Reporting on 'Monas Incident' in the Mass Media Construction

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Abstract

The purposes of this research is 1) to know news construction to FPI versus AKKBB (Aliansi Kerukunan untuk Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan-Reconciliation Alliance for Religion Freedom and Faith) conflict to enjoinment of Ahmadiyah teaching; 2) To know media construction to implementation religion teaching purification movement in pluralism state; 3) To know media construction in placing relationship between state and religious organization as a civil society strength in supporting of harmonious believers life. Research method is with discourse analysis. It was focused on media news about FPI on Suara Pembaruan and Republika at edition on June 2-12, 2008.

Based on the component observed, thematic, schematic, semantic, syntax, stylistic and rectories, the research findings is firstly, news construction a media is very determined by media ideology. Suara Pembaruan (Christian Values) emphasize that FPI performs harshness to people rights in implementing latitudinarian. Republika (Islamic Values) assess that FPI does not make harshness but is implementing practice of Islam teaching purification. Second, practices of religion teaching purification do not represent wrong action. Third, state is assessed very irresolute in implementing of its function. State does not give enough protection to weak people.

Abstrak

Tujuan penelitian ini adalah: (1) untuk mengidentifikasi konstruksi berita tentang FPI versus AKKBB (Aliansi Kebebasan untuk Kerukunan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan) - dalam kasus konflik pelarangan ajaran Ahmadiyah, (2) untuk mengidentifikasi konstruksi media massa terhadap pelaksanaan gerakan pemurnian ajaran agama di negara pluralisme, (3) untuk mengetahui konstruksi pemberitaan media dalam menempatkan hubungan antara negara dan organisasi keagamaan sebagai kekuatan masyarakat sipil untuk mendukung kehidupan yang harmonis orang beragama. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah analisis wacana. Fokus pada berita media tentang FPI atau Insiden Monas di *Suara Pembaruan* dan *Republika* dalam periode publikasi antara 02-12 Juni, 2008. Komponen yang diamati mencakup, tematik, skematik, semantik, sintaksis, gaya dan rectories. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pertama, konstruksi berita dari media sangat ditentukan oleh ideologi media tersebut. Suara Pembaruan (bernuansa nilai Kristiani) menekankan bahwa FPI melakukan kekerasan terhadap hak-hak orang dalam melaksanakan kebebasan beragama. Republika (menekankan nilai Islami) menilai bahwa FPI tidak membuat kekerasan tetapi menerapkan praktek pemurnian ajaran Islam. Kedua, praktek pemurnian ajaran agama tidak merupakan tindakan yang salah. Ketiga, negara dinilai sangat tidak tegas dalam melaksanakan fungsinya. Negara tidak memberikan perlindungan yang cukup kepada mereka yang lemah.

Key words : organizational communication, media construction, purification

Introduction

Purification movement occurs almost in all religions. Their struggle is based one objective, namely to purify religion practices currently executed. In the Catholic Church environment, some of the people call themselves left-wing faction radical movement ACORN (Vadum, 2009:18), a Catholic organization related to a Catholic community supporting Obama. In Iran, there was also radicalism movement called itself Sunni Radicalism (Sivan, 1989:1). It means that each organization is directed to support revitalization of struggle direction conducted by previous organizations at that time or even having been implemented by the State.

They assume that current religious or social practices do not meet their ideals. It is why they must come forward to take the role. The state is regarded as too permisive and more compromise so that the law of enforcement becomes so loose. They have no other choices than take actions based on their own versions. Such actions are then regarded as contradictory to positive laws produced by the state, and later create another problem.

In Indonesia, growth of social organizations bringing purification themes is active since the collapse of Soeharto in 1998. Muhtadi (2009:623) identify some organizations like MMI (*Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia*), HT (*Hisbut Thahrir*), and *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defenders' Front – FPI) as those that rise in this period.

Although their activities are often regarded as close to violence dimension, however, those activities are, in fact, regarded as interesting for media. Unconsciously, the media also promotes and introduces these organizations to public. In relation to this research, the researcher only focused on actions taken by *Front Pembela Islam* as a social organization obtaining very significant media coverage. When Monas Incident occurred on June 1, 2008, four news media then created pollings to get public opinion on FPI and proposal for its dissolution. However, some people still wish to defend FPI. Following is the quote from the polling made by four media on June 10, 2008:

Based on communication phenomena, in fact, some value the existence of FPI although some group of people think it harms them. Moreover, respondents of NU Online, as a media for Nahdlatul Ulama, as moderate Islamic organization agree that FPI must be defended for more than 50%.

However, at least other 10 Islamic public organizations consisting of *LAKPESDAM NU, Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia (PMII), Ikatan Pelajar Putra Nahdlatul Ulama, Lembaga Studi Sosial dan Agama (ELSA), Ikatan Putri Nahdlatul Ulama (IPPNU),* KSMU, JUSTICIA, LS3, ILHAM, and INSIDE still declare to dissolve FPI. However, in fact, FPI still exists for the next years (2010). It creates impression that although media states FPI as alternative power to conduct coercive efforts against other groups of community, in which they think members of FPI are regarded deviating.

The inquiry with topic of purification movement and media construction making at least using two theories. Purification movement and media construction theories are as a perspective to analysis. But the whole construction of the theories which are used here is in interpretive paradigm.

Religious purification, in fact, can be studied from various dimensions. Moreover, if it is correlated to radicalism movement. However, purification is not equal to radicalism. Purification in peaceful and elegant ways is conducted by moderate religious groups. Radicalism forms can be found in class-difference level (Stark, 1964), music (Warnaby, 1995), ideology (Shepard, 1987), education (Smith, (1970), economy, grassroot (Rubin, 1994), and religion (Berki, 1972; Sivan, 1989).

Purification is a partial terminology any effort to purify old methods both in the ways of thinking and acting. Artificially, according to Mutohharun (2008:68), Islamic purification movement tries to search for the purity of Islamic doctrines. There are two main themes visible in the purification movement: First, sources of Islamic doctrines (Al-Qur'an and *Sunnah*) become very important object to return as main reference in the religious life. It means that religious life becomes closer to "established Islam" than "popular Islam." Second,

Tabel 1. Respondents' Responds

Detik.Com	Respondents' Responds	
	(Yes/Agree)	(No/Reject)
Do you agree to dissolve FPI?	21,221 (56.01%)	16,667 (43,99%)
Total Respondents	37,888 Polling Participants	

Liputan 6Com	Respondents' Responds	
	(Yes/Agree)	(No/Reject)
"Record on violence actions by *Front Pembela Islam (FPI)* is sufficiently long. At last, its members were involved in attacking members of *Aliansi Kebangsaan untuk Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan* (AKKBB). Several parties requested to dissolve FPI" Do you agree to dissolve FPI?	41% or 62,093	59% or 89,126
Total Respondents	151,219 Polling Participants Notes: Remaining 272 (0%),	

Republika Online	Respondents' Responds	
	(Yes/Agree)	(No/Reject)
Do you agree to dissolve FPI?	12,8%,	85,3%
Total Respondents	(Unidentified Polling Participants) Notes: 1.8 % stated to have no care	

NU Online	Respondents' Responds	
	(Yes/Agree)	(No/Reject)
"FPI's existence is defended to remove sinful acts and to fight against liberal group".	59%	21%
Total Respondents	(Unidentified Polling Participants) Notes: 1% stated to have no knowledge	

Source: *www.hidayatullah.com*, June 10 2008

individual freedom spirit to utilize rationalities along with their consequences become higher. It is absolutely required for any efforts on Islamic doctrine dynamization. During its growh, this purification is not only aimed at removing superstition (*takhyul*), *bid'ah*, and *khurafat.* Purification efforts in the development of contemporary Islam are related to various global discourses like terrorism, moderatism, Islamic local knowledge, and fundamentalism-radical movement.

Becausin of such comprehension, various reactions arise related to such movement. Islamic scholars of Islamic boarding school (*pesantren)*, according to Ghazali (2009) complained about purification movement due to potentials to make Indonesian local Islamic matters collapse. For those scholars, there are no pure and non-pure Islam. Islam is always local and indigenous. By modifying statement of Junaid al-Baghdadi (w. 297 H), those scholars think that Islam is multicolored.

Those cementing various Islamic expressions, according to the Islamic scholars, are basic values of the religion (*maqashid al-syari'at*).

While the media construction perspective is not something new anymore. This theory was developed from the social construction theory of Peter L. Berger and Luckmann (1966) and later criticized because it does not contain the mass media as an influential variable in the social construction of reality. According to Bungin (2008 :194-195) the social construction of mass media has four stages namely (a) phase of construction materials prepare, (b) phase of construction distribution, (c) phase of establishment construction and (d) confirmation stage.

Three important factors in mass media construction theory is media impartiality to capitalism, quasi impartiality to people and alignments to the public interest (Bungin, 2008: 196). Who is the role player behind the media is influential. They (individuals, institutions, social groups, religious interests) are actors who determine media policy and direction of the media. They have an important role to determine the objectivity of news according to their own version. Some research results below provide concrete evidence for the justification.

Researches on media construction for social realities have been conducted by previous communication scholars. Political party constructions by media (Hamad, 2004), gender ideology (Hanifah, 2004), violence construction among young people by media (Hopf, 2008), policies on education (Aliyah, 2006) are only examples to mention some of them. However, that specifically studies social-religious organization with purification mission has not yet conducted by many scholars. However, it does not mean there is no such study. Research by Farida (2004) on *Jaringan Islam Liberal* (Liberal Islamic Network) and reports by *Gatra* and *Sabilli* magazines are to answer opinions of the two magazines with different ideologies against existence of *Jaringan Islam Liberal* (JIL) established on 2001. It is also the same as study conducted by Subandini (2001) emphasizing on media construction, especially *Waspada* and *Kompas* towards reports on the organization claiming itself as *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (Free Aceh Movement).

Thus, where is position of research on media construction towards social organization claiming itself as FPI? Of course, this study was intended to enrich media study on religious-based organizations. Religious-social organization like FPI is very interesting to study since in the last ten years, FPI has been covered by media almost monthly, especially for any actions with violence dimension. The actions are interesting, especially if they are closely related to sinful acts, night entertainment, transgender, difference of religious ideologies, even those related to orders related to worship house.

Starting from discourses on purification movement as well as any actions conducted by mass or members of FPI, this organization is very interesting to explore from empirical dimension. For example, based on phylosophically logical dimension in conflicts (Hidayatullah, 2008) as well as symbolically Islamic movements (Al-Zastrouw Ng, 2006), it is proven that FPI is phenomenal. It is why medias, disregarding their ideologies, always get sufficient reportings either at negative or positive side.

This study is directed to study on purification movement or religious radicalism empirically. However, it only emphasizes on media coverage related to the movement in order to describe media construction on socio-political realities currently developing.

Question of research and Research objectives

Question of research includes: 1) How media performs news construction to FPI versus AKKBB conflict to case of enjoinment of Ahmadiyah teaching? 2) How implementation religion teaching purification movement in pluralism state? 3) How media places relationship between state and religious organization as a civil society strength to support of harmonious believers life?

Research objectives are 1) to know news construction to FPI versus AKKBB conflict to case of enjoinment of Ahmadiyah teaching. 2) To know media construction to implementation religion teaching purification movement in pluralism state. 3) To know media construction in placing relationship between state and religious organization as a civil society strength in supporting of harmonious believers life.

Research Method

Research method is with *Discourse Analysis* (van Dijk, 1998; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) media news about FPI. Media elected is *Suara Pembaruan* Daily and *Republika* Daily at edition 2-12 June 2008).

In this discourse analysis, problem level defines analysis level and also applied research method (Hamad, 2004). The problem level is sociocultural practice, its analysis level is macro, the method is literature, assisted by depth interviews with a number of social and political experts. Whereas for discourse practice, its analysis level is meso, its research method is *depth interview* with media executives assisted by literature and finally its problem level is text, analysis level is micro and its research method is eclective text. Special for this study, the researcher focuses on news text on actions taken by FPI. The observed components include thematic (text), schematic (text), semantic (background, paragraph), syntax (sentence), stylistic (word) and rectories (metaphore, disclaimer). All news can be read in below table:

Finding and Discussion
FPI as Organization Profile

Coinciding with 63rd anniversary of the Independence Day for the Republic of Indonesia, a number of *Habib, ulama* (Islamic scholars), located in *Pondok Pesantren Al Um,* Kampung Utan, Ciputat, Jakarta, declared the establishment of organization named *Front Pembela Islam.* According to Al-Zastrouw (2006, in Husnaini, 2006)), there are three matters motivating the establishment of FPI including, first, long sufferings experienced by Indonesian Islamic community as a consequence of violation to human rights conducted by the controllers. Second, obligation for each muslim to keep and to defend Islamic grade and status as well a Islamic community. Third, obligation for each muslim to maintain goods and to prevent sinful actions. Based on those three matters, FPI made physical pressure to fight against any sinful actions directly.

It is not surprising that they continuously practice coercive actions to clean existing sinful actions. Started from investigating actions related to slaughtering of several *ulamas*, *kyai*, *ustadz*, and Islamic teachers in Central Java and East Java, they continued by appeal on *Jihad* to ninja troops (October 1998), violence actions continue. Finally, the submitted their aspirations directly to Special Session of People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) on November 13, 1998 with seven demands as follows: (1). Annulment of Pancasila as sole ideology, (2). Annullment of P4, (3). Annulment of Five Packages of Political Laws, (4). Annulment of Dual-Functions of ABRI from Legislative and Executive Bodies, (5). Human rights appreciation, (6). Responsibility of former President of the Republic of Indonesia Soeharto, (7). Apology of Golkar as Responsible Party for the New Order.

Table 2. News Title which be Analyzed

No.	Suara Pembaruan edition	News Title
1.	2 June 2008	"Tumpas Premanisme"
2.	3 June 2008	"Habib Riziq Harus Bertanggungjawab"
3.	3 June 2008	"Pemerintah Harus Bubarkan FPI"
4.	5 June 2008	"Habib Rizieq Ditahan Munarwan Diminta Menyerah"
5.	5 June 2008	"Kaum Muda Tolak Kekerasan Agama Mendagri Tegur FPI dan AKKBB"
6.	6 June 2008	**"**Munarman "Dilindungi" Petinggi (Judul kecil dikolom samping: Dekat dgn ormas Keagamaan)"
7.	7 June 2008	"Kekerasan Monas Tidak Terkait Ahmadiyah"

Republika Daily

No.	Republika edition	News Title
1.	2 June 2008	"Masyarakat Diimbau tak Lakukan Provokasi"
2.	4 June 2008	"Akar Masalahnya Ahmadiyah: Pemerintah Dinilai Tidak Tegas terhadap Ahmadiyah"
3.	5 June 2008	"Umat Islam Diminta Bersatu: Semua Pimpinan Ormas Diharapkan Menahan Diri"
4.	6 June 2008	"14 OKP: Jangan Ada Diskriminasi, Pemerintah Seharusnya mencermati Akar Masalah"
5.	7 June 2008	"Uztadz Jeffry:Sby harus Adil"
6.	10 June 2008	"Aktifitas Ahmadiyah Dilarang"
7.	11 June 2008	"Ajak Pengikut Ahmadiyah Kembali: SKB Perlu Aturan Penjelas"
8.	12 June 2008	, "NU Siap Dakwahi Ahmadiyah, MUI akan membentuk tim Pemantau Pelaksanaan SKB"

Souce : Suara Pembaruan Daily

In 2004, FPI gained praise when tsunami disaster attacked Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, in which FPI immediately sent volunteers. FPI got good name as volunteers staying for most time and ready to be assigned in most serious areas including to keep the holiness of Great Mosque Baiturrahman, Aceh. However, such good name did not last for a long time. After social actions in Aceh, they again took violence actions. Finally, it occurred on June 1, 2008. FPI mass attacked those of *Aliansi Kebangsaan untuk Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan* (AKK-BB) those mostly consist of mothers and children around Monas (National Monument). Mass of AKK-BB, at that time, was at demonstration protest Joint Decree on Ahmadiyah. Not only hitting people, mass of FPI also damaged cars parked around the location.

Although the leader of FPI Habib Muhammad Rizieq Shihab had once been arrested and put on trial at Central Jakarta District Court on April – May 2003, all those matters never shifted or weakened militancy of its troops or members to take violence actions. In fact, who are members of this organization? According to Al-Zastrouw, as quoted by Husaini (2006), its membership is actually classified into four categories. First, *habaib* and *alim ulama*. They are elite group in FPI being leaders as well as policy directors for other members of FPI. Second, intellectual and academician group consisting of university students, lecturers, and researchers from non-religious people. Third, hoodlums and street boys. Members of this group are recruited by leaders of FPI through personal approach and then directed to conduct sweeping, invasions, and demonstrations fighting against sinful acts. Fourth, common people, namely any people usually active in islamic forums held by FPI.

In fact, for the implementation of all field actions in field, FPI strengthened itself by paramilitary troops called *Laskar Pembela Islam* (Islam Defender Soldiers). Its command structure is equal to that applicable to soldiers. It is started from the highest level to the lowest one.

IMAM BESAR (GREAT LEADER) and His Vice = The Highest Leader of Troops from the rank in LPI, IMAM (LEADER) = Commander of troops for several provinces, WALI (GUARDIAN) = Commander of troops equal to level I/province, leader at this level is usually called specified regional War Commander, QOID = Commander of troops for either regency or municipality level, AMIR = Commander of troops at sub-district level, generally the head of several *rois*, ROIS = Commander at Village level, each group consists

of minimum 22 people. In case of more, it will be divided into other *rois*, JUNDI = New member without rank.

Ironically, although they know the structure of LPI/FPI, security aparatus or soldiers took no actions but paying close attention when FPI acted. The question is, is it right that TNI (Indonesian Military Forces) backups all FPI's activities? If yes, they do, it becomes clearer why security apparatus often control without concrete actions when members of FPI acted.

News construction to FPI versus AKKBB conflict to case of enjoinment of Ahmadiyah teaching

Post June 1, 2008 incident, *Republika* and *Suara Pembaruan* created different news frequencies. *Republika* (8 news) and *Suara Pembaruan* (7 news). It means that such different numbers emphasize not only different level of attention but also indicate what agenda played in related to this issue. Monas incident on June 1, 2008 was actually a common demonstration. Just like other demonstrations held in Indonesia. However, since AKKBB brought a theme related to the freedom of religious life and it was interpreted as pro-Ahmadiyah, a conflict was unavoidable.

What happened on June 1, 2008 morning had added a series of violence conducted by some members of FPI. Various reactions shown by *Suara Pembaruan* created a stigma that the organization lead by Habib Rizieq should be responsible for this. From rethorical dimension, it was close to what Governor of *Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional* (Lemhanas) (National Defense Agency) Muladi said:

"Habib Rizieq must be summoned and responsible the incident proportionally so that such conflict will not happen in future. It is sufficiently critical. Just summon Habib Rizieq within 3 x 24 hours for handing over the actor. In case such action was not taken, the Police should find the acter itself for enforcement proportionally," said Muladi in Jakarta, Tuesday (6/3).

About 24 organizations joined in *Gerakan Masyarakat Pembubaran FPI (*GMPF) (People Movement for FPI Dissolution) said if the government had sufficient evidences to dissolve FPI. "If the government is assertive, coercive actions to dissolve it can be taken," confirmed GMPF that was signed by 38 names. The GMPF coalition consists of, among others, *GP Ansor, Baitul Muslimin Indonesia, PBNU, YLBHI, Garda Bangsa, PMII, PMKRI, PPA, GMNI, Barisan Merah Putih, National Leadership Institute, Gema Budhi, PSIK Paramadina* and *Setara Institute*, (Suara Pembaruan, June 3).

It must be acknowledged that stimulant factor why FPI coercively dispersed the demonstration in Monas was related to the State's uncertainty on Ahmadiyah. Ahmadiyah is considered as non-Islamic ideology since its practices deviate from Islamic teaching. At that time, the government was in process to issue a regulation at level of Joing Decree between Minister of Religious Affairs having authorities on religious affairs and Minister of Domestic Affairs having authorities on social order. Both must be synchronized for easy implementation.

In fact, FPI found the momentum on June 1, 2008 when AKKBB held such action where it included elements of Ahmadiyah. It was regarded as a form of protection to Ahmadiyah. While waiting for the governmental decree related to this issue, the government, in fact, was very slow. It is why, in line with militancy of the FPI's struggle, this problem was solved by itself by coercively dispersing the demonstration.

Republika contains at least 115 pragraph news (3 June 2008-12 June 2008). But all the headlines directed to adjust the Ahmadiyah in a weak position or blame. Monas incident occurred because the Ahmadiyah is a stimulant factornya. Certainly this is very different, with emphasis given by the *Suara Pembaruan*.

Of course, by semantic, the incident did not come in accident. There is a background, detil of event being basis why the incident happened. However, once more, 90 paragraphs of the news created by *Suara Pembaruan* explored no reasons of the incident. FPI attacked AKKBB due to element of Ahmadiyah in AKKBB. Why should Ahmadiyah be the reason? *Suara Pembaruan* also did not disclose it clearly. However, by stylistic, the demand is clarified. Munawarwan who was

the Commander of Islamic Troops for *Front Pembela Islam* component would surrender if the government dissolve Ahmadiyah (*Suara Pembaruan,* June 7, 2008). Sure is different from the Republika, that the root problem of this conflict is the Ahmadiyah (Republika, June 4, 2008). Why be a factor stimulant Ahmadiyah conflict? According Rosadi (2008) that the FPI considered infidels if someone is committing an offense in beliefs, deeds and words. One of the violations it is believed the apostles after Muhammad. Relevance here, why FPI is not very tolerant of Ahmadiyah. Because, acknowledges the existence of the prophet after Muhammad (ie Mirzha Ghulam Ahmad of India). The comparation of news and paragraph both newspapers as below table :

At this level, these two medias had different touching points. *Republika* emphasized that Monas incident was not an independent problem. As if it wished to get justification, it confirmed that Monas incident is a reflection of liberal movement and dogmatic movement manifesting their fights (*Republika*, June 3, 2008).

Table 3 : Amount of News

Table 4: Amount of Paragraph
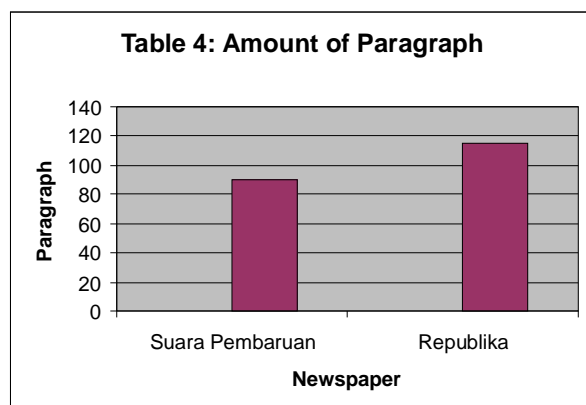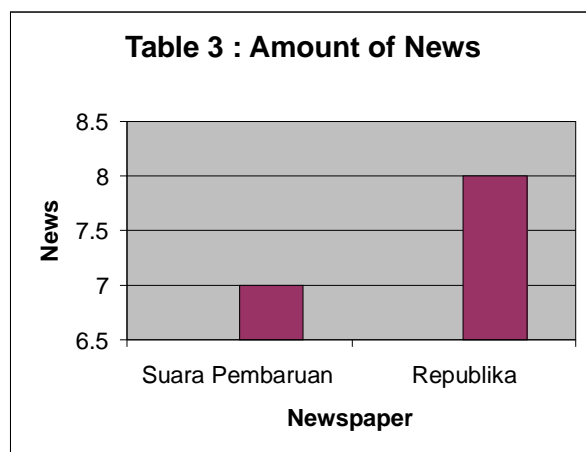
The root is the government did not take clear position towards Ahmadiyah. Moreover, rethorically, *Republika* stated:

"The Government of Indonesia is in a tremble after interventions of four countries so that it does not brave enough to take a stance towards Ahmadiyah. A member of *Wantimpres* (President Consideration Board) could humiliate an *ulama* before public with such vulgar words: opportunist, insolent, etc. We applauded in respect. Moreover, by the power of money, they could advertise anywhere by accusing others as threats for Indonesia. Islamic people were crashed to the state: obsolete voice of Soeharto's regime. Paranoid and evil" (*Republika*, June 3, 2008). Overcoming such situations, Muslims must unite (Republika, June 5 2008).

Ahmadiyah is a stream of Islam from Lahore (India) and came to Indonesia in 1925. In fact, *Rabithah Alam al Islami* of Pakistan declared Ahmadiyah as non-Islam in 1974, therefore, Indonesian Islamic scholars (*ulama*) struggle to do the same. It is why several hardline Islamic gorups by their purification spirits are very intollerant to Ahmadiyah that is regarded as non-Islam. It is the reason why FPI intensely requested the government to dissolve Ahmadiyah. If we study the thematic and semantic dimensions, Monas incident will be clear.

Media construction to implementation religion teaching purification movement in pluralism state.

Regretting statements related to Monas incident on June 1, 2008 came from all domestic community's elements. Nahdlatul Ulama, GP Ansor, DPR, Umat Bergama, *Mahkamah Konstitusi* (Supreme Court on Constitution), to common people. They assumed the state was weak to face FPI. Such illustration is clearly given by *Suara Pembaruan* and *Republika* (June 3, 2008) stating that that action is gansterism and the state let it (June 5, 2008). But, Republika only mentions that people are suggested not to provoke.

Managing pluralistic state is not easy. The government is impossible to pay close attention to

Figure 1

Exp: example of any actions conducted by mass or members of FPI,

one faction or one group only. It is why purification movement must be placed in such diversity corridor. The State's task is to protect all religion followers. By syntax, it was what Sri Sultan said that commitment of this nation founders was establishing this country not on behalf of ethnic groups, religion, race, and group. Indonesia is based on awareness and availability to multicultural/plurality conditions. "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Diversity in Unity) is not only a slogan but must be implemented as a guide of national and state lives," *(Suara Pembaruan,* June 3, 2008).

Any organization bringing purification themes may be in and not rude (*Republika* June 6, 2010). International world was also sympathetic to the said incident on June 1, 2008. Rethorically, US Embassy of Jakarta stated that "Such bad action will seriously impact on the freedom on religious life and gathering in Indonesia, as well as increase any worries on security."

However, such rethorical dimension was closed by syntax that US Embassy welcomed the statement of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono requesting to take legal actions agains them who should be responsible to the violence. "We insisted the Government of Indonesia to uphold the freedom of religious lives for all its citizens as mandated by the constitution," stated the US Embassy (*Suara Pembaruan,* June 3, 2008). Figure 1, 2 and 3 show some violence actions in Monas Tragedy on June 1st 2008.

Media construction in placing relationship between state and religious organization as a civil

society strength in supporting of harmonious believers life.

In Indonesia, religion and state have special relationship. Although Indonesia is the biggest muslim country on the world but Islam is not the State religion. Indonesia acknowledges six religions including Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, Buddha and Konghucu. The State protects all religion followers. It is why Pancasila is a principle for all. By syntax dimension, *Suara Pembaruan* (June 3, 2008) clearly emphasized that:

"Pancasila upholds pluralism in the frame of Unity State of the Republic of Indonesia, *diversity in unity*. The first principle of Pancasila clearly states *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (the Great Unity of God). Meaning that each person may select them own belief and each person must respect other's belief. Forcing one religion to other is contradictory to Pancasila".

Religious organization may grow well in Indonesia. Formally, Islam has MUI (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*) (the Council of Indonesian Islamic Scholars), Christian has PGI (*Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia*) (the Alliance of Indonesian Churches), Catholic has KWI (*Konferensi Waligereja Indonesia*) (the Conference of Indonesian Church Guardians), Hindu has PHDI (*Parisada Hindu Darma Indonesia*), Buddha has Walubi and Konghucu has MAKIN. Outside those organizations, there are many other religious organizations. All may express their respective roles and functions.

Religion is a power of civil society to provide awareness and enlightenment for all citizens. Therefore, the state must open sufficiently conducive public room for them. The state is no more relevant to create repressive condition that only reduces creativity spirit of its people's organization. If the State has arranged and provided freedom, and then certain group deviates, it will be the State's duty to take clear action. The State stands on all groups. *Suara Pembaruan* and *Republika* quoted opinion of Haris Ashar, an activist of *Kontras* (*Komisi Orang Hilang dan Tindak Kekerasan)* (Commission for Missing Person and Violence):

"Currently, the government is impressed to let people joining organization always haunting free-

dom of religious life and bliefe, even in democracy. "The government may not only arrest people conducting violence but also analyze ideology of their organization. If ideology of the organization is anti-democracy and –pluralism, it must be annulled," he said while requesting the government firmly protects pluralism.

In case of such civil society strengthening, *Suara Pembaruan* explicitly has opinion that any organization contradictory to justice spirit with hoodlum style must be destroyed (June 2, 2008). On the contrary, *Republika* emphasizes to not easy judge organization. By semantic, this media has opinion:

"It is the easies way to voice and to act 'disolve, imprison, arrest, capital punishment' Islam-labelled people. Moreover, it is easier to say 'harming plurality and not suitable to democratic and humanity values'. Even in Indonesia. The ruling parties, military generals, mass media, business world, and NGO activists are controlled more by any people far from Islamic voices. They could be Muslims. However, they live in different atmosphere or are tempted by financial flow and scholar facilities or travels to various countries in international forums".

Confirmations of the two medias clearly show their interests or ideologies. Suara Pembaruan (Christian) clearly shows anxiety to inequity. Whereas *Republika* (Islam) as majority also enjoyed no specialities. Both of them are running their respective agendas to conduct ideological investigation to find their common enemy. If national elements live in distrust, all of us will suffer damages.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this research is : Firstly, news construction a media is very determined by media ideology. *Suara Pembaruan* (Christian Values) emphasize that FPI performs harshness to people rights in implementing latitudinarian. *Republika* (Islamic Values) assess that FPI does not make harshness but is implementing practice of Islam teaching purification. Second, practices of religion teaching purification do not represent wrong action. But its mechanism, according to

both medias must still at adhering law. Third, state is assessed very irresolute in implementing of its function. State does not give enough protection to weak people. State, ought to have pattern of well-equilibrium relationship with civil society organizations, as manifestation of democratic state. And finally, researcher awares that this research has a limitation. This study is only focused on two medias which have different ideology. For the next research must be aimed to combination of neutral media and also different method.

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