

Public Reception To Discourse of The Jakarta Muslim Governor

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Abstract—This research uses Social Construction of Reality Theory as the main analytical tool for reading research findings. The paradigm used in this research is constructivism with research strategy of reception study. There are six informants who give meaning related to the urgency of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention said by FPI (Islamic Defender Fronts). The result of the meaning shows the negotiation attitude from the informants regarding FPI's view on the Jakarta Muslim governor convention apparently not all informants have a linear view with FPI related to the necessity of choosing the Muslim governor. There are two constructions of character of Jakarta governor from informants. First, credible leader and non-credible leader which are based on their professionalism. Second, leader based on the Qur'an and leader not based on the Qur'an. The informant also revealed that there is a tendency of politics of identity practiced by blowing religious issue in practical politics through discourse of Muslim governor of Jakarta.

Keywords—*Reception Study, Muslim Governor Convention, Stereotype, Religion, Politics*

I. INTRODUCTION

Data from BPS (The Central Statistics Agency) DKI Jakarta Province stated that the population of DKI Jakarta in 2014 amounted to 10,075,300 people at night. This number can swell to reach 11,201,620 people or even more during the day where many residents from buffer zones such as Bogor, Tangerang, Depok and Bekasi who work in DKI Jakarta. With an area of 664.01 square kilometers, the population density of DKI Jakarta reaches nearly 20 thousand inhabitants per square kilometer. Density of Jakarta residents contains religious and ethnic diversity. The Javanese tribe became the dominant tribe in the province of DKI Jakarta with almost 3.5 million inhabitants. Ethnic of Betawi ranks second with 2.7 million people. Chinese ethnicity is in the fourth highest with almost 650 thousand inhabitants. Islam is dominant religion in Jakarta with adherents about 86%, while Christian and Catholic religion about 11%[1].

Different things in the culture of leadership of DKI Jakarta when ethnic Chinese descent and non-Muslim became the leader of DKI Jakarta. Pros cons arise related to religion and ethnicity Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). Some ethnic Betawi people as native ethnic Jakarta tend to feel marginalized through Ahok's policy. Residents evicted then occupy a new residence in the form of flats that are considered

not feasible. They judge Ahok never fight for the interests of the people and instead serve as the interests of the elite. Departing from this, the merger of Islamic organizations and Betawi DKI Jakarta mass organizations under the command of FPI declared the DKI Jakarta Muslim governor convention to become opponent of Ahok politics in election of DKI Jakarta 2017.

The Jakarta Muslim governor convention was initiated by scholars, *habaib* and community leaders of DKI Jakarta. The goal is to lead Jakarta clean and civilized figures. scholars, *habaib* and community leaders of DKI Jakarta such as Habib Rizieq Syihab as the FPI high priest, KH. Maulana Kemal Yusuf as Rois Syuriah PWNNU DKI Jakarta, Dr. Abdul Chair Ramadan as the head of the central MUI law, KH. Fachrurrozy Ishaq as chairman of the Jakarta Community Movement, and a number of public figures such as KH. Arifin Ilham and Ustadz. Bachtiar Nasir [2].

Community leaders who are members of the upper house select and elect a pair of candidates to be confronted in the election of DKI Jakarta 2017 to carry the Muslim governor of DKI Jakarta.

This research seeks to understand how the meaning of Jakarta residents related to the Jakarta Muslim governor convention which is a real form of identity politics practice. This study did not examine the media text but the text of the urgency to the Jakarta Muslim governor convention from FPI (Islamic Defenders Front) which is considered to have legitimacy from Jakarta residents even to interfaith. How the residents of DKI Jakarta interpret the urgency of the Jakarta Muslim governor's convention initiated by FPI to close Ahok's chances of becoming governor again. In line with that, the study looks at how the people of DKI Jakarta construct the ideal leader related to the Jakarta Muslim governor convention, considering the diversity of Jakarta citizens in terms of ethnicity, religion and political preferences.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOD

The social prejudices in this article illustrate the related circumstances between attitudes and beliefs that contain negative expressions, the appointment of hostile attitudes or discriminatory behavior toward other group members [3]. Social prejudices are diametrically stereotyped. In The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Psychology stereotypes are defined as beliefs about one's characteristics (personality

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traits, behaviors, personal values) accepted as a truth of the social group. Ethnic stereotypes are themselves beliefs attached to other ethnic communities that are considered to be hereditary truths within the community [3].

Research on ethnic stereotypes conducted by a team from the University of British Columbia found a thin distance between stereotypes at the personal and cultural levels. According to the team of researchers, stereotypes have been limited to personal-individual beliefs to a particular group. However, stereotypes must be seen at the cultural level, ie a set of beliefs that are formed within a particular community due to cultural processes [4].

Social prejudice and ethnic stereotypes are also practiced in political practice. Known as identity politics. Cressida Heyes defines identity politics as a marking of political activity in a broad sense [5]. Identity politics is actually hijacked by the majority to establish the domination of power. The use of identity politics to gain power precisely further heightens the differences and encourages dissension, not to say that it does not attract sharp criticism. Identity politics reinforces essentialism essentially in social groups based on the identification of primordiality.

The practice of identity politics can be interpreted by individuals in terms of a discourse or text in society. Hall (1980) elaborated Parkin's ideas on three basic meaning systems used by individuals to interpret or respond to their perceptions of the condition of society. It shows 3 systems related to the way the reader decodes the text[6]. The three systems are as follow:

1. Dominant system (Dominant Readings), is one system or code generated when the social situation surrounding the reader resembles preferred readings.
2. Subordinate system (Negotiated Readings), is a system or code that is negotiated. In this case, the dominant values and structures present in preferred readings are accepted, but the values used as an assertion that the social situation needs to be improved
3. Oppositional system (Oppositional Readings), is a system or code that rejects the dominant version and social values of preferred readings. The reader places the message in a system of meaning radically opposed to the dominant meaning.

Meaning of audiences can not be separated from the frame of reference and field of experience. In the Social Reality Construction Theory approach the situation is used to read the phenomenon under study. Berger and Luckmann relate subjective and objective concepts in theory through the concept of dialectics involving three components they are : externalization, objectivation and internalization. Externalization is the adaptation to the sociocultural world as a human product. Objectivation is a social interaction within the intersubjective world that is institutionalized. Internalization is an individual who identifies himself in the center of the social institution in which the individual becomes a member. The dialectics between the three components occurs simultaneously [7].

Departing from the existing social situation, this research puts a constructivist paradigm. This paradigm views social science as a systematic analysis to socially meaningful action through direct and detailed observation of social actors [8].

The constructivist paradigm states that (1) the basis for explaining life, social and human events is not a science in a positivistic framework, but precisely in the sense of "common sense": (2) the approach used is inductive, running from the specific to the general, concrete to the abstract, (3) science is idiographical rather than nomothetic, because science reveals that reality is displayed in symbols through descriptive forms [9].

The effort to dig out the informant data was done by purposive sampling technique, the data were extracted using in-depth interview and observation [10]. The informants were chosen by the criteria of the citizens of DKI Jakarta and have become voters in the elections of DKI Jakarta 2017. Data analysis techniques used in this study is interactive analysis techniques from Miles and Huberman. Interactive analysis techniques from Miles and Huberman consists of three components namely (1) data reduction; (2) data presentation; and (3) withdrawal and testing of conclusions [10]. Qualitative research faces an important issue in examining the validity of the research results. Triangulation is a technique of examining the validity of data that utilizes something else beyond that data. Triangulation in this research is a researcher's strategy to test his research by comparing it from various sources, methods or theories. Triangulation of data sources is used to see the validity of an information [11].

III. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. *The Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention vs Ahok Leadership*

Ahok is considered by the initiators of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention as a person who discriminates against Muslims and small people in Jakarta. This is apparent in the policy issued by Ahok. The policy that is considered to discriminate against the Jakarta Muslims is the ban on the grand *tabligh* at Monas, but allowing the Christian masses to be held at Monas. In addition, there is also a policy against the ban to trade animals *qurban*. Another policy that is considered to discriminate against Muslims is the discourse on the use of attributes that overestimate religious symbols such as hijab in kindergarten, elementary, junior high school to high school. Some policies that are considered to discriminate against the small people are some of the evictions done by Ahok as happened in the outsiders of Batang. Although Ahok gave the apartment as an alternative to residence, but the apartment also did not escape the problem, such as the quality of a bad apartment.

Ahok is considered a leader who fought for the elite and his colleagues alone. This is evident from the policy of the Jakarta Bay reclamation project which is considered by the initiators of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention is only concerned with the elite who are colleagues of Ahok. Ahok is considered a leader who is only able to show his strength in

front of reporter cameras. When he took to the field, some security was given to Ahok. In addition Ahok is also regarded as a leader who does not dare to be responsible for all policies that have been issued. Always blame the other party. This condition makes Ahok considered unfit to lead Jakarta.

Initiator of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention stated that what he did actually got support from various interfaith parties. A common perception that wants leaders who have noble character. Not only from Jakarta's ethnic Betawi ethnic group, support for convention of Muslim governor of Jakarta is also accepted from various parties coming from Chinese ethnic. They consider Ahok's policy to make life difficult in Jakarta. Ahok is regarded as a new person in Jakarta who does not feel the difficult times of reformation that must be done by ethnic Chinese in Jakarta to this day.

In the view of the initiator of the Muslim governor convention in Jakarta, the Muslim leader is the main leader. It is illustrated that Muslim leaders who are "naughty" still have a creed so they still have the opportunity to enter heaven. Although he commits a variety of crimes, corruption for example, punishment will make him deterrent and return to the path of Allah SWT. In his heart there is still Allah and His apostle. In contrast to non-Muslim leaders who have no aqidah. The best non-Muslim leaders will not return to heaven. This then makes Muslims unwilling to be led by non-Muslim leaders. This is what makes the Muslim governor convention find urgency.

Based on the description conveyed by the initiator of the the Jakarta Muslim governor convention regarding his views on the urgency of the formation of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention and Ahok government during this time in Jakarta, the description of the text that will be seen by the audience is as follows.

Table 1. The text that will be interpreted by the inhabitants Jakarta

Code	Contents
the Jakarta Muslim governor convention (Code: JMG)	Means of choosing a clean, trustful and moral leader based on the Qur'an. Supported by moslem scholar under the leadership of Habib Rizieq from FPI. Receive support from Jakarta residents who come from different religions and ethnicities.
Ahok Leadership (Code: Ahok)	His Leadership is tyrannical and discriminate against Muslims and small people. Not having good character, not clean and not responsible. Mainly not in accordance with the command of Allah in the Qur'an. Not worth leading Jakarta.

Source: data from JMG Initiator then Processed by Researcher

B. Meaning of Jakarta Residents Related to the Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention vs Ahoks's Leadership

This paper focuses on informants who are citizens of DKI Jakarta in interpreting the Muslim governor convention in Jakarta. The selection of these six informants was based on his knowledge to the Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention who was confronted with Ahok. In addition, six informants were considered able to describe their meaning about the Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention vs. Ahok. The following table summarizes the description of informants about the

convention of the Muslim governor of Jakarta vs Ahok Leadership.

Table 2. The Meaning of The Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention vs Ahoks Leadership

Informant	SN	AN	YM
Background	Betawi, 25, Islam, S2(post Graduate), Not Married, East Jakarta Domicile.	Betawi-Arab, 25, S2 (post Graduate), Not Married, East Jakarta Domicile.	Sunda, 24, Islam, S1(under graduate), Not Married, Domicile of South Jakarta
The maning to the Jakarta Muslim governor convention (Code: JMG)	Become one option in the public election later, see the track-record and credibility, selective.	Being the main choice later in the elections, whatever the candidates, must be in line with the orders of Allah in the Qur'an.	Become the main choice later in election, according to the command of Allah SWT in Al Qur'an
Ahok Leadership (Code: Ahok)	Many positive changes are made, Appropriate Islamic values in the lead	There are positive things done. Behavior does not match the character of the leader in the Qur'an.	Poor achievement. Fighting the elite supporters only. Make it difficult for small people. Not in accordance with the Qur'an..

Source: Researcher

Table 3. The Meaning of The Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention vs Ahok Leadership

Informant	MF	MB	CT
Background	Batak, 23, S1, Islam, Not Married, Domicile of South Jakarta	Betawi, 23, S1, Islam, Not Married, Domicile of South Jakarta	Batak, 23, S1, Christian, Not Married, Domicile of South Jakarta
The maning to the Jakarta Muslim governor convention (Code: JMG)	Not necessarily Muslim, which is important to work for the people, according to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.	Part of the interests of FPI only. <i>dzalim</i> (cruel, unkind, inhuman) or not the leader depends on each individual..	As long as the candidates are qualified, I agree Perhaps FPI is indeed going into the political sphere.
Ahok Leadership (Code: Ahok)	Ahok is quite good and firm. But emotional..	Ahok is good, populist, not fascist and have a clear work program.	Ahok is better than the previous leader. Realize the work program.

Source: Researcher

Based on the results of the disclosure of meaning by the informant, the researcher describes the study of the active audience, which is positioned as a reader who plays a role in

the meaning of the text. This meaning is the process of finding meaning-meaning that is unthinkable. The focus of this study is on the decoding process of readers affected by their frame of reference and field of experience. Decoding is the process of receiving codes by text readers. Decoding results are highly dependent on the decoders as active entities in creating the meaning of the text. In the end the audience is very active in creating the text, while the results of the meaning of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention vs. Ahok leadership are as follows.

Table 4. The Meaning of Resident Jakarta To The Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention vs Ahok Leadership

Code	Dominant Meaning	Negotiation Meaning	Opposition Meaning
JMG	Informant AN, YM	Informant SN, CT	Informant MF, MB
Ahok	Informant YM	Informant AN, and MF	Informant MB and CT

Source: Researcher

The results of the informants' interpretation to the Jakarta Muslim governor convention vs. Ahok leadership show the following trend of results. For JMG code its position is balanced. Some interpret it as well as the views of the initiator of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention that this is a must and a top choice. There are those who interpret it by negotiating the tendency to select candidates which will be produced by the initiator of the Jakarta Muslim governor convention. Some oppose it by suspecting the efforts of FPI as initiators to realize their political interests and their unilateral dislike to Ahok through religious and ethnic issues.

The results of meaning with the code Ahok tends toward negotiation and opposition. The initiator who revealed that Ahok as the tyrannical governor, turned out not only to be interpreted in the same way as the understanding of the initiator of the Jakarta Muslim gubernator convention, FPI (Islamic Defender Fronts). The informant tends to negotiate with Ahok's performance while simultaneously comparing Ahok's achievement to the public. Another oppositional informant stated that many achievements and changes achieved by Ahok during his reign in Jakarta. One informant is dominant in this regard by looking at Ahok as a poor governor of achievement and fighting for the elite alone by putting aside the little people.

C. Construction Character To Ideal Jakarta Leader

Based on the meaning of Jakarta residents about the Jakarta Muslim governor convention who will produce ideal candidates based on the Qur'an, which is then contested with Ahok as a figure that is not ideal as a leader, there are a number of leadership constructions that emerged. The following is the character construction of Jakarta leaders from the informants.

1. A credible leader vs. non-credible leader. A credible leader is a qualified leader. In the context of the leadership of DKI Jakarta, the ideal leader is a leader who has a well-rounded knowledge of the region and society he leads. The

non-credible leader, on the other hand, is a leader who does not have sufficient knowledge of the region and society he leads. Jakarta leader must be a credible leader without notice ethnicity or religion.

2. Leaders based on the Qur'an vs. leaders are not based on the Qur'an. A leader based on the Qur'an is a Muslim leader who always put forward attitudes and behaviors that reflect good morality. Policies made on the basis of mutual benefit by not discriminating against either party. Leaders who are not based on the Qur'an are non-Muslim leaders who are not based on the principles of the Qur'an. Does not reflect morality and will always harm Muslims and society at large. The leader based on the Qur'an is the ideal leader.

D. The Aroma of Political Identity in the Jakarta Muslim Governor Convention

In the conceptual review overview, identity politics is attributed to a particular group marginalized by a dominant group. This marginalization is closely related to differences in race, race, gender and even religion. In essence, identity politics is used to capture many people who share a common ethnic, racial, gender and religious tribe to make a move in order to combat the oppression of the dominant class against them. However this is changing at this point. Identity politics is used to achieve power by triggering conflict based on the identification of primordialism. The tendency of this practice can be seen from the efforts of Islamic organizations and mass organizations Betawi Jakarta under the leadership of Habib Rizieq to produce a single candidate for Muslim governors against Ahok through the Jakarta Muslim governor convention.

Jakarta residents are also not entirely in line with the views of the Jakarta Muslim governor Convention initiator. On the other hand is also not entirely in line with the opinion that Ahok as the ideal leader of Jakarta. That is, Jakarta residents are still looking for the ideal figure in their respective views. The increasing number of educated people has also become a stimulus for the selective attitude of Jakarta society. The concept of democracy that has been practiced long ago in Indonesia can be undermined by unhealthy political practices by bringing ethnic and religious issues. The ideal leader who is expected to be a credible leader, has a sincere intention in the heart to serve the community and has a good morality which is reflected in the way he communicates with others. This measure instrument will also be very elastic from individual to individual residents of DKI Jakarta.

IV. CONCLUSION

The interpretation of Jakarta residents is diverse and tend to be negotiated related to the convention of Jakarta's Muslim governor to become Ahok's competitor in the upcoming 2017 election. Not all Jakarta residents ensure that the Muslim governor's convention in Jakarta will provide candidates for governors and vice-governors of the Muslims who will be their choice later. This is in line with their view of Ahok's leadership in Jakarta. Not all think that Ahok as the tyrannical governor without achievement. The people of Jakarta tend to be selective and critical in interpreting the convention of

Jakarta's Muslim governor who was constructed by FPI as a way out of Ahok's oppressive leadership. Religious and ethnic issues are no longer acceptable as they are but are critically understood by the people of Jakarta and, indeed, should, think critically. But this is not something absolute, critical reasoning must be maintained because in politics, everything is likely to be justified.

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