

Counter hegemonic representation of Islamic media in Indonesia on death penalty issue

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Received 2 February 2022/Accepted 19 July 2022

ABSTRACT

During the first two years of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla Government (2014-2015) in Indonesia, precisely 18 death row inmates who were guilty of drugs had been executed. The government believed that death penalty is the effective solution to overcome the high rate of narcotics crime. It becomes an interesting case due to the pressure of hegemony of the European Union over the government of Indonesia. One of the major national media in Indonesia, namely Republika.co.id, supports the implementation of death penalty. This studied aims to reveal the counter-hegemonic representation of Republika.co.id in opposing the hegemony of the EU related to the issue of Human Rights, particularly death penalty. This study applied Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough and critical theory of Hegemony by Antonio Gramsci. The result showed that Republika represents counter-hegemonic in its reporting since it rejects the EU's attitude considered to impose its standard principles of human rights on Indonesia. There are always economic interests behind hegemony. Not all media can be a tool of hegemony and media can be the agent of counter-hegemony. .

Keywords: Counter-Hegemonic; Representation; CDA; Islamic Media; Death Penalty Issue

INTRODUCTION

Death penalty is a form of punishment that has been implemented in Indonesia long before the governance of Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla (Jokowi-JK). As mentioned on the website of the Imparsial (The Indonesian Human Rights Monitor) www.imparsial.org, referring to the note by the Commission of Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KONTRAS), Indonesia successfully executed 56 death row inmates in total during the New Order period (1979 - 2007). The number has increased in 2008 to 2014, comprising 71 death row inmates. On the website, Imparsial stated that the number has specifically increase rapidly during the governance of Jokowi-JK. Even the government period has not fully passed its second year, the government (2014-2015) has executed 18 drug convicts (Putri, 2018). The main argument provided by Jokowi-JK for the execution is that death penalty is the most effective solution to overcome the high rate of narcotics crime in Indonesia.

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Table 1. Perioditation of the Death Penalty Since 1979 -2015

Period	The Number of Death Sentence
1979-2007	56
2008- early 2014	71
2014-2015	18

The punishment is expected to provide a deterrent effect for narcotics criminals. However, according to Imparsial, this policy leads to an impression that the government is not concerned about other crimes such as corruption. Since the corruptor, whom have been inflicted a financial loss of billions of rupiah on the country, only been jailed for several years instead of given a death penalty as in China. The policy on death penalty received protests from human rights (HAM) institutions and also criticism from Imparsial and Amnesty International since the penalty is considered to violate human rights (McRae, 2017). Humanitarian activists even questioned one of Jokowi's promises in Nawacita that guarantees respect, protection, and fulfillment of human rights (Patra, 2018).

The Editor-in-Chief of Republika Irfan Junaidi (2019) stated that western media generally have reporting Indonesian Government policy on human rights in bad angle, specifically in reporting death penalty in Indonesia . He said that they reported this particular decision of the Government of Indonesia by selecting and interviewing the media sources or news makers whom made criticize or contras statement to the Indonesian Government. The EU pressure on the Government of Indonesia by issuing releases condemning the death penalty as violation of human rights in EU media discourses'. Western media (Especially EU and US) are frequently deemed to have an extraordinary influence in determining the direction of global media coverage. The EU influence is also evident in Indonesian media reporting on human rights issues such as death penalty in Indonesia. In my preobservation, various media in Indonesia even report this issue from two perspectives: pros and cons.

Media represent the realities in their news discourse based on many factors, such as intra and extra media factors (Sya & Marta, 2019). This research studied the media representation about the hegemony of the EU on the issue of Human Rights, in particular the death penalty issue. Human Rights (HAM) are rights given to humans not by the community (Marta & Fernando, 2020). These is not based on applicable positive laws, but based on their dignity as human beings. The country may not acknowledge these human rights. However, the rights cannot be removed or declared invalid by a country (Foroudi et al., 2016).

According to News Editor of Republika Online Damhuri (in interview in 2019), Republika is the media which reporting the human rights issue. It reports frequently is connected with it support to Islamic view (Muslim, 2013). Indonesia is one of Moslem biggest country in the world. Hence, the issue of human rights particularly death penalty for drugs dealer or convicted in Indonesia, could not be separated from the Indonesian Moslem supports. Here, we will discuss about the Islamic view or perspective of death penalty for drug dealers in Islam.

As quoted in Hidayatullah.com (an Islamic news portal) on April 24, 2015, Dr. Ahmad Zain An-Najah, MA, an expert of fiqh who obtained his doctoral degree in the field of fiqh in Al-Azhar, Egypt, states that most ulama argue that death penalty is an appropriate punishment for drug dealers. His argument based on the argument that illicit drugs have caused great damage to religion, nation, and country, particularly the younger generation.

This research tried to reveal the counter-hegemonic representation of republika.co.id against the hegemony of the EU on the issue of Human Rights, in particular the death penalty issue. What is hegemony and counter hegemony? We could base the answer from the theory of Hegemony by Antonio Gramsci (Haryono, 2017).

Gramsci defines Hegemony as cultural leadership by the ruling party (Pass, 2019). Hegemony is different from coercion by both the executive and the legislature. While the early

Marxians focus on economic determinism and the coercive aspects of state domination, Gramsci focuses on the hegemony of cultural leadership (Cloud, 2020; Fontana, 2010).

Counter hegemony must be carried out by *organic intellectuals* emerging from the working class. These organic intellectuals generating political changes through a revolutionary party (Cloud, 2020). These organic intellectuals later break the domination of the bourgeois and create a new concept of society based on the concept of the proletariat instead of bourgeois'.

Furthermore, Gramsci states that the initial task of the revolutionary party is to seize civil hegemony. Thus, the terms "war of position" and "passive revolution" emerge (Brighenti, 2016). By these, the party strives to change the awareness of the community and persuade other social classes to be receptive to the moral and cultural values of the working class. When they have established their intellectual and moral leadership, they in fact already have hegemony and power (Maglaras, 2013).

The war of position in this study is the counter-hegemonic attitude of Republika.co.id towards the hegemony of EU. EU wants Indonesia to abolish death penalty. EU also possibly press over Indonesia regarding the issue of Human Rights (HAM) and death penalty, by connecting it with the Indonesian-EU trade and investment dependence. Republika tends to use its news reporting to make the counter hegemony for UE by supporting the Indonesian government's policy of death penalty.

This research is interesting due to the pressure of hegemony of the European Union (EU) over the government of Indonesia. We assumed that one of the major national media in Indonesia, namely Republika--with its online portal, Republika.co.id, supports (pro) the implementation of Indonesian Government policy on death penalty. It also implies resistance to the pressure of hegemony of the EU.



Figure 1. Replubika.co.id portal web

Republika has image profile as media with ideology that close to Islamic ideology and support the Islamic values. The history of Republika is closely related to the history of the New Order press and the end of authoritarianism (Saepullah & Muchtar, 2020). In 1993, the Indonesian Association of Moslem Intellectuals (ICMI) sought permission to publish a newspaper. The association was fortunate because it was able to utilize the license of Berita Buana that was closed a year earlier and whose former owner was concerned that the SIUPP (Press Issuance Business License) would be revoked (Steele, p. 90). ICMI was founded in 1990 under the leadership of The Ministry of Research and Technology Prof. Dr. B.J. Habibie. Following the development of media technology, Republika developed an online version of Republika Online (ROL) on August 17, 1996. In 1998, Soeharto resigned as the president and was replaced by B.J. Habibie who helped raise the prestige of Republika. In 2000, new investor Mahaka Media bought Republika and changed its economic basic.

Republika.co.id shows different attitude from other mainstream media. It supports the government of Indonesia by quoting the support statements from various media sources for the severe sanction of Indonesian government on those convicted of drugs. The opinions came from

officials, academics and communities, considering that Indonesia is on the verge of a drug emergency.

This research question is “What is the counter-hegemonic representation of Republika.co.id against the hegemony of the EU on the issue of Human Rights, in particular the death penalty issue?”. The objective of the study is to reveal the counter-hegemonic representation of republika.co.id against the hegemony of the EU on the issue of Human Rights, in particular the death penalty issue.

The academic significance of this research is to give contribution on media and journalism studies in the perspective of critical paradigm, particularly about the hegemony and critical discourse analysis studies.

The uniqueness or novelty of this research is the theme about Indonesian’s Islamic media contra-hegemony to the European Union pressure. As far as I know, there is no research previously about this theme.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used critical paradigm with descriptive analysis and qualitative approach (Fernando et al., 2021; Menayang & Marta, 2020). Critical theory used in the discussion of the findings to uncover the nature behind reality (Liu & Guo, 2016). Paradigm has important aspects observed from the aspects of ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology (Fernando et al., 2020; Mayring, 2014). The question to answer in the ontological aspect is the nature of the reality studied. In the epistemological aspect is the nature of the relation between the researcher and the object of research (Nakaya, 2018). In the axiological aspect, the question to answer is the values and benefits of a study (Flatschart, 2017). And in the methodological aspect is how the researcher obtains the knowledge.

The research used interview and text analysis to collect the data. The study used Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis method (Ziskin, 2019). Critical discourse analysis is study that attempts to express activities, perspectives, and identities based on the language used in the discourse. Fairclough argued that *discourse is a social practice*. Discourse analysis using a critical approach shows the cohesiveness of: (a) text analysis; (b) analysis of the process, production, consumption, and distribution of text; and (c) sociocultural analysis that develops around the discourse. Fairclough's model (Nieto-Galan, 2011) divided critical discourse analysis into three dimensions: *text, discourse practice, and social practice*.

Textual Dimension (Microstructural): Text has three functions are representation, relation, and identity. Representation is related to the methods applied to present social reality in text. The analysis of textual dimension is related to linguistics. For example, such as vocabulary, semantic, grammar analysis, the structure of sentence, coherence, cohesiveness, phonology, writing systems, and how the unity forms an understanding. Fairclough's approach to analyze texts attempts to unite three traditions (Irawan & Adnan, 2018) :

- a. Detailed textual analysis in the field of linguistics
- b. Macro-sociological analysis of social practice
- c. Interpretative and micro-sociological traditions in sociology (including ethnomethodology and conversation analysis) where daily life is treated as a product of one's actions. The action follows a series of procedures and "rules of common sense".

Dimension of discourse Practice (Mesostructural): The interpretation is carried out on the processing of discourse. It is related to the aspects of text production process (Such as media organization, values, patterns, routines, and etc.), distribution, and text utilization or consumption .

Practical Dimension of Socio-Culture of Media (Macrostructural): A macro-level analysis based on the existing social contexts outside text or media. Those are influencing media discourse.

For example, the society's ideology, economic context, historical context, the situation or relation to certain political communities or cultures, and etc.

Therefore, unit analysis was separated into three parts: *First*, Republika news (For the text analysis level); *Second* is Informants (For discourse and socio cultural practice level); and *third* is text literature (For socio cultural practice level).

The news used in the micro level study are the news in republika.co.id, published from December 1-31, 2016 (one month). The news related to the issues and the government policy on death penalty for drug dealers in Indonesia during the governance of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla. The news is selected. The criteria of the news are: 1) Straight news; 2) Discussing the decision of the Indonesian government or EU attitude regarding death penalty for drug dealers.

At the meso level, the researcher conducted an interview with the editor of Republika.co.id to analyze the ideology of the media. At the macro level, the researcher conducted literature study and interview with representatives of the European Commission in Jakarta. Furthermore, the researcher conducted analysis of counter-hegemony of Republika.co.id against the EU hegemony in news reporting of death penalty. This analysis and discussion based on the critical theory of hegemony of Antonio Gramsci.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Textual Dimension (Microstructural) :

Republika Text

a. Text Analysis on News 1

"MUI: Jokowi Adil Hukum Mati Gembong Narkoba"

("MUI: Jokowi is Fair to Sentencing the Drug Dealers to Death")

Monday, Jan 19, 2015 08:49 WIB

Rep: C13/ Red: Erik Purnama Putra

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, JAKARTA – *The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) deems those who disapprove death penalty for drug dealers and users unfair. Death penalty issued by President Jokowi to a number of drug dealers does not receive the support of all parties. Several people state that, ideally, the political policies issued by Jokowi should also portray his favor with a sense of justice. The Chairman of the Central Committee of MUI National Anti-Narcotics Movement (Gannas), Anwar Abbas, expresses his surprise at those opposing death penalty. According to him, these people disagree that Jokowi approves death penalty for killers. In fact, he continued, if they were consistent with their expectation that Jokowi will favor the sense of justice, they should support the approval. "Jokowi has obviously been notably fair as expected," Anwar told Republika, Monday (1/19). Anwar reveals that death penalty is a fair sentence for drug dealers because they have revoked the right of other people to live. Therefore, Anwar perceives that it is only fair to revoke their right to live as well. According to him, the country has properly carried out the task. "Where is the unfairness of the country and Jokowi in this matter? Isn't it the duty of the country to protect its people?" Anwar inquired. He argues that the country must be fair and not discriminating in protecting its people. (*)*

b. Analysis of Representations in Sub-clauses

The headline "*MUI: Jokowi Adil Hukum Mati Gembong Narkoba*" (*Jokowi is Fair to Execute the Drug Dealers to Death*) shown that Republika consents to the statement of a speaker of MUI related to the issue of death penalty. The title used a variety of journalistic languages that eliminate some conjunctions. The standard sentence in bahasa for the title is "*Jokowi (Bersikap) Adil (dengan) (Meng)hukum Mati Gembong Narkoba*" (*Jokowi is Fair in Sentencing the Drug Dealers to Death*) . It indicates that President Joko Widodo

(Jokowi) is fair when issuing death penalty for drug dealers. In this clause, “Jokowi” is the subject, “*adil*” (Fair) is the adjective expansion, and “*dengan*” is the conjunction omitted, followed by the phrase “*Hukum Mati Gembong Narkoba*” (Sentencing the Drug Dealers to Death). The title “MUI: Jokowi is Fair to Execute Drug Dealers” shows that MUI supports the policy on death penalty issued by Jokowi, while the subclause “Execute Drug Dealers” is a representation of the agreement of MUI that drug dealers should be sentenced to death. The phrase “drug dealers” is a pronoun for drug traffickers, a cliché known to the public in a negative context. The use of this phrase shows *the ideological representation* of Republika raising the issue from the perspective of MUI that *supports death penalty*.

c. Analysis of Representation in the Combination of Sub-clauses

Paragraph 5 of the news article reads *“Anwar reveals that death penalty is a fair sentence for drug dealers because they have revoked the right of other people to live. Therefore, Anwar perceives that it is only fair to revoke their right to live as well. According to him, the country has properly carried out the task.”* This analysis observed the coherence and the cohesion of the two aforementioned sub-clauses. *The first* sub-clause reads “... death penalty is a fair sentence for drug dealers” followed by the *second* sub-clause “... they have revoked the right of other people to live”. Between the two sub-clauses there is indeed a logical coherence that the death penalty is fair for drug dealers because the drug dealers have taken the lives of other people. In terms of cohesion, the conjunction used is the word “because”, showing a cause that must have an effect. The first event leads to the *second event*. In other words, the decision regarding death penalty is the result of the actions of drug dealers taking the lives of other people. The sub-clauses “... *the reason for the death sentence is fair for drug dealers*” ... and “... they have revoked the right of other people to live” show a metaphor. The phrase “*have revoked*” indicates the ideology of Republika that supports death penalty for drug dealers.

d. Analysis of Representation in the Series of Sub-clauses

Summary : The news article entitled “*MUI: Jokowi is Fair to Execute Drug Dealers*” represents the support of MUI towards Jokowi.

Paragraph 1, shows that Indonesian Ulama Council/MUI supports the policy on death penalty issued by Jokowi and condemn those opposing the policy. The first sentence only mention MUI as the subject, expressed by the MUI board/leader of MUI. This sentence states that MUI deems those opposing death penalty unfair, implying that MUI considers death penalty issued by Jokowi to be in compliance with Islamic law. Republika selects MUI as the speaker to show its support for Islamic ideology and death penalty to be in compliance with sharia law.

Paragraph 2, reveals that the source is the Chairman of the Central Committee of MUI National Anti-Narcotics Movement (Gannas), Anwar Abbas. His statements defend the policy of death penalty issued by president. The clause “*Anwar Abbas expresses his surprise at those opposing death penalty*” shows the ideological stand point and representation of Republika that supports death penalty and condemns those opposing death penalty.

In *paragraphs 3, 4, 5, and 6*, Anwar Abbas states his disapproval of those opposing death penalty using logical coherence that people upholding justice should support the policy issued by Jokowi. This is because of drug dealers have deprived others of their rights to live, hence the fairness of revoking the rights of drug dealers to live. The metaphor “revoke” in paragraph 4 shows that Republika supports the equal retribution for the drug dealers crime. The clause “... *the country must be fair and not discriminating in protecting its people* ...”, shows that Republika considers death penalty to be a fair action issued by the state. It represents the ideology of Republika that supports death penalty for drug dealers.

e. Relation

The aforementioned news article only involves one participant, namely the Chairman of the Central Committee of MUI National Anti-Narcotics Movement (Gannas), Anwar Abbas. It indicates the selective attitude of Republika in deliberately appointing a source due to their similar perspective to Republika’s ideological struggle against the pressure of the EU for abolishing death penalty.

f. Identity

Paragraph 2 of the news article reveals that the source is Anwar Abbas, the Chairman of the Central Committee of MUI National Anti-Narcotics Movement (Gannas). Gannas is one of the groups in MUI. Instead of the chairman of MUI leader, Abbas has the capacity to speak on behalf of MUI, even though his credibility is not as strong as them.

Table 2. Text Analysis

Text Analysis	“Jokowi is Fair in Sentencing the Drug Dealers to Death”
Analysis of Representations on Subclauses	MUI support the government’s policy
Analysis of Representation in the Combination of Sub-clauses	the ideology of Republika that supports death penalty for drug dealers.
Analysis of Representation in the Series of Sub-clauses	It represents the ideology of Republika that supports death penalty for drug dealers.
Relation	Republika against the pressure of the EU for abolishing death penalty.
Identity	Paragraph 2 of the news article reveals that the source is Anwar Abbas, the Chairman of the Central Committee of MUI National Anti-Narcotics Movement (Gannas)

2. Dimension of Discourse Practice (Mesostructural): *Discourse Practice of Republika*

Discourse practice is a dimension related to the process of producing and consuming texts, for example work patterns, charts and routines when producing news (Gowhary et al.,

2015). The further explanation will start from the ideology of Islamic media (Media Ideology of Republika), prior to be focusing on the production of news by Republika.

a. The Understanding of the Editor of Republika

The Editor-in-Chief of Republika Irfan Junaidi (2019) states that Republika considers itself as the media of aspirations of Moslems in Indonesia. Approximately 80 percent of the total population in Indonesia is Moslems, encouraging Republika to be the media bridging the aspirations of Moslem in Indonesia. Related to the issue of death penalty, according to Junaidi, Republika respects the articles as positive law that must be followed by the citizens. Referring to the stance of Republika on the issue of human rights and the pressure of the EU regarding death penalty, Junaidi stated that Republika is obliged to defend the law and sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia against countries that do not respect the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

b. The Policy of Republika in Reporting

According to News Editor of Republika Online Damhuri (in interview in 2019), in terms of raising issues, the angle of news reporting by Republika may be different from other media. For example, other media always report the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) negatively, carrying out unlawful acts, raiding places of prostitution and locations selling liquor, and others. However, they do not observe the action roots underlying the actions by FPI due to obstructions in legal channels.

c. The Reporting by Republika Regarding the Issue of Death Penalty

Senior Journalist of Republika, Ginting (in interview in 2018) explained that Republika refers to the law of the Republic of Indonesia. Republika will approve of the government issuing or abolishing death penalty. Nevertheless, Republika news reporting also respects the law of other countries. For example, Thailand, India, and Singapore impose death penalty, thus Republika respects and does not interfere with their sovereignty. Therefore, Republika instead questions some cases where drug dealers are not sentenced to death, as it shows ambivalence towards the justice system in Indonesia.

3. Practical Dimension of Socio-Culture

(Macrostructural): *Socio-Cultural Practice of Republika*

Social cultural practice dimension is related to the external situation or context outside text, influencing republika. For example, the context of situation or media in relation to certain political communities or cultures.

a. The Ideology of the EU Related to Human Rights Enforcement

Referring to the ideology of the EU related to human rights enforcement, Human Rights and Political Attaché of Delegation of European Union for Indonesia, Florian Witt (in interview on July, 22, 2019) stated that all members of the European Union have one rule in common in relation to death penalty, namely to abolish death penalty in their legislation.

According to Florian Witt, there are no studies concluding that death penalty has a deterrent effect on other drug dealers.

According to him, the EU is an important player in human rights enforcement in the world. The funds allocated by the EU for human rights enforcement are enormous, particularly for campaign, exchange of officials, training NGO activists, seminars, discussions, workshops for journalists and activists, and others.

These statements represent the attitude of the EU to have its ideology concerning the issues of human rights, particularly the abolition of death penalty.

b. The Resistance of Republika to the Ideology of the EU Regarding Human Rights

The Editor-in-Chief of Republika, Irfan Junaidi (in interview in 2019) rejects the attitude of the EU considered to impose its standard principles of human rights on Indonesia. The EU is considered "*pretentious*" to present itself as a global human rights enforcer, despite its frequent ambivalent actions. It looks like double standard.

Analysis of Hegemony and Counter Hegemony

1. Economy is not the Major Factor

In the theory of Hegemony by Antonio Gramsci, he rejects the notion that economy is the only factor playing a significant role in the community (Suseno, 2003).

Referring to the ideology of the EU related to human rights enforcement, Florian Witt, Human Rights and Political Attaché of Delegation of European Union for Indonesia, states that the attitude and the desire of the EU to respect the human rights and disseminate universal standards of human rights around the world are not based on economic motives. All members of the European Union have one rule in common in relation to death penalty, namely to abolish death penalty in their legislation.

However, the hegemony of the EU is challenged by the Islamic media in Indonesia, namely Republika. Republika emphasizes that the European values differ from the eastern social and cultural values.

Florian Witt admits that the EU has an interest behind its pressure towards other countries, particularly developing countries, to accept EU enforcement of the "universal principles of human rights". The EU is highly dependent on world trade. The EU is a regional group with the largest trade activity in the world. Trade is DNA for the EU. The interest of the EU is to expand trade globalization. Countries with a democratic system are the best trade and investment partners for the EU. The "democratic system" referred to by the EU is a democratic system in compliance with the standards of the EU. One of this is referring to the implementation of human rights, such as the abolition of death penalty.

2. The Need of Media as a Tool of Hegemony

According to Bohm, Gramsci delivered the necessity of a revolutionary idea capable of mobilizing the masses. The idea does not only emerge from the community, but also should be developed by intellectuals and then disseminated to and practiced by the community (Böhm, 2018). However, the masses cannot develop such idea. Even if they can, it can only be experienced in the level of trust. People cannot realize it by themselves. They must be assisted by social elites who influence them to take action that leads to a social revolution. In this point, Gramsci believes that media has an important role in the dissemination of hegemony. However, media cannot work alone and should be supported by intellectuals whose ideas are disseminated through the media as well as diplomats and human rights supporters.

According to Witt, related to the issue of death penalty, the EU promotes the abolition of the death penalty through two steps, namely *political step and collaborative step*. Through political lane, the EU declares public statements that deplore the execution of death penalty by the government of Indonesia. The delegate from EU directly delivers the disapproval to President Jokowi when they are scheduled to meet the President of Indonesia at the Palace, or when the President of Indonesia visits the member countries of the EU. The second step is through collaborative step. The EU holds seminars, workshops or dialogues on human rights in collaboration with Indonesian intellectuals, human rights activists and journalists supporting (pro) the abolition of death penalty.

3. Intellectual, Hegemony and Counter Hegemony

Gramsci believes that everyone has intellectual potential and talent. Gramsci divided intellectual into two categories, *traditional and organic intellectual* (Pass, 2019). *Traditional intellectual* are intellectual that are not widespread yet and driven by production. *Organic intellectual* is intellectual with the ability to be political organizer who is aware of the identity that represents and is represented. These organic intellectuals emerge from the working class. Gramsci stated that each social class gave birth to its own intellectuals. According to him, organic intellectuals are different from traditional intellectuals who tend to isolate themselves and form a separate layer from the community. Meanwhile, organic intellectuals do not separate and isolate themselves from the community. They realize that their position is organically connected with the community (Riley, 2011).

An interesting concept from Gramsci is his philosophy of education. According to Gramsci, the *working class* needs to obtain education to be able to do a *counter hegemony* and obtain the leadership of the hegemony. Counter hegemony must be carried out by *organic intellectuals* emerging from the working class, generating political changes through a revolutionary party.

Republika shows representation of sympathy on the struggle of anti-Western Islamic groups, behind its support for death penalty in Indonesia and its satire or criticism for EU. On the other side, the Republika rejected the attitude of the EU considered to impose its standard principles of human rights on Indonesia.

4. War of Position and Passive Revolution

Gramsci states that the initial assignment of the revolutionary party is to seize civil hegemony (Budiono et al., 2018). Thus, the terms "*war of position*" and "*passive revolution*" is emerged. By these, the party strives to change the awareness of the community and persuade other social classes to be receptive to the moral and cultural values of the working class. In this study, the war of position is the counter-hegemonic attitude of Republika.co.id towards the hegemony of EU that wants Indonesia to abolish death penalty.

CONCLUSION

This study found that EU has an own interest behind its pressure towards other countries -- particularly developing countries, to accept the principles of human rights. The EU is highly dependent on world trade. The EU is a regional group with the largest trade activity in the world. Trade is DNA for the EU. The interest of the EU is to expand the trade globalization. Countries with a democratic system are the best trade and investment partners for the EU.

The counter attitude of Republika showed that the ideology of human rights enforced by the EU is in conflict or collide with the Islamic ideology upheld by Republika. It causes Republika to represent itself as the media upholding Islamic ideology against or contrary moral values considered different to Islamic teachings. Republika will lose its market share supposing it does not represent itself as the media upholding Islamic ideology. This is because nearly all of its market share is Moslem. Theoretically, the findings of this study can complement the theory of hegemony by Gramsci, since it shows that hegemony using the media will not successful when dealing with media with opposing ideology.

The Republika news reporting in fact, tends to support or pro to the policy of the government of Indonesia on applying death penalty for serious crimes. The EU implemented "war of position" and "passive revolution" to make social change by persuade people to accept moral values of human rights that are considered universal, such as the abolition of death penalty. In this attempt, the EU has formed a coalition with local human rights activists and media journalists in Indonesia, called organic intellectuals by Gramsci. Meanwhile, Republika implemented "war of position" and "passive revolution" by applying counter-hegemonic strategy through a coalition with Indonesian government officials and academics whom supporting the implementation of death penalty.

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