Women's Communication Strategy for Women's Islamic Organizations in Overcoming Radicalism

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Abstract

Women's involvement in radicalism and their role in addressing the issue are important considerations. Islamic organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah in Indonesia, have played a significant role in combating radicalism. NU has developed the concept of Islam Nusantara as an antidote, while Muhammadiyah focuses on Progressive Islam as a counter-discourse. This research aims to explore the communication strategies used by women activists in Islamic organizations to address radicalism. The study will employ a descriptive qualitative method, focusing on Nasyiatul Aisyiyah and Fatayat NU as mass organizations representing young women. This research have a finding that the women activists in Islamic organizations employ distinct communication strategies to address radicalism, with Muhammadiyah emphasizing moderation and inclusivity, and NU focusing on identifying radicalism within groups. Effective communicators and targeted communication media are prioritized, despite the differing approaches between the two organizations.

Abstrak

Keterlibatan perempuan dalam radikalisme dan peran mereka dalam mengatasi isu tersebut merupakan suatu hal yang penting. Organisasi masyarakat Islam, seperti Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Muhammadiyah di Indonesia, telah berperan signifikan dalam memerangi radikalisme. NU mengembangkan konsep Islam Nusantara sebagai penangkal, sedangkan Muhammadiyah menitikberatkan Islam Progresif sebagai wacana tandingan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi strategi komunikasi yang digunakan oleh para aktivis perempuan di ormas Islam untuk menyikapi radikalisme. Kajian ini akan menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan fokus pada Nasyiatul Aisyiyah dan Fatayat NU sebagai ormas yang mewakili perempuan muda. Penelitian ini menghasilkan temuan bahwa aktivis perempuan di ormas Islam menggunakan strategi komunikasi yang berbeda untuk mengatasi radikalisme, dengan Muhammadiyah menekankan moderasi dan inklusivitas, dan NU berfokus pada mengidentifikasi radikalisme dalam kelompok. Komunikator yang efektif dan media komunikasi yang ditargetkan diprioritaskan, meskipun ada perbedaan pendekatan antara kedua organisasi tersebut.

Introduction

Women are often the objects and subjects of radicalism issues. Data from the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) shows that in 2018 there were 13 women involved in terror acts, while in 2019 it increased to 15 people including the self-detonation case that was carried out by Abu Hamzah's wife in Sibolga, North Sumatra in March 2019. This number is not impossible. will increase along with the increasingly massive issue of radicalism in Indonesia.

Talking about women's involvement in the issue of radicalism does not only discuss why women are involved, but what is no less important is the role of women in tackling this issue of radicalism. The involvement of women in the role of tackling this issue is close to the activities of women in Islamic organizations which are quite intense in tackling this issue. Infid's research data states that Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah are two large Islamic organizations in Indonesia that have quite an important role in tackling the issue of radicalism. NU has made a number of efforts such as developing the concept of Islam Nusantara as the antithesis of radicalism, while Muhammadiyah is one of them through developing the concept of Progressive Islam as a counter-discourse against radicalism (Infid, 2019).

Talking about moderate Islam (wasathiyah) in Indonesia cannot be separated from NU and Muhammadiyah. NU is said to have based its moderation on the traditional notion of ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah (followers of the Sunnah of the Prophet and Companions) and the history of Wali Songo's da'wah in the archipelago. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah bases moderation on the ideas and spirit of modernity and enlightenment. Muhammadiyah's spirit of modernity and enlightenment makes it always open to new ideas without losing its Islamic identity. Even so, the face of religion (Islamism) in post-Reform Indonesia shows a paradox. This is related to the high rate of religious intolerance and violence. It is considered a paradox, because most of these cases involve Muslims in it, both as perpetrators and victims. who are Muslim and non-Muslim minority groups. The last incident that shocked everyone was the bombings at several churches in Surabaya in 2018.

The existence of women as terrorists in Indonesia began to be revealed with the arrest of Dian Yulia Novi, the perpetrator of the "pot bomb" in Bekasi at the end of 2016. This tragedy uncovered the facts of the involvement of a number of women in terrorist movements in Indonesia. After Dian, the name Ika Puspita Sari appeared in Purworejo, who was planning to carry out a suicide bombing outside Java. Then, Umi Delima, the wife of the terrorist Santoso in Poso. The arrest of the three men added to the number of women's names in the vortex of terrorism. Among the names previously arrested were Putri Munawwaroh, Inggrid Wahyu, Munfiatun, Rasidah bint Subari, Ruqayah bint Husen Lecano, Deni Carmelit, Rosmawati, and Arina Rahma (Mulia, 2018).

Although as perpetrators, these women are actually victims. Musdah wrote that despite the fact that women are perpetrators, in essence they are still victims. Victims of ignorance and helplessness, then used by parties who have a heinous and systematic plan for the purpose of terrorism. Recent terrorism cases place women no longer as "support players" who prepare logistics and war equipment, but have "classified" to become executors and combat troops. In fact, several women have become key actors in winning acts of terrorism (Mulia, 2018).

The role of women in deradicalization is considered quite effective in tackling radicalism. The BNPT notes that the role of women in deradicalization in Indonesia is a strategy because women have a "female essence", that is, are more gentle, compassionate and persuasive, and are considered able to approach the wives of terrorists, convicts and ex-convicts, so the BNPT considers the involvement of women as an important effort. Apart from being a strategy, the reason why the BNPT involves women in deradicalization is to pay attention to aspects of the needs of convicts and to realize that the role of the family is needed in the deradicalization process (Christin, 2018).

The previous research states that religious moderation becomes significant not only for the creation of constructive relations between religions externally, but it is also important internally to create harmony between various streams within one religion (Arifinsyah et al., 2020). Two studies revealed that although eliminating religious fundamentalism is almost not possible, there are still ways to lead them to have positive perceptions toward other religious groups. One of them is to make the fundamentalists believe that Muslims and Islam perceive non-Muslims in a positive way, instead of in a negative way (Eka Putra et al., 2018). Erwin Jusuf Thaib states about strategies for moderate Islamic da'wah in countering radicalism in Gorontalo City, Indonesia. The strategies were focused on the content of da'wah communication, especially the message and use of the verses. Also, several strategies were utilized by the preachers, which included shaping the community's religious understanding and reaffirming the position of Muslims as ummatan wasathan (Thaib, 2020).

There are also some channelization of radical religious strategies especially for Muslim university student. The research finds that the channelization of radical- religious ideology in Indonesia takes place via new media with three layers of channels: open-public channel, restricted-public channel, and private channel (Sugihartati et al., 2016). In other word, the rise of radicalism in Indonesia which is at an alarming stage especially for government as policy maker. As a result, in tackling radicalism in Indonesia, State Institutions have synergised but not yet optimally. This is because there are still differences in perceptions between institutions assessing radicalism. Therefore, there needs to be particular terminology, such as the National Strategic Plan, which is made to equalise the perception so that all state institutions can work optimally in tackling radicalism (Sazali, 2022).

Radicalism is a socio-religious phenomenon that cannot be explained through a monolithic perspective. The concept of radicalism refers to the understanding that belongs to groups who have high ideological beliefs and are fanatics that they strive to replace the current system of values and systems. A number of studies have concluded that the radicalism movement that gave rise to militancy and acts of terrorism is not just an ideological problem, but a very complex modern phenomenon. Radicalism has a close relationship with history, geostrategic shifts, socio-economic issues, and political dynamics due to the process of modernization and globalization. This group emerged because of the strong ideological belief that Islam is a comprehensive religion (Sumbulah, 2019).

The Big Indonesian Dictionary defines radicalism as a school of thought or ideology that expects social and political change by means of violence or drastic. Radicalism also has a different assessment of the political situation, namely justifying and even requiring political violence as the only way to change political conditions (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). Radical beliefs develop a feeling that accepted ways (by society) to change the situation are not enough and extraordinary steps must be taken.

Women are targeted by religious radical groups for very clear reasons. Because, in the name of religion, the group feels it has legitimacy to control and attack women. Apart from religious legitimacy, they are also supported by cultural values which are generally patriarchal in nature and gender biased. It is not surprising that when a society or a country experiences radicalization, the domestication of women is usually the first political program. This condition is nothing else because the socio-political costs of women's domestication are very cheap and easy.

Cheap and easy because in the structure of a patriarchal society, women's domestication projects will not encounter significant socio-political resistance (Mulia, 2018).

Based on this background, this research wants to find out more specifically how the communication strategies of women activists in Islamic organizations deal with the issue of radicalism. This issue will complete the previous research especially about radicalism in communication perspective. So this research will focus on the management of Nasyiatul Aisyiyah and Fatayat NU as representatives of mass organizations that accommodate young women, and Aisyiyah and Muslimat as representatives of Islamic organizations that accommodate women who are more mature in age. Through this research it is hoped that the formulation of a communication strategy in overcoming the issue of radicalism will be known, especially in the Malang Regency area.

Theoretical Framework

To achieve effective communication requires a good communication strategy. Strategy refers to the overall communication approach that will be taken in order to deal with the challenges that will be faced during the communication process. Various approaches can be taken depending on the situation and conditions, for example the public health approach, the free market approach, the educational model, or the consortium approach. Either of these approaches can be considered as the basis of a strategy and serves as a framework for planning further communications. A strategy should provide the overall direction for the initiative, suitability with the various available resources, minimize resistance, reach the target group, and achieve the goals of the communication initiative.

According to Onong Uchjana Effendy, the point of strategy is planning or planning and management to achieve a goal that can only be achieved through operational tactics. A communications strategy should include everything needed to know how to communicate with the target audience. The communication strategy defines the target audience, various actions to be taken, says how the target audience will benefit from their point of view, and how a larger target audience can be reached more effectively (Effendy, 2004). Meanwhile, according to Mohr and Nevin defines a communication strategy as the use of a combination of communication facets which includes communication frequency, communication formality, communication content, communication channels (Nayiroh, 2020)

To implement a communication strategy requires the right tactics or methods. Tactics and strategy have a strong relationship. If a strategy that we have carefully worked out is the right strategy to use, then tactics can be changed before strategy. However, if we feel that something is wrong on a tactical level then we have to change strategy. In communication there are several components that support the process of communication. The strategy describes a direction that is supported by various existing resources. Meanwhile, according to R. Wayne Pace, Brent D. Peterson, and M. Dallas Burnett that the communication strategy has 3 (three) objectives, namely; (1) To secure understanding - ensure the message is received by the communicant; (2) To establish acceptance - foster message acceptance; and (3) To motivated action – activities that are motivated. The communication strategy implemented is macro in nature and the communication strategy process takes place vertically pyramidal (Effendy, 2004).

Various literature states that there is a paradigm or formula that is often used to determine the components of communication. The paradigm or formula is the paradigm or formula proposed by Harold D. Lasswell. Through the paradigm or formula he has formulated, Harold D. Lasswell tries to explain to us that to know what are the components of communication, we must answer several questions such as Who Says What In What Channel To Whom With What Effect.

The message formulated by the communicator should be precise about the target audience. According to Soeganda Priyatna, there are conditions that must be met so that the message delivered can hit the target audience, namely (Priyatna, S., dan Ardianto, 2009). General - the message conveyed is a message that is general in nature and easily understood by the target audience, Clear - the message conveyed must be clear and without misinterpretation. Apart from that, the language is clear - the language used in the process of conveying the message should use language that is clear and appropriate to the target audience and not use terms that are not understood by the target audience.

The target audience is a group of people, identified as the intended recipient of a message. And the process of a successfull communication is to determine its audience. In this study the target audience is divided by demographic, geographic, and psychographics (Qadeerzada, 2019). There are several factors that must be considered when identifying the target audience, namely: (1). Knowledge framework or frame of reference. The communication messages that will be conveyed in the communication strategy to the communicant or target audience should be adapted to the audience's knowledge framework so that the message can be easily received and understood by the target audience. (2). Situation and condition. What is meant by situation is the communication situation when the target audience receives the communication messages. While what is meant by condition is the physical and psychological state of the target audience. Communication messages that are delivered to the target audience should consider the situation and condition of the target audience so that the message can be conveyed effectively; (3). Scope of experience or field of experience.

According to Middleton's communication planning expert in Cangara, a communication strategy is the best combination of all communication elements ranging from communicators, messages, media, receivers to effects designed to achieve optimal communication goals (Cangara, 2013).

Methods

This research is a qualitative research. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach. Qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observable behavior. Qualitative research is a particular tradition within the social sciences that is fundamentally dependent on observing people and their fields and in their terms. Qualitative research is used to examine objects by telling, interpreting existing data, and implementing it through collecting, compiling, analyzing and interpreting data that is currently being researched(Jensen, 1999). Corbin and Strauss said Qualitative research broadly refers to a category of research approaches that produce findings without reliance on quantitative measurement or statistical analysis (Hamilton & Finley, 2019).

This type of research is considered very relevant for use because it describes the condition of objects that exist in the present qualitatively based on the data obtained from the research.

The scope of this research is on the communication strategy in tackling the issue of radicalism within the scope of the activities of women activists in da'wah organizations spread over the regional leaders of Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, Aisyiyah, Muslimat and Fatayat in Malang Regency. The subjects in this study had the following characteristics: (1). They were leaders in women's da'wah organizations; (2) Know how to manage issues of radicalism among cadre. Data collection was carried out using group and individual interview methods, observation, and document studies through searching literature and documents related to the work of Fatayat and Muslimat NU, Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah, as well as other organizations in peace building and the realization of religious harmony. Data collection techniques through in-depth interviews were carried out by interviewing various informants related to the issues of violent extremism, tolerance, intolerance and radicalism as well as how to identify, prevent and deal with them in the research area. In the research area, in-depth interviews were conducted with female administrators and members of the Fatayat and Muslimat NU, Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah organizations, as well as other organizations,

Participants are selected as representatives of a constituency, meaning that they are considered as an authority over the phenomenon under study based on their membership in a particular group. In this study, participants were selected because they are administrators and/or members of Fatayat and Muslimat NU, Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah, as well as other organizations that already have experience in efforts to prevent violent extremism. Therefore they are considered to have the authority to reflect on their role and involvement in efforts to prevent extremism.

Observations in this study aim to obtain information about the activities of administrators and members of the Fatayat and Muslimat NU, Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyiyah Muhammadiyah organizations, as well as other organizations, as well as their relationships with other women activists and members of the community related to the process of identifying, preventing and handling violent extremism. Observations were made on their behavior, the facilities where they move, and the interactions between them. Observations made in this research are unstructured observations, namely observers observing behavior and other objects related to identification, prevention and handling of violent extremism.

The research to be carried out is qualitative in nature, namely according to Arikunto, that qualitative research is data that is described in words or sentences separated by category to obtain conclusions. With this qualitative analysis, it is expected to be able to answer and solve problems by carrying out a thorough and complete understanding and deepening of the object to be studied in order to get conclusions according to the conditions(Arikunto, 2002). Data analysis techniques are carried out by (1) Data Reduction. Defined as a selection process, focusing on simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data that emerges from written records in the field. Where after the author obtains the data, the data that the author obtains must first be assessed for its feasibility, by choosing which data is really needed in this study; (2) Display (Data Presentation). Presentation of data is limited as a set of structured information that provides the possibility of drawing conclusions and taking action. In this study the authors present the data needed by drawing conclusions and actions in presenting the data; (3). Verification (Drawing

Conclusions).. The conclusion during the research is that the meanings that emerge from the data are tested for their validity, their robustness and their apparent suitability and their usefulness. After all the data that the author has obtained, the writer must really test the truth to get clear conclusions from the data, so that conclusions can be obtained that are clear about its truth and use.

Result and Discussion

The issue of radicalism is handled carefully by NA Malang Regency. As a women's organization under the auspices of Muhammadiyah, NA is eager to straighten out assumptions about radicalism. Yenik (chair of NA Malang Regency) stated that currently efforts to deal with radicalism are still limited. Efforts are being made to socialize their social activities, to embrace many groups so that it is easier to invite them together in da'wah. In terms of tackling radicalism, the party acting as a communicator is a leadership element from the NA Malang Regency.

> "Previously (Nasyiatul Aisyiyah) was off for four years. So, during the previous period it was off, so as to rebuild friends, for example there were problems regarding the issues of radicalism, regarding the problem of violence, regarding the role of women there, especially productive women and young women. (That) is still very minimal. So it's very minimal. So I started to revive it again," (interview with Yenik)

From the narrative of the informants, it can be seen that the involvement of the communicators is still a one man show, meaning that those involved to become communicators are still limited. As head of NA since 2017, Yenik must try to start to revive the enthusiasm of the cadres. The cadre crisis became an obstacle in the message delivery process.

Yenik and several friends who are still active are trying to rebuild awareness of the dangers of radicalism. As a communicator, to raise awareness of the dangers of radicalism, he packages messages through activities that show NA's openness. The strategy he chose was to do more social activities that embrace friends with indications of radicalism, and even invite them more intensely. According to Yenik, people who are considered to have indications of radicalism are, on average, militant people. NA tend to embrace "their class" and tend not to set up barriers or boundaries.

> "Because indeed, for their form of jihad, they usually gather with other people. Sorry, it's like hanging out with the FPI. I don't know the outline of this FPI. In general, where does the FPI lead? But I see, when there are natural disasters and so on, they move faster. So, things like this, we have to invite them too. Because they also have a high social life. Why don't we adopt from there? For example, distributing masks, distributing hand sanitizers. Also, we want to invite children (to) keep clean, and so on. Come on, let's go together (NA and FPI/FPI women)" (interview with Yenik).

The communication messages chosen by NA Malang Regency are packaged in the form of non-verbal messages that lead to social activities. According to Yenik, being resistant to those with indications of radicalism is actually not right. The act of embracing and optimizing the role, introducing them to NA's internal activities is their message packaging strategy.

For the selected media, NA Malang Regency uses social media Whatsapp to coordinate and direct meeting media to convey anti-radicalism values. The selected communication channels are group communication channels and new media channels.

> "Some people are still active, so let's build it together. I invited them through WA, because NA, this regency has a very wide area. How can you create a women's class, continue to accompany women in cases of violence, and so on. That is our way of conveying through social media and also through turba (going down)." (interview with Yenik)

The target audience for anti-radicalism awareness is young mothers. Anti-radicalism awareness refers to efforts aimed at raising public consciousness and understanding about the dangers and consequences of radicalism. It involves educating individuals and communities about the ideologies, recruitment tactics, and potential threats associated with radical and extremist groups. The goal of anti-radicalism awareness is to prevent radicalization and promote tolerance, respect, and peaceful coexistence. Anti-radicalism awareness initiatives typically include various activities such as workshops, seminars, public campaigns, and educational programs. These initiatives provide information about the signs of radicalization, methods of recruitment, and the potential risks associated with extremist ideologies. They also emphasize the importance of critical thinking, media literacy, and open dialogue as tools to counter radical narratives.

By promoting anti-radicalism awareness, societies aim to empower individuals to recognize and reject radical ideologies, as well as to identify and report suspicious activities or individuals who may be involved in radicalization. The ultimate objective is to create resilient communities that are resistant to the influences of radicalism and extremism, fostering social cohesion and safeguarding peace and stability. To promote anti radicalism awareness, NA's role is more targeted at young mothers. Interestingly, NA does not divide who can join NA. NA Malang Regency also looks brave enough to adopt the spirit or militancy of groups with indications of radicalism.

> "The effect is more on young mothers, yes. To the young mother, then to the women who are still productive. Because, if I think about it personally, I see that if it's a woman, we can indeed hold her. They will be able to influence others. If for example we can't hold him, he still goes with that thought, automatically yes, we can't do anything. Yes, if we can't, we still can't. So it's more about its influence on productive women. If you are productive women, when you get together with one another, you will talk about it (about that matter), maybe it's the character of women who like to talk about things. But if one of them can change his mindset, then he can influence his other friends" (interview with Yenik)

Unlike the female cadres who are members of Aisyiyah Malang Regency. Siti Asmah, Aisyiyah leader of Malang Regency who was the second informant said that in her opinion radicalism is a setting issue that really doesn't need to be made that scary. According to him, radicalism is a construction that is deliberately built by certain groups. Facing this issue, Aisyiyah Malang Regency chose to be open, moderate, and welcome anyone to join Aisyiyah.

> "Radicalism is a setting issue, actually it doesn't need to be that scary. Aisyiyah's attitude is open, moderate, for anyone who wants to recite the Koran with Aisyiyah it doesn't matter, as long as the spirit is fastabiqul khoirot" (interview with Siti Asmah)

Siti Asmah has her own reasons why she believes that the issue of radicalism is deliberately constructed by certain parties.

> "I actually said that when Rahima invited me, I was a bit surprised, so the original concept was radicalism, according to the definition of the police who made it like that, I'm actually not right for me as an Aisyiyah person. Because we in Aisyiyah have a clear organization, we take the washatiyah, so we don't, maybe yes there are extremists but the issue is too much that is developing in Indonesia, so it's not suitable if it's that extreme, what's the name of what people label it extremism. Are people wearing cropped trousers then said to be extremists, so it's not in terms of quality, but in quantitative terms, it's only seen from performance. If I don't agree with me, it's not suitable."

She does not agree that radicalism is only understood narrowly, namely related to a person's physical appearance. According to him, those who wear the veil and wear cropped trousers are not necessarily called radicals. Because radical lies in his thinking. She also understands the concept of moderation as an effort to renew the spirit. This relates to the choice of messages packaged for Aisyiyah cadres.

> "What do you mean by moderation in the daily context, daily worship, right? Yes, if we are in Aisyiyah, Islam is progressive Islam, meaning if we are indeed in the corridor we are religious, the term Muhammadiyah is Wasathiyah, we take the middle way, so we are moderate. What does that mean but still doesn't mean we go there, we hate here, we hate it there, we hate it here, we uphold things that we think are clearly straight Islamic faith, but yes, we weren't extreme to the left, we weren't extreme to the right. So that's why as a nation, we are darul ahdi wasyahadah and no longer have a problem with Indonesia, it wants lots of people, yes, there are many kinds. We are different, but we are one, this has been recognized since the time of independence, and we have no problem with it."

Regarding the media chosen to anticipate the influence of radicalism, Aisyiyah Malang Regency chose to make efforts to strengthen the faith through studies and moderate da'wah through charity owned by Muhammadiyah.

> "Now it's just a matter of implementing it, what is it, now what can we do in the community, even Aisyiyah is not only for Aisyiyah residents but will be Aisyiyah for the nation, for the surroundings, so it's rahmatan lil alamin. We preach amar ma'ruf nahi munkar that reflects the attitude that Islam is a good culture. Rasulullah himself has set a positive example, which is good in nature, so maybe if there are people who are not happy they don't agree, that's their right, but we still, we don't have to do anything, but sometimes we also find intolerance, isn't it? from other religions too. Efforts are made to strengthen through studies, and da'wah in Muhammadiyah charities, for example in Muhammadiyah schools"

In addition, through external media forums. For example through local radio and also recitations to remote villages.

> "We also have a forum, like at RRI, for studies. We also still have the Aisyiyah TB care program, right? We have all the programs, cadres in the sub-district, in the branches. So TB activities not only take care of TB, but we also have studies as well. So that's what we convey, everything is positive for the community, including the da'wah earlier. So the recitations reach the villages, right? All branches have a forum like that. Usually the tabligh assembly takes care of it, there are often

debriefings, trainings, baitul arqom, all of that is taught how to preach in society. So there is always material called Kemuhammadiyahan, that's actually to bind us Aisyiyah so that things don't go wrong. So Wasathiyah Islam is truly upheld and upheld to the preachers below. It also includes studies at RRi so in that way we hope that the face has the color of tabligh from the Aisyiyah environment, meaning that it reflects rahmatan lil alamin..."

The choice of da'wah is also carried out through charity efforts. According to Siti Asmah, the strengthening of anti-radicalism which was infiltrated from an early age starting in kindergarten, according to her, was quite effective as a strengthening movement.

"Yes, strengthening the recitation, but not only strengthening the recitation, we are engaged in a lot of charity business, through the education council, there are also 30 kindergartens in the district, there are 26 play groups, there are student guardians there. So yes, that's where we are strengthening, and we are still continuing to learn so that our religion is in Aisyiyah's own environment, yes, it is indeed towards a progressive Islam. So, don't get into it, that's why the recitation is usually what we present, which can always provide enlightenment, increase knowledge….."

On the other hand, Fatayat NU Malang Regency is an Islamic mass organization that accommodates young women who are under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama. In anticipating the issue of radicalism, Fatayat NU of Malang Regency seems to be active and moderate. Umi Khorirotin Nasichah, treasurer of Fatayat NU, Malang Regency, who was the second informant, stated that there is a reason why Fatayat NU tends to be pro-active when dealing with issues of radicalism.

"Fatayat is actually worried that young people whose NU base is not strong enough will cross over into radical groups. We also ensure that the cadres do not use identities that lead to that group (veiled Salafi, red)" (interview with Umi/Oyik)

Fatayat NU understands that those who are synonymous with radical groups are those who wear the veil, wear certain attributes such as cropped pants, a beard, and do not want to shake hands with the opposite sex. Where the attribution that is attached leads to the majority of Salafi people wearing clothes with the attribution mentioned.

In anticipating the contamination of cadres with the understanding of radicalism that they construct, according to Oyik, Umi Khorirotin Nasichah's greeting, his party utilizes stakeholders or figures who are role models in the region, most Fatayat NU figures are influential people so it is easier to influence religious moderation. At least the PAC Chair will disseminate it to branches. According to him, by using the character strategy as a communicator, the range of influence is large because it is a large organization whose cadres reach villages.

Fatayat NU Malang Regency also takes advantage of the strength of the communicator it chooses. This was conveyed by Oyik when asked about the role of the communicator when protecting cadres from contamination by radicalism.

"We (have) great influence. Why do I say big? Because, literally, we can reach up to the village. Even hamlets. I see, so our range is wide. Then some of the people in this fatayat have good access to the government. So even if we can push the board, because we also communicate often. Have good communication with the Regent, I see. If we, for example, want to push policies, we can do that. Even though we are, still, keep pushing the Councils. Because, right, we can't intervene alone. We

still have to encourage the Councils that are there. Representatives of the NU councils there. How then shove. If local regulations are needed to prevent this extremism, how about that? Then, if it's basic, we are far more able to influence.

For the selected media options, Fatayat NU Malang district utilizes direct communication with cadres. The character of the cadres, who are mostly traditionalists, makes the choice of direct communication the most appropriate for the character of NU cadres.

"Yes. That's the strategy. Sometimes we are like this too sis. For example, where do we post, routinely. After all, not all PAC leaders understand the issue of radicalism. So, when we have a routine, then we come to this branch. Then (we) came. Which (then) said, yes we are. So, give an understanding to the branch leaders. Usually, if it's routine, it's only the branch head. It's like studying. Yes, yes. We, we (later) in charge. Yes, convey to them, the administrators of this branch"

The characteristics of traditionalist audiences also support the chosen message and media strategy. According to Oyik, the character of NU cadres tends to be obedient, aka easy to direct. This is Fatayat's strength to strengthen anti-radicalism.

"Because friends tend to be more, very obedient, with branches like that. Manut with Kyai, then manut with a branch. So, when we are in that big forum. Because NU itself also emphasizes every MWC. So, MWC always coordinates every month with that level, Fatayat, Muslimat, at the District level. So, we tend to taste good. Become one. Even though later NU will put pressure on it, then Fatayat will put pressure on it again, it's still one (unity). Oh it's true, that this, indeed this radicalism is indeed an issue that we must prevent. So my friends, tend not to refuse, tend to obey" (interview with Oyik)

In line with Oyik, drg. Izza El Malila, chairman of the Karangploso branch of Fatayat NU also agrees with what was conveyed by Oyik. The fourth informant, who is also the daughter of one of the NU officials in the Malang Regency area, said that she agreed that there was an issue of very dangerous radicalism. However, he assessed that in the area he leads, namely Karangploso sub-district, radicalism appears covertly or not openly. In line with the opinion of Fatayat cadres who stated that those who indicated radicalism were people who had not properly studied Islam. Still studying Islam on the surface. The origin is that people who don't understand then recite the Koran in a place that they think is not right.

"As for radicalism in Karangploso, I have heard that there is a lot. Covert. It's hidden but there's something that sounds a bit extreme there, that's it. But, if asked to discuss it, not really. If the person, for example, meets in person, then (asked), where do you recite the Koran? (answered) pray here. (then, I asked) Were (the teachings) like this (as rumored by the radicals)? No (he answered). So, it turns out that a lot of people recite the Koran in a place that we consider (radical) or (there is) a radical issue, it turns out that if we talk to them (chat) it's not (radical). So they are mediocre. Indeed, the average person who is like that, is indeed people whose origins do not understand. I mean, I don't understand. (I mean), maybe, the education is not religious education from the start. So they, elementary, middle school, never recite the Koran, I've never been to college, maybe, I'm not even fluent in reading the Koran. That's what I know, some who recite the Koran in places where the (radical) issue is rather extreme. This is a threat. What a threat. In my opinion, it's easy, yes, the mindset of radical people is actually tough. That's hard, for example, that's what I've found. Debt, do not want to pay. Wrong or right?" (interview with Izza)

The selected communicator uses the power of the kyai, or the leader of the ulema who is respected by the cadres. Efforts are being made to carry out routines, diba', recitations to fortify against radicalism.

Hikmah Bafagih, a Muslimat leader in Malang Regency who is also a member of the East Java DPRD from the PKB also said that actually the efforts to moderate religion were still using strategies that were less effective. According to him, Muslimat and NU tend to act when events occur, there is less preventive action taken.

> "Actually, not half-hearted, yes, but because I didn't start with that thought. because the campaign does not start from the mind. But if religious moderation becomes a movement that was triggered by previous conflicts, then it won't last very long, like Poso's example. If there's a der, it's like a firefighter. But if it arises from awareness, to begin with we must be fair from the mind, that's different. I can give an example of the mothers who initiated the PAUB organization, previously the association was very intense in interfaith studies from the perspective of women religious leaders, learning family planning from a religious perspective, and we took turns. If it's like this again, we'll stamp gomehan, in the temple, it's just how many years has it been? The initiator, Mrs. Mufida, along with the GKJW figure are now dead, so it's illegal to patent the torch. But this year there are still activities, if the discussion is still going on"

According to her, the construction of messages made and the media chosen to tackle radicalism is still inferior to groups that are considered radical. This is proven by the many young NU cadres who have changed direction.

> "Honestly, it's still very lacking, sis. Very less use. Not yet a massive enough movement. At NU, maybe the gentlemen are not bad. So we, who are formal cadres, maybe only 1/10 (one-tenth) of our citizens who take part in formal cadres and it is indeed quite strong. normal. That was the only fraction that was touched. So now it is the people who must be taken care of, the youth. Because of entry through social media, our literacy to understand which ones are and which are not, we haven't done it too massively, sis. Pages belonging to right groups are still visited more frequently than those belonging to Muhammadiyah or NU. If you look at them they are always on the first page, when searching, this is actually our PR. This means that in the promotive actions that we do are still lacking. Still not very use. The proof is that our children still often miss when our children go to college, then they get hit, it means that the ideological process is still lacking" (Interview with Hikmah Bafagih)

Actually, many things have been done by Islamic women's organizations, but sometimes it is still not measurable in determining the targets, the methods used, there needs to be a clear roadmap. The organization assigned to oversee deradicalization must also be appropriate, according to its character, for example. So far, according to FKDM, it has not been measured so that these roles are not optimal, the state needs to be more present in efforts to promote this moderation of religion.

She also considered that the state was not firm in supporting the anti-radicalism efforts that were being carried out. For example, activities that have indications of radicalism actually also occur within the scope of government, but the state as a supporting system is also less firm in anticipating this.

> "We mostly talk about human rights or something like that, right? I mean then there are political party instruments that tend to support things like that, it's difficult too. If this is the case, there will be instruments of state power that support this. We know the TNI, there are so many who go there, the doctors, it's extraordinary to go there. I saw what was in the health offices. There was also one in the setwan, very visible, wearing a beard, crooked pants. Didn't ask the chairman to be placed on my commission staff. I've just moved to my commission, so that he often listens, let us talk about jihadis there, right? At every meeting we often remind "if a member wears cropped trousers! Wear the veil, please, the directors must do the planting! Because they are ASNs! Must be loyal to the country!" let them hear. Even if you're on the move, bring a map, bring some food, so he can listen, I mean that. But it hasn't changed, even now the attribute is still used."

She also considered that cadre leaders as communicators were still not fully aware of the importance of anticipating this radicalism.

> "I didn't realize that this was a threat. If you say you wear horse glasses, maybe yes, a frog in a shell might be right. So what Aisiyah, Muslimat, and Fatayat see is that the environment is still safe, and not yet a threat. So if oo is the bomber, oh mek siji (only one pen)" (Interview with Hikmah Bafagih)

According to four informants, the need for Islamic women's organizations is the need to meet frequently to take real action against radicalism.

The message chosen to tackle radicalism is through anti-radicalism education starting at the family level. He considers the importance of childcare education related to anti-radicalism.

> "We have discussed a lot about anti-radicalism education related to the family or in this case more towards parenting, the role of family and children. Because it is possible even in an organization like NU, this can happen even though the percentage is very small. But in my opinion it still has to be anticipated, because the child can appear. Because even though this (radicalism) does not occur in parents, it is still possible for children to occur through courtship, marriage, association, and so on. It happened here, the deportee was in Singosari. It's the father and mother of NU deles, a local figure in his village, his son has been active in spiritual activities since high school, then entered UB and knew the brothers, got married, her husband worked in Istanbul, said he was in the hospital, he followed, then was deported."

The selected media tends to be conventional media. The four resource persons acknowledged that the preaching of reinforcement through social media was still not massive.

From the findings of the data above, it is known that to implement a communication strategy, appropriate tactics or methods are needed. Tactics and strategy have a strong relationship. If a strategy that we have carefully worked out is the right strategy to use, then tactics can be changed before strategy. However, if we feel that something is wrong on a tactical level then we have to change strategy. In communication there are several components that support the process of communication. The strategy describes a direction that is supported by various existing resources. Meanwhile, according to R. Wayne Pace, Brent D. Peterson, and M. Dallas Burnett that the communication strategy has 3 (three) objectives, namely; (1) To secure understanding - ensure the message is received by the communicant; (2) To establish acceptance - foster message acceptance; and (3) To motivated action – activities that are motivated. The

communication strategy implemented is macro in nature and the communication strategy process takes place vertically pyramidal (Effendy, 2004).

Leaders of young female cadres of Muhammadiyah and NU tend to use the power of powerful communicators as messengers. The difference is that apart from using research forums to strengthen radicalism, Muhammadiyah also utilizes its charitable efforts to strengthen faith from an early age. While from NU using a figure of character that can influence the target audience.

Different understandings related to the concept of radicalism between Muhammadiyah and NU also have an impact on the packaging of messages conveyed to the cadres or congregations under them. Muhammadiyah through NA and Aisyiyah agree that the issue of radicalism is not something that should be exaggerated. This has an impact on packaging anti-radicalism messages delivered in the form of religious moderation that embraces anyone who wants to join Muhammadiyah as long as they have the same spirit, namely fastabiqul khairat. NA even invites and opens up to a group of groups that NU considers to be groups that are identical with a radical appearance (the veil, the cropped pants).

The media used by the two mass organizations still use conventional media, not yet using new media, so it is recognized that it is a particular difficulty for cadres to reach young people. Muslimat and Fatayat admit that preaching on social media is still inferior to other groups they consider radical, so they suspect that this has made their young cadres cross over to groups that are massively promoting radicalism. Muhammadiyah, through NA and Aisyiyah, also still uses conventional media through recitation meetings. From Aisyiyah also uses radio media as a propaganda medium.

From the narratives of these informants, it is known that the formula used by each mass organization involves various communication components. As stated by Harold D. Lasswell, the chosen communication strategy answers the sentence Who Says What In What Channel To Whom With What Effect put forward by Lasswell.

According to Lasswell, in a communication strategy it is necessary to consider various components in communication because these components support the very complicated process of communication. In addition to the communication components, other things that must also be taken into consideration are the factors that affect communication and communication barriers. The following reviews the 4 (four) main components of communication which are the center of study in the communication strategy.

The communicator is the party that carries out the communication strategy process. Communication strategies are the steps taken by language learners in order to enhance the effectiveness of their communication. There are two principal categories of communication strategy "compensation" strategies and "interactional" strategies(Littlemore, 2003). To be a good communicator and can be trusted by the communicant or target audience, the communicator must have attractiveness and credibility. Attractiveness is a human thing if the communicant or target audience who tend to feel that they have something in common with the communicator will follow what the communicator wants. In this case, the communicant or target audience sees the communicator as having a certain appeal so that the target audience is willing to change their thoughts, attitudes, opinions and behavior as desired by the communicator. Attractiveness can also be seen from the appearance of the communicator.

In addition to attractiveness, the credibility of the communicator is also a strong reason for the target audience or communicant to be willing to change their thoughts, attitudes, opinions, and behavior in accordance with the contents of the message conveyed by the communicator. The credibility of the communicator is the factor that makes the target audience believe in what the communicator conveys and follow the will of the communicator. Source credibility measures involved perception of trust, expertise, and liking as a function of experimental treatments that differed in only the physical attractiveness of the communicator. Communicator physical attractiveness is operationally defined as the degree to which a person's face is pleasing to observe, and is determined through a consensus of judges (Patzer, 1983).

Communicators who really master the problem and have good command of the language tend to be trusted by the target audience. The character traits possessed by each mass organization are still the choice to become effective messengers for the community. Communicators who really master the problem and have good command of the language tend to be trusted by the target audience. The character traits possessed by each mass organization are still the choice to become effective messengers for the community. Communicators who really master the problem and have good command of the language tend to be trusted by the target audience. The character traits possessed by each mass organization are still the choice to become effective messengers for the community.

Communication messages are also an important element that is considered by Muslim women cadres in the two mass organizations. The packaging of the message really depends on how it is constructed on the issue being discussed. Communication messages also have a specific purpose. It is this goal that determines the communication techniques to be selected and used in the communication strategy. In a communication strategy, formulating a good message by considering the situation and condition of the audience is very important. The message formulated by the communicator should be precise about the target audience. According to Soeganda Priyatna, there are conditions that must be met so that the message conveyed can hit the target audience, namely (Priyatna, S., dan Ardianto, 2009)

From the results of the research it is known that the message taken by NU regarding anti-radicalism is infiltrated through recitations and parenting products. The message that is packaged is to the point, which is directly related to the attribution attached to groups that are considered synonymous with radicalism. Namely the veil and cropped pants. Whereas the Muhammadiyah women's mass organization views the concept of radicalism as moderate by simplifying the concept of radicalism. Cadre leaders understand that as long as their actions do not violate religious rules, they may be invited to recite the Koran together as long as the spirit is the same, namely competing in goodness. Apart from being general in nature, the messages are packaged in clear language and delivered in a positive way through education in business charities. The single most important factor that shaped the affective structure of Islam is the phenomenon of modernism itself. Official Islam is more at ease with modernism as opposed to unofficial Islam. Unofficial Islam is more cautious with modernism in the understanding that the foundation of modernism is secularism, a form of ideology which is totally opposed to Islam (Yusoff, 2010).

Regarding the communication media chosen by the two mass organizations, on average they use conventional communication media. Using a cultural da'wah approach. The use of modern media is still limited. Based on research results, Muhammadiyah and NU have not optimally utilized the internet as a new communication medium. The selection of

communication media in the communication strategy is adjusted to the goals to be achieved, the messages to be conveyed, and the communication techniques used. They prefer conventional media because it relates to the chosen method of strengthening anti-radicalism and adjusts to the characteristics of the target audience. The NU Islamic women's organization prefers traditional media as a medium of communication to convey messages.

Understanding the target audience is a policy choice made by organizational leaders. In a communication strategy, identifying target audiences is an important thing that must be done by the communicator. Identification of target audience adapted to the purpose of communication. There are several things they pay attention to when identifying target audiences. One of them is related to the frame of reference. Most NU cadres are traditional cadres, this is different from Muhammadiyah cadres who tend to be moderate and consist of educated people. The different frames of reference owned by the cadres of the two mass organizations affect the packaging of the messages that are made.

Conclusion

From the research results it is known that the communication strategy formula carried out by the four Islamic women's mass organizations under the auspices of NU and Muhammadiyah uses a four-component communication formula consisting of communicators, messages, communication media and target audiences.

Leaders of young female cadres of Muhammadiyah and NU tend to use the power of powerful communicators as messengers. The difference is that apart from using research forums to strengthen radicalism, Muhammadiyah also utilizes its charitable efforts to strengthen faith from an early age. While from NU using a figure of character that can influence the target audience. Different understandings related to the concept of radicalism between Muhammadiyah and NU also have an impact on the packaging of messages conveyed to the cadres or congregations under them. Muhammadiyah through NA and Aisyiyah agree that the issue of radicalism is not something that should be exaggerated. This has an impact on packaging anti-radicalism messages delivered in the form of religious moderation that embraces anyone who wants to join Muhammadiyah as long as they have the same spirit, namely fastabiqul khairat. NA even invites and opens up to a group of groups that NU considers to be groups that are identical with a radical appearance (the veil, the cropped pants).

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For future research, another researcher can testing the effectiveness of messages and narratives in promoting anti-radicalism awareness. Conduct research to test the effectiveness of messages and narratives used in efforts to address radicalism. Through experiments or case

studies, identify factors that can influence the reception and effectiveness of messages in changing individuals' perceptions and attitudes towards radicalism.

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