

The Narrative of Democracy in The Al Islam Bulletin

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ABSTRACT

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This study examines the democratic narrative implied by the text in the Al Islam Bulletin by paying attention to macrostructures, superstructures and microstructures. This study used a critical discourse analysis of Van Dijk's model. From this analysis, it was successfully revealed that the macrostructure contained in the Al Islam bulletin raised themes that are intertwined with each other. The scramble theme has implications for the conclusion of ideas offered by bulletin owners. Themes can be compiled through the exploration of the social dynamics of society with the aim of establishing social proxy between the text and its readers. It is through that proximity that it is hoped that a critical awareness of the reader will be awakened that matches the idea of the bulletin owner. As for the superstructure, the text in this bulletin has a title, lead and story telling content that brings out an atmosphere of misery. It is the atmosphere that has the potential to touch the sensitive side of the reader. This atmosphere has implications for the birth of the reader's skepticism in judging reality outside the text. Later that skepticism can make it easier for the reader to accept the main idea conveyed in the text. Then, from the microstructure, the text in this bulletin seeks the production of discourses that form an understanding of the ideal picture of society that is combined between conditions inside and outside the text. The intersection between the two can give birth to a competition between certain ideas.

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1. Introduction

Al Islam Bulletin is one of the print-based mass media published by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), a trans-national Islamic movement engaged in proselytizing and politics established by Shaikh Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani in 1953 in Palestine (Rafiuiddin, 2015). HTI itself is allegedly still affiliated with Hizbut Tahrir, a revolutionary Islamic party that actively works in more than forty countries around the world to establish an expansionist state and, ultimately, a world order based on Islamic principles (Ahmed & Stuart, 2010)(Ahmed & Stuart, 2010). Furthermore, the ideology of Hizbut Tahrir is disseminated and distributed more effectively through various means of global communication (Iqbal & Zulkifli, 2016)(Iqbal & Zulkifli, 2016).

The content contained in the *Al Islam* Bulletin, in addition to being able to exist in *printed media*, can also be obtained on the *official* HTI website. It's just that the website can no longer be accessed along with the government's decision to revoke the legal entity status of HTI. Before the legal status came out, the existence of this bulletin was easy to find on Fridays in certain mosques. But this is where it often becomes a polemic. Its alleged

distribution is not only spread in mosques affiliated with HTI, often making intersections with other groups eventually occur.

This intersection is inseparable from the assumption that people who consider the content in this bulletin invites readers to criticize Indonesia's established democratic system. His conclusions led to the offer of ideas regarding the idea of the state carried by the owners of this bulletin. *Al Islam* Buletin is allegedly trying to influence readers with the most correct ideology (Budiman et al., 2013). This condition has also been expressed by Ken Ward that there is a possibility that HTI will continue to grow and is often a source of strong criticism of the status quo in Indonesia (Ward, 2009).

Then when viewed from the characteristics of community groups in Indonesia, the existence of a narrative critical of the democratic system in Indonesia that correlates with the idea of the state idea voiced by HTI also causes differences of views. One of the leaders of religious-based mass organizations in Indonesia, the Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah in 2010-2015, Din Syamsudin once said that if the concept of the Hizbut Tahrir *khilafah* is referred to as a political-power institution, then it is not an agreement between *jumhur* ulama. The establishment of the *khilafah* as a political-power institution in the modern era is invalid and realistic (suaramuhammadiyah.id, 2017).

The same thing was also revealed by Salahuddin Wahid that the emergence of HTI that endangers the existence of the Republic of Indonesia makes us realize that there is quite a large potential problem that can threaten us (Ubaid & Bakir, 2015). From these two opinions, it can be understood that there is a communal view of the democratic narrative with the state system voiced by HTI which has experienced differences in response among Indonesian Muslims. HTI considers that the current condition of destruction, chaos and decline experienced by the people (Muslims) is caused by the absence of an umbrella that protects the people from the *Kuffars*, namely the *daulah* of the *khilafah*. For some *Muslims*, HTI's rhetoric actually contains many serious problems (Kusno et al., 2017).

Then when viewed from the narrative that develops in society, the presence of this bulletin is considered to have given birth to a comparative narrative contest in society. Its content is considered to give birth to a prolonged comparative narrative in society. Although it is also necessary to understand together that there is actually no harmful media if the user understands what the impact of the media is (Biagi, 2010). Actually, the distribution of media that contains certain content is not a big problem if the public's understanding of information is good enough. But that could be a problem if it's the other way around. People may become powerless with the intake of information they receive. This is what makes some other community groups finally not stand still. From several editions that have existed, there is one issue of the *Al Islam* bulletin which is considered to be tendentious to cause polemics in society. Especially for the edition published on November 4, 2016. When viewed from the content, this edition does focus its discussion on democracy in Indonesia.

The content of the November 4, 2016 issue of *Al Islam* Bulletin raised the title on "*Demokrasi Menistakan Rakyat*". Judging from the subtitles, this edition has 4 subtitles, namely, (1) *Pemerintah lamban*, (2) *omong kosong demokrasi!*, (3) *campakkan demokrasi, tegakkan khilafah*, (4) *wahai kaum muslim*.

As for knowing the implied meaning of the narrative contained in the bulletin, one way that can be used is to use the critical discourse analysis approach of Teun A Van Dijk's model. This analysis has a detailed device to explore the dominance, power groups and social structures in society that influence the text. Van Dijk said that critical discourse analysis aims to study how domination, power and injustice are exercised and reproduced through text (Eriyanto, 2003). So, this analysis sees the text is not something neutral, there are factors that determine how the text appears and cannot be separated from the socio-political context.

Critical discourse analysis pays attention to 3 things, namely macrostructure, superstructure and microstructure. By paying attention to the three, it will be seen how media narratives are used by social groups to fight each other for their place in society.

Furthermore, media texts not only touch the area of interpretation of individuals but also the social structure of society. Automatically, the understanding obtained by individuals from media texts will be brought into society and become an arena for narratives that compete between ideas. When sharp differences arise, then there is not only a separation of interpretations but also the position of individuals in their respective groups.

This issue is important to study because the written narrative in the media does not stand alone, there is a certain content that the owner wants to convey. Until now, the values contained in the *Al Islam* Bulletin still have an impact on society and simultaneously. Therefore, continuous studies need to be carried out in order to give rise to precise ideas. The interpretation of media texts needs to be studied appropriately so as not to have implications for misinterpretation. This is important because what is written not only touches the area of interpretation of the individual but can also touch the social structure of society.

2. Method

This study emphasizes qualitative studies with a critical discourse analysis approach modeled by Teun A Van Dijk. According to Denzin and Lincoln, there are two types of written texts that can be used as study material in qualitative research, namely (a) words or phrases produced in the text and (b) free-flowing texts, such as narratives, discourses, and responses to open interview questions (Denzon & Lincoln, 2011). Thus, one type of data that can be researched using qualitative methods is text-based data. To analyze this text, it can be observed through two things, namely words and symbols (codes) contained in the November 4, 2016 edition of the *Al Islam* Bulletin.

For data collection efforts in this study, it emphasizes observation techniques and interviews with key informants whose relevance is determined through purposive sampling techniques. The three people who became key informants in were RH (Chairman of HTI in one of the districts in Central Java), KH Dr. Khariri Shofa M.Ag, (Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council/MUI Banyumas Regency for the 2015-2020 period, Mustasyar Branch Leader Nadhlatul Ulama for the 2018-2023 period Banyumas Regency) and Dr. H. Ibnu Hasan, S.Ag., M.S.I, (Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership/PDM, Banyumas Regency, Chairman of the Commission for Education and Development of Islamic Cultural Arts MUI Banyumas for the 2015-2020 period).

3. Results and Discussion

Everett M. Roger once revealed that the media is not and is not always a neutral entity. The media can also be controlled by certain dominant groups (Roger, 1994). The media does not run automatically as a median of information that uses language but there is also a power that controls it. It is this power that can cultivate language according to the wishes of media owners to dwarf one side and raise the other side. This is what the reader is not always aware of. Through texts, media owners try to convey their intentions and goals to the wider community.

Further, teks has feedback that could lead to the interests of the owner of the text. This understanding needs to be emphasized in the scientific study of communication because in text production, the owner of the text cannot be separated from his intentions and desires that want to be conveyed to the reader. At this stage, the packaging of the text can be influenced by ideology, power and other things. In Antonio Gramsci's view, the political structure of a society depends on a special combination of civil society and political or institutional society. To reach an agreement of the majority on the pressures used by the political society, a collectivity must be formed. It is at this point that the text has a sign that can give an intermediarythe form of such collectivity (Titscher, et all, 2009).

Departing from this understanding, through critical discourse analysis, it will be seen how the owner of the text can appear in accordance with the goals he wants to achieve. This is important because the interpretation of media texts can be value-free. Therefore, it needs to be clarified so that it does not have implications that have the potential to be misinterpreted, because what the text writes not only touches the area of interpretation of the individual but also touches the social structure of society. If this area has been touched, it will have a great impact in the form of the formation of social classes in society.

It is at that point that the news text needs to be seen as not just a reflection of a single reality but rather a reality shaped by political, economic and cultural forces. Thus the reader of the text needs to understand it more thoroughly and holistically. This condition has also been stated by Van Dijk as a state that requires an approach to social cognition. An approach that emphasizes understanding seeing the text only on the surface. The text is not only the result of written practice that must be observed, but also needs to see how the text is produced so that knowledge can be obtained as to why the text can be such (Eriyanto, 2003). The existence of the practice of text production has encouraged the birth of critical discourse analysis. Van Dijk explained that critical discourse analysis is an analytical study of discourse that studies how social inequality and abuse are enforced, legitimized, reproduced, and countered by texts in social and political contexts (Van Dijk, 2015).

Mass media plays an important role in the production of beliefs, prejudices and dominations regarding the social context of society (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015). One of the narratives raised through the media is often related to the distinctive value raised by the owner. Regarding the *Al Islam* bulletin, this media tends to combine the narrative of Indonesian democracy with the distinctive ideological ideas voiced by HTI. Munabari once explained that democracy as a form of sovereignty that is in the hands of the people, *vox populi, vox dei*, or "the voice of the people is the voice of God" is seen by HTI as a system of obscurity, opposing the teachings of Islam (Munabari, 2017).

Until now the existence of the narrative still exists in society and tends to give rise to two views. First, before the HTI was disbanded by the government, they assumed that this bulletin was a pure proselytizing medium without any interest intended to attack Indonesia's democratic system. The content in this bulletin is solely to continue life under the auspices of Islam. If the narrative relates to criticism of the government it is done in the state of *muhâsabah li al-hukkâm* (controlling the rulers).

The second opinion is that there are community groups, especially from religious-based community organizations, who agree that Indonesia's democratic system is final within the framework of the *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI). The comparison of the two discourses is in the community.

In several studies, it is stated that mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia have actually been completed regarding the discussion. Hadiz once expressed this condition that the political direction of Indonesian Islam is the development of a floating people's movement. This people was cut off from the mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia. Most of them harbor feelings of frustration that grow hand in hand with the socioeconomic status and political quo (Hadiz, 2019).

***Al Islam* Bulletin November 4, 2016 edition Viewed from the macrostructure**

The *Al Islam* Bulletin is alleged to have appeared since 1994 with limited circulation among itself. In early 2000, this bulletin began to use the name *Syabab* Hizbut Tahrir, which later changed to the *As-Salam* bulletin with a fairly large number of copies spread across several regions in Jakarta, West Java, Central Java and West Sumatra. Over time, *As-Salam* was renamed *Al Islam*. Until now, the *Al Islam* bulletin is claimed to have almost reached a fairly large number of editions, spread throughout Indonesia. As for the construction of discourse published in the *Al-Islam* bulletin, it cannot be separated from the ideology of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Zalhairi, 2019).

The *Al Islam* Bulletin is published periodically once a week, on Fridays. The format of this bulletin is 4 pages, with a double-folded (210 x 297 mm) HVS paper size. Regarding the theme, the *Al-Islam* Bulletin contains articles whose themes always change every week (Arif, 2016).

As for the November 4 issue of *Al Islam* Bulletin, the composition consists of 1 main title inserted by 4 subtitles presented in 18 paragraphs (see table 1). The main topic is about democracy with the presentation of the background of Ahok's case. The type of paragraph is deductive, that is, a paragraph that begins with the main sentence is followed by a more detailed explanation or description by following the pattern of the order of the message from general to special. The main topic can be seen from the selection of the title as follows:

| Subject | Predicate | Object |
|------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| ↓ | ↓ | ↓ |
| <i>Demokrasi</i> | <i>Menistakan</i> | <i>Rakyat</i> |

Image 1
Title Line Structure November 4, 2016 Issue

The title above consists of three elements, namely the subject, predicate and object. Democracy was chosen to be placed as a subject in that title. That is, democracy is defined as a perpetrator, person or something who carries out certain activities. The explanation of the activity was helped by putting the word "*menistakan*" as a predicate. So, the predicate in the title is interpreted as the activity that the subject is doing.

The root word for *menistakan* is "*nista*" (object). According to the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI), *nista* contains the meaning of: 1. Abject; low: the deed is very--; 2. Unightly: words --; 3. a disgrace; flaws; stains:-- which are indelible again. Whereas if it is added with the affix *me-* and *-kan* so that it becomes the word *me-nista-kan*, it contains an even clearer sense of making (assuming) *nista* (object); insulting; condescending (degrees and so on). The use of the word *nista* (object) tends to lead to something negative.

This edition has chosen to place the word folk as an object, that is, something that is subject to action from the subject. So the selection of the word the people as an object wants to be placed as a party that feels the consequences of the subject, democracy. If it speaks to the people then this is of a general nature. The use of the word "*rakyat*" (people) in this title wants to represent the Indonesian population as a whole. Another thing can also be seen from how this title combines two things, namely democracy and the people. Then in order for the 2 components to cause an impression of bitterness, it added with the phrase "*menistakan*" as an act carried out by democracy against the people. If the word *nista* stands alone, it already has a tendency to negative connotations, especially if it is added with *me-* and *-kan* affixes. The addition of both to the word *nista* which is placed after the word democracy creates the meaning of "cause or make finished". The affix *me-* and *kan-* has made the verb actively transitive, that is, a verb that requires the target object of the word *nista*.

By putting the word people after the word *nista*, the people have been placed as a sacred object. It can be implied how this title wants to build the reader's impression in order to conclude that democracy has caused or made it so unsustainable. Then to reinforce this main idea, the text flow was derived through a connection with the warm conditions in Indonesia at that time.

It can be implied how this title is an attempt to build the impression of its readers in order to conclude that "democracy has caused or made so people's insolence". This title has placed "democracy" as a scapegoat for putting the people to rest. Then to reinforce this main idea, the text flow was derived through a connection with the warm conditions in Indonesia at that time (Ahok's case).

Ahok's case is placed as a link between the main idea and the supporting idea. The idea of his supporters is the government's attitude towards Ahok. The selection of this case is very appropriate because of Ahok's profile which is not part of the majority community. This case became an entry point to connect it with Indonesia's democratic system. The narrative seems to lead the reader not to stop only until Ahok's case but to continue it on the idea of state life according to the views in this bulletin, which is to replace democracy with a distinctive system voiced by its owner.

According to Azyumardi Azra there are two popular keywords among Muslims, namely "*jihad*" and "*khilafah*" (Azra, 2016). Regarding the *khilafah*, he assured that some Muslims without sufficient knowledge consider the concept of the *khilafah* to be the most valid system that needs to be fought for continuously. In fact, according to him, the *khilafah* itself is problematic, utopian, romanticism and mere historical idealization. Still according to him, Indonesian Islam is not conducive to the growth of the idea of a *khilafah*. This idea can be understood because indeed the majority of Muslims in Indonesia, when viewed from the attitude of their faith-based community organizations, are more adherents of middle-way Islam. Azyumardi called this group a group that rejects extremism and radicalism. The concept of a middle ground was taken to address the diversity that exists in Indonesia.

The same thing was also expressed by Ibnu Hasan, apart from the pros and cons of the narrative in this bulletin, the democratic narratives that are combined with the *khilafah* are on a political level. The concept of *khilafah* developed by the owner of the *Al Islam Bulletin* is different from Muhammadiyah. Ibnu Hasan emphasized that the enforcement of *the khilafah* in the sense of establishing an Islamic state, Islamic government or *Islamic daulah* is not necessary in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah is consistent with the commitment of its predecessor figures who are members of *Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (PPKI) and *Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia* (BPUPKI). "So if Muhammadiyah wanted to establish an Islamic state, it could have been a long time ago, but it was not done". In fact, according to him, at the 47th Muhammadiyah Muktamar in Makasar which was held on August 3-7, 2015, Muhammadiyah emphasized that Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution and *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI) have become the commitment of Muhammadiyah.

Similarly, Khariri Shofa revealed, if the *khilafah* is forced to stand in the Indonesian state, it is not possible and will actually give rise to bloodshed and territorial divisions in Indonesia. Khariri ensured that if the establishment of an Islamic state is carried out, there will be controversy from internal Islamic circles itself, for example, what Islamic model will be used whether *Sunni*, *Syiah* or otherwise. Then from the understanding of *fiqih* can also come up with different choices. From the description of the condition alone, according to Khariri, it can bring up differences. So according to him, the concept of love for the homeland does not automatically come out of the understanding of love for Islam.

Khariri gave an example when the Messenger of Allah SWT, Muhammad SAW, was in Medina, who at that time was not only considered an apostle but also a *khalifah* (leader of the people), the basis of the state he used was not Islamic sharia but the Charter of Medina. This was done because the state that founded the state of Medina at that time was not only from Among Islam but also Jews, Christians and others.

The Charter of Medina was born in order to build a harmonious Medina society. The Messenger of Allah made a covenant between Muslims and adherents of other religions. All elements of society are bound in an agreement to create a society that respects each other. The Charter of Medina itself consists of 47 articles. The charter is also believed to be the world's first written constitution actually born on the Arabian Peninsula.

Viewed from the point of view of the owners of the *Al Islam Bulletin*, democratic narratives combined with their distinctive ideas are not new. HTI considers the disconnection of Muslims with past historical roots that make the *khilafah* "foreign", not only in the context of the government system, but also in their political vocabulary. However, if the narrative it

carries corner the Indonesian democratic system, especially by narrating it to replace it with their typical system, there are regulative consequences that prevail in Indonesia.

One of the characteristics of democracy is deliberation and consensus. This is stated in the fourth precept of *pancasila*, "A people led by wisdom in representative consultancy". The precept means prioritizing the value of deliberation in making joint decisions. Darmodiharjo said that a people led by wisdom in representative consultancy means that the people in exercising their power through a system of representation and their decisions are taken by a way of deliberation led by a healthy mind and full of responsibility both to God almighty and to the people he represents (Darmodiharjo, 1991). The value of deliberation in people's lives has actually been regulated in the *Quran*. Muhammad Fuad al-Baqi said, there are 3 letters in the *Quran* whose root word refers to deliberation, namely (1) QS. *as-Shura* (42): 38, (2) QS. *al-Baqarah* (2) : 233, and (3) QS. Ali Imran (3) (Sohrah, 2015).

From the three verses, it can be understood that the *Quran* has commanded to consult on the affairs that exist among the people. Related to QS. *As-Shura* (42) : 38 was also said by Soekarno in his speech at the First Session of BPUPKI, at a large meeting on May 29, 1945 which at that time talked about the basis of the Indonesian state. Sukarno said :

If we believe all the verses of the *Quran* that are focused on the maintenance of the state then we may first the letter as-Shura verse 38 which reads: "All their affairs are consulted". This command is clear and bright. Also in the history of Allah's Apostle and in the time of the four *Alkhulafahurrasyidun* caliphs, it turned out that the joint consultancy was carried out to the best of its ability, so that by the implementation of that basis all his people or representatives could interfere in the preparation and implementation of the state. Deliberation becomes a force because it opens up opportunities to interested people, raises the responsibility of citizens, and gives rise to obligations that are not binding on the heart (Floriberta, 2006).

The existence of the *Quran* command, which was also understood by one of the founders of the Indonesian state, has become the foundation in formulating democracy in the basis of the state. This shows that democracy already contains Islamic values, in this case deliberation. Meanwhile, KH. Cholil Nafis, Ph.D, Chairman of the Da'wah Commission of the *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI), for the period 2015-2020, has also said that the *Quran* does not mention the state system based on the *khilafah* but calls it the obligation of humans to become caliphs, the caliph is the individual duty of man to build the earth and society in accordance with the capacity and conditions that allow for the good of mankind, while the pattern is left to the conditions and situations the more consensual

***Al Islam Bulletin* November 4, 2016 edition Viewed from the Superstructure**

News generally hypothetically has a big scheme, namely, first, a summary marked by two elements, title and lead. Second, the story, the content of the news as a whole, judging by the process or course of an event and the comments displayed in the text. The title in this edition is comparative, namely between democracy and the people. Then the explanation is laid through a predicate that connects the two. Meanwhile, the news terrace (lead) can be seen by paying attention to the first paragraph or paragraph. Here is the first paragraph in the November 4, 2016 issue, "*Demokrasi Menistakan Rakyat*":

The hope of Muslims as the majority population of this country to get justice for the blasphemy case of the Quran by the Governor of DKI Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, aka Ahok, seems to be trying to be extinguished. There have been many strong efforts from a number of parties to get this Islamic blasphemy case to be investigated, ranging from calls for people to accept Ahok's apology to the legal process that seems to be complicated

Haris Sumadiria explained that the core of good news in journalistic writing contains several conditions, namely, complementary information, which prioritizes what element, who is for the source to stand out; rarely uses elements whenever; the order of elements begins place followed by elements of time; elements of when and elements of why outlined in news agencies; and can begin with an excerpt of a brief statement of a person (Sumadiria, 2006).

The bulletin in this issue shows what elements and who are clearly depicted. "What" leads to the case that becomes the link of the main idea. While "who" refers to Basuki Tjahaya Purnama or Ahok. When viewed from journalistic writing, the two elements have been clearly fulfilled. It's just that in the second sentence which reads "There have been many strenuous **efforts from a number of parties** to get this Case of Islamic blasphemy to be investigated", it does not give a clear clue as to who a number of parties mean.

If this is an assumption from the owner of the text then this could undermine the rules of writing a good lead in journalistic language. This "number of parties" should be made clear by the light of who these parties are. Moreover, in front of this second sentence is placed the word "**many**". Based on the Indonesian dictionary, the word contains many meanings: 1. The magnitude of the number; not a little bit. 2. The number of numbers. 3 Very; very; The more so. The inclusion of many words in this sentence seems as if there are not a few parties who want to silence (silence) Ahok's case. The owner of the text should have directly mentioned who are the parties who are considered to want to silence Ahok's case.

Regarding Ahok's case, there are several Islamic mass organizations that agree that his statements have offended Muslims. As stated by the Chairman of PBNU, Prof. Dr. KH. Said Aqil Siraidj, "Ahok's remarks have offended, especially Muslims. If the decision that Ahok's case is blasphemous or not, it is the business of the *Bareskrim*, the process is in the police," he said when he became a resource person in the Mata Najwa Live Program on Metro TV, November 2, 2016 (nu.or.id, 2018)

The same thing was also expressed by the Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah, Dr. KH. Haedar Nashir, Muhammadiyah stated that he fully believed that the determination of Ahok as a suspect was based on objective and fair legal principles, carried out and endeavored well by the National Police. This is proof that the law is well established and guaranteed the existence of Indonesia as a country of law. This was revealed along with the statements of several other points of attitude in a press conference held on November 16, 2016, at the office of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership in Yogyakarta.

Two major religious organizations in Indonesia agreed that Ahok's statement was right to offend Muslims and that his status was evidence of the establishment of the law. So who would be intended in the *news lead* of the November 4, 2016 issue of the *Al Islam* Bulletin. If the point is security forces, police, why does this text use the word many. In understanding journalistic language, this is one type of conflicting language style, namely hyperbole.

Hyperbole is a type of stylistic language whose content contains exaggerated statements in number, size or nature. The use of this style of language is intended to emphasize certain statements in order to give the impression of improving, enhancing so as to influence the perception of the reader. This hyperbolic force is especially dangerously used in journalistic products. This style of language does not provide accuracy, equality and tends to mislead its readers.

At the end of the sentence, *the lead* in this issue puts the word "made difficult". This word seems to want to direct the reader's perception that the large number of parties complicates the process of handling cases. Then when viewed from the aspect of the *story*, this text seeks to build the framework of the reader that all parties make it difficult to handle the case so that the termination of the case is slow. This is also considered a weakness of the democratic system.

In the 1945 Constitution article 1 paragraph (3) it is explained, "The State of Indonesia is a state of law". That is, in the termination of any case must obey the principles of law by considering many matters related to the completeness of the evidence. The legal

process itself takes a long time. There are various things that must be done first before deciding on the subject matter of a matter. In the conditions of the ongoing legal process, the narrative in this edition takes advantage of the grace period of the legal process by instilling the idea of inaction of the democratic system.

The owner of the text may have assumed that the *kaffah* application of Islam is more ideally achieved through the idea of enforcing the owner's distinctive institution. If this is voiced with *masiv* not necessarily all Muslim circles agree. Differing views on the underlying reference of the system could trigger divisions among Muslims. This is not a good step in the unity of the people. The harmonization of the people needs to be a common concern.

Furthermore, the comparative narrative raised in this bulletin can give rise to different points of view. Seeing the magnitude of these potential differences, Islamic values should develop for its adherents but still within the framework of the *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI) which accommodates various tribes, religions, races and customs. "We have agreed with all elements of other nations that Pancasila is final, the Constitution is final, the Republic of Indonesia is also final. If Muslims want to practice Islam optimally, then take a role in various fields of government," said Ibn Hasan.

***Al Islam Bulletin* November 4, 2016 edition Viewed from the Microstructure**

Microstructures are seen by paying attention to four elements, namely semantics, syntax, stylistics and rhetorical. Semantics emphasizes detail, intent, setting, nominalization and presumption. Syntax looks at how sentences are chosen, ranging from sentence form, coherence and pronouns. The stylistics pay more attention to how the choice of words used in the news text, the lexicon. Whereas rhetoric concerns how and in what way emphasis is done through graphics, metaphors and expressions.

Regarding semantics, the general description in this bulletin narrative emphasizes more on the correlation between Ahok's case, the democratic system and the distinctive values of the bulletin owners offered as solutive conclusions. When viewed from the background elements, this text is able to present sequential information even though there are few journalistic rules. For example, there is a lack of direct source search or direct data search obtained by the text owner through his news source. But even so, this text is able to lead readers according to the intention they want to convey. The narrative in this bulletin manages to present a coherent setting. Collapse can make it easier for readers to understand the storyline.

The background in this text was originally presented with a deductive model, but towards the end it was combined with a comparison model and a causal paragraph. Regarding the comparison of the content, it compares two things, namely democracy and the typical values of the bulletin owner. After the two are compared it is then encapsulated in a sentence order that applies causality, causality. This can be seen starting from paragraph 14:

Campakkan Demokrasi, Tegakkan Khilafah

Hopefully, people will be more aware that democracy is not a valid system of life. Democracy is full of deceit, afflicting the people, and putting religion to rest. In a democracy, infidels and *zalim* as well as Islamic blasphemers such as Ahok can actually be nominated as regional heads and hailed by the mass media simply because they are supported by conglomerates.

The background image of paragraph 14 looks to corner democracy. It can be seen in sentence 2 paragraph 14, "Democracy is full of deceit, afflicting the people, and putting religion to rest". That is, this text only concludes from one case, namely the case of Ahok whose conclusion is that democracy afflicts the people. Though it's not always democracy as described. Democracy has many positive impacts on Indonesian society, especially in terms of the representation of various tribes, religions, races and customs. Democracy does not curb Islamic values, but rather through democracy the concept of an Islamic state can be more easily achieved without formalization. In the historical record of the struggle for the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, in the past, several figures who had an Islamic

religious background have also tried to fight for the establishment of the Indonesian state on the basis of Islam. However, through political struggles that are also democratic, it has been agreed to formulate Indonesia as a democratic country. The deal needs to be accepted as a *mitsaqan ghalidza* (sublime deal).

Another thing that is noticed in semantics is the element of detail. This text is able to present the detail of information that can lead the reader according to his ideas. Detail is an important value, especially for issues that are polemical in nature in society. This text places special emphasis on the words democracy, *khilafah* and people. All three became keywords arranged with collapse. The more often the three words appear, the more cohesiveness between the three will be. That cohesion includes aspects of correlation that associate with each other, clearly identifying the direction of the text.

Another element in semantics that needs to be considered is the balance of the sources. This text does not show the balance of sources' pros and cons. This text does not present a statement from a direct source. Even if there are more indirect statements quoted from other media. Some of the existing sources' statements seem to be placed as opposed to Muslims. From the selection and placement of the source's statement in this text, it is clear that the position of the owner of the text wants to provide distance between the state and Islam.

The author believes that there are two things that can detect distinctive values or ideologies in the text, namely the selection of sources and the selection of data. The sources in this text are very selective. For sources who have different opinions with the main idea the text is not included, because if it remains inserted it will be prone to damaging the focus of the text.

The same goes for data selection. All data presented whether normative, historical or functional foundations are types of data that correspond to the needs of the main idea. Some Islamic thinkers who have different data related to this foundation, especially regarding the narrative of democracy, the *khilafah* and its conformity with the typology of Indonesian society do not get adequate space.

For the aspect of the intended element, from the presentation that has been put forward, it is clear that the narrative in this bulletin is not only comparative but also wants to replace Indonesia's democratic system. To fulfill this purpose, all social problems that exist in Indonesian society are considered as the impact of the implementation of the democratic system. For the pre-existing element, it is also the case that underlies the slow handling of various social problems of society due to the democratic system.

As for the nominalization in this text, it uses more of the prefix *pe-* and *-an*, both are often affixed to the word *nista* which is addressed to other words. The words that are often placed in the prefix are *khilafah* and democracy. The use of *pe-* and *-an* is actually a process derived through the prefix *me-* which gives it the same meaning of doing the deed. This nominalization often places the word "democracy" before the word "*nista*" which has been numbered in one sentence. By laying it will impress as if democracy is a causative factor. Then it is often encountered also, not only democracy and *nista* which become one sentence, but also other words after *nista* as the object of suffering.

Another example, the nominalization of the sentence "Blasphemy of the *Quran*". The pairing of the words *nista* and the *Quran* is very contrasting and provocative. *Nista* is a word with negative connotations. Meanwhile, the *Quran* has positive connotations. The pairing of the two without any words in the middle can stir the emotional side of the muslim reader. In this critical paradigm it is an attempt to forge the support of other majority groups to jointly take a stand according to the main idea of this text.

In terms of syntax, there are three, namely sentence form, coherence and pronouns. Overall the sentences in this text have an actor-action relationship. This relationship can be distinguished into active sentences, passive sentences, medial sentences and reciprocal sentences (Tarigan, 1983). An active sentence is a sentence whose subject plays the role of a doer or actor. There are several words placed as actors in this sentence. For a sentence that

lays down democracy and government as subjects, both are positioned as actors, causative factors of a condition accepted by the object. For passive voices that put the subject in the role of a sufferer, for example, it can be seen from the use of the word *umat*. The inclusion of the word *people* is positioned as a large group that encourages the need for a state system according to the typical ideas of the bulletin owners. Here there is an impression of using the word *umat* as a general representation that leads to Muslims as a whole.

The presentation is able to relate the direction of the reader's perception that the solution to the suffering is to replace the Indonesian democratic system. Furthermore, in this text, you can also find the use of medial sentences, which are a type of sentence that places the role of the subject as a perpetrator and sufferer and also reciprocal sentences, which are a type of sentence whose subject and object perform reciprocating acts.

When viewed from the form of the sentence, the narrative in this bulletin tends to be a declarative type, which is a type of narrative that contains a clear statement to report a news to the interlocutor. This type of sentence is quite appropriate to reach people of different types of categorization. This text juxtaposes two camps, namely democracy and the *khilafah*. In this case his declarative sentence could sharpen the "distance" between the two camps created in this text. In addition, by not discussing the other side of academics, bureaucracies and other mass organization scholars as counter-statements, the declarative sentence will further strengthen the desired intention, directing the perception of the reader according to the wishes of the narrative maker.

Regarding the element of coherence in this text, it can be seen that paragraph by paragraph has an element of interrelationship that binds to each other and gives a flowing effect in reading it. The relationship includes 3 things, namely democracy-people- *khilafah* which is associated with the exposure of the background information has been adjusted to support the creation of a causal impression between democracy-people- *khilafah*.

For the pronoun element in this text can be seen, for example, from the title that prefers to use the word "*menistakan*". This word is very provocative. *Nista* in the dictionary Indonesian contains the meaning of contempt and low. This word can put the subject it is connected to in the lowest position. So, subject 1 (democracy) is positioned as blasphemy. Then subject 2 (the people) is positioned as the inniged. As a unit, these titles are very tendentiously cornered on each other. Provocative titles are very dangerous because they can cause the reader's reaction to be emotional, angry, and increase support. The same can be seen from the subtitles, "*Pemerintah Lamban*", "*Omong Kosong Demokrasi!*", and "*Campakkan Demokrasi, Tegakkan khilafah*". All the pronouns attached to the sentence have negative connotations: *menistakan*, sluggish, nonsense and measles.

Furthermore, the stylistic aspect that is noticed is the lexicon. The narrative in this bulletin shows lexicon elements that put forward tendentious, critical, declarative and provocative values. As for rhetoric, there are three things that are considered, namely metaphors, graphics and expressions. Meanwhile, the metaphors in this bulletin are positioned to support a more understanding of the information presented. One example of a metaphor used "This is the true face of democracy: putting the people to rest!" (November 4, 2016 issue of *Al Islam*, paragraph 13, sentence 3). Automatically reading the sentence the reader may enter a situation of being hurt and fly anger to act in response to the existing conditions. Through the presentation of the background, the word "face" in the sentence only describes a negative condition, not using two points of view, namely the face of positive democracy and the face of negative democracy. The selection of one view can be understood as an attempt to assess the conditions adapted to the purpose of the text in this bulletin so that the public has a common understanding of the face of democracy. Meanwhile, from the graphic elements, the narrative in this bulletin does not include graphic elements such as photos and designs. It's all text.

Regarding the out-of-habit element, the narrative in this bulletin contains nuances of outwardness that are sought to attract the attention of the public. With attention, it is hoped that it can invite readers to further jointly compare between democracy and the *khilafah*. The

textual narrative in this bulletin places Ahok's case as *a starting point* for studying democracy as a whole. The case was used as a *stepping stone* that presented the *khilafah* narrative as a solution. That narrative is juxtaposed with democracy. Ideally, if you want to create a conclusion that democracy has put the people to rest then there must be another case picture with the support of accurate, comprehensive data and far from being assumptive. Not always all problems are associated with a change in the system of government. Such conditions were once described by Hadiz as the ambition and frustration of the urban middle class that is increasing among the muslim world (Hadiz, 2013).

4. Conclusion

The narrative of democracy in the Al Islam bulletin is quite tendentious, has the potential for multi-interpretation among the Indonesian people. Nevertheless, this narrative is still built simultaneously to this day as a form of investment in critical awareness in the future. The macro structure of the text in this bulletin shows that there is a sorting of themes that support the conclusion of the typical value of the bulletin owner. The theme is arranged through the exploration of the social dynamics of society in order to establish social interaction with readers. It is from that interaction that there will be an investment of critical awareness in the future. The superstructure in this bulletin has a title, lead and story telling that puts an atmosphere of misery, touching the emotional side of the reader. This atmosphere is able to influence the emergence of the reader's skepticism in looking at reality outside the text. The emergence of skepticism will make it easier for readers to accept the ideas to be conveyed. The microstructure in this bulletin seeks the production of texts that can shape the reader's understanding according to the intentions of the owner. The microstructures presented give birth to a competition between reality inside and outside the text. The intersection between the two is carried out comparatively by cornering the established structure of society.

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