The Contribution of Kh. Said Agil Siradj's Leadership in Fighting Radicalism: A Language Communication Strategy

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Abstract

This article aimed to describe Said Agil Siradj's (SAS's) communication strategy at the anniversary of Fatayat NU in 2019. Radicalism and terrorism have become a real threat to world peace and human values. In Indonesia, it has been categorised as an extraordinary crime, particularly since the Bali bombings in 2002. The act of anticipation has been issued by forming anti-terrorism regulation to prevent and crackdown of its action. Nevertheless, this effort is not sufficient to eradicate terrorism action. Collaboration with religious institutions is needed to deal with the questions of the religious doctrines. Therefore, the participation of religious leaders from the Islamic organisations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is essential.. The study employs a descriptive qualitative approach of critical discourse analysis, focusing on the illocutionary acts of speech acts theory. The data of the research was transcribed from the video of SAS's speech on YouTube channel. The result shows that the speaker used types of illocutionary acts; representatives, directives, commisives, expressives, and declarations. These expressions are used to command, persuade, and warn the listeners. Meanwhile, the Islamic terms were used as a discursive practice to maintain a good relationship between a leader and the followers.

Keywords: *Radicalism; Discourse analysis; Speech acts; Communication strategy*

Abstrak

Tulisan ini menjelaskan tentang bagaiamana Said Agil Siradj (SAS) mempengaruhi pendengarnya pada acara ulang tahun Fatayat NU ke-73 tahun 2019. Radikalisme dan terorisme telah menjadi ancaman bagi perdamaian dan nilai-nilai kemanusian. Di Indonesia, tindak terorisme telah menjadi bentuk kejahatan yang luar biasa sejak kejadian bom Bali 2002. Bentuk antisipasi telah dilakukan yakni dengan menerbitkan undang-undang anti-terorisme untuk menangkal dan mengatasi aksi terorisme. Penegakan hukum dan kebijakan regulasi telah dikeluarkan dalam rangka menangkalnya. Namun demikian, tindakan ini belum cukup memadai dalam pemberantasan terorisme. Kolaborasi dengan Lembaga-lembaga keagamaan diperlukan guna menjawab terkait doktrin-doktirn keagamaan. Oleh karena itu partisipasi para pemimpin agama dan organisasi keislaman seperti NU adalah penting. Namun demikian pelibatan organisasi keagamaan dalam kontek ini telah memicu munculnya perdebatan terutama Ketika organisasi tersebut mendominasi peran dalam ranah public. Studi ini didesain berdasarkan deskripsi kualitatif pada pendekatan analisis wacana kritis yang berfokus pada tindak illokusi berdasarkan teori tindak tutur. Data penelitian ini diambil dari transkripsi Video SAS yang diambil dari YouTube. Selanjutnya data dianalisis menggunakan teori tindal ilokusi dan analsis wacana. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pembicara menggunakan tipe-tipe tindak tutur pada bentuk representasi, direktif, komisif, ekspresi dan deklarasi. Ekpresi-ekpresi tersebut digunakan untuk memerintah, membujuk dan melarang para pendengarnya.Adapun istilah-istilah keislaman digunakan sebagai praktik diskursif guna membangun hubungan social antara pemimpin dan pengikutnya.

Kata kunci: *Radikalisme; Analisis wacana; Tindak tutur; Strategi komunikasi*

Background

Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world. The Muslim population in Indonesia has reached 207 million people, or 87,2% of its population. However, Indonesia is not a country with a religious constitution. Given this context, the participation of religious figures in maintaining the nation is essential for its preservation. Given the constant change that takes place, the involvement of the religious elites is necessary in order to foster true religious understanding in all levels of society. Thus their presence in the public discourse is essential.

The phenomena of religious figures participating in state politics have become more acceptable and even necessary, even though in some cases, it causes a conflict of interest due to the competition required to get into positions of

political power.[1] Historically, religious figures have played a significant role in Indonesian society, especially during the struggle to gain independence from the colonialism. This significant role was the case, for instance, for Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU); Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah; Wahid Hasyim, H. Agus Salim, and other religious leaders. As a result, religious figures have a special position and well-respected in society, particularly in a patriarchal society.

The Indonesian Muslim is now living in a dynamic condition, especially since 1998 in the post-Reformation period, which has seen a new form of religiosity dominating the public scene. Many underground Islamic movements during the New Order regime were not emerging in the public realm. This condition is the response to the emergence of new liberal ideas in Indonesian society. Indeed, due to increased globalization, many different ideologies have emerged and flourished in Indonesia during this period.[2]

There are two big Muslim organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah. Both are committed to the ideology of the state, Pancasila, and the form of state, namely the Unified State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).[3] These concepts are considered non-negotiable and directly oppose other forms of statehood, such as the Islamic caliphate (*khilafah*).[4] This latter ideology is based on the desire to implement an Islamic state system that implements Islamic law.[5] NU, as the representation of traditionalist Sunni Islam (a*hlus sunnah waljama'ah*) has the most followers in Indonesia. Most of its members live in village villagevillages or peripheral areas, rather than big cit.[6] This organization was established on January 31, 1926. The first head of the organisation was Hasyim Asyari.[7] Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah is very different from NU. For one, their support mainly comes from urban areas. It was also established earlier, on November 18, 1912. Today there is no specific border between NU and Muhammadiyah. In the past, during the independent era, the proliferation of NU members concentrated in the peripheral regions, while Muhammadiyah concentrated its efforts in the city. But today, both NU and Muhammadiyah have a diverse spread of its members, based on geography and social stratification.

In the political context, NU has had its ups and downs. For instance, NU once joined with a political party, Masyumi, and became head of its *Majlis Syura* ("consultative council") during this Old Order period.[8] During New Order, NU fused with the *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP, United Development Party), although it later left this coalition during the national congress (Muktamar) in 1982. In 1984, it was decided that NU would not be further involved in politics.[9] Despite being a non-political organisation, the cadres and elites of NU have a significant role in the political process, even during the recent 2019 presidential election. The political activity of NU's members is

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[1] Indonesia has felt in fragmented society since the election 2014 and even emerged in the presidential election 2019 to present. Edward Aspinal and Ward Berenschort, *Democracy for Sale: Elections, Clientelism, and the State in Indonesia* (New York: Cornel University Press, 2019), p. 12

[2] Haedar Nashir, *Understanding the Ideology of Muhammadiyah* (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2015) p.1

[3] Ahmad Baso, K Ng H Agus Sunyoto Rijal Mummaziq. KH. *Hasyim Asy'ari: Pengabdian Seorang Kyai untuk Negeri* (Jakarta: Museum Kebangkitan Nasional RI, 2017), p. 32; .Achmad Jainuri, "The Formation of Muhammadiyah Ideology, 1912 -1942", Disertasi (McGill University: the Institute of Islamic Studies, 1997), p. 3

[4] The idea to make Islamic state or manage the government based on Islamic rules.

[5] The context has become debatetable issues at the earlier of Indonesian government and emerged again in the post reformation era.

[6] Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari, *Risalah Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah : Analisis Tentang Hadits Kematian, Tanda-tanda Kiamat, dan Pemahaman Tentang Sunah dan Bid'ah*, (Jakarta: LTM PBNU dan Pesantren Ciganjur, 2011) p.12-22.

[7] Baso.

[8] Robin Bush, *Nadhlatul Ulama & the Struggle for Power within Islam & Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2009), p. 32

[9] Faisal Ismail, 'The Nahdlatul Ulama: Its Early History and Contribution to the Establishment of Indonesian State', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 5 (2011), 241, 10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.2.247-282

inevitable, especially given the close relationship between the chairman of NU's executive council, Said Agil Siradj (SAS), with the current government leadership. He also is one of the most prominent and formidable Islamic thinkers produced by NU after the late Abdurrahman Wahid.

The alliance of the Indonesian state and religious leaders has become the new political trend.[10] In both local election and national elections, religious leaders have proven to be successful in courting public voters.[11] Given this context, SAS' controversial statements on religious discourse, particularly on the concept of "Islam Nusantara", can be considered an effort to counter radicalism and get close to the government.

On the other hand, elites and cadres of NU argue that the motivation behind SAS' controversial statement is to protect their members and counter radical groups currently flourishing in Indonesia. Therefore, this paper provides a critical analysis of SAS' controversial statements related to the issues of radicalism and terrorism. This study focuses on a number of SAS's controversial statements made at the 73rd anniversary of Fatayat NU in 2019. This analysis deploys Fairclough's analytical framework[12], and speech acts theory of illocutionary acts.[13]

This article is a descriptive qualitative study. The video of SAS's speech was transcribed into a data datasheet. The transcription of the speech was used as the original data form used for analysis.

Since critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides multiple entry points of analysis[14], this article synthesises CDA and speech acts theory to describe the data found in this study.

A number of scholars have used critical discourse analysis in dealing with the issues dealt with this paper. First is a study on the speeches of world leaders and how they express political agendas through ideology and power.[15] Another, by Shukry[16], research on an analysis of Mahatir Muhammad's speech on the "war on terror." This research shows the support and critique levelled at the former Prime Minister of Malaysia for his speech criticising human rights violations in the US president's war in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Another article elaborated on Barack Obama's speech announcing the death of Osama Bin Laden[17]. She found that Barack Obama used neither directive speech acts nor declarative speech acts. Representatives are frequently used in Barack Obama's speech because the purpose of the speech is to announce the death of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan. Similarly, Gusthini and her team analysed the US presidential debate in 2016.[18] Their analysis found that the speech in the debate is the instrument to influence the voters on election day.

Furthermore, Altikriti[19] underlined Obama's political speeches in 2009 and 2013. He found that Obama used more sentences in constative speech acts than in other speech acts. Meanwhile, assertive illocutionary acts were used by Barrack Obama for persuasion. Kusumawatiexamines Susilo Bambang

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[10] Greg Fealy & Hugh White, *Indonesia's 'Great Power' Aspirations: A Critical View. Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies, 3*(1) (2016). , 9. doi:10.1002/app5.122

[11] Fealy & Hugh White.

[12] Three layers on text, discursive practice and sociocultural practice. Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*(New York: Longman, 279), p.98.

[13] Illocutionary acts; John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in Theory of Speech Acts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 2

[14] Jan Blommaert, *Discourse: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.35

[15] Ana Caballero Mengibar, 'Critical Discourse Analysis in the Study of Representation, Identity Politics And Power

Relations: A Multi-Method Approach', *Communication & Society*, 38 (2015). 2. 10.15581/003.28.2.39-54

[16] Azimah Shurfa Mohammed Shukry, 'A Critical Discourse Analysis of Mahathir Mohamad's Speeches on the "War on Terror', *Intellectual Discourse*, 21:2 (2013).

[17] Atiya Mahmud Hana, 'Speech Acts in Barack Obama Speech's in Announcing the Death of Osama Bin Laden', *WEJ*, 2.2 (2018). 10.31943/wej.Vol2.Iss2.336

[18] Misyi Gusthini, et.all. 'A Pragmatic Study of Speech as an Instrument of Power: Analysis of the 2016 USA Presidential Debate', *Studies in English Language and Education*, 5.1 (2018), doi.org/10.24815/siele.v5i1.6906.

[19] Sahar Altikriti, 'Persuasive speech acts in Barrack Obama's Inaugural Speeches (2009, 2013) and The Last State of the Union Address (2016)', *International Journal of Linguistics*, 8.2 (2016). 10.5296/ijl.v8i2.9274.

Yudhoyono's international speech text for the Indonesian context. She found that word choice and sentence elements were built to attract international sympathy. In a similar Vein, Yuniawan and his team also examined Joko Widodo's speech at his inauguration[21]. They found extensive use of the persona deixis, place, and time in Jokowi's speech: persona deixis "I" for singular and "we, us" for plural, then deixis place for "this, that, there" and deixis time "now, per year, per month, next five years" and "five years ago." Those deixis were used by Jokowi to attract attention for the second term of his periods.

Based on the above CDA and speech acts studies, this current article sheds light on religious leadership speech.

Leadership and Communication Strategy

All NU figures are talented and skilled in making speeches, including SAS. Speech is an essential skill for religious leaders to have in order to be able to communicate and convey their intentions to their followers. Therefore, a leader must have a strong capacity for making speeches and exuding leadership through language. Through them, the leader can define and articulate the purpose of the organisation in a meaningful way.[22]

Furthermore, Conger explains that a leader should have two skills to succeed in leadership: the ability to frame a discourse and the ability to craft rhetorical expressions or symbolic language. Framing is how the leader interprets their organisation's purpose. An effective framing will contribute to a sense of confidence on the part of the organisation's members. Meanwhile, symbolic language is the most common way for the leader to deliver a speech, and it is used not to hurt their listeners. It is more effective instead using direct

statements to the listeners. The two skills are essential in delivering the speech.

A leader's strong ability to make speeches allows them to maintain and establish the relationship between his colleagues and subordinates.[23] In other words, the leader's ability to use literal and symbolic language while delivering the speech plays a vital role in successful communication that can bolster legitimacy and support. Furthermore, Fairclough stated that language is seen as a social practice, which implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s) that frame it.[24]

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a general approach for incorporating varying scenarios of research analysis in the study of text and speech, and it cannot be defined as a specific approach of a unitary nature on research analysis. Therefore, CDA theoretically has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or particular theory and method for analysis.[25] Meanwhile, speech acts (SA) can be defined as an utterance with the speaker's intention and its effect on a listener. Therefore, the integration of CDA and SA in this study is important to describe the speech.

This article uses the Fairclough framework and the illocutionary act theory to reveal SAS' utterances when delivering a speech at the 73rd anniversary of *Fatayat* NU in 2019. There are five kinds of illocutionary acts; (1) representative, (2) directive, (3) commisive, (4) expressive, (5) declarations.[26]

SAS' Speech Analysis

The analysis on this paper employs three analysis models as stated by Norman Fairclough:

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[21] Tommi Y., Rustono, Luluk A.F., Harits A. Wicaksono, and Yoris A. M., 'Deixis Analysis In The Speech Of President Joko Widodo At The Inaguration', *International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research*, 9.3 (2020), www.ijstr.org.

[22] Jay A. Conger, 'Inspiring Others: the Language of Leadership', *Academy of Management Executive*, 5 (1991). 31. 10.2307/4164992.

[23] Frans Wijsen, 'Discourse Analysis in Religious Studies: The Case of Interreligious Worship in Friesland', *Anthropos*, 105 (2010). p1-15

[24] Fairclough.

[25] Ruth Wodak, & M. Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (Great Britain: SAGE Publications, 2001), p. 23

[26] See John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in Theory of Speech Acts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979)p. 1-19

text, discursive practice, and sociocultural practice. However, in in-text analysis, the speech is categorised into the generic form of introduction, content, and closing. Searle explores Austins' classification[27] that the illocutionary act has five points: representative, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarations.[28] Here, the illocutionary acts can be summarised as follow; *First*, representatives; statements that may be judged true or false because they purport to describe a state of affairs in the world:

> "predict, classify, describe, identify," e.g., "It is a beautiful day outside"; "I predict that he will come."

Second, directives: statements that attempt to make the auditor's action fit the propositional content or request, beg, plead, to do something. Verbs denoting members to this are :ask, order, command, request, pray, entreat, invite, and advice," e.g., "Shut the door, please!"; "I order you to leave."; *Third*, commissives: statements which commit the speaker to a course of action as described by the propositional content, e.g., " I promise I will be there at 7:00"; "I vow to get revenge"; "I promise to you the money."

Fourth, expressives: statements that express the "sincerity condition of the speech act." These expressive characteristically require a gerund transformation of the verb in the lower node, e.g., "I am feeling happy today"; "I really enjoy watching films"; "I thank you for giving me the money"; "my apologise for my bad behaviour."

Fifth, declarations: statements that attempt to change the world by "representing it as having been changed," e.g., "My work here is done"; "I pronounce you man and wife"; "I appoint you chairman"; "I declare the meeting adjourned"; "I resign."

The description of the text of SAS' speeches here does not provide a rigid and detailed analysis of the linguistic, syntactic, and analytic aspects thereof but rather on the general features of the lexical usage of his utterances. For this reason, it is important to understand the utterances of SAS' speech to articulate its whole meaning. First, the listeners should obey the whole context because the utterance meaning can differ with the literal meaning when the expression is uttered. Therefore, the analysis starts on the text-level analysis of this speech. The identification primarily focuses on the vocabulary used. Based on the data gathered, vocabularies featured in SAS' speech adopted Arabic language terms. This finding can be indentified when SAS opened the speech, stating the argumentation, and giving the closing statement at the end of the speech.

Other features, like inserting other languages, are common for a religious speaker with more than one language, mainly Arabic. In this context, the loanwords process, in which the speakers adopt words or sentences from a different language to explain the argumentation, is an ordinary situation. The study found that SAS utilised the Arabic terms to articulate the Islamic terms, e.g., "*alhamdulillah, wasathan, tasammuh, syuhada', tsaqafiyyan, a'adzdzahullaah, syuhuudan diniyyaan*," and still many others. He uttered these utterances when opening and closing the speech and engaging with Islamic discourse.

The terms of the Islamic discourse at a living Muslim community, particularly NU, use authoritative texts as the primary source of references, such as the Qur'an and Hadith literature. The sources are used to strengthen the argumentation mainly when engaging in a matter of scholarly debate or when stating a religious opinion or *fatwa*.[29]

Furthermore, in SAS's organisation, Islamic terms are used as a common expression in religious speech because it is part of NU's tradition, so as a

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[27] Austin classified speect acts into locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. On illocutionary, he classified into his five basic categories of verdictive, expositive, exercitive, behabitive, and commissive. J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, (Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 34

[28] Searle.

[29] a ruling on a point of Islamic law given by a recognized authority. In Indonesia, MUI (the Indonesian Ulama Council) is the body that issues the fatwa.

leader and an influential person in the organisation, SAS tried to teach the culture and institutional tradition to his members. Additionally, by inserting the Arabic terms, SAS wants to get closer to the listeners to strengthen his institution's legitimacy, particularly in Islamic teaching.

The Structure of SAS's Speech

Introduction of SAS's speech

The structure of SAS' speech consists of three main points: introduction, content, and conclusion. In the introduction, the texture of the speech consists of a religious statement, such as a greeting. Overall, SAS used the Indonesian language while delivering the speech. Even though some of the utterances feature the Arabic and Javanese languages.

At the 73rd anniversary of *Fatayat* NU in 2019, SAS opened his speech by using the Islamic greeting *"Assalamu'alaikum warahmatullah wabarakatuh."* This is a common greeting in both formal and informal situations in Muslim living society. Then, he continued his speech by uttering this statement.

> Excerpt 01
> *"Bismillah, alhamdulillah wassalamu 'ala sayyidina wa-maulaana wa-syafi'ina Muhammad Rasulillah wa-'ala alihi wa-shahbihi wa-man tabi'a sunnatahuu wa-jama'atah min yauminaa hadza ila yauminnahdhah"* ("In the name of Allah, the Most merciful, praise is due to Allah. Peace be upon him, Muhammad, the chief and messenger of Allah, his family, friends and followers and all people who obey and follow until hereafter.")

After stating the utterances, SAS continued the speech by giving a greeting to the audiences. At this stage, he gives special greeting to the president of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, the first lady, followed by all cabinet ministers in attendance. Then, SAS ended the greeting for his internal members in NU *"all of the region and the branch leaders of Muslimat"*.

Excerpt 02:
Dear members of DPR [i.e., the Legislative Assembly] the Habaib [i.e., Muslim preachers linked to the descendents of Prophet Muhammad], *ash'habal ma'ahid, ash'habal thuruqishshufiyyah*, all of the region and the branch leaders of Muslimat.

The Content of SAS' Speech.

In the content of the speech, SAS started by uttering the term *"ummat."* The word *"ummat"* is used to inform the concepts of Islamic thought in general. To strengthen his argumentation about this concept, SAS added information by citing the verse of the Qur'an[30] *"wa kadzalika ja'alnakum ummatan wasathan* ('thus We have rendered you a community of the middle path')" Even though the context of his speech is more of a monologue rather than dialogue, SAS asked the following rhetorical question:

> "Please for the hafidz Qur'an [i.e., a person who memorised the Qur'an] have a look; is there the word 'Islamic ummah' in the Qur'an? No."

This statement means that the speaker requested the audience who have memorised Qur'an to check whether the term *"Islamic ummah* ('Islamic community')" exists in the holy book. In this context, he explains what makes a good society. For this SAS used the term *"ummatan wasathan* ('community of the middle path')," and again, this term is adopted from the verse of the Qur'an.

Furthermore, SAS synthesised his previous explanation by uttering *"li-takunu syuhada 'alannas."* He explained that the Muslim people should play a major role in society. To underline his statement, SAS described the meaning of the word *"syuhada'* ('martyr')". He explained that the utterance meaning of this word is to "play a role." For this reason, SAS explained further by requesting the audience, especially members of NU to play a religiousole in society. For this reason, NU

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[30] See Qur'an, al-Baqarah, verse 143. https://quran.com/2

members must occupy all religious institutions. Here is the excerpt:

> Excerpt 03
> "we should handle the religion role, be the head of mosques, preachers, in the office of religious affairs, the ministry of religion—all these must be from NU. If these positions are not from NU, it will all go wrong. More *bid'ah* (religious innovation) will take place, if NU does not hold these positions. This is *bid'ah*, later sufi dancings will be [deemed] *bid'ah*."

Overall, the main theme of this speech is the utterance of the controversial concept of "Islam Nusantara" or Nusantara Islam. SAS seemed to conclude that all of his previous explanations contain the core values of Islam Nusantara. The utterance of "Islam Nusantara" is explicitly declared at the end of his speech. For this context, SAS made a declaration, here the excerpt:

> Excerpt 04
> "This is the Nusantara Islam, the polite Islam, the friendly Islam, the Islam that respects culture, the Islam with character, having integrity. That is Nusantara Islam. [It is] not a *madzhab* (legal school), not a sect, but *khasha'is mumayyizatī*, an Islamic typology, a Nusantara Islamic society."

The Closing of SAS's Speech

At the end of the speech, SAS utilized expressive utterance. He repeated the special thanks to the president and first lady for their attendance at the 73rd anniversary of *Fatayat* NU. To end the speech, the speaker uttered his statements by uttering Arabic terms. Here is the excerpt:

> Excerpt 05
> "*syukran wa-dumtum fil khairi wa-lbarakati wannajaah, wallahu yahfazdukum minal'afaati wal'ahad ya'khudz bi-aydiykum, li-ma fihishshalah walkhayr, wallaahu taufiqi ila aqwamithariq, wassalaamu'alaikum wa-rahmatullah wa-barakatuh*"

In excerpt 5, the utterance meaning of the speaker's purpose is to give honour and thank all of audiences.

Discursive Practice and Sociocultural Practice

Discursive practice is how a text is produced and interpreted. In explaining this context, the interrelated text needs to describe the sociocultural practice.[31] The interpretation of social and cultural practice synthesises the aspects of situational, institutional, and social contexts. The description above is a moment-by-moment presentation of SAS speech structure. Therefore, in this stage, the analysis explains the social and political context.

The analytical text above found that SAS began his speech by utilizing the Islamic greeting. Based on social and cultural practice, SAS employed a social approach to his listeners by producing those statements. Additionally, as seen from his speeches, SAS notified that those utterances become his speech features while stating the greeting, "*wassalamu 'ala sayyidina wa-maulana wa syafi'ina Muhammad Rasulillah.*" This is because he is an authoritative and powerful person in his organisation.

Given the context, this utterance is a common utterance and is frequently used by NU's leaders when they open their speeches in religious events. Additionally, the speaker also wants to show that he is committed to maintaining the NU tradition; second, he intends to inform the audience of the importance of continuously respecting the Prophet Muhammad. We also note the use of the word "*sayyidina* ('our liege lord')" that is frequently used by NU religious leaders (kyai) when referring to the Prophet Muhammad.

To welcome the audience, SAS uttered a number of expressive utterances by giving greetings to the president of the Republic of Indonesia. He continued expressing his respect with the directive utterance: "The Excellency Mr. President of the Republic of Indonesia and Mrs. Iriana Joko Widodo, *a'adzdzahullaa*h [may Allah protect them both], the President of Republic of

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[31]Fairclough.

Indonesia 2019-2024." With respect to this utterance meaning, first, it is common to welcome dignitaries at the beginning of the ceremony, especially when the president himself is in attendance. Second, symbolic language is used by mentioning the utterance, "The President of the Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024". This predictional mention is delivered because the context of the situation was during the political contestation for the presidential election in 2019, and Joko Widodo was making a bid for a second term. Therefore, there was an implied meaning in the utterances from the speaker. He seems to want to persuade the attendees to vote for Joko Widodo for the upcoming presidential election.

Meanwhile, as for the content of the speech, SAS tried to inform and give his considered opinion on current issues in Muslim society. He mentioned and is worried about the current situation, particularly with other Muslim groups that observe rigid rules in Islamic practice. He indicated that those groups have been very resistant and antagonistic towards NU members, particularly on the issue of religious practice. SAS explained that these groups often call the traditionalist practices of NU as religious innovation (*bid'ah*).[32] Therefore, for further action, SAS instructed NU members to play active roles in religious institutions. In this context, the speaker highlighted the existence of radical groups occupying some religious institution that has proven to be a real threat to the future of religious harmony in Indonesia. Therefore, proactive action by dominating religious institutions is a reaction to the existence of radical groups that flourish currently. However, the single domination of the religious roles is a paradox and contra-productive in the democratic sphere today.[33]

In the political context, the speaker's statement also can be interpreted as an expression of concern regarding the proliferation of radical groups in Indonesian Muslim society. Therefore,

SAS' statements are relevant to restrict the movements of radical groups. Thus NU members must support and give their voice to the incumbent president, Joko Widodo. SAS used the directive statement for this purpose:

> Excerpt 06
> "Listen! Listen! Syuhudan siyasiyan, role of politics. So in 2019, must be the winner in order that NU plays a role syuhudan siyaasiyyan, syuhuudan? (siyasiyyan) siyaasiyyan, Alhamdulillah, understood, especially mothers."

In excerpts 03 and 06, the speaker utilized the directive utterance. He reminded that the Indonesian Muslim community, particularly NU members, are threatened by radical groups. On the other hand, he gave the signal that Joko Widodo had shown commitment to eradicate radical groups. Therefore, NU voters have significant clout in the presidential election. In this context, the speaker seemed to warn his members that radical groups are supporting Joko Widodo's political opponent. As a result, during the elections, SAS persuaded his members to give their votes to Joko Widodo in the 2019 presidential election.

Conclusion

The speaker utilized his speech at the 73rd anniversary of *Fatayat* NU in 2019 as part of an overall communication strategy to respond to the transnational radical Islamic movements that has been flourishing in Indonesian society. SAS' speech comprises of commanding, persuading, and prohibiting in the use of Islamic terms. This is part of hisstrategy in conveying religious message (*da'wah*).

Referring to speech acts of illocutionary points, SAS' utterances consist of five elements: representative, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative. The illocutionary acts used by the speaker are to utter religious terms. Then, based on the discourse practice and sociocultural practice f discourse analysis, SAS successfully leveraged his

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[32] Innovation and creation in religious practice.
[33]Marcus Mietzner, 'Fighting Illiberalism with Illiberalism: Islamist Populism and Democratic

Deconsolidation in Indonesia', *Pacific Affairs*, 91.2 (2018). https://dx.doi.org/10.5509/2018912261

position in the organisation to garner support for Joko Widodo in the next presidential elections. SAS built his argumentation by employing Islamic discourse while delivering the speech. At the end of the speech, he introduced the concept of "Islam Nusantara" as the grand theme of his speech. However, SAS' maneuver and his organisation in the religious roles have triggered critics from other figures and scholars because it seems to dominate Indonesian Muslim living society's heterogeneous religious roles. As a result, the argumentation regarding the concept of Islam Nusantara has led to intense debate in the contemporary Indonesian Muslim community.

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