

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter provides findings and discussion of discursive contestation in *Aksi Bela Islam* through the lens of The Guardian, The New York Times, and The Wall Street Journal by focusing on transitivity system of Systemic Functional Linguistics and judgment of attitude in Appraisal Theory. The discussion of each article is divided into three sub-sections: lexical grammatical features, logical structures, and social function.

#### 4.1 Findings

Process Types	The Guardian		The New York Times		The Wall Street Journal	
	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3	Article 4	Article 5	Article 6
Material	20 (42.55%)	21 (52.5%)	34 (34.69%)	23 (28.39%)	40 (43.95%)	25 (48.07%)
Mental	4 (8.33%)	1 (2.5%)	5 (5.10%)	7 (8.64%)	6 (6.59%)	3 (5.76%)
Verbal	13 (27.65%)	13 (32.5%)	34 (34.69%)	32 (39.5%)	27 (29.67%)	17 (32.69%)
Relational	9 (18.75%)	4 (10%)	21 (21.42%)	17 (20.98%)	16 (17.58%)	7 (13.46%)
Behavioral	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Existential	1 (2.1%)	1 (2.5%)	4 (4%)	2 (2.46%)	2 (2.19%)	0 (0%)
Clauses	47 (100%)	40 (100%)	98 (100%)	81 (100%)	91 (100%)	52 (100%)

Table 4.1.1: Percentage of Process Types in Six News Articles

From the table above, the dominant process in the first and second articles from The Guardian is material process with the percentage of 42.55% and 52.5%

consecutively. On the other hand, the dominant process in the first and second articles in The New York Times is verbal and material process with the percentage of 34.69%, 34.69, and 39.5% consecutively. Similar to the Guardian, the dominant process in the first and second articles from The Wall Street Journal is material process with the percentage of 43.95% and 48.07% consecutively. Thus, the dominant processes of six articles from The Guardian, The New York Times, and The Wall Street Journal are material and verbal processes.

There are four issues embodied in the articles: ethnicity and religiosity in the context of election, election wrapped in ethnicity and religiosity, and patronage-based political system. The proportion of each issue being presented in the articles is as follow:

Issues	The Guardian		The New York Times		The Wall Street Journal	
	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3	Article 4	Article 5	Article 6
Ethnicity and Religiosity in the context of election	14 (29.78%)	22 (55%)	32 (32.32%)	30 (37%)	50 (54.94%)	21 (40.38%)
Election Wrapped in Ethnicity and Religiosity	16 (34%)	5 (12.5%)	37 (37.37%)	40 (49.38%)	6 (6.59%)	10 (19.23%)
Patronage-based political system	-	1 (2.5%)	2 (2%)	9 (11.11%)	1 (1%)	1 (1.92%)

Table 4.1.2: Percentage of Issues in The Six Articles Based on Clauses

Through the table above, it can be seen that the three media emphasize on different issues. The Guardian has a rather contradictive stance. In the first article,

it highlights issue of election wrapped in ethnicity and religiosity. It occurs in 16 clauses or about 34%. On the other hand, the second article highlights issue of ethnicity and religiosity in the context of election. It occurs in 22 clauses or about 55%. Meanwhile, both articles from The New York Times emphasize on issue of election wrapped in ethnicity and religiosity. It occurs in 37 clauses and 40 clauses or about 37.37% and 49.38% consecutively. On the other hand, both articles from The Wall Street Journal emphasize on issue of ethnicity and religiosity in the context of election. It occurs in 50 clauses and 21 clauses or about 54.94% and 40.38% consecutively. As for patronage-based political system, it is the most apparent in article four from The New York Times: Jokowi from Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) is backing Ahok, Prabowo Subianto (who lost to Jokowi in 2014 presidential election) from Gerindra Party is backing Anies Baswedan, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Jokowi's predecessor) from Democratic Party is backing his son, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono.

In article 1, 3, and 4, issue of election wrapped in religiosity and ethnicity is presented in the initial to middle paragraphs of the articles which function to show two things. First of all, the context of situation (mostly using material process): Jakarta's gubernatorial position is a powerful post and the protest of Ahok's alleged blasphemy case is being utilized by political actors (in this sense refers to the opponents) to weaken Ahok in the election. Secondly, it functions to portray Ahok's good work performance. Experts' opinions underpinning the journalists' point of view in constructing the case as election wrapped in religiosity and ethnicity is employed through verbal process.

The New York Times displays opinions from Azyumardi Azra (former rector of State Islamic University in Jakarta), Marcus Mietzner (associate professor at Australian National University in Canberra), Philips J. Vermonte (the head of the politics and international relations department at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta), Bonar Togor Naipospos (vice chairman of the Setara Institute, a Jakarta organization that promotes religious tolerance), and Yahya Cholil Staquf from Nahdlatul Ulama. From all experts quoted in the articles, only Yahya Cholil Staquf who sees the case as religiosity and ethnicity in the context of election. However, his opinion, still, highlights that Ahok is a victim of the radicalism. The experts' opinions are in direct speech, which is considered as 'more trustworthy'. Meanwhile, The Guardian does not provide any statements from experts at all to support its argumentation.

Both The Guardian and The New York Times choose to use indirect speech in providing statements from protesters, Jokowi, Ahok's opponents, as well as police. In providing statements from Ahok, The Guardian chooses to employ indirect speech while The New York Times chooses to employ both direct and indirect speech. According to Haig (n.d.), direct speech allows readers to track the original utterances, meanwhile reported speech has been "grammatically modified". Therefore, direct speech is considered as more 'trustworthy' in news reporting compared to indirect speech.

Material process in articles 1, 3, and 4 from The Guardian and The New York Times functions to represent activity of "doing and happening" (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). In this sense, it represents the actions performed by actors

involved in *Aksi Bela Islam: Ahok*, protesters, Jokowi, political opponents, and police. In article 1, protesters as actor appear to be the most frequent. It occurs in 11 clauses or about 55%. In order to represent the protesters negatively, the journalist employs verbal groups “threw”, “were torched”, “broke out”, “fizzling out”, “camped out”, “died”, “waved”, and “was painted”.

Meanwhile, article 3 is dominated by Ahok as the actor. It occurs in 11 clauses or about 33%. In order to portray Ahok as an innocent figure (at the same time also a victim in the blasphemy case) who has a good work performance, the journalist employs verbal groups such as “circulated”, “am sending”, “holds”, “inherited”, “can get”, “had faced”, “dispatched”, “instituted”, “stayed”, and “did”.

Article 4 is dominated by political opponents as the actor. It occurs in 6 clauses or about 18.18%. In order to represent the political opponents as the figures who fire up the rally, the journalist employs verbal groups such as “are using”, “have made”, “had taken”, “are fielding”, “is backed”, and “has been increasing”.

In article 2, from *The Guardian*, issue of ethnicity and religiosity in the context of election is presented on the initial to middle parts. Meanwhile, in article 5 and 6 from *The Wall Street Journal*, it is presented on the initial to middle paragraphs as well as by the end of the articles. The paragraphs function to show two things. First of all, the protest is seen as a reflection of increasing religiosity which becomes a test of religious tolerance in Indonesia. Second of all, it functions to show the figures involved in the rally and their response towards the case.

Material process in article 2, 5, and 6 function to show actions undergone by the actors in the rally (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). In article 2, protesters as actor appear to be the most frequent. It occurs in 9 clauses or about 42.85%. Verbal groups “descend”, “headed”, “marched”, “had travelled”, “broke into”, “appeared”, and “are pushing” are employed to show the activity of 200,000 protesters who descended to demand the imprisonment of Ahok.

In article 5, the protesters as actor also appear to be the most frequent. It occurs in 13 clauses or about 33.33%. Verbal groups “draws”, “shook”, “turned out”, “broke out”, “threw”, “were set”, “were taking”, “had tried”, “shouldn’t be governed”, “dispersed”, “staged”, “had ridden”, and “gathered” are employed to portray the huge numbers of protesters as well as their violent actions during the rally.

In article 6, Jokowi as actor appears to be more frequent compares to the rest of figures in the rally. It occurs in 6 clauses or about 24%. Verbal groups “postponed”, “had spent”, “appeared”, and “should have moved” are employed to show Jokowi’s decision to postpone his visit to Australia, his accusation of political actors behind the rally as well as critics towards his slow response on the case.

In constructing the issue of ethnicity and religiosity in the context of election, the journalists from The Guardian and The Wall Street Journal quoted statements from experts’ as well as protesters. The Guardian chooses direct speech as a method to quote statements from Tito Karnavian (police chief) and Ricky Subagia (a protester from Garut). However, both statements from Tito Karnavian

and Ricky Subagia show that the mass pressure has intervened the legal process of the blasphemy case. Meanwhile, statement from Ahok and critics (not specified) are in the form of indirect speech.

The Wall Street Journal chooses to use direct speech in quoting statements from Joko Widodo, Yon Machmudi (an Islamic politics expert at the University of Indonesia), Sidney Jones (a terrorism expert and director of the Jakarta-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict), and a protester from Pernalang. Statements from both experts in the articles of The Wall Street Journal are purposively chosen to justify the media's point of view in portraying the rising religiosity. Statements from Ahok, police, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and political opponents of Ahok are in the form of indirect speech. According to Haig (n.d.), direct speech allows readers to track the original utterances, meanwhile reported speech has been "grammatically modified". Therefore, direct speech is considered as more 'trustworthy' in news reporting compared to reported speech.

Based on the analysis, it is found that the journalists appraise behaviors of Ahok and protesters in the articles. The percentage is as follow:

Article	Social Esteem						Social Sanction				Appraisin g Item s
	Normality		Capacity		Tenacity		Veracity		Propriety		
	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	(+)	(-)	
Article 1	1 (4.76 %)	1 (4.76 %)	5 (23.8 %)	1 (4.76 %)	3 (14.2 8%)	-	-	1 (4.76 %)	-	9 (42.8 5%)	21 (100 %)

Article 2	1 (7.69 %)	3 (23 %)	-	1 (7.69 %)	-	1 (7.69 %)	-	1 (7.69 %)	-	6 (46.1 5%)	13 (100 %)
Article 3	6 (12.7 6%)	2 (4.25 %)	5 (10.6 3%)	2 (4.25 %)	2 (4.25 %)	1 (2.12 %)	1 (2.12 %)	1 (2.12 %)	4 (8.51 %)	23 (48.9 3%)	47 (100 %)
Article 4	6 (12.5 %)	4 (8.33 %)	-	-	2 (4.16 %)	2 (4.16 %)	-	2 (4.16 %)	5 (10.4 1%)	27 (56.2 5%)	48 (100 %)
Article 5	9 (17.6 4%)	9 (17.6 4%)	1 (1.96 %)	1 (1.96 %)	1 (1.96 %)	2 (3.92 %)	-	1 (1.96 %)	5 (9.8 %)	22 (43.1 3%)	51 (100 %)
Article 6	7 (21.8 7%)	3 (9.37 %)	-	-	1 (3.12 %)	3 (9.37 %)	-	1 (3.12 %)	1 (3.12 %)	16 (50 %)	32 (100 %)

Table 4.1.3: Percentage of Judgment in Six Articles

It can be seen that the negative judgment is the most dominant in the six articles from The Guardian, The New York Times, and The Wall Street Journal. According to Martin and White (2005), judgment functions to assess someone's behavior, attitude, or behavior through reference of ethics and social norms. The most dominant type of judgment employed in the articles is propriety with the percentage of about 40 to 50% in each of the articles. As a sub division of social sanction which indicates moral behavior, propriety judgment in the articles function to show the ethics of the person being analyzed (Iedema, Feez, and White, 1994). The percentage of negative judgment is as follow:



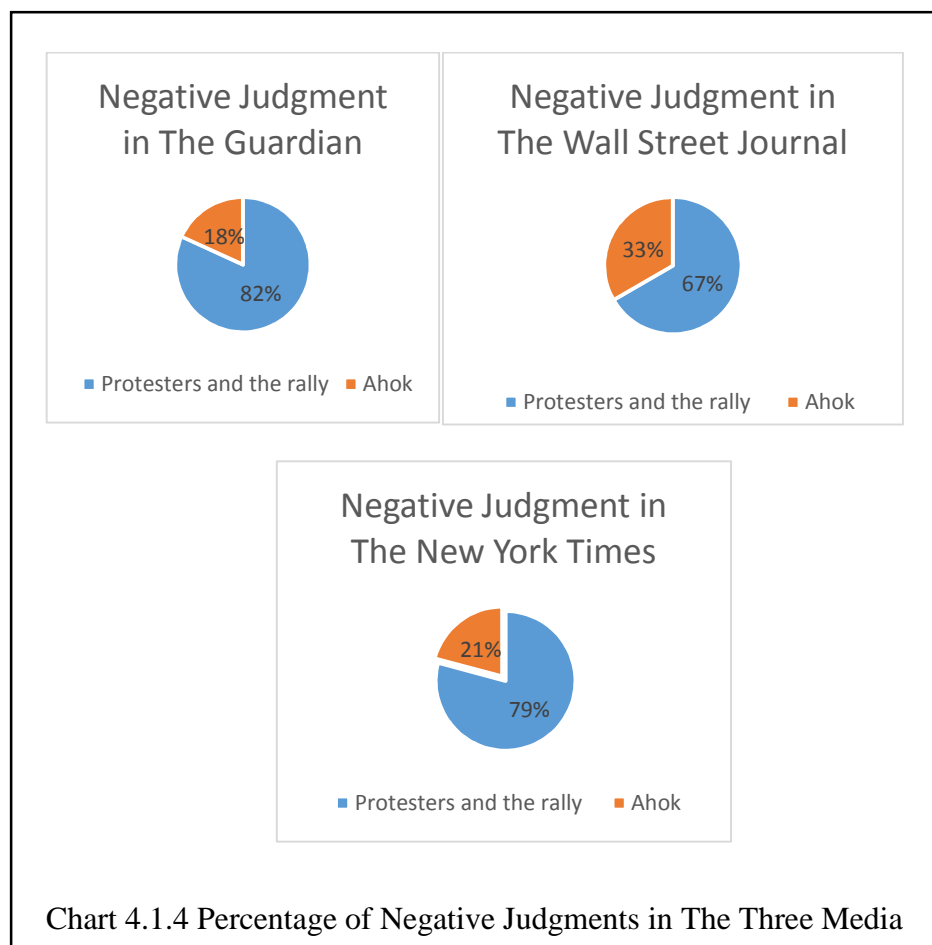


Chart 4.1.4 shows that negative judgments are directed by the journalists mostly to the protesters, with the percentage of 82%, 79%, and 67% consecutively. Meanwhile, the percentage of negative judgments directed by the journalists to Ahok is only 18%, 21%, and 33% consecutively. However, it should be taken into consideration that the negative judgments directed by the journalists to Ahok eventually highlight his good work performance and bravery, such as berating incompetent civil servants, impatient for corruption, and threatening to buck Indonesia's political system by running as independent. Meanwhile, the percentage of positive judgment is provided below:

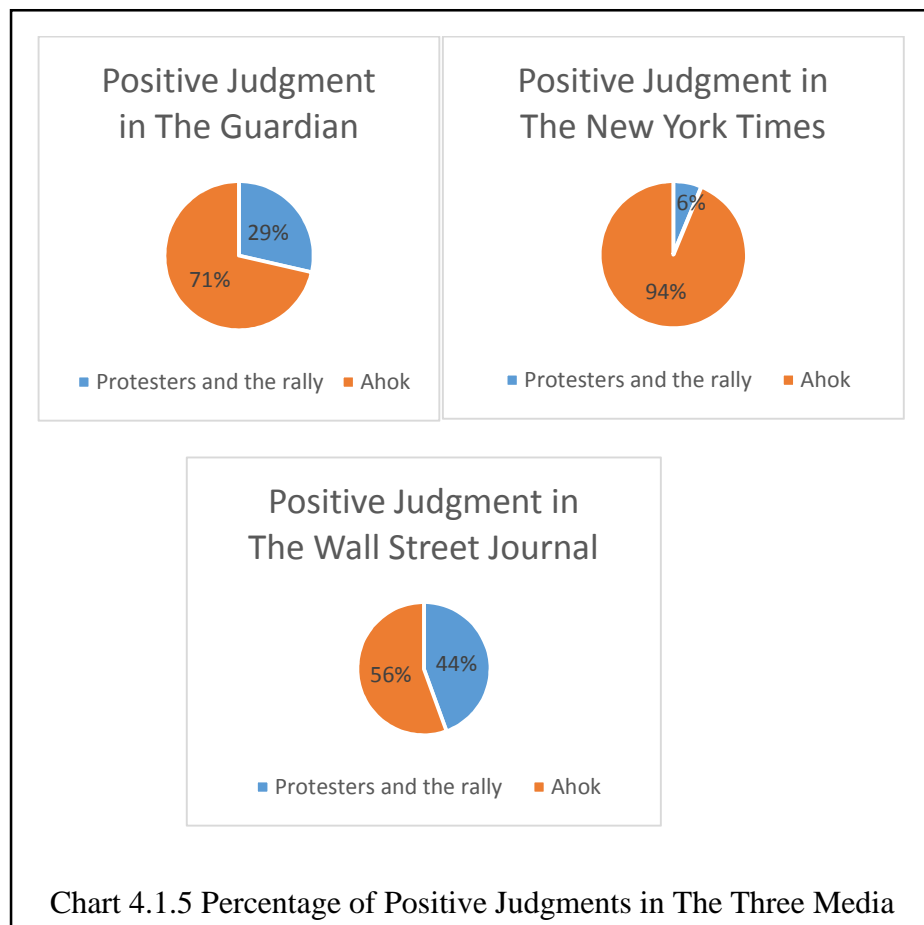


Chart 4.1.5 conveys that positive judgments are directed by the journalists mostly to Ahok, with the percentage of 71%, 94%, and 56% consecutively. Meanwhile, the percentage of positive judgments directed to protesters and the rally is 29%, 6%, and 44% consecutively. It shows that the journalists from the three media attempt to construct Ahok's image positively and protesters and the rally's image negatively.

## 4.2 Discussion

### 4.2.1. Indonesian president blames 'political actors' for stoking Jakarta blasphemy protests

#### Lexical Grammatical Features

This article presents the depiction of 411 rally which turned violent as the night fell. Mostly, it talks about Jokowi's response regarding the rally which he accused was steered by political actors. From the total of 47 clauses, 20 material processes (42.55%) dominate the article. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.179) stated that material process is used to represent an activity of doing and happening. In this article, it serves to describe the action of the actors involved in the case. The verbal groups of material process are "clash", "is standing", "took", "was steered", "fired", "threw", "were torched", "broke out", "was fizzling out", "camped out", "died", "were hurt", "were arrested", "had used", "should not choose", "waved", "was painted", "are investigating", "would be executed", "do not enter", and "have faced". The example of material process (in bold) is as follow:

The first ethnic Chinese politician to lead this sprawling city of 10 million people, Basuki Tjahja Purnama **is standing** for re-election in February, competing with two Muslim candidates for the job. (Clause 5)

The journalist's attempt to introduce the issues of politics, ethnic, and religion is executed by mentioning the background of Ahok and his opponents in the context of election. As an actor of the clause, Ahok is described along with his ethnicity and status as the governor of Jakarta. Ahok's ethnicity preceding his status as politician on the clause above functions as if it is a classifier. Moreover, it is also preceded by the numerative "first", emphasizing the Thing "ethnic Chinese politician" as a scarce phenomenon. It evokes a sense of the importance of ethnicity in the election, as if it becomes a determining factor. Furthermore, the material process "is standing", if we relate it to the context of politics, means "to compete".

The spirit of competition is reinforced through the word “competing” as a part of the goal of the process. The notion of competition putatively provides a sense of polarity. It is further highlighted that the opposing side is “two Muslim candidates”, which in this sense refers to Anies Baswedan and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. However, this framework causes a controversy since the journalist attempts to create polarity between ethnic Chinese versus Muslim candidates, contesting ethnicity and religiosity at the same time. In this article, the journalist mostly appraises Ahok using positive judgment capacity, tenacity, and normality through the appraising items “no-nonsense reformer”, “little patience for corruption”, “popular”, “front-runner”, and “modernize”. It shows that the journalist considers Ahok as capable, dependable, and special figure.

[Widodo] **took** a swipe at politicians – whom he didn’t name – for whipping up demonstrators after most had already gone home. (Clause 9)

Through the above clause, the journalist attempts to present Jokowi’s stance regarding the 411 rally which turned violent as the night fell. The actor of the clause is “[Widodo]”. It is followed by the material process “took” which serves as neutral word. However, the noun phrase “a swipe” as the goal of the clause modifies the neutral verb “took” into an activity of hitting someone as a result of Jokowi’s tense emotion towards unspecified politicians. The phrasal verb ‘took a swipe’ functions as a metaphorical expression since the activity of ‘hitting’ does not take place in reality. The clause implies that the activity of ‘hitting’ is realized through utterances. It could have been formed as verbal process instead of material process, but the journalist decided to form it as a material process to evoke readers’

imagination of the activity of 'hitting' itself. The goal of the process "at politicians – whom he didn't name-" suggests that there is a possibility of Jokowi knowing the politicians but he decided not to name them. The circumstance "for whipping up demonstrators after most had already gone home" refers to the actions committed by unspecified politicians.

Indonesian Chinese **have faced** persecution and violence in the past, especially during the political and social turmoil that gripped Jakarta when former president Suharto was toppled. (Clause 47)

On the clause above, the journalist wants to recall the 1998's riots which greatly affected Sino Indonesian. The actor of the clause is "Indonesian Chinese". It is followed by material process "have faced". It should also be taken into consideration that the verb employed is in the form of present perfect, which suggests that the actor undergoes "the present condition resulting from a past event" (Halliday & Matthiessen, p.339). The goal of the process is "persecution and violence". Since this article constructs the case as election wrapped in ethnicity and religiosity, it suggests that Ahok, as Sino Indonesian, is again being persecuted in this blasphemy case. In another word, the persecution towards Ahok in the blasphemy case underpins the possibility that anti-Chinese sentiment still exists. Therefore, the blasphemy case comes to surface not because of Ahok's remarks but rather because he is Sino-Indonesian. The blasphemy case is nevertheless a result of on-going sentiment toward Sino-Indonesian. In this sense, the journalist attempts to 'safeguard' Ahok by positioning him as a 'victim' in the blasphemy case. This framework can be misleading to readers since since Ahok's ethnicity does not play

a role in the court. He is being investigated due to his remarks about Quran, not due to his ethnicity.

While Ahok is positioned as a victim, the protesters are portrayed as violent people. It can be seen through several clauses as follow:

Some protesters **threw** rocks at the police, (Clause 15)

and

two vehicles **were torched** [by some protesters] (Clause 16)

On clause 15, the actor is “some protesters”. Indefinite numerative “some” is employed to give a blurred amount of protesters as the journalist does not provide specific numbers. In this sense, the journalist attempts to show that there are more than one protester who threw rocks at police. Material process “threw” serves as a negative word followed by “rocks” as the goal of action done by “some protesters”. The party affected by the process is “police” in the form of phrasal noun “at the police”.

As a continuation of the previous clause, clause 16 shows another violent action. However, the actor [some protesters] is in ellipted form and the goal of the process is positioned as the opening of the clause which shows that the journalist attempts to emphasize the thing that is affected by the material process “were torched”. The verb “were torched” is considered negative since it evokes an illegal activity intentionally. In this article, the protesters are mostly appraised by the journalist using negative propriety through the appraising items “threw”, “were torched”, “broke out”, “looted”, and “vilify”. Judgment of propriety indicates the

ethics of the person being appraised (Martin & White, 2005). Therefore, the journalist considers the protesters as unethical.

Verbal as the second dominant process occurred in 13 clauses (27.65%). It is employed to deliver statements from officials (President Joko Widodo and police spokesman) as well as from media and protesters. The examples of verbal process (in bold) are as follow:

Indonesian president Joko Widodo **lashed out** at politicians for stoking a huge protest that briefly turned violent on Friday night (Clause 2)

Similar to the title of the article, the clause above underpins Jokowi's blame towards politicians behind the rally. The actor of the clause is "Indonesian president Joko Widodo". The phrasal verb "lashed out" evokes a greater sense of emotion, compared to the word 'criticize', for example. "Lashed out" itself means "to criticize someone in an angry way". However, the clause above is in the form of reported speech, which according to Haig (n.d.) may grammatically modified, thus it is as if based on the journalist's interpretation.

Local media **said** about 23 people were arrested, most of them in the north, where overnight police guarded shopping and residential areas that are home to predominantly non-Muslims.

It is not only enough to portray the violent actions committed by the protesters during the rally, but the journalist takes it further to provide assumptions of possible attacks to non-Muslim residents. On the clause above, the sayer is "local media" followed by the verb "said" which functions as neutral word of quoting.

However, the journalist does not specify which local media provided the information. The verbiage of the clause provides information of number of people who were arrested by the police as well as suggests the possibility of attacks by protesters to the non-Muslims by mentioning the action of police to guard the residential areas which are home to predominantly non-Muslims.

### **Logical Structure**

The lead of the article sums up the news' content which tells Jokowi's response towards 411 rally or what the journalist framed as "big demonstration" against "Christian governor of Jakarta accused of insulting Qur'an".

The first paragraph tells about Jokowi's accuse towards politicians (no specific reference) who fire up the 411 protest which turned violent on the night the hardcore group pushed for Jakarta's governor's (Christian accused of insulting Quran) resignation. Verbal and material processes are employed through the phrasal verb "lashed out" and "pressed". This paragraph functions as the core of the text.

The second and third paragraphs tells about background of Ahok as well as governorship of Jakarta. The journalist frames Ahok's background as "the first ethnic Chinese politician to lead this sprawling city of 10 million" who is also standing for re-election against "two Muslim candidates" in February. Jakarta's governorship is described as "a powerful position and was a stepping stone for Joko Widodo to the presidency two years ago". Material process "is standing" and relational processes "is" and "was" are employed. These paragraphs function to introduce the context of the case and parties involved.



The fourth and fifth paragraphs tell about Jokowi's opinion that the protest was steered by politicians. Verbal, material, and mental processes used in these clauses are "called", "said", "took", "was steered", "deplore", and "see". These paragraphs function to provide depiction of Jokowi's stance regarding the incident.

The fifth to ninth paragraphs depict the situation during the protest from several places such as presidential palace, national monument, northern neighborhood, parliament building, and shopping and residential areas. Material, existential, mental, verbal, and relational processes used in the clauses are "fired", "threw", "were torched", "broke out", "was fizzling out", "was", "showed", "camped out", "said", "died", "were hurt", "were arrested", and "were". These paragraphs function to depict the situation of the demonstration which turned violent that caused a person died and 12 people hurt.

The tenth paragraph tells about the reason why Muslim groups have accused Ahok of blasphemy. Verbal process "have accused", "said", and "implies" as well as material process "had used" and "should not choose" are used. This paragraph functions to show the misunderstanding of Muslim groups towards Ahok's remark regarding Al-Maidah: 51.

The eleventh paragraph tells about the protesters' attitude which chanted "God is greatest" while waving placards calling for Ahok to be jailed for blasphemy. Material process "waved" and "was painted" are employed. This paragraph functions to provide depiction of the protesters' emotion on how insulted they are towards Ahok's remark.

The twelfth paragraph tells about Ahok's apology for his remarks which he insists he was not criticizing Quran but his opponents who use it to beat him. Material process "are investigating" is employed. This paragraph functions to frame the influence of the mass' anger towards legal action.

The thirteenth and fourteenth paragraphs tell about Ahok's good reputation as a "no-nonsense reformer with little patient for corruption", "popular despite efforts by Muslim groups to vilify him", "frontrunner in the election", although many voters are against his 'eviction' programs to modernize Jakarta. Relational process "has", "remains", "are" as well as mental process "is seen" are employed. This paragraph functions to portray Ahok's good work performance.

The fifteenth paragraph tells about Jokowi's contradictory statement: at first he said to not interfere legal proceedings regarding Ahok but added that the process would be executed "swiftly, firmly, and transparently". Verbal process "has vowed" and "said" and material process "would be executed" are employed. This paragraph functions to portray Jokowi's wobbly stance regarding the case.

The sixteenth and seventeenth paragraphs tell about the rare large-scale demonstration of the world's most populous country and ethnic Chinese's position as minority who have faced persecution and violence during Suharto's presidency. Relational process "is", "are", "make up" as well as material process "do not enter" and "have faced" are employed. These paragraphs function to portray ethnic Chinese's position socially and politically in Indonesia as the world's most populous Muslim country.

The eighteenth paragraph tells about Jokowi's decision to cancel a visit plan to Australia to secure the situation in Jakarta. Verbal process "cancelled" is employed. This paragraph functions to recall the reader's attention to the main event of the article which is about Jokowi's stance regarding the case.

The article talks about the second series of *Aksi Bela Islam* (November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 / 411). Overall, there are several figures on this article: Joko Widodo, Ahok, protesters, political actors, and police. The attempt to negatively frame the protesters as violent are done by employing material process to describe the action of the protesters, such as: throwing rocks at police, two vehicles were torched, a fire broke out, looting of a convenience store. On the contrary, by deploying mental process, Ahok is framed in a positive way by pointing out his work performance as well as leadership (no-nonsense reformer with little patience for corruption, remains popular despite efforts by Muslim groups to vilify him, many voters are angry with him for evicting large numbers from slums to modernize Jakarta).

### **Social Function**

In this article, the journalist wants to portray that religiosity, ethnicity, and political issue are intertwining one another by mentioning that the demonstration was also fired up by politicians (without specific reference of the name) which caused a hardcore group pushing for Ahok's resignation as he is considered of insulting Quran. Ahok is described by the journalist as (the Christian governor of Jakarta, the first ethnic Chinese political to lead Jakarta standing for re-election competing with two Muslim candidates). Jokowi, former partner of Ahok in

previous gubernatorial period, was impliedly framed as standing wobbly against the case: he vowed not to interfere in any legal proceedings against Ahok but also stated in a conference that legal process involving Ahok would be conducted “swiftly, firmly, and transparently”.

The Guardian also wants to influence readers to believe that Ahok is the victim who has apologized for his remarks, but the Muslim protesters’ anger leads him to be processed legally according to the law. Moreover, the journalist also seeks to link previous ethnic Chinese persecution in Suharto’s regime to Ahok’s case by entailing Ahok’s ethnicity in the article.

#### **4.2.2 Jakarta protests: Muslims turn out in force against Christian governor**

##### **Ahok**

##### **Lexical Grammatical Features**

This article presents the 212 rally (December 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016). It mostly talks about the situation of the demonstration. From the total of 40 clauses, 21 material processes (52.5%) dominate the article. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) contend that material process is used to represent activity of “doing and happening”. In this article, it functions to present the actions done by the actors such as protesters, Ahok, Joko Widodo, and police. The verbal groups of material process are “descend”, “gathers”, “headed”, “marched”, “had travelled”, “went”, “broke”, “appeared”, “is being prosecuted”, “has not been detained”, “are pushing”, “have worked”, “have handed”, “goes”, “have come”, “stand”, “were deployed”, “was killed”, and “injured”. The examples of material process are as follow:

A crowd of at least 200,000 Muslim protesters **has descended on** Jakarta to demand the Christian governor of the Indonesian capital be arrested for insulting Islam. (Clause 3)

The journalist attempts to introduce religiosity issue by entailing Ahok's Christian identity and protesters' Muslim identity. The actor of the activity is "a crowd of at least 200,000 Muslim protesters". By adding definite numerative "200,000", the journalist attempts to portray how huge the crowd is. However, even though the numerative is definite, it is preceded by indefinite numerative "at least". In this sense, the journalist actually does not provide exact amount of protesters yet the definite numerative functions to portray as if it is the exact number of the protesters. The phrasal verb "has descended on" whose goal is "Jakarta" implies the protesters' march to Jakarta as a sudden and unexpected movement. The purpose of the action is positioned as the circumstance of the clause which is "to demand the Christian governor of the Indonesian capital be arrested for insulting Islam". The verb "demand" on the propositional phrase further adds negative impression towards the protesters. When someone demands something, he or she does not expect to be refused. The protesters and the rally are appraised by the journalist using negative judgment in terms of normality, tenacity, and propriety. It is presented through appraising items such as "heavy security", "wary", "biggest demonstration the city had seen in years", "violence", and "hurling missiles". Meanwhile, Ahok is appraised using negative propriety through the appraising items "target of widespread anger" and "is already being prosecuted". However, the

negative propriety does not function to condemn Ahok's behavior, instead it functions to show that he is a victim in the blasphemy case.

President Joko Widodo, who is political ally of Ahok, unexpectedly **went** to the national monument to join Friday prayers with the sprawling crowd. (Clause 11)

On the clause above, the relation between Ahok-Jokowi is positioned as part of actor of the process which is "President Joko Widodo, who is political ally of Ahok". Patronage-based political system is implied through the use of the noun phrase "political ally". Ahok was former vice governor to Jokowi before Jokowi was elected as the president of Indonesia. The close political relation between two figures becomes questionable when Jokowi decided to come to the national monument. Therefore, the journalist puts adverb "unexpectedly" before the process "went" to show the contradictive situation.

Conservative Muslim groups **are** now **pushing** for his arrest. (Clause 22)

Through the clause above, it can be seen that the journalist attempts to portray that those involved in the rally include "conservative Muslim groups" as the actor of the clause, although it is not mentioned further who the groups are. The verb "are pushing" which serves as the process of the clause implies a strong intention of the action done by the doer. The goal of the process is "for his arrest". In this case, "his" refers to Ahok as the so-called victim of the case. Within this framework, the verb implies that the conservative Muslim groups are those who do

not want to follow the legal process of investigation. Therefore, their only goal is for Ahok to be arrested, without considering the court's decision.

In this article, the second dominant process is verbal which occurred in 13 clauses or 32.5%. It is used to deliver statements from protesters, officials (president, police, and critics) as well as to describe the situation in the demonstration. The examples of verbal process are as follow:

“All we want is justice, and by justice I mean Ahok being detained,” **said** Ricky Subagia, 25, who had come 200km (120 miles) from the town of Garut. (Clause 8)

The clause above supports the previous clause about mass' pressure to arrest Ahok. The journalist tries to provide the perspective of the protesters involved in the rally by employing direct quotation. Haig (n.d.) asserts that direct quotation permits readers to access the original utterances. Therefore, it is likely to be perceived as 'trustworthy'. However, on the clause above, the journalist attempts to show the perspective of the protester which will ultimately support the journalist's particular setting on the case. The sayer of the clause is not only specified through his name (Ricky Subagia) but also his age (25) and hometown (Garut). His hometown is purposively added to show that Ahok's alleged blasphemy case does not only attract Jakartans but also people outside of Jakarta to take part in the rally. The protesters' ultimate goal is positioned as the verbiage of the clause, which is to pursue justice through the detainment of Ahok. In this case, it creates an implication

that the protesters are not obedient to the legal process because the decision whether to imprison Ahok or not lies on the court, not mass.

But critics **say** it is as much about politics (Clause 32)

After elaborating that the case is seen as a challenge to Indonesia's religious tolerance, the journalist contests it by providing perspective from critics by using conjunction 'but' to show a contradictive situation. In this case, the journalist tries to shift readers' mind to believe that the case is not merely about religiosity as well as ethnicity, but it is also about politics. The attempt to do so is realized by using reported speech. Haig (n.d., p.29) stated that utterances in reported speech have been grammatically modified. Therefore, it is not likely to be trustworthy. On the clause above, the sayer is "critics" without specified resources. The main point of the clause is put as the verbiage "it is as much about politics".

and [critics] **accuse** opponents of Purnama, also a member of Indonesia's ethnic Chinese minority, of whipping up anger and encouraging the protests to reduce his support ahead of February polls for the governorship. (Clause 34)

The clause above serves to continue the previous clause and specifies what it means by "politics". The sayer is in ellipted form [critics]. It is followed by verbal process "accuse" which according to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) serves as targeting. In this sense, the target of the process is "opponents of Purnama, also a member of Indonesia's ethnic Chinese minority". The purpose of political actions



to utilize the protest in order to reduce Ahok's votes in the election is positioned as the verbiage of the clause.

### **Logical Structure**

The title as well as the lead of the article becomes the manifestation of the journalist's attempt to show two conflicting parties in the context of religiosity. The title "Jakarta protests: Muslim turn out in force against Christian governor Ahok" suggests that the two conflicting parties are Muslim and Christian governor Ahok. Moreover, Muslim is placed as the doer in a negative way especially because it is followed by the phrasal verb "turn out" and the adverb "in force" to point out the negative connotation.

The lead of the article functions to elaborate the information of the case in a more detailed way. Muslim as the actor of the action as explained in the title is replaced with the noun phrase "huge crowds" to inform readers about the amount of the protesters. The process done by the actor is "descend". The goal of the action "descend" is "on Jakarta". Meanwhile, the purpose of the action is put as the "to demand the Indonesian capital's governor be arrested for insulting Islam". The use of the word "demand", "arrested", and "insulting" have strong connotation and is intended to frame the actor negatively. The journalist purposively specifies Ahok's identity as "the Indonesian capital's governor" to show the importance of his position.

The first paragraph retells the lead of the article. It specifies the amount of huge crowds mentioned before as "a crowd of at least 200,000 Muslim protesters"

which is put as the actor of the clause. Material process “has descended” is employed. This paragraph functions as the opening of the article.

The second paragraph tells about the deployment of heavy security at the 212 rally due to the authorities’ worry that a violence similar to the previous rally in November can take place. Existential process “was” is employed. This paragraph functions to recall the previous rally in November.

The third paragraph tells about the protesters who head to a park to protest against Ahok who “has become target of widespread anger in world’s most populous Muslim-majority country”. Material process “headed” is employed. This paragraph functions to introduce the case through the identity of Ahok.

The fourth paragraph tells about the protesters who were dressed in white Islamic skullcaps and robes in which many of them travelled from other areas outside of Jakarta to join the demonstration. Material processes “marched” and “had travelled” are employed. This paragraph functions to construct the identity of the protesters.

The fifth paragraph tells about the statement from Ricky Subagia, a protester from Garut who wanted justice which in his context means the detainment of Ahok. Verbal processes “said” and “mean” as well as relational process “is” are employed. This paragraph functions to provide perspective from the protester of the purpose of protest.

The sixth and seventh paragraphs tell about Jokowi, a political ally of Ahok, who unexpectedly join the Friday prayers with the crowd and told the protesters to

disperse peacefully. The protesters cheered after hearing Jokowi's statement and chanted for Ahok's arrest. Material processes "went" and "broke" as well as verbal processes "called" and "cheered" are employed. This paragraph functions to influence reader's mind to think that the mass' pressure to detain Ahok has worked on Jokowi through his decision to join the prayer.

The eighth paragraph tells about the amount of the protesters which is estimated by the police to be 200,000 people. Relational process "did not have" and material process "appeared" are employed. This paragraph functions to show readers how huge the amount of the demonstrators is.

The tenth and eleventh paragraphs tell about Ahok, the "Jakarta's first non-Muslim governor in half a century", who is prosecuted for alleged blasphemy due to comments about Koran in a campaign. Ahok has not been detained and therefore conservative Muslim groups are pushing for his arrest through the demonstration. Material processes "is being prosecuted", "has not been detained" and "are pushing" are employed. This paragraph functions to provide background of how the blasphemy case started and who is pushing for Ahok's arrest.

The twelfth and thirteenth paragraphs tell about the national police chief, Tito Karnavian, who requested the protesters to support the legal process. Verbal processes "called", "said", and "request" as well as material processes "have worked", "have handed over", and "goes" are employed. This paragraph functions to show readers that police is subjected to mass' pressure.

The fourteenth paragraph tells about how the case is seen as a part of test for Indonesia's religious tolerance where minorities are under attack and government fails to rein hardline groups. Mental process "is viewed" as well as material processes "have come" and "stands" are employed. This paragraph functions to construct readers' assumption that Ahok's blasphemy case is also the government's failure to protect minority and how the case can be a challenge for Indonesia's religious tolerance.

The fifteenth paragraph tells about another different opinion from critics which contends that the case is politically-nuanced: opponents of Ahok are flaring up anger and encouraging the protests to reduce people's support for Ahok in the upcoming election. Verbal processes "say" and "accuse" as well as relational process "is" are employed. This paragraph functions to contest the previous perspective on religiosity against political issue.

The sixteenth paragraph tells about thousands of police and soldiers who were deployed to keep peace at the 212 rally, a bigger rally than the previous 411 rally which brought 100,000 protesters. Material process "were deployed" is employed. This paragraph functions to contrast the 212 rally with the previous 411.

The seventeenth and eighteenth paragraphs tell about the 411 rally in November which became violent as the night fell, causing a person killed and hundreds injured during a clash between Muslim protesters and police. Material processes "descended", "was killed", and "injured" are employed. This paragraph functions to recall the violent situation in previous 411 rally in November.

The nineteenth paragraph tells about police who named Ahok as a suspect in blasphemy case following the protest and calls of prosecution from mass. Verbal process “named” and material process “mounted” are employed. This paragraph functions to retell the influence of mass’ pressure towards the legal process of blasphemy case.

The twentieth paragraph tells about Ahok who had accused his opponents of using a verse from Koran suggesting a prohibition for Muslim to choose non-Muslim leaders to deceive voters into voting against him. Verbal process “had accused” is employed. This paragraph functions to influence readers that religiosity issue is used by Ahok’s opponents to trick voters.

### **Social Function**

Through this text, the journalist wants to contest religiosity and political issues. The Guardian constructs a perspective that the case is a challenge to religious tolerance in Indonesia as minorities have been under attack due to government’s failure to control hardline groups. At the same time, political issue is constructed by the journalist by providing critics (although it is unclear where the critics come from) saying that conflict between Muslim protesters and Christian governor Ahok because of Koranic verse is being utilized by the opponents of Ahok for political purpose: gaining votes in the February’s election. However, religiosity issue dominates the article and therefore this article actually presents issue of ethnicity and religiosity in the context of election. The text also wants to show that the mass’

pressure to arrest Ahok can influence officials' stance (president Jokowi and police) as well as legal process, leading Ahok to be detained.

### **4.2.3 Islamists March in Jakarta, Demanding Christian Governor be Jailed**

#### **Lexical Grammatical Features**

This article retells the rally on November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 (411) by 'Islamists' to demand the imprisonment of Ahok, the city's Christian governor. In presenting this article, the journalist uses verbal process as the dominant process. It occurs in 34 clauses out of 98 clauses, or about 34.69%. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.252) stated that, "in news reporting, verbal clauses allow the reporter to attribute information to sources, including officials, experts, and eye witnesses". In presenting the information, the journalist uses direct (quoted) and indirect (reported) speech. The quoted speech appears in 10 clauses out of 34 clauses, or about 29.41%. Meanwhile, the reported speech appears in 23 clauses, or about 67.64%. According to Haig (n.d.), direct quotations permit readers to trace the original utterances, meanwhile reported speech has been grammatically modified. Therefore, direct speech is considered as more 'trustworthy' compared to reported speech.

The verbal groups employed in this articles are "cited", "accused", "pressured", "apologized", "has rejected", "told", "said", "had warned", "chanted", "had not confirmed", "decried", "cancelled", "indicate", "have denied", "have questioned", "responded", "threatened", "has been lauded", and "expressed". The examples of verbal process (in bold) in this article are as follow:

hard-liners **accused** him of blasphemy, which is a criminal offense in Indonesia, (Clause 8)

The clause above uses reported speech as it is likely to be based on the journalist's interpretation. The journalist intends to show that the protesters are 'hard-liners'. The phrase itself conveys a strong negative perception to the readers. On the clause above, the sayer "hard liners" is as it is acting verbally towards another party since the verb "accused" serves as targeting (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). In this case, the target of the saying is "him", which refers to Ahok. The verbiage of the clause is "of blasphemy, which is a criminal offense in Indonesia.". Moreover, the journalist mostly appraises the protesters using negative judgment of capacity and propriety through appraising items "a show of strength", "pressured", "violence", "killed", "clashed", "set fire", "hang", "cut off" and "deport".

Mr. Basuki **has** repeatedly **apologized** to Muslims who were offended by his remark, (Clause 10)

The New York Times chooses to show Ahok's apologize in the form of reported speech, as it is likely to be based on the journalist's interpretation. The sayer, "Mr.Basuki", is accompanied by verbal process "has apologized". Adverb "repeatedly" highlights the frequency of apologizing as it also functions to show how regretful Ahok was. The receiver of Ahok's apology is "Muslims who were offended by his remark". In this framework, the clause implies that there are two kinds of Muslims: Muslims who were offended by his remark and Muslims who

were not. Ahok is appraised by the journalist using complete positive judgment of normality, capacity, veracity, propriety, and tenacity through the appraising items “repeatedly”, “heavily favored”, “sincerely”, “a popular figure in Jakarta”, “very different”, “berating”, “had faced”, “good humor and taunts”, “has been lauded”, “fast-tracked infrastructure projects”, “instituted”, and “work or Kerja!”. Those judgments reflect that the journalist considers Ahok as a special, capable, dependable, honest, and ethical person.

Opinion polls **indicate** that he holds a large lead over his two opponents in the election for governor on Feb. 15. (Clause 34)

In constructing its agenda, The New York Times chooses to provide an opinion polls in the form of reported speech as it is unspecified which polls the newspaper refers to. On the clause above, the sayer is “opinion polls”. It is followed by the verb “indicate” which according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) serves as indicating. In this case, the verbiage indicates Ahok’s leading position compared to his opponents. The two opponents the journalist mentions refers to Anies Baswedan and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono.

polling **indicates** that most Jakarta voters do not consider them campaign issues. (Clause 42)

The New York Times chooses to use reported speech again to set its agenda. The clause above refers to ethnicity and religiosity in the eyes of voters. The sayer of the clause is “polling” followed by the verb “indicates”. The main point of the clause is positioned as the verbiage of the clause which asserts that voters in Jakarta



do not consider Ahok's Christianity and his Sino-Indonesian ethnicity as campaign issues. Therefore, it implies that the protest is apparently not related to his ethnicity and religiosity. This perspective is further strengthened in the following clause:

“Precisely because religion and ethnicity are as such not electoral factors, Ahok's opponents have to up the game,” **said** Marcus Mietzner, an associate professor at the Australian National University in Canberra, who closely follows Indonesian politics. (Clause 49)

The New York Times provides an opinion from an expert of politics, Marcus Mietzner. The verbiage is put on the front of the clause to show that it is important. The verbiage above shows that the protest is utilized by Ahok's opponents in election. It is further specified in the following clause:

“Instead of claiming that Ahok shouldn't be governor because he's a Christian — which hasn't worked — they try to portray him as a blasphemer who violated the law.” (Clause 51)

The journalist asserts his/her point of view through the selection of quotations appear in the articles. The verbiage above shows that the blasphemy case is a tool for opponents to weaken Ahok in the election since ethnicity and religiosity are not significant enough to sway voters.

The police **have questioned** Mr. Basuki about his September comments, (Clause 66)

On the clause above, the sayer is “the police” followed by the verb “have questioned”. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), the verb “have

questioned” serves as indicating. In this case, it indicates police’s decision to finally question Ahok for his remarks on September. The receiver of the activity is “Mr. Basuki”. The verbiage of the clause is “about his September comments,”. It is further specified in the next clause that analysts (unspecific reference) see police’s attempt as an effort to reduce Islamist’s critics towards Ahok. Therefore, it implies that mass pressure can influence police during the legal process.

Another dominant process in the article is material process. It occurs in 34 clauses or about 34.69%. Halliday (cited in Haig, n.d.) contends that material process serves to represent actions, events, and participants involved in the clause. The examples of material process are provided below:

Mr. Basuki, who had been Mr. Joko’s vice governor, **inherited** the city’s top job when Mr. Joko became president in 2014. (Clause 37)

Ahok came to be a governor when his ‘ally’, Jokowi, was elected as president in 2014. The verb “inherited” functions as if there is a process of taking and giving between superordinate to subordinate, between Jokowi to Ahok. The thing involved in the process of taking and giving refers to the goal of the process, “the city’s top job” or the governorship of Jakarta. Both Ahok and Jokowi are under the protection of Megawati from Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). The patronage-based political system is further specified in the following clause:

His opponents **are** Anies Baswedan, a former minister of higher education, and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, a former Army officer and the son of

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who was president from 2004 to 2014.  
(Clause 48)

Anies Baswedan is under the protection of Prabowo, whose party, Gerindra, supports Anies in election. Meanwhile, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono is under the protection of his father, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, former president before Jokowi. Agus is supported by SBY's party, Democratic Party, for the gubernatorial election.

Mr. Basuki **had faced** protests because of his Christianity, notably before his swearing-in, (Clause 73)

On the clause above, the actor is "Mr. Basuki". It is followed by the verb "had faced". The goal of the process is "protests". The protests are formed as plural since there were several events related to it. On October and November 2014, Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) demonstrated around the City Hall to deny Ahok's ascent as governor. According to *Tempo*, the protest occurred because they were afraid that Ahok, who is notably Christian, would perpetrate discriminations against Muslim (Firdaus, 2014).

Issue of ethnicity also appears in the following clauses:

Though Chinese-Indonesians **make up** just over 1 percent of Indonesia's population, (Clause 77)

and

they **have tended** to wield economic clout beyond their numbers, (Clause 78)

By the use of conjunction “though”, the journalist attempts to show something contradictive to what is expected. Chinese Indonesians as the actor of the clause is followed by the phrasal verb “make up” which is synonymous to “form”. The goal of the clause is “just over 1 percent of Indonesia’s population. The contradictive situation is further specified by the journalist in the next clause. “They” as the actor is a pronoun referred to Chinese-Indonesians which has been mentioned in the clause before. It is followed by the verb “have tended”. The goal of the clause is “to wield economic clout beyond their numbers”. However, it should be taken into account that the verb is in the form of present perfect, suggesting as if the situation has happened in a certain period of time up to now. The journalist attempts to link Ahok’s ethnicity as Sino-Indonesian to this context. It suggests as if Sino-Indonesian’s economic status becomes the matter in the blasphemy case.

which **has often led** to resentment. (Clause 79)

The clause above specifies that the Sino-Indonesians who are portrayed as wielding economy have triggered a resentment towards them. The journalist also adds “often” to stress the frequency of the resentment. Within this framework, the journalist has generalized and categorized Sino Indonesian as one inseparable group. However, the assumption that Sino-Indonesians dominate Indonesia’s economy is problematic. Turner (2003) contends that Sino-Indonesians “vary tremendously in terms of socio-economic class”. Dananjaya (in Turner, 2003)

further adds that thousands Sino-Indonesian living on the outskirts of Jakarta live in poverty. The journalist's attempt to portray Sino-Indonesian as one inseparable entity in terms of socio-economic class is therefore only adds another misleading portrayal in the field of media discourse (Turner, 2003).

### **Logical Structure**

The first paragraph tells that the rally (411) involving tens of thousands Indonesians marching in Jakarta on Friday to demand "the city's first Christian governor in decades" be jailed for blasphemy was a show of "conservative Islamic groups" who were insulted by Ahok's remark about Quran. Furthermore, the groups want to weaken him in election. Material process "marched" and relational process "was" are employed. This paragraph functions to present the point of view of New York Times about the rally.

The second paragraph tells about Ahok, who is an ethnic Chinese Indonesian and the first Christian to govern Jakarta, the capital city of "the world's most populous Muslim-majority country". Relational process "is" is employed. This paragraph functions to show Ahok's identity.

The third paragraph tells that Ahok has been a target of Islamic groups since he became governor in 2014. Part of those groups seized on his remarks which he cited a verse from Koran that "warns against taking Christian and Jews as friends". Material process "seized" and verbal process "cited" are employed. This paragraph functions to provide background of the case to the readers.

The fourth paragraph tells about Ahok's circulated comments which caused had hard-liners to accuse him of blasphemy as well as pressured police to investigate the case. Ahok has apologized but rejected to withdraw from election. The processes in this clause are material, verbal, and relational, with the verbal groups "circulated", "accused", "pressured", "has apologized", "has rejected", and "is". This paragraph functions to relate the alleged blasphemy case to the election.

The fifth paragraph tells that Ahok did not intend to insult religion and therefore he apologized to offended Muslims for his remarks. Verbal processes "told", "said", "apologize"; relational process "was"; and material process "am sending" are employed. This paragraph functions to show Ahok's attitude for his remarks in direct quotation.

The sixth paragraph tells about the closing of some schools and offices as well as a warning from American and Australian Embassies to their citizens to stay away from the area of protest due to worries about violence. Material processes "had prompted" and "barricaded" as well as verbal process "had warned" are employed. This paragraph functions to show frightening effect of protest to people.

The seventh paragraph tells that initially there were no reports of violence but after the nightfall, several protesters clashed with police that caused a person died, according to reports. However, authorities had not confirmed the news yet. Relational process "were", verbal process "chanted" and "had not confirmed", and material processes "should be killed", "clashed", and "set fire" are employed. This paragraph functions to portray the situation of the protest which turned violent.

The eighth paragraph tells that Jokowi accused political actors behind the rally. After the incident, he cancelled an official visit to Australia. The process used in this clause is verbal with the verbal groups “decried”, “accused” and “cancelled”. This paragraph functions to show the reason why the rally became violent according to Jokowi.

The ninth and tenth paragraphs tell about Ahok’s identity: a grandson of a tin miner from Guangzhou China, a famous figure in Jakarta, very different from the usual soft-spoken Javanese politicians, his brash manner in criticizing incompetent and corrupt civil servant. Opinion polls suggest that he holds higher points compared to his opponents in election. Relational processes “has been” and “is”, verbal process “indicate”, and material process “hold” are employed. This paragraph functions to construct Ahok’s positive image.

The eleventh paragraph tells that Ahok’s win would mean he is the first ethnic Chinese Christian directly elected to lead Jakarta, the most powerful post that brought Jokowi to presidency. Ahok inherited his gubernatorial position when Jokowi was elected in 2014. Relational process “would be” and material process “inherited” are employed. This paragraph functions to elaborate the importance of Jakarta’s gubernatorial position.

The twelfth paragraph tells that although Indonesia has a pluralistic Islam, parts of the country are “rigidly” conservative and radicalism had occurred. Although Ahok’s opponents have used his religiosity and ethnicity, most voters in Jakarta do not consider it as campaign issues. Material processes “practice” and

“have used”, relational process “are”, existential process “are”, and verbal process “indicates” are employed. This paragraph functions to show Indonesian’s voters perspective on religiosity and ethnicity in election.

The thirteenth paragraph tells an opinion from analysts that the protests against Ahok is an attempt to weaken him in election. Islamic groups in the protest have ties to Ahok’s opponents such as Anies Baswedan (former minister of education), and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (son of former president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono). Verbal processes “said” and “have denied” as well as relational processes “were”, “have”, and “are” are employed. This paragraph functions to persuade readers to believe that the protests are used by Ahok’s opponents against him.

The fourteenth paragraph tells an opinion from expert who contends that the blasphemy case is used by opponents of Ahok to defeat him in election since religion and ethnicity are not determining factors in election. Verbal process “said” and material processes “have to up” and “try” are employed. This paragraph functions to strengthen the previous argument by quoting opinion from expert.

The fifteenth and sixteenth paragraphs tell that the blasphemy case serves to force Ahok out from the election: Ahok hold a great possibility to win the second round therefore his opponents try to use blasphemy case as a way to put him in jail and set him away from election. Verbal process “said”, relational processes “is”, “are”, “will be”, and “will not be”, mental processes “know”, “think”, and “hope”, as well as material processes “can get” and “will be put” are employed. This



paragraph functions to strengthen previous paragraph from the perspective of an organization promoting religious tolerance.

The seventeenth paragraph tells that police's decision to question Ahok for his remarks is seen as a way to decrease the Islamist's critics. Verbal process "have questioned" and mental process "saw" are employed. This paragraph functions to show an opinion from analyst that mass pressure can affect police.

The eighteenth paragraph tells that many protesters chanted to hang Ahok, cut off his hand and foot as well as deport him. Verbal process "chanted" and material processes "hang", "cut off", and "deport" are employed. This paragraph functions to provide negative depiction of the protesters to the readers.

The nineteenth paragraph tells that Ahok has received protests of his Christianity before and threat of attack to his office in City Hall. He responded with humour as well as stated that they would be arrested for doing so. Material processes "had faced" and "would be arrested" as well as verbal processes "responded" and "assured" are employed. This paragraph functions to show how Ahok responds to those opposing him.

The twentieth paragraph tells that although the population of Indonesian ethnic-Chinese is few in amount, their powerful economy has led to resentment. They were subjected to discriminative laws and were victims in 1998's riots during Suharto era. Material processes "make up", "have tended", "has led", "were subjected", and "were killed" are employed. This paragraph functions to provide information about socioeconomic background of ethnic-Chinese in Indonesia.

The twenty first paragraph tells about Ahok's good work performance to develop Jakarta such as a mass-transit system, orange army sweepers, smart card program. Verbal process "has been lauded", relational processes "has" and "is", and material processes "dispatched" and "instituted" are employed. This paragraph functions to show Ahok's work performance.

The twenty second paragraph tells that Ahok initially ran as independent but later stayed with Jokowi's party, the Democratic Party of Struggle. Verbal process "threatened" and material process "stayed" are employed. This paragraph functions to show Ahok's political track.

The twenty third to twenty fifth paragraphs tell an opinion from one of supporters of Ahok from *Teman Ahok* that they are not worried about the protests and they think that Ahok did nothing wrong in the case of blasphemy. They believe in the justice system. Verbal processes "expressed" and "said", mental processes "would not hurt" and "believe", relational processes "are not" and "is", and material processes "will handle" and "did" are employed. These paragraphs function to show perspective of Ahok's supporters regarding the blasphemy case.

### **Social Function**

As a genre of news item, this article wants to inform readers about the protest on November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 (411 rally) which drew conservative Islamic groups to demand the imprisonment of Ahok. The New York Times interprets the protest occurred not only because the groups were offended by Ahok's remark about Koran, but they have another agenda: to weaken Ahok in the gubernatorial election.

Jakarta's governorship is an important position because it is the most powerful provincial post in Indonesia and was a stepping stone for Joko Widodo to become a president. Therefore, the area has become a heated arena of political contestation. Through the lens of The New York Times, ethnicity and religiosity are not the sole reasons why *Aksi Bela Islam* came to surface. The case happened because those two issues were used by politicians, in this case refers to opponents of Ahok, to force him out of second round of election and eventually the whole election itself.

#### **4.2.4 Jakarta Protest, Tied to Faith, May Have Deeper Links to Secular Politics**

##### **Lexical Grammatical Features**

Through this article, The New York Times wants to inform readers that the protest on November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 (411 rally) in Jakarta is being utilized by politicians to achieve two purposes: defeat Ahok in the election by portraying him as a blasphemer who violated Indonesian laws and finally prevent Jokowi from presidential re-election in 2020. In presenting the article, the journalist uses verbal process as the dominant process. It occurs in 32 clauses out of 81 clauses, or it is about 39.5%. The verbal process is employed to present various point of views from experts. The examples of verbal process (in bold) are as follow:

“It's purely political, and they are using the blasphemy issue as an entry point to challenge Jokowi and pressure him,” Mr. Azra **said**, referring to President Joko by his popular nickname. (Clause 7)

In constructing its point of view, The New York Times chooses the perspective of Azyumardi Azra, a Muslim scholar and former rector of the State Islamic University in Jakarta as the 'sayer'. His statement is in the form of direct speech. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p.255) stated that the verb "said" serves as a neutral word of quoting. If we take closer look at the verbiage, the verb "are using" implies that the blasphemy issue becomes a 'tool' for the actor "they" in achieving their goals. The ultimate goal itself is not realized as 'the goal of the clause', instead it is put as the circumstance of the clause which is "as an entry point to challenge Jokowi and pressure him".

"It's a sad development in Indonesian politics when race and religion are being used by politicians," **said** Philips J. Vermonte, the head of the politics and international relations department at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta. (Clause 17)

Another statement being quoted by the journalist is from Philips J. Vermonte as an expert in politics. As a sayer, Philips' identity is put on the clause to show that the information given by him is reliable. The verbal process of the clause is "said" which according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) serves as neutral word. Philips' perspective is put as part of the verbiage. His stance is similar to the previous expert in which he contends that race and religion serves as a 'tool' that can be used by politicians to achieve their own goals. However, it is still questionable whether race does become a triggering factor in the case since Marcus Mietzner stated in the previous article from The New York Times that religion and race are not "such electoral factors".

Meanwhile, The New York Times prefers to use indirect speech to deliver statements from opponents of Ahok. It can be seen through the following clause:

Both opposition parties, Gerindra and the Democratic Party, **denied** being involved in planning the demonstration, (Clause 23)

and

but they **have supported** its goal of jailing Mr. Basuki for blasphemy (Clause 24)

On the first clause, the sayer is “both opposition parties, Gerindra and the Democratic Party”. The verbal process used is “denied”. The verbiage of the clause is “being involved in planning the demonstration”. Through the use of ‘but’ as conjunction, the journalist attempts to contrast that the second clause is contesting the first clause, influencing readers to believe that those two opposition parties, Gerindra and the Democratic Party actually involve in the rally. By using indirect speech as a method of quoting, the journalist instills his/her control of the information being presented in the article (Scollon cited in Noor, 2017).

The second dominant process in this article is material process. It occurs in 23 clauses or about 28.39%. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) state that material process is used to represent activity of “doing and happening”. The examples of material process are provided below:

The sight of tens of thousands of Islamists marching through the Indonesian capital this month, demanding that its Christian governor be jailed for blasphemy — some even calling for his death — **brought back** recurrent

fears of “creeping Islamization” in the world’s most populous Muslim- majority nation, where a more tolerant brand of Islam has been the norm. (Clause 1)

The attempt to introduce religiosity issue is executed by positioning “Islamists” and “Christian governor” as two opposing parties. The journalist directly label the protesters as “Islamists” which according to Demant (1951) have an agenda to enforce sharia law. Through the above clause, the journalist attempts to portray that the Islamists are those who started the conflict towards Ahok. The clause above comprises of several clauses which could have been formed separately. However, it was formed as one unity by the journalist to stress the activities of the “Islamist” protesters in the rally. The negative portrayal of the “Islamists” is emphasized in “some even calling for his death”. The phrasal verb “brought back” serves as neutral word. However, it is followed by the goal “recurrent fears of ‘creeping Islamization’” which convey negative meaning. The circumstance of the clause suggests that there is a shifting situation of a tolerant Islam in Indonesia.

In this article, the journalist mostly appraises protesters and the rally using negative propriety, normality, and tenacity through the appraising items “demanding”, “death”, “violence”, “injured”, “the largest in Jakarta in recent years”, “prosecuted and jailed”, “burned and clashed”, “pushing”, “persecuting”, “ransacking”, “becoming pawns”, and “target”. Therefore, it shows that the journalist considers the protesters and the rally as unethical, undependable, and not special. In contrast, the journalist mostly appraises Ahok using positive propriety

and normality through the appraising items “lightheartedly”, “a popular figure”, and “no harm”. In this sense, the journalist considers Ahok as a special and ethical figure. However, Ahok is also appraised using negative veracity through the appraising items “brash and blunt speaking” and “berating”. Still, in this context, the negative veracity has a reverse function: to show the good work performance of Ahok.

The religiosity issue is later contested by the journalist in the following clause:

the Islamists **organized** the protest at the behest of opposition parties hoping to derail Mr. Basuki’s re-election in February. (Clause 15)

On the clause above, the actor is “the Islamists”. It is followed by the verb “organized”. The goal of the process is “the protest”. Meanwhile, the circumstance of the clause suggests that opposition parties were involved in the protest. In this sense, the journalist attempts to shift readers’ mind to believe that the protest which initially was framed as religious-based was indeed a tool for opposition parties to prevent Ahok from being re-elected in February’s election. However, the information regarding the “Islamists” is blur since the journalist does not specify who the “Islamists” are.

Both parties **are fielding** candidates in the Feb. 15 election, in which Mr. Joko’s governing Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is backing Mr. Basuki. (Clause 26)

The opposition parties refer to Gerindra and Democratic Party (in clause 23). As this article constructs the case as election wrapped in ethnicity and religiosity issue, the journalist attempts to portray that the patronage-based political system operates in the heated election. The actor of the clause above is “both parties”. It is followed by the verb “are fielding”. The goal of the clause is “candidates”. The circumstance of the clause “in the Feb. 15 election, in which Mr. Joko’s governing Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle is backing Mr. Basuki” specifies the relation of Ahok and Jokowi as being under the same protection of *PDIP*. In the arena of election, prominent powers in Indonesia’s politics such as Prabowo and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono are mentioned by the journalist and portrayed as having ties to Joko Widodo as the backer of Ahok. Prabowo “bitterly” lost to Jokowi in 2014’s presidential election (clause 28). Meanwhile, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was a former president before Jokowi and whose son is running for the 2017’s gubernatorial election (clause 29).

### **Logical Structure**

The first paragraph tells that the view of Islamists marching through capital city of Indonesia to demand the Christian governor be jailed for blasphemy brought fears of “creeping Islamization” in a Muslim-majority nation who practices more tolerant kind of Islam. Material process “brought back” is employed. This paragraph functions as the main event of the text.

The second paragraph tells that the analyst sees the protest as “cutthroat, secular-dominated politics, and an attempt to strike a blow at Joko Widodo”. Mental



process “saw” is employed. This paragraph functions to provide different opinion from analyst about the protest.

The third and fourth paragraphs tell an opinion from Azyumardi Azra that the protest was not usual: it did not mention ban of alcohol and gay and lesbian groups. According to him, the protest was purely political and blasphemy issue is used to challenge Jokowi. Verbal process “said”, mental process “look”, existential process “is”, relational process “was” are employed. These paragraphs function to present opinion from experts on the blasphemy case.

The fifth paragraph tells that Ahok, the direct target of the protest, was Jokowi’s political ally as well as the first Christian to govern Jakarta in several decades. The Islamist groups who led the protest emphasized on Ahok’s remarks about Koranic verse and wanted Ahok to be jailed under the blasphemy law. Relational process “was”, material processes “have seized” and “should be prosecuted”, and verbal process “said” are employed. This paragraph functions to elaborate background of the blasphemy case to the readers.

The sixth paragraph tells that the Islamists who have ties to opponents of Ahok wanted to prevent his re-election and at the same time send attack to Jokowi as his patron to deny Jokowi’s presidential re-election in 2020. Mental processes “believe” and “see” as well as material process “organized” are employed. This paragraph functions to present the aims of the protest according to expert.

The seventh paragraph tells that it is such a bad development for Indonesian politics when religiosity and ethnicity are used by politicians. Verbal process

“said”, relational process “is”, and material process “have made” are employed. This paragraph functions to show an opinion from an expert regarding the blasphemy case.

The eighth paragraph tells both Jokowi and Ahok has not directly accused opposition parties behind the rally, but Jokowi stated that “political actors” had utilized the moment to trigger violence. Both Gerindra and Democratic Party denied their involvements but they supported the imprisonment of Ahok and sought to link Jokowi to the case. Verbal processes “has accused”, “said”, “denied”, and “have supported”, material process “had taken”, and mental process “sought” are employed. This paragraph functions to present the opponents of Ahok and Jokowi.

The ninth to eleventh paragraphs tell about Ahok’s opponents: Anies Baswedan is backed by Gerindra, a party of Prabowo Subianto who lost to Jokowi in 2014 presidential election while another candidate is Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, a son of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) from Democratic Party who was angry towards the accusation that he was behind the rally. Material processes “are fielding” and “is backed”, relational process “is”, and verbal processes “claimed” and “was being accused” are employed. These paragraphs function to specify the identity of Ahok’s opponents as well as their patrons and its relation to the case.

The twelfth paragraph tells that SBY demanded Ahok to be jailed for blasphemy and added that there would be a possibility of violence if he was not detained. Verbal process “demanded”, material processes “be prosecuted” and “was

not taken”, and existential process “would be” are employed. This paragraph functions to contrast the previous paragraph about SBY’s attitude toward the case.

The thirteenth paragraph tells about Fadli Zon from Gerindra who stated in his twitter that Jokowi had insulted Muslim and demonstrators by allowing Ahok’s remark about Koran be unpunished. Verbal processes “wrote” and “had insulted” are employed. This paragraph functions to support previous opinion from previous paragraph.

The fourteenth paragraph tells about Jokowi’s decision to cancel an important visit to Australia and met leaders from prominent Islamic organizations instead. It is seen by analyst as an effort to decrease the authority of hardline groups. Verbal process “canceled”, material process “spent”, and mental process “saw” are employed. This paragraph functions to present what Jokowi’s movement means from analyst’s point of view.

The fifteenth paragraph tells that Western countries have made Indonesia as a model for religious pluralism and democracy. Material process “have held up” is employed. This paragraph functions to present how Indonesia is seen by Western countries.

The sixteenth paragraph tells that the violence committed by radical Muslims who push for Islamic laws, prosecute minorities, and rummage bars has raised questioned whether or not they have become pawns in Indonesia’s secular politics. Material process “has raised” and relational process “are becoming” are

employed. This paragraph functions to portray radical Muslims negatively and constructs assumption of its role in Indonesia's politics.

The seventeenth paragraph tells an opinion from secretary general of supreme council of Nadhlatul Ulama, Yahya Cholil Staquf, which stated that the protest was a picture of how dangerous radicalism is to Indonesia. Verbal process "said" and relational process "was" are employed. This paragraph functions to provide an opinion from one of Indonesia's largest Muslim organizations towards the protest.

The eighteenth paragraph tells that the mass' sentiment towards Ahok, added by political maneuvering, has made moderate Muslim leaders afraid to speak up. Verbal process "said", relational processes "have", "makes", and "are", as well as material process "has been increasing" are employed. This paragraph functions to show how powerful the mass' pressure is.

The nineteenth paragraph tells that Ahok inherited the governor position when Jokowi became president in 2014. He became a political target of hardline Muslim groups who stated that Christian should not govern Jakarta. Relational processes "was" and "became" as well as material process "inherited" are employed. This paragraph functions to show how Ahok became governor and hardline Muslim's response towards his ascent.

The twentieth paragraph tells Ahok has been famous figure for continuing Jokowi's populist program as well as for his brash manner in criticizing incompetent civil servants. According to opinion polls, he is on the lead for election

and people do not consider religion and ethnicity as campaign issues. Relational processes “has been” and “is”, material processes “has continued” and “holds”, verbal process “indicate”, and mental process “do not see” are employed. This paragraph functions to portray Ahok’s image positively.

The twenty first paragraph tells that Ahok has apologized for his comments. Police have opened an investigation and questioned Ahok as well as protest leaders. Verbal processes “has apologized” and “have questioned” as well as material process “have opened” are employed. This paragraph functions to show the progress of the legal process.

The twenty second paragraph tells about Jokowi’s statement saying that Ahok’s investigation would be conducted transparently and he would not protect him from any charges. But, analysts Ahok would not likely to face punishments due to his strong political support and doubtful view whether he has insulted Islam or not. Verbal processes “promised” and “said” as well as material processes “would be carried out” and “would not protect” are employed. This paragraph functions to present Jokowi’s stance and analyst’s opinion towards Ahok’s investigation.

The twenty third paragraph tells that Jokowi’s movement on hardline Islamic groups highlighted the point that religion is a potentially explosive issue. Verbal processes “said” and “underscored” as well as relational process “was” are employed. This paragraph functions to underscore religion as a potentially explosive issue in Indonesia’s politics.

The twenty fourth and twenty fifth paragraphs tell an opinion from Marcus Mietzner who stated that organizations unaffiliated with hardline groups as well as Indonesians in Australia had argued that Ahok was responsible for blasphemy. It shows to him that racial and religious sentiment have affected the educated middle classes. Verbal processes “said”, “was telling”, “had argued”, and shows” as well as material processes “should be held” and “have penetrated” are employed. These paragraphs function to present an opinion from an expert.

### **Social Function**

As a genre of news item, this article aims to inform readers about the protest on November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 (411 rally) against Ahok’s blasphemy case. Through this article, The New York Times interprets religiosity issue is not the sole reason why the protest happened since according to Azyumardi Azra, the protest does not mention ideas such as alcohol prohibition and banning of gay and lesbian groups.

Instead, religiosity is being utilized by politicians in order to gain two benefits: defeat Ahok in the gubernatorial election and finally deny Jokowi’s presidential election in 2020. The protesters are portrayed by the journalist as having ‘ties’ with the opposition parties’ of Ahok in the election. The way of influencing readers to believe that it all goes down to political matter is by contrasting the statements of opposition parties: they denied their involvements behind the protest but those two supported the goal of jailing Ahok for blasphemy.

The protest is also seen by experts in the articles as a depiction of how dangerous radicalism is to Indonesia as well as how religion is a potential explosive issue in the country.

#### **4.2.5 Hard-Line Strain of Islam Gains Ground in Indonesia, World's Largest Muslim Country**

##### **Lexical Grammatical Features**

This article retells the 411 rally on November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 and emphasizes on religiosity issue, the rising conservatism in Indonesia. From the total of 91 clauses, 40 material processes (43.95%) dominate the article. It serves mostly to describe actions done by actors (protesters, President Joko Widodo, Ahok, and police) in the clauses. The verbal groups of material process are “draws”, “shook”, “turned out”, “broke out”, “threw”, “fired”, “were set”, “had met”, “is building”, “is rising”, “is increasing”, “march”, “were taking”, “was elected”, “elevated”, “had tried”, “shouldn't be governed”, “would cooperate”, “met”, “would pursue”, “dispersed”, “guarded”, “appeared”, “postponed”, “has changed”, “are expanding”, “fizzled”, “has returned”, “staged”, “ran”, “is gaining”, “have been banned”, “paves”, “have done”, “had ridden”, “gathered”, “took up”, and “stayed”. The examples of material process are as follow:

The biggest street protest in years **shook** this sprawling capital on Friday, in a stark display of the more conservative, militant strain of Islam taking hold in the world's largest Muslim country. (Clause 2)

Through the above clause, it can be seen how the journalist attempts to introduce religiosity issue by way of exaggerating the protest. The actor of the clause, “the biggest street protest in years” is followed by material process “shook”, giving a shocking effect to readers. Jakarta as the goal of the action is described as “this sprawling capital”. Meanwhile, religiosity issue is put as the circumstance of the clause with the use of strong words as “stark”, “more conservative”, “militant strain of Islam”, and “taking hold”. The circumstance implies as if Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim country, is in perilous situation of rising Islamic conservatism.

100,000 people **turned out** for a rally called by hard-line Muslim groups against the capital’s Christian governor, whom they accuse of having committed blasphemy. (Clause 3)

Using a definite numerative “100,000 people”, the journalist specifies the amount of the protesters to support the previous clause which called the demonstration as “the biggest street protest in years”. It is followed by a material process “turned out” which serves as neutral word. Meanwhile, religiosity issue is employed as the goal of the process “for a rally called by hard-line Muslim groups against the capital’s Christian governor, whom they accuse of having committed blasphemy”. The noun phrase “hard-line Muslim groups” itself comprised of a thing “Muslim groups” preceded by an epithet “hard-line”. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, p.318) elaborate that epithet can be either an objective quality of the subset or the writer’s subjective attitude of the subset. Hence, on the clause above, the epithet is arguably the writer’s subjective attitude of the noun phrase “Muslim



groups” to portray them as “hard-line”. It can be overtly seen that the journalist tries to construct two parties at conflict: hard-line Muslim against the capital’s Christian governor”. To be exact, it suggests that the hard-line Muslim is the one having a problem because it is positioned before preposition “against” and followed by “whom they accuse of having committed blasphemy”. It implies that the journalist does not attempt to position Ahok as a blasphemer. Instead, Ahok possibly becomes ‘a victim’ whom the hard-line Muslim groups accused of committing blasphemy.

In this article, the journalist appraises the protesters and the rally mostly using negative normality and propriety through appraising items “the biggest street protest in years”, “stark”, “scuffles”, “threw”, “block”, and “target”. Therefore, the journalist considers the protesters and the rally as unethical and negatively special.

Some protesters **threw** plastic bottles and rocks at police. (Clause 7)

Through the clause above, the journalist attempts to portray how violent the protesters were. The actor of the clause is “some protesters” which the word “some” functions as indefinite quantifying numerative. It is employed in order to portray the amount of protesters as “plural” however without specific reference of the exact number. The word “some” hence implies that there are several protesters involved in the process of throwing plastic bottles and rocks (as a goal). Meanwhile, the police is positioned as a recipient or the one being affected by the action committed by “some protesters”. As a result, the police responded the violent action by some protesters through:

Police **fired** tear gas and water cannon to disperse them. (Clause 8)

Police as the actor, although unspecified, but readers presumably think that there are more than one of them. The journalist attempts to stress the violent situation by employing material process “fired” which is most likely used to describe an activity of gun-shooting. However, in this case it is tear gas and water cannon instead of a gun (the goal of the process). The purpose of the action executed by police is positioned in the circumstance of the clause “to disperse them”. Under this framework, the journalist attempts to portray that the police acted the way they were as a result of the violent action committed by the protesters. Therefore, the protesters are considered as the people who started the conflict.

Protesters **were taking** aim at Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, known as Ahok, who is the most prominent politician among the country’s often-persecuted ethnic Chinese minority— and one of the country’s few Christian lawmakers. (Clause 27)

On the clause above, the journalist attempts to present polarity between protesters and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. The actor of the clause is “protesters”. It is followed by material process “were taking”. The goal of the material process, however, is rather an abstract thing “aim”. Basuki Tjahaja Purnama is positioned as the recipient, or the one affected by the action committed by the actor “protesters”. It should be taken into account that Ahok is described with several statuses by the journalist. However, the statuses are formed as one inseparable unity comprised of Ahok’s ethnicity and religiosity. Strong label such as “the most prominent politician among the country’s often persecuted ethnic Chinese minority-“ is entailed by another strong label “and one of the country’s few Christian lawmakers”. Within

this framework, the journalist attempts to portray as if the protesters' purpose in joining the rally has something to do with Ahok's ethnicity and Christianity. Therefore, the blasphemy case is not seen merely as religious-based but also ethnic-based. Moreover, the journalist attempts to 'safeguard' Ahok by positioning him as the recipient along with entailing status "minority" to him, evoking readers to think that he is the victim in this case. In this article, Ahok is appraised by the journalist mostly using positive normality through appraising items "the most prominent politician" and "high approval ratings". Therefore, it indicates that the journalist considers Ahok as a special figure.

[Ahok] **elevated** to the top job in 2014 after his boss, Mr. Widodo, was elected president. (Clause 29)

Patronage-based political system can be overtly seen through the clause above. The actor of the clause is Ahok (in ellipted form) followed by material process "elevated". The material process itself suggests that the position is rather a "given" thing instead of an "achieved" thing. In this sense, the giver of the thing is "Mr. Widodo", positioned as a circumstance of time. Moreover, Jokowi is mentioned as the "boss" of Ahok, or in another word, he is the patron of Ahok since both of them are under the protection of Democratic Party of Struggle (*PDIP*). However, Ahok's elevation to the governorship of Indonesia's capital faced a challenge:

Some hard-liners **had tried** to block his ascent, saying Muslims shouldn't be governed by a "kafir," or nonbeliever.

The journalist portrays those who oppose Ahok's ascent as the governor as "hard-liners". Again, the hard-liners are preceded by indefinite quantifying numerative "some" which implies that there are several people without specific reference of the exact amount of number. Material process "had tried" is followed by a goal "to block his ascent". The circumstance of the clause "saying Muslims shouldn't be governed by a "kafir", or nonbeliever" also functions importantly as it underpins the journalist's attempt to portray the case a religiosity and ethnicity in the context of election. Within this framework, the journalist attempts to show that religiosity sentiment towards Ahok has existed before the discourse of 2017's gubernatorial election emerged to the surface. Therefore, it implies that the protest towards Ahok's blasphemy case is nonetheless a result of an already-existed sentiment towards Ahok. Religiosity issue is further specified by the journalist:

Head scarves for women, once rare, **are** now widely **worn** (Clause 62),

and

Religious hard-liners **staged** antigay rallies early this year, (Clause 66),

as well as

A movement to ban alcohol **is gaining** steam (Clause 69)

The three clauses above are three of several other examples of the indication of rising religiosity in Indonesia. As the title of the articles suggests, the journalist portrays the protest as an indication of a growing "hard-line strain of Islam" in Indonesia. The framework is further strengthened by the clauses above through mentioning widely-worn head scarves, anti-gay rallies, as well as a movement to

ban alcohol. Through the clauses, the journalist attempts to show that there has been a ‘shifting tenor’ from moderate Islam to a more ‘conservative’ Islam.

the rising conservatism **paves** the way for potential violence, pointing to some religious hard-liners who have rebranded themselves as cells of Islamic State. (Clause 73)

The rising conservatism as the actor on the clause above refers to previous clauses talking about anti-gay rallies, the government’s threat to block websites promoting LGBT’s lifestyle, alcohol ban movement, a recently popular pilgrimage travel to Mecca. It is followed by the material process “paves” which suggests possibility of linking the issue to ISIS.

The second dominant process type is verbal process. It occurs in 27 clauses or about 29.67%. In this article, the verbal process functions mostly to affirm information from police, Muslim organizations, critics, Joko Widodo, political experts, Ahok, local media, as well as protesters. The examples of verbal process are as follow:

A local news outlet **said** that two police trucks were set on fire near the presidential palace. (Clause 9)

In order to provide protesters’ violent image, the journalist provides an information about two police trucks which were set on fire. The sayer of the clause is “a local news outlet”. It is followed by a verbal process “said” which according to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) serves as neutral quoting. However, the information provided is in the form of reported speech, which possibly instills the

journalist's control of the information being presented in the article (Scollon cited in Noor, 2017). Haig (n.d.) further asserts that in news item, reported speech underlines the reliability of information since it could be grammatically modified by the journalist. Moreover, the article does not specify which local news outlet provided the information.

““My government won't tolerate any discrimination,” “We are one of the most tolerant countries in the world,” Mr. Widodo **told** The Wall Street Journal.” (Clause 19)

The Wall Street Journal provides a direct speech of Jokowi to show his stance in the blasphemy case. The sayer, “Mr. Widodo”, is followed by verbal process “told” which functions as neutral quoting (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). However, the decision to present Jokowi's statement is arguably only function to underpin the journalist's point of view in constructing the case as religiosity and ethnicity in the context of election. The word “discrimination” implies as if it exists in the blasphemy case. That being said, indirectly the journalist, through Jokowi's statement, portrays that Ahok is possibly being discriminated, thus making him as a victim in the case.

“Religiosity is rising, especially among the middle class,” **said** Yon Machmudi, an Islamic politics expert at the University of Indonesia. (Clause 23)

To strengthen his/her point of view, the journalist quoted statement from an Islamic politics expert of University of Indonesia, Yon Machmudi (sayer). Verbal

process “said” on the clause above functions as a neutral quoting (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The clause suggests that the protest towards the blasphemy case is nonetheless an indication of rising religiosity, especially among middle class. As the statement is in the form of direct speech, the journalist attempts to show that it is ‘trustworthy’ (Haig, n.d.).

He **has apologized** and **said** he would cooperate with a police investigation,  
(Clause 34 & 35)

Statement from Ahok appears in the form of reported speech. Verbal process “said” serves as neutral quoting while “has apologized” serves as indicating (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In this sense, the verbal process “has apologized” indicates Ahok’s intention to apologize for his remarks. Under this framework, Ahok is positioned as a good figure for stating his apology. However, the journalist then adds that despite his apology, Ahok has been the target of the protest (clause 37). It highlights that the protesters were not satisfied only by apology, they take further goal, which is the imprisonment of Ahok.

the government **threatened** to block websites it says promote lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender lifestyles. (Clause 67)

The sayer on the clause above is “the government” followed by verbal process “threatened”. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), verbal process “threatened” functions as imperating. In this case, it highlights that the government’s imperative is directed to websites related to LGBT’s lifestyle. The clause above underpins the journalist’s attempt to portray that the rising religiosity

in Indonesia has penetrated the government, as the one holding 'power' in the country. Rising religiosity is further strengthened in the following clause:

“What we've seen in the last 18 months to two years is increasing crossover from organizations that started out nonviolent-but-hard-line to organizations which are now committed to using violence,” **said** Sidney Jones, director of the Jakarta-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict. (Clause 76)

The Wall Street Journal chooses a statement from Sidney Jones (sayer), an expert from Jakarta-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict. Verbal process “said” as neutral quoting is employed. The statement justifies the journalist's point of view to portray that hard-line organizations have gained ground in Indonesia. Moreover, the hard-line organizations are portrayed as becoming violent.

Asked about comments from extremists about killing Mr. Purnama, he **said**:

“It is an expression of how upset we are.” (Clause 84)

The violent behavior is stressed on the clause above. The journalist displays a statement from one of the protesters from Pematang, Central Java. Although his statement is a respond towards extremists' comments to kill Ahok, the pronoun “we” equalizes the protesters as part of extremists who want to kill Mr. Purnama. This underlines that the violent behavior of hard-liners mentioned by Sidney Jones beforehand is possibly possessed by the protesters too.



## Logical Structure

The lead of the article tells about rally against Christian governor of Jakarta which draws 100,000 people on estimation. Naturally, the use of preposition “against” imply two opposing sides. But, on this part, it is still unspecified who the other party is. Material process “draws” is employed. This paragraph functions to attract reader’s attention by mentioning the huge amount of protesters.

The first paragraph tells about the 411 rally described as the biggest street protest in years which shook Jakarta “in a stark display of the more conservative, militant strain of Islam taking hold in the world’s largest Muslim country”. Material process “shook” is employed. This paragraph functions to sum up the whole article about the rising conservatism following the protest.

The second paragraph tells about 100,000 people on estimation who attended the rally called by hard-line Muslim groups against Ahok, the Christian governor, whom they accuse of blasphemy. Verbal process “estimated” and material process “turned out” are employed. This paragraph functions to specify how huge the demonstration is by mentioning the amount of protesters as well as to frame Ahok as the victim.

The third paragraph tells about the peaceful protest which turned violent as the night fell: protesters threw bottles and rocks at police, police fired tear gas and water cannon, two police cars were burned. Relational process “was”; material processes “broke out”, “threw”, “fired”, and “were set”; as well as verbal process

“said” are employed. This paragraph functions to portray the protesters negatively by mentioning the violent situations on the rally.

The fourth paragraph tells about the actual number of protesters which turned out to be lower than several organizers had predicted after Indonesia’s largest Muslim organizations asked their members not to attend the rally. Relational process “was” and verbal process “discouraged” are employed. This paragraph functions to inform readers about the role of NU and Muhammadiyah (although it is unspecified in the text) on the rally.

The fifth paragraph tells about critics aimed at Jokowi for his slow movement since entering office in 2014 on the case of deepening religious tensions due to fear of anti-Muslim label. Material process “had met”, verbal process “say”, and relational process “has been” are employed. This paragraph functions to construct Jokowi’s image to readers.

The sixth paragraph tells about Jokowi’s statement which says: that religious and political leaders had a responsibility to cool temperature down, he vows to protect minorities, and as one of the most tolerant countries in the world, his government will not tolerate any discrimination. Verbal processes “said”, “vowed”, and “told”; relational process “had” and “are”; and mental process “won’t tolerate” are employed. This paragraph functions to inform readers about Jokowi’s stance regarding Ahok’s alleged blasphemy case.

The seventh paragraph tells about Ahok’s way for election which is building into test due to what Yon Machmudi, an Islamic politics expert at University of

Indonesia call “rising religiosity among middle class” and “increasing sense of identification”. Material processes “is building”, “is rising”, and “is increasing”, as well as verbal process “said” are employed. This paragraph functions to influence readers that religiosity issue is being used for political purpose by quoting experts’ opinion.

The eighth paragraph tells about protesters who were taking aim at Ahok, the most “prominent politician among the country’s often-persecuted ethnic Chinese minority and one of the country’s few Christian lawmakers”. Ahok was a deputy governor in 2012 and elevated to the top job (governorship) in 2014 after Joko Widodo, his boss, was elected as president. Material processes “were taking”, “was elected”, and “elevated” were employed. This paragraph functions to portray Ahok’s ethnicity and religion as a determining factor of the protest as well as to introduce patronage-based political system by mentioning Jokowi as Ahok’s patron.

The ninth and tenth paragraphs tell about hard-liners who opposed Ahok’s ascent due to reason that Muslims should not be ruled by “kafir” or nonbeliever. The blunt-spoken Ahok has also irritated many people with his brash manner which conflicts the Javanese tradition of polite compromise. Material processes “had tried” and “shouldn’t be governed” as well as mental process “has irritated” are employed. These paragraphs function to elaborate reasons why many people are opposed to Ahok.

The eleventh paragraph tells about Ahok, currently enjoyed high-ratings for re-election, who has angered the groups (hard-liners) again by citing Koranic verse in September. Although he has apologized and would cooperate with police investigation, he has been target of protests. Mental process “angered”, verbal process “has apologized” and “said”, material process “would cooperate”, and relational process “has been” are employed. This paragraph functions to contest religiosity with political issues by way of constructing religiosity as a determining factor for votes in election. It also functions to frame Ahok as a victim on the blasphemy case.

The twelfth paragraph tells about Jusuf Kalla who met protest’s leaders and said that police would pursue the blasphemy case with a maximum five year’s imprisonment as a penalty. Material processes “met”, “would pursue”, and “would meet”; verbal processes “said” and “reported”; and relational process “is” are employed. This paragraph functions to influence readers to believe that mass pressure can affect legal process.

The thirteenth tells about a report of violence outbreaks when small groups spread to neighborhoods including North Jakarta, where a minimart was looted. Hundred police officers guarded Ahok’s house complex. Verbal process “were reported” and material processes “dispersed” and “guarded” are employed. This paragraph functions to construct the protesters’ image by mentioning their violent actions in Ahok’s residential area.

The fourteenth paragraph tells about Jokowi's statement that legal process of the blasphemy case would be swift and transparent and asked protesters to return home. He added that political actors (no further elaboration) had taken advantage of the violent situation. Material processes "appeared" and "had taken"; relational process "would be"; and verbal processes "asked", "said", "deplored", and "didn't elaborate" are employed. This paragraph functions to strengthen the idea that mass pressure can affect legal process as well as trigger reader's curiosity about who the political actors are.

The fifteenth paragraph tells about Jokowi's decision to postpone his visit to Australia because of a condition that requires his presence. Material process "postponed", verbal processes "said" and "called", and mental process "required" are employed. This paragraph functions to show readers the significance of the protest that causes Jokowi to postpone a state visit to Australia.

The sixteenth paragraph tells about Indonesia as a Muslim-majority country which has a long tradition of moderate Islam influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism. Relational processes "are" and "has" are employed. This paragraph functions to provide readers a background context of Islam in Indonesia.

The seventeenth to twentieth paragraphs tell about the changing tenor from a moderate to a more conservative Islam that can be seen through a widely-worn headscarves, expanding Islamic schools, an effort to outlaw cohabitation and sex between unmarried people, anti-gay rallies by hard-liners and government's threat to block websites promoting LGBT's lifestyles, alcohol-ban movement, and

currently popular pilgrimage umrah to Mecca. Material processes “has changed”, “are expanding”, “fizzled”, “has returned”, “staged”, “ran”, “is gaining”, and “have been banned”; relational processes “are” and “is”; verbal process “threatened” are employed. These paragraphs function to specify what the journalist means by rising conservatism.

The twenty first paragraph tells about an opinion from security experts that said the rising conservatism opens a way for violence and points to some religious hard-liners who have declared themselves as cells of Islamic State. Verbal process “say” and material process “paves” are employed. This paragraph functions to show readers that there is a link between Ahok’s blasphemy case to ISIS.

The twenty second and third paragraphs tell about an Islamic State-linked attack on Indonesia which Sidney Jones thinks was an increasing changing of non-violent to violent organizations. Mental process “suffered”, existential process “have been”, verbal process “said”, and relational process “is” are employed. These paragraphs function to persuade readers to believe that Islamic State is threatening Indonesia by quoting opinion from an expert.

The twenty fourth paragraph tells about Islamic parties’ low performance in elections since the downfall of Suharto era and how Indonesia’s democracy has been one of the most stable in region after overcoming terrorism and sectarianism in 2000s. Material process “have done” and relational process “has been” are employed. This paragraph functions to contrast the previous paragraph to show that the possibility of Islamic State to enter Indonesia is not significant.

The twenty fifth and sixth paragraphs tell about protesters who came from other parts of Java and gathered at Istiqlal mosque. One of the protesters from Pematang said that although Ahok is not his governor, he came to seek justice for Islam and considers the extremists' comment to kill Ahok is just an expression of people's upset. Material processes "had ridden" and "gathered", verbal process "said", and mental process "is not" are employed. These paragraphs function to frame the protesters' image negatively.

The twenty seventh and eighth paragraphs tell about situation of the protest: 20,000 security forces took up positions, no reports of violence, less-traffic in a street of congested city because many workers stayed at home, many shops and offices are closed. Material processes "took up" and "stayed", verbal process "said", relational process "were", and existential process "were" are employed. These paragraphs function to inform readers about the situation of the protest.

### **Social Function**

This article wants to persuade readers that the protest towards Ahok's blasphemy allegations shows rising Islamic conservatism in Indonesia. The journalist attempts to construct that religiosity is being used by political actors (although unspecified) to defeat Ahok in election. During the process of constructing Ahok as the victim, ethnicity issue is added to his identity as often-persecuted ethnic Chinese minority. Patronage-based political system operates in the text and can be overtly seen through the journalist's portrayal of Ahok-Jokowi relation.

As the text portrays that the dominant issue in this article is religiosity and ethnicity in the context of election, the journalist attempts to show that there is a link between the rising conservatism with Islamic State by providing narrations of Islamic State-linked terrorism acts in Indonesia. The way of doing so is by quoting experts' opinion on the regard matter.

#### **4.2.6 Hard-Liners' Show of Force Poses Thorny Challenge for Indonesia's President**

##### **Lexical Grammatical Features**

This article informs readers about Jokowi's decision to postpone a visit to Australia due to a massive protest in November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 (411 rally) and how the protest can open up challenges for the president. From the total of 52 clauses, 25 material process (48.07%) dominates the article. It is mostly used to describe actions done by actors (president, protesters, police, and Ahok) in the clauses. The examples of material process are as follow:

President Joko Widodo **postponed** a state visit to Australia, citing unrest at home, after a massive protest called by hard-line Muslims against the capital's Christian governor drew 200,000 demonstrators and stoked worries about deepening religious tensions in a nation long known for its moderate brand of Islam. (Clause 2)

On the clause above, the journalist attempts to frame the case as religious-based by way of placing Muslims and Christian as two opposing parties through the use of preposition "against". However, religiosity issue is put as the circumstance



of the clause following the information of Jokowi's postponed state visit. Thus, by that framework, the journalist attempts to portray that the protest has an important significance until it causes Jokowi to postpone an important state visit to Australia. The massive protest that the journalist mentions refers to the 411 rally, which raises worries about "deepening religious tensions in a nation long known for its moderate brand of Islam". To stress the massiveness of the protest, the protesters are thus specified by the journalist using definite quantifying numerative "200,000". The protesters are portrayed negatively through the choice of noun phrase "hard-line Muslims".

Hard-line Muslims in this Southeast Asian nation **have been taking** aim at Mr. Purnama, popularly known as Ahok, who is the most prominent politician among Indonesia's often-persecuted, ethnic Chinese minority.  
(Clause 22)

Through the above clause, the contestation between religion and ethnicity takes place. It is thus executed by creating polarity between two opposing parties: "Hard-line Muslims in this Southeast Asian nation" versus Ahok, "the most prominent politician among Indonesia's often-persecuted ethnic Chinese minority". Within this framework, the journalist constructs as if the conflict is between "Muslim" and "ethnic Chinese". The actor of the clause is "Hard-line Muslims in this South Asian nation". Material process type "have been taking" serves as neutral word, however, the word "aim" following the verb changes the tone of the clause into negative. In this article, the journalist mostly appraises the protesters and the rally using negative normality and propriety through appraising items "massive",

“stoked”, “minor clashes”, “looting”, “demanding”, “have been taking aim” and “block”. Therefore, it indicates that the journalist considers the protesters and the rally as unethical and negatively special.

Some hard-liners **had tried** to block his ascent then, saying Muslims shouldn't be ruled by a “kafir,” or nonbeliever. (Clause 25)

On the clause above, the actor is “some hard-liners”. Indefinite quantifying numerative “some” is employed in order to show that there was probably not a little amount of ‘hard-liners’ who committed the action. Material process “had tried” is formed in past perfect which suggests that the action had finished on the past period. Religiosity is again highlighted on the clause above and thus suggesting that the sentiment towards Ahok's status as non-Muslim has existed before he joined the 2017's gubernatorial election. In this article, the journalist appraises Ahok using positive normality through appraising items “popularly known”, “the most prominent”, and “high”. Therefore, the journalist considers Ahok as a special figure. At the same time, Ahok is also appraised using negative veracity and propriety through appraising items “blunt-spoken”, “irritated”, “brash, get-things-done manner”, and “conflicts”. However, the negative judgment eventually functions to show Ahok's good work performance.

[Mr. Purnama] **elevated** to the capital's top job in 2014 after his boss, Mr. Widodo, was elected president. (Clause 24)

Issue of patronage-based political system can be overtly seen on the clause above through the noun phrase “his boss”. Material process “elevated”, following

the actor “[Mr.Purnama]” shows that the “capital’s top job” (goal) is deliberately inherited from his patron, Mr. Widodo. The issue is further stressed in the following clause:

Earlier in the week, former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono **gathered** media to refute rumors that he was helping orchestrate the rally, (Clause 41)

Responding to Jokowi’s statement that political actors had taken advantage of the rally, the journalist provides another information about Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. On the clause above, the actor “former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono” is followed by material process “gathered”. The goal of the action is “media”. His action’s purpose is positioned as the circumstance of the clause “to refute rumors that he was helping orchestrate the rally”. Indirectly, the journalist portrays that the contradictive statement from SBY eventually only lead people to believe that he was also behind the rally. That being said, a conflict of interest plays in the case. SBY’s son, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, is also competing with Ahok in the election.

As the second dominant process, verbal process in this article functions to affirm information from police, Ahok, Joko Widodo, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and expert. The verbal process occurs in 17 clauses or about 32.69%. The examples of verbal process are as follow:

Police spokesman Boy Rafli Amar **said** it would mark the first time the police would allow the live broadcast of such a process. (Clause 20)

On the clause above the sayer is “police spokesman Boy Rafli Amar”. It is followed by verbal process “said” which serves as neutral quoting (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The main point of the clause is positioned as the verbiage which shows that the live broadcast of blasphemy investigation is a not only rare, but special as it is “the first time”. However, this framework presupposes another implication: the mass pressure can influence police to allow the live broadcast of the legal process. It should also be taken into account that the statement from police is in the form of reported speech which according to Haig (n.d.) could be grammatically modified and thus not ‘trustworthy’.

In his television address early Saturday, Mr. Widodo **said** he deplored the violence that took place after the rally and that “political actors” had taken advantage of the situation. (Clause 37)

The statement from Jokowi also appears in the form of reported speech. On the clause above, the actor “Mr. Widodo” is followed by verbal process “said” which functions as neutral quoting (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The clause suggests that there were “political actors” behind the rally. Plurality mark ‘s’ in the noun phrase “political actors” provides another information that there was more than one political actor involved in the rally. Following the clause, political figure is mentioned:

[Former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono] **added** that he supported the protest “300%.” (Clause 42)

On the clause above, the sayer is “Former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono” (in ellipted form). It is followed by verbal process “added”. The journalist attempts to portray a contradictive situation that although Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono refuted the rumors that he was behind the rally, he at the same time supported the protest. Moreover, the numerative “300%” evokes an impression that there was a strong tendency that SBY could really be behind the rally. Therefore, within this framework, his denial was a mere ‘formality’, a behavior to prove his innocence. SBY is being quoted since he is a patron to his son, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, who competes against Ahok in the election. However, SBY’s statement appears in the form of reported speech which could have been grammatically modified by the journalist.

Several prominent members of another major political party fielding a candidate in the election also **said** they supported the rally. (Clause 45)

In alignment with Jokowi’s statement that there is more than one political actor involved in the rally, the journalist provides another information from another opposition party. On the clause above, the sayer is “several prominent members of another major political party fielding a candidate in the election”. It is followed by verbal process “said” which functions as neutral quoting (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The main point of the clause is positioned as a circumstance of the clause “they supported the rally”. In the previous example, SBY’s statement has been quoted. Therefore, another opposition party in this sense very likely refers to Gerindra, a party fielding Anies Baswedan whose prominent figure is Prabowo, a former general who lost to Jokowi in 2014’s presidential election. Although

Gerindra is not directly specified in the clause, readers in general can possibly relate the party to this context.

“The government should have moved much more quickly...to cool things down from the very first moment that some of these issues arose,” **said** Sidney Jones, a terrorism expert and director of the Jakarta-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict. (Clause 49)

The Wall Street Journal provides a statement from an expert, Sidney Jones, in the form of direct speech in order to show the reliability of the information. However, the statement on the clause above is a critic directed to the government, notably Joko Widodo, as the supreme power in the country. The clause above shows that the protest towards Ahok notably emerged due to government’s slow response.

### **Logical Structure**

The lead of the article points out the main content of the article which is about Jokowi who postponed a trip to Australia after 200,000 people protested against Ahok, the Jakarta’s Christian governor.

The first paragraph tells about President Joko Widodo who postponed a state visit to Australia after a huge protest by hard-line Muslim groups (unspecified) against the capital’s Christian governor drew 200,000 demonstrators and raised worries of deepening religious tensions in a nation popularly known for its moderate Islam. Material processes “postponed”, “drew”, and “stoked” are employed. This paragraph functions to sum up the content of the article as well as introduce religiosity issue.

The second paragraph tells about the leaders who fear that the situation of protest in Jakarta could turn violent. Despite the peaceful situation on the day, there were clashes with police and reports of looting in the evening. Relational process “was” and material process “gave” are employed. This paragraph functions to recall the situation of the 411 rally on November 4<sup>th</sup> 2016.

The third and fourth paragraphs tell about Jokowi who gave statements in a videoconference that “the conditions in Indonesia had returned “100%” to normal” to Indonesians living in Australia after he postponed his visit to the country due to a condition in Indonesia that requires his presence. Verbal process “said” and material process “had returned” are employed. These paragraphs function to specify the reason behind Jokowi’s decision to postpone his visit.

The fifth paragraph tells about protesters who met Jusuf Kalla in the presidential palace instead of Jokowi because the president were outside Jakarta to check the progress of international’s airport. Material processes “had spent” and “met” are employed. This paragraph functions to inform the reason of protesters’ inability to meet Jokowi at the state palace.

The sixth paragraph tells about Jokowi who urged protesters to return home and added that the legal process regarding Ahok’s blasphemy case would be swift and transparent. Material process “appeared”, verbal process “said”, and relational process “would be” are employed. This paragraph functions to show Jokowi’s stance regarding legal process of the blasphemy case.

The seventh paragraph tells about police's plan to question Ahok and experts which would be the first time for police to allow the live broadcast of such process. Verbal process "said" and material processes "planned", "would be televised", and "would mark" are employed. This paragraph functions to portray how the mass pressure has influenced police to allow live broadcast of the legal process.

The eighth paragraph tells about hard-line Muslims who have been taking aim at Ahok, the "prominent politician among Indonesia's often persecuted ethnic Chinese minority". He was a deputy governor to Jokowi and elevated to "the capital's top job" in 2014 after Jokowi became president. Material processes "have been taking", "was elected", and "elevated" are employed. This paragraph functions to contest religiosity, ethnicity, and political issues regarding the case.

The ninth paragraph tells about several reasons why many has opposed Ahok's ascent to be governor. First of all, Muslims shouldn't be ruled by "kafir" or nonbeliever. Secondly, the blunt-spoken governor has irritated many with brash manner that conflicts the Javanese value of polite compromise. Material process "had tried", relational process "are", and mental process "has irritated" are employed. This paragraph functions to construct Ahok's identity and at the same time provide reasons why many people are opposed to Ahok.

The tenth paragraph tells about Ahok, who is enjoying high approval ratings and running for re-election, has angered people by citing a Koranic verse in a public meeting in September. Although he has apologized andn stated that he would



cooperate with the legal process, he has been the target of the protest. Mental process “angered”, verbal processes “has apologized” and “said”, material process “would cooperate”, and relational process “has been” are employed. This paragraph functions to construct Ahok’s image positively and protesters’ negatively.

The eleventh and twelfth paragraphs tell about the changing tenor of Indonesia from moderate Islam influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism to a more conservative way that can be seen from widely worn headscarves for women and expanding Islamic schools. Relational processes “has” and “are”, material process “has changed” and “are expanding” are employed. These paragraphs function to portray rising Islamic religiosity by contrasting Indonesia’s current and previous situation.

The thirteenth paragraph tells about Jokowi’s statement that political actors (unspecified) had taken advantage of violent situation on previous rally (411). Verbal processes “said” and “didn’t elaborate”, mental process “deplored”, and material process “had taken” are employed. This paragraph functions to make readers wonder who the political actors behind the rally are.

The fourteenth paragraph tells about former president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, whose son is also running for the gubernatorial election against Ahok, who refuted the rumors that he was behind the rally but added that he supported the rally 300%. Other prominent members of another major political party fielding a candidate in election also supported the rally. Police doubled the estimate of protesters from 100,000 to 200,000. Material process “gathered”, “is running”, and

“doubled” as well as verbal processes “added”, “supported”, and “said” are employed. This paragraph functions to specify what the journalist meant by political actors in the previous paragraph as well as to influence readers to believe that political prominent figures of Ahok’s opponents parties took part behind the rally.

The fifteenth and sixteenth paragraphs tell about Sidney Jones’ critic towards Jokowi’s slow movement to defuse the situation that allows hardline groups to control the discussion. Verbal processes “criticized”, “said”, “added”, and “was allowing” as well as material process “should have moved” are employed. These paragraphs function to influence readers to believe that the heated situation flared by hardline groups are due to government’s slow response. The journalist’s attempt to do so is by quoting opinion from Sidney Jones, a terrorism expert and director of the Jakarta-based Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict.

### **Social Function**

This article wants to influence readers to believe that religiosity, ethnicity, as well as political discourse take place in the blasphemy case. Rising religiosity is portrayed as a challenge to Indonesia’s Islam’s moderate image as well as to Jokowi who currently serves as the supreme leader of the country. Ethnicity issue is portrayed through Ahok’s identity as “the prominent politician among Indonesia’s often persecuted ethnic Chinese minority”.

Moreover, the journalist attempts to frame Ahok positively by repeatedly mentioning his apologize for his remark about Quran and protesters negatively by

using the word “hard-line Muslims”. Ahok is also positioned as a victim in the middle of heated Jakarta’s election where opponents of him are taking advantage through the protesters’ anger. However, religiosity issue appears to be dominating the article through mentioning rising conservatism such as widely worn headscarves and expanding Islamic schools.