

Framing Religious Blasphemy Issues By the Governor of DKI Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in the Contestation of Governor Election DKI

By Teti Sobari

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Abstract—Positivism approach has long mastered the scientific world in Indonesia, even in the study of the social sciences. However, seeing the development, the alternative approaches has gradually replaced this paradigm. Framing analysis is one of the alternative approaches that can be used to reveal the confidentiality of different media in revealing facts. Through framing analysis, it will be known who is controlling whom, who opposed who, where comrades and where the opponent, where patrons and where the client, who gains and who suffer, who oppresses and who is being oppressed and so on. Conclusions like these are highly obtainable because framing analysis is an art of creativity that allow freedom to interpret reality using theoretical-methodological and perform analysis of the various cases that have been published in newspapers and magazines in the country. To obtain the required data, researcher Using data collection techniques by doing news clippings about the responses by Media Indonesia and Sindo related to the Muslim reaction to the desecration of the Al-Maidah verse 51 by Governor DKI. The elected news clipping is then analyzed by researchers where the news already meets the criteria of framing and reasoning devices based on framing model analysis method of Murray Edelman. And the result of research by using method of framing analysis from Murray Edelman model is categorization, rubrication and address.

Keywords—mass media, framing analysis, categorization/classification

1. INTRODUCTION

Mass media is a means of experimentation of writers, especially journalists. through the mass media journalists put forward their ideas and views on social conditions that are being discussed by the public. the spearhead of the idea of journalists is the information and social conditions that occur and then packed into an interesting news. however, mass media are often the trigger of conflict in society because of different views. [1] suggests that mass media is one means of publication that can lead to interpretations from readers. Likewise [2], the mass media can be the trigger of the emergence of the reality of social relations inequality in society.

The contents of information in the mass media or newspapers can indicate a person's power in conveying his influence. The text often highlights who the actor is, and the reader and writer aspect are presented. its relevance to this is how the reader identifies and locates himself in the flow of the text. this condition affects how the text is understood

and produces a state there is a party that is considered legitimate and illegitimate [3].

Positivism approach has long mastered the scientific world in Indonesia, even in the study of the social sciences. However, seeing the development, the alternative approaches such as phenomenology, phenomenology, symbolic, post-colonial theory and so on has gradually replaced this paradigm [4].

Independency and objectivity are two keyword that become the reference in the claims of every journalist around the world. A journalist always says that he has acted objectively, balanced and not in favor of any interest except concern for the right of the people to know the truth [5].

Although independency and objectivity become the reference of every journalist, in fact we often get various news from the same event. Departing from a similar event, certain media proclaimed by way of highlighting certain sides or aspects, while other media twisted, minimized, even covered the side of the aspect. This all shows that behind the robe of greatness of independency and objectivity, a journalist keeps paradox, tragedy, and even irony.

Framing analysis is one of the alternative models of analysis that can uncover the secrets behind all media differences in disclosing facts. Through framing analysis will be known who controls who, who opposed whom, where is friends and where is opponents, where is patrons and which one is clients, who is benefited and who is being harmed, who is oppressed and who is being oppressed and so on. Such conclusions are most likely to be obtained because framing analysis is an art of creativity that has freedom in interpreting reality by using theoretical-methodological and analyzing the various cases that ever published in various newspapers and magazines in the country [5].

With this framing analysis we will know how Framing Newspapers Sindo and Media Indonesia preach about religious blasphemy issues committed by Jakarta Governor against Surat Al-Maidah verse 51. The purpose of this framing analysis so that the reader can understand and analyze the Sindo newspaper and Media Indonesia in framing the religious blasphemy especially against the letter of Al-Maidah verse 51 by the Governor of Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama when delivering an event to the public.

The rest of this paper is organized as follow: Section II describes the core materials. Section III describes the proposed method. Section IV presents the obtained results

and following by discussion. Finally, Section V concludes this work.

II. CORE MATERIALS

Basically, framing analysis is the latest version of the discourse analysis approach, especially for analyzing texts media. The idea of framing is firstly made by Beterson in [6]. Initially, frames are interpreted as conceptual structures or belief devices that organize political view, policy, and discourse, and which provides standard categories to appreciate reality. This concept was further developed by Goffman in 1974, which presupposes frames as strips of behavior that guide individuals in reading reality [6].

The news presented in the mass media will be framed in such a way as to meanings and interest. Flora in [7] tells the reality of the events that exist around us have been reconstructed of framed by the mass media based on ideology and interest. According to Edelman in Eriyanto [5] what we know about reality or about the world depends on how we frame and construct / interpret reality. The same reality may produce a different reality when reality is framed and constructed in a different way. He aligns framing as Categorization: Use of certain perspectives with the use of certain words that indicate how fact or reality is understood. Categorization in Edelman's view is an abstraction and function of the mind. Categorization helps humans to understand the diverse and irregularities of diversity into meaningful realities. In the other hand, categorization can also mean a simplification. A complex and dimensional reality is widely understood and emphasized on one side or dimension so that other dimensions of an event or fact become unfiltered. Therefore, categorizations are a means of how reality is understood and present in the minds of audiences. With alternate categories, meanings change even often radically. The change is not determined by a change of reality or event, but a change of mind abstraction that determines how reality is to be understood [5].

In addition to categorization, Edelman also mentions one important aspect of categorization in the news, that is Rubrication: how an event is categorized in a rubric. It must be understood as part of how facts are classified in certain categories. Events are categorized in a classification, not with any other classifications. Rubrication determines how events and phenomena should be explained. This rubrication can be a miscategorized, an event that should be categorized in one case, but entered in a certain rubric, eventually categorized in a certain dimension.

In addition to Rubrication, Edelman uses Classification / Categorical as a framing study. Classification relates to how an event is understood and communicated. Therefore, Edelman said that classification determines and influences political support or opposition. Classification determines and influences the audience's emotions when viewing events. This is because the classification/categorization focuses on one dimension, and the implications for the policy to be taken.

Due to the nature and fact that the work of the mass media is to tell the events, the entire media content is a constructed reality. The making of news in the media is

essentially nothing more than the preparation of realities to form a "story" [6]. The content of the media is essentially the result of the construction of reality of language as its basic device. While the language not only as a means of representing reality, but also means of determining what kind of relief will be created by the language of the reality. As a result, the mass media has an enormous opportunity to influence the meaning and picture that results from the constructed reality [6].

III. PROPOSED METHOD

This section presents the proposed method.

A. Collecting Technique and Data Analysis

The research methodology used is descriptive method; this method describes facts or data systematically and accurately. To obtain the necessary data, the researchers used data collection techniques by clipping news about the responses from Sindo and Media Indonesia newspapers regarding Muslims' reaction to the defamation of Al-Maidah verse 51 by the Governor of DKI. News Clipping that has been selected is then analyzed by the researcher, the news has also met the criteria of framing and reasoning devices based on framing model analysis of Murray Edelman. Therefore, the researcher uses the appropriate data collection techniques that are the library research and field work research through observation and documentation

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Case Study of Framing Analysis of Blasphemy issues by Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in contestation of DKI Jakarta Governor Election in Media Indonesia and Sindo. The issue of Blasphemy by the governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama is very warmly discussed by the public. This issue was raised especially ahead of the election campaign for Jakarta governor in February 2017. The issue of religious blasphemy by Basuki occurred when the Jakarta governor made a visit to *Pulau Seribu* in September 27. Ahok's speech during a working visit to Pramuka Island, *Pulau Seribu*, was then considered insulting to religion.

Ahok came to review the grouper cultivation empowerment program. According to him, the program will continue although he will no longer be elected governor in February 2017, so residents do not have to choose it solely just want the program continues. "It could be in your little heart, ladies and gentlemen not choosing me because being led by people used Al Maidah verse 51 and kind of that. That is you right. If you feel cannot choose me because afraid of going to hell, being fooled, oh It's okay, because it's your personal call," he said. (Bbc.com/Indonesia/paragraph 5th, number of 6 lines) Those words are the trigger for conflict between Muslims and Ahok supporters who in fact are nationalists. In this issue there are two opposing parties. First, the Islamic groups who think that Ahok has defamed Islam and should be punished. Second, the nationalist groups who think that the visit of Ahok to Kepulauan Seribu is the duty of the state, the words delivered by Ahok have little intention to mock Islam.

To assess how the media coverage of this case will be used framing analysis to find out how the media preaches and describe the event. This paper tries to answer whether there is a different political orientation shown by the media to the facts.

A. Frame Sindo: A Peaceful Demo Action Is A Form of Constitutional Majority Rejection Over Ahok Not With Sara.

Media Sindo lowers the issue of peaceful demonstrations by various Islamic organizations demanding that Ahok was punished. This can be seen from the news in the form of Sindo edition of Wednesday, November 23, 2016-11: 16 WIB, Edition 26-11, 3 December 2016. Monday, December 5, 2016-07: 55, Saturday, 11 February 2017-08: 40 WIB, February 11, edition of February 12, 2017, and Sindo's December 4, 2016 Action of a counter demo to further make trouble for the nation's Edition in Jakarta on November 4, 2016. The news report was reinforced by some observers such as Voxpol Center Executive Director Pangi Syarwi Chaniago, Society for Humanity and Justice (Humanika).

Categorization: Suspicious-Slander. In view of Sindo, the demonstration by various Islamic mass organizations is something that should not be suspected, because the intention of the demonstration is protested government so that the person who has denounced religion is immediately detained and processed to court, regardless of whether he is an ordinary citizen or an official. The action highlighted the handling of the blasphemy case with the Jakarta Governor i.e. Ahok as the suspect and not detain even though he has been designated as a suspect. This can be seen from the excerpts from news reporting Sindo November 23, 2016 paragraph 5.

Another important theme of Sindo's news is the counter-action conducted by Ahok supporters, both by Ahok's political parties and pro-Ahok's corporate leaders under the pretext of pro-diversity. In this demonstration there is a mobilization of civil servants to implement a counter demo.

Reports on Sindo Newspaper are generally discussed about the demonstrations conducted by Muslims as a medium of communication between citizens and their leaders, no need for being suspicious, especially about what the government done against its citizens. At least there will be some negative impacts if we defend the situation of fighting action as it appears lately.

Pertama, adu tanding aksi akan mengeraskan masalah identitas di masyarakat. *Kedua*, adu tanding akan menebalkan rasa saling curiga di masyarakat. Kecurigaan seperti ini tentu akan sangat merugikan karena dengan sendirinya memecah persatuan bangsa. *Ketiga*, saling fitnah kian gencar. Entah bagaimana ceritanya, akhirnya terjadi saling fitnah di dalam masyarakat yang kian mengeras identitasnya ini. Tak ayal kondisi saling tidak percaya ini dimanfaatkan oleh kelompok-kelompok yang berusaha mengail di air keruh demi kepentingan pribadi dan kelompoknya. *Keempat*, saling mengecilkan dan merendahkan orang lain untuk meninggikan posisi diri sendiri dan kelompok. *Kelima*, menghabiskan energi hanya untuk saling gontok-gontokan. Akhirnya kita pun lupa bangsa yang sedang menghadapi perlambatan ekonomi ini tidak juga maju [8].

First, the counter action will tighten the issue of identity in society. Second, the duel rival action throws a sense of mutual suspicion of the community. Suspicions like this would be very harmful because by itself breaking the unity of the nation. Third, mutual slanders are increasingly vigorous. Somehow the story, finally happened mutual slander in a society that increasingly harden this identity. No doubt these mutual distrust is being used by groups that try to fish for murky waters for their personal and group interests. Fourth, mutual and degrading others to elevate the position of self and group. Fifth, spend energy just to be mutually molted. Finally we forget that the nation that is facing the economic slowdown is not also advanced [9].

B. Frame of Media Indonesia: Ahok Issues Menista Islamic Religion Is Part Of The Efforts To Fight Ahok Of Jakarta Governor's Contestation

Media Indonesia down the issue of the demonstration of Muslims in the case of blasphemy alleged to the Governor of Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama in some reports titled him entitled *Ibadah Super Damai* (3/11/2016) reinforced by other several headers such as *Damai Tanpa Makar* on December 11 2016 and two news titled *Kasus Penistaan Agama Disebut untuk menjegal Ahok dalam Pilkada DKI* (11/12/2016) and news titled *Intoleransi Akar Terorisme* Monday, December 12, 2016. And to address the wave of demos Media Indonesia Muslims lowered the headline entitled *Pantang Takluk Hadapi Tekanan* (17/11/2017). The following will discuss how the tendency of Media Indonesia in preaching the issue.

Categorization: Overrated - Legal Process. In Media Indonesia's view, maintaining and caring for Indonesia is a sacred duty of all citizens, especially formal and informal leaders. *Super Damai* demonstrations conducted by Muslims must be addressed properly. Moreover, *Super Damai* action was done with the Shared Prayer event. There are gathered millions that people who are guided by the Kyai, Habib, Asatid, Santri and Public. Sacred and sincere worship should not be polluted by all sorts of things. Media Indonesia captures it on December 2, 2016, paragraphs 6-8 [10].

The case of religious defamation by Ahok has political nuance. This can be seen that some political elites who do not want Ahok to advance again in the contestation elections of DKI Jakarta Governor. This is reinforced by some political observers who say Ahok will be defeated by the politicization of religion not by performance, as reported by Media Indonesia 23/11/2016 edition [11].

To counter the growing strength of issues Basuki Tjahaja Purnama who has tarnished the Religion of Islam, then Media Indonesia using the rhetoric about Islam is Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin. The Prophet taught the attitude of tolerance and the Prophet Muhammad did not teach the attitude of intolerance. Intolerance is an attitude that does not value differences. Such an attitude, if not muted, can culminate in the act of attacking different groups. Attacks on different groups are clearly terror. Therefore, it is not wrong to call intolerance is the root of terrorism and terrorism is the peak of intolerance. To establish tolerance is to root out terrorism.

This is shown in Editorial Media Indonesia edition 17/1/2017 paragraphs 5-7.

The aroma of coercion of strong will is felt in several demonstrations held lately. The group of protesters seemed to be on the wind when the country took a compromising stance, even there is an impression that the country was relented or deliberately relent. The impression that the state is giving up must be stopped. It must be asserted that the state should not be subject, moreover relent, to the mass politics mobilization. For that reason, a regulation must be followed in connection with the demonstration. Regulation must be obeyed by protesters, also obeyed by law enforcement officers to maintain order and sense of comfort. The more democratic a nation, the higher the demands on order and comfort.

In summary, Tables I, II and III describes the categorized pattern from Sindo and Media Indonesia.

TABLE I. SINDO'S CATEGORIZATION PATTERN

Our Side	Their Side
Obedient	Suspicious
Can be Trusted	Slander

TABLE II. MEDIA INDONESIA'S CATEGORIZATION PATTERN

Pihak Kita Our Side	Their Side Pihak Mereka
Law-Abiding	Intimidation
Tolerance	Intolerance

TABLE III. SINDO VS MEDIA INDONESIA

Element	Sindo	Media Indonesia
Frame	The issue of peaceful demonstration is a form of rejection of constitutional majority of Ahok's actions not because of sara	Ahok's issue of blaspheming Islam is part of attempt to stoke Ahok from Jakarta governor contestation
Pihak Kita	Taat Obidient - can be trusted	Law Abiding-Tolerance
Pihak Mereka	Suspicious - slanders	Intimidation - Intolerance

V. CONCLUSION

In the issue of Islamic blasphemy against the letter of Al-Maidah verse 51 by Ahok, there are two groups that cross each other. First is an Islamic group who thinks that Ahok has tarnished Islam. He is offending the feelings of Muslims because Ahok does not deserve to interpret Surat Al-Maidah Verse 51 according to his will. Ahok's interpretation of Al-Maidah verse 51 is merely a tool to dissuade him from governor in a place where most Muslims are wrong, and the unreliableness of Ahok's words must be resisted. Secondly, there is a nationalist group and some moderate religious considers that there is nothing wrong with Ahok's words. Ahok's words are directed only to politicians who always use the Qur'anic verses to prevent him from becoming governor, whereas the Law expressly states that anyone has the right to be governor if he is capable and supported by the people. The law does not question any religion. If he is an Indonesian citizen he is entitled to be elected and elect, and there is no need for religious politicization. Each side claims certain truths to convince the audience that its views are the most correct and most rational.

If we pay attention, both are doing categorization war. Essentially each group uses certain categories or symbols to emphasize that they are in the right group, while the other group is on the wrong side. The step taken by Muslims to counter their rhetoric is to create a new categorization of Ahok's supporters namely "Tukang Curiga-fitnah (suspicious-slender)". When Islam becomes a leader there is no need to be suspected or moreover called as *makar*, because in history it turns out that Islam is the glue of unity of the Indonesia, the guardian of diversity, law and Islam can be trusted to lead the nation, do not even suspected and slandered that if Islam leads there will be Intolerance, radicalism, terrorism and others that have always been stigmatized by the enemies of Islam.

The illustration above shows how reality is understood by the media by using certain categorizations. This categorization not only functions as an identity, but also as a differentiator: we are like this, they are like that. They are bad and we are good. Which categorization used is not only the pointer, but also the political and ideological position. Media that had a certain frame using a certain category, other media will use and choose another category. Which category is used to describes how the event is understood, and directed to certain trends?

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