

HEGEMONY OF SOCIAL IRREGULARIT (CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO'S SPEECH RELATED TO THE PROHIBITION OF HOUSES OF WORSHIP)

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Abstract: This research aims to uncover the social irregularities behind President Joko Widodo's speech on 17/01/2023 entitled "Remarks by President Joko Widodo at the Opening of the National Coordination Meeting of Regional Heads and Forkopimda throughout Indonesia in 2023" related to the prohibition of the establishment of houses of worship. By using the qualitative model of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis method to uncover social injustice sourced from primary data websites, videos, and literature. Using data collection techniques of free listening and note-taking techniques. The researcher is an instrument of planning, implementing data collection, data analysis, interpretation, and reporting findings. The results of the lexical pragmatic text analysis found social irregularities of rejection and destruction of houses of worship which represent that the applicable constitution can not be implemented, disobeyed, disobeyed, denied, trivialized, and the existence of resistance to the constitution. It was found that there were obstacles to handling social irregularities in the form of consensus (agreement) of community groups in the form of counter-hegemony and the application of regulations in the realization of contradictions between the 1945 Constitution and PBM Number 9 and 8 of 2006. This shows that there are social irregularities that are deliberately perpetuated so that the apparatus and instruments of state power work. So it is necessary to apply intellectual hegemony to apply the constitution, ideology and power. So it concludes that the government to overcome social irregularities must use total hegemony (integral) without violence, using the constitution and the state ideology apparatus, so that power can regulate the order of worship and religion in Indonesia.

Keywords: hegemony, discourse analysis, critical

The rise of acts of intolerance in various regions in Indonesia, especially related to the prohibition, rejection, and destruction of the establishment of houses of worship is still a problem that continues to recur in various regions. Based on data from 2007 to 2022, there have been 140 incidents of destruction and 90 incidents of rejection of houses of worship.

(Setiawan, 2022). The acts of destruction and rejection of houses of worship are still a problem that often arises in a pluralistic society. Previous research, on freedom of religion and violations of the 1945 Constitution Article 29 paragraph (2) by (Yuswanto, 2007) examined the Critical Discourse of Ahmadiyah Controversy in Kompas and Republika Daily. Analyzing the

ideology in the presentation between Kompas and Republika media related to differences in views on the existence of Ahmadiyah which is considered incompatible with the majority of Islam, and is considered deviant by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).

While pluralism has become an undeniable necessity in Indonesia as a worldrecognized identity for the value of tolerance, the plurality of ethnicities, cultures, languages, customs, and religions makes Indonesia a very tolerant and multicultural country. However, this plurality often causes friction in certain community habitus. This has encouraged the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia to create a religious moderation program as a flagship program that can enlighten all Indonesian people across religions to maintain and uphold tolerance and change the paradigm of Indonesian people who are conservative, fanatical to be moderate in building social relations between religions and religious believers.

Political battles often become an arena for hegemony battles, concerns ahead of the political year by using identity politics again occur, and one of the concerns of President Joko Widodo is the rejection of the establishment of houses of worship to be considered by all regional heads in Indonesia at the Regional Head Rakornas in Sentul, West Java. Research related to President Joko Widodo's speech, by Sarjono Syarif (2019), namely "Text Analysis of the State Speech of President R.I. Joko Widodo Review of Critical Discourse Analysis Model Teun A. Van Dijk". The research describes the facts that are explicit and the interpretation of the implicit facts. That Jokowi is a president who is more adept at exploiting state speeches as a medium and political imaging strategy (politics of imagology, imagery politics).

In contrast to the speech related to freedom of religion, worship and establishing houses of worship by President Joko Widodo, considering that 2023 to 2024 is a political year that must be maintained security stability by all regional heads and Forkopinda. An interesting statement and an important point in the meeting was related to the stability and harmony between religious communities by emphasizing that "Do not let the name of the constitution be defeated by the agreement" and the next sentence "Our constitution provides freedom of religion and

worship". The meaning behind the text is interesting because it shows indications of social irregularities and hegemonic battles between the state and community groups that use the hegemony of power to discriminate and dominate based on consensus (agreement) built by cultural and theological ideology.

The agreement of community groups, organizations, customary laws and rules related to customary land is still a pretext, as a constitution that legitimizes certain customary groups to prohibit or reject the establishment of houses of worship as a form of discrimination, domination using agreements and power to hegemony. This can be seen in several regions, such as in the events that have occurred before, namely the refusal to build houses in Bitung, Aceh Singkil and Tolikara. They use customary law, and consensus (agreement) as one of the constitutions used to weaken the state constitution to discriminate against minority communities. (Angga Indrawan, 2015).

According to Eriyanto (Murwonugroho, 2015) discourse analysis aims to uncover the intent and meaning contained in the discourse because every statement is an act of meaning creation. Based on the president's statement, to be able to uncover the social irregularities behind the text of the speech excerpt using the critical discourse analysis method. By analyzing the grammatical aspects, relational value can be seen from several grammatical points, The sentence form used consists of three forms, namely declarative, grammatical question, and imperative. Relational value focuses on how the choice of words in the text plays a role and contributes to creating social relations. Each sentence form has different meaning implications, and to make it easier to unpack the text, context, relations and social practices of the statement, raises the question of how the representation of the meaning of the text and the context of the statement to be able to uncover forms of social irregularities?

METHOD

This research uses qualitative research, while the data sources used are primary and secondary data. Secondary data uses sources from news media, YouTube videos, and literature. For the main data, the text of President Joko Widodo's speech or what is commonly

called primary data is quoted from the page (Public Relations, 2023) dated 17/01/2023 about the speech of the President of the Republic of Indonesia at the Rakornas of Regional Heads in Sentul, West Java. When quoting and analyzing the text of President Joko Widodo's speech on the state secretariat's web page and YouTube media as a discourse, to be able to analyze it using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. It covers not only linguistic communication but also visual communication, so it can be applied to various discourses. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that discourse is not only in the form of spoken or written language, but also in other forms, such as bodily expressions, including the use of visual semiosis. (Forchtner, 2011). By utilizing semiosis, we can represent the world, act, interact, build identities, and identify the perspectives of various social groups, including exposing social irregularities (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011).

Discourse as a social practice is in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions, not only contributing to the formation and reshaping of social structures but also reflecting them. Critical discourse analysis makes power central in every analysis. Discourse can be manipulated by dominating or dominant groups in power in society to enlarge or maintain their power. Critical Discourse Analysis uses language units as a tool to detect ideology (Darma, 2009). (Darma, 2009). Critical discourse is problem-oriented and critical of the practice of norms that are used as ideological vehicles, and sides with marginalized and dominated groups. (Haryatmoko, 2016).

To identify social irregularities, and find ways to overcome or control them, hegemony theory is used to see the hegemony behind the text of President Joko Widodo's speech. Gramsci (Patria & Arief, 2015) Organized consent through an ongoing process of shaping consciousness hierarchically without the use of violence. This approach is in line with the views of (Laclau & Mouffe, 2014) consider that hegemony has relevance in analyzing the process of disarticulation and re-articulation aimed at creating and maintaining political sovereignty and moral-intellectual leadership. Hegemony is a practice of articulation that builds common ground in a series of relationships that partially correct discrepancies in an organized system of difference. In line with

the concept of hegemony introduced by Louis (Althusser, 2012) the state controls society without the use of violence by exercising dominance through the state's ideological apparatus. Thus creating a false consciousness in society that makes them approve of the actions of the state, even if it is against their interests. The process, called hegemonization, aims to maintain power over a long period of time (Hutagalung, 2004:13).

The data collection technique of this research uses the technique of *simak bebas libat cakup* (SBLC) and note technique. For the instrument, the position of the researcher as a planner, implementer of data collection, implementer of data analysis, interpretation, and reporter of the findings, the research instrument is the researcher himself (human instrument). (Sugiyono, 2013). The steps of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method (2012), namely (1) focusing on analyzing text data lexically pragmatically to find social irrelevance in the semiotic aspect by identifying the meaning of President Joko Widodo's speech text on the page (Public Relations, 2023); (2) identifying obstacles in dealing with the social disorder; (3) considering whether the social order needs social disorder or not; (4) identifying ways that can overcome obstacles and critically reflecting on the previous four steps of analysis to expose the interests of the analyzer (Sausina, 2022).

According to (Althusser, 2012) the concept of ideology is that dominant power can control other groups, and hegemony is a way to see and spread the ideology peacefully without acts of violence. This is in line with the concept of hegemony according to Fairclough, that hegemony is used to analyze discourse practices that involve power. (Eriyanto, 2001).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research Results

The following is the text of the speech delivered by President Joko Widodo "Remarks of President Joko Widodo at the Opening of the National Coordination Meeting of Regional Heads and Regional Coordination Councils throughout Indonesia in 2023. On Tuesday, January 17, 2023" is described in the following table.

Table 1. Text of President Joko Widodo's Speech on Religious Freedom

Text of President Joko Widodo's Speech	Representation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Regarding freedom of worship and freedom of religion, be careful! ▪ Christians, Catholics, Hindus, Confucians, be careful! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Representation of barriers and handling of social inequality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ These have the same rights in worship; ▪ have the same rights in freedom of religion and worship; ▪ Be careful! Religion and worship are guaranteed by our constitution! ▪ guaranteed by Article 29 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution; ▪ Again, guaranteed by the constitution, this must be understood! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Representation of a form of social disorder
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Dandim, kapolda, kapolda, pangdam must understand this, kejari, kejati! ▪ Don't let the constitution be defeated by agreement! ▪ The constitution must not be defeated by agreement! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Representation of social injustice ▪ Overcoming social disadvantage
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There was a meeting, FKUB for example, This for example, agreed not to allow building places of worship; ▪ Be careful! ▪ Our constitution, be careful! guarantees that; ▪ there is a mayor's regulation, or there is a regent's instruction, be careful! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Representation of barriers and handling of social inequality ▪ Social order that requires social disorder
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ We should all know this! ▪ Our constitution provides freedom of religion and worship! ▪ Even if it's just one, two, three cities or regencies, be careful about this because I see it still happening 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Addressing social irregularities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ I sometimes wonder how hard it is for people to worship; ▪ It's sad when we hear it.. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Barriers and handling of social inequality

Identifying Social Irregularities

In his speech, President Joko Widodo criticized the persistence of restrictions on the establishment of houses of worship when the Constitution guaranteed freedom of worship and freedom of religion. This was conveyed by the President during the National Coordination Meeting of Regional Heads in Sentul, West Java. While attending the 2023 National Coordination Meeting of Regional Heads in Sentul, West Java. President Joko Widodo alluded to the prohibition of the establishment of houses of worship and asked that the Constitution not be defeated by agreements. The President added that the Constitution guarantees freedom of worship and freedom of religion. (Davin, 2023).

Based on this source, the mapping of speech forms is carried out by listening to and recording President Joko Widodo's speech through the YouTube account and adjusting it to the speech text posted on the cabinet secretariat website page (PR, 2023). Speech acts are divided into five types of actions, namely representative, directive, expressive, commissive, and declarative. (Suciati, 2018). The sentence "Do not let the name of the constitution be defeated by the agreement" contains a warning meaning that must be considered by regional heads. This can be strengthened in the text of the speech and video recording "Our constitution, be careful! guarantee that" the president repeats the word "careful" as a metaphor for the word

'watch', to be considered so that there will be no more acts of rejection and destruction of houses of worship. The President repeats the word "be careful" seven times which contains certain intentions and meanings so that all regional heads and Forkopinda can pay attention to maintaining order and creating a sense of security, comfort and peace for all citizens in worship as regulated by the constitution. In terms of pragmatics and speech acts, the phrases and sentences contain directive and declarative elements that have certain intentions and expect reactions from speech partners.

Based on President Joko Widodo's statement in his speech that "religion and worship are guaranteed by our constitution " then continued with the affirmation "the constitution must not be defeated by agreement" shows a declarative form of illocution in the form of direct speech, also contains imperative meaning, namely giving orders, warnings that imply to the interlocutor to do something according to what the speaker wants so that there is no more resistance to the constitution among community groups. The imperative form based on the form of illocutionary acts, implies an indirect order to the regional head to implement and enforce the rules of the state constitution as regulated in the 1945 Constitution.

Widdowson (1979) says that a conversational discourse, although related, does not always show a solid relationship between the two sentences in it. This is the case with the president's speech quoted back by the media (kompas.com) whose grammatical focus of research is on the statement "Do not let the name of the constitution be defeated by agreement" and "Our constitution provides freedom of religion and worship". The two sentences have a cohesion relationship both in terms of grammatical meaning and lexical meaning. As said (Halliday, 1992) that a text has a texture created by the cohesive relationship between sentences in the text. To see the meaning of the interpretation of the sentence, the use of exophoric referents to explain something outside the context of the situation and endophoric which refers solely to what is in the text.

The next step is to interpret the meaning of the text to reveal the relational, power and social practices that imply social irregularities behind the meaning of the text of the sentence so that the president makes an important point in his

speech that must be considered by regional heads throughout Indonesia. The representation of meaning in the sentence "our constitution provides freedom of religion and worship" on the word "constitution" if interpreted lexically, namely the basic law of a country, which represents all the provisions and rules regarding the applicable state administration, namely the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Furthermore, the phrase "guarantee" consists of a verb that states the action taken to provide a guarantee of safety, which refers to the giver of the guarantee, namely the state and the government as the executor of the guarantee of legal protection in the form of rules or regulations.

In the statement "Do not let the constitution be defeated by agreement" there is the phrase "do not let" which means hoping that it does not happen, showing the resulting concern. "The constitution is defeated by agreement" which means that the applicable constitution may not be implemented, disobeyed, disobeyed, denied, or trivialized, and there is resistance to the 1945 Constitution. Furthermore, the phrase "by agreement" consists of the particle "by" which refers to "agreement" which means consensus or agreed matters as a form of counterpoint that defeats the higher constitution.

Barriers to Handling Social Irregularities

According to (Fairclough, 2013) According to Fairclough, language is inseparable from the interests and power that accompany it. This can be seen in the quote from the president's speech "Do not let the constitution be defeated by agreement" There is the phrase "defeated by agreement" which represents related actions taken by community groups that seek to form and perpetuate power. The next sentence "There was a meeting, FKUB, for example, agreed not to allow building places of worship" represents the existence of efforts to fight hegemony, counter-hegemony and power in the form of disobeying the existing constitution. This becomes an obstacle for the state in an effort to create total hegemony for its people to obey the state constitution.

Related to the prohibition, rejection, and destruction of houses of worship are the most common types of violations of freedom of religion and belief from 2007 to 2022. Based on the records of human rights NGOs, Setara

Institute recorded about 140 incidents of destruction and 90 incidents of violations of houses of worship. Meanwhile, for the last 5 years, the numbers have increased, whether it is rejection, resistance or houses of worship that have been established and then rejected or whose worship is disturbed, around 30 cases. At the peak in 2022, as many as 50 houses of worship experienced disturbances, most of which were Protestant and Catholic churches (21 units), mosques (16), temples (6), masala (4), temples (2), and houses of worship of believers (1) places of worship. (Fathiyah Wardah, 2023).

The latest obstacle is the plan to build a church on land owned by Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (HKBP) Maranatha in the Cikuasa neighborhood, Gerem Village, Grogol Subdistrict, Cilegon City, which was rejected by a number of elements of society to the Cilegon City Regional apparatus, even the Minister of Religion Yaqut Cholil Qoumas emphasized that if the Cilegon City insisted on not issuing a permit, the Minister of Religion would automatically meet the Mayor of Cilegon. (Kemenag.go.id., 2022). In addition, the rejection of the establishment of a mosque for Muslim minorities received rejection and resistance from the TTU Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) and the Catholic Student Association of the Republic of Indonesia (PMKRI) occurred in the neighborhood of the North Central Timor Regency Police (TTU), East Nusa Tenggara. (Wardani, 2022).

Although the state constitutionally guarantees freedom of religion and belief in accordance with their respective beliefs and convictions as stated in the 1945 Constitution in Article 29 paragraph (2). However, in reality in the community, the state constitution is sometimes not implemented and instead defeated by customary law, regional regulations and the consensus of certain community groups. This was reminded in President Joko Widodo's speech that "There is a mayor's regulation, or there is a regent's instruction, be careful" In the next sentence the president said, "even though it is only one, two, three cities or regencies, but be careful about this because I see it still happening". The two presidential statements represent that there are still obstacles to overcoming social inequality. Generally, the consensus built by the community is ideological in nature, thus influencing local government

policies or regulations which are ultimately used as a tool of power and counter-hegemony.

The occurrence of obstacles prohibiting the establishment of houses of worship is due to the overlap between the constitution in this case the 1945 Constitution which regulates freedom of religion with the joint regulation of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs Number 9 and 8 of 2006 implemented by the Religious Communication Forum (FKUB). The rules implemented by FKUB as a derivative of the 1945 Constitution which specifically regulates the rules for the establishment of houses of worship are often used as a basis for rejection of the establishment of houses of worship on the grounds that they are not in accordance with and do not meet the requirements of the three ministers' decisions. (Sabara, 2018).

In addition to the obstacle is the existence of consensus by community groups, including unscrupulous government by making their regulations in the president's statement "there is a mayor's regulation, or there is a regent's instruction" being an inhibiting factor that represents a contra between the state constitution and the joint regulations of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs Number 9 and 8 of 2006. This was expressed in the results of a study by Komnas HAM RI which was launched on November 6, 2020, finding that the implementation of the Joint Regulation of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs Number 9 and 8 of 2006, when viewed from a human rights perspective, needs to be improved and reviewed in terms of concept and practice.

The existence of a Joint Ministerial Regulation that regulates the maintenance of religious harmony and the establishment of houses of worship is considered to limit the right to freedom of religion and belief, contrary to the 1945 Constitution Article 29 paragraph (2). One of the requirements for the establishment of houses of worship stipulated in the PBM is often used as an obstacle, namely the requirement for a list of names and identity cards (KTP) of at least 90 people and the signature support of the surrounding community of at least 60 people, written recommendations from the religious department office, and written recommendations from the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB). Unfortunately, the government's role in

facilitating these obligations is always primary and sometimes these requirements cannot be met or are used as loopholes to hinder the establishment permit. Meanwhile, the existence and role of the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) in the 2006 PBM turned out to contribute to the conflict over the establishment of houses of worship related to the function of providing recommendations as a condition for the Regional Government to issue permits often stalled. (Latuharhary, 2020).

Social Order Requires Social Disorder

To see the role and function of the To see the role and function of the constitution in controlling the order of society, it is necessary to realize and implement the Constitution itself. In the sentence "religion and worship are guaranteed by our constitution" there is the word "guaranteed" represents the obligation and responsibility of the government to create a sense of security, peace, freedom, and tolerance for every citizen to carry out their obligations as religious beings by presenting devices in the form of apparatus, a state security system that can protect citizens in practicing their religion and beliefs. To see the role of the state and government in controlling the order of society by using the constitution, like it or not, social disorder is needed to show the influence and role of the government and law enforcement officials in implementing the constitution. The power that the state has in implementing the constitution as a representation of the influence of hegemony and the power of the state and government in exercising power runs in an orderly manner and in accordance with the constitution without violence.

In perpetuating power, social irregularities are sometimes deliberately left to show the strength of the state's power and hegemony tools can work through the drafting of regulations that are made, then applied as a way of hegemony without violence. Based on the meaning of the vocabulary of the word "constitution" intended by the president, it represents the ideology of power and the state is present for all citizens to comply in total with the 1945 Constitution. Such compliance is a form of total non-violent hegemony, which shows the position of power and state apparatus present to regulate the order of religious diversity in Indonesia so that it continues to run in harmony, peace and tolerance

amid multicultural plurality. Article 29 ayat (2) of the 1945 Constitution, apart from being a constitution that regulates the order of worship and religious life in society, is also a hegemonic medium used by the state and implemented by the government to organize and regulate the state system so that it is obeyed and implemented thoroughly by all citizens

Overcoming Barriers to Social Irregularity

When President Joko Widodo said that "the constitution should not be inferior to the agreement" related to the prohibition of the establishment of houses of worship that are rampant is an event or social practice that occurs in the community and becomes a discourse that is produced and continues to recur in several districts and cities not only related to the prohibition of houses of worship and vandalism but in other social practices that in reality the agreement sometimes defeats the constitution. These social practices show an indication of the power that plays ideologically outside state institutions such as religion, culture, and political parties. When there is a power that is able to control the order of society in the form of power domination by using agreements that are contrary to the state constitution, it indicates the influence of hegemony that plays a role in forming consensus. To overcome social irregularities, total hegemony without violence by using the constitution as a tool in regulating the order of society in worship and religion so that there is no more rejection of the establishment of houses of worship and their derivatives.

Gramsci (Patria & Arief, 2015) then divides into three levels of hegemony, among others: integral hegemony, decadent hegemony, and minimum hegemony. Total hegemony (integral), when society shows solid moral and intellectual unity, can be seen from the organic relationship between the state government and the governed in this case the community approaches total obedience which is not colored by resistance, rejection, contradiction and antagonism, the absence of hegemonic resistance both socially and culturally. Decadent hegemony is characterized by the potential for disintegration or potential conflict hidden beneath the surface. Even though the system created is in accordance with the common will and its goals, the mentality of the masses is not truly aligned

(pretending to obey) with the dominant thinking and the subject of hegemony. Minimum hegemony is hegemony that relies on ideological unity between economic, political and intellectual elites, which takes place simultaneously when hegemonic groups do not want to adjust their interests and aspirations with other classes in society (Siswati, 2018).

Discussion

When viewed from the lexical meaning of pragmatic linguistics, President Joko Widodo's speech "The Constitution Must not be Defeated by Agreement" contains certain speech meanings as Austin said (Allan, 2010). (Allan, 2010) that every speech contains action. President Joko Widodo's statement shows that there is a social irregularity that occurs related to the prohibition of the establishment of houses of worship by certain groups of people who make a consensus to go against the state constitution in this case the 1945 Constitution which is higher in hierarchy. Forms of obstacles in social practices related to freedom of worship and religion are the rampant prohibition and establishment and destruction of houses of worship that occur in Indonesia, which can be seen in several events of rejection of the establishment of houses of worship in various regions. (Sabara, 2018). One of the efforts to perpetuate these social irregularities by using one of Gramsci's (1999) forms of hegemony is to carry out an idea of control that seeks to engineer compliance (Pahlevi, 2018). (Pahlevi, 2018). The assumption is by doing various ways to create consensus in society, including using religion and belief as a tool to dominate and discriminate against marginalized groups in the form of refusal to build houses of worship.

The rejection by community groups using power in the regions based on agreements, customary law and theological domination of religious minorities is a counter-hegemony to the total hegemony applied by the central government. They try to fight against the order that is built in order to create a tolerant society and live in peace. As said (Gramsci, 1999) there are two types of intellectuals in hegemony, namely traditional intellectuals and organic intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals look more independent, and autonomous, and distance themselves from community life. Organic

intellectuals are those who actually implant ideas, become part of the dissemination of ideas in society from the ruling class, and actively participate in the formation of the desired society. (Ali, 2017) Counter hegemony is formed from social practices in society that have the power to dominate, discriminate, and marginalize minority groups by forming cultural and theological agreements on the similarity of perspectives, ideologies, cultures, and beliefs that influence. The practice of hegemony is carried out by blocking the establishment of houses of worship, delaying the licensing process for the establishment of houses of worship by utilizing the loopholes derived from the constitution that are carried out to block the establishment of houses of worship.

Based on this situation, the state must be present to implement the constitution as a whole using the concept of integral (total) hegemony. According to Gramsci's view, not all hegemony in its application is negative, coercive or violent, hegemony is not something that must be imposed with violence. Hegemony can also be achieved through political, cultural and intellectual efforts to be able to create the same worldview for the whole society (Ali, 2017). (Ali, 2017). Based on this view, the statement made by President Joko Widodo in his speech in front of regional heads throughout Indonesia that "our constitution provides freedom of religion and worship". Representing the position of the Indonesian state as a state of law that must be obeyed, and implemented by all citizens without exception is a form of total (integral) hegemony pursued by the government through political efforts, power intervention, and state legal instruments. Gramsci's hegemony view (Kusumawati, 2014) that the political power of authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and centralism of a ruling regime is constitutionally required to be carried out by the government in order to achieve the objectives of strengthening power and smoothness in the exercise of power.

Related to the state apparatus as the executor of the enforcement of the state ideology constitution, it can be seen in the sentence "Dandim, kapolres, kapolda, pangram must understand this, kejari, kejati" who are reminded to be able to implement the constitution as a whole as a representation of the implementation of total (integral) hegemony so that there are no more events of rejection, resistance, antagonism,

counter-hegemony socially and culturally at the community level. This system of power, in turn, creates subjects to be able to regulate their lives through a series of restrictions, prohibitions, regulations, controls, or even individual protections related to political structures. Hegemony is a chain of victories obtained through the mechanism of consensus (agreement), not only through the oppression of other social classes. (Gramsci, 1999). Among them are through the politics of power which is authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and centralism of a constitutional ruling regime to achieve the goal of strengthening, and smooth implementation of power. So hegemony becomes the only determinant of something that is considered correct, both morally and intellectually in ordering, controlling and perpetuating power (Kusumawati, 2014).

CONCLUSION

In critical discourse analysis, it cannot be separated from micro-linguistic aspects. President Joko Widodo's statement is in the form of a declarative, imperative which means commanding or giving commands, stating prohibitions or having to carry out actions to maintain political sovereignty, and moral and intellectual leadership of the government in carrying out its hegemonization process. Based on the sentence, related to the application of the constitution that guarantees the freedom to establish houses of worship, it represents politically that the state constitution must be implemented by all regional heads, legal instruments, and state ideological apparatus, in order to guarantee freedom of worship and religion.

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The declarative statement shows that social relations in the implementation of the application of the constitution are still often not carried out, deviating, violating or in other words unconstitutional, which represents the existence of social irregularities that occur. The violation of the constitution is legitimized by the majority groups of people in a particular region or area by using the prevailing autonomous consensus such as customary law and religion. The existence of a group that dominates and disagrees with minority groups shows disobedience to the Constitution and the total hegemony that has been built by the government. So it represents the minimum hegemony situation that occurs in the region, especially those who are vulnerable to rejection of the establishment of houses of worship.

In order to avoid repetition in a society that does not comply with the state constitution. By prioritizing certain rules outside the state constitution, such as customary law, theological beliefs and ideologies that become consensus so as to influence government policy in making decisions to legitimize groups, community institutions, and rulers to restrict the prohibition of worship and establish houses of worship. So the government should be able to carry out the role of power and constitution using hegemony totally without violence in order to create peace, tolerance, mutual harmony, human rights and just and civilized humanity. This needs to be done to perpetuate the influence of the Constitution which does not lead to counter-hegemony by certain groups of people so that the role of power and the Constitution experience minimum power hegemony.

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