A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL STANCE OF THE JAKARTA POST ON THEIR EDITORIAL NEWS ABOUT MUSLIMS AND ISLAM IN SOCIO POLITICAL CONTEXT

A THESIS

Presented as a Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements to Obtain the Magister Humaniora (M.Hum) Degree
In English Language Studies

by

Riefki Fajar Ganda Wiguna

Student number: 156332024

THE GRADUATE PROGRAM OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE STUDIES
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY
YOGYAKARTA

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Ad Dei Maiorem Gloriam

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Yogyakarta, 10 May 2019
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This is to certify that all ideas, phrases, sentences, unless otherwise stated, are the ideas, phrases and sentences of the thesis writer. The writer understands the full consequences including degree cancellation if he took somebody else’s ideas, phrases and sentences without proper references.

Yogyakarta, 27 May 2019

Riefki Fajar Ganda Wiguna
PLAGIAT MERUPAKAN TINDAKAN TIDAK TERPUJI
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Riefki Fajar Ganda Wiguna
MOTTO

The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: "The seeking of knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim." - Al-Tirmidhi, Hadith 74

The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: “One who treads a path in search of knowledge has his path to Paradise made easy by God”- Riyadh us-Saleheen, 245
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ABSTRACT

The current situation shows that, there are several socio-political conflicts that involved Muslim as the majority religious group which participate actively in the process of democracy. In this case, the media play an important role to portray the situation and educate the society. The Jakarta Post as the first international media in Indonesia has a huge responsibility to inform the current situation not only for the local people but also the global community. It will be very crucial to see how The Jakarta Post portray the Muslim in Indonesia. Therefore, this research is aimed to investigate how the media portray Muslim as part of the socio-political context.

Supported by Systemic Functional Linguistic, and Seven Building Tasks of Language this thesis reveals the ideology and power exercise through the meaning produced in The Jakarta Post editorial news on Muslim and Islam by seeing the constructing of discourse and shows how language is structured to support the political purpose of the addresses. Three research questions are developed to reach this aim. (1) What is the specific vocabulary or words used to refer to Muslim in The Jakarta Post from 2016 to 2017? (2) What do the SFG and Seven Building Task of language theory reveal on the editorial of The Jakarta Post about Muslim? (3) What are The Jakarta Post’s ideologies and its stance reflected on their review about Muslim?

The data used for the research are taken from The Jakarta Post editorial about the Islam and religious chaos happen in 2017. The methodology used in this thesis is the Fairclough’s approach to CDA that has three dimensions of analysis. They describe the properties of textual elements, examine the role of language and the greater social structure it reflects and supports, and explain the larger cultural, historical, and social discourse surrounding the data interpretation.

The transitivity analysis shows that mental process is the most dominant process which is used by The Jakarta Post to portray Muslim. This process is aimed to set the context which is based on The Jakarta Post’s concern. Furthermore, The Jakarta Post present Muslim as the senser in the mental process. It means Muslim is seen as a group who use their sense or feeling in interpreting socio-political problems.

Thus, this choice creates an image of the Muslim way of thinking. The Jakarta Post as a democratic newspaper reviewed that the majority religious group are too dominant in the democratic process because they bring religious sentiments as part of democracy. In conclusion, The Jakarta Post divided the Muslim in to two block
tolerant and intolerant group. They represent an attempt to interpret the conflicts happen recently in the socio-political contexts are caused by dominant group that can interpret the regulation based on their interest. This situation will be a very potential threat for the future of democracy.

Key Words : Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Muslim, News

ABSTRAK


Situasi saat ini menunjukkan bahwa, ada beberapa konflik sosial-politik yang melibatkan Muslim sebagai kelompok agama mayoritas yang berpartisipasi aktif dalam proses demokrasi. Dalam hal ini, media memainkan peran penting untuk menggambarkan situasi dan mendidik masyarakat. The Jakarta Post sebagai media internasional pertama di Indonesia memiliki tanggung jawab besar untuk menginformasikan situasi saat ini tidak hanya bagi masyarakat lokal tetapi juga komunitas global. Akan sangat penting untuk melihat bagaimana The Jakarta Post menggambarkan Muslim di Indonesia. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki bagaimana media menggambarkan Muslim sebagai bagian dari konteks sosial-politik.

Didukung oleh Linguistik Fungsional Sistemik, dan Tujuh Bangunan Tugas Bahasa tesis ini mengungkap ideologi dan latihan kekuatan melalui makna yang dihasilkan dalam The Jakarta Post berita editorial tentang Muslim dan Islam dengan melihat konstruksi wacana dan menunjukkan bagaimana bahasa disusun untuk mendukung politik: tujuan dari alamat. Tiga pertanyaan penelitian dikembangkan untuk mencapai tujuan ini. (1) Apa kosakata atau kata-kata spesifik yang digunakan untuk merujuk pada Muslim di dalam pemberitaan The Jakarta Post dari 2016 hingga 2017? (2) Apa yang diungkapkan oleh SFG dan Seven Building Task of Language pada editorial The Jakarta Post tentang Muslim? (3) Apa saja The Jakarta Post ideologi dan pendiriannya yang tercermin dalam ulasan mereka tentang Muslim?

Data yang digunakan untuk penelitian ini diambil dari editorial The Jakarta Post tentang Islam dan kekacauan agama yang terjadi pada 2017. Metodologi yang digunakan dalam tesis ini adalah pendekatan Fairclough terhadap CDA yang memiliki tiga dimensi analisis. Mereka menggambarkan sifat-sifat unsur tekstual, meneliti peran bahasa dan struktur sosial yang lebih besar yang dipantulkan dan didukungnya, dan menjelaskan wacana budaya, sejarah, dan sosial yang lebih besar di sekitar penafsiran data.

Analisis transitivitas menunjukkan bahwa proses mental adalah proses paling dominan yang digunakan oleh The Jakarta Post untuk menggambarkan Muslim. Proses ini bertujuan untuk mengatur konteks yang didasarkan pada The Jakarta Post keprihatinan. Lebih jauh, The Jakarta Post menghadirkan Muslim sebagai pencetus dalam proses mental. Ini berarti Muslim dipandang sebagai kelompok yang menggunakan akal atau perasaan mereka dalam menafsirkan masalah sosial-politik.

**Kata Kunci:** Wacana, Analisa Wacana Kritis, ideology, Muslim, Berita
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an explanation on the background of the problem, and builds the understanding of the main issue which will be discussed in this study. This chapter also describes why the researcher needs to research the media.

1.1 Background of the Study

The socio-political situation of a state cannot be alienated by the existence of influential media. The media impose an ideology and opinion that can be accepted throughout the people. It works through the distribution of the discourse as socio-political news to build the awareness of the society that becomes a public paradigm. In this situation, language as a tool of communication can be used as a powerful weapon only if it is employed by a media which understands how to properly employ it in the right situation in term of place and timing (Van Dijk, 2009).

It means that, the media plays a significant role in spreading ideology. Ideology is defined as an implicit philosophy in practical activities and is always based on the assumption (Fairclough, 2001). Media plays an important role in imposing its thought to public by pretending as if it is independent of power. It also helps to maintain social control by formatting social thoughts according to the ideology of the ruling (Yilmaz & Kirazologu, 2014.p1528).
It has been perceived that media is employed as an ideological apparatus of power in shaping public perspective. The content of newspaper can give us hints about the dominant ideology and the awareness of the media. Ideology is what people in society perceive issues, and their perceptions are often assumed to be sensible and realistic. Van Dijk (1993) stated that ideology could be interpreted as norms or values that sometimes result from stereotypes formed on a particular subject. Fairclough also explains that, ideology is closely related to language because using the language is the most common form of social behavior, and the form of social behavior where we rely on the common sense assumption (1989). It shows that, what happens in this case is the language reproduces the ideology in society and what needs to be understood is how the discourse is used to the process of reproduction of ideology in society. In addition to that, the use of language influences how the reality is portrayed by the media. In the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) the production of social and reality is influenced by the language.

Therefore, this study is Critical Discourse Analysis so that a description of a discourse which is used in this study will show how the ideology is depicted in the media. The media refers to the radio, television, newspapers, magazines and the internet which serve as media of communication for the public (MacMillan, 2001; Mohammed Nimer, 2007). It is common for people to do quick searches using Google, read newspapers
and magazines every day to keep updated with the latest events and listen to the radio while driving to their workplace. Furthermore, Van Dijk (1993) stated that most people know about their society is based on reflections constructed in the media. However, the press does not always reflect reality. Fairclough (1995) states that the media texts do not merely ‘mirror realities’ as is sometimes naively assumed: they constitute versions of reality in ways which depend on the social positions and interests and objectives of those who produce them. Van Dijk (1993) also states that the concern of CDA is evaluating the discourse, the domination of power distribution and the inequality it also will concern on how the discourse in the society is produced to maintain the relation of power and ideology. CDA also has the capability to reveal the hidden ideologies which are depicted in the daily discourse through the dominance power. The ruling groups are always using their power to dominate others. In the political text, the ruling group is frequently exposed.

In addition to that, media also plays a vital role in depicting it’s thought to the society by acting and declaring as they are independent and there is no relation with dominant power. It also assists the ruling group to maintain social control by shaping social thought according to their ideology. In this point of view, newspaper plays a vital role as part of media in shaping the common belief especially in spreading the ideological apparatus concerning shaping the public opinion (Yılmaza, & Oktay Kirazoluğub,
One of the major functions of newspapers is to report news. In order to gain more audiences, newspapers offer variety of news such as business news, political news, sport news and many more. Furthermore, they also add their commentary on the news, express opinion through their editorial section, inserting more specific information, suggestions, and advices for the readers in order to satisfy their readers. In this process, the way how newspaper present their news to the reader is vital. It argues that information in newspaper is well presented. They may use ideological spin to make it difficult for the readers to understand and make an independent conclusion on certain issues which is presented in the newspaper. In other words, the readers opinion are affected by the fact that newspapers are not individuals but institutions with their own vested interest. Therefore, it is not wrong to regard newspaper as ideological groups that represent and support their things, and disapprove the others through linguistic devices in the written and spoken language.

The writer takes the editorial news article from The Jakarta Post which is related to their news about Muslim in the socio political context. Editorials express and communicate opinion in effective and persuasive way. Van Dijk (1996) states that one of the most significant features of newspapers editorials are their series of argument given to support their stance or against other. They remark the news from different perspective and provide summary in the form of recommendations, warning or predictions.
There are six nation-wide in Indonesia: **KOMPAS, KORAN TEMPO, MEDIA INDONESIA, REPUBLIKA, THE JAKARTA POST, and SUARA MERDEKA**. Among those, KOMPAS is the one that gained most readers. The Jakarta Post is the partner of KOMPAS in terms of its operational management.

*The Jakarta post* was established in 25 April 1983. Ali Moertopo (Minister of information), conveyed the need to have an international newspaper to Jusuf Wanandi in mid – 1982. Both Ali Moertopo and Jusuf Wanandi were active members of GOLKAR political party. Jusuf Wanandi was an anti-communist activist who strongly recommended Indonesia to make partnership with United States, instead of China.

The Jakarta Post is aimed to portray the characteristic pluralistic aspect of Indonesia’s sociopolitical environment. In addition to that, the opinion about Indonesia as predominantly published by the western media, and consequently, Indonesia is captured based on the western-socio-political thought. In other words, *The Jakarta Post* is a tool to distribute propaganda in the international community. The data taken in 2017 show that *The Jakarta Post* audience is dominated by undergraduate degree readers in the age of 25-34 years old. It shows that *The Jakarta Post* is also targeting an influential group of people who have the power to analyze and spread their understanding of the news which is produced by them.
In term of socio-political context, Indonesia is the fourth largest population in the world and 88% of the population is Muslim (Lim, 2008). Muslim as the majority religious group participates actively in the democracy process to create socio-political atmosphere in Indonesia. The uniqueness of Indonesia is the political system applied in this country is democracy not Islamic law. In the democratic atmosphere, Muslim influence the society in two aspects: firstly, in the daily life in Indonesia, particularly through education, politics and business, secondly, in the news media.

These development are reflected in the position, Indonesia currently holds in democracy ratings where it was given the highest ranking of all southeast Asian countries (Freedomhouse: 2009). Against this situation, Indonesia faces a new atmosphere in the relationship between Islam and Politic. The two are said to rarely to go together due to a theological lack of state-religion separation.

In this case, news about Muslim in socio-political context can be seen as a visible reflection of political policy, and the democratic atmosphere. On the other hand, Indonesia faces a big challenge in ethnic diversity. The government needs to regulate the conduct of democracy fairly, so it can facilitate all ethnics, religion or group to participate enthusiastically.

In fact, the conflict in the socio-political context happens frequently in Indonesia. It needs a serious concern from the government to take a control in
order to create a good atmosphere of democracy. Furthermore, the media also plays an essential role in imposing their opinion to the society.

Therefore, this study is going to investigate the ideologies used by The Jakarta Post in reporting the Muslim, in the religious conflict and what point of view that they use towards blasphemy law. This research will also investigate the hidden agenda, and the power imbalance in the democratic life of this nation is related to the religious expression of Muslim and Islam.

4.1 Research Questions
1. What is the specific vocabulary or words used to refer to Muslim in The Jakarta Post from 2016 to 2017?
2. What do the SFG and Seven Building Task of language theory reveal on the editorial of The Jakarta Post about Muslim?
3. What are The Jakarta Post’s ideologies and its stance reflected on their review about Muslim?

1.3 Research Objectives
This research is aimed to explain the process of how specific issues are reported, how it was interpreted and reflected in the news. It also explains how the news manipulates the attitudes of society as a part of the system. This research will be more focus on several issues connected to Islam and Moslem in Jakarta post, and this research is also aimed to evaluate the debate around the religious conflict and the blasphemy law.
Critical Discourse Analysis permits us to comprehend deeply about the use of power where its implementation may have real social impact in relation to the socio-political and cultural life, such as inequality, dominance, and discrimination. This research is aimed to see the way language is structured as the best choice in creating meaning that support the stance of newspaper and power relation. The linguistics patterns are used to see how the texts are composed.

1.4 Research Benefits

There are some advantages in applying Critical Discourse Analysis in analyzing a text. First, it provides a chance to reveal the real situation of a society. It also investigates on how social injustice is portrayed, and how certain social group may be misinterpreted in a discourse. It also provides a chance to build critical language awareness that give people insight when they participate in a discursive practice by the way texts are consumed and in the social structures and power relation that discursive practice is shaped by and takes part in shaping and changing.

Therefore, through an analysis of certain linguistic strategies that have been used to construct and organize "the facts" for readers, this research will also enrich the critical attitudes towards the media by examining on how news reports on current issues about Islam and Muslim in Indonesia are presented in the news articles, and this research also will give a clear explanation of their ideological significance. It will be very beneficial for comprehending the
religious conflict happened currently and the hidden agenda in it. This research will also provide the construction of the society which was influenced by the news on the media. This study will reveal how the media construe the society perspective on the current issues happened related to Muslim as a majority in a socio-political context.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review of this chapter is based on the topic of the research that has been discussed before. This chapter sets the theoretical framework on how the theory of CDA underlays the research. This part will also discuss the definition of CDA, media discourse, the goal of CDA and how the theory is employed in the study.

2.1 Review of Related Literature

This part provides the theories that support the analysis of The Jakarta Post review on Islam and Muslim. The definition of power and ideology, the theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the concept of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Seven Building Task presents to inform what concept of each theory that the writer uses in the analyzing the data and discussing the findings. In addition to that, this chapter also presents theories on democracy and media role in imposing their ideology.

2.1.1 Ideology and Power

Humans have a natural necessity in their life whether it is for physical needs or social needs. In order to fulfill their needs, human will employ their thinking ability to rationalize and maintain what they have perceived in the world. Thus, humans must make themselves able to fulfill the needs even by the persuasive way to make the personal needs become the mutual need
among the members of society where they live. So, when it comes to the matter of mutual relation there must be a system that controls the relationship. Marx (1977) notices a kind of structure that relates individuals to each other. Gee (2008) cited Marx as Follows:

Marx believed that human knowledge, beliefs, and behavior reflected and were shaped by the economic relationships that existed in society (Marx, 1977). By ―economic relationships‖ he meant something fairly broad, something like the relationships people contracted with each other in society in order to produce and consume ―wealth.‖ (Wealth “originally meant —well-being‖ and in the economic sense is still connected to the resources in terms of which people and institutions can sustain their well-being, at least materially.) (Gee, 2008: 27-28)

Marx sees that ideology has close relation to the economy. However, ideology is something in the mind that processes the idea which guides and drives human to do something which he thinks as an ideal condition. Ideology is then an illusion about the best guidance leading to the best way of living. This comes from the ability of human to think and find the relation between his existence and the other things in pursuing the dignity. The way Marx puts as emphasis is only part of the economy relational system where the reality of economy becomes the base of the less tangible aspects in society like its laws, its beliefs, and its ideology. In Foucault’s view as studied by Mc Houl (1993), however, the classical Marxist model seems ineffectual to deal with the new kinds of struggle developing in so called post-industrial society.

The term ideology then remains in frequent use as a plural noun, a near synonym of “belief system”. It binds the member of society together by
providing them with collectively shared value and norms (Thomson, 1984). Political parties, pressure groups of various persuasions, social classes and even individuals are said to act according to their separate, often mutually opposed, ideologies, which inform and influence their behavior and modes of expression, and which reflect the conditions under which people live. Since any sane person behaves in accordance with a more or less coherent set of beliefs, everyone has an ideology, in this sense of the term, and scholars who embrace this neutral conception of ideology (Thompson, 1990).

“In studying ideology we may be concerned with the ways in which meaning sustains relations of class domination, but we may also be concerned with other kinds of domination, such as the structured social relations between men and women, between one ethnic group and another, or between hegemonic nation-states and those nation-states located on the margins of a global system.” (Thompson, 1990: 56)

Thus for Thompson, ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. This critical view of ideology, seeing it as a modality of power, contrasts with various descriptive views of ideology as positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, of social groups without reference to relations of power and domination between such groups. Fairclough (1989) links the ideology and power as follows:

“Ideologies are closely linked, to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depends on the power relations which underlie the conventions; and because they are a means of
legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power, simply through the recurrence of ordinary, familiar ways of behaving which take these relations and power differences for granted.” (Fairclough, 1989: 2)

Fairclough emphasizes that the relation between ideology and power lies in the specific conventions which can be seen in the society’s ordinary ways of behaving. Therefore, along with the development, human keeps enlarging the idea and the method to survive not only for himself but also for the rest of bound society he lives in which are the family, the race, and the nation. The relations which are shaped in a long range of time, for example the nationality where the belief and value shared together will be the new source of power to expand the scope of defense and the supporting aspects.

In addition to that, Ideology is defined as a meaning in the service of power. It means that ideology serves the interest of certain groups with social power, ensuring that events, practices, and behaviors come to be regarded as legitimate and common-sense (Mayr, 2008:11). Power is a complex abstract idea which has a significant influence in our lives. Having significant influence has a meaning that power relates to domination. Domination is power or control over other people or things. It is obvious that the use of power is usually dominant in politics. Thus, it is common knowledge that politics is concerned with power. For example in politics, there is power to make decisions or laws, to control resources, to control other people behaviour and often to control their values. Politicians cannot do such things
unless they have power which they earn because of their political positions. To maintain such power and to secure powerful positions, powerful groups in society use the news media. Therefore, through the use of language in news media that leads to power maintained, the ideology is then constructed.

In the previous explanation, the dominant group could exercise his power to dominate and influence others and then if those people believe that such events and practices are legitimate and common-sense, there exists the ideology. In finding and revealing the hidden ideologies in newspaper editorial, a CDA framework by Norman Fairclough is used in this thesis.

The power associated with any discourse is not initiated by language itself as language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 14). The power of any discourse is acquired from the various social practices (different social institutions) that generate that discourse. These institutions are government, parliament, school, asylum agencies, etc. “operate as incarnations of power” (Harvey, 1996: 95). Different discourses are, therefore, a result of “relation of difference” on social structures. Language is entwined with social power in a number of ways: Language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over power and where power is challenged. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, and to alter distributions of power. (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 2). Language, however, is not the only condition to exercise or challenge power.
but one also must have access to various social outlets (media, institutions, textbooks, education, etc.). The elites and the dominating people use their power to generate, maintain, institutionalize, and legitimate their discourse. Fairclough calls the process of using discourse to institutionalize ideology and achieve hegemony normalization and in many cases normalization brings about social change in our knowledge, our attitudes, values and so forth (Fairclough, 2003: 8).

To sum up the section on ideology, the main question is: can CDA dissect this subtle relation between ideology and discourse and other semiological forms, and, if so, how? Both Wodak and Fairclough suggest a positive answer to this question (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 3; Fairclough, 1992b: 91).

2.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

According to Fowler, Hodge, and Kress (1979) CDA plays a role as a methods and tools to analyse the relation between discourse, society, and culture. It means CDA focused on how the social context is related to power and ideology. In addition to that, (Halliday, 1978) stated that language is controlled by social and cultural context. It was a fundamental influence to evaluate in – depth the language ideology relation. CDA is not a study of trending issues. It is an approach which covers many trends. This is why the definition of CDA cannot simply accept in single definition. CDA analysis
can be defined by their goals rather than by their techniques and tools of analysis.

CDA is not a school of one trend but rather an approach under the scope of which we can find many trends. This is the reason why one cannot simply accept a single definition of CDA. We can define the trends under CDA by their goals rather than by their techniques and tools of analysis. Simply put, CDA aims mainly to uncover the socio-political inequalities, whether based on political, economic, cultural, religious, or gendered grounds, which exist in a certain society.

Furthermore, Fairclough (1995a: 132) stated that “CDA is the study of Relationships of causality and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony”.

Based on the explanation above, the aim is to create an awareness on the social and cultural events. It also aware of the discursive practice which produces them. In addition to that, in the modern era the role of CDA, Huckin defines it as “a highly context-sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of improving society” (1995: 95). It attempts to identify how these nontransparent relationships are crucial
in securing power and hegemony, and it draws attention to domination forms, social inequities, nondemocratic practices, and other injustices so as to encourage people to perform corrective actions (Fairclough, 1993). Based on both theories we can conclude that CDA is a tool to identify nontransparent relationship and create an awareness on the ideologies indoctrination in order to manipulate society.

Almost all CDA researchers share a concern with issues of power and change caused by recurrent social practices. The inherent core of CDA is to demonstrate how selectively the world is construed in discourses. The job of CDA research is not only to demonstrate what is occurring within the text, but also to note what is absent from the text; why this particular selection or reduction, why here, why now.

The overarching goal of CDA is to make visible the way in which institutions and their discourse shape us. CDA aims to show how “linguistic-discursive practices” are linked to socio-political structures of power and domination (Kress, 1990: 85) by emphasizing the role of discourse in the (re)production, and challenge of dominance (van Dijk, 1993: 249). According to Wodak, the purpose of CDA is to analyze “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as manifested in language” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 2). Specifically, CDA studies the reality, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is differentiated in
its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258).

It is worth mentioning here that CDA is different from other approaches to discourse in that it is critical. CDA does not limit itself to analyzing the immediate formal properties of the text but rather it situates the text in its wider social, economic, historical, cognitive and political context and critically examines how this text relates to other texts, how it is constituted by the existing social practices and is constitutive of other new social practices. Wodak also stated that “critical could be understood as having distance from the data, embedding the data in the social, making a political stance explicit, and having a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research” (2007: 209). It also means that “our use of language in particular [is] bound up with causes and effects which we may not be at all aware of under normal conditions” (Fairclough, 1995: 54).

Another definition is also set by (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 14) that “CDA demystifies discourses by deciphering ideologies”. It is worth noting that “critical” does not mean detecting only the negative sides of social interaction and processes and painting a black and white picture of societies. “Quite to the contrary, critical means distinguishing complexity and denying easy, dichotomous explanations, and making contradictions transparent” (Wodak, 1999: 168).
It is proper to end this section on the goals of CDA with how Wodak and Meyer (2001) responded to those who see CDA as a tool to judge what is right and what is wrong. Instead, she stresses that the role of CDA should be, above all to make choices at each point in the research itself, and should make these choices transparent. It should also justify theoretically why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid than others. In conclusion, CDA initiates the analysis and provides the tools to the researchers who are aware on the social change. It is not meant that CDA is inserting certain issues or ideologies to the current changes. It only gives another perspective on the nontransparent relationship between power and ideology.

2.1.3 Three Dimension of Text

Three dimensions of text is a CDA approach proposed by Norman Fairclough. He shows how his concept on three dimensions of text can reveal the sociocultural practice within the text itself. The three dimensions of text is divided into three parts: description, interpretation, and explanation. The description is the microanalysis in CDA, this part focuses on the analysis on how the text is produced, how the certain words are combined to make meaning in term of showing the intended text structure showed to the reader. In interpretation, this step is aimed to reveal the genre of the text and what discourse or power used. The last dimension is explanation. Explanation gives a chance to conduct further analysis. The analysis does not only focus on the
text, language used and genre, but also the sociocultural practice embedded in the text (Fairclough, 1995: 96-102).

Figure 2.1.3 Fairclough’s CDA Model

The figure above shows intertwined level of analysis. The levels are divided into three levels the first one is the text level, the discursive practice level, and the socio-cultural level. “The connection between text and social practice is seen as being mediated by discourse practice” (Fairclough, 1995a: 133). So “each discursive event has three dimensions or facets”: a) It is a spoken or written language text; b) It is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of text; c) It is a piece of social practice.

The first dimension is discourse-as-text. the focus of this dimension is on the contents of the linguistic features, text and the patterns of the text. The pattern is about the wording, metaphor, grammar, the cohesion and the cohesiveness of the text and the structure need to be systematically analyzed.
The use of passive verb forms in news reporting, for instance, can have the effect of obscuring the agent of political processes. Included in the text dimension is intertextuality: how a certain text is linked to or interpreted in terms of other texts or other discourses.

The analyst, basically, looks for what is represented in the text in terms of actors, recipients, benefactors, etc.; what is represented in the theme and rheme of the sentences composing the text and collocations; and patterns of co-occurrences of words in text, which simply means looking at which other words most frequently precede and follow any word which is in focus. At this level, it is significant to analyze: a) Genre, and check if the data conform or deviate from the specific genre norms, i.e., the semantic relationships; How elements of social events (processes, people, objects, means, times, places) are represented; b) To what degree some elements are present or absent (foregrounding and backgrounding); b) How events are ordered and the angle which is being taken; the main assumptions and presuppositions of the discursive compositions of text. (Fairclough, 2003).

The second dimension is discourse as discursive-practice. Discursive practices of discourse include all the factors that contribute to the production of the text. It, as Fairclough puts it “… involves various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption. Some of these have a more institutional character whereas others are discourse processes in a narrower sense” (1995: 58). Discourse practice refers to the production and reception
of messages. Knowing how to act in this way means that the participants draw upon what Fairclough calls members’ resources (MR). The MR includes internalized knowledge of all three levels in the discourse model: a) Social structure and social practices – the mental maps or cultural models (Gee, 1996) that people carry in their heads; b) Knowledge about the production and interpretation of discourse types – which are often hybrids involving creative combination of genres and discourses; Detailed knowledge of particular linguistic and textual structuring devices. The analysis of this aspect includes but is not limited to the sociology of journalism, the newsroom production, the process of text production, circulation and consumption in a certain society. This dimension indicates affiliating the text to a wider context that contributed to this production and consumption.

In dealing with discursive practices, questions like the following are considered: a) Why are certain events rather than others chosen to be reported? b) Why are the events reported the way they are? c) What are the factors that influence and /or control journalists in their reporting? d) What are the other related texts and genres circulated in a society that might affect the production and consumption of this certain text? e) Are there any other competing texts/discourses? f) Who is sourced and quoted in news? How?

Although the analysis of the linguistic features of any text will inevitably involve the analysis of discursive practices and vice versa,
Fairclough maintains that both levels of analysis should be separated analytically.

The third dimension is discourse-as social practice. This is concerned with the social, ideological and hegemonic practices prevailing in the society and how these practices shape (and are shaped by) discursive practices. Social practice, which includes discourse, does not merely reflect reality; it also has effects on social structures and can play an active role in social change. Fairclough (1999) gives the example of schools. Schools have a certain way of ordering social space in which there are distinct settings where discourse occurs (classroom, assembly, principal’s office, staffroom, and playground) and in each of these there are discourse practices belonging to certain types. The social structures are abstract entities that limits to what is possible, what kind of situation or action can happened and what cannot. Social practices then bridge the social structures and social events. They filter out which events actually happen and which do not. Language as a system of a sign is part of the social world at all levels. Language are social structures which define the potential possibilities of texts. Orders of discourse mediate between the abstract level of language and the concrete level of texts (Fairclough, 2003). The following table explains the relationships among languages and three social levels of organization.

PLAGIAT MERUPAKAN TINDAKAN TIDAK TERPUJI
Table 2.1.3 Language and its relation to the social level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abstract, Long Lived, Stable, Concrete, Transient, Variable</th>
<th>Level of Social Organization</th>
<th>Corresponding Semiotic Element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social structures</td>
<td>Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Practices</td>
<td>Order of Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Discourse, Genres, Styles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Events</td>
<td>Texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Describing discourse as social practice implies that language and society bears a kind of dialectical relationship. Social practices are articulations of different types of elements of the social world which are associated with particular areas of social life. Discourse appears in three ways in social practice (Fairclough, 2003). The relation among them can be seen in the following table.

Table 2.2. Discourse as an element of social practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse as an Element of Social Practice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Style</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Genre is part of the action of social practice while discourses represent the world in different styles which include bodily behavior and involves social and personal identities. CDA for Fairclough is concerned with investigation of the relation between two assumptions about language use: that language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping. Fairclough employs the theoretical assumption that texts and discourse are socially constitutive: “Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities,
(ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs” (Farclough, 1995). The ideational function creates social subjects or identity and the relationship between them, and the textual function creates discourse. This implies that every text contributes to the constitution of these three aspects of society and culture.

Therefore, understanding the wider socio-cultural, political, ideological, institutional and historical context and structures surrounding the text, in other words, the wider context helps to explain the dynamics of a text, in terms of its production, distribution, and consumption. At this explanatory level, we consider more than language and discourse. We analyze and understand the implicit power relations and their roles in generating and establishing power asymmetries among social actors, their roles in facilitating the marginalization and exclusion of groups as well as possibilities of change and resistance. Showing that this level is somehow different from the other two levels, Fairclough says that the social/cultural practices “may be at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: It may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and culture” (1995: 62).

In summary, language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology. Discourse is shaped by structure and discourse contributes to shaping and reshaping the structure. Fairclough sees in order to
reveal the ideology, the text must be produced or interpreted in these three elements: social practice, discoursal practice, and text.

2.1.4 Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is employed in this research because it was used to see the language as process of making meaning. As Halliday (1978:114) puts it: “It is not only text (what people mean) but also the semantic system (what they can mean) that embodies the ambiguity, antagonism, imperfection, inequality, and change that characterize the social system and the social structure”

Since the language is a process of making meaning it needs to be described further how the language is used to convey the message. There are three types of meaning or metafunction made by language at a time (Gerot and Wignell 1994). First is ideational meaning. Ideational meanings are meaning about phenomena, about things around (animate and non animate, abstract and concrete), and the circumstances surrounding. Those meaning are recognized in the word selection through participants, the process and also the circumstances. The field of discourse is significantly influencing meaning.

Second, interpersonal meaning, it means the meaning which exposes in the speaker’s attitude and judgment. These meanings are used for acting upon and with others in the form of interaction. Meanings are realized in wordings through what is called mood and modality. Tenor of discourse most centrally influences meanings of this kind. The third is a textual meaning,
textual meanings shows the relation of language to its environment including both the verbal environment, what has been said or written before (co-text) and the non-verbal, situational environment (context). These messages are revealed through the scheme of theme and cohesion.

Those three meanings or metafunction are simultaneously realized in three more systems at the clause level. The ideational meaning can be identified in the system of transitivity. Interpersonal meaning can be identified in the system of Mood and Modality. The theme is used to identify the textual meaning.

2.1.4.1 Transitivity: The Grammar of Ideational Meaning

Transitivity is a system which uses to identify the ideational meanings. In this system, the clause is divided into three semantic categories which explain how a phenomenon of the real world is depicted as linguistic structures. Those categories are the process which belongs to the verb, participant which is represented by a noun and the circumstances which belong to the prepositional phrase. According to Mayr (2008) “transitivity analysis is a way to explore the process or type of the verb used in the clause.” It will relate to the relation of power that might be implicitly described by the relationship between Actor and Goal. The process can be active example: A kid (Actor) robbed (process) a bank (Goal) or A bank (Goal) was robbed (Process) by a Kid.
Based on the explanation above, the news reported in the media agency, and responsibility can be described clearly. In the robbery news report, if the actor is omitted, it means might be the responsibility of the kid is systematically omitted. Therefore, the news is not merely reflection of reality, but it is a product construed by political, economic and cultural forces.

In this system, transitivity identified by Halliday, there are seven types of process, which are divided into Non-Relational processes and Relational processes. Non-Relational processes are ones of doing. They are Material, Mental, Behavioural, and Verbal Processes. Whereas Relational processes are ones of being and having. They are Relational, Existential, and Meteorological processes. The definition of each process is derived from Gerot and Wignell’s Making Sense of Functional Grammar.

A material process is process that involved physical activity in other words this process is known as the process of doing. They show the concept that some entity physically does something, which may be done to some other entity. Thus, the participant roles in material processes are Actor and Goal. Actor is the entity who or which does something, while Goal is an entity which may be done to. For example:

Riefki  Kicked  The ball
Actor  Material  Goal
Mental processes are processes of sensing: feeling, thinking, perceiving. There are four types: affective or reactive (feeling), cognitive (thinking), inclination, and perceptive (perceiving through the five senses). They are mental, covert kinds of goings-on. Therefore, the participant roles in mental processes are Senser and Phenomenon. The Senser is a conscious being, while the Phenomenon is that which is sensed: felt, thought or seen.

For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Phenomenon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rumi</td>
<td>Affect</td>
<td>Traveling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senser</td>
<td>Mental:</td>
<td>Phenomenon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve</td>
<td>Cognitive</td>
<td>the answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senser</td>
<td>Mental:</td>
<td>Phenomenon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inclination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Behavioural processes are processes of physiological and psychological behaviour, like breathing, dreaming, snoring, smiling, hiccupsing, looking, watching, listening, and pondering. There is one obligatory participant, which is Behaver. The Behaver is also a conscious being like a Senser, but the process is one of doing, not sensing. Besides, there is also Range, which is the scope of the process.

For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thor</td>
<td>Threw</td>
<td>a hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaver</td>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>Range</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbal processes are processes of saying, or symbolically signaling. Very often these are realized by two distinct clauses: the projecting clause encodes a signal source (Sayer) and a signaling (Verbal Process) and the other (projected clauses) realizes what was said. The participants are Sayer, Target, Receiver, and Verbiage. Sayer is the signal source, Target is the one acted upon verbally, Receiver is the one to whom the verbalization is addressed, and Verbiage is a name for the verbalization itself.

For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sayer</th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Receiver</th>
<th>Verbiage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jhony</td>
<td>Told</td>
<td>Rara</td>
<td>his secret</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Relational processes are Relational, Existential, and Meteorological processes (Gerot and Wignell, 1994:67-73). Each of them will be explained as follows.

Relational processes are processes of being and having. They can be classified to assign a quality to something or to identify something. Processes which assign a quality are called Attributive processes. In Attributive processes, the participant roles are Carrier and Attribute. Whereas processes which establish an identity are called identifying processes. In Identifying processes, the participant roles are Token and Value. The easiest way to distinguish between Attributive and identifying processes is that Identifying processes are reversible. It means that in identifying processes, the clause can be reversed in order and the semantic relationship still holds. Relational
processes can be further sub-classified according to whether they are: intensive, possessive or circumstantial.

For example:

Ryan Gosling is the best movie actor
Token Identifying: intensive Value

Existential processes are processes of existence. The processes are expressed by verbs of existing, such as: ‘be’, ‘exist’, ‘arise’ and the participant role is called Existent. Existent can be a phenomenon of any kind.

For example:

There is a cake on the desk
Existential Existent Circumstance: place

2.1.4.2 The Grammar of Interpersonal Meaning: Mood

In the next step of SFG analysis is language as interpersonal function. Halliday (1971) states that the Mood analysis is focusing on the use of language as the means of his own institution into the speech event: the expression of his comments, attitudes, and evaluations, and also the relationship that the speaker sets up between himself and the listener.

Mood involves types of clause structure (declarative, interrogative), degrees of certainty or obligation, use of tags, attitudinal words, politeness makers, that relate to interpersonal meaning. Modality refers to a speaker’s attitude towards or opinion about the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence. It also extends to their attitude towards the situation or events
describe by a sentence. Therefore, modality is a major exponent of the interpersonal function of language (Simpson, 2005).

2.1.4.3 The Grammar of Textual Meaning: Theme

This function concerns about the fact that language has mechanism to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from random list of sentences. Moreover, Haliday (1985) claims that textual metafunction deals with the combination of the patterns of grammar and vocabulary that ties meaning in text and connects the text to the social context in which it occurs. This meta-function consists of two sub-functions, Theme and Rheme (Halliday, 2004).

Theme and Rheme combination makes up thematic structure of the clause (Bloor & Bloor, 1995). Themes, especially, are examined in different ways by looking at the difference between marked and unmarked Themes. Then, they are also examined based on the difference between textual, interpersonal and topical Themes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Components of Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Textual Theme</td>
<td>Continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Conjunctive adjuncts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wh-relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Interpersonal theme</td>
<td>Vocatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Modal adjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Finite elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wh-Question words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Topical theme</td>
<td>Participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Circumstance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1.4 Components of Theme
2.1.5 Seven Building Tasks (SBT)

The concept of Seven Building Task of language is an approach proposed by James Paul Gee. He claims that the language use is both unique and conventional. When someone says something, he follows certain rules in language, at the same time he also delivers it in a unique way. When we talk and bring certain object through language, that thing becomes exist in the real world. In short, language is used to make or build things in the world. SBT provides the analysis on the language-in-use which is constructed by seven areas of reality.

The first task is significance. Language is used to make the thing we talk about is significant or less significant and to make the listener know how we value the significance of this thing. The second task is practices or activities. The language is used to get our practices or activity recognized. The next task is identities. Language is used to build the speaker’s identity or role. In this task, language can also be used to compare our identity to others’ explicitly or implicitly. The fourth task is relationships. Language is used to give a clue about what kind of relationship we have, want to have, or are trying to have with our listener, reader, or other people. Yule (1996) explains what a person says is closely influenced by the social relationship. To make sense of what a person says in an interaction, we have a take a look at some factors that relate to social distance and closeness. The term politeness refers
to the impact of one's saying which is considered as rude, thoughtful, appropriate, or inappropriate.

The next task is politics. Language is used to convey a perspective on the nature of the distribution of social goods, the statement about whether something or someone is good or not to some group in the society, and to build a perspective on social goods in the same way. The sixth task is connections. Language is used to explain whether certain things have or do not have connections or relevance to other things. The last task is sign system and knowledge. Language is used to make a certain sign system or certain forms of knowledge are relevant in the given situation.

In order to analyze the tasks above, the tools of inquiry are used. The tools of inquiry are beneficial to make relevance on how people build identities and practices and recognize identities and practices that others are building around them. There are six tools of inquiry: social languages, Discourses, Conversations, intertextuality, situated meaning, and figured worlds.

The first tool is social language. This tool investigates the style of language which is used by the speakers intentionally to reach several purposes. Social language can reveal the social identity of particular social class and can enact different social practices or activities. The second one is Discourses, Language is not the only “stuff” used to build an identity and
activity. The use of capital D highlight a discourse is a characteristic way of saying, doing and being. The next one is conversation. The thought that we expressed must be related to themes, debates, of motifs which are the focus and familiar thing in the society. Through the analysis of what kind of Conversation, then we can determine what class that person belong to.

The fourth is intertextuality. In intertextuality, the talk we deliver is sometimes related to other texts or certain type of texts. Intertextuality also deals with word borrowing; sometimes the word in a text is borrowed from another text. Intertextuality, based on Fairclough (2004), is basically the property of texts in which the texts are in fact the snatches of other texts and this particular text can assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth of another text. The next tool of inquiry is situated meaning. The notion of situated meaning exist since the language used is understood in a particular context; meaning is a situated matter, only can be understood and valid in certain use in a certain context as well.

The last tool of inquiry is figured worlds. Figured worlds are defined as theories or stories about how the world works that we use to get on efficiently with our daily life. Gee states we learn our own figured worlds based on the experiences we have, however it turns out those our own experiences are in fact guided, shaped, and normed by the social and cultural groups in which we belong to. Yule (1996) adds one's experiences shape the cultural schemata of that person. Since the cultural schemata are formed based
on personal experiences, it is inevitable that one's good cultural schemata may be seen as bad by the other people.

4.2 Review on the Media

This part is aimed to give specific reviews on how media plays their role in producing news. This part is going to give vivid explanation about the ideologies of media in detail. Therefore, this part will explain the role of media and how they impose their ideology in their news.

4.2.1 Roles of Media

It is undeniable that media play a crucial role in our life. They have a big role in shaping the perspective of society related to the information that they want to deliver to the audience. Thus any information from newspapers, such as articles, opinions, and even advertisements deliver power to its readers. One of them is political articles.

Political articles in newspapers represent how the existence of powerful elite groups or ruling groups, such as politicians, president, house of representative, legal institutions, corporate managers, professionals, religious group etc, hence it makes newspapers as the medium between those elite groups and ordinary people. Newspapers with their political articles can be of influence for the lives of most people in society. Politics are often talked about in the section of editorial in a newspaper.

Editorial is written by the staff of the newspaper, so it can be said that from the editorial in a newspaper, the stance of that newspaper can be seen.
For example, in the United States, there are conservative or right-leaning newspapers and liberal or left-leaning newspapers. So, the editorials in newspapers are written based upon the newspapers’ political stance, either supporting conservative or liberal.

The researcher uses the data from editorials of The Jakarta Post to analyze the stance of them in reporting or portraying Moslem in the socio-political news.

4.2.2 Media and Ideology
Herman and Chomsky (2002) explained that “people’s opinions and beliefs are always formed and shaped by commercial media institutions, which usually further the social, political and economic interests of the dominating elites” . It is accepted that what the media will reflect will support the social interests of the elite. Consequently, the dominant ideology of the elites will be presented as a commonsense and rational understanding, and will also attempt to extenuate what is presumed to be contesting beliefs and strategies (Knight and Dean, 1982).

Media are used here is the institutional system produced, stored, distributed and consumed in a mass. The goals beyond that process vary based on the produced content (TV ads, editorials, talk shows movies, news reports, etc.).

Journalism is meant to achieve many goals, the most important of which is reporting and informing audiences about the outside world and
representing events that the audiences did not see. Richardson sees that the function of journalism is to “enable citizens better understand their lives and their position(s) in the world” (2006: 6). This perspective is an ideal stance because it stresses what journalism is supposed to do but not what it is actually doing. What the media are actually doing is offering its audience selective presentations of selective events. The main function of newspapers is to provide the readers with news about the events that happened out there.

Newspapers, then, are transmitting/transferring events in the form of language, i.e., semiotically, to the readers. Two issues are of importance here: the selection of the events to be reported as news and the manner of presentation. Journalists have to decide what events will be selected and reported, and in what form these events will be presented. In fact, events become news only when selected for inclusion in news reports.

This process of inclusion is treated differently by different newspapers and the difference will be reflected in both form and content of the coverage. The world of news is not a copy of the real world. Fowler (1991: 12) calls it “a world skewed and judged.” Moreover, the selection process indicates subjectivity in terms of both form and content.

Regarding content, Fowler (1991: 11–12) notes that all news is inevitably mediated and news medium cannot be completely “neutral” or “unbiased.” Fairclough (2001: 41, 128) goes further claiming that mass media discourse involves hidden relations of power: text producers in mass
communication address an “ideal subject,” construing their own notion of their “ideal reader,” and by these means may succeed in manipulating audiences to accept their view of particular events. On the level of form, questions like the following are considered: The phrasing of the headline: Is it nominal or verbal? The main topic or What information should be included in the headline? Does this action have an agent or is it agentless? With much vocabulary at hand, which words will be chosen and why? In formatting the report, what type of information distribution in terms of headline, lead, body and conclusion will be used? What sources are (not) cited?

How discursively the event is reported departs from an ideological base of the reporter. Hartley (1982: 47) explains how the news takes the discourse form it does as something determined by “the way the news-makers themselves act within the constraints, pressures, structures, and norms that bring the larger world of social relations to bear on their work.” The same idea is iterated by Fowler:

Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: Language is not a clear window, but a refracting, structuring medium. If we can acknowledge this as a positive, productive principle, we can show and analyze how it operates in texts. (1991:10)
This is what the present research is trying to achieve: to show how the text is woven around a certain ideological position in terms of representing both the self and the other.

4.2.3 Democracy and Majority Rule

Democracy is commonly associated with political equality and/or majority rule. Basically, these three ideas are conceptually separate, so the transition from anyone to another stands in need of further substantive argument, which is not always adequately given. It does this by offering an alternative decision-making mechanism, called lottery voting, in which all individuals cast votes for their preferred options but, instead of these being counted, one is randomly selected and that vote determines the outcome. Furthermore, Saunders (2017) stated that “this procedure is democratic and egalitarian since all have an equal chance to influence outcomes, but obviously not majoritarian. It is often thought that there is a straightforward entailment from democracy, to political equality, to majority rule. It is commonly assumed that if the people should rule then they must do so on an equal basis and that, if all count equally, more votes must count for more. However, democracy, political equality, and majority rule are three distinct concepts and no one of these logically entails either of the others.”

It remains possible that a substantive normative argument can establish that, for instance, the best or even only justifiable form of democracy is an egalitarian one. My purpose is not to settle all of these
normative questions, which would be too great a task for a single essay. I attempt to show that the alternative to majority rule that I offer (lottery voting) has something to be said for it in at least some circumstances, but this is primarily to underline the real need for justifications of majority rule (as opposed to democracy or political equality). It is necessary, before proceeding further, to stipulate how democracy, political equality, and majority rule are to be understood:

Saunders (2010) defined those concepts as democracy: The decisions made by a group must be appropriately responsive to the expressed wishes of the members of that group. Political equality: Each group member must have an equal (chance of) influence over the group’s decisions. Majority rule: The option that gets the most should be the group decision. It means democracy is defined as the responsiveness of the decision to the expressed wishes of the people. It will be that democracy, even combined with political equality, does not require majority rule. The inequality will threat democracy because at the same time the majority will rule and create a policy.

Since democracy, political equality, and majority rule are distinct ideas, each stands in need of separate justification. Majority rule may be unobjectionable in many contexts, but there are some cases like when it permanently excludes a certain minority where it may be not only unjust but also undemocratic, because members of this minority are effectively excluded from influence altogether. Though a few others have before questioned the
central place given to majority rule, less attention has been given to describing alternative institutions. I shall outline an alternative procedure, lottery voting, that satisfies the conditions of democracy and political equality.

4.3 Review of Related Studies

There are previous related studies that have been conducted related to the Islam in Indonesia and the role of media in shaping the public opinion through their news.

2.3.1 Study on Islam in Indonesian Media

The media analysis which has been conducted on the similar topic is entitled, *Islam beyond religion and politics: Islamisation in Southeast Asia*. Arosoaie & Osman (2018) showed that Islamisation process in Southeast Asia as the interplay between hegemonic discourses and exclusion practices. In this sense, influence the definition of deviancy in Malaysia, and reveals how the penalization of such deviancy is fundamentally underpinned by political concerns related to social order.

The research that has been conducted by Arosoaie, Osman & Rahman employed the same approach that will be used in this research. The Fairclough’s theory is proven to be a useful approach in critical discourse analysis to collect and analyze the words which are put in the text to make a meaning.

In addition to that, Rahman also conducted a research on how identity is preserved in the political context of Indonesia. This research is entitled:
Contextualizing jihad and mainstream Muslim identity in Indonesia: the case of Republika Online. Rahman (2017) found that the process of negotiating mainstream Muslim identity in Indonesia by preserving the old ‘legitimizing identity’ developed during the Soeharto’s authoritarian regime and contextualizing this old identity within the new wave of ‘reformation’ during the democratic transition after the collapse of Soeharto’s regime.

The way Republika Online contextualizes the description of jihad can be seen as a process of negotiation between national identity and Islamic identity in Indonesia. The doctrine of jihad has been used by Republika to support the development of national awareness among Indonesian Muslims. Therefore, the way Republika Online constructs Islamic identity in Indonesia can be seen as an operation of ‘legitimizing identity’ by extending the role of the print version of Republika and other national commercial newspapers in the preservation of the construction of traditional imagined community within the boundary of the Indonesian nation state.

The study on Islam and media is also conducted by Abdullah & Osman (2018). This research is entitled: Islamisation in the Indonesian media spaces new sites for a conservative push. Abdullah & Osman (2018) found that different articulations of Islamisation in Indonesia infiltrating the media after the fall of Soeharto. It seeks to examine new mediums of Islamic propagation promoted by different Islamic actors who use film, radio, and social media, all of which have different social implications in Indonesia’s
Muslim society. Discussions of media in this article are intertwined with popular culture studies, a field of important scholarly inquiry often overlooked in political and social studies. The development of Islam-based media in which Islamic pop culture also thrives—is a form of bottom up Islamisation in Indonesia, which reflects resistance from the various layers of Indonesia’s Muslim society towards the Western-led process of globalization.

2.3.1 Study on Islam and Politic

Indonesia is the largest Muslim country and it is the home for approximately 260 million people of which more than 85% are Muslim. Indonesia is a democratic country which used Pancasila as the underpinning concept of the nation. The topic on how Islam is participating in a democratic system is always interesting to be observed. The research of this topic has been conducted by Michael Buehler in 2009. This research is entitled: *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia*. Buehler (2009) found that Islam and democracy are said to be in a relationship fraught with problems as the former, allegedly, does not allow secular law to be put above divine law or accept the legitimacy of worldly authorities.

This relationship is less problematic in Indonesia, a democratic Muslim-majority country, the argument goes, due to the syncretic forms of Islam practiced in the archipelago state that are less dogmatic, and hence more conducive to democratic principles. While this is a valuable point, various factors extraneous to ‘moderate Indonesian Islam,’ such as a fragmented
Islamic authority in civil society, a weakly institutionalized party system as well as dynamics triggered by recent institutional reforms all play a role in the continuing insignificance of political Islam in the country.

Furthermore, Aspinal (2015) also stated that Indonesia stands out as one of the most successful cases of democratic transformation in Asia, a continent that has been, with several notable exceptions, generally resistant to democratic change over the last three decades. Taking its cue from other Asian democracies, this article considers the degree to which economic modernization and ethnic factors might account for Indonesia’s relative democratic success. With regard to both, it is proposed that a key factor has been the failure of Indonesia’s political cleavage structure to express social conflicts that might undermine democracy. Instead, Indonesia’s democratic model has been based on an inclusionary elite settlement in which powerful political and economic actors have gained a stake in the system, largely through access to patronage. This settlement has consolidated Indonesian democracy, but it has also generated costs that have been borne by relatively disempowered groups, reflected in continuing economic and gender inequality.

These journals provide the facts on the relationship between Islam and politic in Indonesia. The research that will be conducted is also focusing on how Islam is placed in the socio-political context. This research will employ the approach proposed by Paul Gee which is called as *Seven Building Task*. 
This is an applicable approach in order to investigate political situation and power distribution.

4.4 Theoretical Framework
Locke (2004) claims that “CDA deals with the opacity or transparency of texts that is to see the discursive construction as information that is available to consciousness.” Therefore, CDA has the necessary to have an action or practice that bridge between the text and the society in which dialectic of ideas occurs. Dialectic is the process of criticizing an idea from one side to the other side. This process which in turn brings a text into a practice that Fairclough calls as discourse practice which involves the production and the interpretation of text (1995).

This study uses the three dimensional framework to reveal how the power is used for domination which often happens without being realized by those who have the less power. With this logical assumption, a CDA study on The Jakarta Post editorial news about Muslim in a sociopolitical context. Therefore, this study will connect the Fairclough’s framework, represented in Figure 2.1. It is important to stress that although the framework analytically provides three layers or levels of analysis. The first layer of analysis is textual analysis. This study employs the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) to analyse the text. This analysis is aimed to interprete the meaning through the wording, processes and the circumstances surround it. The SFG analysis is also employed to interpret the text in term of the meaning and the intention of
the text. Then, the last layer of the analysis employs the seven building blocks proposed by James Paul Gee. This theory will analyse the impact of the text to the society or the society interpretation to the text or news which has been shaped by the author.

In addition to that, CDA as critical theory has its dialectical method. Critical theory is historic which means that a theory is developed based on the concrete condition of society. It avoids the theory to fall into one ideology by evaluating and reflecting on the theory itself. CDA is trying to reveal the ideological masks which are used to cover manipulation, power imbalance, and the contradictions in the society. CDA is a social practice and is not neutral. Therefore, it takes a side to the opposite block where they receive different treatment and power imbalance.
CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter describes the data used for analysis in terms of its source, period, and selection. This research will utilize various tools provided by Critical Discourse Analysis to closely examine a small number of media texts containing socio political news.

3.1 Type of Study

Critical discourse studies is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are presented, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 1985). The object of critical discourse study is public speech, such as an advertisement, newspaper, political propaganda, official documents, laws and regulations. It aims to investigate the relations of language, ideology and power. Critical discourse analysis of a communicative event is the analysis of relationship between three dimensions or facets of that event, which Fairclough (1995) calls text, discourse practice and sociocultural practice. Text is writer or oral text. Discourse practice is processes of text production and consumption. Sociocultural practice is the social and cultural going-on which the communicative events are a part of.
3.2 Object of the Study

The data used for the research are taken from The Jakarta Post editorial about the Islam and religious chaos happened in 2017. According to Hall, journalism and journalists draw interpretative frameworks from their society’s cultural repertoire, serving simultaneously as the producers, distributors and re/producers of public discourse (1997b). The mass media have been found to be a good site for ideology and a very powerful tool for its dissemination through discourse (Billig, 1995; Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Chouliaraki, 1999; Madianou, 2005). The discourse of the media in general, and that of the press in particular, is considered the interface for the elites to practice their social domination and as the self-appointed voice of the people: Their voice is the whole society’s voice.

The role of the press is more than that of a medium; it is a powerful institution that empowers those who own it or work in it to have access to all the resources in society. This type of access allows the elites to impose a policy of exclusion on minorities or any social group that does not belong to us. Henry and Tator’s study of racism (2002) reveals that most of what the Whites in the US and Europe knows about minorities and immigrants are from the press. The data that will be analyzed in this research are taken from three different media and this research is focused on the representation on immigrant workers from Indonesia.
3.3 Data Analysis

The analysis was made to answer the first and the second research questions in order to make the explanation flows and help the reader of this study. The first principle was that CDA addresses social problems. CDA does not only focus on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. CDA flow a critical approach to social problems in its endeavors to make explicit power relationship which is frequently hidden.

When analyzing the news, there were two main things to do. First was to analyze the three aspects of meaning that the text expresses and how they are realized through various linguistic features. The second was to connect the concrete social event to the more abstract social practices that it has been shaped by. The supporting sentences found to be the strength point in the addresses were then directly followed by the explanation of the evidence from its linguistic features. Fairclough (1989) is concerned with the investigation of the relation between two assumptions about language use: that language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping which shares the basic idea of Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics (SFL).

The pattern that emerges these functions that confirm or contradict one another was the point to reveal. So for instance, the pattern of certainty/uncertainty, essentially and analysis of modality and polarity,
establishes a hierarchy of power which was confirmed by the naming practices and the transitivity analysis.

Using Transitivity analysis by M.A.K Halliday, the addresses were examined to find the significance of language choices that succeed the addresses themselves in influencing and raising the public spirit to their country struggle in the critical situation. Transitivity analysis was used to figure out the experiential meaning. By knowing the ideational meaning, how the newspapers elaborate the knowledge of reality and make perception, stand point based on shared ideology and act upon reality could be uncovered. Mood analysis was also done on the data to find out the interpersonal meaning. The last linguistic analysis was textual function that revealed the frame built by the newspaper in producing in his addresses. The stages of analysis covered the three meanings which are concerned in the systemic functional linguistic. These stages of analysis described the process of meaning production of The Jakarta Post newspapers in the context of socio political news.

3.3.1 Ideational Meaning

First was the grammar of ideational meaning: TRANSITIVITY. The transitivity structures are constructed by linking the ideational choice and logical relation and mood structures are made by making an interpersonal
choice. The processes are identified by its types of process which are material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral and existential process. The tendency of the speaker is revealed through these choices of the process and the involving participants these choices of process and the involving participants.

### 3.3.2 Interpersonal Meaning

The second was the grammar of interpersonal meaning: MOOD. The system of mood and Modality were the keys concept to understand the interpersonal relationship between participants. It was shown by the modality chosen by the speakers. The use of pronouns was also helpful to see the role the speaker plays in discourse. Knowing these aspects uncovered the social creation and maintenance of hierarchic, socio-cultural roles. To analyze the Mood was to understand the speaker’s role in a social hierarchy and the way he maintains the relationship to others members of society. Therefore, aspect of power is clearly represented here.

### 3.3.3 Textual Meaning

This system referred to the fact that language has mechanism to make any stretch of spoken or written discourse into a coherent and unified text and make a living passage different from a random list of sentences. The system of Theme, involving patterns of foregrounding of certain element in texts, was related to textual meaning.
This analysis was done by identifying the element in theme in the addresses. They were treated to see the ‘markedness’ of theme and classified into its function. The functions built in the theme are textual, interpersonal, and topical theme. The analysis of the choice of theme and the choice of rheme, thus allowed the analyst to discuss linguistic choices which were crucial which were to the organization, interpretation, and construal of meaning.
CHAPTER IV
RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the result of the analysis and its discussion. There are three subchapters in this chapter as this study has three focuses to answer: (1) What are the specific vocabularies or words used to refer to Muslims and Islam in Jakarta Post from 2016 to 2017? (2) What does the SFG and Seven building task of language theory reveals on the editorial of The Jakarta Post about Muslim? (3) what is The Jakarta Post’s ideology reflected on their review about Muslim?

Following the three-dimensional framework and the SFG and SBT analytical tools elaborated in the previous chapter, a study of News report on Islam and Muslim in The Jakarta Post. The articles were collected from 2016-2017. The articles were concern about political issues, religion, respect, and unity of Indonesia.

This discussion is divided into three subs-chapters. The first one is discussing about how the SFG analysis is employed to reveal The Jakarta Post’s ideology. In this case, the discussion will elaborate more on how The Jakarta Post portrays Muslim in their news. The next part is how this study reveals that The Jakarta Post’s ideology leads them to be anti-majoritarian.
The last part is about how *The Jakarta Post* classifies the Muslim or mention the Muslim in their news.

**4.1 Classification Analysis**

In this step, *The Jakarta Post’s* ideology will be analyzed through the naming or classification that they use to represent Muslim in their editorial. The religious conflict was happened currently involved Muslim as the majority religion in this country. *The Jakarta Post* tried to tell the readers their perspective about the religious conflict happened currently. This analysis is also revealed their stance on reporting news about Muslim in a sociopolitical context.

Classification refers to the naming and representation of people and events. It is mainly realized through the choice of vocabulary. The choice of the vocabulary reflects the reporter’s attitude towards the person being referred to and inevitably produces difference impression on the readers. *The Jakarta Post* used several naming to refer Muslim such as *the protesters*, *majority religion* and *intolerant group*. The repeatedly use of those words show the opposition: *The Jakarta Post* try to counter the supremacy of Muslim by creating public opinion that several group of Muslim are intolerant and create insecure atmosphere in the diverse society. In short, Jakarta post try to create ruthless image for several Muslim groups by mentioning” have shifted into more intolerant group”
(1) There is no doubt that Indonesia’s Muslim leanings have shifted to a more intolerant group from where they were 10 years ago. (Article 2 par 2)

In this data, it can be seen that The Jakarta Post try to make a contrast between two sides Muslim (intolerant) and a tolerant group. Moreover, the conflict happened, blame Muslim as the majority religious group as the main actor of the clash between tolerant and intolerant group. The Jakarta Post also tried to confront with the Muslim by showing the data that Muslim was involved in several inter and intra religious conflicts. The statements of The Jakarta Post also show that the law enforcement is very weak. The law allowed anyone to oppress or criminalize the less dominant group.

(2) These protesters formed the core part of the rally and braved the rainfall and inundation in some areas around the mosque to stage the protest. (Article 1 par 3)

In this clause the author tried to show the audience that the protesters (refer to Muslim) are delivering their protest rudely. It can be seen by the naming of Muslim group as “protesters” and the description of what they did during the rally. This clause described that the protesters braved the rainfall in order to stage their protest. It means that they would do anything to deliver their protest.

(3) the socio-religious culture that is bred is a culture of subjective imposition giving majority religions the right to impose their will according to what they subjectively believe is right and prosecute what they subjectively believe is wrong. (Article 2 par 4)
In the example above *The Jakarta Post* used majority religion to address Muslim in Indonesia. It is obvious that the majority will have absolute power to interpret the norm and decide who is wrong or right. The author tried to describe that the norm will be interpreted subjectively by the majority. In this context, Muslim is the majority religion which has right to decide. In practice, the right to express an opinion is governed by its most popularly understood principle which is majority rule.

Therefore, when something is voted on, the side with the most votes wins, whether it is an election, a legislative bill, a union-management agreement, or a shareholder motion in a corporation. The majority religion vote (or sometimes a plurality when there are more than two choices) decides the election or the issue. Thus, when it is said that “the people have spoken” or the “people's will should be respected,” the people are generally expressed through its majority. Therefore, this situation is not ideal for democratic country. Based on this explanation it is very clear that *The Jakarta Post* support the democratic system to be applied in Indonesia. They also tried to create an image that the Muslim is leaning to be more intolerant and too dominant in democracy.
4.2 SFG Analysis of *The Jakarta Post* Ideology

In this part, the writer presents the analysis of the texts themselves. In CDA, researcher should rely on text as the source of linguistic evidence by with the discourse is delivered and made meaningful by the addressee and coded by the addressee. Thus, this part will elaborate on each step in employing SGF theory to analyze the text.

The researcher continues to analyze the data by using Systemic Functional Grammar Theory proposed by M.A.K Halliday. This theory is employed to show the linguistic features that *The Jakarta Post* used to depict their ideology. It has been discussed in the previous chapter that this study will analyze 27 clauses using systemic functional grammar. In systemic functional grammar, there are three metafunctions of language to analyze. The first language metafunction is ideational metafunction and it is followed by textual metafunction. The last metafunction of language is interpersonal. The discussion in this subchapter is divided based on those three language metafunctions.

The ideational function is the function that shows the clause as representation. It means that the clause shows the representation of the process of doing, sensing and reflection. It is seen through the composition of the clause. Through this function, "language provides a theory of human experience" (Halliday, 2004,p. 29).
4.2.1 Transitivity Analysis

The ideational function allows language users to present their world experience through the lexico-grammatical choices they make, which are part of the transitivity system. Therefore, transitivity process is needed to show the relation of the clause and its representation outside the words as it shows the process type of the clause and its representation outside the words as it shows the process type of the clause mostly in material, mental, existential and relational process. It was analyzed because it has dominant result as seen below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mental</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Material</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Behavioral</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the table above, the most dominant process happened in *The Jakarta Post* related to the Muslim and Islam representation of the socio
political news is mental process. Mental process shows how Islam is valued by the editorial in *The Jakarta Post*.

The other dominant process happened in the article is material process. Material verbs/clauses construe ‘doing’ (transitive verbs) and ‘happening’ (intransitive verbs) processes, which represent some ‘material’ or visible, tangible change in the flow of events or the environment, through input of energy. These verbs are construing (create and construct) our experience of the world. The material processes are found in this editorial because they are used to show action processes, which revolve around what the Muslim group, have done to protest and interpret several regulations.

The other processes found in this research is relational process, this process is used to attribute the Muslim with several connotation. Mostly they show the reasons why Muslim groups are conducting protests related to the political policy. Next, the researcher also found verbal, existential and mental processes. The verbal process is used to show that the Muslim groups are capable of delivering and stating disagreement. Whereas existential process is used to show that there are Muslim group who tries to deliver protest.
4.2.1.1 Mental Process

The ideology of anti-majority can be seen in several clauses and types of building task of language. The mental process is the most dominant process which is employed by The Jakarta Post to show their stance of anti-majority. The majority in this case is Muslim as dominant religious group in Indonesia.

(1) While Muslims believe Islam is a way of life that does not separate religion from politics (Article 6 par 7)

(2) In practice, courts will refer to prominent religious bodies like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), which are supposed to be less subjective and fairer but turn out to lack public trust (Article 2 par 7)

The clause number refers to mental process because it is known by the verb “believe”. By using the word “believe” the author wants to depict Islam should be applied in all aspects of life including politics. This clause did not put other senser from another belief that considers religion as a way of life and need to be applied in all aspects of life. This clause shows a situation that most of Muslim do not want to be separated from religion and politics. The political process is should be based on the Islamic law.

Based on the explanation above, it can be stated that the role of Muslim as senser depicts them as a group which is having powerful mentality, the one who interprets the law based on what they feel and they believe. Based on this clause The Jakarta Post describes that Muslim want to live under their syar’I or Islamic law and they have very powerful control over the
majority interpretation. The interesting fact which is found by the researcher is Muslim depicted as powerful and dominant group. The identity that attributes to the Muslim by exploiting more behavioral process in Jakartapost is more about a group who react on something based on what they feel rather than what they have to think. This situation is the respond of several Muslim groups who conducted the protest and rally as they want to build this nation using Islamic interpretation.

4.2.1.2 Material Process

Material processes are processes of material doing and they express the notion that some entity physically does something, which may be done to some other entity. Thus, the participant roles in material processes are Actor, which is the entity who or which does something, and Goal, which is an entity which may be done to. Goal is optional here. Material process is indicated by the process of doing or happening. The process of doing can be probed by "what did x do?" and the process of happening can be probed by "what happened to x?" Here are examples of material processes.

The ideology of anti-blasphemy law can be seen by the lexical choice used for the processes and assignment of the participants in material processes. It can be seen in the data unit as follows.
In theory, the law allows anyone to criminalize others for anything he or she subjectively perceives as blasphemous based on his or her religion. (Article 2 Par 8)

The material process in this clause is “allows to criminalize” in the material process above, the writer wants to convey message that shows the impact of blasphemy law theoretically. In this clause the author uses world allows to criminalize, it means the criminalization can happen only if the interpretation of blasphemy is subjectively perceived. The actor in this clause is the law (refers to the government) and the goal is giving more chances to she or he (refers to the dominant group) as the majority who can interpret the law based on what they believe. The core problem of this case is the law product of the government is not clearly defined by the citizens. In addition to that, the majority has a subjective interpretation because act of blasphemy is never clearly defined. In addition to that the law does not create a good atmosphere in democracy because the opinion of majority can be used to define the truth. Moreover, the government contributes to escalate the intolerant religious act by producing the blasphemy law, as a democratic newspaper The Jakarta Post will exploit this issue to request the government to make judicial review on this system.

The blasphemy law may violate the right to freedom of expression and impede the religious expression of minority groups. (Article 5 Par 8)
The material process in this clause is *violate* and *impede*, the author wants to tell the audience the impact of blasphemy law that might be happened to the minority. In other words, the law creates discrimination towards the minority, the right to express an opinion and religious identity of minority is violated and impeded by this law. These two clauses use the same subject *the law (the blasphemy law)*. This clause is actually referred to the government as the policy maker. *The Jakarta Post* want to show the message that the blasphemy law can cause intolerance and the discrimination to the minority religious group and it is caused by the government’s policy about the blasphemy law.

Therefore, the stance of *The Jakarta Post* is against the government in term of their policy related to the blasphemy law. The blasphemy law is possibly causing criminalization to others religious group. This law is not suitable for the democratic country.

In this part of the discussion, the data also shows that *The Jakarta Post* use material process to deliver their standing point about anti-majority. In the concept of democracy majority is not special group who has certain privileged. The majority is also ruled by the government. In this case the government should guaranty the freedom of majority and minority. In the editorial of *The Jakarta Post* related to the blasphemy news they will show their opposition towards majority religious group.
(6) The massive street protest on Saturday organized by Muslims group demanding the imprisonment of incumbent Jakarta Governor (Article 1 par 1)

(7) Islamic groups fanning sectarian sentiments in Indonesia’s public sphere (Article 7 par 1)

(8) While Muslims believe Islam is a way of life that does not separate religion from politics (Article 6 par 7)

The example above shows material process found in the text. It is indicated by an action verb “organized”, in which it shows process of doing. This clause describes that the Muslim are demanding the imprisonment of incumbent Jakarta governor. The goal of this process is asking for imprisonment Jakarta governor.

The material in the clause above is “organized”. By using the verb “organized” in the material process, the writer of the editorial wants to convey message that the Muslim group has more power to give influence to the government related to the law enforcement on Ahok’s case which are depicted by demanding the imprisonment of Jakarta governor. Therefore, the clause above is ideological since the writer of the texts realizes that the Muslim relates to several decisions made by government.

The clause above shows material process it is indicated by an action verb “fanning” in which it shows process of doing. This clause describes that the Islamic groups are building sectarian sentiments. It means that the Muslim groups are spreading hate in Indonesia. Here the actor is the Islamic groups
and the goal is sectarian sentiments in Indonesia. Those sects are created because of having different belief, and Muslim in Indonesia is the majority sect. It makes them have more authority to interpret the regulation in this country according to what the majority belief. This editorial wants to convince the reader that Muslim is playing main roles in building the differences and causing conflict in Indonesia.

The last clause can be indicated as material process because the author uses the verb does not separate. This clause shows a situation that most of Muslim does not want to be separated between religion and politics. The political process is should be based on the Islamic law. In the editorial of The Jakarta Post about Muslim and Islam, they use them as the doer of certain chaos happened. The Muslim are also accused as the group who escalates sectarian and intolerant act. Therefore, The Jakarta Post stance is anti-Muslim as majority who develops undemocratic way in the political system.

4.2.1.3 Relational Process

Relational processes are processes that involve states of being (including having). They can be classified according to whether they are being used to identify something or to assign a quality to something. Processes which establish an identity are called identifying processes and
processes which assign a quality are called attributive process. Here are the examples of relational processes.

(9) Muslims have **been** hesitant to examine the elements within Islam that can be a source of conflict. (Article 7 Par 3)

(10) the dominance of Islam as the mainstream religion **is** strongly visible. (Article 5 Par 9)

The relational attributive process in this clause is **been**. This assigns a quality of Muslims as having hesitant to examine the mistake of Islam. This clause refers to relational process because it is known by the process of being, indicated by “have” that shows attributive process in possessive. The carrier is “Muslims” This clause describes that Muslims are hesitant to admit the weaknesses of their religion.

The author’s lexical choice of “hesitant to examine the elements within Islam that can be a source of conflict” shows negative connotation of the Muslim that they do not accept or confess the elements which contribute to conflict. Therefore, *The Jakarta Post* wants Muslim reexamine their ideology in interpreting the life of the nation. By this explanation it is clear that *The Jakarta Post* wants to blame Muslim as a part of group that initiates conflict and public sentiments.

The relational attributive process in this clause is “is” This assigns a quality of Muslim as majority is strongly visible. This clause refers to relational process because it is known by the process of being, indicated by
“is” that shows attributive process in intensive. The carrier is “the domination of Muslims” This clause describes that Muslims are majority and it is strongly visible in term of number and power to control. Therefore, in the relational process *The Jakarta Post* uses Muslim is identified as dominant and the source of conflict because they have a strong authority to interpret a law.

### 4.2.1.4 Verbal Process

As a symbol of signaling, the crucial part that belongs to this process is sayer. The sayer is a doer in verbal process. This process requires the target or a receiver as a person who decodes the message.

(4) Several Islamist group have *said* they plan to hold another major rally in Jakarta (Article 1 Par 6)

The example above shows verbal process found in the text. It is indicated by the verb “said” which tells process of saying. This clause describes that Islamist group are planning to hold another major protest in Jakarta. By using verb phrase “have said”, the writer of this article tries to convey message that Muslim group will do something related to their continuous demonstration in Jakarta. *have said* shows that they are having big power to gather people and ensure other people that the protest will be continued. It means the Muslim groups have a power to conduct major rally and doing protest to the government.
4.2.1.5 Existential Process

Existential processes are processes of existence. They are expressed by verbs of existing, for example: “be” and “exist”, and there is one participant known as existent. The existent can be a phenomenon of any kind. Here are the examples of existential processes.

(5) The protesters many of whom were from cities outside of Jakarta (Article 1 Par 2)

This clause is categorized to existential process because “were” shows the existence of something. There is one participant here, known as the existent. The existent in this clause is “the protesters.” This clause shows that the protesters are mostly coming from outside Jakarta. It indicates that the Muslim group gathered people and conducted the protest about Jakarta by exploiting people outside Jakarta.

4.2.2 Theme

The order of theme and rheme in a clause structure as a message can be manipulated along with units of information between given and new, to achieve a rhetorical purposes and reflect a specific angle of telling an information or message. In media discourse, author will select the thematic elements in news report and headlines in particular, to drag the audiences’ attention to what they consider as important message. In this part of the research, it will be elaborated how *The Jakarta Post* exploits the thematic structure to depict what they consider as important message. The choice of
Theme for a clause is concerned with how the information flow is developed throughout the whole text (Martin 2010). In *The Jakarta Post* the most frequent theme used to describe the Muslim is marked theme. Marked theme is used to avoid open fight with the Muslim group. Here are the findings related to the theme used in *The Jakarta Post*.

(6) **While** Muslims believe Islam is a way of life that does not separate religion from politics (Article 6 par 7)

(7) **To solve the problem of Indonesia’s intolerance** we need to depoliticize religious sentiment and further discuss how religion should fit into Indonesia’s democracy (Article 2 Par 12)

(8) **In practice**, courts will refer to prominent religious bodies like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), which are supposed to be less subjective and fairer but turn out to lack public trust (Article 2 Par 7)

(9) **There is no doubt that Indonesia’s Muslim** leanings have shifted to a more intolerant (Article 2 Par 2)

Based on the data unit above, *The Jakarta Post* used marked themes to reveal the identity of Muslim as majority religion and *The Jakarta Post* ideology. The first data unit above shows that Muslim could not separate their belief and their political attitude. This value is contradictory with *The Jakarta Post*’s ideology as democratic newspaper. The author of Jakarta Post wants to show that the politics is supposed to be separated from political aspect. Furthermore, the majority religion will create the political atmosphere based on what they belief and it is not a democracy.
The Jakarta Post also wants to show that there is no chance for the minority to have fair and objective interpretation in enforcing the law because the decision will always refer to prominent religious board. The Jakarta Post use topical theme “In practice”, it means that systematically the law will be interpreted subjectively by the authority board that contains of the members from majority religion. The marked theme here is used to show that The Jakarta Post want to be separated between political life and religious life. Furthermore, the blasphemy law will impede the minority group.

The last data unit which is presented in this part shows that The Jakarta Post used marked theme “There is no doubt that Indonesia’s Muslim leanings” to represent the current situation of Muslim as intolerant group. The word There is no doubt in this statement shows that it is a fact that Muslim group as a majority have shifted in to be a more intolerant group.

4.2.3 Modality

Language is used to enact our personal and social relationship, in SFG we call it as interpersonal metafunction. It is employed to construe our experience of the world and our consciousness (the experiential metafunction), in order to organize discourse and create the unity and flow in our texts. (Halliday and Matthiessen: 2004).

Most of the modal that The Jakarta Post uses in their news related to Muslim shows high polarity. High polarity means the statement contains
arguable reason. It means by using high polarity *The Jakarta Post* try to describe the connection between the possibilities of majority to rule the government by their subjective interpretation towards the law. The reason why *The Jakarta Post* uses positive high modality is he aims to tell the listener that he is surely believe that majoritarian is not good for democratic system.

(10) Courts *will refer to prominent religious bodies like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI)* (Article2 Par 7)

(11) As a result of this vagueness, the socio-religious culture that is bred is a culture of subjective imposition giving majority religions the right to impose their *will* according to what they subjectively believe is right and prosecute what they subjectively believe is wrong. (Article2 Par 9)

(12) We *need to* take a hard look at our Blasphemy Law and discuss whether, as a society, we want to have a law that allows the imposition of a majority’s subjective religious right at the expense of others’ basic rights with little or no limitation (Article2 Par 13)

The data clearly shows that the possibility of majority or prominent religious in Indonesia as the source of law to decide whether is it wrong or right is strongly visible. In the first statement of these data unit *The Jakarta Post* uses *will* to show the connection between the majority and the court preference in considering the prominent religious bodies such as MUI. In the data unit number (9) it is also clear that the modal *will* is used to show the consequences of the majority interpretation. Majority here refers to Muslim they will interpret and prosecute subjectively what they feel and believe
which was based on their interpretation. The last data unit uses *need to* in order to show what the minority need to think. They need to consider that the system of the law allows the majority to have more power towards the minorities. Therefore, *The Jakarta Post* uses this modality to show the logical consequences of having system or law that allows the majority to impede the right of minority.

In the nutshell, the SFG analysis answers the second question. The analysis shows that the mental process dominates the process that represents Muslim. It influences the way people will react and think to the certain issues involved Muslim. It seems that the Muslim is portrayed as a sensitive group that has too many boundaries or regulation which can dominate and blame others because of their opinion or expression about certain conflicts happened. Thus, this choice creates an image of the Muslim way of thinking. *The Jakarta Post* as a democratic newspaper reviewed that the majority religious group are too dominant in the democratic process, because they bring religious sentiments as part of democracy. *The Jakarta post* also used marked theme to show that there is a subjective perception towards the law. It means the law enforcement will be dependent on the majority’s opinion.

The second dominant process, in this case, is a material process. The material process shows that the act that the Muslim did is because of their belief that has been discussed in the mental process. Their action is only the
result of their paradigm about their religion. In this case, The Jakarta Post also wants to describe that the government escalates the sentiments by producing policy that impedes the freedom of speech.

4.3 Seven Building Task of Language Analysis

Language has a magical property: when we speak or write, we design what we have to say to fit the situation in which we are communicating. But, at the same time, how we speak or write creates that vary situation (Gee: 2011). It can be concluded that we fit our language to a situation that our language, in turn, helps to create in the first place. So language in use is a tool, used alongside other tools, to design or build things. Whenever someone speaks or writes, we always construct or build seven things or areas of “reality.”

This part shows the result of the data analysis used the theory of seven building tasks of language. The table shows the category of the seven building tasks. They are significance, activities, identities, relationship, politics, connections and sign and system. The situation is presented in order to get clear description of the building tasks.
### Table 4.3 Seven block analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Seven Building Tasks of Language</th>
<th>Situation</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| 1  | Significances                    | 1. The significance of the text is to provoke the audience to be more tolerant  
2. This text also made sharp contrast between tolerant and intolerant group  
3. Those texts also try to push government to be more aware about the policy that they decided about religious diversity |
| 2  | Activities                        | 1. The activities were presented in the text is the religious intolerant conflict between Muslim and other groups.  
2. The reaction of powerless group to the chaos happened recently |
| 3  | Identities                        | The identities that used in these articles are tolerant and intolerant group as the prominent identities |
| 4  | Relationships                     | The articles written in *The Jakarta post* want the audiences be aware that JP is applying democratic ideology and they want to against discrimination which was conducted by group of religion or government. JP also tried to against the regulations that gave benefit to several groups or organizations. |
| 5  | Politics                          | *The Jakarta post* try to build the readers’ perspective that certain Islamic group is not only a threat for intra and inter religious conflicts but also a threat for the unity of the Nation. |
The Jakarta post always use the regulation about blasphemy as the main reason why certain conflicts currently happened.

The Jakarta post also use several statements from priests in order to validate that their statement.

The Jakarta post show that there is power imbalance between Muslim and other groups that involved in a conflict.

The Jakarta post tried to describe the bias when the government (authority board) is giving more benefit to Islamic group or organization by stating that there is bias in the government organization such as MUI.

The table shows the result of the theory of seven building tasks of language. The first is the significances of the text are to provoke the audience to be more tolerant, made sharp contrast between tolerant and intolerant group and also try to push government to be more aware about the policy that they decided about religious diversity. Because of the prominent significances of the text are provoking the audience to be more tolerant and make a sharp contrast between the tolerant and intolerant group, thus the activities, identities and relationship are also achieving these two significancies. This analysis answers the second research question on how the SFG and SBT reveals the ideology of The Jakarta Post.
The articles written in *The Jakarta Post* about Islam mostly dominated by the conflict happened between the Muslim group and the people who claimed that they are more tolerant group. In *The Jakarta Post* Islam is framed as a powerful group that can mobilize mass protest or demonstration. In this case *The Jakarta Post* avoids face to face confrontation with the Muslim by referring to the regulation of blasphemy, priest’s statement, and public opinion.

### 4.3.1 Significance

The significances of the text can be analyzed through several ways. The way how *The Jakarta Post* made the things significant to build the significance will be described clearly in this part. Language in a newspaper is used to deliver a perspective of the newspaper about something. *The Jakarta Post* ideology is democracy, it influences the way how *The Jakarta Post* use the language to make the information significance for the audience. *The Jakarta Post* as a democratic newspaper tried to build people’s perspective about several mobilization and demonstration was conducted by Muslim strongly irrelevant with the democracy and equality in Indonesia as a diverse nation. Thus the significance of this text is to build people perspective that Muslim are turned in to be intolerant group. Thus the significance of this text is to made sharp contrast between tolerant and intolerant group.
Based on the previous analysis there are three significances which is expressed by *The Jakarta Post* in their news related to Islam and Muslim as dominant religious group in Indonesia. The first significance that will be elaborated in this chapter is the anti– blasphemy law.

(20) This Blasphemy Law is at the center of Indonesia's rising religious intolerance, as it is a primary cog that has habituated a sense of intolerant religious entitlement (art 2 Par 7)

(21) The core problem of this law lies in the fact that blasphemy has never been clearly defined (Art 2 Par 7)

Based on these clauses *The Jakarta Post* want to depict that the religious conflict happened currently is triggered by the blasphemy law regulate by the government. In this clause the author tried to show that the blasphemy law has habituated a sense of intolerant. In this clause *The Jakarta Post* also show that the current situation of the people in Indonesia is divided in to two groups the tolerant and intolerant group. This situation is escalating significantly because of the blasphemy law which is produced by the government.

Tool of inquiry used to analyze this data unit is social language. The interesting part is why the author chooses word *prominent* and *habituated*. Those words are used to emphasize that blasphemy law build potential religious problem in the society and it cannot be denied that the law situates the society to be more sensitive and intolerant to the diversity of this nation.
The next clause presented in this part shows that the government could not give clear definition about blasphemy act. In addition to that, the definition of blasphemy is still debatable. There is no clear standard that can be used to define what act that can be categorized as blasphemy act. Therefore, in this clause *The Jakarta Post* try to tell the audience that the intolerant act is happened because of the government fails to define what blasphemy is.

(1) There is no doubt that Indonesia’s Muslim leanings have shifted to a more intolerant (Art 2 Par 2)

(2) The core problem of this law lies in the fact that blasphemy has never been clearly defined (Art 2 Par 7)

It can be seen that *The Jakarta Post* made a sharp contrast between two sides Muslim (intolerant) and tolerant group. In this article, *The Jakarta Post* tells the audience that the preference of Muslim now has shifted to be more intolerant group. This sentence is written in the beginning of the first paragraph. It means, *The Jakarta Post* tried to approach the audience by presenting their standing point about the situation of Muslim in Indonesia. Furthermore, *The Jakarta Post* also tried to make the audience realize about the change of Muslim that have shifted to a more intolerant group. In the addition to that *The Jakarta Post* also depicts the message that the shifted of Muslim is a prominent problem, because they are the most dominant religious group.
Furthermore, the statements of *The Jakarta Post* also show that the law enforcement is very weak. The law allowed anyone to oppress or criminalize the less dominant group. This statement can be seen in the data unit (2). *The Jakarta Post* claimed that the law blasphemy is never clearly defined. It means that *The Jakarta Post* suggests the government to establish neutral board to decide the criteria of blasphemy so the interpretation is not controlled by the majority.

Therefore, there are three main significances depicted by *The Jakarta Post* in the news about Muslim and Islam. The first is promoting the tolerance between the religious groups in Indonesia. *The Jakarta Post* focus on this issue because they thought that democracy supposed to be based on the tolerance and respect. The blasphemy law is contradicting the spirit of democracy because it creates potential sentiments between religious groups. The second significances depicted in *The Jakarta Post* news about Islam and Muslim is pushing the government to revise the blasphemy law because it is violating the right to freedom of expression. In addition to that, freedom of expression is the core of democracy when the people to express what they feel and they think because of the majority importance is not democracy.

4.3.2 Activities
Activities show how the significances imply the use of the language. Since the significance of the news about Muslim in The Jakarta Post is building sharp contrast between tolerant and intolerant group. Therefore, there are two activities that reflect the significance of the language. The first activity which describes the significance of the text is the report about the massive protest and the people movement organized by Muslim. The discourse which is used to show how The Jakarta Post is criticizing the interpretation of blasphemy law such as: criminalize, subjective and less fair. The bias was happened because the authority board is dominated by Muslim and the interpretation mostly used Islamic standard. By using specific discourse will reflect the ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling and believing (Gee: 2011).

(22) In theory, the law allows anyone to criminalize others for anything he or she subjectively perceives as blasphemous based on his or her religion (Art 2 Par 7)

(23) In practice, courts will refer to prominent religious bodies like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), which are supposed to be less subjective and fairer but turn out to lack public trust (Art 2 Par 7)

(24) we want to have a law that allows the imposition of a majority’s subjective religious right at the expense of others’ basic rights with little or no limitation, and a society whose culture of rightful subjective imposition is unchallenged and unmoderated (Art 2 Par 13)

The first statement above identified that the law in Indonesia related to religious blasphemy is very subjective. People could easily judge something based on his or her religion. In the data unit (22) the author used term
subjectively believe to show that this law cannot be interpreted fairly because it will be very dependent on the dominant group who has the same framing. This situation will be very potential to produce religious intolerance.

In the data unit (23) also can be seen that The Jakarta Post clearly stated that the interpretation will always refer to the Indonesian Ulema Council or (MUI) which the government used as the authority to give interpretation and affirmation related to the blasphemy law. In this statement, the author use verb “refer” to show how the court makes a decision in several blasphemy cases happened recently. The word refer also indicates that the court is controlled by MUI as the prominent religious body. In the other hand, MUI is lack of public trust because it is dominated by the Muslim. This statement shows that The Jakarta Post request the government to stop using MUI as authority board to interpret the law.

4.3.3 Identities

This task is used in order to answer the question of what identities presented in the news and how the writer enacts his identities. Language is used to project yourself as a certain kind of person, a different kind in different circumstances. You also project yourself as engaged in certain kind of activity, a different kind in different circumstances (Gee: 2011). The way how The Jakarta Post portrays Muslim and builds their image in their news is
reflecting their ideology. The Muslim group here is labeled as part of the majority who can interpret the Law of Blasphemy by their own belief and they are also part of threat for diversity and unity in Indonesia.

(25) The blasphemy law may violate the right to freedom of expression and impede the religious expression of minority groups (Art 5 Par 8)

(26) There is no doubt that Indonesia’s Muslim leanings have shifted to a more intolerant group from where they were 10 years ago (Art 2 Par 2)

(27) One needs only to see the recent turmoil to understand the gravity of this shift: the explicit acceptance of the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), the massive turnout at the divisive 4/11 and 2/12 rallies last year and the support by many for FPI leader Rizieq Shihab’s aggressive and demeaning description of Christians is a small sample of many indications (Art 2 Par 2)

In this statement, The Jakarta Post builds their identity as a democratic media. In data unit number (25) The Jakarta Post shows their disagreement towards blasphemy law by using verb violate and impede. Those words are exploited to show their support to the minority group and democracy. The Jakarta Post believes that freedom of expression is a basic foundation to create democratic atmosphere in a country. In addition to that, The Jakarta Post also shows their support to the minority religious group by stating that the blasphemy law may impede the expression of minority religious group. In other words, the blasphemy law does not facilitate the
minority groups’ right to express their religious expression because it is impeded over the majority interpretation.

The recent chaos which was conducted by Muslim is a sample of many intolerant activities. Their way of delivering the opinion is an indication of intolerant act. They build their identity by exploiting discourse of intolerant Muslim and The Jakarta Post posits their self as tolerant and democratic media which facilitate the democracy and diversity. In the data unit (26) The Jakarta Post shows how they address Muslim by showing the changes of Muslim’s attitude. The tool of inquiry to analyze this data is social language. The author chooses word shifted and intolerant, to tell that The Jakarta Post is tolerant and the Muslim group have shifted into more intolerant group.

Furthermore, in the data unit (27) The Jakarta Post show the proof of the Muslim shifted to be a more intolerant group. The Jakarta Post strengthens the identity of Muslim as an intolerant group by showing the fact that most Muslim gave their support for FPI. Based on this statement The Jakarta Post also shows their identity clearly that they do not like majoritarian and undemocratic way in expressing idea.

4.3.4 Relationship

Relationship as building task means: language is used to signal what sort of relationship we have, want to have, or are trying to have with our
listener(s), reader(s), or other people, groups or institution about whom we are communicating (Gee: 2011). In this part the researcher will look carefully at The Jakarta Post's language, how are they building, constructing, or construing the sorts of relationships between The Jakarta Post and Muslim or Islam. Furthermore, it will be focused on how The Jakarta Post point to specific things to address and describe Muslim to the readers.

In this case, The Jakarta Post constructs their relationship with several parties involved in the conflict between tolerant and intolerant group by giving more support to the tolerant life, diversity, unity and valuing that the protest conducted by Muslim group recently is a threat for the unity of Indonesia. Moreover, The Jakarta Post tried to depict the identity of Muslim to the readers as mainstream religion which their strength is strongly visible. The intolerant group is represented by Muslim group and the tolerant group refers to the public who are oppressed and intimidated by the protest and activity conducted by Muslim group. In this situation, The Jakarta Post stands as democratic newspaper which against all violation conducted by majority.

(28) Undoubtedly, the politicization of divisive religious sentiment by opportunistic politicians and the lack of interfaith dialogue have significantly contributed to this shift (Art 2 Par 5)

(29) Thus, although Pancasila seems to give equal state recognition to all major religions, the dominance of Islam as the mainstream religion is strongly visible (Art 5 Par 9)
(30) However, one needs to understand that such variables are only agent-variables incentivized to increase intolerance by a permissive system; and it is this system that lacks public scrutiny (Art 2 Par 5)

The data unit shows that the Muslim group has shifted in to be more intolerant group. In this statement, The Jakarta Post tried to build their identity and Muslim identity that has shifted in to be more intolerant because of “lack of interfaith dialogue”. As a democratic newspaper, it is very obvious that TJP considers dialogue as a prominent forum to understand each other. In the other hand the Muslim group as a dominant or mainstream religion does not apply this way to avoid religious sentiment. Consequently, The Jakarta Post deliberately considers that Muslim is on the opposite side of democracy.

Based on the data unit number (28), it is very clear how The Jakarta Post describes Islam as a dominant religion and exploited their power to dominate others. The chaos or the massive protest happened currently was caused by the lack of interfaith dialogue. This situation significantly contributed to the change of Muslim group behavior. Furthermore, The Jakarta Post referred to “Pancasila” as the philosophy of the state and it should guaranty the equality of the citizen. In this statement, The Jakarta Post stated clearly that they are supporting Pancasila and democracy by saying “the dominance of Islam as the mainstream religion is strongly visible” it is very clear that they see Islam nowadays is on the opposite block. Their domination is too powerful and can abolish Pancasila as the philosophy of this nation.
Furthermore, *The Jakarta Post* also builds an image as a democratic and tolerant media by giving support for interfaith dialogue and Islam is intolerant group who can interpret subjectively based on their belief. Therefore, as the majority, their strength is strongly visible.

In this part it also can be seen that *The Jakarta Post* also against the system applied by the government because government also facilitate the intolerance by regulating Blasphemy Law. The articles written in *The Jakarta Post* want the audiences be aware that *The Jakarta Post* is applying democratic ideology and they want to against discrimination which was conducted by group of religion or government. JP also tried to against the regulations that gave benefit to several groups or organizations.

Therefore, the relationship which was built by *The Jakarta Post* in their news related to Muslim is in the opposite side of democracy. Muslim is intolerant and anti-democracy by exercising their power as dominant religion and *The Jakarta Post* is the ancillary of democracy.

### 4.3.5 Politics

In this part *The Jakarta Post* show how the distribution of social good to build the perspective on social good. The language used by *The Jakarta Post* will show clearly their stance and how they see others as responsible authorities in the religious intolerant act happened currently.
(31) The blasphemy law may violate the right to freedom of expression and impede the religious expression of minority groups. (Art 5 Par 8)

(32) In the opinion of the Western world as presented in international media, the blasphemy law is considered to discriminate against non-Muslims. (Art 5 Par 8)

In this statement The Jakarta Post show the readers who are the most responsible group for the chaos happened in Jakarta related to blasphemy law. This clause also claims that the minority will be discriminated in term of their right to speak and to express their religious expression. The Jakarta Post uses minority group to show that they are the victim of the majority who holds the interpretation about which one is wrong or right. The author uses word “may” to indicate the possibility of violating freedom of expression because of the majority understanding toward blasphemy law. There are two possibilities that can be happened by giving more chances for majority religion to interpret the blasphemy law. The first one is violating the right to freedom of expression and the second is impeding religious expression of minority group. Furthermore, The Jakarta Post also tried to describe the image of majority religion group that could impede the religious expression of minority groups.

In this clause we also can conclude that the blasphemy law is escalating the religious sentiment in Indonesia, because the law does not give the equal chance to the all elements. In this case the majority has more chances to decide the standard of blasphemy act the can be used to prosecute others.
Language is also used to convey a perspective on the nature of the distribution of social goods, that is, to build a perspective on the nature of the distribution of social goods (Gee: 2011). It means the language was used by *The Jakarta Post* also have a tendency to distribute the social goods such as who is wrong or right and who is responsible for certain cases happened recently. *The Jakarta Post* tried to build the readers’ perspective that certain Islamic group is not only a threat for intra and inter-religious conflicts but also a threat for the unity of the Nation.

In this statement, *The Jakarta Post* shows the readers who are the most responsible group for the chaos happened in Jakarta related to the blasphemy law. The author uses word “may” to indicate the possibility of violating freedom of expression because of the majority understanding toward blasphemy law. There are two possibilities that can be happened by giving more chances for majority religion to interpret the blasphemy law. The first one is violating the right to freedom of expression and the second is impeding religious expression of minority group. Furthermore, *The Jakarta Post* also tried to describe the image of majority religious group that could impede the religious expression of minority groups.

*The Jakarta Post* also used western world opinion to legalize their claim that Muslim group is the most responsible for what happened in Jakarta. *The Jakarta Post* did not tell the reason why the massive protest was
conducted, it is because of a controversial statement delivered by Ahok in his campaign. In the statement above it also can be seen that *The Jakarta Post* portrayed Muslim as majority who did intolerance act and discrimination to the minority.

(33) The authorities set boundaries overprotecting Islam not for religious reasons, but for the political benefits of the support of Islam-oriented political leaders, such as those allied with the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) leader Rizieq Shihab (Art 5 Par 9)

(34) The state has become the guardian of social order, not as defined in the context of the ideal social order articulated in Pancasila, but as defined by radical politicians (Art 5 Par 6)

In the statement above it can be observed that *The Jakarta Post* tried to blame the state who becomes a guardian for Muslim. The regulation should be set to facilitate equality between dominant and less dominant group. The choice of word guardian identifies that government was prioritizing the interest of dominant Muslim group.

*The Jakarta Post* uses their language to reveal the surroundings and value them self in the society. *The Jakarta Post* values their position as democratic newspaper that supports the freedom of expression and the equality under the law. *The Jakarta Post* also shows their affiliation to the minority group by showing their disagreement towards majority interpretation. In this situation the distribution of social good according to Jakarta Post it has been set by the majority orders. In other words, majority will decide whether it is wrong or right.
4.3.6 Connection

Language is also used to render certain things connected or relevant (or not) to other things, that is, to build connection or relevance. Language is used to render certain things connected or relevant (or not) to other things, that is to build connection or relevant. In this part The Jakarta Post shows that what they are trying to inform to the audience is relevant to the current issues happened which was involving Islam and Muslim. Based on the previous analysis, the main significance of reporting Islam in The Jakarta Post is telling that Islam had shifted in to be more intolerant group and it was caused by the regulation which significantly provide power imbalance between majority and minority.

The Jakarta Post also used western world opinion to legalize their claim that Muslim group is the most responsible of what happened in Jakarta. The Jakarta Post did not tell the reason why massive protest was conducted, it is because a controversial statement delivered by Ahok in his campaign. In the statement above it also can be seen that The Jakarta Post portrayed Muslim as majority who did intolerance act and discrimination to the minority.

(35) A key component of the system that bears responsibility for engineering a suitable climate for the fermentation of religious intolerance is the obsolete Blasphemy Law No. 1 of 1965, as well as Article 156a of the Criminal Code (Art 2 Par 6)

The Jakarta Post exploited the blasphemy law to show that the intolerance case happened in Indonesia is significantly caused by this
blasphemy law. This law will accommodate the major religion to make own interpretation about blasphemy law. *The Jakarta Post* also tried to show that the intolerance case happened because the policy does not accelerate the democracy process.

In this clause *The Jakarta Post* also shows that the blasphemy law is not compatible for creating a good atmosphere in the proses of democracy in Indonesia. The author of this article also claims that the key component which escalates the religious intolerance is the blasphemy law because this law is too *obsolete*. It means this law is not suitable to be applied in this era.

In this part *The Jakarta Post* shows their position towards the majority by quoting the data that the majority could be a threat for the unity of the nation. Their claim related to the majority as the main actor of religious intolerant act happened currently is supported by several data that they presented in their editorial.

*The Jakarta Post* reports their claim on blasphemy and Muslim issues is supported by several data in their editorial.

(36) According to data from the National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS), there has been a constant upward trend of inter and intra-religious conflict, starting as far back as 2004 (four cases in 2004, 27 in 2008, 101 in 2011 and 257 in 2014), most of which involved Muslims *(Art 2 Par 4)*

(37) Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the two largest Islamic organizations in the country, are not supporting the rally and have asked their followers to not take part.
In this data unit *The Jakarta Post* quote the data from NVMS to convince the audience that Muslims is always being part in the chaos. Islam as the majority is depicted as the source of conflict in this nation. On the contrary, *The Jakarta Post* did not portray the chaos which was initiated by another religion group such as, what was happened with Muslim in Tolikara, Manowari, and Bitung. The fact related to that cases also need to be represented. It can be seen that *The Jakarta Post* want to attack the majority religious by making them as the main actor of several intolerant cases happened in Indonesia.

In the next data unit it also can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* employed the two largest Muslim organizations as the reason that several protest which was conducted by Muslim is not supported by those groups. On the other hand, the rally could not be stopped even they did not get the support from the Muslim organization. It convinces the audience that the numbers of the intolerant group of people are significantly escalating by their support on the rally related to the blasphemy law.

**4.3.7 Sign System and Knowledge**

Language is also used to make certain signs and system or knowledge claim over another. Furthermore, people are always making knowledge and belief claims within the systems. In the case of sign and system of Muslim
representation in JakartaPost will be elaborated more in this part. *The Jakarta Post* showed that there was power imbalance between Muslim and other groups that involved in a conflict. JakartaPost tried to describe the bias when the government (authority board) is giving more benefit to Islamic group or organization by stating that there is bias in the government organization such as MUI.

(38) In theory, the law allows anyone to criminalize others for anything he or she subjectively perceives as blasphemous based on his or her religion. In the data unit number (38) *The Jakarta Post* uses “his and her” to refer to the majority religion that they have more privileged to interpret the blasphemous act subjectively. In this statement *The Jakarta Post* stated that “the law allows anyone to criminalize others”, the “law” in this context is blasphemous law. The author is trying to tell the audience that blasphemous law give a chance for the majority to have more privileged to criminalize others by using their subjective interpretation towards blasphemy. This statement also gives privileged to *The Jakarta Post* as a democratic newspaper. They do believe that the blasphemy law does not compatible with the democracy because it will give more chances the majority to criminalize the minority.

(39) In practice, courts will refer to prominent religious bodies like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), which are supposed to be less subjective and fairer but turn out to lack public trust.
The Jakarta Post also showed that MUI is having more privileged as the representative of dominant religion group. MUI is claimed as a board that cannot give objective decision in term of interpreting the blasphemy law. This law can be used to criminalize others for anything subjectively perceives. In other words, the law could not facilitate the majority will be enforced by the majority order. It also gives privileged to The Jakarta Post to suggest more things on how to sustain democratic system that the law is protecting the majority and giving more chances to criminalize other. Thus, the law is not compatible to the democratic system and Pancasila which gives equal chances to every religion and tribes to express their opinion.

The Jakarta Post also showed that MUI is having more privileged as the representative of dominant religion group. In the data unit (39) MUI is claimed as a board that cannot give an objective decision in term of interpreting the blasphemy law. This law can be used to criminalize others for anything subjectively perceives. In other words, the law will be enforced by the majority order. It also gives privileged to The Jakarta Post to suggest more things on how to sustain democratic system that the law is protecting the majority and giving more chances to criminalize other. Thus, the law is not compatible to the democratic system and Pancasila which gives equal chances to every religion and tribes to express their opinion.
This paragraph also tried to show that the blasphemy law is irrelevant to be applied in Indonesia. The interpretation of Blasphemy law will refer to the most dominant group of religion. The court or policy will be bias because they will refer to the majority’s privilege.

In this part of the discussion *The Jakarta Post* show how the interpretation of blasphemy would always be based on the majority religious group. Furthermore, Muslim as the majority religious group is claimed as most privileged religious group. This situation creates unbalance power in the democratic society because right or wrong will be dominated by majority group.

(40) In practice, courts will refer to prominent religious bodies like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), which are supposed to be less subjective and fairer but turn out to lack public trust (Art 2 Par 7)

(41) hold the monopoly over Islamic interpretations and are biased toward the majority (Art 2 Par 7)

(42) The blasphemy law may violate the right to freedom of expression and impede the religious expression of minority groups (Art 5 Par 8)

In the data unit number (40) *The Jakarta Post* uses “she and he” to refer to the majority religion that they have more privileged to interpret the blasphemous act subjectively. In this statement *The Jakarta Post* stated that “the law allows anyone to criminalize others”, the “law” in this context is blasphemous law. The author is trying to tell the audience that blasphemous law give a chance for the majority to have more privileged to criminalize
others by using their subjective interpretation towards blasphemy. This statement also gives privileged to *The Jakarta Post* as a democratic newspaper. They do believe that the blasphemy law does not compatible with the democracy because it will give more chances the majority to criminalize the minority and the majority refers to the Muslim as dominant religious group.

*The Jakarta Post* also showed that MUI is having more privileged as the representative of dominant religion group. In the data unit above, MUI is claimed as a board that cannot give an objective decision in term of interpreting the blasphemy law, because they are dominated by the majority religious group. This law can be used to criminalize others for anything subjectively perceives. In other words, the law will be enforced by the majority order. It also gives privileged to *The Jakarta Post* to suggest more things on how to sustain democratic system that the law is protecting the majority and giving more chances to criminalize other. Thus, the law is not compatible to the democratic system and Pancasila which gives equal chances to every religion and tribes to express their opinion.

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unbalance power between majority and minority group, the right of freedom expression is impeded and limited by the majority’s interpretation.

4.4 The Jakarta Post Ideology and its stance

The Jakarta Post as a global newspaper contributes to build a perspective of Islam, government and regulation in Indonesia. Based on the previous analysis the major ideology of The Jakarta Post is democracy. The absolute democracy must be applied and guaranteed by the government to everyone of this nation. In this part of the discussion, the stance of The Jakarta Post towards blasphemy law, law enforcement and the majority roles will be elaborated deeply based on the previous finding that has been revealed in the SFG and Seven Building of Language analysis.

The ideology of The Jakarta Post as democratic newspaper can be seen when they have a stance in reporting Muslim. The religious conflict happened currently involved Muslim as the majority religion in this country. The Jakarta Post tried to tell the readers that the current chaos happened is because of the democracy in this country is influenced by subjective opinion. In a democratic society, the freedom of expression is absolutely guaranteed by the government. On the contrary the democracy in Indonesia is controlled by request of some powerful group. In this case The Jakarta Post is pointing out the Muslim as the main actor of religious conflict happened currently. This
situation is escalated by the government that creates law system which can be used to criminalize the minority.

The stance of *The Jakarta Post* can be identified in the statement below:

Indonesia is a multicultural country characterized by the coexistence of several different religions, which poses a potential for conflict. Indonesia claims to be a *democratic secular state that does not support a particular religion* because of the multicultural and multireligious character of the country. (Art 5 Par 1)

Based on the data unit above *The Jakarta Post* depicts their ideology that Indonesia is characterized by the coexistence of several different religious groups. This situation possesses potential conflict. In addition to that *The Jakarta Post* also reported that Indonesia claimed to be a *democratic secular state that does not support a particular religion*. In the democratic system the right of all elements is guaranteed by the law system. In this data unit *The Jakarta Post* is trying to show that they support the democracy in Indonesia.

In order to apply the democratic system, the government should be fair by showing support to all elements. In addition to that the government is the policy maker so they need to produce the policy that accommodates all elements. In addition to this point, the statement below will show how *The Jakarta Post* pushes the government to guaranty the process of democracy can be run well.

Another reason for this situation is a *permissive government* which is afraid of taking any action against a violation of law because of its fear
of the power of radical groups, allowing religious intolerance to grow. (Art 5 Par 10)

In this data unit The Jakarta Post also establish their position as a democratic newspaper to criticize the government which is to permissive and afraid of taking any risk against the violation. The government is allowing the religious intolerance to grow in Indonesia. In a democratic country governments is the guardian of all elements and they should guaranty the right of every citizen to express their opinion. Furthermore, The Jakarta Post also criticizes the system which is not supportive in establishing the democratic country.

Indonesia’s blasphemy provision of the Criminal Code is based on the 1965 blasphemy law, and specifies that the six recognized religions in Indonesia are Islam, Buddhism, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Indonesian citizens are required to identify themselves as members of one of these six faiths, and they may not declare atheism. The problem with the law is that it lacks clarity as to what acts constitute “blasphemy” or “religious defamation,” leaving their interpretation open to abuse by political opponents. The core problem of this law lies in the fact that blasphemy has never been clearly defined. (Art 5 Par 7)

Based on the data unit above, The Jakarta Post as democratic newspaper is also criticizing the blasphemy law which is not compatible for Indonesia as diverse country which consists of multi religion and multicultural. The blasphemy law lacks of clarity or boundaries about what constitutes to blasphemy and what is not. This situation will escalate the religious sentiment because each religion can interpret the law based on what
they believe and the result the majority will have more power to interpret this. Therefore as democratic newspaper *The Jakarta Post* is supporting the democracy by pushing the government to create a good atmosphere for democracy in Indonesia.

Language is powerful tool when it’s used by the powerful agent. In this case, *The Jakarta Post* has an authority to portray the situation happened currently in the democratic atmosphere of Indonesia. Based on the analysis above, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Post* tried to show that there is a threat from majority religious group which has absolute control to the process of democracy.

Language possesses power through its use by the powerful agent. In this case *The Jakarta Post* as the democratic newspaper is authorized to spread the ideology and reveal several things happened based on their perspective about Muslim, government and the policy. In this study, language is seen as a tool to create the social practice. The linguistics analysis has been applied to analyze the editorial of *The Jakarta Post* on reviewing about Muslim in their socio political news. They are the transitivity analysis, for representing and reshaping the reality and the seven building blocks for establishing social relation to frame the political message.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The last chapter of this thesis is written to conclude the result and the suggestions for future researchers. This study has shown how the power is exercised by the groups of majority and the media. The objective is revealed by employing the Critical Discourse Analysis and the Systemic Functional Linguistic.

5.1 Conclusion

Language possesses power through its use by the powerful agent. In this case, The Jakarta Post as the democratic newspaper is authorized to spread the ideology and reveal several things happened based on their perspective about Muslim, government and the policy. In this study, language is seen as a tool to create social practice. The linguistics analysis has been applied to analyze the editorial of The Jakarta Post on reviewing about Muslim in their socio political news. The first is classification analysis; it aims to identify the specific vocabularies which are used to name Muslim in their editorial news. Next, SFG analysis is used to identify the process for representing and reshaping the reality and the seven building blocks for establishing social relation to frame the political message.

Classification refers to the naming and representation of people and events. It is mainly realized through the choice of vocabulary. The choice of
the vocabulary reflects the author’s attitude towards the person being referred to and inevitably produces difference impression on the readers. *The Jakarta Post* used several naming to refer Muslim, such as *the protesters, majority religion* and *intolerant group*. They repeatedly use of those words to show that *The Jakarta Post* try to counter the supremacy of Muslim by creating public opinion. The naming sets the public perspective that several group of Muslim are intolerant and create insecure atmosphere in the diverse society.

In short, Jakarta post try to create ruthless image for several Muslim groups by labeling those words.

Furthermore, the transitivity analysis shows that the mental process dominates the process that represents Muslim in their editorial. It influences the way people will react and think to the certain issues involved Muslim. Mental process is process of sensing: feeling, and perceiving. Therefore, the participant roles in mental processes are Senser and Phenomenon. This process portray Muslim is a group who utilize their feeling in analyzing a phenomenon. Feeling is a subjective matter but in their editorial news Muslim is portrayed as a sensitive group that has too many boundaries or regulation which can dominate and blame others because of their opinion or expression about certain conflicts happened. Thus, this choice creates an image of the Muslim way of thinking. The Jakarta Post as a democratic newspaper
reviewed that the majority religious group are too dominant in the democratic process because they bring religious sentiments as part of democracy.

The second dominant process is material process. The material process shows that the act that the Muslim did is because of their belief that has been discussed in the mental process. Their action is only the result of their paradigm about their religion. In this case, The Jakarta Post also wants to describe that the government escalates the sentiments by producing policy that impedes the freedom of speech. The analysis of the Seven Building Task of Language finds that The Jakarta Post puts some notions as the truth and the norms to validate their view in resolving several concerns related to the issues of blasphemy and intolerant act happened recently. It can be seen from the significances of the text. Those are, provoking the audience to be more tolerant, making a sharp contrast between tolerant and intolerant group, and pushing the government to be more aware about the policy that they decided on religious diversity. The Jakarta post show that there is power imbalance between Muslim and other groups that involved in a conflict because Muslim is too dominant. The Jakarta post also tried to describe the bias when the government (authority board) is giving more benefit to Islamic group or organization by stating that there is bias in the government organization such as MUI. In this step, it can be seen that The Jakarta Post want to be the media
that support democracy and facilitate minority to express their protest about the power distribution.

Their political ideology is anti – blasphemy law because they have a grand ideology as democratic newspaper. This anti-blasphemy law stance can be seen dominantly from material process. In the material process, the law is depicted as the agent in doing violation and impedes the freedom of expression of the minority. Furthermore, the law creates two groups of people: the tolerant and intolerant group.

In The Jakarta Post editorial news, they concern about the policy of the government that escalates the religious intolerance by producing blasphemy law, it can be seen in the Seven Building Task analysis. The blasphemy law significantly contributes to the religious disharmony that happened currently. The Jakarta Post claim that the government need to conduct a judicial review on the blasphemy law. In a democratic country, blasphemy law is not compatible with democracy. It may violate the freedom of expression and a right to express their religious identity. Furthermore, the standard of blasphemy is not very clear, the boundaries are laid between the people perspective, and people perspective is dominated by a majority. In this case, The Jakarta Post claimed that blasphemy law is not appropriate to be applied because the government is not firmly stated what is meant by
blasphemy. The values that they want to depict are democracy, equality, and the unity.

Those ideological values are depicted as the tools that serve their intended meaning. The people will easily believe that the blasphemy law is not creating a good atmosphere for those values. Thus, the Jakarta Post is defining and redefining the values to influence the attitude and change the policy, so it becomes in line to what The Jakarta Post needs in organizing the society. Furthermore, The Jakarta Post also put them as a representative of the minority group that becomes the victim of blasphemy law because their right and freedom is violated over the majority. The Jakarta Post is the symbol of democracy and the unity for the people and who also the voice of minority. Therefore, The Jakarta Post utilizes that opportunity to blame the government as the authority board to create atmosphere democracy and to attack Muslim as the largest religious group in Indonesia.

The threat of majority is an issue which also presented by The Jakarta Post in reporting news about Islam and Muslim. Islam as the majority religion is depicted as powerful group which can decide and interpret the law based on their interest. The situation of democracy in Indonesia does not protect the voice of minority because the democracy that has been conducted in Indonesia is not supported by a proper regulation or policy that promotes the democracy. Freedom of expression in the democratic contexts is giving a space for minority to express and share their opinion. In another word,
democracy is equal for majority and minority. In Indonesia’s context, the law which is produced by the government is escalating the disintegration and friction between majority and minority. For instance, the definition of blasphemy will be based on the majority, so the majority has a power to decide whether it is right or wrong. The majoritarian can be happened to another majority group, organization or community. In this case, the government is not ready to control the public opinion that spread out in the middle of the society through their blasphemy law. In the other hand, the regulation which was produced escalates the friction of majority and minority.

5.2 Suggestion

The way of discourse is structured does not merely expose the tangible goal of the speaker. The addressees are influenced to accept those goals as theirs and unconsciously become the subject of power. This study tries to conduct critics to the status quo to stabilize the power.

However, this thesis is limited only in The Jakarta Post editorial news. Further research who might be interested in discussing discourse about news on Muslim and Islam is suggested to look at more media and doing comparison on several media. The researcher needs to employ more theories and some specific issues to make the research are more tangible and observable.
Reference


Appendix
Anti-Ahok crowd directs anger toward media, journalists

Nurul Fitri Ramadhani and Ivany Atina Arbi

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta | Mon, February 13

After initially proceeding peacefully, the massive street protest on Saturday organized by Muslim groups demanding the imprisonment of incumbent Jakarta Governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama ended in violence directed against members of the media.

The protesters, many of whom were from cities outside of Jakarta, started to gather on Friday night at the grounds of Istiqlal Mosque in Central Jakarta.

These protesters formed the core part of the rally and braved the rainfall and inundation in some areas around the mosque to stage the protest.

The size of the crowd swelled after candidates running in the Jakarta gubernatorial election, including Anies Baswedan and his running mate Sandiaga Uno, nominated by the Gerindra Party and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, nominated by the Democratic Party, joined the protesters for the Fajr early morning prayer. The candidates left the mosque at around 8 a.m. to spend their last day on the campaign trail.

Following the departure of the candidates, the protesters began to move away from Istiqlal and occupy the streets around the mosque. Leaders of Muslim organizations, including the leader of the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), Rizieq Shihab, started to deliver their speeches.

Despite warnings from the Jakarta Police and the General Elections Commission that members of the public should refrain from participating in rallies that carried election-related messages, many speakers urged the protesters in the rally and Muslims in general to deliver a defeat to incumbent Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja “Ahok” Purnama.

Some of the leaders from the FPI, the Muslim People’s Forum and the National Movement to Safeguard the Indonesian Ulema Council’s Fatwa (GNPF-MUI), called on the protesters not to vote for Ahok on election day because Ahok was not a Muslim.

One of the speakers also called on the rally’s participants to wage a “war” on social media, while another cleric demanded that protesters swear by the name of God that they would not vote for Ahok.

Despite the harsh rhetoric, some of the participants in the rally showed civility, especially when a Christian couple, intending to take their wedding vows at Jakarta Cathedral, which is located directly across from Istiqlal Mosque, had some difficulty making their way into the cathedral.

Many in the crowd voluntarily stepped aside and gave way for the couple’s
entourage. According to a number of media outlets, some of the protesters even gave their umbrellas to the couple when the rain started.

The protesters directed their anger toward the media, which they argued had given positive coverage to Ahok.

Journalists and technical crews from the private news channels Metro TV and Global TV reported that they were harassed by some protesters.

Senior Metro TV journalist Desi Fitriani filed a police report on Saturday after she was hit in the head by unidentified protesters with a bamboo pole. She suffered an injury to the head.

Fellow Metro TV journalist Ucha Fernandes also filed a report after being struck in the abdomen, neck and legs.

Antara news agency reported that the alleged assault happened when Desi and Ucha were trying to get inside Istiqlal Mosque to get footage for their live broadcast. They were allegedly chased out by a mob who tried to escort them out of the grounds of the mosque.

Responding to the incident, the Indonesian Television Journalists Association (IJTI) issued a statement condemning the alleged assault.

“The IJTI and the Press Council’s anti-violence task force will look into this case,” the group said.
Article 2

Regulating religious intolerance

Alif Satria
Assistant researcher at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Jakarta | Fri, January 27, 2017 | 12:50 pm

Muslim men shout "God is great" during a rally against Jakarta’s Christian governor Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama who is being prosecuted for blasphemy, at the National Monument in Jakarta, on Dec. 2. (AP/Dita Alangkara)

There is no doubt that Indonesia’s Muslim leanings have shifted to a more intolerant state from where they were 10 years ago. One needs only to see the recent turmoil to understand the gravity of this shift: the explicit acceptance of the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), the massive turnout at the divisive 4/11 and 2/12 rallies last year and the support by many for FPI leader Rizieq Shihab’s aggressive and demeaning description of Christians is a small sample of many indications.

But one needs to understand that this is not a big-bang phenomenon. Indonesia’s growing intolerance has been brewing for longer than one would want to recognize. We may recount that in 2008, the FPI burned down houses of Ahmadiyah followers, in 2009, the Bekasi government closed the HKBP Filadelfia church, in 2010, the Bogor government defied the Supreme Court’s decision to allow the establishment of the GKI Yasmin church and in 2012 Shia Muslims in Sampang, Madura, were relocated by force.

According to data from the National Violence Monitoring System (NVMS), there has been a constant upward trend of interand intra-religious conflict, starting as far back as 2004 (four cases in 2004, 27 in 2008, 101 in 2011 and 257 in 2014), most of which involved Muslims.

Undoubtedly, the politicization of divisive religious sentiment by opportunistic politicians and the lack of interfaith dialogue have significantly contributed to this shift. However, one needs to understand that such variables are only agent-variables incentivized to increase intolerance by a permissive system; and it is this system that lacks public scrutiny.

A key component of the system that bears responsibility for engineering a suitable climate for the fermentation of religious intolerance is the obsolete Blasphemy Law No. 1 of 1965, as well as Article 156a of the Criminal Code.

This Blasphemy Law is at the center of Indonesia’s rising religious intolerance, as it is a primary cog that has habituated a sense of intolerant religious entitlement. The core problem of this law lies in the fact that blasphemy has never been clearly defined.

In theory, the law allows anyone to criminalize others for anything he or she subjectively perceives as blasphemous based on his or her religion. In practice, courts will refer to prominent religious bodies like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), which are supposed to be less subjective and fairer but turn out to lack public trust, hold the monopoly over Islamic interpretations and are biased toward the majority.
It is no wonder that at least 49 of the 73 blasphemy cases heard in courts since 1968 concerned sects and critical assessments of religion that have no intention to be blasphemous.

As a result of this vagueness, the socio-religious culture that is bred is a culture of subjective imposition giving majority religions the right to impose their will according to what they subjectively believe is right and prosecute what they subjectively believe is wrong. Discussions on whether or not such rights exist and how far they extend are subverted due to the fact that the existence and vagueness of the Blasphemy Law in effect already implies that such rights do exist and that their extent is endless. Though an important discussion on this matter did occur and was left open with the decision of the law’s judicial review in 2010 (the Constitutional Court voted to preserve the law but commented that “changes” needed to be made), nobody followed through.

It is this culture of rightful subjective imposition that, through the massive mobilization and politicization accompanying these trials, has been pervasively internalized and left unchecked within Indonesian religious cleavages. We should not forget that such mobilization and politicization has occurred frequently in these trials for a long time, be it regionally (i.e. mobilization by hard-line group FUI and politicization by Noer Tjahja in the Shia Sampang case) or nationally (i.e. mobilization by the FPI and the MUI along with the politicization by key politicians in the case of suspended Jakarta Governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama).

As a result, religious communities are habituated to feel entitled over the absolution of their religious right; that there is no need for moderation and limitation. What this manifests in is the intolerant state of religion we see today: Mere commentary and criticism of alleged abuse of religious teachings is labeled as blasphemous and thus responded to by angry mobs. Such commentary or acts are not moderated to respect others.

To solve the problem of Indonesia’s intolerance we need to depoliticize religious sentiment and further discuss how religion should fit into Indonesia’s democracy, but before any of that can happen we need to scrutinize the permissive system that fuels a socio-religious culture that justifies these problems to begin with.

We need to take a hard look at our Blasphemy Law and discuss whether, as a society, we want to have a law that allows the imposition of a majority’s subjective religious right at the expense of others’ basic rights with little or no limitation, and a society whose culture of rightful subjective imposition is unchallenged and unmoderated. Hopefully, the answer is no.
Against all political and religious odds

Mon, February 13,2017

With the upcoming gubernatorial election in Jakarta, many have seen escalating disagreement among people across religious and political lines, particularly on social media, where people become engaged in heated debates and many netizens add fuel to the fire by spreading false news and incendiary information.

This is why American social psychologist Jonathan Haidt’s 2012 book The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion (Vintage Books) is a timely read.

To provide wider comprehension of the book, Tempo media group, with bookstore Periplus Indonesia, organized a discussion called Bangsa yang terbelah: refleksi menguatnya intoleransi (A Nation Divided: Reflections on Growing Intolerance) late last month.

The discussion featured Jaringan Gusdurian national coordinator Alissa Wahid, Driyarkara philosophy academy boarding house advisor Greg Soetomo, as well as Nurcholish Madjid Society foundation head Muhamad Wahyuni Nafis. The discussion was moderated by senior Tempo media group editor Hermien Y. Kleden.

All speakers in the forum expressed concern over increasing bigotry and conflicts created by political and religious beliefs in Indonesia.

Quoting her late father, the late former Indonesian president and prominent Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) scholar Abdurrahman Wahid, Alissa warned of the “Talibanization” of the country.

“[The Talibanization of Indonesia] hasn’t happened yet, but there is a stronger tendency toward religious-based disunity,” Alissa said.

Muhamad, on the other hand, warned that the true test to our unity as a country would not happen in February’s Jakarta gubernatorial election but instead during the 2019 presidential and legislative elections.

“Today’s condition can sow the seeds of conflict [in 2019]. We have learned from history that the first and biggest horizontal conflict happened when Muslims fought Muslims,” Muhamad said, referring to the Sunni-Shia schism following the death of Prophet Muhammad in the year 632.

The most puzzling thing about the current political religious “war” is how many people seem to have lost reason, with many highly educated people trading bitter condemnations against others who are religiously and ideologically different through social media handles or WhatsApp groups.

“Many people have wondered, how come people who are highly educated, who earned degrees in the United States, for example, fall into the trap of bigotry? All this time, people somehow assume that knowledge broadens people’s minds to be more open, but [Haidt explained that] it’s not true,” Alissa said.

Haidt concludes in the book that the more advanced an individual’s rational thinking capabilities, the more capable they are of justifying their harmful actions.
Read also: Managing communist-phobia in Indonesia

Citing several examples, the writer argues that morality is not guided by rational thinking but by intuition. This is why religion and politics are so divisive, because they touch upon our gut feelings. Humans are governed by six pillars of value, a spectrum that varies in proportion according to different ideological leanings: care/harm, liberty/oppression, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion and sanctity/degradation.

This is why, according to Haidt, to effectively combat bigotry, one needs to have immersive experience in a different environment from her/his religious and cultural backgrounds.

He cited his own experience when his empathy for America’s Republicans rose after living with religiously conservative people in India.

“You don’t have to devise ambitious projects to counteract bigotry and prevent conflict. You just need to communicate with people across different religions and ethnic groups and create discussions with them and let your circle expand,” Alissa said, echoing Haidt’s notion of immersion.

Greg Soetomo, however, added some caveats against the book, arguing that it did not present a balanced multidisciplinary approach in discussing the issue of religious and political divisiveness.

“The book is poor in references to sociology or politics, particularly in terms of field research results from both fields. As if these subjects have been ‘swallowed’ by its philosophical and psychological approach,” Greg said.

This is where Muhamad shared his political and social understanding on the issue, filling the gap left by Haidt.

“Do people become religiously intolerant because of religious [dogmas] or because of social, political and economic variables?” Muhamad pondered during the discussion. “If you look at religious extremists who become ‘brides’ [hard-liner term for suicide bombers], you will become aware that their lives are destitute.”

Therefore, Muhamad believes it is unfair to create stereotypes in observing bigotry.

“It’s inaccurate to depict Islam as an agama keras [tough religion] because we know that terrorism exists in every religion. Terrorism has more to do with human beings’ sikap batin [spiritual attitude], embodied characteristics like petty-mindedness and the desire to take shortcuts in solving problems,” Muhamad explained.
Preachers urged to avoid politics in mosque sermons

The Jakarta Post
13 Feb 2017

Fachrul Sidiq

Preacher Sulianto, who is affectionately known as Suli, told around 300 hundred Muslims during Friday prayers at Uswatun Hasanah Mosque in Palmerah, West Jakarta, about the importance for Muslims to pursue knowledge, as ordered by the religion. He said that developing knowledge was central to Islam, and thus urged believers to deepen their knowledge, particularly through the Quran.

“Showing courage is not enough to defend Islam. We all need to be knowledgeable. Prophet Muhammad always encouraged his followers to pursue knowledge and in Islam, the person who has more knowledge will have a better standing in front of Allah,” Suli said during the Friday sermon.

Suli, who was born in Malang, East Java, 42 years ago, said that such a pursuit was important for Muslims as a guide to help them strengthen their religious values. He himself revealed that he started to get closer to Islam and practice Islamic teachings around a decade ago.

Unlike many other preachers in the city, Suli is perhaps among the few that has refrained from using the minbar to deliver political messages or radical views.

The Religious Affairs Ministry has recently looked into ways to discourage Islamic preachers from propagating hatred against certain groups or ethnicities in an effort to maintain the country’s unity in diversity.

In order to better monitor and standardize views among Islamic preachers in Jakarta with regard to providing the public with peaceful messages that also discourages civil unrest, the Jakarta chapter of the Indonesian Mosque Council (DMI) has established a union for Islamic preachers.

“There have been 100 preachers who have joined the organization since last year. However, the figure was dwarfed by the presence of around 3,000 mosques across the capital,” head of the DMI’s Jakarta chapter Makmun Al Ayyub told The Jakarta Post.

He acknowledged that particularly ahead of voting day, the election was among the preferred issues brought up by preachers in their sermons, thus advocating religious values itself was not prioritized.

“It’s OK to deliver a sermon with passion as long as it aims to encourage people to do good. But it’s wrong and unethical when they start name-calling,” he said.

It has been speculated that preachers have often urged Jakartans to not cast their vote for Jakarta Governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama, a Christian and Chinese-Indonesian who is currently seeking reelection.

The Mosque Welfare Council’s (DKM) head of Baiturrahman Mosque at the House of Representatives building complex, Munawir, told the Post that given the diverse backgrounds and political affiliations of people attending
Friday prayers at the mosque, the delivery by preachers of political issues was strictly prohibited.

“It’s the people’s right to express their political stance, but not here. Please do that somewhere else,” said Munawir, who has been part of the organization since 2007, or 10 years after the mosque was inaugurated in 1997.

“In the past, I often received complaints from house members once the preachers brought up political issues during their sermons. However, such a case does not occur often because most preachers already understand it [should not be brought up],” he said, adding that for every sermon delivered, a preacher can earn around Rp 1 million (US$75).

Lukman Hakim, a preacher with the Jami Annur Mosque in Slipi, West Jakarta, told the Post that in order to better monitor the material given, he along with the DKM would often evaluate the performances of each preacher.

“We cannot order each preacher to deliver a certain theme before they take to the minbar, as it is largely their authority. However, if we think that the material delivered is not in line with Islamic core values, such as spreading hatred, we reprimand them after the prayer,” said Lukman, who graduated from the State Islamic University in Jakarta almost thirty years ago.
Article 5

Pancasila and the problematic blasphemy law

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Katowice, Poland | Mon, June 12, 2017 | 03:04 pm

Jakarta Governor Basuki (Antara/Ubaidillah)

Indonesia is a multicultural country characterized by the coexistence of several different religions, which poses a potential for conflict. Indonesia claims to be a democratic secular state that does not support a particular religion because of the multicultural and multireligious character of the country.

The adoption of Pancasila in 1945 as the state ideology and ideological basis of law aimed to balance the newly independent country by making Indonesia neither a theocratic Islamic state nor a secular state. The first principle, stating “Belief in one God”, was intended to be a crucial factor in stabilizing the newly independent Indonesia, as it clearly recognized major monotheistic religions while excluding communism.

Pancasila’s own theistic-secular character is expressed by this belief in One Supreme God (“God” meaning, and thus accommodating, “all belief systems”), but the law and legal institutions interpret Pancasila principles too narrowly because of the Islam-oriented politicization of discourse. Examples are the lack of consequences in the case of riots caused by Muslims against non-Muslims (the rallies in Jakarta against the Christian former Jakarta governor) or the lack of will shown by authorities in pursuing offenders of non-Islam blasphemy. The Indonesian police does not take necessary preventive measures to stop attacks against minority religious communities. Such a situation, particularly visible nowadays, could lead to religious conflict in which the victims will be religious minorities, hence further diminishing Indonesia’s global reputation regarding the protection of its minorities.

Founding father and first president Sukarno proposed the new ideology as a compromise between an Islamic and a secular state, which was embodied in the 1945 Constitution. On June 1, 1945 Sukarno explained in a speech the five principles of Pancasila: Belief in one God, humanitarianism, unity of Indonesia, democracy and social justice.

The first principle presents the relationship between state and religion as a theistic secular principle, based upon the belief in a single God who is not a representative for a particular religion, but rather represents all religions and belief systems in Indonesia. The theistic secular principle here defines religion, a traditional element of the Indonesian identity.

This principle states that every religious denomination can be represented within the context that the state allows religious freedom, but according to Article 29 of the Constitution (UUD), Pancasila excludes any religion (including dominant Islam) from becoming the national religion.

Indonesia’s blasphemy provision of the Criminal Code is based on the 1965 blasphemy law, and specifies that the six recognized religions in Indonesia are Islam, Buddhism, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Indonesian citizens are required to identify themselves as members of one of these six
faiths, and they may not declare atheism. The problem with the law is that it lacks clarity as to what acts constitute “blasphemy” or “religious defamation,” leaving their interpretation open to abuse by political opponents. The core problem of this law lies in the fact that blasphemy has never been clearly defined.

The blasphemy law may violate the right to freedom of expression and impede the religious expression of minority groups. In the opinion of the Western world as presented in international media, the blasphemy law is considered to discriminate against non-Muslims – especially after the trial of outgoing Jakarta governor Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama, who was convicted for blasphemy. Ahok is a Chinese Christian, and “blasphemy” is often defined by mainstream Muslims.

Thus, although Pancasila seems to give equal state recognition to all major religions, the dominance of Islam as the mainstream religion is strongly visible. The authorities set boundaries overprotecting Islam not for religious reasons, but for the political benefits of the support of Islam-oriented political leaders, such as those allied with the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) leader Rizieq Shihab. The state has become the guardian of social order, not as defined in the context of the ideal social order articulated in Pancasila, but as defined by radical politicians.

Another reason for this situation is a permissive government which is afraid of taking any action against a violation of law because of its fear of the power of radical groups, allowing religious intolerance to grow. Undoubtedly, the politicization of both religion and the Pancasila by opportunistic politicians and the lack of dialogue have significantly contributed to increasing intra-religious conflict and fear among religious minorities. The government fails to prevent and appropriately address violence based on religious beliefs.

The current interpretation and use of the blasphemy law do not protect the primary intent of Pancasila to stabilize a multicultural society; instead, they foster a climate of intolerance and allow the law to be used to justify an extralegal discrimination of minorities. The government does not consistently use its authority in cases of violations of Pancasila.

The solution is a government which is not afraid of facing these issues.

The existence of the Pancasila state ideology is obligatory in stabilizing the multicultural society of Indonesia. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, or Unity in Diversity, is not merely a motto; it is a duty.
Article 6

Separating faith and state

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta | Wed, March 29, 2017 | 08:38 am

Upbeat: North Sumatra Governor T. Erry Nuradi (left) welcomes President Joko (JP/Apriadi Gunawan)

Despite having much more freedom of expression today, we still maintain a taboo topic – the separation of religion and politics. No lesser figure than the President has now broken that taboo, whether deliberately or not. As it is often our tendency to go around in circles on delicate issues, many have wondered when the unresolved, fundamental issue of the role of religion in politics should be brought up, and how. Maybe sometime later, some have thought, in cooler times.

But President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo just did that, in plain language, in Sibolga, North Sumatra, on Sunday.

Expressing what seemed to be his frustration with “minor friction” during local direct elections, he said, “Don’t let politics and religion mix [the two] should really be separate so people can know what is religion is and what is politics,” he said.

During the unveiling of a monument to Islam Nusantara (Islam in the Archipelago) in the South Tapanuli regency he praised the peaceful nature of the Batak and other ethnicities in the province who adhered to a variety of faiths. The country’s richness of over 700 ethnicities is “God’s gift”, which we must nurture, he said.

Many commentators have rejected his plea, with some accusing Jokowi of slyly maneuvering in favor of Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama, the incumbent governor of Jakarta, who is on trial for blasphemy, ahead of the April 19 runoff round of the Jakarta gubernatorial election.

Jokowi and his aides may still try to clarify his remarks – but the Pandora’s Box is now wide open.

We support the President’s statement, understanding that he meant that we should all avoid politicizing religion. His critics, unsurprisingly, have accused him of failing to understand the state philosophy Pancasila, the first principle of which is faith in God; and of failing to understand his own religion.

While Muslims believe Islam is a way of life that does not separate religion from politics, Indonesia clearly needs an open debate on implementing such a belief in a diverse nation that we all want to improve, as a democracy with healthy means to managing differences. Even before independence, our founding fathers firmly agreed that Indonesia did not represent one ethnic group or one faith.

The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) is likely to remind Jokowi again of its fatwa that “secularism, pluralism and liberalism” are haram. Though non-binding, this most odd fatwa, and the sometimes harsh voices of those who want to see Islam formalized as state law, have effectively silenced vital debate on the issue.

Since the first general elections of 1955, religious aspirations have been given a channel through our religion-based political parties. The fact that the Islamic parties, supposedly representing the majority, have until now
consistently failed to win a majority of votes should continuously serve as a lesson for their leaders to perform better.

At the very least leaders of the Islam-based parties need to better educate their constituencies in applying the religion’s values of peace, honesty and integrity in the often divisive world of politics. They could also take a leaf from secular Germany, where Angela Merkel’s Christian Democrats have ruled for a decade.
Nahdlatul Ulama’s youth wing calls for rethinking of Islam

The Jakarta Post

Jakarta | Mon, April 3, 2017 | 06:46 am

Members of GP Ansor, the youth wing of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), parade along a main thoroughfare in Kediri, Central Java, to promote pluralism and loyalty to national ideology Pancasila. (Antara/Prasetya Fauzani)

With local hard-line Islamic groups fanning sectarian sentiments in Indonesia’s public sphere and several Muslim majority countries ravaged by bloody conflicts, the youth wing of the nation’s largest Islamic organization is calling on Muslims to reexamine their understanding of their own faith.

GP Ansor, the youth wing of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), has launched what it calls the Humanitarian Islam movement to counter an understanding of Islam that has birthed conflicts, including acts of terrorism.

Yaqut Cholil Qoumas, the organization’s chairman, said the movement aimed to contextualize the basic teachings of Islam to produce an alternative understanding.

“Muslims have been hesitant to examine the elements within Islam that can be a source of conflict,” he said recently.

NU supreme council secretary general Yahya Cholil Staquf, who is one of GP Ansor’s emissaries to promote the Humanitarian Islam movement, said the contextualization of Islam within current conditions was important.

“In the orthodox understanding, it is stated that non-Muslims are enemies, or at least Muslims should distrust them. We cannot live with that kind of understanding because we now live within a diverse society,” Yahya said.

He added that growing Islamic conservatism in several Islamic countries was caused by the absence of an alternative comprehension of Islam.

“We can see that the number of incidents of violence motivated by religion in countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan is growing, which can disrupt the future of those countries. It has been caused by a lack of consolidative efforts to build an alternative comprehension of Islam,” Yahya said.

Yaqut further commented that GP Ansor encouraged all concerned parties to stop using religion for purposes other than religious edification. He added that this led people taking Koranic scripture literally, without understanding the initial context, which hampered the efforts to contextualize Islam.

“There is a gap between contemporary reality and certain elements in Islamic orthodoxy,” he said, adding that the most problematic element was the teaching that regulated the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims.
Another emissary of Humanitarian Islam, Charles Holland Taylor, said the term Humanitarian Islam had been adopted by GP Ansor to express the spirit of Islam Nusantara, a principal introduced by NU, which embodies the values of kindness, compassion and humility.

Taylor, who cofounded and chairs the LibForAll Foundation, added that since the 9/11 tragedy in the United States, two narratives about Islam had emerged in societies in the West; people who embraced Islamophobia and those who cared about Muslim minorities.

“We have tended to deny the very real facts underlying the growth of extremism and terrorism, and this is what Humanitarian Islam is designed to address,” he said.

A daughter of former president Abdurrahman Wahid, Alissa Wahid, said that up until recently Indonesia had shown that Muslims could live in harmony within a diverse society.

She added that GP Ansor was working with minority groups, civil society organizations, and the government to solve the current problems that Indonesia was facing. (rdi)