

# The Representation of Power in the Text News on the Meiliana Case (A Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis)

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**Abstract** — *This paper presents the results of news text analysis about The Meiliana Case: How a noise complaint resulted in an 18-month jail sentence by using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis approach as a major theory. The study includes a description (text analysis), interpretation (discourse practices), and the explanation (social practices). The results are as follows. (1) Structure of news text analysis about The Meiliana Case was built by four units of discourse: the headline, orientation, sequence of events, closing. The positive ideology of the conflicting sides and the institutions (government, experts) are represented through the modalities and positive sentences. Meanwhile, negative ideology is represented by prohibition speech and negative sentences. (2) The events of what happened, who was involved, what is the relationship with the issues raised, and the role of language can be expressed through the interpretation of the discourse practices. (3) The situation when the news text was produced, the influence of the institution (conflicting sides involved) to the text produced, and the condition of the people of Tanjungbalai, North Sumatra related to economic, political, social, and cultural interests; all of them can be explained by their socio-cultural context.*

**Keywords:** *Representation of Power, Tanjungbalai, Meiliana, Critical Discourse Analysis, News Texts.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

An Indonesian court sentenced a Buddhist woman to 18 months in prison for blasphemy on Tuesday 21st August 2018, after she was accused of insulting Islam for complaining that a neighborhood mosque was too loud. Meiliana, a 44-year old ethnic Chinese Buddhist had complained that the Muslim call to prayer, repeated five times a day, was being played too loudly at the mosque near her house in North Sumatra. "She had said something that insulted religion, in this case Islam," said Jamaluddin, spokesman of the Medan district court, adding the defendant had "showed remorse and apologized". Knowing these political activists have said the country's stringent blasphemy laws is being used to bully minorities and violate religious freedoms.

There are hundreds of thousands of mosques across the vast archipelago and most use loudspeakers to play the 'azan' or call to prayer, which lasts a few minutes. But many also play lengthy versions of prayers or sermons lasting over 30 minutes, which has been deemed unnecessary by the Indonesian Mosque Council. Meiliana's lawyer, Ranto Sibarani, said they would appeal the verdict, according to The Jakarta Post (21/08/2018)

It is very interesting to investigate, how does the representation of power in the text of the news about Meiliana's 18-month sentence and how is the solution to the problem? Who is the people getting involved on the discourse the Meiliana case? The above questions are important in relation to the social realities that occur in society, and it is believed that critical discourse analysis is able to help "to reveal the problem" from the point of view of discourse analysis in terms of the text analysis, the discourse practices, and socio-cultural practices. For this reason, in the author's view, the right critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to reveal the problem is the Norman Fairclough CDA model (1989, 1995).

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This is a brief description of the characteristics of the Fairclough CDA approach and its analytical methods.

### A. Characteristics of Fairclough's CDA Model Approach

The Fairclough CDA approach assumes that language is an inseparable part of social life, interconnected with other elements in social life, so that discourse analysis must also consider issues outside of language. Discourse as a social practice, according to Fairclough (1989), has three implications: (1) discourse cannot be separated from society, (2) discourse is a social process, and (3) discourse processes in accordance with what is being conditioned in society.

The discourse is influenced by social conditions, and conversely social conditions are also influenced by the discourse. Based on these implications, Fauzan (2015) concludes that linguistic phenomena are social, while social phenomena are also linguistics. Linguistics is social because linguistics cannot be separated from the influence of its social environment at all. Social conditions are also linguistic because language activities in a social context and are not only a form of expression or reflection of social processes and practices, but they are also part of the social process and practice.

CDA characteristics, according to Fairclough (1989, 1995), are also supported by Van Dijk (1997, 2008), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Eriyanto (2001), Badara (2012), and Sumarlam (2015) consisting of actions, contexts, historical, power and ideology.

a. **Action.** Discourse is understood as an action, socialized as a form of interaction that has a purpose, expressed consciously, controlled, not something that is out of control or expressed outside of consciousness.

b. **Context.** CDA views language as a social practice, so Fairclough proposes or lies the social context as a very important part of CDA, and CDA itself is a link between text and social context. The context that needs to be considered in analyzing discourse is the context of social situations, social practices, and inter-textuality in the process of mutual (dialectical) interplay or interconnection between language and social. Van Dijk (2008) divides context into three major groups: settings, participants, and communication events. Discourse must be considered in the context of time and place of events, its relation to past and future events. The context of the participants shows who was involved in the event and their identity (community leaders, representatives of the people, etc.), their role in society, the power relations they have (community leaders, representatives of the people, etc.), the adopted ideology, the purpose of discourse, and knowledge.

c. **Historical context.** Historical context is important in CDA. When CDA places discourse in certain social contexts, it means that discourse is produced in certain contexts and is not understood without inserting the context surrounding it. CDA does not only find out when the event occurred, but also wanted to know more about why the event occurred. When the incident occurred, and other things surrounding the occurrence of the event were important aspects in the historical context.

d. **Power.** The context of power is one of the main differentiators between discourse analysis and CDA. According to Eriyanto (2001), any discourse that appears in the form of text, conversation, or whatever, is not seen as natural, natural, and neutral, but it is a form of power struggle (for example, male power over women, king's power over his subordinates).the power of legislative towards the executive, etc.). Therefore, CDA does not limit itself to the details of the text or discourse structure, but also relates it to certain social, political, economic and cultural strengths and conditions. In this case, the dominant group (which has power) makes it possible for other groups (who do not have power) to act according to what they want. Likewise, the strong will control the oppressed; the powerful regulate the controlled people, etc.

e. **Ideology.** CDA aims at revealing hidden ideologies in the use of language. Ideology is a central study in CDA. Eriyanto (2001) says that text, conversation, and others are forms of ideological practices or reflections of certain ideologies. According to Badara (2012) ideology has two opposing notions, positively and negatively. Positively, ideology is perceived as a worldview which states the value of certain social groups to defend and advance their interests. Negatively, ideology is seen as a false awareness, namely the need to commit fraud or deceiving people by reversing and manipulating people's understanding of social reality. Discourse is not understood as something neutral and takes place naturally because in every discourse ideology is always contained to dominate and seize influence to public awareness.

From the explanation above it can be understood that CDA does not only rely on a single approach, but is always multidisciplinary. CDA tries to expose ideology based on a positive self-portrayal strategy and a negative portrayal of others. Furthermore, this CDA study will focus on three analyzes, namely text analysis (description), analysis of discourse practices (interpretation), and analysis of socio-cultural practices (explanations). The three analyzes are presented as follows.

#### a. Text Analysis (Description)

The analysis at the level of text description focuses more on the use of language to track the themes proposed in the news that reflects ideology. The use of language includes the use of words, metaphors, and sentence structures used by text producers.

#### b. Analysis of Discourse Practices (Interpretation)

Analysis of discourse practices (the process of interpretation) is conducted by looking for the meaning of the relationship between the interpretation of the text and the interpretation of the context. Text interpretation is carried out in four levels: utterance, speech meaning, local coherence, and discourse integrity. At the level of utterance, the researcher identifies the use of words and sentences using phonological and grammatical knowledge. At the level of meaning (utterance), researchers identify utterances using semantic and pragmatic knowledge. At the level of local coherence, researchers identify the interrelationships between words and sentences

by using understanding of the use of cohesion. Furthermore, at the level of discourse integrity, researchers identify text globally using schemata.

### **c. Analysis of Socio-Cultural Practices (Explanation)**

Analysis of socio-cultural practices (explanations) is an analysis of the relationship between discourse practices and social context. This analysis aims to find an explanation of the results of interpretation at the level of description and level of interpretation. At this level, researchers analyze and explain the relationship between trends in the text, complexity in discourse practices, and also processes in social change.

At this stage, the researcher seeks an explanation of the results of the interpretation by referring to the socio-cultural conditions around the produced text. Socio-cultural conditions, according to Fairclough (1989), are divided into three parts: situational, institutional, and social. Situational is a unique situation when a text is created. Institutional is the influence of organizational institutions on the text produced. Social is the macro matters in society, such as the political system, economic system, or community culture.

## III. METHOD

The CDA framework developed by Fairclough (1989, 1995) is three-dimensional (three levels) consisting of text analysis, analysis of discourse practices, and analysis of socio-cultural practices. Text analysis includes three functions, representation functions, relations, and identities. Analysis of discourse practices is related to how to produce and consume text. Socio-cultural practices analyze three things, namely economics, politics (especially relating to issues of power and ideology), and culture (especially with regard to values and identities) which also affect media institutions and their discourses. The discussion of socio-cultural practices includes three levels, namely situational, institutional, and social levels. The situational level relates to production and the context of the situation. Institutional levels are related to the influence of institutions internally and externally. Social levels are related to more macro situations, such as political systems, economic systems, and the cultural system of society as a whole.

The methods developed include: (1) linguistic descriptions of texts in terms of language, (2) interpretation of the relationship between the process of production and consumption of text with text (interpretation of intertextual relationships), and (3) explanation of the relationship between discursive processes (production and consumption of text) and socio-cultural processes. Thus, Fairclough's analysis is based on how to relate the text micro-to the community context at a macro level.

## IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section presents an analysis of news texts related to the Meiliana Case: How Complaints About the Voice of Mosque Azan Ends with 18 months in prison and other related parties, such as ministers, community leaders, NGO figures, people's representatives, and political experts, sociology, and law. Exposure begins with a description of the structure of the news text, the theme of the news text, the grammar of the news text, then followed by interpretation, and continued with explanation.

### **1. Description**

#### **a. Description of News Text Structure**

Structural analysis of news texts is related to the structure of rhetoric used by discourse involvement in communication events which generally uses a structured rhetorical pattern, beginning with orientation, followed by the speech core (sequence of events), then ending with a closing; or briefly the news rhetoric consists of the opening, content and closing sections (Sumarlan, 2013, 2015). Thus, the structure of the rhetoric displays the pattern of composing text that is presented in the preparation of the opening, core, and closing parts, and provides guidance on the purpose of a text produced, and gives the direction why the text is produced.

This study shows that the structure of news texts on ministers, community leaders, representatives of the people, consists of four discourse units, namely the news headline, orientation, sequence of events, and closing. The following is an example of a news text (4) in news.okezone.com., (Friday, 08/24/2018) entitled " Vonis 18 Bulan Bui untuk Meiliana Dinilai Cederai Rasa Keadilan" or "18-Month Sentence for Meiliana Assessed for a sense of Justice". The construction of the text built by the four units of discourse has different functions and forms a single type of text, namely the news text.

*The first unit*, the title, serves to show important events that occur. This section determines whether or not an event is appointed to be news. The news text must present interesting, important, and phenomenal information. The more controversial, the more viable the news is to be exposed. *The second unit*, orientation, is the part that introduces the essence of the events being reported. In this case, the essence of the event was the occurrence of a Grievance incident about the loud voice of the mosque's call to prayer by Meiliana, a Buddhist woman in Tanjungbalai, North Sumatra who ended with an 18-month sentence.

*The third discourse unit*, sequence of events, becomes the most important part of the news text because it is this part that describes in its entirety and the details of the main events that occur. This section includes participants of the event, time and place of occurrence of the event. This section also contains sources of supporting information, which can be in the form of interviews, quotes from sources, or visual images that support information about the events reported. In the text (4) there is a quote from an expert from PSI (Indonesian Solidarity Center) named HM Guntur Romli, "Keputusan pengadilan tersebut mencederai rasa keadilan dan kemanusiaan or "The court's decision hurts the sense of justice and humanity." PSI agreed that in Indonesia, deliberate humiliation of religion, let alone what was intentionally done to incite hatred and hostility between religious believers, must be banned. But in the Meiliana case, according to him, it was very difficult it was accepted the argument that what was done by Meiliana's mother was something that insulted or desecrated religion. Mother Meiliana only compared the sound of loudspeakers from the mosque

which she thought was louder than before. That of course was not an insult or desecration. Complaining the sound of the loudspeaker does not mean complaining about the call to prayer (Friday, 08/24/2018, news.okezone.com)

*The fourth discourse unit*, the closing, serves to close the delivery of information to the events that occurred. For example, one text of the news closes with an appeal, suggestion, or input as follows: "PSI berharap pengajuan banding yang dilakukan tim penasihat hukum Meiliana dapat dikabulkan oleh pengadilan tinggi dan Ibu Meiliana dapat dilepaskan dari tahanan sampai turun keputusan hukum yang bersifat tetap dan mengikat," or "PSI hopes that an appeal made by a Meiliana legal advisor team can be granted by the high court and Ms. Meiliana can be released from detention until a permanent legal decision," said Guntur Romli. (Friday, 08/24/2018, news.okezone.com)

### **b. News Text Themes**

From the search results on the media (internet), found 8 news texts from 8 Online Media sources related to the Meiliana Case: *How Complaints about the Sounds of the Azan Mosque End with 18 months in prison*. The main theme raised by the Meiliana Case: How Complaints about the sound of the mosque's call to prayer ends with an 18-month prison sentence with several development sub-themes. The theme / sub-theme referred to, chronologically based on the reporting time, as follows.

1. Vonis 18 Bulan Penjara untuk Meiliana: Satu Lagi Preseden Buruk Pasal Penistaan Agama dan Rumusan RKUHP Justru Memperburuk. **English Translation:** Sentenced to 18 Months in Prison for Meiliana: Another Bad Precedent Article of Blasphemy and the RKUHP Formulation Even Exacerbates (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 - icjr.or.id)
2. NU dan ICJR Kecam Vonis 18 Bulan Penjara terhadap Perempuan yang Keluhkan Pengeras Suara Azan **English Translation:** NU and ICJR condemn 18 months in prison for women complaining about Azan loudspeakers (Thursday, 08/23/2018 / voaindonesia.com).
3. Kasus Penistaan Agama Meliana Divonis 18 Bulan, MUI: Kita Minta Semuanya Taat Hukum **English Translation:** The Blasphemy Case of Meliana Sentenced to 18 Months, MUI: We Request Everything to Obey the Law (Thursday, 08/23/2018, jawapos.com)
4. Vonis 18 Bulan Bui untuk Meiliana Dinilai Cederai Rasa Keadilan **English Translation:** 18-month sentence for Meiliana Assessed for a sense of justice (Friday, 08/24/2018/ news.okezone.com)
5. Orang Luar Tanjungbalai Agar Hormati Vonis Meliana **English Translation:** Tanjungbalai Outsiders to Respect Meliana's Verdict (Friday, 08/24/2018 North Sumatra Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) waspadamedan.com)
6. Wasekjen MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain: Hentikan Menyinggung Agama! **English Translation:** MUI Secretary General KH Tengku Zulkarnain: Stop Offending Religion! Friday, August 24 2018 Faktakini.com
7. Support flows in for Meiliana (Sabtu, 25/08/2018 thejakartapost.com).
8. Civil Society Groups Call for Law Revision After Buddhist Woman's Blasphemy Conviction (Sabtu, 25/08/2018 jakartaglobe.id)

### **c. The Grammar of News Text**

Grammar in the analysis of news texts is focused on modalities, positive and negative sentences used in news texts produced by both the media and participants or the involvement of discourses. The descriptions are as follows.

Modality, according to Perkins (1983), is not only the attitude of the speaker / speaker to the proposition, but also the attitude of the speaker / speaker to the event. Modality is the assessment / attitude of the speaker, likes or dislikes, rejects or accepts, agrees or disagrees (or may be neutral in the middle), which contains ideology (ideas, opinions, ideas, beliefs) from speakers. It shows the position where the speaker sided. Referring to Alwi's (1992) research, modalities that also show attitudes and the establishment of text producers can be classified into four subcategories, namely intentional modality, epistemic modality, deontic modality, and dynamic modality. Among the eight news texts observed, the four subcategories of the modalities observed are as follows.

#### **a. Intentional modalities, related to the meaning of 'desire, hope, invitation, request':**

- 1) Sementara itu, Ketua Forum Umat Islam Kota Tanjungbalai Indra Syah, melihat adanya pihak luar yang *ingin* Kota Tanjungbalai tidak kondusif, dengan memberi komentar dan opini menyensasikan baik itu media mainstream maupun media sosial. **English Translation:** "Meanwhile, Chairman of the Islamic Community Forum of Tanjungbalai City Indra Syah, saw an outside party who *wanted* Tanjungbalai City become inconducive, by giving misleading comments and opinions, both mainstream media and social media". (Friday, 08/24/2018 waspadamedan.com).
- 2) Menyangkut tudingan salah satu media terhadap Ormas Islam termasuk FUI yang menuduhnya Islam garis keras dan kerap mengintervensi jaksa dan hakim, Indra mengatakan, hal itu tidak berdasar. Kehadiran mereka di persidangan, *ingin* mengawal independensi hakim agar bebas dalam memutuskan. **English Translation:** Regarding the accusation of one of the media against an Islamic mass organization including the FUI which accused it belongs to the label of hard-line Islam and often intervened in prosecutors and judges, Indra said it was baseless. Their presence at the trial, *wanted* to guard the independence of the judge to be free in deciding. (Friday, 08/24/2018 waspadamedan.com).
- 3) Hal senada disampaikan Ketua PBNU Bidang Hukum, HAM dan Perundang-undangan Robikin Emhas yang mengatakan suara adzan terlalu keras itu bukan penodaan agama dan *berharap* "penegak hukum tidak menjadikan delik penodaan agama sebagai instrumen untuk memberangus hak menyatakan pendapat. **English Translation:** The same thing was conveyed by the Head of PBNU for Law, Human Rights and Legislation Robikin Emhas who said that the call to prayer was too loud was not blasphemy and *hoped* that "law enforcement did not make the blasphemy offense as an instrument to suppress the right to express opinions" (Thursday, 23 / 08/2018, voaindonesia.com)

- 4) Untuk itu pula PSI *berharap* pengajuan banding yang dilakukan tim penasihat hukum Meiliana dapat dikabulkan oleh pengadilan tinggi. "Dan, Bu Meiliana dapat dilepaskan dari tahanan sampai turun keputusan hukum yang bersifat tetap dan mengikat," ujar Guntur Romli. **English Translation:** For this reason PSI *hopes* that the appeal made by the Meiliana legal advisor team can be granted by the high court. "And, Mrs. Meiliana can be released from detention until a legal decision is made that is permanent and binding," said Guntur Romli. (Friday, 08/24/2018, news.okezone.com)
- 5) Dalam kesempatan itu, Leo Lopulisa (Tokoh Umat Budha Tanjungbalai), meminta kepada Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (FKUB) proaktif untuk menjaga kerukunan antar umat beragama. Terkait adanya komentar miring namun tidak tahu duduk masalah, dia *berharap* agar semua pihak termasuk pemangku kepentingan di Kota Tanjungbalai, duduk bersama meluruskan tuduhan tersebut. **English Translation:** On that occasion, Leo Lopulisa (Leader of the Budha Tanjungbalai Community) asked the proactive Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) to maintain inter-religious harmony. Regarding the oblique comments but not knowing the problem, he *hopes* that all parties including stakeholders in Tanjungbalai City, sit together to correct the accusations. (Friday, 08/24/1981waspadamedan.com)
- 6) Saya tidak setuju dengan petisi pembebasan Meliana karena melukai hati umat Islam khususnya Tanjungbalai. Jika Meliana tidak puas bisa mengajukan upaya hukum lain, kami tetap *berharap* hakim memberikan hukum seberat-beratnya karena telah memicu kerusuhan di kota kami," ujar Ali Rukun. **English Translation:** "I do not agree with the petition for the release of Meliana because it hurts the hearts of Muslims, especially Tanjungbalai. If Meliana is not satisfied that she can file other legal remedies, we still *hope* that the judge will give the law as hard as possible because it has triggered riots in our city," said Ali Rukun (Chairperson of the Islamic Da'wah Council of Tanjungbalai City) (Friday, 08/24/2018 waspadamedan.com)

#### **b. Epistemic modality, related to knowledge and trust / beliefs, which can mean "possibility, necessity, certainty"**

- 1) Persoalan ini terjadi karena rumusan Pasal 156a KUHP adalah rumusan yang tidak dirumuskan dengan sangat ketat dan karenanya dapat menimbulkan tafsir yang sangat beragam dalam implementasinya. ICJR mengingatkan bahwa putusan ini *akan berakibat* buruk bagi iklim toleransi di masyarakat serta merugikan kepentingan kelompok minoritas lainnya yang seharusnya dilindungi **English Translation:** This problem occurs because the formulation of Article 156a of the Criminal Code is a formulation that is not formulated very tightly and therefore can lead to very diverse interpretations in its implementation. ICJR warns that this decision *will have a negative impact* on the climate of tolerance in the community and harm the interests of other minority groups that should be protected. (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)
- 2) "Sebelumnya saya menduga jaksa *akan terpengaruh* dengan argumentasi saya dan menuntutmu bebas. Mengapa? Setelah sidang, salah satu jaksa mendekati saya sambil berkata "terima kasih Pak atas keterangannya. Banyak yang mencerahkan saya, termasuk posisi fatwa dalam Islam," ternyata dugaan saya meleset," tulis Rumadi (Ketua Lakpesdam PBNU dan saksi ahli dalam sidang pengadilan Meiliana) di Facebook-nya. **English Translation:** "Previously I suspected the prosecutor *would be affected* by my argument and demanded that you be free. Why? After the trial, one of the prosecutors approached me saying "thank you sir for the information. Many enlightened me, including the position of fatwa in Islam," it turned out that my allegations were missed," wrote Rumadi (Chairman of Lakpesdam PBNU and expert witness at the Meiliana court) on Facebook. (Thursday, 08/23/2018, voaindonesia.com)
- 3) "Saya lihat di media mainstream dan medsos, pokok dari permasalahan tidak dipublikasikan, yang dibuka hanya Meliana minta tolong untuk mengecilkan suara speaker, padahal bukan itu yang utama," kata Indra Putra (Ketua Forum Pemuda Mahasiswa Sumatera Utara). Indra juga khawatir *akan terjadi* hal yang tidak diinginkan, jika isu Meliana terus digoreng dan menjadi konsumsi politik. Hal itu pula akan menimbulkan perpecahan di Kota Tanjungbalai, dan bisa meluas sampai keluar daerah. **English Translation:** "I see in the mainstream media and social media, the subject of the problem is not published, only Meliana asks for help to reduce the voice of the speaker, even though that is not the main one," said Indra Putra (Chairman of the North Sumatra Student Youth Forum). Indra was also worried that something unwanted *would occur if* the Meliana issue continued to be exposed or viralized and became political consumption. It will also cause divisions in the city of Tanjungbalai, and can expand to the outside of the area. (Friday, 08/24/1981waspadamedan.com)
- 4) Jika pasal penghinaan agama dicabut dari KUHP, maka umat bisa menjadi liar. Tidak ada penyaluran(kanalisasi) masalah. Dikhawatirkan *akan berlaku* "hukum rimba" kepada mereka yang disangka sebagai penista agama.(Wasekjen MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain---Jum'at, 24 Agustus 2018 Faktakini.com). **English Translation:** There is no channeling (channelization) of the problem. It is feared that the "The jungle law" *will apply* to those who are suspected of being religious investigators. (Wasekjen MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain --- Friday, August 24, 2018 Faktakini.com)
- 5) ICJR mencatat bahwa rumusan pasal yang karet tentang penistaan agama di Indonesia pada implementasinya menyerang kelompok minoritas, pasal tersebut *harus* dicabut. (Rabu, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id). **English Translation:** ICJR noted that the formulation of a rubber article on blasphemy in Indonesia in its implementation attacks minority groups, the article *must* be revoked. (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)
- 6) Persoalan ini terjadi karena rumusan Pasal 156a KUHP adalah rumusan yang tidak dirumuskan dengan sangat ketat dan karenanya dapat menimbulkan tafsir yang sangat beragam dalam implementasinya. ICJR mengingatkan bahwa putusan ini akan berakibat buruk bagi iklim toleransi di masyarakat serta merugikan kepentingan kelompok minoritas lainnya yang seharusnya dilindungi. **English Translation:** This problem occurs because the formulation of Article 156a of the Criminal Code is a formulation that is not formulated very tightly and therefore can lead to very diverse interpretations in its implementation. ICJR warns that this decision *will have a negative impact* on the climate of tolerance in the community and harm the interests of other minority groups that *should be protected*. (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)

- 7) Konteks perlindungan beragama dalam hukum pidana harus diluruskan kembali pada perbuatan materil menghasut untuk melakukan diskriminasi, permusuhan atau kekerasan. Kerangka hukum tentang penistaan agama *harus* benar-benar secara ketat membatasi perbuatan yang dapat dipidana hanya dalam konteks terjadi penghasutan untuk melakukan diskriminasi, permusuhan atau kekerasan berdasarkan agama. **English translation:** The context of religious protection in criminal law must be straightened out to instigate material acts of discrimination, hostility or violence. The legal framework on blasphemy *must strictly be restricting* or controlling that those who can be punished only in the context of incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence based on religion. (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)
- 8) Kerangka hukum tentang penistaan agama *harus benar-benar secara ketat* membatasi perbuatan yang dapat dipidana hanya dalam konteks terjadi penghasutan untuk melakukan diskriminasi, permusuhan atau kekerasan berdasarkan agama. **English translation:** The legal framework on blasphemy *must be strictly restricting* the acts that can be punished only in the context of incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence based on religion. (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)
- 9) Rumusan pasal tentang penistaan agama *harus benar-benar secara hati-hati dirumuskan*, karena begitu erat dengan subjektivitas mayoritas dan tendensi publik. Dengan rumusan yang sekarang dalam KUHP saja, dalam tataran implementasi telah menyerang kelompok minoritas. **English translation:** The formulation of articles on blasphemy *must be carefully formulated*, because it is so closely related to majority subjectivity and public tendencies. With the current formula in the Criminal Code alone, at the level of implementation it has attacked minority groups. (Rabu, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)
- 10) Kepada VOA dengan gamblang Rumadi Ahmad (Ketua Lakpesdam PBNU) menjelaskan bagaimana penggunaan pasal karet, yaitu pasal 156a KUHP tentang permusuhan, penyalahgunaan atau penodaan terhadap suatu agama, tidak dapat berdiri sendiri dan *harus dikaitkan dengan* pasal 1 UU No.1/PNPS/1965 karena "di sana letak substansi penodaan agama." (Kamis, 23/08/2018, voaindonesia.com). **English translation:** To VOA clearly Rumadi Ahmad (Chairperson of Lakpesdam PBNU) explained how the use of rubber articles, namely Article 156a of the Criminal Code concerning hostility, misuse or desecration of a religion, cannot stand alone and *must be linked to* Article 1 of Law No.1 / PNPS / 1965 because "there lies the substance of blasphemy." (Thursday, 08/23/2018, voaindonesia.com)
- 11) PSI setuju bahwa di Indonesia, penghinaan dengan sengaja terhadap agama, apalagi yang dengan sengaja dilakukan untuk menimbulkan kebencian dan permusuhan antarumat beragama, *harus dilarang*. **English translation:** PSI agrees that in Indonesia, intentional humiliation of religion, let alone what is intentionally done to incite hatred and hostility between religious believers, *must be prohibited*. (Friday, 08/24/2018, news.okezone.com)
- 12) Dia pun mengingatkan Kementerian Agama pada 1978 pernah mengeluarkan peraturan tentang penggunaan pengeras suara di masjid, langgar, dan mushala, yang tidak pernah dicabut sampai sekarang. Dinyatakan dalam peraturan tersebut, penggunaan pengeras suara tersebut *harus ditata* agar jangan sampai suara dari masjid justru menimbulkan antipati dan kejengkelan. **English translation:** He also reminded the Ministry of Religion in 1978 that it had issued a regulation on the use of loudspeakers in mosques, violations and prayer rooms, which have not been revoked until now. It is stated in the regulation, the use of loudspeakers *must be arranged* so that the sound from the mosque will cause antipathy and irritation (Friday, 08/24/2018, news.okezone.com).
- 13) Terkait suara adzan, Leo (Tokoh Umat Budha Tanjungbalai, Sumatera Utara) mengaku selama ini tidak pernah terganggu, padahal rumahnya sendiri dekat dengan Masjid Menara Lima Kota Tanjungbalai. Dia menerangkan sudah terbiasa, bahkan adzan menjadi pertanda untuk mengetahui waktu. "Tidak ada masalah itu adzan, lagian kita *harus toleransi* dengan umat lain," ujarnya.. **English translation:** Regarding the call to prayer, Leo (Leader of the Tanjungbalai Buddhist Community, North Sumatra) claimed that he had never been disturbed, even though his own house was close to the Menara Lima Mosque in Tanjungbalai City. He explained that he was used to it, even the call to prayer was a sign to know the time. "There is no problem with the call to prayer, anyways we have to be tolerant with other people," he said. (Friday, 08/28/2018 waspadamedan.com)
- 14) Datmi Irwan (Ketua Dewan Mesjid Indonesia Tanjungbalai) menuturkan, vonis hakim merupakan produk hukum positif di Indonesia, sehingga sangat tidak baik jika diseret ke ranah politik dan HAM. Dia meminta pemerintah dan juga yudikatif *harus objektif* menilai permasalahan ini, jangan mudah terpancing oleh pembangunan isu bersifat provokatif yang dapat merusak kebhinekaan. **English translation:** Datmi Irwan (Chairperson of the Indonesian Mosque Council of Tanjungbalai) said that the judge's verdict was a positive legal product in Indonesia, so it was not good to be dragged into the realm of politics and human rights. He asked the government and the judiciary *to be objectively* assessed this problem, not be easily provoked by the negative issues which can damage diversity. (Friday, 08/24/2018 waspadamedan.com)
- 15) "Kita minta *harus* semuanya taat hukum, ini kan negara hukum, Ini sudah bagus sekali dibawa ke hukum, diproses Polisi dibawa ke pengadilan, ada Jaksa Penuntut ada Jaksa Pembela, diputuskan oleh Hakim, kurang apalagi? **English translation:** "We *have to ask all of them* to be law-abiding, this is a legal state. This is very good to be brought to law, processed. The police are brought to court, there is a Prosecutor, there is a Prosecutor, is decided by the Judge, What is the less thing we need? (Deputy Secretary General (Wasekjen) of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Tengku Zulkarnain / Thursday, 08/23/2018, jawapos.com)

### **c. Deontic modalities, related to the meaning of 'obligations, permits, orders / restrictions / warnings':**

- 1) Hukum pidana tentang penghinaan *tidak boleh* digunakan untuk melindungi suatu hal yang sifatnya subjektif, abstrak dan merupakan suatu konsep seperti negara, simbol nasional, identitas nasional, kebudayaan, pemikiran, agama, ideologi dan doktrin politik. **English translation:** Criminal law regarding humiliation *must not be used* to protect something that is subjective, abstract and is a concept such as a state, national symbol, national identity, culture, thought, religion, ideology and political doctrine. (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)
- 2) Mestinya kita bersyukur umat Islam di sana mau taat pada hukum...Akhirnya kami meminta kepada semua pihak patuhi hukum uang berlaku dan jangan komentar jika tidak mengetahui keadaan sebenarnya. Hanya akan menambah keruh suasana saja. Tidak

puas atas putusan hukum *boleh banding*. Baik pihak pengadu atau pihak terdakwa. **English translation:** 2) We should be grateful that Muslims there will obey the law ... Finally we ask all parties to obey the law of money in force and do not comment if we do not know the truth. It will only add turbidity to the atmosphere. Not satisfied with the legal decision *may appeal*. Both the complainant or the defendant. Head of General MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain - (Friday, August 24, 2018 Faktakini.com)

#### **d. Dynamic modality, related to the meaning of 'ability':**

1) "Saya tidak setuju dengan petisi pembebasan Meliana karena *bisa melukai hati umat Islam* khususnya Tanjungbalai. Jika Meliana tidak puas bisa mengajukan upaya hukum lain, kami tetap berharap hakim memberikan hukum seberat-beratnya karena telah memicu kerusuhan di kota kami," ujar Ali Rukun/Ketua Majelis Dakwah Islam. (Jumat, 24/08/2018 waspadamedan.com). **English translation:** "I do not agree with the petition for the release of Meliana because it *can hurt the hearts of Muslims*, especially Tanjungbalai. If Meliana is dissatisfied with being able to submit other legal remedies, we still hope that the judge will give the law as hard as possible because it has triggered riots in our city," said Ali Rukun / Chair of the Islamic Da'wah Council.

2) Negara kita adalah negara hukum. Jika tidak puas maka orang *bisa menempuh upaya hukum* seperti banding, misalnya. Menggiring opini atas perkara Meiliana untuk kemudian ditembakkan ke arah pencabutan pasal penghinaan agama (seperti yang sudah lama digaungkan) adalah hal yang sangat berbahaya. **English translation:** Our country is a legal state. If not satisfied, people *can take legal efforts* such as appeals, for example. Bringing opinions on the Meiliana case and then firing it towards the lifting of the article on religious insult (as has long been echoed) is very dangerous. (Wasekjen MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain (Friday, August 24, 2018 Faktakini.com))

3) Jika pasal penghinaan agama dicabut dari KUHP, maka umat *bisa menjadi liar*. (Wasekjen MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain) **English translation:** If the article on religious insult is revoked from the Criminal Code, then the Ummah *can become wild*. General of the MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain (Friday, August 24, 2018 Faktakini.com)

**Ideology, modality, and positive / negative sentences.** Quotations of news texts provide textual evidence that the use of modality is a vehicle for building ideology because modality shows subjective / collective attitudes / production of news texts on an event. Viewed from the subcategory of modality (both expressed by positive and negative sentences), it is clear that the use of epistemic modalities dominates the news about the Meiliana Case: How Complaints about the Azan Voice of the Mosque End with 18 months in prison, which is 15 data (58%). Meanwhile, the use of the three other modalities, namely intentional modalities, deontic modalities, and dynamic modalities, totals only 11 data (42%).

Epistemic modality represents the attitude of the text producer related to knowledge and belief in a proposition and nonfactual event in the form of "possibility or reliability, and necessity". That is, the occurrence of the Meiliana Case: How Complaints About the Mosque's Azan Voice Ends with an 18-month prison sentence attracts the attention of various parties in such a way that the various parties predict the possibilities that will occur and that should occur after the sentencing of 18 months in prison.

In the eight texts of the news being reviewed, the text producer consists of two main parties; namely support parties towards 18 months in prison for Meilana, namely religious leaders in Tanjungbalai and MUI and mass organizations, NGOs and community leaders at the national level who condemned Meilana's 18-month prison sentence was unfair. The Ideology built through the use of modalities and positive / negative sentences by the two parties as follows.

#### **a) The stronghold of Tanjungbalai religious leaders and MUI**

There were 4 direct statements or quotes from several Tanjung Balai city figures such as Leo Lopulisa (Buddhist Leader of Tanjungbalai), Datmi Irwan (Chairperson of the Indonesian Mosque Council Tanjungbalai), Ali Rukun as The head of the Tanjungbalaidan Islamic Da'wah Council and Tengku Zulkarnain (Deputy Secretary General ( Wasekjen) The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which all agreed to the judge's decision and asked all to obey what had been decided by the judge and there were even figures who asked Meilana to be severely punished for provoking riots in Tanjungbalai City.

1) "Saya tidak setuju dengan petisi pembebasan Meliana karena melukai hati umat Islam khususnya Tanjungbalai. Jika Meliana tidak puas bisa mengajukan upaya hukum lain, kami tetap berharap hakim memberikan hukum seberat-beratnya karena telah memicu kerusuhan di kota kami," ujar Ali Rukun (Ketua Majelis Dakwah Islam Kota Tanjungbalai) **English translation :** "I do not agree with the petition for the release of Meliana because it hurts the hearts of Muslims, especially Tanjungbalai. If Meliana is not satisfied that she can file other legal remedies, we still hope that the judge will give the law as hard as possible because it has triggered riots in our city," said Ali Rukun (Chairperson of the Islamic Da'wah Council of Tanjungbalai City) (Friday, 08/24/2018 waspadamedan.com)

2) Terkait suara adzan, Leo Lopulisa (Tokoh Umat Budha Tanjungbalai, Sumatera Utara) mengaku selama ini tidak pernah terganggu, padahal rumahnya sendiri dekat dengan Masjid Menara Lima Kota Tanjungbalai. Dia menerangkan sudah terbiasa, bahkan adzan menjadi pertanda untuk mengetahui waktu. "Tidak ada masalah itu adzan, lagian kita harus toleransi dengan umat lain," ujarnya. **English Translation:** Regarding the call to prayer, Leo Lopulisa (Leader of the Tanjungbalai Buddhist Community, North Sumatra) admitted that he had never been disturbed, even though his own house was close to the Menara Lima Mosque in Tanjungbalai City. He explained that he was used to it, even the call to prayer was a sign to know the time. "There is no problem with the call to prayer, anyways we have to be tolerant with other people," he said. (Friday, 08/28/2018 waspadamedan.com)

3) Datmi Irwan (Ketua Dewan Mesjid Indonesia Tanjungbalai) menuturkan, vonis hakim merupakan produk hukum positif di Indonesia, sehingga sangat tidak baik jika diseret ke ranah politik dan HAM. Dia meminta pemerintah dan juga yudikatif harus objektif menilai permasalahan ini, jangan mudah terpancing oleh pembangunan isu bersifat provokatif yang dapat merusak kebhinekaan. **English translation:** 3) Datmi Irwan (Chairperson of the Indonesian Mosque Council of Tanjungbalai) said that the judge's verdict was a positive legal product in Indonesia, so it was not good to be dragged into the realm of politics and human

rights. He asked the government and judiciary to objectively assess this issue, not easily provoked by development of issues that are provocative that can damage diversity. (Friday, 08/24/2018 waspadamedan.com)

4) "Kita minta harus semuanya taat hukum, ini kan negara hukum, Ini sudah bagus sekali dibawa ke hukum, diproses Polisi dibawa ke pengadilan, ada Jaksa Penuntut ada Jaksa Pembela, diputuskan oleh Hakim, kurang apalagi? Soal nggak puas ini kan relatif tapi hukum sudah jalan, tolong jalan digoreng untuk mementahkan proses hukum apalagi disetir untuk menghilangkan pasal penghinaan agama.(Wakil Sekretaris Jenderal (Wasekjen) Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), Tengku Zulkarnain / Kamis, 23/08/2018, jawapos.com). **English translation:** "We ask that all of them be law-abiding, this is a legal state. This is very good to be brought to law, processed. The police are brought to court, there is a Prosecutor, there is a Defense Prosecutor, is decided by the Judge, less? the law is working, please make the road fry to break the legal process, let alone be driven to eliminate articles of religious insult (Deputy Secretary General (Wasekjen) of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Tengku Zulkarnain / Thursday, 08/23/2018, jawapos.com)

b) The Group which disagreed with 18 years in prison for Meilana: Rumadi Ahmad and Robikin Emhas (PBNU), ICJR, and Guntur Romli (PSI).

1) Hal senada disampaikan Ketua PBNU Bidang Hukum, HAM dan Perundang-undangan Robikin Emhas yang mengatakan suara adzan terlalu keras itu bukan penodaan agama dan berharap "penegak hukum tidak menjadikan delik penodaan agama sebagai instrumen untuk memberangus hak menyatakan pendapat." (Kamis, 23/08/2018 ,voaindonesia.com). **English translation:** The same thing was conveyed by the Head of PBNU for Law, Human Rights and Legislation Robikin Emhas who said that the call to prayer was too loud was not blasphemy and hoped that "law enforcement did not make the blasphemy offense as an instrument to suppress the right to express opinions" (Thursday, 23 / 08/2018, voaindonesia.com).

2) Untuk itu pula PSI berharap pengajuan banding yang dilakukan tim penasihat hukum Meiliana dapat dikabulkan oleh pengadilan tinggi. "Dan, Bu Meiliana dapat dilepaskan dari tahanan sampai turun keputusan hukum yang bersifat tetap dan mengikat," ujar Guntur Romli. (Jumat, 24/08/2018 , news.okezone.com). **English translation:** For this reason the PSI hopes that the appeal made by the Meiliana legal advisor team can be granted by the high court. "And, Mrs. Meiliana can be released from detention until a permanent and binding legal decision falls," said Guntur Romli. (Friday, 08/24/2018, news.okezone.com)

3) Persoalan ini terjadi karena rumusan Pasal 156a KUHP adalah rumusan yang tidak dirumuskan dengan sangat ketat dan karenanya dapat menimbulkan tafsir yang sangat beragam dalam implementasinya. ICJR mengingatkan bahwa putusan ini akan berakibat buruk bagi iklim toleransi di masyarakat serta merugikan kepentingan kelompok minoritas lainnya yang seharusnya dilindungi. (Rabu, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id). **English translation:** This problem occurs because the formulation of Article 156a of the Criminal Code is a formula that is not formulated very tightly and therefore can lead to a very diverse interpretation in its implementation. ICJR warns that this decision will have a negative impact on the climate of tolerance in the community and harm the interests of other minority groups that should be protected. (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 / icjr.or.id)

4) "Sebelumnya saya menduga jaksa akan terpengaruh dengan argumentasi saya dan menuntutmu bebas. Mengapa?Setelah sidang, salah satu jaksa mendekati saya sambil berkata "terima kasih Pak atas keterangannya.Banyak yang mencerahkan saya, termasuk posisi fatwa dalam Islam," ternyata dugaan saya meleset," tulis Rumadi (Ketua Lakpesdam PBNU dan saksi ahli dalam sidang pengadilan Meilana) di Facebook-nya.(Kamis, 23/08/2018 ,voaindonesia.com). **English translation:** Previously I suspected the prosecutor would be affected by my argument and demanded that you be free. Why? After the trial, one of the prosecutors approached me saying "thank you sir for the information. Many enlightened me, including the position of fatwa in Islam," it turned out that my allegations were missed, "wrote Rumadi (Chairman of Lakpesdam PBNU and expert witness at the Meilana court ) on Facebook. (Thursday, 08/23/2018, voaindonesia.com)

5) Kepada VOA dengan gamblang Rumadi Ahmad (Ketua Lakpesdam PBNU) menjelaskan bagaimana penggunaan pasal karet, yaitu pasal 156a KUHP tentang permusuhan, penyalahgunaan atau penodaan terhadap suatu agama, tidak dapat berdiri sendiri dan harus dikaitkan dengan pasal 1 UU No.1/PNPS/1965 karena "di sana letak substansi penodaan agama." (Kamis, 23/08/2018 ,voaindonesia.com). **English translation:** VOA explicitly Rumadi Ahmad (Chairperson of Lakpesdam PBNU) explained how the use of rubber articles, namely Article 156a of the Criminal Code concerning hostility, abuse or desecration of a religion, cannot stand alone and must be linked to Article 1 of Law No.1 / PNPS / 1965 because "there lies the substance of blasphemy." (Thursday, 08/23/2018, voaindonesia.com)

From a number of statements, the discourse productivity identified by each camp was identified. As it turns out, both camps from Tanjungbalai religious leaders and mass organizations and community leaders are just as many in producing discourse, which is both five statements.

The first faction or party gave more positive encouragement for the Indonesian people to respect the verdict of the judge because we are a legal state while the mass organizations and NGOs and their figures expressed a lot of negative speeches - cornering, blaming, forbidding, etc. - These speeches represent negative ideologies the speaker, the second party.

## 2. Interpretation

Interpretation is an analysis of discourse practices, namely the analysis of relations between the text and the practice of discourse by viewing the text as a production process. Interpretation is done by utilizing sources of interpretation and various interpretation principles (Sumarlam, 2013) so that it can produce an accurate interpretation (high level of truth). In addition, researchers / analysts can also conduct intertextuality studies (Fairclough, 1992, 1995), which examines the relationship between one news text and other news texts that are related, and the context behind the emergence or production of a text.

This study is based on eight news texts from several media sources. The eight news titles and their media sources are as follows.

1. 1. Vonis 18 Bulan Penjara untuk Meiliana: Satu Lagi Preseden Buruk Pasal Penistaan Agama dan Rumusan RKUHP Justru Memperburuk. **English Translation:** Sentenced to 18 Months in Prison for Meiliana: Another Bad Precedent Article of Blasphemy and the RKUHP Formulation Even Exacerbates (Wednesday, 22/08/2018 - icjr.or.id)
  2. NU dan ICJR Kecam Vonis 18 Bulan Penjara terhadap Perempuan yang Keluhkan Pengeras Suara Azan **English Translation:** NU and ICJR condemn 18 months in prison for women complaining about Azan loudspeakers (Thursday, 08/23/2018 / voaindonesia.com).
  3. Kasus Penistaan Agama Meliana Divonis 18 Bulan, MUI: Kita Minta Semuanya Taat Hukum **English Translation:** The Blasphemy Case of Meliana Sentenced to 18 Months, MUI: We Request Everything to Obey the Law (Thursday, 08/23/2018, jawapos.com)
  4. Vonis 18 Bulan Bui untuk Meiliana Dinilai Cederai Rasa Keadilan **English Translation:** 18-month sentence for Meiliana Assessed for a sense of justice (Friday, 08/24/2018/ news.okezone.com)
  5. Orang Luar Tanjungbalai Agar Hormati Vonis Meliana **English Translation:** Tanjungbalai Outsiders to Respect Meliana's Verdict (Friday, 08/24/2018 North Sumatra Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) waspadamedan.com)
  6. Wasekjen MUI KH Tengku Zulkarnain: Hentikan Menyinggung Agama! **English Translation:** MUI Secretary General KH Tengku Zulkarnain: Stop Offending Religion! Friday, August 24 2018 Faktakini.com
  7. Support flows in for Meiliana (Sabtu, 25/08/2018 thejakartapost.com).
  8. Civil Society Groups Call for Law Revision After Buddhist Woman's Blasphemy Conviction (Sabtu, 25/08/2018 jakartaglobe.id)
- Among the eight news titles, half of them have negative values. The most neutral among the titles is the text title (3) Kasus Penistaan Agama Meliana Divonis 18 Bulan, MUI: Kita Minta Semuanya Taat Hukum (5) Orang Luar Tanjungbalai Agar Hormati Vonis Meliana (7) Support flows in for Meiliana (8) Civil Society Groups Call for Law Revision After Buddhist Woman's Blasphemy Conviction. Four other titles, as shown above, all have negative nuances, such as (1) Satu Lagi Preseden Buruk Pasal Penistaan Agama, (2) NU dan ICJR Kecam Vonis 18 Bulan Penjara (3) Vonis 18 Bulan Bui untuk Meiliana Dinilai Cederai Rasa Keadilan dan (4) Hentikan Menyinggung Agama!

Further interpretation is related to the Meiliana Case: How Complaints About the Mosque's Azan Voice Ends with 18 months of imprisonment can be expressed by looking at inter-text relations (intertextuality studies) in summary as follows.

- 1) The Meiliana case initially occurred because of a protest by a resident with the initials M (41), a resident of Jl Karya Kelurahan Tanjung Balai Kota I, Tanjung Balai Selatan Kota District. M was said to have objected to the loudspeaker volume of the Al Maksum Mosque which was located not far from his residence. He came to the mosque, asking that when the call to prayer or recitation be recited, the volume was reduced.
- 2) Takmir mosque then expressed an objection to the other managers of Al Maksum Mosque.
- 3) The mosque management then visited M's residence and questioned this. The meeting turned out to be fierce and this attracted the attention of other residents. Knowing what happened, people's emotions ignited. They went berserk. Some even shouted for M's house to be burned. A number of residents have started to throw stones at the house M. This hot situation is still being managed by the mosque management. Together with officials from the kelurahan who later arrived, they agreed to discuss this matter further in the local police office.
- 4) Residents who are still emotionally follow up to the police station and wait for mediation. At that time suddenly a growing number of residents suddenly moved towards Juanda Temple. The location of this temple is approximately 500 meters from Jalan Karya. There they do destruction and burning
- 5) From Juanda Monastery, riots spread. A number of monasteries, such as a monastery in the Amor Beach area, on Jl Ahmad Yani, a temple on Jl Sudirman, a temple on Jl Hamdoko, a temple on Jl Ade Irma, were also damaged and some parts were burned. Some car and motorcycle units were also victims. Not only that, the masses who are no longer clear about their origin, whether they are residents of Jl Karya or not, are looting. Security forces received reports that a number of items from temples and temples were also taken (Friday, 31 July 2016 - tribunjateng.com)
- 6) According to Indra Syah, a religious figure in Tanjungbalai, there was a big problem covered by the media which essentially made Meliana entangled in blasphemy articles. News in the media tried to downplay the problem by mentioning Meliana only complained about the volume of the call to prayer by telling the shopkeeper, then forwarding it to the mosque. In fact, the incident was actually just the beginning, while the peak, when the mosque was about to clarify to Meliana's house, was where the blasphemy of Islam happened. In fact, Meliana told the Haris Tua mosque management Marpaung, saying that the call to prayer made a loud, noisy ear, with a loud and emotional tone. This is what triggered the mass movement to spontaneously destroy the monasteries, temples and pekong in Tanjungbalai City.
- 7) And all the facts have been proven in court, so the judge believes that he must be sentenced to 18 months.
- 8) Furthermore, community and religious leaders in Tanjungbalai and also representatives of the MUI, TengkuZulkarnaen requested that all communities respect the legal process and decisions made by the court. According to him it was in accordance with the rules that apply in this country.

**Interpretation Results.** After analyzing the news text and interpreting the text intertextually, then Fairclough (1989) states the analyzer comes to the conclusion to interpret the discourse built by the text. Interpretation involves four dimensions: **(i) what's going on, (ii) (wo is involved, (iii) what relationships are at issue, and (iv ) what is the role of language (what's the role of language)**. The results of interpretation of news texts from various media sources can be described as follows.

- (i) **What's going on** .The Meiliana Case: How Complaints about the Mosque's Azan Voice Ends with 18 months in prison is a very interesting issue because Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world and the problem of misunderstanding between Muslims and non-Muslims is often the case.

(ii) **who was involved.** Both supporters sentenced him to 18 months in prison in the Meilana case and his opponents as text producers wanted to show the public's influence with their statements in the community in their own ways.

(iii) **What relationships are at issue.** Media (print or electronic), according to its function, always provide information and present interesting news. Among the interesting news are controversial issues. In fact, the more controversial the news is more interesting. The Meiliana Case: How Complaints About the Mosque's Azan Voice Ends with 18 months in prison is one of the issues that attracts the attention of information-consuming people and interested parties.

(iv) **What's the role of language.** The use of language (text structure, sentence structure, vocabulary selection) in news texts will determine the attitudes and opinions of the consumers (readers / viewers). If someone (a certain party) is reported negatively continuously and repeatedly, then the audience will believe and participate in assessing the negative towards the person / party. Conversely, if someone (a certain party) is reported positively by frequency (repetitive) and continuous (continuously in a long enough duration), then that person will be positive as well as the image in the middle of the public's view. This is the power of language that is utilized by the involvement of discourse and the media in building images. Supporters and opponents of the 18-month jail sentence for meilana produce positive news texts for themselves, and tend to build negative news texts for camps that contradict their opinions.

### 3. Explanation

Explanation is an analysis of the relationship between discourse practice and social context (analysis of socio-cultural practices). Explanation aims to find an explanation of the results of interpretation in the description and interpretation stages. At this level, researchers explain the relationship between trends in the text, complexity in discourse practices, and processes in social change. In addition, the researcher also explained the results of the interpretation by referring to the socio-cultural conditions consisting of three important parts, namely (i) Situational, namely the situation when a text is produced. (ii) Institutional, namely the influence of organizational institutions on the texts produced. (iii) Social, namely observing macro matters in the community related to economic, political, social and cultural interests in Indonesia.

**The results of the explanation.** The explanation of the explanatory results is related to this study as follows.

(i) The process of changing the situation

There has been a process of change in the situation in TanjungBalai since the Complaints About the sound of the mosque's call to prayer is too loud by Meilana, a Buddhist woman. Relations between religions were disturbed by the incident. Described by a Buddhist religious leader named Leo Lopulisa that tolerance among people religion in the city of Tanjungbalai, so far has been running well, not as alleged by various media by cornering one of the religions, both before the riots until the court ruling against Meliana. In fact, he was born 43 years ago, there is no friction between religious communities. Related to the figure of Meliana, Leo is not very familiar, but from the information obtained after the riots, this woman is not a native born of Tanjungbalai City, but a migrant from outside the area. He also did not know the daily life of the Meliana family. Related to the call to prayer, Leo admitted that he had never been disturbed, even though his own house was close to the Menara Lima Mosque in Tanjungbalai City. He explained that he was used to it, even the call to prayer was a sign to know the time. Proactive Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) is to maintain harmony between religious communities. Related to slanted comments but do not know the problem, he hopes that all parties, including stakeholders in Tanjungbalai City, sit together to rectify the allegations. He suggests that the results be voiced to the public so that there will no longer be an attempt like this gin divides and disrupts inter-religious harmony in Tanjungbalai City.

(ii) Institutional change process

Many parties have an interest in playing a role in finding solutions to the Meilana Case. Two groups of dissenting opinions: Some mass organizations, NGOs, community leaders condemned the judge's verdict against Meilana who was considered unfair but on the other hand was a religious figure and community figure from Tanjungbalau. represented by FKUB / Ummat Religious Harmony Forum, Tanjungbalai considered that the sentence was fair. The people of Tanjungbalai in particular and the people of Indonesia are on the test of patience and tolerance and what joint learning and good attitude in respecting the beliefs and practices of worship of each religion adherents. There are certain limits which, if felt too excessive, will cause mass enmity towards other religions. This case is a test case like what is the picture of the pattern of tolerance among religious communities.

(iii) Process of social change

According to the writings of Musni Umar / musniumar Sociologist and Researcher, Ph.D in Sociology, National University of Malaysia (UKM) "entitled Dissecting the Root Problems of the" SARA "Conflict in Tanjung Balai North Sumatra" there is no possible conflict "SARA (Tribe, Religion, Race and Between groups) which is so great in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra, if there is no prologue that makes the Islamic community dislike, hate, anti and angry with the Chinese (Chinese) ethnicity. What is the root of the problem? the apparatus never tried to find the root of the problem that was the cause of the conflict and solved it. All concentrated on stopping the conflict and looking for the perpetrator who triggered the conflict and punished the perpetrator. Consequently, there is a perception in the community that the authorities always protect minority groups who are targeted by the masses. Therefore, in dealing with the "SARA" conflict case in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra, the government and apparatus should, after successfully stopping the continuation of the conflict, also look for the root causes of conflict and try to solve the root causes of the "SARA" conflict. In this context, here are some reasons that try to find and try to explore the root causes of the "SARA" conflict in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra. In the domestic and local context, there are serious problems perceived by the community as injustice.

**First**, socio-economic disparity. It has become a reality that the economy is dominated by ethnic Chinese (Chinese). They got richer and richer because officials and regional heads worked with them. This happens because in each regional head election (pilkada), they are involved in becoming a financial support to every candidate who competes in the elections, so that anyone who wins in the election, they have already invested in advance as a funder and the elected regional head automatically feels indebted to them. As a result, the regional head cooperated with them. Such conditions caused the socio-economic gap to widen and the community then became angry, resentful and against those who happened to be from Chinese (Chinese). **Second**, arrogance arises among them towards indigenous people. This is the disease of the rich who are protected by the apparatus. They are no longer sensitive - filtering words and sentences when speaking, so that people harbor hatred and anger towards them. Case Ms. Meilana, who is angry and rebukes the muezzin (people who call to prayer - in order to call for prayer) by using loudspeakers in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra, (hence becoming a trigger until, red nm) immediately responded (by the community, red nm) by venturing long-held anger and hatred by burning monasteries and temples which became places of worship for Chinese (Chinese) people. **Third**, policies and treatment that privilege those who are rich, who happen to be ethnic Chinese (Chinese), have provoked an unfair feeling that at any time is detonated if there is a slight problem. **Fourth**, global factors influence society's temperamental behavior, anger and emotion. Easy Causes of Conflict In addition to the five factors mentioned above, the cause of the conflict is the ease of conflict, because people form clusters, collections and groups based on religion, ethnicity, work, and so on.

## V. CONCLUSION

This study was conducted to reveal the representation of power that was built by the strongholds and the establishment of an 18-year prison sentence for Meilana, a Hindu woman who complained about the loud Azan Mosque's voice and the presence of news texts in several media about the Meilana case using Fairclough's CDA model (1989, 1995). This study produces the following conclusions.

1. The structure of the news text concerning the Meilana case consists of four discourse units, namely the news title, orientation, sequence of events, and closing.
2. The use of modalities in the news texts studied is dominated by epistemic modalities compared to three other modalities, namely intentional, deontic, and dynamic modalities. Epistemic modality represents the attitude of participants to propositions and events in relation to the likelihood / reliability in the form of predictions that will occur in Tanjungbalai, North Sumatra pre and after the verdict is dropped and what should be done or not done by the discourse stakeholders concerned. The use of these modalities in positive or negative sentences represents certain ideologies.
3. The news text of the Meilana Case that has been described needs to be interpreted inter-textually to achieve a more comprehensive conclusion. Interpretation covers four dimensions: what happens, who is involved, what is the relationship with the issue raised, and what is the role / function of language in the event.
4. Explanation aims to explain the results of interpretation at the stage of description and interpretation. In this case, the analyzer explains the results of the interpretation by referring to socio-cultural conditions consisting of three important parts, namely (a) the situation when the news text on the Meilana Case was produced, (b) the influence of organizational institutions (three camps involved) on the text produced, and (c) macro matters in the Tanjungbalai community, north Sumatra related to economic, political, social and cultural interests.

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