

## ULAMA'S PUBLIC IMAGE IN ONLINE MASS MEDIA FOLLOWING THE CANDIDACY OF KH. MA'RUF AMIN

*Isroqunnajah  
Muhammad Edy Thoyib*

---

abinala@syariah.uin-malang.ac.id  
edythoyib@bsi.uin-malang.ac.id  
UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim  
Malang, East Java, Indonesia

---

**Abstract:** Ulama plays various roles in the society, including as a social, economic, or cultural broker. However, when it comes to politics, ulama is sometimes only viewed as a magnet to attract electoral votes. This paper examined the representation of ulama in the media upon the nomination of KH. Ma'ruf Amin as Jokowi's VP and aimed to shed a light on the extent such a representation could lead to the ulama's image shift, by taking al-Mawardi's concept of leadership into account. Considering the nature of the data, this study employed a descriptive-qualitative paradigm which attempts to produce descriptive information. The data; news texts were taken from four online media were collected through intensive reading and note-taking, while for social cognition purpose, the data were taken from student press activists and collected through a semi-structured interview. The results show that all the media under investigation employed a positive presentation upon KH. Ma'ruf Amin's nomination by using various discursive strategies, such as presenting religious as well as political career background (authority), showing the burdens that imply a negative representation of others, and incorporating the numerical data to intensify the positive image being framed. Therefore, through those discursive vehicles, KH. Ma'ruf Amin's image of leadership is solely projected in two qualities: religious authority and ability to manage public affairs.

**Keywords:** *Mass media, ma'ruf amin, CDA, public image.*

### BACKGROUND

Media has its own way of converting discourse on the basis of its ideological concepts in reproducing particular event into news. The role of the media becomes even larger in shaping public opinion as Hawker (cited in Downer, 2016) emphasizes that a political narrative (image branding) is better elaborated through printed media.

In this case, it is the printed media that has more dramatic touch in presenting 'injury-time' appointment of KH. Maruf Amin as Jokowi's deputy in 2019 presidential election than, for instance, a live TV broadcast. Therefore, a discourse formed by the media

could have a big role in shaping public opinion, particularly regarding the image of respective political candidates.

In critical perspective, media is not a value-free tool of information transmitter to the society, but it may help spread ideas, form consensus, and reproduce ideology (Barrat, 1994). Furthermore, the media is seen as an active agent that constructs reality and launches its ideology.

Therefore, the blatant rivalry within the discourse of presidential election between Jokowi-Kiai Maruf and Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno will not ignite without the contribution of the media that puts forward the speed and up-to-

date news in each of its release (Yusuf, 2010). In other words, the media is also responsible for the formation of public image regarding the candidacy of either contestant. Apart from religious ideology and moral norms, it is also through the media what is good and what is bad about the candidates can be sounded.

The present paper aims to particularly investigate the strategies that online mass media use to build the public image of ulama following the candidacy of KH. Maruf Amin and the extent the ulama's image has shifted following the candidacy of KH. Maruf Amin.

This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach. This study employed a descriptive-qualitative paradigm which attempts to produce descriptive information. The data; news texts were taken from four online media were collected through intensive reading and note-taking, while for social cognition purpose, the data were taken from student press activists and collected through a semi-structured interview.

In the data analysis, first, the researcher will begin with interpreting the data on the basis of van Dijk's strategies of "positive self-representation" and "negative other-representation" which are manifested through some discursive moves, i.e. actor description, authority, burden, consensus, empathy, illustration, self-glorification, and disclaimer. In each of the discursive moves, the researcher is going to identify the tendency of each online mass media by comparing how the same news are differently framed in the four media. The interpretation is directed to identify the general representation of ulama's image in different online mass media following the candidacy of KH. Maruf Amin.

Furthermore, the analysis resulted from the researcher's interpretation on the online mass media is critically examined in terms of al-Mawardi's criteria of Moslem political leader in his *Al-Ahkam as-Sulthaniyyah*. The analysis is finally evaluated with regard to the opinions of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah boards as well as of the student informants in the selected universities for the sake of identifying the image of "public" on Ulama after the candidacy of KH. Maruf Amin as the vice president of Jokowi in 2019 presidential election. The last phase of the analysis is drawing the conclusion which

corresponds to the problems and objectives of the study.

## DISCUSSION

### *Text*

In the dimensions of the text that must be examined by the discourse analyst is the structure of a text. van Dijk used and took linguistic analysis (critical linguistics) about word choice, sentence form, proposition, and paragraph arrangement, all of which were analyzed to explain and interpret a text. According to van Dijk, even though it consists of various elements, all these elements are one entity, interconnected and supporting each other. This principle helps researchers to observe how a text is built up through smaller elements. This scheme also provides a map to study a text. We not only understand what the contents of a news text are but also the elements that make up the news text, words, sentences, paragraphs, and propositions. We not only know what is covered by the media but also how the media expresses events into language choices and how they are expressed through certain rhetoric. The following are some of the textual strategies discovered by the author regarding the news about Maruf Amin's nomination as a vice-presidential candidate obtained from several Indonesian online media.

### *Active and Passive Structure*

One important and distinctive aspect of CDA is the in-depth observation of the sentence structure used by the media in writing the news. Sentence structure is not something standard, but can be changed in order, exchanged, eliminated, added, and combined with other sentences and then rearranged. These changes not only change the structure of the sentence but also change the meaning of the language used as a whole. One of the basic structures of sentences that must be observed by critical discourse analyst is the use of active or passive sentences.

In the active sentence, the actor is placed at the beginning of the sentence and is described to act as the object being charged. Here, the process or action is directed at the subject. By using the structure of active sentences, the media provides the focus on the actor/subject. Conversely, when the active sentence is converted into a passive form, this

pattern changes. The process is not addressed to the subject but to the object, which is the focal point is the object or person subjected to a course of action. Unlike the active sentence, in the passive sentence, the actor does not have to appear in the text because the focus is on the object, not the subject. The structure of active sentences is widely used in reporting related to Maruf Amin. Some examples of them are as follows:

Media Indonesia: *Maruf Amin Dongkrak Suara PKB*  
*Maruf Amin Mantapkan*  
*Jatim*  
 Republika : *Maruf Amin Inginkan*  
*Adanya Menteri Pendidikan Pesantren*  
*Kiai Ma'ruf Ingatkan*  
*Pentingnya Kesantunan di Tahun Politik*  
*Kiai Ma'ruf akan Pakai*  
*Sarung Hingga jadi Wapres*  
*Kiai Ma'ruf Ajak*  
*Pendukungnya Menangi Pilpres dengan Terpuji*

The online news titles above all use the active sentence structure. By using active sentences, the point of attention to be communicated to the public is to the subject, not the object. In the form of an active sentence, the spotlight is the appropriateness of Maruf Amin becoming the vice-presidential candidate of the Republic of Indonesia. Like for example with the presence of Maruf Amin, the electability or the number of votes of PKB parties in general elections will increase. Kiai Maruf will also become a granary in East Java where most voters are Nahdlatul Ulama worshipers.

In an active structure like the news above, Kiai Maruf was also highlighted by the media as a commendable figure. For example, he was explicitly reported to invite his supporters to always maintain politeness and become a laudable voter. Implicitly, this kind of reporting also puts a burden on the political opponents of Maruf Amin. If in the news it is reviewed that Kiai Maruf wants his voters to always be polite, the media also indirectly polarizes between those considered polite and those who are considered impolite in campaigning.

In addition to the use of active sentences, some reports also use passive sentence structures such as;

Kompas : *Dihalangi Saat Akan Ziarah*  
*Leluhurnya di Madura, Ini Kata Ma'ruf Amin*

The headline published by Kompas.com above uses a passive sentence structure. In the headline above, there are two important actors namely Kiai Maruf and also those who prevent Kiai Maruf from making a pilgrimage. In the active sentence structure like the news above, the subject disappears from reporting because the more important thing in reporting is the object, which in this case is Maruf Amin. This kind of sentence structure shows that journalists pay more attention and are interested in seeing victims rather than perpetrators. Journalists also invited readers to pay more attention to Kiai Maruf than to the masses who refused the arrival of Kiai Maruf in Madura. The perpetrators of deterrence are very important things that are worth knowing by the readers. What the media wants to communicate to the public is how unfortunate it is that Kiai Maruf wanted to make a pilgrimage at the tomb of his ancestors in Madura, but instead got a deterrent from several masses. This, of course, makes the public increasingly empathetic to the figure of Kiai Maruf Amin and considers his political opponents have done dirty practices in political competition over the seats of RI 1.

### **Abstraction and Objectification**

This strategy is related to the question of whether information about an event or actor is displayed by giving concrete instructions or what is shown is an abstraction. Some news related to Kiai Maruf Amin using the abstraction strategy are as follows:

Republika : *Ratusan Kiai di Jatim*  
*Bentuk Forum Dongkrak Suara Maruf*  
 : *Jelang Debat, Rumah Kiai*  
*Maruf Dipenuhi Para Ulama*  
 Media Indonesia : *Ribuan Kiai dan Santri*  
*Kaltim Deklarasikan Dukung Jokowi-Amin*

The headlines above are seen using an abstraction strategy. The number of Ulama and Kiai who support Maruf Amin can be said by pointing to a clear, can also by making an abstraction like hundreds of Kiai, thousands of Kiai, many Ulama. The meaning received by the audience will be different because by making an abstract event or actor which is quantitatively small, with the abstraction it is communicated as if there are many.

Not only in the title, abstraction is also found in the news content as quoted below:

*Ratusan kiai dan ulama Jawa Timur membentuk forum untuk meningkatkan elektabilitas sekaligus mendongkrak suara calon wakil presiden nomor urut 01, KH Ma'ruf Amin. Forum yang dinamai Forum Kiai Bersatu Jawa Timur tersebut beranggotakan ratusan kiai dan ulama yang memiliki pondok pesantren tersebar di 38 kabupaten/kota.*

The audience will perceive others between what is clearly stated and what is made in the form of abstraction. This mention in the form of abstraction, according to van Leeuwen (1986) is often not caused by journalists' ignorance of exact information, but often more as a strategy of journalist discourse to display something. In the example of the news above, it may be that journalists have not received definite information about the Kiai who supports Maruf Amin, but more than that the use of the word "hundreds" "thousands", and "a lot" is used to show how massive the support of the Ulama for Maruf Amin in the presidential and vice-presidential elections and this certainly deserves attention for their political opponents. The use of abstraction as in the news excerpt above is used to illustrate the enormous support for Kiai Maruf Amin, mainly from his fellow Kiai and Ulama.

### **Determination and Indetermination**

In reporting often, the actor or event is clearly stated, but often also unclear (anonymous). This anonymity could be because journalists have not gotten enough evidence to write, so it is safer to write anonymously. As simple as the social media era as it is today, reporters use anonymity (determination) strategies in writing news headlines more because of reasons to arouse readers' curiosity so that they end up clicking on the website of the news portal (click-bait). Whatever the reason, by forming this anonymity, there is a different impression when accepted by the public. This is because anonymity, according to van Leeuwen, makes a generalization, not specific.

### **Actor Description**

The actor's description includes the description of a person which may include

a degree, group membership, family, community participation, positions held, or even a description of the circumstances that the person is experiencing. In other words, the actor's description is the provision of information relating to a particular actor. In CDA tradition, the actor's description is a feature that can be viewed as a journalist's attitude toward the proclaimed object.

In the news on March 20, 2017, the journalist of kompas.com described Ma'ruf Amin's (MA) political experiences, academic achievements, and religious authority quite comprehensively, such as [*Pada bidang agama, Ma'aruf merupakan salah satu ulama ahli fiqih di Indonesia. Ma'ruf mendapat gelar doktor kehormatan (Doctor Honoris Causa) dari Rektor Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, Prof. Dr. Komarudin Hidayat pada 5 Mei 2012.*], [*Ma'ruf juga memiliki gelar profesor dan guru besar,...*], [*...karena kepiawaiannya di bidang agama ditambah pengalaman politiknya selama puluhan tahun, menjadikan Ma'ruf Amin sosok yang lengkap dan langka.*]

Here, the depiction of MA's capacities and the recognition that he is a complete as well as unique figure is nothing but ideological. Such a news construction is likely to generate a positive and favorable impression in the readers' mind that MA is worth to be voted as he has broad knowledge particularly in religion and highly experienced politician. Therefore, we can notice that kompas.com, in its news coverage, tends to glorify the profile of the MA, the incumbent's VP candidate by providing positive persona for MA, while republika.co.id solely describes him from the religious authority perspective—particularly with his long-serving role in Nadhlatul Ulama and MUI organization as illustrated in the following excerpts dated April 16, 2019, [*...Mantan Rais Aam Pengurus Besar Nadhlatul Ulama (PBNU) itu mengungkapkan...Ketua Umum Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) itu mengatakan...*].

### **Authority**

The mention of an authoritative entity/body in the news can increase its weight. Besides, this discursive strategy may also lead the reader's opinion to focus on the

authorities as responsible for the rolling issue. In some news releases, *republika.co.id* brought the news about MA by employing this strategy:

[*Gerakan Alumni UI untuk Jokowi-Ma'ruf Gelar Deklarasi 12 Januari di GBK*, dated\_28-12-2018], [*Timur Indonesia Bersatu Dukung Jokowi-Amin*, dated\_26-03-2019], [*Jaringan Satu Matahari Deklarasi Dukung Paslon 01*, dated\_01-04-2019], [*Forum Ulama dan Jawara Banten Deklarasikan Dukung 01*, dated\_06-03-2019].

Lexically, mentioning the authoritative bodies by using collective or non-finite noun such as *alumni*, *eastern Indonesia team*, a *network*, and *forum* may give the impression to the readers that Jokowi-MA pair has solid and massive voting force. To enhance the impression embedded to these collective words, *republika.co.id* also presented the number games strategy, such as the event of UI alumni would be attended by '*...sekitar 5.000 alumni UI*'. The mention of this collective plural noun and its explicit estimate numbering is, utmost, aimed at impressing the readers that Jokowi-MA pair is thus supported by a vast number of supporters and loyalists.

### **Burden**

Burden is an attempt to describe an event or phenomenon as a very urgent problem that must be resolved immediately. This strategy is used to support a particular discourse either to provide it with positive or negative impression. This is also evident in the media coverage surrounding Jokowi-MA pair's candidacy. In some occasions, *Republika's* news reports are found to employ this burden discursive strategy. For instance, [*Kiai Ma'ruf Ajak Pendukungnya Menangi Pilpres dengan Terpuji*, dated\_06-02-2019], [*Pilpres Ajang Mencari Pemimpin Berpengalaman*, dated\_05-04-2019], [*Kiai Ma'ruf Ingatkan Pentingnya Kesantunan di Tahun Politik*, dated\_13-01-2019], and [*Kiai Ma'ruf Gelar Istighatsah Agar Bangsa Selamat dari Hoaks*, dated\_12-01-2019].

The phrases like 'to win the election in a respectful manner', 'the search for an experienced leader', 'the importance of a norm in the political year', and 'a pray for protecting the state from hoax' above create an impression in the reader's mind that the opposite to the stated and underlined truth

above is associated to the opponent pair, Prabowo-Sandi. The phrase 'to win the election in a respectful manner', for example, may operate to entail that Prabowo-Sandi used a disallowed strategy that may violate 'the rule of the game' in the presidential election this year. In other words, since this political contest is joined by two pairs of Jokowi-MA and Prabowo-Sandi, therefore what might become the concern of either candidate, should entail the inability or failure of the other side to fulfill or promote it.

Such a statement brought forward may serve as an underlying reasoning as well as a burden why voting for Jokowi-MA was preferable than Prabowo-Sandi as the latter candidate pair may be believed as cheated group, inexperienced leader, or hoax perpetrator.

### **Consensus**

A discursive strategy of 'consensus' was also used by the online media to glorify the image of MA as a great and potential leader. It is evident in the news reports by *kompas.com* and *republika.co.id* prior to the election day. In this way, *kompas.com* brought a headline '*Ma'ruf Amin: Saya Dulu Guru Majelis Taklim, Sekarang Jadi Cawapres*', dated\_08-04-2019 and '*Ma'ruf Amin: Dulu Ulama Nasibnya Sama Seperti Daun Salam*', dated\_09-04-2019. While *republika.co.id* wrote '*Raja Galesong Anugerahi Ma'ruf Amin Gelar Karaeng Manaba*'. At glance, those headlines are as normal as they may seem. However, when critically analyze and go through their news content, we may find such constructions are so much discursive. *kompas.com's* headlines seem to evoke readers' impression that MA, projected as an ordinary and humble *ustadz* of *Majelis Taklim* (the Islamic term for a teacher or preacher in the Islamic knowledge forum), could even be a great Vice President. Moreover, the media further quoted the MA's statement ["*Jadi kalau saya sekarang menjadi cawapres. Berarti yang jadi cawapres adalah ustaznya majelis-majelis taklim...*"] to create an 'in-group consensus' that voting for MA would be deemed as electing the figure who knows them well as they shared similar religious experience. Besides, in the following day, the media exhibited the strategy in an analogical style. The emphasis is on the fact that *Ulama* is solely exploited for achieving any electoral

purpose, then leftover and ignored. This strategy is enforced by presenting another quote from MA's statement "*Tapi Pak Jokowi, tidak begitu. Pak Jokowi, dapat dukungan ulama dan kyai karena membawa kyai sebagai wakilnya*" which illustrates that his partner, Jokowi, is attentive and respect *ulama* or *kyai*, as evident from MA's nomination as the Jokowi's VP candidate.

On the other hands, republika's headline about the inauguration of custom title *Karaeng Manaba* by the Galesong King to MA may offer a prime example of the consensus strategy. It is explained later in the news content that this customary title is not awarded to anybody, unless the awardee is a wise and experienced figure in both religious and government sectors, "*Ketua Umum Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) itu merupakan orang yang bijak, memiliki pengalaman bukan hanya di bidang agama tapi di pemerintahan...*", said the Head of Customary Body. Therefore, this headline is highly discursive as the readers are led to believe and agree with the authoritative body's view over MA's image as a wise figure and thus, considering his capacities, becomes a potential candidate to vote in the election.

### ***Self-glorification***

Self-glorification is a discursive strategy for conveying a positive representation by revealing the strength or superiority of a certain individual or group. Through a self-glorification strategy, the reader will capture a strong positive image of the person or group being discussed. This strategy, for example, was used in kompas.com's news on February 24, 2019 entitled "*Ma'ruf Amin: Lahirnya 212 Kan Dari Fatwa Saya, Kok Saya Enggak Diundang Munajatnya?*"

The headline might positively project MA as an influential figure behind a huge 212 rally protest regarding Ahok's blasphemy case. In other words, the 212 movement highlights the capability and significant power of MA, through his authoritative *fatwa* as the head of Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), to organize and mobilize hundreds of thousand people to involve in the massive protest calling for the justice.

### ***Number Game***

According to Van Dijk (2004), number game is one of solution to present a situation

through data which showed in order to add some validity or objectivity of the issue under spotlight. Some of news regarding the support for MA's candidacy as VP of Jokowi are framed using this kind of discursive strategy. On January 31<sup>st</sup> 2019, republika.co.id released news entitled "*Ratusan Kiai di Jatim Bentuk Forum Dongkrak Suara Ma'ruf*" and further explained in more detailed fashion, "*...ratusan kiai dan ulama yang memiliki pondok pesantren tersebar di 38 kabupaten/kota*". The abstract, indefinite, phrase of '*ratusan kiai*' (hundreds of kiai) may give an impression to the readers that MA is politically supported by numerous influential figures of *kiai*. Besides, further mention of the number of the origin cities of those *kiai* can give rise to a belief that such a political support equally comes from many different cities and, thus, entails the presence of a fortified electoral force.

In the earlier news dated 20<sup>th</sup> January, 2019, the depiction of MA's campaign was presented by using numerical phrase "around 4000 santri". From these samples, readers might take different opinion or thought that both news showed considerable number of welcome and support given to MA.

### ***Ulama, Politics, and Image Shift***

Based on the present study's findings, it is fair to claim that Ulama's image nowadays seems to shift from what it used to be in the past few decades since the active involvement in the politics. Although politically *kiai* categorized as social groups that do not have experience and professional ability, but much we can see that *kiai*, as individual or group of religious organization, have been able to mark their influence in bridging various interests through their statements, involvement in, or *fatwas* related to the public issues (Ichwan, 2011).

The phenomenon of different socio-political behaviors among *kiai*, in many aspects, is influenced by various factors. One of the factors is the social position of the *kiai* which, according to previous studies, shows a driving force to change the Public. Pribadi (2013), for example, shows the power of the *kiai* as the source of social change (acting as a political, economic, social, and cultural broker), not only in the *pesantren* community but also to the surrounding society.

However, it is important to note the fact that there has been a declining trend how *kiai* (as political broker) can affect the political preference of their followers (Hicks, 2012). This phenomenon is caused, among other things, by the shift of authority from particularly any (Islamic) political party to key individual 'popular' figures within it (ibid.). It is why then empowering the media to further voice and strengthen *kiai*'s image and profile is deemed as the alternative yet equally important way to achieve an electoral end. Therefore, the results of the present study may confirm this proposition, particularly within the context of MA's nomination as Jokowi's VP.

The media under investigation has clearly exhibited (through its news release) the use of some discursive strategies aimed at building and optimizing the image of MA to readers prior to the election day. For instance, in describing MA's religious and academic capacity, the media employs *actor description* strategy by presenting his long-service experiences in NU and MUI as well as academic degrees and honors he has achieved. Another example, is the use of *number game* and *abstraction* strategies to bring forward the positive impression into the readers' mind that MA is supported by public at large, particularly the religious groups (e.g. *kiai*, *ustadz*, and *santri*),

Further, this phenomenon also highlights the public's shift of the *ulama*'s image. All informants we have interviewed agree and see that *ulama* or *kiai* is no longer solely projected for their breadth of religious knowledge and authority. They elucidate that *kiai* is mainly framed in the context of the number of mass that *kiai* could attract to a single political campaign, or how much support he could get from the various segments of the public (e.g. academics, professionals, etc.).

As a consequence, it is justifiable to claim that there is a shift in the perception of who good leader is. It seems that some aspects highlighted by al-Mawardi (n.d) on the qualities of the leader are no longer become priorities or maybe irrelevant, particularly for the media's framing scenario. In this regards, al-Mawardi (Musa, 1991) proposes some qualities that a leader must possess, such as being committed to fairness principles, having

knowledge for doing *ijtihad*, physically healthy, having capability and experiences to manage public affairs (for the sake of public welfare), being brave and able to defend its people, and being the descendant of *Quraisy* (good family background).

The finding indicates that there are two of these characteristics which are represented to frame MA's figure. First, the news related to MA's experiences in chairing religious and social organizations (Nahdlatul Ulama), Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) and academic degrees/honors awarded to him seem to represent his identity as having broad and in-depth, including but not limited to, religious knowledge capable of doing *ijtihad*. Another quality of MA's leadership represented in the news media is MA's political careers (e.g. being the member of house representatives and serving in various bureaucratic positions) that seems to represent his ability in managing public affairs and governance.

In sum, the instances of news excerpts above clearly illustrated the positive framing over MA's candidacy as VP. Shaw and Giles (2009) asserted that media framing is aimed to drag the readers' attention to certain features of the stories, and away from other possible stories. In this case, MA's qualities of leadership are frequently highlighted, especially concerning his political career or experiences in bureaucratic positions and authority of his breadth of religious knowledge.

## CONCLUSION

Like other disciplines in the fields of the humanities and social sciences, discourse analysis is also divided based on the paradigm that holds it (paradigm of inquiry). In this research, the writer uses discourse analysis which is included in the category of critical paradigm. This paradigm has a certain view of how the media, and ultimately the news must be understood in the whole process of production and social structure. Critical discourse analysis is primarily indebted to several intellectuals and thinkers such as Foucault, Gramsci, Althusser, and scholars from the Frankfurt school. Gramsci played a major role primarily with his theory of hegemony. This gives the possibility of explaining how the developed discourse can

affect audiences not by means of violence (physically) but subtly (through ideas) and accepted as truth. There are many approaches from this type of discourse analysis, but in this study, the authors chose discourse analysis with van Dijk's social cognition approach on the grounds that van Dijk's theory of discourse was most relevant to research related to the image of Ulama in the mass media.

van Dijk and his colleagues for a long time since the 1980s examined the news in European newspapers mainly to see how minority groups were featured in the news. Van Dijk's focus was on ethnicity, racism and refugees. Van Dijk's approach is called social cognition because van Dijk sees cognition as an important element in the production of discourse. Discourse is not only seen from the structure of discourse, but also includes how the discourse is produced. The process of producing this discourse includes a process called social cognition. In van Dijk's theory, the first thing a discourse analyst must analyze is the text itself. The analysis of this text naturally utilizes the features of the linguistic discipline, so that many experts call this type of analysis as a critical linguistics approach.

This critical linguistics was introduced by a group of lecturers at the East Anglia University in the 1970s. Critical linguistics focuses the analysis of discourse on language and relates it to ideology. The essence of the Critical Linguistics idea is to see how language grammar carries the position and meaning of a particular ideology. In other words, aspects of ideology were observed by looking at the choice of language and grammatical structure used. Language, both the choice of words and grammatical structure, is understood as a choice, which is chosen by the media / journalist to be expressed, carrying a certain ideological meaning. This ideology generally shows how a group tries to win public support through the use of certain grammatical languages and structures. In this study, the writer found the use of several grammatical strategies carried out by journalists when preaching Kiai Maruf Amin.

There are 10 types of discourse strategies found from news texts sourced from several online media such as *republika*, *kompas*, and *media Indonesia*. The ten strategies include the use of active-passive sentences, the use of abstraction and

objectification, the use of determination and indetermination, the use of assimilation and individualization, the description of the actors, presenting authoritative arguments (authority), giving burdens to parties considered "other", giving the arguments in the form public opinion (consensus), boast of those who are considered part of us (self-glorification), as well as number game. All of these discursive strategies are considered as an attempt by the media to show the public who is considered "us" and what has considered "them". The concept of us vs them then gave birth to polarization in the form of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation.

The ten discursive strategies found in the news text are then analyzed using the approach of social cognition and also societal analysis. In short, positive reporting related to Kiai Maruf Amin, was seen as the result of a mental representation of journalists in viewing Ulama. The views, stereotypes, and beliefs of journalists that a Kiai is a knowledgeable figure and someone who must be respected, influences the resulting text. Here, journalists are not regarded as neutral individuals, but individuals who have a variety of values, experiences, and ideological influences derived from their lives.

Consequently, we can identify the public's shift of the ulama's image in the media reports recently. The interview results testify that ulama or kiai is less projected and depicted for their breadth of religious knowledge and authority. Kiai is mainly framed in the context of the number of mass they could attract to a single political campaign, or how much support they could get from the various segments of the public (e.g. academics, professionals, etc.). Therefore, the shift has operated in the perception of who a good leader is. It seems that some aspects highlighted by al-Mawardi (n.d) of the qualities of the leader are no longer become relevant, particularly due to the incompatibility to the media's framing scenario.

### **Suggestion**

Discourse analysis in the category of critical analysis brings a significant contribution, especially to the diversity it

carries. Discourse analysis carries the message that the media is not a neutral channel, reporting what is happening. Discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary field. The focus of attention is primarily on the emancipatory character of his study, which is to side with those who are marginalized. An important contribution to the analysis of discourse here is to make us aware of what we originally thought was the truth, and therefore unquestionable, turned out to be biased by being more biased and voicing the voice of the dominant group. These symptoms are tried to be dismantled by using discourse analysis. However, viewing such media texts has several weaknesses. The assumption of discourse analysis which views the text as something ideological that brings certain views and certain ideological positions, raises several questions.

First, news is always seen as a political discourse. With this view, all news texts are always interpreted, translated, and given meaning by interpretation on their political weight. The choice of certain words compared to other words by the media, for example, is seen as being politically charged and full of interests. In fact, we can also interpret such words purely as words that do not need to be labeled in a political sense. We, for example, can understand and interpret the word as a playful element carried out by the media. Mainly on social media, bombastic titles are deliberately created by journalists / editors to attract readers (click-bait). Sometimes the purpose is no more than that, nor is it to show the partiality or impartiality of the media.

Second, looking at news texts and languages always in such political and ideological terms, often also does not give place to the bias carried out by the media. It often happens, the citation is only in one news source, the use of certain vocabulary, not because it is influenced by the views and ideology of the news maker but purely because of things that are trivial. for example, the rush to face a dead-line so that there is no opportunity to cover both sides or check and re-check with other news sources, or because it is difficult to conduct interviews with interviewees. In today's technological era, online news is more focused on the speed of news release, not the accuracy of the news content. This allows journalists and online

news editors to often write news in a hurry because they are being chased by deadlines. So, when their writing for example is considered to discredit other parties, it is considered to dominate the marginal groups, actually not because of their desires but purely because of the negligence of journalists. There are many cases where online news that has already been published later in a matter of minutes is pulled back from social media because of criticism from readers. Such arguments and possibilities have no place in discourse analysis because of who is being interviewed, the use of certain words, certain points of view taken and understood, here not as technical and journalistic values but as ideological practices.

Finally, the writer would like to provide further suggestions for researchers primarily interested in media discourse analysis in order to use or elaborate other theories of discourse analysis. To avoid the impression of subjectivity, it is better for researchers to use theories such as semantics, pragmatics, and semiotics that see language as language itself. In other words, these approaches consciously assume the presence of ideology in their analysis. Whereas if there are researchers who wish to conduct this kind of research, they can use other discourse analysis approaches. As the writer mentioned above, this study uses the social cognition approach proposed by van Dijk. Future researchers might be able to do a similar analysis but using different approaches such as French Discourse Analysis, Sociocultural Change Approach, and Discourse Historical Approach. Finally, the authors feel that this research is very, very far from perfect, so the authors also expect criticism and suggestions from readers and connoisseurs of similar studies.

## REFERENCES

- Al-Mawardi (n.d.). *Adab al-Dunyâ wa al-Dîn*. Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr.
- Al-Mawardi (n.d.). *Al-Ahkâm al-Sultâniyyah*. Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr.
- Arifin, A. (2011). *Komunikasi Politik. Filsafat-Paradigma-Teori-Tujuan-Strategi dan Komunikasi Politik Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Azhar, M. (1997). *Filsafat Politik: Perbandingan Antara Islam dan Barat*. Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Barrat, D. (1994). *Media Sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Budiharjo, M. (2003). *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Downer, L. (2016). *Political branding strategies: Campaigning and governing in Australian politics*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. *Expanded Sourcebook*. Johannesburg: TPB.
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In Teun A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction: Discourse Studies Multidisciplinary Introduction*, Vol. 2. London: SAGE.
- Hicks, J. (2012). The missing link: explaining the political mobilisation of Islam in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 42(1), 39-66.
- I. Irham, & Wahyudi. R. (2012). "Treating disclaimer as a power strategy of self-legitimation and other de-legitimation in Netanyahu's UNGA speech." *Language, Discourse, and Society*, vol. 2. Pp75-89.
- Ichwan, M. N. (2011). Official Ulema and the Politics of Re-Islamization: The Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama, Shari'atization and Contested Authority in Post-New Order Aceh. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 22(2), 183-214.
- Iqbal, M. & Nasution, A.H. (2010). *Pemikiran Politik Islam dari Masa Klasik hingga Indonesia Kontemporer*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- Li, J. (2011). Collision of language in news discourse: a functional-cognitive perspective on transitivity. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 8, 3, 203-219.
- Māwardī, A. M., & Yate, A. (2005). *Al-Ahkam as-sultaniyyah: The laws of Islamic governance*. London: Ta-Ha Publishers.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (2011). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An*
- Minardi, A. (2008). *Konsep Negara dan Gerakan Baru Islam*. Bandung: Prisma Press.
- Murtadho, A.(2012). "Jalinan dan Negara dalam Islam", *Ijtimaiyya*, Vol. 5, No. 1.
- Musa, M. Y. (1991). *Al-Ahkam al-Sulthoniyah: Politik dan Negara Dalam Islam*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka LSI.
- Oostendorp, M. (2015). The multimodal construction of the identity of politicians. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 12, 1, 39-56.

- Persson, G. (2016). Ideological struggle over epistemic and political positions in news discourse on migrant activism in Sweden. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 13, 3, 278-293.
- Pribadi, Y. (2013). Religious networks in Madura: pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and kiai as the core of santri culture. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 51(1), 1-32.
- Shaw, R. L., & Giles, D. C. (2009). Motherhood on ice? A media framing analysis of older mothers in the UK news. *Psychology and health*, 24(2), 221-236.
- Sjadzali, M. (1991). *Islam and Governmental System*. Jakarta: INIS.
- Pulungan, J.S. (1999). *Fiqh Siyasah: Ajaran, Sejarah, dan Pemikiran*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- van Dijk. T.A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. London: SAGE.
- van Dijk. T.A. (1990). Discourse and Society: A new journal for a new research focus. *Discourse and society*. London: SAGE. pp. 5-16.
- van Dijk. T.A. (2000). On the analysis of parliamentary debates on immigration. In: M. Reisigl & R. Wodak (Eds.), *The semiotics of racism. Approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis*. Pp. 85-104.
- van Dijk. T.A. (2002). *Discourse, knowledge and ideology: Reformulating old questions*. Essen: LAUD.
- van Dijk. T.A. (2004). *Discourse as social interaction*. London: SAGE.
- van Leeuwen, T. (1996). The Representation of social actors. *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* (Eds). Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard.
- Yusuf, I A. (2010). *Lebih Dekat dengan Konvergensi Media dan Manajemen Media Online*. Retrieved from <https://bincangmedia.wordpress.com/tag/pengertian-media-online/> on August 20, 2018.
- Zallum, A Q (2001). *Pemikiran Politik Islam. Bangil: al-Izzah*.