CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter would present the findings and discussion that had been found by the researcher, based on data analysis which had been analyzed and systematized to fulfill the needs of this research in order to find the good result, even the best result. Therefore, the findings are for supporting, developing, and enriching discussion until answering the statement of problem so the research could give objective result which could be compared with other research result, because the tittle or problem is phenomenal at this time and it may be repeated in the future. Thus, the research would focus on textual and contextual interpretation and meaning which were compared with social and power features or discourse.

4.1. Findings

4.1.1. The Chronology of Ahok's SpeechCritical Discourse Analysis

Ahok's speech on this issue was carried out in the Seribu island, which was on a working review program on September 2016. His arrival aimed to review the grouper empowerment program which, according to his understanding and experience will continue even though the governor would be replaced in governor's choice on February 2017. Therefore, according to him, residents do not have to worry about not having to choose him just because they want the program to continue (www.bbc.com).

This background is fundamental to the interpretation of Ahok's speech regarding religious blasphemy though in a matter of seconds. Therefore, the momentum was used by Buni Yani to upload a video that will be phenomenal at that time on October 6, 2016 titled "blasphemy against religion?" by cutting off one of the words used by ahok, that is "use". Buni Yani action was the embryo of a case of blasphemy by Ahok that is supported by the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) South Sumatra. Furthermore, itis supported by several organizations that reported Ahok's actions.

The polemic and discourse that occurred in the video was first coming from a video uploaded by Buni Yani with editing as much as 7 times (editing), thus it causes different discourses and interpretations. The atmosphere became increasingly murky that led Ahok into the big problem through a report from Republika at 14.17 WIB entitled "Called Residents were Lyed by Al-Qur'an, Tomorrow Ahok will be dealing with police", thus adding a series of reports of blasphemy him as many as 5 reports on Ahok's case complaints on October 7, 2016 (www.detikmetro.com). Based on the incident, Ahok apologized to the Muslims regarding his remarks regarding sural Al-Maidah verse 51 on October 10, 2016.

That chronology was an embryo that would flourish so as to encourage all elements of society demand a legal accountability of Ahok's speech. However, the demands of the community is allegedly a political arena because it is supported by some people who tend to touch, even in direct contact, with politics, such as Rizieq Shihab, Fahri Hamzah and Fadli Zon. Furthermore, this event

became a discourse for society because it approached the election of the Governor of DKI in 2017 so that it tends to come into contact with the ruler and thick with the political atmosphere of Indonesia. Therefore, textual and contextual discourse in Ahok's speech is important to study based on discourse analysis to understand the meaning and purpose his speech. The selection of words in Ahok's speech contributed to the critical discourse and some opinions on his speech became the subject of the study that needed to be reviewed in terms of critical discourse analysis.

4.1.2. Textual Features

4.1.2.1. Vocabulary

Ahok's speech has several words that each have the original meaning before being combined with another word. These words became fundamental in understanding the entire contents of Ahok's speech as well as looking at the polemic that happened until the creation of a blasphemy accusation against him. Therefore, the individual's original meaning of words needs to be revealed to create harmony between words to the corresponding interpretation in the next stage.

As for the words that needed to be expressed are words that can represent the whole content of Ahok's speech as keywords. These keywords which will be developed with other words as a supporting words (secondary) in order to create harmony and integrity of textual meaning so as not to generate multi interpretation. The key words are generally divided into two, namely verbal and non verbal.

Some words in Ahok's speech and titles that are given by Buni Yani had verbs or basic forms that can be different meanings and application. So, there are some words that indicate the meaning of the process as well as things to come (future). Therefore, the conformity of words choice in this case largely determine the understanding of person who literally listens to it. Some of the verbs in question are *degrading*, *choosing*, *believing*, *feeling*, *cheating*, *telling* and hating or dislike. All of these verbs have their respective affixes and each meanings which will be explained in sequence of following meaning of verbs:

First, the word "menistakan" (slander) has the stem word 'nista' (in Indonesia language) with the prefix 'me' and the end (sufix) 'kan' mean making (assume/consider) nista (insult), has a synonym of the word with humiliating and demeaning. This word is based on its prefix and sufix show the meaning of performing the action.

Secondly, word "memilih" (to choose) has prefixes 'me' (in Indonesia word) indicates the meaning of appointing people and others by voting to them, as in elections and others. Thirdly, the word "percaya" (belief) in this issue is more likely to show the true sense of certainty or to assure the ability or the advantage that a person has to fulfill his or her expectations. Fourth, the word "merasa" (to feel) is a word associated with feelings, inner feelings and about the senses. This is due to the word 'to feel' that has meaning of everything related to the senses.

Further, fifth, the word "membohongi" (to lie) in this matter can be interpreted as denying what has become the deepest heart desire. In other words 'to lie' means an attempt to say something or to behave to someone who is inconsistent with reality. Sixth, the word "menceritakan" (to tell) means to say something to others about what happened. Seventh, the word "membenci" (to hate) has a synonym of dislike. But, in this case is not like totally towards others, both in terms of behavior and speech.

Based on several meanings of these key words, then at least give an idea of its use in Ahok's speech, so that it can be concluded the contents and purposes of his speech. Overall, the choice of those words are very closely relate to the environment in which the speech was done and also the general public who could understand it well. That is, the choice of words and meanings is very simple and easy to understand so as not to cause multi interpretation among people of the Seribu island, even for the listener generally.

In addition, active verb changes as had already mentioned, were used in his speech through significant changes in accordance with its function and usage. The change that still includes in the verb is the active word "membohongi" (to deceive/ to lie) into a passive word "dibohongi" (be deceived/ be lied). This means that perpetrator of lying is not known certainly. In same opinion with this explanation is contained in the word "dibodohin" (be fooled), but not yet known for certain perpetrators or people who fool. The existence of subject or perpetrator of this which will lead to interpretation, of course, by looking at the whole sentences that will be discussed in the discussion later.

As for the form of vocabulary that becomes the focus of research is non verbal. But, some of its words are a change from the previously mentioned verbs and partly pure non verbal. Some of the words in question are 'elections, stories, rights, conscience and feelings'. Therefore, those words can be explained as follows:

First, the word*election* that shows the meaning of a process, a way, or a deed as a form of doing something in accordance with the will/desire. While the second, the word*story*, in this case is the result of a person's sensing so as to reach the stage of conclusion which is then notified to others in order to achieve the purpose of delivering the experience. This story can also be interpreted as a speech describing chronologically an event.

Third, the word *rights*. This word is defined as the authority or power that is in a person to do or not do something. Therefore, rights are very different from obligations, because rights are not in the form of necessity to do or leave something, while obligation is a form of inevitability. Fourth, *conscience* that has meaning the deepest feeling of heart. The meaning of the word conscience in the Ahok's video is the absence of elements that influence people to do something (fair and neutral according to his heart). The last, fifth, is the word *feeling*, is a result that is achieved by a person to consider and feel something through the five senses, or in the form of a result of one's inner experience in facing something.

Some nonverbal words in Ahok's video provide a separate value that can be constructed each other to form a whole new meaning. The meaning process of the word construction can be known through the use of grammar, cohesion and text structure. But, grammar is the second thing that needs to be discussed after vocabulary.

4.1.2.2.Grammar

The purpose of textual features from grammar aspect in this case is not limited to a set of rules about the grammar structure which is divided into eight parts, called the part of speech, but rather the purpose of the structure of the language which can be known explicitly or implicitly. Therefore, some studies of semantics, acts of speech and others that relate to grammar aspect.

In this case, there are several sentences related to grammar that make it possible to know the sequence of words and meaning of sentences which he spoke. At least in this grammar if connected with time automatically, divided into three, namely the past, present and future. Therefore, the findings of data analysis in terms of grammar are easier using the timing analysis which will be developed surely based on other findings that support.

First, in terms of the future, there are several sentences that show about Ahok's view toward possibilities that will occur and its anticipation, as well as the meanings contained in it. Ahok's speech that shows the future along with its meaning as follows:

1. Sentence, "jadi gak usah pikiran aah nanti kalau gak kepilih pasti Ahok programnya bubar, gak saya sampe oktober 2017" (so dont think it please, next time if I will not be chosen, Ahok's program surely broken up, no,

because I will work until 2017). This sentence gave motivation to the listeners, especially for those who presented at that time to be used to carrying out what he had done without being affected by the election of the head of region that would be implemented. This means that the optimism that is given by Ahok had no relationship at all with the political settlement that would occur, even his speech provided assurance and certainty to the local community that what was happening in the form of fish cultivation continued as it should be because the program was an auto pilot-based program that did not rely on a governor only, namely Ahok only. Furthermore, in the speech, Ahok seemed to say that what we (local government) did, had to be distinguished by the political problems that would occur. It also educated the public to mature in addressing the problems that existed in the environment of the community economy and problems that will come in the form of politics in Jakarta in general.

Besides that, the phrase in Ahok's speech reinforced to the individuals who attended at that time to look ahead and continue to run the program that was implemented in accordance with their beliefs, of course, based on monitoring and direction from the government on the program of cultivation. While the election-related inclusion is more asserted to the public that it is a common fact that happens, if the head of the region changes, then the change also set policies and support programs later. Therefore, the future vision was shown by Ahok to the public was more likely to maturity and strengthening the character of individuals who attended in dealing with the normal event, but did not rule out it could be broken with Ahok's program that could be run by

anyone even though he would be elected as governor again. Individual reinforcement was really desired by Ahok in order that people were not easily fooled by politicians who had a hidden interest, so that people were more objective and smarter in responding based on their own experiences. Therefore, further speech led to self-reflection and self-beliefs that were addressed to the conscience of each audiences to choose a suitable leader. This is implicated from his speech, "jadi jangan percaya sama orang, kan bisa aja dalam hati kecil bapak ibu tidak bisa pilih saya" (so do not trust the same person, can it be in the small heart of the ladies and gentlemens can not choose me), that was an attempt to fight and change the mindstream that had been happening in the election of the governor up to now.

2. Sentence "jadi kalau bapak ibu perasaan gak bisa pilih nih karena saya takut masuk neraka 'dibodohin gitu ya' gak papa, karena ini kan panggilan pribadi bapak ibu" (so if ladies and gentelmens feelings can not choose because 'I am afraid to go to hell' fooled so ya. It does not matter, because this is a personal call of ladies and gentlemens). The statement points to Ahok's divergence to societie's general way of thinking that is still synonymous with giving priority to feelings for a firm reason. Therefore, the effort of Ahok's search and understanding were responded by preference, but in fact the preference is more attributed to the religious reasons that's embraced by the majority of Jakarta people. Thus, the personal choice of religion in the statement indicates his tolerance to Islam without intending to humiliate or insult it. However, at a glance the meaning can be ignored with the word "dibodohin" (be fooled) in

the next sentence that shows the element of deliberate insulting Al-Maidah verse 51 that is mentioned earlier. In this case causes great polemic for Muslims. It is just that many people who do not realize that the meaning of words "dibodohin" (be fooled) or in the same word meaning, use passive voice, in fact must be studied in depth of the perpetrator or who fool people. The word is actually more likely to actors in real terms, who interpret the contents of the verse, both textually and contextually. That is, the escalation of opinion and justification toward opinion become a fundamental thing that can form agreement of opinion which according to the majority is true, although not necessarily according to the study of interpretation of the verse in depth is true. The construction of opinion led to the public declaring that who fool is the Qur'an, so that Ahok's statement that declared "be fooled" is an insult to the Qur'an. This kind of meaning is grammatically a meaningful interpretation of a few sentences and words without seeing the whole sentence construction from begining to the end, as well as the atmosphere of listener at that time and description of Indonesian political reality, especially in the capital of Indonesia, Jakarta.

Therefore, the statement of "be fooled" meaning is refuted by the next sentence "ini kan panggilan pribadi" (this is a personal calling), indicates that the attempt to express the meaning of perpetrator who fooled actually was returned to each individual, not textually the Qur'an and its translation. The denial of textual of the Qur'an is as if by Ahok intended to give the opportunity to think to the people carefully and consider everything from the results of his

understanding of meaning of the Qur'an, not to be a blind tidbit which, according to him, is still widely embraced by Indonesia people.

Second, in terms of the past. Based on the textual data that is obtained in Ahok's speech, explicitly the appointment of past time is not mentioned (because of Indonesia grammar uncertain use it in time signal or direct sentence), but it can be known based on grammar in both positive and negative formats or certain prohibitions or invitations, so it is more inclined to Ahok's experiences during his struggle in politics world. Therefore, some of the findings of the text data are described as follows:

- 1. The phrase "ya saya ingin cerita ini supaya bapak ibu semangat" (yes I want to tell this story in order that ladies and gentlemen are spirit), points to Ahok's experiences regarding the government program's abandonment if replaced by another government as it happens up to now. In other words, Ahok seemed to indicate that his government was not the same as the previous government and his government though it was better in terms of the program because it was not limited to one man in show (head of region/governor) which had been the benchmark and benchmark of program implementation anymore in the previous period.
- 2. The phrase "jadi jangan percaya sama orang" (so do not believe any people) is a rule that shows the prohibition in order not tobe easily believe in people who are in the name of sacred texts of religion or religion in general that had occurred in the period before Ahok's leadership in Jakarta. This can be seen through his experience asking his friend about the meaning of Surah Al-

Maidah verse 51 which shows the real interpretation is based on the turbulence of that verse there are Muslims who want to kill the Prophet Muhammad by way of analysis and form a group consisting of Christians and Jews. In proportion to that, Ahok revealed the experience of using sacred texts of Christianity in Galatians 6:10 (Ahok, 2008:40).

Third, grammar-based search in terms of the present, it is the data findings that were resulted from Ahok's direct speech, statements and responses to the current phenomenon. Several sentences are found based on the past in terms of grammar that can be understood in present meaning as follows:

1. The sentence "kalau saya tidak terpilih pun bapak ibu, saya berhentinya oktober 2017" (if I was not elected, ladies and gentlemen, I would stop on October 2017) said the consequences of unelected in the future, but the negative sentence is also shown as a form of convincing people that what is done is not in vain until out of his office.

Similarly, the cessation statement indicates a statement based on fact of office term which would end in October 2017. but this implicitly also encourages people to continue to work hard starting from saying it out until a few months later to realize and develop fish aquaculture program from Ahok.

2. The phrase, "jadi jangan percaya sama orang" (so do not believe in any people) denotes current prohibitions which should promote self-confidence. Furthermore the words "yang gak dibohongin pakai surat Al-Maidah ayat 51" (which is not lied to use Chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51), the negative

- statement but contains a positive thing in the form of use of verses and some same usages until now, to achieve certain political goals for particular group.
- 3. the content of his speech "saya takut masuk neraka "dibodohin gitu ya" (I am afraid to go to hell"is fooled so it is") is an irony that when the speech occurred with an effort to reveal the fact that religious doctrine is still inherent in Jakarta people, generally Indonesia. Therefore, the phrase is an advice for the people nowadays to choose and sort out the best for him, so in the next sentence use the barometer or measurement of the vote by using personal calls or Jakarta people's conscience.

4.1.2.3. Cohesion and Text Structure

The relation between one sentence with another sentence in Ahok's speech is a necessity that needs to be studied in depth. Furthermore, more deeply the linkage can be known through the text structure in order to gain a holistic understanding. Alignment, harmony and relationship that are expressed between one sentence and anothers are cohesion. In other words, discourse elements that are used to compose discourse using words or sentences have a whole relationship so that cohesion is more studied on the formal aspects of language and its internal.

Around the 24th minutes in Ahok's speech was crucial to the debate and problems that dragged Ahok into joy. Though on his working visit to the Seribu island, he conveyed his views related to fish farming program and economic empowerment of the community. It is just in few minutes, he revealed his

experience in the world of politics related to the use of religion as a tool and ladder to reach the political objectives for certain circles.

At the beginning of the 24th minute Ahok provided accurate information on the timing of the regional head election. That was, Ahok pointed out that if disconnected in the sentence that shows the information, then the program that settled by Ahok could stop spontaneously. But, the opposite was to encourage and ensure to the participants at that time that the program being implemented would continue even though the elected governor on february election was not Ahok. This was reinforced by the administrative reality of taking up his post which would end on October 2017.

The relationship between a sentence with another sentence based on the text structure provides the main basis of the actual event in Ahok's speech. Explanations related to the election of regional heads (governor) are expressed before the existence of a statement that is considered by society to defame the Qur'an. This further explicitly serves to provide motivation and spirit and educate the community and show that the set program can be run by any government.

As for the cohesion in the sentence is represented by the use of his statement to dismiss the public mindstream in general "gak usah hawatir" (do not worry) and then affirmed with the statement "saya cerita ini supaya Bapak Ibu semangat" (I tell this in order to ladies and gentlemen are spirit). The sequence of sentence is clearly an inseparable unity in order to understand its full meaning.

Furthermore, based on the analysis of cohesion and text structure, the findings in the text of Ahok's speech can be seen through the division of cohesion in discourse into lexical and grammatical (Halliday and Hasan, 2010: 10). Both of it can be expressed as cohesive if they can be interpreted through the relationships of the elements which are contained in the text (Sanna and Tanskanen, 2006: 16). Thus, the cohesion is generally a semantic relation to the text and not necessarily in the form of formal features of a text, but cohesion shows the description that is poured out and perceived by the reader and the listener to the conection of a text (Fischer and Starcke, 2010: 146).

Grammatical cohesion is a semantic relationship between elements that have been marked by the tools that are used and related to grammar. While lexical cohesion tends to be defined by the semantic relationship between discourse-forming elements by using lexical elements or used words in the text. Therefore, the findings of data through text analysis in the speech is inseparable from two kinds of cohesion which is automatically supported by the text structure to know the relationship and meaning of the text.

In Ahok's speech can be analyzed by text in the cohesion of grammatical discourse which is divided into references, substitutions, ellipsis and conjunctions. First, grammatical cohesion in the form of a reference, namely oral or written discourse that includes on various elements such as perpetrators, complementary of deeds, implemented thing and places of activity or activity that's carried out. As for some sentences that indicate the reference cohesion is mainly seen from his words that repeated the word "ladies and gentlemen" in

some term like 'Ladies and Gentlemen do not wory' and also 'ladies and gentlemen do not have to feel inconvenience', both words refer to the whole participants of the governor's working visit or community of Seribu island who attended at the time.

The appointment of reference cohesion is also seen in the sentence, "ya jadi bapak ibu gak usah merasa gak enak, dalam nuraninya gak bisa pilih ahok" (yes, so ladies and gentlemen do not have to inconvenience, in their conscience cannot choose Ahok). The sentence shows the psychology of the people who attended through the word of ladies and gentlemen who leaned to the feeling not good when choosing Ahok and vice versa, Ahok was trying to convince not to get involved and fall into the feelings of inconvenience. Furthermore, the word "their" refers to the Ladies or Gentlemen previously mentioned for the purpose of abbreviating the words to be easily understood in his speech. Therefore, those who listened to his speech spontaneously understand the meaning of the word "their" in redaction of "their conscience" which refers to both ladies and gentlemen. It is also contained in several sentences like, "gak suka ama ahok gitu loh tapi programnya ooh kalo ku terima ku gak enak dong" (dislike ahok so the problem is the program, if I receive it so I feel inconvenience) and the phrase "kebetulan saya gubernur mempunyai program ini, jadi ini tidak ada hubungannya dengan perasaan bapak ibu mau pilih itu siapa" (at glance I am the governor who has this program, so this has no relationship with the feeling of ladies and gentlemen who want to choose anyone). This reference cohesion model

is called as the endofora reference, namely the relation of the element which is referred in text or speech.

On the contrary, if the referred element is outside the text, or discussion in speech, it is called an exofora reference. In Ahok's speech is found examples of exofora reference in them in the phrase "jadi jangan percaya sama orang, kan bisa aja dalam hati kecil bapak ibu tidak bisa pilih saya, yang gak dibohongin pakai surat Al-Maidah ayat 51 macam-macam itu loh" (so do not believe people, it can be in Ladies' and Gentlemen's small heart cannot select me, but something exist is lied by using Chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51 and its similar kind). In his speech, person who stated is outside of a series of sentences or statements that is previously mentioned, it is clarified by the passive voice model in the phrase "something exist is lied." It means that who lies it, is an element outside the text or speech that is used to clarify the things that need to be revealed and inserted in his speech.

Second, the substitution cohesion, which is a process and the result because of substitution of language elements by other elements in larger units. This substitution is used to distinguish between elements and describes a structure contained in the text (Ghufron, 2010: 31). The substitution is used in Ahok's speech is to change the name Ahok with the word 'I' to explain every statement that involves him directly like "it can be in a ladies' and Gantelmen's small heart cannot select me".

Third, ellipsis cohesion, is a process of eliminating a word or unit of language that is possible to reappear in an understanding. In other words, the disappearance can certainly be understood by the listener so that the language or text that is conveyed becomes practical. Thus, in the application level there is in the Ahok's speech, is in the phrase "Something exist is lied by using Chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51 and in various thing". The word "various thing" that is mentioned by Ahok refers to religious doctrines, sacred texts of religion and it is various similarities and potentially used as a means to achieve political goals. These words do not need to be elaborated or clarified one by one which is meant by Ahok, but it has become common place for the community so it does not need to be explained in detail.

The sentence is "because I am afraid to go to hell," so be fooled "it does not matter". The word "be fooled", shows the same meaning as the above. The word is related to the previous sentence which mentioned the worry of choosing non-Muslim leaders to lead to hell because it is considered to violate the rules of Islam.

Fourth, conjunction cohesion. Conjunction involves rhetorical transition (Halliday, 2014: 608). Conjunction is the connections of words and sentences together (Bosworth, 1823: 192). In other words, the conjunction is a unit of language or form that has a function of connecting, coupling or connecting things contained in the text (Gufron, 2010: 33).

This conjunction is not only to connect between words and sentences, but can be used to relate one idea to anothers so as to show the full meaning of the linking result, this conjunction is called as a conjunction between paragraphs. Although the level of textual analysis of Ahok's speech cannot be understood textually between a paragraph and anothers, but it can be shown through text that's taken from the whole speech by the analysis of conjunction. At the level of the sentence proves that what Ahok said is related to the election or not related to the fish farming program, so to convince the people who attended at that time he said that the program will still run no matter the election that will occur later. This can be seen from the following sentence fragment:

"So if we run this program well even ladies and gentlemen still had the same harvest with me even though I was not elected to be the governor"

"So do not have opinion that later if he is not selected certainly Ahok's program will be broken".

The relationship between the sentence, proved through the word "program" contained in both sentences. That is, the emphasis of the word program that will continue to run although the leadership changes certainly not change the provision that's contained in the program. In addition, Ahok in his words gives confidence to the community about the program and invites people to be objective in the regional head elections later.

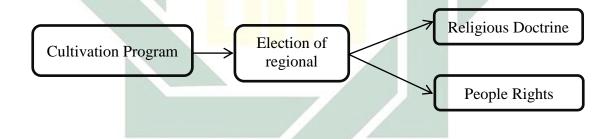
It is, as Fairclough suggests, that linguistic analysis can be developed not only in the analysis of traditional level in linguistics, but in textual organization (Fairclough, 1992: 194). Analysis using relationships in the order of sentences are not only limited to explain the relationship alone, but can provide explanations that affect the paradigm or mainstream of people toward what has been believed. Moreover, if the phrase reveals something that is not done alone, but based on people experience who say, so as to form opinions and perceptions for those people who listen.

Relationship between sentences that can lead to various perceptions or opinions so affect the mindstream up to now can be seen in the following sentence:

"So do not believe the people, it can be in Ladies' and Gentlemen's small heart cannot select me, on the contrary, something exist is lied by using chapter of al-Maidah verse 51 in such similar kind (audiences laugh), it's Ladies' and Gentlemen's right, yes, so if Ladies' and Gentlemen's feelings cannot choose because I am afraid to go to hell 'it is such kind of fooled'."

The statement initially invited the community to be an object in the election of regional heads, but things that affect people's mindstream, which is in the phrase "lied by using chapter of Al-Maidah, verse 51". Because at first glance as if someone who did is Ahok, but if carefully understood there was a series of relationships between sentences that were able to explain his words.

As for the series of words that can be expressed based on the relationship between words and sentences, starting from the statement of the program that continues, then from the explanation of the program to convince the public, then Ahok revealed that the election of regional heads did not affect the program. Furthermore, Ahok explained that the election process usually uses religious doctrine as a political tool, thus saying "lied by" which means that based on his experience chapter of Al-Maidah is used by politicians or interested persons (except Ahok because he is a Christian). In fact, according to him, the election of regional head is the right of each people, it means that choosing anyone is allowed. The terms of a series of relationships between sentences and words (conjunction) can be described as follows:



4.1.3. Discursive Features

According to Fairclough, the level of interpretation of text are three; utterance surface, utterance meaning, local coherence and text and point (Fairclough,1989:142). At the first level, it has been seen in the textual feature that what Ahok said about the purpose of his working visit, so the main focus of his words focuses on fish farming through established programs and can work on

autopilot even though he did not serve as governor of Jakarta anymore. The level of utterance surface is clearly visible to corroborate it, he revealed his experience with other people's programs is usually only valid as long as the program initiator takes office. But the program set by Ahok will certainly continue even if he does not take office.

The problem is, when Ahok explained his experience about the election of regional head. As known he had served as head of the region before in Jakarta. Based on his experience, the crucial problem is the use of religious doctrine for political purposes so as to change the perception and paradigm of people to choose his political choice that occupy in the election of regional head (Ahok, 2008: 40). On the other hand, what ahok said about his experience was at least when it showed his optimism that he would be re-elected so as to invite the people to vote according to their conscience, not based on the religious doctrine used for political purposes.

While in the level of utterance meaning, especially focus on the sentence that is considered as a blasphemy, as said by Bambang (in www.tirto.id) explains that the word "lied" has a meaning that is not really, does not mean deceiving (Taher,2017). He reasoned that the meaning of the word cannot be used as dictionary meaning, because the meaning of the dictionary has several meanings. This word involves between its meaning as fact and opinion. However, if viewed by Ahok's experience, then it is a fact that has been experienced by him.

This is different from Brili's opinion in his writings posted on the blog briliagung.com, interprets (Ilham, 2016) "You are lied by people by using chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51" with details, you as an object, lied is as predicate, people is as subject, and wear chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51 as a tool description. This means that if the sentence is seen from the point of view of the active sentence, then the subject is the person, that is the person who uses chapter of Al-Maidah 51. While according to Muslims, chapter of Al-Maidah which is absolute truth of God cannot be used as a tool to lie. The conclusion according to him, what Ahok said is a form of defamation because it stated Chapter of Al-Maidah was positioned as a tool of lies, whereas it is part of the Holy Qur'an.

Furthermore, the interpretive side is contained in the phrase "if choosing a non-Muslim because of fear of going to hell" is interpreted by Prof. Dr. Rahayu Surtiati as a form of fact that happened to Ahok because of the possibility of someone who delivered a sentence like that before Ahok said. The flow of statements until ahok said that according to him is a psycholinguistic discussion, it means that what was said was the expression of the mind (Sutiawan,2017).

Another opinion was expressed by Juhri, former chairman of Panwaslu Belitung people who became a witness in the trial Ahok case. He quoted Abdurrahman saying that chapter of Al-Maidah 51 is not related to the election of regional heads or government leaders. This was said to be an open campaign to support the candidate pair at that time, supported by the PKB, Ahok-Eko Cahyono.

While at the local coherence and text and point level can be seen based on the interpretation that's mentioned earlier, but it is created through different mechanism and closely related to the textual characteristics. It is also closely related to cohesion (Tapiero, 2007:95).

As for Ahok's speech is closely related to local coherence and text and point understanding. Local coherence is determined based on the concept of using discourse structures for the user specific needs (Wade, *et.al.*,2006: 276). Therefore, there are two things that need to be connected with local coherence to know the meaning of text and point in local coherence, that is seen from the user side, Ahok, and viewed from the aspect of discussion, that is the problem of defamation.

First, the user side, Ahok. In the text, it is clear that the main emphasis of Ahok's speech is on the implementation of the program, the process and the relevance of the program's sustainability. Ahok has organized the program from the beginning, and in the field of practice has been seen the program has reaped the result so he though it was possible to successfully organize it. Therefore, as a process that might be used to improve the system, Ahok polled through meetings with local communities, as well as understanding them that the program is a program that could run even if he wouldn't take office anymore.

Second, the core side of the discussion. Local coherence in this discussion according to the researchers is wrong thing if the blasphemy is pinned on Ahok.

Because in the previous sentence ahok mentions the word "person" that can be connected with the following sentence as follows:

"So do not believe the people, it can be in ladies' and entlemen's small heart cannot select me, on the contrary, something exist is lied by using chapter of al-Maidah verse 51 in such similar kind (audiences laugh)".

In the word "person" refers to the word "lied" where it is not known exactly who is meant, but can be known to people (in a general sense) or anyone who uses the verses of the Qur'an. This means that the word "lied" does not mean that the verse is positioned as a thing that is not true (lie), but the presence of elements of person's intervention or manipulation to use the verse as the fulfillment of person's needs.

Likewise, in the word "fooled" associated with people who do not obey the verses of the Qur'an then the consequences go to hell. The sentence that indicates it is:

"so if ladies' and Gentlemen's feelings cannot choose because I'm afraid to go to hell "it is such kind of fooled".

Interpretation of this sentence because Ahok position himself to be a person who experienced in the issue of political use of religious doctrine. So he told and affirmed people that it should not happen again, because election is their

right, so if you choose it based on verses of the Qur'an that are distorted for political purposes, then they are "fooled", then as if it were Must be done because of fear of going to hell.

The use of the word "lied" and "be fooled" is a political consequence but influential and result to the community that concerns the right to vote, even on trust that has been believed. As for the use of the word "use" does not mean al-Maidah 51 is a tool of lie but, the word "use" indicates a neutral position that requires the user, both for truth and badness..

This interpretive provision is in accordance with local coherence by Fairclough (1989: 143) in (Nicoll, 2006: 73) as follows:

"local coherence is at the level of relations within a piece of text, and in the meaning connections between utterances, producing...coherent interpretations of pairs and sequences".

4.1.4. Social Features

Ahok's speech cannot be separated from social problems because it is published through social media youtube so that without anyone can see it, even some expert witnesses use the results of the speech downloaded via youtube as evidence in court. It is interesting to be revealed in this chapter of findings.

Therefore, in accordance with the facts experienced by Ahok, and his intention to tell or inform the public about the politics of religion through the verses of the Qur'an, is in accordance with what is said by Fairclough that the

explanations has a function to portray determination of social Structure in discourse and its process (Fairclough, 1989: 163). In relation to this research, Fairclough (as cited from Bayley, *et.al*, 2013: 80) points out that social practice issues involve situational context and an utterance that can be interpreted in such a way, including contextual features. In other words, the purpose of social practice in this research is the form of explanation.

Therefore, some of the things that can be disclosed in this study are based on results of the search and data analysis as follows:

a. Participant

This participant concerns the internal and external aspects which are associated with Ahok's speech. At the internal stage consisting of Ahok as a speaker who intended to inform and affirmed the issue of chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51 has the potential to become a political tool, so must be aware that in order that in choosing based on conscience, and the people who attended when Ahok spoke.

The society, as in the full video version of Ahok's speech, looks very unhappy about the ahok's utterances related to Al-Maidah verse 51, even the audience laughed when they listened to it. That is, consciously people understood what was said by ahok was not a blasphemy, but as a form of concern for the program that was running so needed to affirm to the community that whatever the program would continue to run, even though he would not re-elected.

Furthermore, at the external stage, the researcher's intentions are those that are outside the provisions of the internal stages. But the complexity of the problem comes out of these external participants with a variety of interpretations and even the elements of interest in the interpretation. Furthermore, this provision is widening into social problems that cause the attention of many circles and experts in Indonesia.

b. Actions

This stage shows the action sequentially until it is decided the problems that are considered this national problem. The action taken in this study is the interpretation of Ahok's speech which has an element of religious blasphemy by some experts so there are two opinions, namely stating that what it says is included in the category of religious defamation and the opinion that states it is not including blasphemy.

But what was interesting in the act of religious blasphemy was seen in the period of 27 September 2016, which was treating of FPI to urge MUI to express his attitude on Ahok's behavior in the video. So the result of the statement on October 11, 2016 became a strategic reference for the formation of GNPF-MUI. Whereas October 7, 2016 Fedri Kasman, Muhammadiyah Deputy head of the secretary-general (Abdullah, 2016) and FPI DPP General Report Habib Novel Chaidir Hasan to Bareskrim (Salim, 2016).

The initial action was launched by external parties (not present in ahok's speech) took a portion of Ahok's speech as Ahok's attempt to insult religion through their influence on society. Therefore, the context of being fooled and

lied to in his speech reaped a variety of interpretations and controversies. This is related to the social effect of text that relies on the process of meaning-making (Fairclough, 2003: 11).

Moreover, based on the treatment of external factors that encourage this case occured, FPI and its related people were a creativity in implementation and power struggles that led to new meaning opportunities on social texts and paradigms (Fairclough 1989: 93 in Jones, 2015: 15). In addition, the reality formed in society related to Ahok's problem was the result of reconstruction of Ahok's speech, especially expressed through media so that society formed paradigm to interpret by itself without knowing the real problem. This is as explained by Chomsky (2006: 5) that the mass media is the result of reconstruction and preparation of editorial workers.

c. Performance Modes

In this case, it has been seen in the video, that the problem didn't come from inside environment of delivering speech or internal factor, but is formed in accordance with the video uploads conducted by Buni Yani by giving a provocative title. As it is believed by Muslims, that the holy Qur'an (including chapter of Al-Maidah) is an absolute truth so that whatever is in it is right. But people forget that the interpretation of the text, including the text of the Qur'an, can provide a variety of interpretations based on the interpreter's perspective.

Therefore, the appearance problems also occur from the use of word "use" which is considered to change the integrity of meaning by some experts.

Whereas the connection with social practice, the words "lied by using Al-

Maidah verse 51" indicates the effort of deviating interpretation of the Qur'an by the interpreter. While the word "use" is discarded, then what happens is Ahok actually stated that the letter al-Maidah verse 51 contains public lies because it does not fit with his conscience at that time, according to Ahok.

d. Presentation Style and Eligibility condition.

This stage shows how Ahok delivered his speech to the public. As contained in the video of Ahok's speech, in a loud and firm voice he delivered the program and involved the issue of the election of regional head with the style of his language that has been known by people nowadays.

However, if carefully observed, then what is said there is no intention to defame religion with five reasons, namely: first, Ahok tried to straighten the communitie's perception related program that the program was completed because the program owner was not served. Secondly, therefore, the election of head of region - while the program was running - had the potential to stop if Ahok was not elected again based on the perception of society so far. Third, Ahok intended to emphasize that the program kept running regardless of Ahok's circumstances (elected or not), so in his affirmation that Ahok was aware of being among the minority, re-understanding related to the election was not based on religious doctrine only because he thought it was vulnerable to be ridden by political interests, but using the conscience as a barometer of the common people. Fourth, when Ahok confirmed that no one denied or disputed Ahok's speech, even after the outside problem arose, the people of Seribu Island had just known and were shocked after seeing the media like

television and others. Fifth, the most impressive thing is when Ahok explained chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51, many people who attended laughed because it was considered as a form of Ahok's satire of political events in Indonesia.

4.2. Discussion

In this sub-section, researchers analyze various findings that have been obtained by researcher either directly in the video of Ahok's speech, or indirectly. Among the data that can be obtained is the explanation of the criminal law expert of Universitas Indonesia (UII), Mudzakkir, that he does not need to see the video of Ahok's speech (Aji, 2017).

The statement automatically sees only in terms of Ahok only and the words (which are subjectively interpreted), whereas it cannot be comprehensively represented to give objective testimony as an expert, since it is well known that what is revealed by ahok is definitely related to his knowledge of Developments and political events of Indonesia.

In addition, Mudzakir's opinion can also be broken that his analysis of the words ahok put aside the social practice in terms of presentation style, performance modes and eligibility conditions (participant). Said to put aside the presentation style because he did not see Ahok's style when he delivered his speech. Whereas it is said that performance modes moreover, he cannot see all aspects of the condition when he delivered his speech well, that is happened to all the people present in his speech. As for the eligibility condition, because the

whole island community did not hear the problem of blasphemy Ahok directly in the environment, but the problem is even emerged from outside the island. This means that Mudzakir does not understand exactly the aspect of the condition of the society when and after the speech is implemented. This proves the reconstruction of the interpretation and the paradigm of society to develop a pattern of understanding that Ahok defames religion.

The next Mudzakir argument which stated that Ahok defamed Religion was in the words "Do not believe in people" he interpreted the linguistic level only so completely interpreted as "that person is the one who delivered Al-Maidah 51". Whereas in relation there are words confirming that in his speech there is the use of the word "use" which means can be used as any tool, whether for goodness or ugliness by anyone, does not mean the letter of Al-Maidah verse 51 is the source of lies as interpreted. This is also related to the use of the word "be fooled".

The same process of analysis was also performed by the Language Expert, Mahyuni by analyzing 12 seconds of Ahok's speech (Hutabarat, 2017). He stated that the little time cpuld present Ahok's speech as a whole. Therefore, according to the researcher, this is a hasty opinion that could see in terms of the textual features as a whole (a part of the speech only) so that the obtained meaning still seems partial, not even cause errors of opinion. In other words, the opinion made by the Linguist, Mahyuni, still impresses the perception of her subjective that has not been included in the phsycolinguistic and sociolinguistic categories in depth, so it impressed the perception in linguistics only. This is seen from the reaction of

related news readers in ww.new.liputan6.com as much as 59% consider it funny and 30% like the news.

The above opinion is different from the expression of Professor of Linguistic Unika Atma Jaya Bambang Kaswanti Purwo (Mardiastuti and Fadhil, 2017) who objectively analyzed the contents of Ahok's speech for 26 minutes so that the word "lied" came out once during his pdiato. Therefore, as the author analyzes, his opinion states that what Ahok said is related to the program and experience that has been done in the political world in Indonesia, so there is no element of campaign in his speech as wrongly perceived by some people. This is evident in his statement that the words "do not choose me" 14 times. Another opinion is the statement of some counter parties with Ahok about al-Maidah the source of lies is not considered facts, but opinions. Because after all we are pure and perfect in religion. Unlike when used in negative use, the negativity arises from the person interference.

Responding from the various opinions above, the authors analyze based on the findings that have been described previously from various segmentation / aspect of analysis as follows:

First, based on the purpose of the speech. The whole speech explains that the purpose of the speech about the cultivation program he established with the community of Pramuka Island, at Panggang Village. This means that in this speech, the main emphasis is the exposure of programs from upstream to downstream as well as other explanations based on questions from Pramuka

island communities before the event is over. The expression of a covert campaign can be analyzed through a series of speeches.

Second, Indonesia's political problem. In this segmentation is considered a problem is the information ahok interpreted that Al-Maidah is the source of lies. Whereas what he said is a direction and political learning to the Pramuka islam community that there are political interests that use Al-Maidah verse 51 and the like to be interpreted based on these interests. Especially in words using passive voice phrase, meaning does not mention exactly who uses chapter of Al-Maidah verse 51, while the verse is functioning and not depending on the user, then good and whether the results of use depends on how the verse is used. This kind of understanding is contained in the word "use".

Third, the social aspect. At this stage, many people forget that if problems arise, then not far from the source of the problem. But this is different in Ahok's speech, because the problem actually arises outside the Pramuka island, even Pramuka island community was shocked by the discharge of Ahok for his speech, because the public considered him no problem in the speech, even feel motivated.

Fourth, reconstructive meaning and social. As a continuation of the previous point, at this point there was a reconstruction of Ahok's speech. This reconstruction cannot be separated from some of the tools used, such as social media, community opinion mapping, statements of attitudes of other organizations / agencies and others. But all the tools will not grow rapidly if there is no mindstream and paradigm and the public opinion through the media that reject

Ahok's speech so as to create public opinion that Ahok deflect religion, with some actions that have been done.

This aspect, too, is inseparable from the power held by each opinion-bearer, as does Habib Riziq who has many members, then gained support from various leaders of the organization to call the blasphemy. Automatically the results of thought, if the hands and the time of the speech Ahok produce results, but all that cannot be separated from the element of power that became the background in every action that until now still a mystery, who and what purpose behind the actions that have been done Objectively.

Sixth, religious doctrine. The mention of al-Maidah letters "considered" as the source of lies is the result of textual reconstruction and interpretation. Yet it also occurs using the doctrine of religion as a tool of political interest as in Christian use Galatians 6:10 which contains "long as we have the opportunity, let us do to all people, but especially to our friends in faith" (Ahok, 2008: 40). This means that people need guidance on the political (not confused) attitude towards the interpretation of the Qur'anic verse which contains various perspectives such as language, asbab nuzul, social and others objectively that are easily understood by society in order to objectively assess, For experts who not only use religious motivation but leave objectivity in religion.

Based on some of the explanations of the analysis, according to the researcher it can be ascertained what happened in Ahok's speech is a series of textual analysis involving his interpretations that allow for political interests and

social practices to be attained as a result of the two preceding. Therefore, in accordance with the results of the researcher's analysis, the objectivity of Critical Discourse Analysis takes place in the witnesses submitted by the Ahok party, so, according to the researcher the appropriate result in the speech is not a blasphemy that has been interpreted and approved by many people. Though the speech in addition to the purpose of the program, also provides political education to the public to be objective, although using the excuse or argumentation of religion in conveying its interests in the campaign and various political ways.