The most important thing for Sejuk is that journalists have a new perspective on covering diversity and providing a safe media space for marginalized groups. For Sejuk, the media is not only a source of education and information. The media also has the role of *watchdog*, namely the media as a forum for gathering and holding the government accountable. Related to the issues of marginalized communities. As a result, the content of media coverage is no longer only from the government's point of view or the opinion of certain groups but also includes marginalized groups to explain their point of view because the media is a tool for voicing the interests of the people, not the interests of the government or certain groups.

Gramsci stated that the role of organic intellectuals is to provide insight into the language of knowledge and the language of expression which is very precise so that people can articulate the things they feel and think. It is Sejuk to provide journalists with knowledge about the current narratives in media reports about marginalized religious groups and what efforts journalists should make to counter these narratives. Sejuk does not only advocate through workshops with speakers from activist groups and journalists, but Sejuk also makes reconciliation efforts with marginalized religious groups. Sejuk brings journalists and groups together with marginalized religions so that journalists can better understand these groups and what the media has been doing to them.

Practice Sejuk also targets an emotional approach so that journalists and the ecosystem in the media understand the conditions that are happening. The output is to increase the sensitivity of journalists in reporting so that society's stigmatization of marginalized religious groups does not continue, especially in the online sphere, which is so quickly viral and widespread. Through this kind of role, society will not easily be trapped by dogma and bourgeois ideology which is poured through hegemony.

The struggle against marginalized religious groups against media domination is no longer seen as a weak or parasitic alternative. In the digital realm, these parasites work not as educated and recommended journalists but simply as freelancers trying to fight the hegemonic commodification of information. Sejuk, as an organic intellectual from a group of mainstream media journalists, can transform journalists, perfecting journalists' perspectives in covering marginal religious groups. Sejuk has advocated for more than 500 local and national media since 2008 to better understand marginalized groups and efforts to counter previous stigmatizing narratives to alienate marginalized religious groups, especially their practices in the digital realm.

6. Conclusion

Based on the results of the description above, it can be concluded that the commodification of information in reporting on marginal religious groups occurs due to several things, namely (1) there is a limitation of information by media owners so that online media tends to report sensational things that are profitable rather than practice harmony of marginal religious groups; (2) restrictions on information are carried out under the pretext of ownership to prevent journalists from providing positive space for marginalized religious groups; (3) the value of information is determined by money so that every company owner can produce false and false information for their benefit. Issues related to marginal religions (besides conflicts and threats) are hidden because the media is worried that it will harm the media; (4) information capitalism controls

and regulates its resources. Resource persons from marginalized religious groups have a smaller share than the dominant or majority groups. In this case, the information is political, and not accurate.

In the digital realm, groups that reject the commodification of hegemonic information are freelancers (not regular journalists) so they are said to be a weak or parasitic alternative in the fight against media domination. However, in this study, the researchers looked at the counter-hegemony carried out by a group of journalists' unions who are members of Sejuk. They have been advocated for and educated regarding reporting on marginal religious groups.

As an actor in ideological conflicts related to diversity, Sejuk seeks to come up with fresh ideas to construct the desired society, namely a society that is tolerant and respects diversity with the support of the media. In practice, Sejuk, as an organic intellectual, tries to participate in the construction of hegemony. Sejuk seeks to produce a new civilization in media literacy.

The practice of Sejuk changed the perspective of journalists in covering marginalized religious groups. Sejuk has been able to advocate for more than 500 local and national media since 2008 to better understand marginalized groups and efforts to counter previous stigmatizing narratives to alienate marginalized religious groups, especially their practices in the digital sphere. The efforts that Keren has made since 2018 are not short-lived, it succeeds in changing perspectives and increasing the sensitivity of journalists and the ecosystem in the media is an achievement, but the road of struggle and their resistance is still long because the more intensive and intense advocacy that Sejuk does, the higher the resistance against Sejuk by several groups who reject Sejuk's discourse and efforts.

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