THE STUDY ON IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF MASS MEDIA ON MUSLIM PEOPLE IN CASE OF JAKARTA PROTEST NOVEMBER 4TH 2016

THESIS

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UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM

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THESIS

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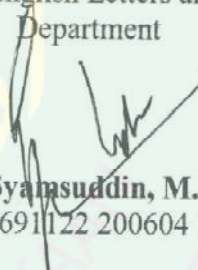
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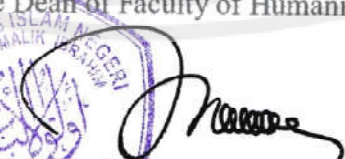NIP 19740211 199803 2 002

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STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY

I state that the thesis I wrote to fulfill the requirement for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S)* in English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanitie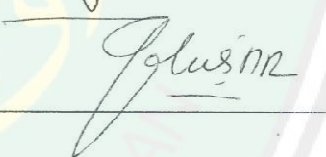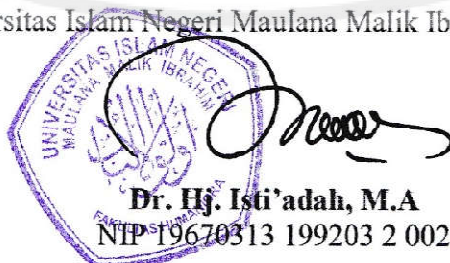s, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang entitled "The Study on Ideological Representation of Mass Media on Muslim People in Case of Jakarta Protest November 4TH 2016" is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by other persons, except who are mentioned in quotations and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, 8 August, 2017

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MOTTO

Work hard, and never give up on your dreams, even when nobody else believes
they can come true but you.

DEDICATION

This thesis is especially dedicated to:

My beloved father, H. Aliyul Karim and my mother, Hj. Dewi Saroh

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Yayuk Farida

ABSTRACT

Farida, Yayuk. 2017. *The Study on Ideological Representation of Mass Media on Muslim People in Case of Jakarta Protest November 4ᵗʰ 2016*. Thesis, English Letters and Language Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Galuh Nur Rohmah, M.Pd.,M.Ed.

Key words: Ideology, Case of Jakarta Protest, Ideological Representation

This study examines the Ideological representation on mass media using Critical Discourse Analysis. In this study, the focus is on the discourse and the text of the news chosen which creates the ideological representation toward Muslim people in case of Jakarta protest November 4ᵗʰ 2016. The theory used is Fairclough's three-dimensional framework which concentrates on the textual analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The first dimension is considered as description, the second dimension is interpretation and the third dimension is explanation. The discourses of the three-news selected are from CNN, The New York Times and The Guardian. Furthermore, this study gives rich description and interpretation about the ideological representation of Muslim people in case of blasphemy religion which found on the media chosen.

The research method used in this study is descriptive qualitative because the purpose of this study is to provide a deep analysis of the data. All discourse on the three-news chosen as the data, which are described on the linguistics units to finally discuss to main topic of the study which is the ideological representation of Muslim people in case of Jakarta protest 2016. The data are collected from the official website pages of each news.

The findings of the study reveal that the use of passivation in the three-news selected is mostly significant in order to show the victim without explaining the agent. In addition, the use of chosen word like good word for Ahok for example *Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insult Islam or the Quran* indicates that Muslim people did not accept Ahok's apology and still want to punish him. On the other hand, the writers of the news mentions the bad side of Muslim people using bad word such as, *Islamic Defenders Front -- an extremist group with a record of violence and intimidation* -- for Muslim protester seems that the writers of the news wants to convey that Muslim people are bad. Besides, the discourse practice which contains in the news are; the writer uses the technique of mentioning the good and bad side of the subject of the news and a political practice found in order to make the case of Blasphemy religion by Ahok is just an ordinary case which is occurred unintentionally to calm the mass or Muslim people in order to make Ahok still can be a representative in the next Jakarta's governor. The last is about ideological representation which appears after analyzing the sociocultural practice, the third level of Fairclough's model of analysis. It represents Indonesian Muslim people who conducts the protest are describes as a bad behave in blasphemy protest in each news. It shows that Muslim protesters is taking the case seriously and describes as unwell behavior toward the case, such as not accepting Ahok's apology, asking Ahok to be killed, burning some stuff while doing protest and etc. which are really disobedient with Muslim behavior supposed to be.

ABSTRAK

Farida, Yayuk. 2017. *Kajian Tentang Representasi Ideologi Media Masa Pada Orang Muslim Dalam Kasus Demo Jakarta 4 November 2016*. Skripsi, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Galuh Nur Rohmah, M.pd., M.Ed.

Kata Kunci: Ideologi, Demo Jakarta, Representasi Ideologi

Studi ini mengkaji tentang representasi ideologi pada media massa menggunakan Analisis Wacana Kritis. Fokus pada studi ini adalah penggunaan bahasa pada teks atau tulisan-tulisan pada berita terpilih yang pada akhrinya menciptakan sebuah representasi ideologi terhadap orang islam pada kasus demo Jakarta 2016. Teori yang digunakan pada studi ini adalah 3 kerangka dimensi analisis wacana kritis dari Fairclough yang mana membahas tentang bagian analisis tekstual, diskursif praktis, dan wacana sebagai praktik sosial. Dimensi yang pertama membahas tentang deskripsi dari analisis tekstual, yang kedua membahas tentang interpretasi dari segi tekstual, dan yang ketiga adalah penjelasan dari wacana yang terdapat pada berita. Objek dari penelitian ini adalah tiga berita terpilih yaitu CNN, The New York Times, dan The Guardian. Selanjutnya, studi ini akan memberikan penjelasan dan interprestasi yang kaya tentang Representasi Ideologi orang Islam pada kasus penghinaan agama yang terdapat di tiga berita terpilih.

Metode penelitian yang digunakan pada studi ini adalah deskriptif kualitatif, disebut demikian karena tujuan dari studi ini adalah untuk memperoleh analisis secara mendalam terhadap data yang didapat. Semua wacana dari tiga berita terpilih tentang demo penghinaan agama dideskripsikan secara lingustik yang akan mendapatkan keterangan tentang representasi ideologi orang islam pada kasus tersebut. Data diambil dari website resmi setiap berita. (http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/05/world/asia/jakarta-protest-blasphemy-ahok-indonesia.html?_r=0, http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/15/asia/jakarta-governor-ahok-indonesia/index.html and https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/05/indonesian-president-blames-political-actors-for-stoking-jakarta-blasphemy-protests)

Temuan pada studi ini mengungkapkan bahwa penggunaan kata pasif yang terdapat pada ketiga berita terpilih sangat signifikan untuk menunjukkan seorang korban tanpa menjelaskan pelakunya. Selanjutnya, penggunaan kata terpilih seperti kata-kata yang bagus untuk Ahok dalam kutipan '*Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insut Islam or the Quran*' menunjukkan bahwa orang islam tidak menerima permohonan maaf Ahok bahkan masih ingin menghukumnya. disamping itu, penulis berita menyebutkan kejelekan orang muslim menggunakan kata-kata yang buruk seperti kutipan '*Islamic Defenders Front -- an extremist group with a record of violence and intimidation*' yang menunjukkan bahwa penulis ingin menyampaikan bahwa orang muslim berperilaku buruk. Selain itu, praktek wacana yang terdapat pada berita tersebut adalah bahwa penulis berita menggunakan tekhnik dalam penyebutan perilaku baik dan buruk pada subjek berita dan praktek politik ditemukan dalam analisis pembaca atau masyarakat menganggap bahwa kasus penghinaan agama ini adalah kasus yang biasa dan tidak harus dibesar-besarkan yang terjadi Karena ketidaksengajaan dan tidak ada maksud apapun untuk menghina agama dimana hal ini dimanfaatkan untuk menenangkan massa (orang islam) agar Ahok dapat tetap

maju menjadi calon gubernur Jakarta selanjutnya. Yang terakhir adalah analisis tentang praktek social yang dapat menghasilkan representasi ideologi melalui level ketiga model analisis oleh Fairclough. Dari analisis tersebut, terlihat representasi orang muslim Indonesia yang mengadakan demo sebagai orang yang berperilaku tidak baik dalam menyikapi kasus penghinaan agama di setiap berita terpilih. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa orang islam menghadapi masalah ini dengan sangat serius dan dideskripsikan dengan perilaku yang tidak baik dalam masalah ini, seperti menolak permintaan maaf Ahok, meminta Ahok dibunuh, membakar beberapa barang ketika demo dan lain sebagainya, dimana hal ini sangat bertentangan dengan perilaku seorang muslim yang seharusnya.

المستخلص

فريدا يايوك, ٢٠١٧، **دراسة تمثيل إيديولوجية وسائل الإعلام إلى المسلمين في حالة العروض جاكرتا، ٤ نوفمبير ٢٠١٦.** البحث الجامعي، قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدبها كلية العلوم الإنسانية، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية بمالانج.

المشرف: غالوه نور رحمة، الماجستير.

الكلمات الرئيسية: إيديولوجية، العموض جاكرتا، تمثيل إيديولوجية

هذه الدراسة يبحث عن تمثيل إيديولوجية إلى وسائل الإعلام باستخدام تحليل الخطاب النقدي. والهدف هذه الدراسة هو استخدام اللغة من النص أو الكتابات إلى الأخبار المختارة وآخره يجعل تمثيل إيديولوجية إلى المسلمين حالة العروض في جاكرتا ٢٠١٦. النظرية التي أستخدمها في هذه الدراسة هي ثلاثة هياكل الأبعاد تحليل الخطاب النقدي لفيرجلوف الذي يبحث عن بعض التحليل النصي، استطراديا عمليا، والخطاب كتجربة المجتمعة. الأبعاد الأول يبحث عن وصفي من التحليل النصي، والثاني يبحث عن تفسير من جهة النصي، والثالث هو بيان من الخطاب في الأخبار. الموضوع من هذه الدراسة هي ثلاثة الأخبار المختارة يعني CNN, The New York City, The Guardian. بعده، هذه الدراسة تعتي البيانات والتفسيرات أكثر عن تمثيل إيديولوجية المسلمين إلى حالة احتقار الدين التي في تلك الأخبار المختارة.

منهج البحث في هذه الدراسة هو وصفي الكيفي يقال بهذا لأن هدف من هذه الدراسة هو لحصول التحليل بالعميق إلى البيانات الحصول عليه. كل الخطاب من ثلاثة الأخبار المختارة عن العروض في الحتقار الدين يصف باللغوية التي سيحصل التعليقات عن تمثيل إيديولوجية للمسلمين إلى تلك الحالة. البيانات مأخوذة من المواقع الرسمية لكل الأخبار. (http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/05/world/asia/jakarta-protest-blasphemy-ahok-

indonesia.html?_r=0, http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/15/asia/jakarta-governor-ahok-indonesia/index.html and https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/05/indonesian-president-blames-political-actors-for-stoking-jakarta-blasphemy-protests)

النتائج من هذه الدراسة يكشف أن استعمال كلمة سلبية في ثلاثة أخبار المختارة بشكل ملحوظ ليظهر مصاب دون يبين الفاعل.بعده، استعمال الكلمة المختارة كالكلمات الجمياة لأهوك في الإقتباس : *'Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insut Islam or the Quran'* يظهر أن المسلمين لايقبل العفو من أهوك حتي يزال أرادهم بأن يعاقبه. بجانب ذلك، قال الكاتب عن سوء المسلمين يستخدم الكلمات القبيحة مثل الإقتباس : *'Islamic Defenders Front -- an extremist group with a record of violence and intimidation'*، يظهر أن الكاتب سيبلغ المسلمين بالسلوك السيئ. ثم الأخر، تجربة الخطاب في تلك الأخبار هي أن الكاتب يستخدم التيكنيك في ذكر سلوك حسن و سلوك سيئ إلى الفاعل الأجبار وتجربة السياسية يوجد في التحليل القارئ أو المجتمع يظن أن هذا احتقار الدين هو الحالة العادية ولا ينبغي مبالغ فيها لأن غير متعمد ولا مقصد لإحتقار الدين وما كان هذ الحال يستفيد لتهدئة المجتمع (المسلمون) حتي يمكن أهوك أن نواصل ليصبح مرشح الحاكم جاكرتا فيما بعد. والأخر هو تحليل عن تجربة المجتمع الذي ينتج تمثيل إيديولوجية بوصيلة مستوى الثالث من شكل التحليل فيرجلوف.من تلك التحليل منظور تمثيل المسلمين إندونيسيا الذي ينعقد العروض كشخص بالسلوك السيئ في مواجهة حالة احتقار الدين في كل أخبار المختارة. هذه الحال يظهر أن المسلمين يواجه هذه المسألة بالدقيق و يوصف بالسلوك السيئ في هذه المسألة، مثل في انكار طلب العفو من أهوك، طلب لقتل أهوك، حرق بعض البضائع عندما العروض وغير ذلك، كان هذا الحال يختلف من سلوك المسلم الحقيقة

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers several points of the research, they are background of the study, research question, significance of the study, scope and limitation, definition of key term, as well as research method which includes research design, research subject, research instrument, data source, data collection and data analysis.

1.1 Background of the Study

Nowadays, almost all people in the world are familiar with gadget and internet. Not only in fully-grown range, but also in young range. From internet, they can access everything such as knowledge, news, tips, games, and so on. By this easiness, there will be positive and negative effect in it. Some people also take advantage from this condition whether to gain some money, share some ideologies, or another certain meaning in order to pick their fortune up. Because of this condition too, some people who work in media, exploits it to share some news or knowledge also ideology for their individual needs.

As readers, we do not know certain meaning which existed in some news found whether in online or offline media. Even so, as readers, we suspect some benefits of it. Because the existence of online media, people who live in other side of country, can enjoy the newest report which occurred in the

side of world. For example, people who live in U.S.A, be able to know the latest headlines from Indonesia which make them not be left behind and always know the newest condition all around the world. Talking about the latest headlines in Indonesia, there is a new history which important to be discussed. Last year, on November, 4th 2016 moslem people of Indonesia were held protest toward the candidate of Jakarta's governor on the blasphemy to the Alqur'an. More than 200.000 moslem people participated in this protest. Discussing about Jakarta protest, will surely discuss about media and power, because media, especially online media, became the biggest and fastest in sharing anything to the world. The media as power, like newspaper, magazine, radio, television and so on, often used for sharing the ideology to people.

Media has a big role for sharing anything such as news, information, knowledge, and so on. It also being an importance one while related with people and state. According to Althusser in Eriyanto 2001, there are two dimensions of state, first is Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). Both of them are tools of class fight state. RSA by forcing, while ISA by influencing.

Media and ideologies have any internal relation which make them cannot be separated. Han (1998:14) argued that ideology can be defined as the "belief structure" of the society. In his view, "communication cannot occur without reflecting the ideology of the individual or society in which (s)he is a member. Ideology which is found on the media has some aims in affecting the

reader thought. Fowler (1991:2) stated that the news 'selection' and 'transformation' are guided by reference, generally unconscious, to ideas and beliefs. It is not a surprise anymore if we found some ideologies on the media because they are related each other. Mayr (2008:11) defined that ideology 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. Then, ideology was becoming the important role on the people thought.

Media is the big effect of spreading several ideologies in order to affect the thought of people in the world in seeing how and what was happened in Indonesia, especially in case of Jakarta Protest by moslem people. As a wise reader, we have to be careful in proving the truth of the news found whether in online or offline media. It is because in every words they used are contains some ideologies which have some meanings. In this research, the researcher will discuss about the textual features used in the news analyzed, the discursive techniques employed in the news and finally discuss the ideological representation of moslem people in conducting the protest toward blasphemy religion by Ahok on the three news chosen.

My main reason for focusing on ideology trough CDA studies of news is simply that 'news', broadly defined, is the area of discourse in which most CDA work has been done and in respect to which its the theoretical positions and methodological techniques have been most fully developed (van Dijk 1988,

Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995, Richardson 2007). It is generally acknowledged that news texts have great ideological significance in contemporary societies and that the production and dissemination of news texts by mass media organizations and their consumption by audiences are key processes in the operation of ideology (Thompson 1990, 1995). It is reasonable to assume that this ideological salience of news accounts in large part for the attention given to it by CDA scholars.

On this research, I make use of the notion of strategies, seen in both discoursal and ideological terms, to analyse the online media news. Strategies have been studied by CDA scholars for many years (see contributors to Wodak 1989) but have recently returned to prominence through the emphasis given to them by Fairclough (2006). As well as Faith Bayram (2010) which analyzed the Ideology and Political discourse: a critical discourse analysis of Erdogan's political speech using the theory of Norman Fairclough and he found out how Turkish Prime Minister's speech has an implicit ideology which influence the people of its state.

Essentially, we can regard text producers as employing discoursal strategies on various levels in order to achieve ideological aims. On the macro level, these strategies relate to interactional features such as the generic structure of texts. On the meso level strategies are concerned with discoursal features such as the how arguments are presented, how different languages are combined and how various sections of the text are framed. At the micro level

the strategies include such things as pronoun usage, nominalization and passivization, discourse markers and deixis. Like what Umar Fauzan (August 2014) analyzed, the Ideology of Indonesian Metro TV News Report. From the theory mentioned, he reveals that Indonesia Metro TV develops the ideology by applying the strategies: 1) Emphasize their bad things and 2) De-emphasize their good things.

The journalist must have the certain reason to use the language. In accordance with Fairclough in Eriyanto, 2001 stated that every text contains ideology either it is openly shown or in confidence. Considering the facts mentioned, Ömer Gökhan Ulum (2016) analyzed Newspaper Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Headlines on Syrian Refugees in Published Newspapers and he found out the certain reason of language which is used in the newspaper chosen. By the previous studies which are mentioned before, the researcher tries to analyze in the same topic, ideology, but in the different subject, it is a news in three famous online media. Therefore, in this research, the researcher focuses on identifying the ideology representation of Indonesian moslem in conducting the Jakarta protest from the online media, the New York Times, CNN and The Guardian which are have the same news, Jakarta protest November 4th 2016.

1.2 Research Questions

1. How is the ideological representation of the three-online media NYT, CNN and The Guardian in reporting Indonesian muslim people in case of Jakarta protest November 4th 2016?

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study is expected to give some contribution whether theoretical or practical significance. Theoretically, this study gives the empirical data of textual features on muslim representation on international news, since this study is about finding an ideological concept of Indonesian muslims who conduct a protest toward blasphemy religion through the language used in the news chosen. Therefore, this study is essential in the context of critical discourse analysis as a methodological approach of this study. By then, this study is expected to give contribution toward the lecturer or researcher who are related to this topic. Then practically, this study is useful for the readers to be more open minded in accepting the news.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

The scope of the study will be the three chosen news from online media CNN, New York Times and The Guardian about Jakarta Protest on November, 4th 2016. the resercher limit the data, because of the limit time in analyzing it. The reason why the researcher chooses three online media from CNN, New York Times and The Guardian because those three online media are

the most top 10 popular in the world based on Alexa (an Amazon.com company/publisher), which the first is CNN, then New York Times, and The Guardian on the 4th position (Blogger, n.d.). Besides, even The Guardian is in the 4th position, it becomes the 3rd world's most reader (38,9%) after New York Times (48,7%) ("The World's Most-Read Online Newspaper Changes the Rules - eMarketer," n.d.). Therefore, after a deep consideration, the researcher attempts to choose and state the best and appropriate online media for the research.

1.5 Research Method

This section discuss about the research methodology which apply in this research. It presents research design, research instrument, data and data source, data collection, and data analysis.

1.5.1   Research Design

This research uses descriptive qualitative research design because it is designed to get deep understanding and analysis toward information concerning with the news of Jakarta protest conducted by Indonesian moslems in international news report chosen. Besides, this research is also categorized into descriptive because this study describes the textual features on news. In addition, this study uses Critical Discourse Analysis approach to analyze the

discourse of language used in news report of Indonesian moslem who conducted a protest toward Jakarta non-active governor in case of blasphemy religion. The researcher is also attempts to find and describe the textual feature of the news chosen trough the theory of Norman Fairclough's three dimensial model of analysis.

The research paradigm used in this research is constructivism worldview. it is explained that to analyze the data needs some interpretation of others about the world. The researcher believes that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences-meanings directed toward certain objects or things. Because this research is about interpreting the ideology existed using critical discourse analysis and in the end the researcher attempts to construct it become the result of the study, then constructivism worldview is appropriate to be used for the research.

1.5.2 Research Instrument

The main instrument of this research is the researcher herself. It called so, because the researcher cannot directly interview people who are involved in creating the news such the writer of the news, publisher, or the people who contribute in creating the news itself which are going to be investigated in this research. Then, the researcher used some filled notes and some non-participant observation to finish the analysis.

1.5.3 Data and Data Source

The data of this research are taken from some online media chosen. Then, the data analyzed in this research are the language used, the discourse practice and the pictures which can support the researcher to find the result of the study. Considering some special qualities of those three online media, they are CNN, New York Times and The Guardian, the researcher attempts to find an appropriate news each of them based on the theme which is analyzed for the research. Finally, the researcher chooses three news which taken from three online media mentioned under the title Blasphemy protests: Indonesian police investigating Christian governor from CNN, Islamists March in Jakarta, Demanding Christian Governor Be Jailed from New York Times and Indonesian president blames 'political actors' for stoking Jakarta blasphemy protests From The Guardian.

1.5.4 Data Collection

The researcher collects the data by taking the news found in online media, The three online media are New York Times by the title March in Jakarta, Demanding Christian Governor Be Jailed, CNN by the title Blasphemy protests: Indonesian police investigating Christian governor and the Guardian by the title Indonesian president blames 'political actors' for stoking Jakarta blasphemy protests.

In gaining the data, firstly the researcher looking for the appropriate online media by comparing some online media and taking the most popular and the most-read media. The researcher also considering the content of the news, such as language used, the discourse practice and the picture existed in the news. Secondly, after filtering the data, the researcher downloads all the data needed which are going to be analyzed for gaining the result of the study.

1.5.5   Data Analysis

The researcher firstly choose the data such as the newspaper's brand and the theme in each. After some consideration, the researcher decides to take the most popular and the most-read online media, they are CNN, The New York Times and The Guardian. So then, the researcher attempts to find a news which is applicable with the theme analyzed in each online newspaper. Thereafter, deliberating the language used, the discourse practice and the picture existed in the news, the researcher then decides to choose three news which are mentioned in the data source. After gaining all the data needed, the researcher then has a stab to find out the commonalities and individual differences of each news. The next step, in order to answer the first research question, the researcher analyzes the discourse of the news based on Fairclough's three dimension of ideological analysis which is discussing the discourse trough the text or the language used. The second research question then analyzes through discourse interpretation from the result in the textual analysis. Finally, the researcher discusses the

discourse as social practice as the answer of the third research question. Here, the researcher correlates between discourse of ideological concept of moslem interpretation which found on the news and moslem interpretation in necessity. As a final point, the researcher provides the conclusion of the study supported by the theories and the previous studies.

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

Case of Jakarta protest : The case of blasphemy religion by Ahok (non-active Jakarta governor) which caused some muslims protest, one of the protest is in 4th November 2016.

Ideology : A system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy. Ideology which will be investigated in this research is ideological representation of how the news abroad reporting the case, especially muslim people who conducted protest against blasphemy religion in Indonesia.

Ideological representation : A system of common values, ideas and practices that enable people to understand each other and communicate about similar issues which is represented by the writers of online media (NYT, CNN, and The Guardian) about muslim people who conduct protest toward blasphemy religion by Jakarta's governor 4th of November 2016.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter consist of theories which related to the research. It discusses about discourse and discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and the theory of Norman Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis. Besides, the researcher also attempts to provide some previous studies which related to this research.

2.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis.

The terms Discourse and discourse analysis are among linguistic concepts that are often used generally without any specific definitions. According to Titscher et al (2000) in Bayram 2010, discourse is a broad term with various definitions which "integrates a whole palette of meanings" covering a large area from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy and other disciplines. Bayram also mentions that Fairclough (1989) refers to the term discourse as "the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part. As general ways of experiencing the world, discourses refer to expressing oneself using words. Discourses can be used for asserting power and knowledge, and for resistance and critique. The speaker expresses his/her ideological content in texts as the linguistic form of the text. That is, selection or choice of a linguistic form may   not be a live process for the individual speaker, but the discourse will be a reproduction of that previously learned discourse. Texts are selected

and organized syntactic forms whose "contentstructure" reflect the ideological

organization of a particular area of social life (Dellinger, 1995 in Bayram

2010). Also, Rymes (2008) cited in Mirzaee &Hamidi(2012) believes that,

discourse is defined generally as "language-in-use." And discourse analysis, is

the study of how language-in-use is influenced by the context of its use. In the

classroom, context can range from communication about lesson between

teacher and students. Based on him, Discourse analysis in the classroom

becomes critical classroom discourse analysis when classroom researchers take

the effects of such variable contexts into account in their analysis.

     Brown and Yule (1983) opine that the term 'discourse analysis' has

come to be used with a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of

activities. It is used to describe activities at the intersection of disciplines as

diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistics and

computational linguistics. Scholars working centrally in these different

disciplines tend to concentrate on different aspects of discourse. Brown and

Yule (1983) further state that the analysis of discourse is necessarily the

analysis of language in use. As such it cannot be restricted to the description

of the linguistic forms independent of the purpose or functions which those

forms are designed to serve in human affairs. While some linguists may

concentrate on determining the formal properties of language, the discourse

analyst is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for.

This assertion implies that this course analysis looks and the patterns or

structures of language as well as the communicative functions accompanying them In line with this.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The basis for critical discourse had its fondation from critical linguistics and theories. According to Rahimi & Riasati(2011), the discipline has attracted many scholars since the 1980s significantly with the works of the British sociolinguist Norman Fariclough. Fairclough (1995) refers to CDA as discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often unclear 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.

Critical discourse analysis has been defined by some researchers. Kumaravadivelu (1999, as cited in Rodgers et al, 2005, p.409): "CDA is defined as an educational application of post-structuralism". "ideology and power that constitutes dominant discourses are hidden from ordinary people; critical linguistics seek to make these discourses visible by engaging in a type of CDA that is more issue oriented than theory oriented. The purpose is to conceptualize a framework for conducting CCDA." More, Rodgers (2002, as cited in Rodgers et al., 2005, p.414): "CDA offers a theory of language as a

system (building on systemic functional linguistics SFL) that orders of discourse have a roughly parallel status to the grammatical aspects embedded in SFL".

Then again, Wodak and Meyer 2003 also point out that a defining feature of CDA is its concern with power as a central condition in social life, and its efforts to develop a theory of language which incorporates this as a major premise. Not only the notion of struggles for power and control, but also the intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses are closely attended to. These scholars also maintain that CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is signaled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion by means of the genre of a text. It is often exactly within the genres associated with given social occasions that power is exercised or challenged.

2.3 Norman Fairclough Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

Norman Fairclough is known as one of the prominent figures in the discussion of language, discourse and society. Fairclough (1989) proposes that "language is a part of society". Furthermore, he also argues that language and society is related not in external sense, rather, they are related internally. In simpler terms, linguistic phenomena reflect social phenomena, and also the other way around. Language, according to Fairclough (1989), is "a social process".

Fairclough (1989) also makes distinction between text and discourse, in which he argues that text is a form of product, while discourse is the process – a social interaction process -, where text is a part of it. Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) proposes that language is "a socially conditioned process," in which "process" refers to the production of text and the process of interpreting the text, and this process itself is related to the practices of the society.

Critical analysis on text and discourse is important in order to be able to explain the relationship between language, ideology and identity. Fairclough (1989) argues that critical study in text and discourse can help in uncovering the unseen agenda which may be hidden from people. It is further argued that critical analysis aims to investigate the "hidden determinants" in social relationship system and the "hidden effect" which they may have (Fairclough, 2001). However, according to Wodak (1989), in the field of social sciences, no research is completely objective as it deals more with the subjectivity. In addition, Wodak (1989) also argues that critical study aims at achieving the justice for the powerless and oppressed.

Fairclough's Model and Analytical Framework has been employed for this study. Rodgers et al. (2005) cited in Mirzaee & Hamidi (2012) believe that Fairclough's analytic framework includes three levels of analysis: the text, the discursive practice, and the socio-cultural practice.. In other words, each of these discursive events has three proportions: (i) It is a spoken or written text, (ii) it is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of

texts, and (iii) it is a part of social practice. The analysis of the text consists of the study of the language structures produced in a discursive event-an analysis of the discursive reproduction of the texts. Finally, the analysis of socio-cultural practice consists of an investigation of what is happening in a particular socio-cultural framework.

Fairclough's second dimension, based on Rodgers et al discursive practice, as mentioned previously, involves the analysis of the process of production, interpretation, and consumption. This dimension is concerned with how people interpret and reproduce or transform texts. The third dimension, socio-cultural practice, is concerned with issues of power. Analysis of this dimension includes exploration of the ways in which discourses operate in various domains of society" and the result of the combination of second and third dimension is text that is the first one here. In fact, CDA for Fairclough is concerned with the investigation of the relation between two assumptions about language use: that language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping. He bases this idea on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL). According to Fairclough (1995), through the notion of multi-functionality of language in texts, he operationalizes the theoretical assumption that texts and discourses are socially constitutive: "Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and beliefs"

In short, Fairclough model of analysis can be describe as following: the first procedure dealing with analysis of texts is called as description as it

elaborates the linguistic units of the discourse. The second layer of the analysis is called as interpretation dealing with discussing when the discourse has been delivered to the society. Moreover, the analysis of social practice is in accordance with the analysis of the discourse relates to the ideology and power.

2.4 Ideological Representation

Ideology refers to the influence of ideas on people's beliefs and actions. (Anthony Giddens). While, representation based on Oxford dictionary is to represent something is to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal or to place a likeness of it before us in our mind. But to simplify it, representations are a result of a selection from different possibilities. So both those representing and the representations are Ideological.

Stuart Hall provides a sophisticated analysis about how mass media fit into the concept of hegemony. He argues that media is the main role of exercising hegemony. Media image does not really reflect it, but they represent it instead of reproducing reality of the world out there. Hall (1982), "Representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active world of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping; not merely the transmitting of an already existing meaning, but the more active labor of *making things mean"*.

Media representations are intertwined with questions and power and Ideology because the process of giving meaning to events suggest that, potentially,

there are multiple definitions of reality. Media have, as Hall (1982) says "the power to signify events in a particular way." the question, then, is "what are the patterns by which even are represented?". This is fundamentally a question about Ideology because it suggests that media are places where certain ideas are circulated as the truth. Effectively marginalizing or dismissing competing truth claims.

Central to critical discourse analysis research is that language can be defined in terms of its use in a discourse, and therefore as an array of 'diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned—differently positioned social actors "see" and represent social life in different ways' (Fairclough, 2001). Cultural institutions, such as the media in the form of newspapers, 'reproduce ideas by identifying which ideas are valuable, which are not, and which should not be heard at all. It follows that ideas of privileged and powerful social groups are routinely heard, whereas ideas of groups who are disadvantaged are silenced' (Anderson & Collins, 2001).

The development of critical discourse analysis can be traced back to a variety of studies ranging from critical theory, including work by Foucault, to critical linguistics. CDA is, to a certain extent, the product of an amalgam of certain types of social theory and linguistics (Chilcote, 2005). Some of these studies are grounded in formal linguistics while some are more concerned with the use of language as a form of social justice. This paper builds upon some of the claims made from those proponents of critical context analysis (or CDA) who assert that this paradigm or 'school' (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) is intimately related

to critical social theory, and more specifically those who understand knowledge as a form of power (Foucault, 1980). The former assumes that the flow of knowledge presented in the discourses can reveal societal power relations that are not explicitly stated.

2.5 Previous Studies

In conducting the study, the researcher uses some previous studies about critical discourse analysis, ideology, and muslim representation on media. The first previous study is about finding ideology in Metro TV news reporting mudflow in Sidoarjo (Umar, 2014). This study uses the theory of Van Dijk to find the ideology or hidden message in the news mentioned. The result of this study reveales, Indonesian MetroTV develops the ideology by applying the strategies of "emphasize their bad things" and "de-emphasize their good things".

The second previous study also discussing about ideology in case of racism found on two Australian newspapers by Peter Teo (2000). In completing this study, the researcher combines the theory of Van Dijk and Fairclough about critical discourse analysis. The subject of this research is focused on news reports related to Vietnamese gang in Australia whose violent and drug-dealing activities have received publicity in two Sydney-based newspapers. The study uncovers the evidences of 'Racism in the News', which both reflects and reinforces the marginalization of recent Vietnamese migrants into Australia.

The following previous study argues about muslim representation or muslim portrayal on media "24" (television serial) which portrays stereotypical images of Arabs and Muslims, and aggravates the 'othering process' (Nurullah, 2010). The finding of this study is there are some muslim portrayal which containing lies and the researcher finds many negative images of muslim in television serial "24".

Media representations of British Muslims and hybridized threats to identity from Rusi Jaspal & Marco Cinnirella (2001) becomes the next previous study. They analyze british muslim representation and identity on british media. The theory used are theories from social psychology such as identity process theory, intergroup threat theory, and 'Us' and 'them': processes of group differentiation. From their study account offers a socio-psychological perspective by exploring the potential socio-cognitive and behavioral repercussions of exposure to representations of British Muslims as a hybridized threat.

The last previous study is setting and framing of muslim, islam and racism on Danish media (Sara, et al 2012). It presents the results of two case studies exploring the role which the Danish newspaper media play in the reproduction of racial and ethnic inequalities, one analyses about muslim and islam representation and the other discusses about racism and discrimination. The analysis shows that news stories dealing with Muslims and Islam were often negatively framed in the media and restricted to certain kinds of topics such as extremism, terror and oppression of women.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of the findings and discussion. The first is the presentation of the data in finding and the analysis of the data based on Fairclough's three-dimensional frameworks of critical discourse analysis. The Second is the result of analysis and its relation with the theories mentioned in the chapter 2 which are elaborated in discussion.

3.1 Findings

This research points toward analyzing the utterance and the discourse of ideology representation found on the three-news opted based on three-dimensional model of Fairclough. The analysis of this study is based on the formulation of the research questions in the first chapter. To find the answer of the research question, the researcher has to find out through the textual analysis, the discursive practice and the sociocultural practice based on the three-dimensional model of Fairclough. The first research model aims to analyze the textual analysis used in the news based on the first dimension of Fairclough which covers the description of the text, the term text meaning not only ´linguistic units` of sentences or clauses, but all semiotic indications, such as images, and signs. Then the second model of analysis is aiming to answer the discursive practice used in the three-news selected as the second level analysis of Fairclough model, and the last model of analisys wants to explain how the ideological representation of Indonesian muslim protest reflected in the news through the formulation of the Fairclough's three dimensional framework (1992).

1. **Datum 1**

Blasphemy protests: Indonesian police investigating Christian governor

By Kathy Quiano and James Griffiths, CNN

Updated 0358 GMT (1158 HKT) November 16, 2016

Violence broke out in Jakarta on November 4 after Islamic groups protested the city's governor.

*Jakarta, Indonesia (CNN)*Indonesian police have confirmed that they are investigating the Christian governor of Jakarta for blasphemy in a case that previously triggered mass protests.

Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, also known as Ahok, was accused by Islamic hardliners of insulting their religion after he quoted a Quranic verse in a stump speech.
The governor told Indonesians the holy book did not prohibit them from voting for a non-Muslim. There was widespread outrage after an edited video of his speech went viral.
Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insult Islam or the Quran, on November 4 around 200,000 people marched on the Presidential palace in Jakarta to call for his ouster.

Ahok succeeded Indonesian President Joko Widodo as governor of Jakarta in 2014.

Unbowed

Ahok succeeded President Joko Widodo as governor of Jakarta in 2014 and is currently standing for re-election.

Prior to the police announcement, Ahok vowed to proceed with the race regardless of any investigation.
"Don't let your spirit be broken," he told a crowd of supporters Wednesday. "Can you imagine how embarrassed they who slander us will be if I am declared a suspect ... and win in the first round?"
If no candidate receives more than 50% of votes in the first round, a run-off election is held between the top two contenders.
At the rally, an emotional supporter, wearing a Muslim headscarf, joined him on stage.
"Don't step down from here, keep going," she urged the governor.
Supporters of different religious backgrounds said they will continue to back Ahok.
At a regular daily meeting with constituents Tuesday, 51-year-old Christian Sinjte Kumendong said she will vote for him "because I see the changes he's made."
"I don't think he's guilty of what they say he's done," she added.
A group of women, wearing Muslim headscarves, chanted "we support you Pak Ahok" at the event.

More than 200,000 people protested against Ahok on November 4.

Mass protests

Demonstrations against Ahok, organized in part by the Islamic Defenders Front -- an extremist group with a record of violence and intimidation -- turned ugly on November 4 as protesters clashed with police.

At least 160 protesters and 79 police officers were injured, as authorities used tear gas and water cannon to disperse demonstrators calling for Ahok's death.

Noor Huda Ismail, founder of the Institute for International Peace Building in Indonesia, said that Christians and non-Muslims in the capital were increasingly worried by the protesters' rhetoric.

Extremist groups have succeeded in "dictating the discourse" he said, with moderates often failing to speak out against them.

Dozens of protesters and police were injured after violence broke out at the demonstration.

Jokowi connection

The first Christian to run Indonesia's biggest city, Ahok is a key ally of President Widodo -- also known as Jokowi -- and served as his deputy when Jokowi was governor.

The President has been under increasing pressure from political opponents who want to paint him as anti-Islamic, said Ismail.

"Ahok is an easy target," Ismail told CNN. "He's a stepping stone (to Jokowi). You see people no longer talking about the blasphemy case but about wanting to topple the government."

On Saturday, Jokowi said the demonstrations against Ahok were a "waste of energy," but refused to take the governor's side.

"Since the beginning I have said that I would not intervene in any legal issues. Let the law enforcement personnel handle it," the President said, according to the Jakarta Post.

CNN's Kathy Quiano reported from Indonesia, James Griffiths reported and wrote from

Hong Kong. Euan McKirdy contributed reporting.

The first analysis based on the first stage of Fairclough's model of analysis comes from online media, **CNN**. There are several indications that this news is seen pro to Ahok rather than Muslim people. The first indication comes from the title of this news.

"<u>Blasphemy protests</u>: Indonesian police investigating Christian governor"

It says *Blasphemy protest*, rather than Insulting religion, which function is to smooth the word and makes the reader considering that this case is light and do not need to make it so serious. Next is about the picture of the news headlines.

The picture shows some people wearing almost white color (Muslim protester) burning something and making turbulence while doing protest on the road. It shows that this media wants to present the bad side of Muslim protester.

"Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, also known as Ahok, <u>was accused by Islamic hardliners</u> of insulting their religion after he quoted a Quranic verse in a stump speech."

"__Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insult Islam or the Quran, on November 4 around 200,000 people marched on the Presidential palace in Jakarta to call for his ouster__."

The verb used to explain Ahok's fault, *accused,* indicates that he is the victim of slander by Muslim people. It is because the word *accused* is a form of passivation, which means that there is a subject who does the verb and object who hit by the subject. In addition, this news also mentions about Ahok's apology and his intention toward insulting the Qur'anic verse. From the text mention, it shows that the writer of the news tries to expose about Ahok's good behavior which he already does something good by confessing his fault and ask Muslim people apologize even though he does not mean to insult Islamic religion. While, the word *on November 4 around 200.000 people marched on the Presidential palace in Jakarta to call for his ouster* means that Muslim people do not accept Ahok's apology but ask him to be fired as a Governor of Jakarta replacing Jokowi in 2014. All in all, from the language feature analysis, the researcher finds two division sides of the news. This news is seen to be pro's to Ahok and Cont.'s to Muslim.

Excluding the indications which are mentioned before, the other indications comes from the word choice provides in the news.

"At the rally, <u>an emotional supporter, wearing a Muslim headscarf,</u> joined him on stage."
"Don't step down from here, keep going," she urged the governor.

Supporters of different religious backgrounds said they will continue to back Ahok.
At a regular daily meeting with constituents Tuesday, 51-year-old Christian Sinjte
Kumendong said she will vote for him "because I see the changes he's made."
A group of women, wearing Muslim headscarves, chanted "we support you Pak
Ahok" at the event."

The data from CNN mentions that Ahok has many supporters who support

him in any condition and they believe that he is not certainly blundered. The sentence

an emotional supporter, wearing a Muslim headscarf indicates that the supporters are

from Muslim people. It means that some of Muslim people do not agree with Muslim

protesters who want Ahok to be fired as a Jakarta Governor in case of blasphemy

religion. Besides, CNN media also wants to prove that Ahok's supporters not only

come from Christian people, but also from several religions. It is seen from the

sentence *supporters of different religious backgrounds said they will continue to back*

Ahok. Finally, from the sentence *A group of women, wearing Muslim headscarves,*

chanted "we support you Pak Ahok" this sentence indicates that CNN wants to show

the stressing of word or sentence, mentioning two times or more, which means to

ensure the reader or society that Islam is one of religions which support Ahok in this

case.

"*Demonstrations against Ahok, organized in part by the Islamic Defenders Front -*
- an extremist group with a record of violence and intimidation -- turned ugly on
November 4 as protesters clashed with police."

On the other hand, after describing some good sides from Ahok, CNN

mentions the bad side of Islamic defender front. It tells that Islamic defender front has

record of violence and intimidation. From the noun used in the sentence *Islamic*

Defenders Front -- an [extremist group] *with a* [record of violence and intimidation] –

the word violence and intimidation are bad in character. Thus, it shows that CNN

wants to describe the bad side or bad description of Islamic Defenders Front which is

certainly a group of Muslim people.

The second level of analysis is about discourse practice. The first datum, **CNN**

online media, is contained a political practice in order to make the case of Blasphemy

religion by Ahok is just an ordinary case which occurred unintentionally.

It is seen through the words used by the writer of the news, such as, an extreme

defense toward Ahok by mentioning Ahok's apology and positioning him as a victim

trough the word *accused*.

While, when the writer mentions about Muslim people, the writer mostly used

some words that leaning to the bad action. For example, the writer provides a

headline picture which describes several Muslim marched doing something not

commendable, like burning some article and so on. In short, the discourse practice

seen from this news is about misappropriation of the description in explaining both

subject, Ahok and Muslim people.

The third level of analysis is about sociocultural practice. In this subchapter,

the writer explains how people or reader of the news reflect the content of whole

news. Generally, the discussion of discourse as social practice in all news are almost

same. They are all seems to make the society or the readers consider that what Muslim did is inappropriate in the case of accusing Ahok and rejecting his apology in blasphemy religion. Besides, the condition of Islamist marched also become worst which causing some people death and injured. These all are contrary to the Muslim behavior which supposed to be.

From the first datum, it seems to affect the people or readers of the news to consider that Ahok is not fully blundered toward the case. It is because he has apologized and confessed what he did is unintentional and there is no specific meaning to insult Islam religion. In addition, the presence of bad side about Muslim protester is contrary with real Muslim behavior. As a final point, the society or the readers of the news will have the same perspective with it.

2. Datum 2

Islamists March in Jakarta, Demanding Christian Governor Be Jailed

By JOE COCHRANENOV. 4, 2016

JAKARTA, Indonesia — Tens of thousands of Indonesians marched in Jakarta on Friday, demanding that the city's first Christian governor in decades be jailed for blasphemy. The rally was a show of strength by conservative Islamic groups, who were offended by his earlier remarks about the Quran and want to weaken him as he runs for re-election.

The governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, known as Ahok, is an ethnic Chinese Indonesian and the first Christian in nearly 50 years to govern Jakarta, capital of the world's most populous Muslim-majority nation.

He has been a political target of some Islamic organizations since taking office in 2014. Some of those groups seized on comments he made in September to a group of fishermen, in which he lightheartedly cited a Quran verse that warns against taking Christians and Jews as friends.

His comments circulated on social media, and hard-liners accused him of blasphemy, whih is a criminal offense in Indonesia, and pressured the police to investigate. Mr. Basuki has repeatedly apologized to Muslims who were offended by his remark, but he has rejected calls to withdraw from the election for governor in February, which he is heavily favored to win.

"There was no intention to insult religion," he told reporters this week. "I am sending my message to all offended Muslims: I sincerely apologize."

Fears of violence at the rally had prompted the closing of some schools and office buildings in central Jakarta, and thousands of police officers and soldiers barricaded roads as the protesters marched. The American and Australian Embassies had warned their citizens to stay away from the protest zone.

For most of the day there were no reports of arrests or significant violence, though some of the marchers chanted that Mr. Basuki should be killed. But after nightfall, some protesters clashed with the police and set fire to at least two vehicles. There were reports that at least one protester had died, but the authorities had not confirmed that as of Saturday morning.

Early Saturday, President Joko Widodo decried the violence and accused "political actors" of "exploiting the situation," according to Reuters. He later cancelled a visit to Australia that had been scheduled to begin Sunday.

Mr. Basuki, 50, the grandson of a tin miner from Guangzhou, China, has been a popular figure in Jakarta. Like Mr. Joko, who preceded him as governor before becoming president, he is very different from the soft-spoken Javanese politicians the capital is used to.

Brash and blunt-speaking, Mr. Basuki is known for publicly berating civil servants as incompetent and corrupt. Opinion polls indicate that he holds a large lead over his two opponents in the election for governor on Feb. 15.

If he wins, he would be the first ethnic Chinese Christian directly elected to the office, the most powerful provincial post in the country and one that Mr. Joko used as a springboard to the presidency. Mr. Basuki, who had been Mr. Joko's vice governor, inherited the city's top job when Mr. Joko became president in 2014.

Indonesians practice a pluralistic brand of Islam, though pockets of the country are rigidly conservative and there are periodic outbreaks of violent radicalism. Political opponents have used Mr. Basuki's religion and his ethnicity against him, but polling indicates that most Jakarta voters do not consider them campaign issues.

Analysts said that Friday's march and other recent protests against Mr. Basuki were, nevertheless, attempts to weaken him ahead of the election. Analysts have also said that some of the Islamic groups that organized the march have ties to the campaigns of Mr. Basuki's two opponents, though the groups and the campaigns have denied that. His opponents are Anies Baswedan, a former minister of higher education, and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, a former Army officer and the son of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who was president from 2004 to 2014.

"Precisely because religion and ethnicity are as such not electoral factors, Ahok's opponents have to up the game," said Marcus Mietzner, an associate professor at the Australian National University in Canberra, who closely follows Indonesian politics. "Instead of claiming that Ahok shouldn't be governor because he's a Christian — which hasn't worked — they try to portray him as a blasphemist who violated the law."

The reason, said Bonar Tigor Naipospos, vice chairman of the Setara Institute, a Jakarta organization that promotes religious tolerance, is simple but desperate: an effort to force the governor out of the race, which will go to a second round if none of the three candidates gets 50 percent of the vote.

"They know that Ahok is still strong and can easily get into the second round, while the others are far less certain," he said. "So they think they will be safer if Ahok is defeated, or they hope he will be put in jail and not be able to run."

Protesters passing the governor's office in Jakarta on Friday. Credit Goh Chai Hin/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

The police have questioned Mr. Basuki about his September comments, but analysts saw that primarily as an attempt to mollify his Islamist critics.

Protesters on Friday, many of whom had arrived in groups from neighboring West Java, chanted, "Hang Ahok, hang the traitor," and, "Cut off a hand and foot and deport him."

Mr. Basuki had faced protests because of his Christianity, notably before his swearing-in, and he responded with a mixture of good humor and taunts. When Islamists threatened two years ago to storm his offices at City Hall, he assured them that they would be arrested if they did so.

Though Chinese-Indonesians make up just over 1 percent of Indonesia's population, they have tended to wield economic clout beyond their numbers, which has often led to resentment. For decades, they were subjected to discriminatory laws and regulations, and more than a thousand people were killed in anti-Chinese rioting in 1998, mostly in Jakarta, amid protests against then-President Suharto's authoritarian rule.

Mr. Basuki has been lauded for expanding populist programs in Jakarta initiated by Mr. Joko. He has fast-tracked infrastructure projects, including a mass-transit system; dispatched a small army of orange-clad street sweepers to spruce up the city of more than 10 million; and instituted a "smart card" program to subsidize health care and education for the poor. His main re-election slogan is the Indonesian word for work, "Kerja!"

Last year, Mr. Basuki threatened to buck Indonesia's political system by running as an independent, after a grass-roots volunteer organization collected more than a million signatures in a petition drive enabling him to do so. But in the end, he stayed with Mr. Joko's governing Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle, the largest political party in the country.

Supporters of Mr. Basuki expressed confidence on Friday that the show of outrage over his remarks would not hurt his chances in February.

"We're not worried about the protests," said Richard Saerang, a leader the grass-roots organization Teman Ahok, or "Friends of Ahok."

"We believe our criminal justice system will handle the case fairly – he did nothing wrong," Mr. Saerang said. "It's just a matter of perspective."

The second textual analysis comes from online media, *The New York Times*.

From the researcher's perspective, this media also provides some indications which

indicates pro's and cont.'s of the subject. It is seen from the adjective used to explain

Ahok and Muslim people.

"Tens of thousands of Indonesians marched in Jakarta on Friday, demanding that the city's first Christian governor in decades be jailed for blasphemy. The rally was a show of strength by conservative Islamic groups, who were offended by his earlier remarks about the Quran and want to weaken him as he runs for re-election."

Firstly, the vocab used to explain the Islamic protester is the verb *demand.*

The word *demand* means insist, command, require or claim. It is used to show that

Islamic protester really need or asking very deeply to jail Ahok as his fault in

blasphemy religion. Secondly, the word *offended* is an exaggeration word to perceive

Ahok's *remark* about the Qur'an. In fact, Ahok not only remarks about Qur'an but also insult it through his speech in Bangka Belitung, an island in Indonesia. Then, the word *offended* is appropriate if it meets with the word insult, not remark.

"He (Ahok) has been a political target of some Islamic organizations since taking office in 2014. Some of those groups seized on comments he made in September to a group of fishermen, in which he lightheartedly cited a Quran verse that warns against taking Christians and Jews as friends."

"Indonesians practice a pluralistic brand of Islam, though pockets of the country are rigidly conservative and there are periodic outbreaks of violent radicalism. Political opponents have used Mr. Basuki's religion and his ethnicity against him, but polling indicates that most Jakarta voters do not consider them campaign issues."

From the word "He has been a political target of some Islamic organizations since taking office in 2014", it is seen that this media wants to show that Ahok is protested not only by case of blasphemy religion, but also in case of politic (being a governor of Jakarta). The explanation above, also supported in some content which generally explain that Ahok is inappropriate to be the governor of Jakarta because of his religion and ethnic. Besides, in the next content, this news used the adverb *Lightheartedly* in explaining the condition of Ahok while citing a Qur'an verse, which function is to show the readers that he is not really blundered, because he does not have a bad aim for citing it. This word choice indicates that NYT (New York Times) wants to explain to the readers or society that what Ahok does is accidentally and must not be a big deal.

"His comments circulated on social media, and hard-liners <u>accused</u> him of blasphemy, which is a criminal offense in Indonesia, and pressured the police to investigate. <u>Mr. Basuki has repeatedly apologized to Muslims</u> who were offended by his remark, but he has rejected calls to withdraw from the election for governor in February, which he is heavily favored to win."

Besides, the same indications with the first datum, this media also mentions that Ahok has repeatedly apologized, but Muslim people ignore it. The verb *accused* also shown in this news which indicates that Ahok just a victim of political target of some Islamic organizations since taking office in 2014. It is because the word *accused* is a form of passivation, which means that there is a subject who does the verb and object who hit by the subject. Here, Ahok is an object of the word accused and the subject is Muslim people. From all indications which mentions above, seems that this media wants to show the good side of Ahok.

"<u>Fears of violence at the rally had prompted the closing of some schools and office buildings in central Jakarta, and thousands of police officers and soldiers barricaded roads as the protesters marched. The American and Australian Embassies had warned their citizens to stay away from the protest zone.</u>

For most of the day there were no reports of arrests or significant violence, though <u>some of the marchers chanted that Mr. Basuki should be killed. But after nightfall, some protesters clashed with the police and set fire to at least two vehicles. There were reports that at least one protester had died</u>, but the authorities had not confirmed that as of Saturday morning."

Conversely, this media seems to describe Muslim people as a bad group. It seen from the adverb used to depict the condition of Muslim protest. The first is that *fears of violence at the rally* which caused some school and office building stop their activities, also the embassy of America and Australia have warned their citizens to

stay away from the Islamist marched. From these explanations, can be described about how dangerous the Muslim protest 4th of November 2016. In addition, NYT (New York Times) also describes the condition of Islamist marched there, using verb *chant,* that they want Ahok to be killed and again, its describe that there is a violence which caused the death and bruise. All in all, this media seems to give a bad description of Islamist marched toward blasphemy religion than to show the good things of it.

The second model of analysis is about discourse and practice. The discourse practice which is found in this media is not so different as the first datum. It is because this media also has a political practice which presented as same as CNN.

It seems from the content that the media wants to build the reader's though to believe that Ahok is a victim of the case of blasphemy religion. The media believes that there is a political issue in case of blasphemy religion in order to kick Ahok off to be the representative of Jakarta's governor in 2017.

Then, the media tells the bad side of Muslim marched by explaining the condition of Islamist marched such as fears of violence which causing some schools and office buildings to be closed. In addition, the media also explaining the confusion occurs in the protest zone which causing at least one protester has died.

The similarity of this media with CNN is seen from the word *accused* and *apology* which positioning Ahok as a victim of Muslim people by accusing him and rejecting his apology through the protest conducted by them. Briefly, the discourse practice which is found on this media is same as the first media analyzed, it is about misappropriation of description through the content of both subjects, Ahok and Muslim protester.

The last model of analysis is about sociocultural practice. As same as the first datum, the second datum also has the same sociocultural practice with it. This media mentions a good behavior of Ahok which he has apology toward his fault citing the Qur'anic verse lightheartedly, then mentioning bad behavior of Muslim in accusing Ahok and rejecting his apology which cause the society or the readers of the news blaming Muslim people for it. In addition, this media seems to steer the reader's though that there are some political actors who take the advantages through the case, then build the reader's though to think that there is a specific intention about politic behind the protest.

3. Datum 3

Indonesian president blames 'political actors' for stoking Jakarta blasphemy protests

Joko Widodo calls for calm after big demonstration against Christian governor of Jakarta accused of insulting Qur'an

https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/nov/05/indonesian-president-blames-political-actors-for-stoking-jakarta-blasphemy-protests - img-1Saturday 5 November 2016 04.00 GMT Last modified on Saturday 5 November 2016 13.39 GMT

Indonesian president Joko Widodo lashed out at politicians for stoking a huge protest that briefly turned violent on Friday night as a hardcore group pressed for the resignation of Jakarta's governor, a Christian accused of insulting the Qur'an.

The first ethnic Chinese politician to lead this sprawling city of 10 million people, Basuki Tjahja Purnama is standing for re-election in February, competing with two Muslim candidates for the job.

The governorship of the capital is a powerful position and was a stepping stone for Joko Widodo to the presidency two years ago.

At a news conference in the early hours of Saturday, Widodo called for calm and took a swipe at politicians – whom he didn't name – for whipping up demonstrators after most had already gone home.

"We deplore the incident after the Isha prayers, when should have already disbanded but became violent. And, we see this was steered by political actors who were exploiting the situation," Widodo said.

During the protest police fired tear gas and water cannon to subdue the crowd that authorities said swelled to about 150,000 after Friday prayers as they congregated around the presidential palace.

Some protesters threw rocks at the police, two vehicles were torched and a fire broke out near the city's national monument, but by the evening the demonstration was fizzling out.

However, in a northern neighbourhood of the city there was a late-night clash between police and a few dozen protesters, and social media reports showed a convenience store being looted.

Hundreds camped out until around four in the morning beside the parliament building, demanding Purnama be charged with blasphemy.

A police spokesman said one person died and 12 were hurt. Local media said about 23 people were arrested, most of them in the north, where overnight police guarded shopping and residential areas that are home to predominantly non-Muslims.

About a dozen Muslim groups have accused Purnama of insulting Islam after he said his opponents had used a verse from the Qur'an to deceive voters. The verse implies that Muslims should not choose non-Muslims as leaders.

Chanting "God is greatest", many in Friday's protest waved placards calling for Purnama, popularly known as Ahok, to be jailed for blasphemy. A white banner hung at an overpass was painted with red letters that read "Hang Ahok here".

Police are investigating the case against Purnama, who has apologised for his remarks, insisting he was not criticising the Qur'anic verse but those who used it to attack him.

Purnama has a reputation as a no-nonsense reformer with little patience for the corruption widely blamed for the chaos and dilapidated infrastructure in an overcrowded city.

He remains popular despite efforts by Muslim groups to vilify him and is seen as the frontrunner in the election, though many voters are angry with him for evicting large numbers from slums to modernise Jakarta.

Widodo, a Muslim, has vowed not to interfere in any legal proceedings against Purnama, according to media reports. But he said at his news conference that any legal process involving Purnama would be executed "swiftly, firmly and transparently".

Indonesia is the world's most populous Muslim country, but protests on such a large scale are rare. Ethnic Chinese make up just over one per cent of the country's 250 million people, and they typically do not enter politics.

Indonesian Chinese have faced persecution and violence in the past, especially during the political and social turmoil that gripped Jakarta when former president Suharto was toppled.

On Saturday Widodo cancelled a planned three-day visit to Australia, citing the security situation in Jakarta.

The last datum of textual analysis is from online media, *The Guardian*.

Generally, this media seems to be neutral, not to be pro or cont. toward the subject of

the news. Moreover, this media explains about Indonesian president, Jokowi, about his statement blaming the political actor in the case of Islamist marched.

"Indonesian president blames <u>'political actors'</u> for stoking Jakarta blasphemy protests "

"We deplore the incident after the Isha prayers, when should have already disbanded but became violent<u>. And, we see this was steered by political actors who were exploiting the situation,</u>" Widodo said.

The title of this news mentions about *political actors,* but it does not mention *who* are the agents behind the word *political actors.* The explanation also supported by Jokowi's statement which explain that this case is steered by political actors. It indicates that this news just wants to make a diversion issue in order to appease the case of blasphemy religion by Ahok. It is called neutral, because *political actors* definitely back to functionary who related to politic. So, it is not about religion issue anymore, but in case of politic.

The other textual analysis comes from some sentences which indicates that this media, as same as both media mentions before, attempts to show some good sides of Basuki Cahaya Purnama or usually called Ahok.

"<u>About a dozen Muslim groups have accused Purnama of insulting Islam</u> after he said his opponents had used a verse from the Qur'an to deceive voters. The verse implies that Muslims should not choose non-Muslims as leaders."

"Police are investigating the case against <u>Purnama, who has apologised for his remarks,</u> insisting he was not criticising the Qur'anic verse but those who used it to attack him."

Like what the writer discusses in the two media before, this media also mentioning word *accused* and *apology*. It is because the word *accused* is a form of passivation, which means that there is a subject who does the verb and object who hit by the subject. In this case, Ahok is called a victim of Muslim people because he as an object and Muslim people as a subject of the word *accused*. In addition, this news also mentions about Ahok's apology and his intention toward insulting the Qur'anic verse which is rejected by Muslim people. By then, this word indicates that, Ahok has a good manner by asking an apology when he feels that he does wrong, in contrary, Muslim people describes has a bad manner, through ignoring Ahok's apology.

"Some protesters threw rocks at the police, two vehicles were torched and a fire broke out near the city's national monument, but by the evening the demonstration was fizzling out."

"A police spokesman said one person died and 12 were hurt. Local media said about 23 people were arrested, most of them in the north, where overnight police guarded shopping and residential areas that are home to predominantly non-Muslims."

Apart from the analysis which are mentioned before, this media also provides some description about Muslim protester trough the sentence which explaining the condition of Islamist marched and the effect of it such as in explaining that Islamist marched are insolent people. It is seen from their text which mentions that Muslim protesters throw the rocks and makes the condition worst by the evidence that there is one of them being killed and some of them are injured. In conclusion, this media

wants to show how worst the condition of Islamist marched in the case of blasphemy religion.

The last datum about discourse practice comes from *The Guardian* online media. Even though this media's writing seems to be neutral, because it does not blame both subject (Ahok and Muslim people), but it is still having a political practice through the content of the news.

First, the media provides a president's opinion toward the case of blasphemy religion by Ahok. He explains that Ahok is not fully blundered in this case, but, there are some political actors, who are not mentioned, which make the case becomes serious. On the other hand, as same as both of the data which are mentioned before,

The Guardian also mentioning the good side of Ahok and the bad side of Muslim protester. It is seen from the word," About *a dozen Muslim groups have accused Purnama of insulting Islam"* and "*Purnama, who has apologised for his remarks"* Here, the writer tries to explain that what Ahok did is not unintentional and there is not any specific purpose to insult another religion.

On the other hand, this media mentions the bad side of Muslim people by explaining the case of the Muslim protester which becomes worst, such as throwing some rocks, burning materials, and so on which causing some people death and injured.

In contrary, the last datum has a little difference between two media which are mentioned before. The sociocultural practice found in this media is that making society or the readers of the news to be neutral and not to blame both Ahok or Muslim protester, but considering the political actors who makes this case being seriously.

From the findings, it can be explored that there are some commonalities and individual differences from the three-online media selected (CNN, New York Times and The Guardian). From the textual analysis of the three-online media selected, the commonalities are seen from the use of word *accused* and *apologize* which found in each media in order to show that Ahok is not culpable yet in this case. It is proven by using both of words it causes the thought of the readers or society to think about the good side of Ahok as a victim from the word *accused,* and the bad side of Muslim people as a subject from the word *accused* also for their behavior rejecting Ahok's *apology.* In addition, apart from the two words mentioned, all the media-selected provides several good side from Ahok and bad side of Muslim protester trough the adjective, noun and verb mentioned before in order to shape the thought of the reader how's the turbulence occurs because of Islamist marched. Besides, the individual differences of the three-news selected are seen from the title of them. The first media is from CNN which begins with noun *blasphemy protest,* where its indicates that the writer wants hide both subject and object of the news. Second is from NYT which shows the subject of the news trough the title begins with *Islamists march in Jakarta,*

demanding Christian governor be jailed. its title shows that the writer wants to blame Muslim people through the word Islamist march as subject and Christian governor as object which is not mentioned 'who' in the title. The last is from The Guardian news which begins the title with subject, *Indonesian president,* who is not the agent of this case in order to ease the case of insulting religion by Ahok, and make it seems to be neutral in reporting this news.

The commonalities and individual differences from discourse practice, it seems that they are containing a political practice in order to build the reader's though that Ahok is just a victim of some political actors who want him to retreat from being representative of Jakarta's governor 2017. In addition, all media also mention the good side for Ahok and bad side for Muslim protester to support the political practice which is existed in the news. While, the individual differences are seen in their techniques (sentences) in conveying their political practice.

Finally, the researcher explains about the commonalities and individual differences from the sociocultural analysis of the three-online media selected. The commonalities of this aspect is making the society's though to not just blaming Ahok as a blasphemy religion, but also considering the Muslim protesters toward their behavior and some political actors who are exploiting the condition related to next governor of Jakarta city. While, the individual differences of the three news are the

way of presenting their perspective in order to be accepted by the society which is seen from the content of the news.

3.2 Discussions

The aim of this sub chapter is to sum up the findings and relate it to the theories existed. There are three ways of analysis model which must be discussed in this discussion in order to answer the research question. First, it deals with the textual analysis exists in the three news about Jakarta protest 4th of November 2016. Second, it discusses about the discourse practice employs in the three news about Jakarta protest 4th of November 2016, and the last is how the sociocultural practice applied on the three-news selected. Then, by considering the three ways mentioned, Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, the textual analysis, discursive practice, and discourse as social practice, the answer for ideological representation of Indonesian Muslim protest which found on the three-online media is shown.

In case of the textual analysis in language features, according to Fairclough it discusses three aspects, those are, vocabulary, cohesion and the order of discourse. Texts are selected and organized syntactic forms whose "content-structure" reflect the ideological organization of a particular area of social life (Dellinger, 1995 in Bayram 2010). According to Dellinger, the text selected is reflected the ideological organization. From the textual analysis in finding, the researcher attempts to show that the use of passivation in the three-news selected is mostly significant in order to

show the victim without explaining the agent. In addition, the use of chosen word like good word for Ahok for example *Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insult Islam or the Quran* indicates that muslim people did not accept Ahok's apology and still want to punish him. On the other hand, the writers of the news mentions the bad side of Muslim people using bad word such as, *Islamic Defenders Front -- an [extremist group] with a [record of violence and intimidation] --* for Muslim protester seems that the writers of the news wants to convey that Muslim people are bad.

The distinction between the 'lifeworld' ('ordinary' conversation, informality) and the 'system' (institutions, the state, formality) can no longer be upheld, as both spheres now colonize each other and share common discourse practices. This can be observed in the process of 'conversationalization' (Fairclough, 1992), the modelling of formal written and spoken public discourse on informal, face-to-face talk. From this statement, the researcher attempts to show the discourse practice which is found in formal way (online media) to share the specific ideology. The discourse practice seen in the three news are a repentant representation of Muslim people toward the case of blasphemy religion. While, in contrary, the writers of the news provide some good actions of Ahok behaving blasphemy religion.

For the discussion of the ideological representation of Muslim people in the news, this study employs one concepts of Fairclough (1992) explaining the Discourse as Social Practice, hegemony. The discussion is started by discussing the

sociocultural practice which is seen in the three-news selected that builds the perception of Muslim people in society. As stated in Mayr (2008) CDA maintains that discourse – the use of language in speech and writing – should be regarded as a social practice. The discourse written in the three-news selected contains a social practice. It is found in each news in different production. It seems that CNN, NYT and The Guardian attempts to provoke the readers or the society to see this case in ordinary way and not taking seriously. It shows from the representation of Ahok and Muslim protester in the news. It shows that Muslim did something against the behavior which supposed to be. From this discussion, the researcher concludes that the three media almost have the same ideological representation, it is showing bad side of Muslim people in order to calm the mass to face the case of blasphemy religion.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter organize the conclusion and suggestion related with the finding and discussion before. It determines the finding that are discussed in the third chapter and provides some suggestions toward the next researcher and the reader of this writing.

4.1 Conclusion

From the textual analysis in finding, the researcher attempts to show that the use of passivation in the three-news selected is mostly significant in order to show the victim without explaining the agent. In addition, the use of chosen word like good word for Ahok for example *Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insult Islam or the Quran* indicates that Muslim people did not accept Ahok's apology and still want to punish him. On the other hand, the writers of the news mentions the bad side of Muslim people using bad word such as, *Islamic Defenders Front -- an extremist group with a record of violence and intimidation --* for Muslim protester seems that the writers of the news wants to convey that Muslim people are bad.

After analyzing the text, it shows that the discourse practice which contains in the news are; the writer uses the technique of mentioning the good and bad side of the subject of the news and a political practice found in order to make the case of

Blasphemy religion by Ahok is just an ordinary case which is occurred

unintentionally to calm the mass or Muslim people in order to make Ahok still can be

a representative in the next Jakarta's governor.

The last is about ideological representation which appears after analyzing the

last model of Fairclough's theory, sociocultural practice. It represents Indonesian

Muslim people who conducts the protest are describes as a bad behave in blasphemy

protest in each news. It shows that Muslim protesters is taking the case seriously and

describes as unwell behavior toward the case, such as not accepting Ahok's apology,

asking Ahok to be killed, burning some stuff while doing protest and etc. which are

really disobedient with Muslim behavior supposed to be. In short, the ideological

representation appears in the three-news selected is represent Muslim people as

unwell behave, while showing the good behave or of Ahok, the agent of blasphemy

religion.

4.2 Suggestion

For the readers it suggested to understand the discourse of online media

especially in news which contains of Muslim representation because the finding

shows that some online media attempts to construct an ideology trough the hegemony

inside the news. People also should understand that language used on online media,

especially in news is made to provoke the readers and to conceptualize readers" mind about the Muslim representation.

As explained in the discussion, critical discourse analysis is interesting to discuss because it gives deep understanding for the reader who intended to apply critical discourse analysis such in analyzing news, political speech and any others. It is suggested to the next researchers who are interested in investigating the same field of critical discourse analysis to fill the gap, to use the data which are taken from other genre of media like on television news. Therefore, they can conduct a new analysis on critical discourse analysis that is relevant with this research in their future analysis.

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APPENDIX

Summary of Data Analysis:

No.	Data	Textual Analysis	Discourse Practice	Sociocultural practice
1	CNN	- *Blasphemy protests* (function is to smooth the word and makes the reader considering that this case is light and do not need to make it so serious) - The picture shows some people wearing almost white color (Muslim protester) burning something and making turbulence while doing protest on the road. It shows that this media wants to present the bad side of Muslim protester. - *Ahok, was accused by Islamic hardliners* (passivation) - *Though Ahok has repeatedly apologized and said he did not intend to insult Islam or the Quran, on November 4*	- The discourse practice seen from this news is about misappropriation of the description in explaining both subject, Ahok and Muslim people.	- The presence of bad side about Muslim protester is contrary with real Muslim behavior

		around 200,000 people marched on the Presidential palace in Jakarta to call for his ouster. (explaining the condition while citing the qur'anic verse and after it) - *an emotional supporter, wearing a Muslim headscarf.* - *Supporters of different religious backgrounds said they will continue to back Ahok.* - *A group of women, wearing Muslim headscarves, chanted "we support you Pak Ahok.* (showing the supporters of Ahok from several religions) - *Islamic Defenders Front -- an extremist group with a record of violence and intimidation* – (showing the bad side of Muslim people) -		

| 2 | The New York Times | *-Demanding* (The word *demand* means insist, command, require or claim. It is used to show that Islamic protester really need or asking very deeply to jail Ahok as his fault in blasphemy religion)
 - offended
 - remarks (the word *offended* is an exaggeration word to perceive Ahok's *remark* about the Qur'an. In fact, Ahok not only remarks about Qur'an but also insult it through his speech in Bangka Belitung, an island in Indonesia
 - He (Ahok) has been a political target of some Islamic organizations since taking office in 2014. (it is seen that this media wants to show that Ahok is protested not only by case of blasphemy religion, but also in case of politic (being a governor of Jakarta)) | -Briefly, the discourse practice which is found on this media is same as the first media analyzed, it is about misappropriation of description through the content of both subjects, Ahok and Muslim protester. | -Seems to make the society or the readers consider that what Muslim did is inappropriate in the case of accusing Ahok and rejecting his apology in blasphemy religion. Besides, the condition of Islamist marched also become worst which causing some people death and injured. These all are contrary to the Muslim behavior which supposed to be. |

| | | *- Political opponents have used Mr. Basuki's religion and his ethnicity against him, but polling indicates that most Jakarta voters do not consider them campaign issues."* *-he lightheartedly cited a Quran verse* (which function is to show the readers that he is not really blundered, because he does not have a bad aim for citing it.) *- hard-liners accused him of blasphemy* (passivation vocab as the first datum) *- Mr. Basuki has repeatedly apologized to Muslims* (as mentioned in the first datum) *- Fears of violence at the rally had prompted the closing of some schools and office buildings in central Jakarta, and thousands of police officers and soldiers barricaded roads as the* | | |

		protesters marched. The American and Australian Embassies had warned their citizens to stay away from the protest zone. *- some of the marchers chanted that Mr. Basuki should be killed. But after nightfall, some protesters clashed with the police and set fire to at least two vehicles. There were reports that at least one protester had died,* (shows the condition of Islamist marched and the bad side of Muslim people)		
3	The Guardian	*-Indonesian president blames 'political actors' for stoking Jakarta blasphemy protests* *- And, we see this was steered by political actors who were exploiting the situation,* (showing a diversion issue of blasphemy religion) *- About a dozen Muslim groups*	-provides a new diversion issue to calm the mass of blasphemy religion. -telling the bad side of Muslim people.	-build the thought of the readers or society to forget about blasphemy religion and consider about the political actors who worst the condition to reach their specific intention.

		have accused Purnama of insulting Islam - Purnama, who has apologised for his remarks (as same as the first and second data) -*Some protesters threw rocks at the police, two vehicles were torched and a fire broke out near the city's national monument - A police spokesman said one person died and 12 were hurt. Local media said about 23 people were arrested* (showing the condition of how bad the islamist marched conducted by Muslim people)		