

Ideological and media discourse study of Nasrudin Joha's political article

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Abstract: Nasrudin Joha's ideology and discourse were one of the attempts to compensate for the dominance of rulers and capitalists. The criticism developed by Nasrudin Joha built the consciousness of the oppressed. With that awareness, Nasrudin Joha mobilized the oppressed to form a unified Islamic political identity and establish a caliphate system in Indonesia. This research aims to analyze Nasrudin Joha's strategy in building the ideology of the caliphate system and proclaiming it through social media. The authors used qualitative research methods in the field of mass media and used critical discourse analysis. The focus of his study was ideology and discourse in an article written by Nasrudin Joha on an online media platform. The results of this study found that Joha had used the theory of active reception to the readers. Joha positioned himself as the opposition and voiced the aspirations of the oppressed. In developing ideology and discourse about the caliphate system, Joha has similarities with the flow of Marxism, namely the resistance of the oppressed. On the other hand, Joha tends to follow post-Marxist notions of freedom and oppose the oppression of the regime and capitalist groups.

Keyword: caliphate system, discourse, ideology, islamic political identity.

Abstrak: Ideologi dan wacana yang dibangun Nasrudin Joha merupakan salah satu upaya untuk mengimbangi dominasi penguasa dan kapitalis. Kritik yang dikembangkan Nasrudin Joha membangun kesadaran kaum tertindas. Dengan kesadaran itu, Nasrudin Joha menggerakkan kaum tertindas membentuk satu kesatuan identitas politik Islam dan menegakkan sistem khilafah di Indonesia. Riset ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis strategi Nasrudin Joha dalam membangun ideologi sistem khalifah dan mewacanakannya melalui media sosial. Penulis menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif bidang media massa dan menggunakan analisis wacana kritis. Fokus kajiannya adalah ideologi dan wacana dalam artikel yang ditulis Nasrudin Joha di platform media online. Hasil penelitian ini menemukan bahwa Joha telah menggunakan teori active reception kepada sasaran pembaca. Joha menempatkan dirinya sebagai oposisi dan menyuarakan aspirasi kelompok yang tertindas. Dalam mengembangkan ideologi dan wacana tentang system khilafah, Joha memiliki kesamaan dengan aliran Marxisme, yakni perlawanan kaum tertindas. Di sisi lain, Joha memiliki kecenderungan mengikuti paham post-Marxisme tentang kebebasan dan menentang penindasan dari rezim dan kelompok kapitalis.

Kata Kunci: caliphate system, discourse, ideology, islamic political identity.

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Introduction

Advances in communication and information technology have encouraged the emergence of converged media. Media grows and develops rapidly. Information occupies the position of urgency beyond staple food. The conditions that illustrate the world community live in the new media age. Information is spreading at unstoppable speeds and forming complex networks (Dijk, 2006). The social activity is closely related to the mass media, giving birth to the term ecological media (Anton, 2011).

The new Era of media regime fosters a new culture of observation society that depicts the culture of a society that every activity is observed and recorded to be reported to public spaces (Patton, 2015). There are two keywords according to Gobo, which is observing or observable have become a fundamental activity of a society. The observations were posted on the media that could be accessed by the global community. Martin & Dwyer (2019) mention that social media in the information environment has established a cultural recommendation (commendary cultures). This culture arises because of the social activity of sharing information, especially sharing information through online media.

Social Media ranks first for the people of the world to obtain information and opinion (Khusairi, 2019). What is suggested by Martin and Dwyer, is the sharing activities that must be done by media practitioners. Journalists should be able to understand the importance of information sharing and to do it

effectively, especially in the digital media era. The current reality goes far beyond the thought of Martin and Dwyer. The success of the YouTuber Macan Idealis interviewed the president's electric motor auction winners and the exclusive interview Deddy Corbuzier with former health minister Siti Fadilah Supari, being the real proof of the importance of speed in the digital media era. On the other hand, observers assess that the level of public confidence in mainstream media tends to be thinning. This is because the mainstream media only presents an information point of view (news angle) that favors the rulers, political elites and capitalists.

Social media, opposition power and information balancing. In the context of the presidential election 2019, there was a political identity between conventional Muslims and nationalist Muslims. Muslims split into two groups, namely the coalition by defending the candidate incumbent Joko Widodo and the opposition supported Prabowo Subianto. The nationalist Muslim group together with the political elite built a superpower force. They are on a party that benefits from an incumbent position that holds control over power and governance. Meanwhile, the opposition was in a weak, neglected and oppressed position.

The audience (especially opposition groups) to social media in obtaining and disseminating information is due to two main things. Namely the media alignments and the quality of information presented by the

mainstream media. Mainstream media alignments were felt in the case of Islamic martial action 212 and controlling the MUI fatwa. Mainstream Media presents more information that voices the interests of rulers, political elites, and capitalists. The aspirations of the Muslim community martial action 212 and controlling the unreached MUI Fatwa. The information presented in mainstream media tends to harm the demonstrators.

In terms of news quality, the Indonesian Press Council released that 70 percent of the information presented by mainstream media is sourced from social media. The truth of information obtained is, in general, not clarified again (Mappong, 2019). That condition of concern can trim the creativity of journalists, stunt the authoritative media, and donate the spread of false news (Hoax). On the other hand, the growing proliferation of online media that has not been factual to be involved in worsening social literacy. In the end, it appears a saturation point of audiences towards mainstream media and choosing social media as an alternative.

During the presidential and vice-presidential election campaign period 2019-2024, the opposition assessed the mainstream media as not neutral (Prabowo, 2019). This condition encourages minority groups to utilize alternative media, social media (Hindarto, 2018). The great power of society can be move so that the action of demonstrations, protests, and martial arts can be done repeatedly with a large wave of mass. It supported the quantity of active social media users reaching

130 million (Pertiwi, 2018). This potential is utilized by Nasrudin Joha in the fight against the power of authorities, political and capitalist elites in Indonesia.

Nasrudin Joha's fake account is considered to represent the character of the Sufi figure Nasrudin Hoja by his fans. Character similarities, namely dare to voice the truth. Some people consider Nasrudin Joha an insignificant figure. However, the opinions developed by Nasrudin Joha have angered many of the ruling and political elites. An example of one of the articles of Nasrudin Joha that pointed out the Golkar party was exposed to Chinese Communists (Joha, 2019a, 2019b), received a response from the Deputy Secretary of the Board of Trustees, then Mara Satriawangsa (Satriawangsa, 2020).

Based on the phenomenon description and given the theoretical study of communication, media, and society. The published article is not present in a vacuum, it is worth suspected of certain interests by authors, media owners, and certain groups (Tawaang & Imran, 2017). On the other hand, communities that are presented with certain information continuously (repetitive and ongoing), can influence mindsets, attitudes, and actions despite the correctness of the information is still questionable. Therefore, the authors feel called to deepen the activity of the media of Nasrudin Joha in the perspective of ideology and media discourse.

Research methods

The method used in this study is qualitative. Researchers took some popular articles written by Nasrudin Joha. The articles were published by Nasrudin Joha on online media platforms such as blogspot, kompasiana, and wordpress. The selected articles are analyzed using critical discourse analyses (CDA). In media studies, there are many ways to analyze the content of messages, but in this research, the authors used contextual analysis methods. What is written in a text is then analyzed according to the context in which the message was written, and is associated with other sources of information, such as print and electronic mass media. The last stage is the interpretation of the author based on information and theories related to the topic, in this case, ideological theories and mass media discourses.

Theoretical Framework: Ideology and Media Discourse

This study of ideology and media discourse departed from the dominant ideology theory of social class Karl Marx. It was later developed by Antonio Gramsci with the theory of hegemony: natural and common sense, theory of negotiation and approval by Louis Althusser and shock Doctrine and branding theory by Naomi Klein. This Marxist sect also developed on the economic-political theory of its relationship with power and media ownership. It then developed a post-Marxism approach to identity political theory (the identity of politic) and critical and, as well as the theory of

media ownership developed by Altschull (1984) as the anti-thesis Marxism.

Definition of ideology

Ideas and ideologies are differences. According to Branston & Stafford (2010), the idea is found in one's self and has no social strength. Meanwhile, ideology may arise from the individual but has the power to influence social life. The ideology relates to a set of ideas that give explanations about the world, are partial and selective, and relate to the way the power is distributed in social life. Ideology is closely related to discourse, that there is a connection between the formations of ideology with the making of discourse (Wiggins, 2018).

Experts, such as Shoemaker and Reese define ideology as a symbolic mechanism that serves as a cohesive force and unifies society (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Simply put, Storey defines ideology as a systematic arrangement of ideas that are specific to a group of people (Storey, 2006). Raymond Williams defines ideology as a relatively formal and articulated meaning system, values and beliefs, of the kind that can be abstracted as 'worldview' or 'class outlook' (Williams, 1977). According to Samuel Becker, ideology governs the way we look at the world and ourselves; He controls what we see as 'natural' or 'clear (obvious)'. An ideology is a series of unified reference frameworks whereby each of us sees the world and the adjustment of our actions (Becker, 1984). There are five indicators of ideological understanding, as Branston and Stafford are summarized as a set of ideas that

demonstrate social identity; the idea was partial and selective; concerning ideas where power is distributed; one of the control tools for the dominant class; and one of how values and dominant meanings seem to look natural and natural in social diversity (Branston & Stafford, 2010).

Ideology and History: Marxist approaches

In the view of Karl Marx, ideology relates to power and economics. Marx's theory of social class distinguishes society into three classes: working-class, financier, and landlord. The difference between these classes has a relationship in the way that goods and wealth are manufactured and distributed. The ideology built by the bourgeoisie class to suppress the working class, by establishing excessive labor-class consumptive properties. To fulfill that consumptive nature, goods are manufactured and distributed on a large scale. Fellow working-class competes and works hard in private companies belonging to capitalists and countries. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie is gaining profit that continues to flow from that consumptive activity, this is what Marx has referred to as consumer capitalism (Branston & Stafford, 2010).

Marx argued against the assumption that the proletariat was working for capitalist sake and securing its dominance. The view is wrong because the workers have their ideas and can work. It implies that the working class needs to develop its ideas and creativity, and fight for their sake and oppose capitalist domination. The thesis "False awareness/ False

consciousness" Karl Marx puts the ideology as the representation of a distorted, inaccurate world, cultivated by a ruling and managerial class of the interests of the working class. False consciousness is a conception of ideology associated with fundamental differences between essence and appearance. Marx reminds us that the appearance hides the essence, the original character of the individual.

Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, and Naomi Klein

Karl Marx's theory was developed by Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), Louis Althusser (1918-1990), and Naomi Klein (Branston & Stafford, 2010). Antonio Gramsci uses the term ideological 'hegemony' developed from Karl Marx's thoughts on the ideology of social class domination (Branston & Stafford, 2010)(Branston & Stafford, 2010; Gramsci, 1971). Gramsci connects cultures that live during society with a clarity of thought (common sense) of the community itself. According to Gramsci, common sense of society needs to be developed to open the guise of the reality of society that is divided by class competition. Gramsci (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) further explained the necessity of fighting the bourgeois-class hegemony, through negotiations and violence as a social control. The Media according to Gramsci should continue to campaign out a set of sensible values and norms, which serve to reproduce and legitimize the social structure through which subordinate classes participate in their dominance.

Louis Althusser continues the analysis of this class, by grouping communities in two groups, namely Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) and Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA). The struggles of these two groups must go through negotiation and approval, and not by road violence (Branston & Stafford, 2010). According to Althusser ideology is a set of beliefs beliefs and practices that connect a person to the world and vice versa. Individuals express themselves according to a particular world view (worldview) which is highly defined by a series of beliefs, values, and assumptions that connect us with the world or social systems (Wiggins, 2018). Althusser claimed the ideology, and what he called the 'ideological state apparatuses', had become much more important in the twentieth century of the state apparatus repressive and coercive nineteenth century. An important idea made by Althusser for state apparatus, is broadcasting (broadcasting tool) and the notion of individualist communication process, called today 'post-structuralism'.

Then, the theories of Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser were further developed by Naomi Klein about the 'shock doctrine' and the importance of corporate branding (importance of corporate branding) (Branston & Stafford, 2010). The Shock doctrine in practice began with acts of political violence in Chile and several other countries in the 1970s. Then this theory is held into mass media communications, which emphasize the shock effect of an advertisement and to build product branding. This Branding aims to provide an orientation to the

authenticity and value of the product. To reduce the risk of the product being rejected by the market, advertiser's adoption branding converging strategies and combined with local preferences, therefore text and ad narratives must conform to local conditions. This is known as the glocal advertising strategy (Hauser & Luginbuhl, 2012), meaning global ad reach but local product preferences.

Marx's views also influenced media ownership study approaches and economic mastery. Although Marx argued that capitalists did not directly dictate the media, the managerial media presented the concepts of the capitalist class. The theory of media ownership was developed by Graham Murdock, Nicholas Garnham, the Media group of the University of Glasgow in England; Robert McChesney, Ed Herman, Toby Miller, and Janet Wasko in the US (Branston & Stafford, 2010). Media ownership greatly affects the distribution and social control systems. "Economic factors regulate boundaries and put pressure on the commodities that will be produced and influence what is not produced, as well as how, where, and to whom the products are distributed" (Wasko, 2001). This ideology emphasizes that people are not forced or deceived by the false consciousness of the world, but get their approval actively (active audiences) or active reception (Bakti, 2013).

Political identity and critical pluralist

Marxist social grade theory emphasizes on class identity and ignores other identities. Since the mid-1980, Marx's

social grade theory discussion began to be abandoned. Key identities such as sexuality, ethnicity, gender, and so on, have a diversity of expression and visibility. Identity political theories such as feminism see the suppression and inequality of wages are not the same. The group considers that gender inequality is also derived from the reproductive realm, which means reproduction for future generations (families) and housework required to reproduce social order. Although the world is held in capitalist neoliberalism which prioritizes profit, high consumption, and inequality but the group that emphasizes identity politics has opened up space to see the same problem with different eyeglasses (Branston & Stafford, 2010).

The critical approach to pluralism that media ownership evolves freely from power, and emphasizes the diversity of tangible and preferred forms and media products. In a critical model of pluralism, various media provide different forms and values of the program and pay attention to the market. Hall (1982) explains that the critical approach includes a wider and more multi-dimensional view in looking at the power of the media, the ability to form perception, and make existing settings seem natural. From a media standpoint, what is disputed no longer a specific message command, by A to B, to do this or that, but it forms the whole ideological realm, providing a natural perspective that makes them appear universal, natural and borders with 'reality' itself.

Media Analysis and discourse

A struggle around identity partly focused on the media representation of the oppressed group. This view switches to a strong ideological and subordinated identity model, operating through a vibrant and strong culture or a dispossessed discourse. This Model offers about how the structure of self-sustaining power. They found the struggle for different changes on the level of a socio-political order that was more optimistic than the overall class struggle of Marxist models (Branston & Stafford, 2010). Discourse has a long and complex history (Bennett et al., 2005). Discourse is a system of language use; Arguments, descriptions, theories, etc., are constructed as part of certain areas of practice e.g. law, fashion, politics, medicine.

Foucault expert from France, reviewing the discourse. Foucault argues that discourse creates the 'truth regime' and forms our perception. Discourse as a concept in the study of the media, now often explores the term 'struggling for meaning' at the chosen word level for news reports and phrase interview questions. This is also referred to as language etiquette, the language of wisdom and other forms of speech an association to a hierarchical community organization (Bakhtin, 1986; Bennett et al., 2005). Fairclough is an important writer for the linguistic aspects of this discourse study and the method of 'critical discourse analysis', often abbreviated to CDA (Bennett et al., 2005; Fairclough, 1995).

Analysis of discourse explores the value and identity of what is contained, prevented or encouraged by daily practice and (often unwritten) specific discursive formation, in the term Foucault (Foucault, 1988). Deacon et al. (2007) elaborating: “The analysis of discourse can lead to an effort to close, correct, and to make certain meanings clearly and correctly” (Pawito, 2014; Riski, 2012). Discourse puts the ‘position of the subject’ appropriately, meaning how the discourse can position or the subject is positioned. An interest in ‘lived cultures’ brings us back to some idea of ‘common sense’ Gramsci. He emphasized that hegemony is a process that is lived, never imposed, or is in its notion. The power of common sense comes from its relationship to daily cultural practices, rituals and activities, as well as dominant ideas.

Case studies

Nasrudin Joha: The identity contraversion and productive writer

Nasrudin Joha is a false account used by certain groups to criticize government attitudes and policies. In his article titled, “General Response Nasrudin Joha” (Joha, 2020c) the mysterious author mentions that he appeared since three years ago (before the implementation of the presidential election 2019). A variety of information about Nasrudin Joha, mentioned that Nasrudin Joha is a team of writers from Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) (Khoiri, 2020), and there is also mention that Nasrudin Joha is Ahmad Khozinuddin, chairman of the Legal Aid Institute Pelita Umat (Khozinudin, 2020). His writings have themes about politics,

economics, and social and dare to criticize some government policies.

The case study in this paper focuses on the ideology and discourse built by Nasrudin Joha. In this research not all articles of Nasrudin Joha were discussed. The author restricts this study on political themes. There are several Nasrudin Joha articles relating to political themes: black swan and black goat in presidential election 2019; Bowo, Nusron, and decline Golkar’s electability; The electrical and electronic regulation of the caliphate in the 2019 elections; MK and People Power; PKI Communism, real threat of national ideology; Who benefited from the cheating election?

War of the caliphate ideology, pancasila and the communism in the media

Nasrudin Joha supports the caliphate. The caliphate according to Nasrudin Joha was not ideological but more than that, the rule of governance. Two articles of Nasrudin Joha discussing ideology caliphate, namely “PKI communism, the real threat of national ideology” (Joha, 2020b) and “The electability of the Caliphate of more familiar in the presidential election 2019” (Joha, 2020a). The first article appears as a form of response to the former state intelligence agency General Hendropriyono statement. Article Nasrudin Joha was published on 2 April 2019 at 16.33 WIB. Defence of Nasrudin Joha for the information presented by Hendropriyono. Hendropriyono’s relationship with the candidate presidential election can be

seen through the relationship with Diaz Faisal Malik Hendropriyono who was appointed as a member of the board of the national campaign team Jokowi-Amin (CNN Indonesia, 2018; Mashabi, 2018).

Hendropriyono's statement was published on merdeka.com, titled "Hendropriyono: The election of this time that faced the ideology of Pancasila with the caliphate" (Merdeka, 2019). This news has been shared to 32.7 thousand times through Twitter and Facebook. Hendropriyono's view of the caliphate was the presidential election not only Jokowi-Amin versus Prabowo-Sandi, but also his ideological. The fight ideology Pancasila with the caliphate ideology. The caliphate system did not work since the 13th century including Saudi Arabia implementing the kingdom system. Indonesia ideology Pancasila has been matched with a variety of cultures (heterogeneous). The Caliphate only applies to Islamic believers. This statement was repeated by the Deputy Chairman of the National Campaign Team (TKN), among other things, Arsul Sani's statement published in the online media (Wardi, 2019).

The second article emerged in response to the statement of vice president candidate KH Ma'ruf Amin (Novellino, 2019). Statement of Ma'ruf Amin as follows: Ideology of caliphate has been rejected by the system of Republic of Indonesia. The application of the caliphate system can violate agreements with the founders of the nation. Ma'ruf Amin realized that the discourse of the ideology was because there was a caliphate in the Prabowo-Sandi

candidate stronghold. As a result, the presidential election was not only a bout of the, but with Prabowo-Sandi, but the battle of the ideology of Pancasila with the caliphate ideology.

Based on author observations in the media, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (Rifa'i, 2019) has commented on the issue of the caliphate. Political communication analyst, Dedi Kurnia Syah (Aulia, 2019) called the issue of the caliphate ideology will not last long. Syah assessed that the ideological wars as opposed by certain groups, only political commodities. In line with the opinions of Dedi Kurnia Syah, Chairman of Majelis Syuro PKS Salim Al-Jufri. Al-Jufri also assessed that the issue of ideological warfare between Pancasila and the Caliphate was a form of unhealthy propaganda in the 2019 presidential election campaign (Hariyanto, 2019). Prabowo-Sandi's supporters were final to acknowledge Bhineka Tunggal Ika, UUD 1945, and Pancasila.

Nasrudin Joha chose 'out of side' in response to the ideology of war propaganda. Joha instead attributed the ideology of war propaganda to the new style of communist movement. Joha slated the existence of an ideological war between the caliphate and Pancasila. Joha mentions that the caliphate was not an ideology but a state system, while Pancasila was an ideology. According to Joha, the communist ideology behind the propaganda. Joha quoted the opinion of Jend TNI (Purn) Gatot Nurmantyo, who called the communist new style, has risen in Indonesia.

In the article Nasrudin Joha contains the response of Hendropriyono statement, it was found that: Caliphate as a threat to the country is hoax. The caliphate is that Islamic teachings do not spread Muslims with their Islamic teachings. Nasrudin Joha assessed the transfer of the issue by banging Muslims with religious teachings. In the explanation of the proclamation text, Nasrudin Joha explained more about the communists. Important items about PKI communism, Nasrudin Joha wrote that the threat of the country was PKI communism, which was banned in Indonesia. The PKI had entered into a power vortex demanding for the rewrite of the nation's history. The PKI claimed the victim of a failed military coup.

In the second article, Nasrudin Joha wrote an article that responded to the statement by Vice President Candidate Ma'ruf Amin. Nasrudin Joha banging Ma'ruf Amin with his party of Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). Joha wrote that Ma'ruf Amin was not allowed to take many roles in the presidential decree by PDIP. The opinion built is "is Ma'ruf Amin rejected or denied?" The words 'rejected' and 'denied' were used by Ma'ruf Amin in explaining the ideology war between Pancasila and the caliphate. Nasrudin Joha explains more of the caliphate than other his articles. There are 40 times the caliph said appears, including the title. Nasrudin Joha began his descriptions of the caliphate by writing some national figures starting to find and dig knowledge of the concept of the caliphate, such as Priyo Budi Santoso. Joha also displays national support about the caliphate concept such

as The Economist Kwik Kian Gie, Ferdinan Hutahaean, and Ahmad Dani. Nasrudin Joha also discussed the heated debate of the presidential candidate's electability survey from the survey agency Deni JA with Kompas Research and Development. This is the strategy of Nasrudin Joha to convince the reader of the truth of the issue he is writing.

Context analysis

The struggle of Pancasila as the ideology of Indonesia has begun since the fall of The New Order, the Government of President Suharto. New Framing of Pancasila by raising the power and political force of The New Order. The accusation was not only propagation by the enemies of President Suharto. Academics and activists who feel critical attitudes and freedom of speech are silenced during The New Order, joining the discourse of Pancasila. We can find hundreds of scientific works (articles, scriptures, theses, and dissertations) written academicians.

Return to the context of the ideology fight Pancasila with the caliphate as outlined above. The emergence of actors Nasrudin Joha can not be removed from the intensity of media discourse that openly spread Islam with Pancasila. The issue of radicalism and terrorism identified with Islam successfully influenced the nationalist worldview in assessing Islam. Not only the outsider, but even internal Muslims also participated in the discourse. Terror activities in Indonesia are generally presented excessively if there is a connection with the Islamic frills. The

highlight was the accusation of some Muslim movements in Indonesia to replace the state ideology.

Islamic organizations, such as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), are described as the primary line organization in propagating open caliphate ideology. HTI also finally face with state power. Other, the HTI flag organization is allegedly strongly associated with the flag of ISIS. Although the HTI and sympathizers argue that their flag is al-Liwa' (Flag of Rasulullah Saw.) (Sicca et al., 2016). The Government with all hands of power has finally stated that the HTI flag is the flag of ISIS and forbidden (Junaedi, 2012).

HTI and FPI as hardline organizations in Islam have a major role in overthrowing Ahok power. At that time, Ahok was a representative of the minority hegemony in Indonesia. Predictions from many political and academic analysts, if Ahok successfully led the DKI Jakarta, then the smooth move of Ahok to become president of Indonesia is increasingly wide-open. Since the case, the ideology and religion war has become increasingly strong, until the presidential election and vice president 2019. Muslim majority group (Islam) is written with the issue of radicalism, terrorism, evil plan, and want to change the ideology of Pancasila. Meanwhile, minorities are united with the issue of national ideological guards, Pancasila defenders. So there is the jargon of certain political groups who claim themselves and their group as the most Pancasila (I am Indonesia, I am Pancasila).

Results Analysis and Discussion

Nasrudin Joha: Marxist and post-Marxist influences

Nasrudin Joha is a representation of a minority group from the perspective of class struggle by Marxism. Nasrudin Joha attempted to resist the domination of the capitalist power of the people. Nasrudin Joha seeks to give another perspective on the problems of the nation, especially in relation to politics, power, and religion (Islam). The alternate perspective is necessary to offset (balance) the discourse built by mainstream media, which tends to justify government action. Nasrudin Joha felt called to resist the false consciousness that was built by the government's pro media.

Corporations and oligopoly Media in Indonesia built a complex system and a large system (Nur, 2019). In opposition to the system, Nasrudin Joha needs to gather forces to perform actions together. Expectations built-in narratives are stopping the repressive action of the government apparatus. There needs to be reconciliation between the government and its people. At the time of the negotiations, it borrowed the term Antonio Gramsci, a road of violence can be pursued. In reality, the struggle of Muslim groups in Indonesia in the case of Ahok, election 2019, and RUU HIP, always take the path of negotiation (peace Action).

In the view of religion (Islam), the action of Nasrudin Joha was a religious order. Religion also advocated the need for a community-led to straighten its leadership from its task and function.

Obedience to leadership is limited to the things of obedience and goodness (general benefit). Outside of that, residents are entitled to remind the leader who is away from the sharia. This is what is told about al-mala'u with al-mustadh'afin in the Quran. Silent in suppression will only bring misery (hell).

Based on the explanation, the influence of Marxism can be seen from the struggle of Nasrudin Joha to fight the hegemony and domination of the ruling-capitalist. Likewise, when negotiations and demonstration action illustrate the thought application Louis Althusser was seen in the negotiation of precedence between the populace and the bureaucrats. Meanwhile, Naomi Klain's influence on glocal theory, namely Nasrudin Joha, wrapped up local issues to a broader (global) discourse. Suppose the issue of Bowo's hand that later Nasrudin Joha attributed his analysis to the electability of Golkar, Pilpres, and Regime Jokowi.

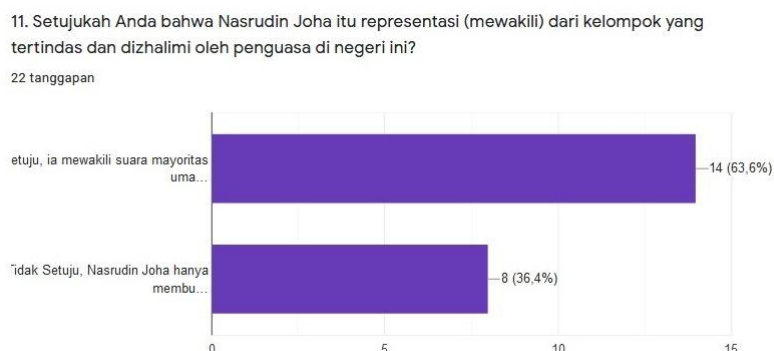
Unlike the activities of Nasrudin Joha on social media platforms (digital media, converged media). Nasrudin Joha was more of a post-Marxist approach, primarily about the media ownership of the Altschull model. Media ownership is not only by rulers or elite groups but is openly free for minorities. The Second New Media Age as in the analysis that Holmes (2005) built made it possible for the minority class, the oppressed, and the marginalized group, to take on a larger role. Media convergence has become the second world for people living in the new media age. Borrowing

the term Jon Katz dalam (Holmes, 2005) the model 'digital nation' is inhabited by humans who have no intimate ties and superficial interactions. They isolate themselves from a public but virtually active space.

The respondent who stated that the idea in Nasrudin Joha's article was not a representation of the Muslim group. Article Nasrudin Joha many contain hoax, crisp read but poor data. The respondent's answer is most considered to represent this group as follows, "Nasrudin Joha of the hoax diffuser and should be denied. Harm unity and not under the ideology of Pancasila". The author's analysis of some of Nasrudin Joha's articles on the caliphate, Pancasila, and the communists, Nasrudin Joha did not review the in-depth third substance of the topic. Nasrudin Joha only packed the ideology into a discourse.

Interestingly from this simple survey, most respondents answered that they agreed with Nasrudin Joha as a representation of the Muslim group shown in figure 1. A variety of opinions that they submit. The reasons for the respondent are related to government policy, justice, Caliphate, freedom of speech, and anti-criticism attitudes. According to the author, one of the answers of respondents representing this group is as follows: "Nasrudin Joha is a tongue-connector who feels that he does not get a dropping. The view is very constructive, although sometimes it uses very provocative and vulgar language. Some values can be taken, even so, large compounds are also worth corrected".

Figure 1
The representation of Muslim groups by Nasrudin Joha



The author noted that the use of social media for political purposes is very effective, especially in building discourse. How every day we can read the tweets of political elites and bureaucrats in the country, e.g. on Twitter, Instagram, and line accounts. The research conducted by Wibowo & Mirawati (2013) highlighted Indonesia's political reality in the glasses of social media users of Twitter. Their findings mention that Twitter as a new medium has a major role in the political world to unite the bow and movement of society in determining the future of its country. Even Twitter users view politics in Indonesia, doubting the future of Indonesia's better. Respondents did not believe that a corruption case would be resolved, even mild users turned out to be more negative in looking at the Indonesian political reality.

Nasrudin Joha and political identity

The Era of openness (democracy, reform), government statements are no longer sacred to citizens. Open criticism,

pros, and cons of government ideology. This is due to the development of technological achievements and scientific discussions. Especially the revival of post-Marxism opens up an opportunity to see a single issue (object) with multi-perspective. Nasrudin Joha's views are one form of that other perspective. Many of the experts are in fact opposed to the government and capitalist regime, but sometimes the figure is silent while taking office, and is critical when not in the office. The national figures of Jusuf Kalla, Ma'ruf Amin, Mahfud MD, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, Ali Mochtar Ngabalin, Refli Harun, and others, in the historical track record, have proved this.

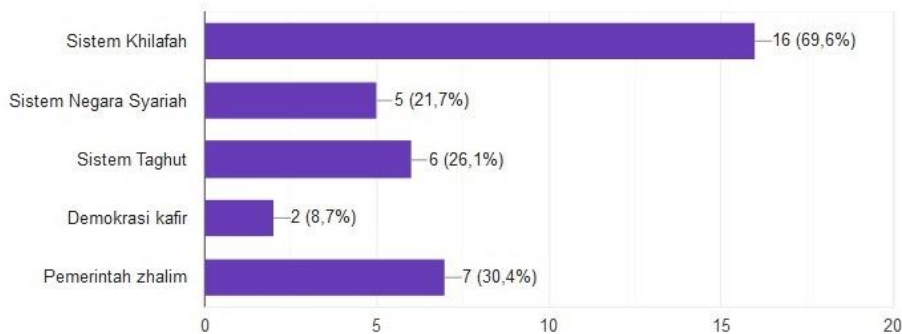
Unlike Nasrudin Joha who did harsh criticism of the government and capitalist regime, did not expect certain positions. Generational differences affect the way they behave and act. In line with that, Fuhrer and Ross explained that every new media provides new practices and forms a social role for audiences. With the new media, the

value, expectations, and identity can be disseminated (Fuhrer & Ross, 2006). Nasrudin Joha saw the government's alignments and the capitalist regime to

the ethnic groups, certain parties, and groups is a form of misalignment that needs to be settled.

Figure 2
Keyword of ideology and discourse in Nasrudin Joha articles

10. Manakah kata kunci dibawah ini yang pernah Anda temukan dalam artikel Nasrudin Joha?
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Nasrudin Joha built the strength of the groups neglected by the government regime. As shown in figure 2, the unity of ideology, suppose the caliphate and sharia system, is the label of the political identity built by Nasrudin Joha. In large, the political identity of Nasrudin Joha has a religious basis (ideology and identity of religious politics). Nasrudin Joha certainly realized that how to get the HTI to campaign the caliphate system or as hard as the FPI would call the government is the 'zhalim regime', but the partial-particular struggle will not give any influence on the system of the established domination.

Thus, establishing a single identity that can be accepted by Indonesian muslim groups is the caliphate and Islamic law. Indonesian Islam, a diverse sectarian and religious organization, is certainly not

easily dispossessed. At the very least, in certain cases, Muslims can forge a coalition, and in other cases, it is very difficult to equal perception. By propagating the political identity, Nasrudin Joha was about to unite the remnants of the Islamic powers.

The difference will always be in the internal Muslims, even the whole human. This has been reminded in Islam that if God wants, will be made all people who are one. However, the element of hatred and malice in the heart of man causes the schism to be a reality. The best difference is the ones that recognize each other and understand one another (*Ta'aruf* concept). Too simplistic concluded that God would not unite the people. However, in Islam, the basic human character is the one who likes to deny (*khasimum-mubiin*).

In the history of Islamic civilization, the Islamiyah Caliphate system ruled for 6 centuries. Starting from the *Khulafa al-Rasyidin* period until the collapse of Ottoman Turkey. Muslim scholars differ in the opinion of the caliphate system adopted by the Ummayyah, Abbasiyah, and Turkish Usmani. The difference is more to the lifting system that resembles the kingdom system. Others argue that the caliphate system is merely an Arab communal leadership system. Therefore, countries populated by Muslims outside of Arabia do not have to implement the system of the caliphate. Even Saudi Arabia does not implement the caliphate system but rather prefers the kingdom system.

However, they are also different from those who will be leaders in this contemporary period. Is it a must of the Quraysh tribe? There are two opinions on this, where the Quraysh tribe is merely the priority requirement is not the absolute requirement to be the caliph. On the contrary, the opinion of some scholars said that the Quraysh tribe was the absolute requirement to be a caliphate. In this study, authors once discussed it and found a view that was in the middle of a different group. The author argues that it may be that the caliph was from the Quraysh tribe or not of the Quraysh tribe. But the absolute requirement to have is to be fair, compassionate to the people, keeping the promise, establishing the religion of God (Dianto, 2019).

The strategy of Nasrudin Joha in building discourse

In spreading ideologies, minorities assume that the media is an effective

tool. Felix Tawaang and Hasyim Ali Imran mention that any text/narrative coverage of the media should be suspected of its bonded with an ideology. But the reader can filter it by unmasking (Tawaang & Imran, 2017). Readers who justify the discourse built by the author, because the discourse built it contains an ideology that is in line with the one that is believed by people. Ideology in this level will guide the social actions of the individual and collective and tend to ignore the values of truth (Tawaang & Imran, 2017; Thompson, 2003).

Nasrudin Joha packs discourse and embeds ideologies through posts in his own self-composed media, e.g. Kompasiana

(<https://www.kompasiana.com/tag/nasjo>), Blogger (nasrudinjoha.blogspot.com), and WordPress

(nasrudinjoha.wordpress.com). Nasrudin Joha's articles were later posted by members who were able to join the two media that converged. Not infrequently also Nasrudin Joha articles are loaded by online media, especially mediaoposisi.com and other media. In addition, Nasrudin Joha's articles are posted on social media Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp, so Nasrudin Joha's ideas spread throughout the archipelago. Nasrudin Joha builds an open discourse to convince the reader with his textual and argumentative strategy.

A discourse built by Nasrudin Joha can be said to succeed when the reader is affected. Readers who are under the influence of consciousness built by Nasrudin Joha can be measured by action. Readers after reading the articles

Nasrudin Joha, from the results of the survey stated that as much as 31.8% share articles to social media groups. Readers who make corrections and criticize the article Nasrudin Joha as much as 36.4%. While the audience ignored the article Nasrudin Joha as much as 31.8%.

The above data shows that generally, respondents read the article written by Nasrudin Joha. Pulling from the respondent's response is that there is a balance of the number of readers ignoring by choosing to take action. Meanwhile, readers who make corrections and criticize the argument built by Nasrudin Joha are thin over the affected respondents. However, it does not close the possibility that the respondent strengthened Nasrudin Joha's propaganda narrative. Of course, on the other hand, there is an opportunity that this critical respondent group denies or weakens the discourse built by Nasrudin Joha.

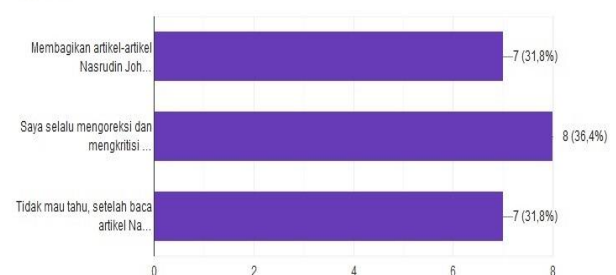
Lately, there has been an increase in public confidence in mainstream media. The survey data of Edelman, the level of public confidence in 2018 was only 59 % and increased to 60 % in 2019 (Hakim, 2020; Kemenkominfo, 2018). Hope to rise with a new passion for mainstream media presenting data-driven information. Admittedly, mainstream media has the advantage of social media, especially about data. Mainstream Media is a verifier that provides factual and objective information, confirmations, and comparison. Therefore, mainstream media is rated as having in filtering hoax's news.

The authors see this fact as a reality that an audience or a mass media Reader (print and online) has good literacy. Although this requires further research to support this thesis. The author finds from 22 respondents in this survey (see Figure 3), as much as 36.4 % made corrections and criticism of Nasrudin Joha's article he read. The respondent's answer is still coherent with the next answer about other sources of reading. The authors found that as many as 77.3 % of respondents answered that they read other sources of authoritative criticism and comparisons. Another answer, as many as 13.6 % read the government's pro news and as much as 22.7 % did not do a comparison of sources.

Figure 3
The action of respondent of Nasrudin Joha article

13. Jika Anda kelompok yang sependapat dengan Nasrudin Joha, tindakan apa yang Anda lakukan setelah membaca artikel Nasrudin Joha?

22 tanggapan



This reality is in line with the statement that in addition to the level of literacy, social media has become a container to shed all forms of symbols, ideology, freedom of speech, and expression of the famous. This Hail shows that the audience is an active human and not a passive object. Moreover, developments

in the era of revival media convergence have become the second world for human beings. Borrowing the term Jon Katz in Holmes (2005) the model 'digital nation' is inhabited by humans who have no intimate ties and superficial interactions. They isolate themselves from a public but virtually active space. The extreme view of audiences, 'active audience theory' has taken pressure on what people are doing with the media. Furthermore, audiences can intimidate media actors in producing broadcasts, such as related campaigns and public opinion.

The freedom of expression made by Nasrudin Joha in spreading the caliphate and criticism of hardlines is not so seamless. The narrative warfare in online media happens so fiercely. Even the political and bureaucratic elites have a buzzer that is ready to attack every individual, account, and specific group. The war of the scourge narration not only happens through buzzer accounts and Nasrudin Joha accounts (one group with hard-working accounts to criticize the government), but narration wars also decorate public discussions.

In the theory of communication, what is done by the buzzers and Nasrudin Joha is considered natural, in this new era of media. The values of morality are lost, replaced by an authority of the media truth. The role of media as entertainment has turned into a nightmare. The Media that brings information in our lives, brings problems that do not stop. Children who become parents without marriage, cases of affair and divorce, crime and violence, are all free access. Mass Media makes people no longer

interested in places of worship. The swearing and profanity changes in the privacy space of our social media. The scariest thing, the mass media really changed our mindset and beyond the world, even damaging the inner (soul; spiritual) (Howitt, 1982).

Action repressive ruler as depenetration

The depenetration in this article used the social penetration theory of Richard West and Lynn H. Turner (Griffin et al., 2018; West & Turner, 2010). According to this figure, social relations are likely to change to the close (intimate/intensive) and isolation and self-withdrawal. In this case, the ruler and the Krooni, commonly called a buzzer, attempt to isolate the isolation between the message-maker and the audience. This strategy was taken as the element of the dependent so that the concern and support audience against the struggle Nasrudin Joha isolated. That is why a dependent party will seek to perform repressive measures.

In the ideological struggle, the repressive act of the ruler as a dominant class, already considered 'natural' and 'reasonable' to occur. The ruler though requires a relationship with the oppressed group, but their disposition is naturally also formed within him. The desire to master and control social relations, as has been described in the ideological debate above. But that repressive action will get both resistance from the message controller (Nasrudin Joha) and the audience (audience). Nasrudin Joha with all the opportunities it has continues to build discourse and

disseminate its ideological with convergence media and social media. The power and breadth of coverage of these two mediums are difficult for the dam.

Discussion: The Second Religion Age

The thesis on secularism is disputed by historical facts. The group who criticized Max Weber mentioned that sociologists had been left behind by historical facts. Peter L. Berger said that when sociologists see the decline of religious roles in Europe, but in other parts of the world, there is a religious revival. Meanwhile, the sociologists were disengaged from the pro debate and cons of the idea of such secularism. Sociologists must be complacent in their understanding of social and religious dynamics. Berger mentions religious revival (deseccularism).

The issue of secularism also penetrated the academic debate among Indonesian Muslim scholars. Nurcholis Madjid writes about the idea of secularisation with distinctive patterns and is different from Western secularity. Secularisation in the sunglasses Nurcholis is not secular understanding. According to Cak Nur, secularisation is a necessity that must be responded by adherents of religion, especially followers of Islam, so that regardless of the existence of thought. Secularisation to distinguish between transcendental and temporal. Secularisation does not intend to make secular Muslims but aims to be a worldly world and to abandon the tendency to confirm it.

Nurcholis Madjid is not to deny the role of religion in the lives of people in Nusantara. Nurcholis's idea fights against certain groups of ideologies that have saccharide organizations, political parties, teachers, and certain personalities. Something sacred in Islam is obvious in both Qur'an and Sunnah. Despite the controversy over the idea of Nurcholis Madjid, the other side is to give an idea that the occurrence of Islamic renewal in Indonesia. Of course, we do not have to agree with this perspective, because usually in science there is a discourse. (Pawito, 2014) has reminded researchers in the field of media ideology studies that the same text could be different. It is back on how to read the text that is giving meaning, interpretation, and understanding of the media text.

Back to idea of The Second Religion Age which signifies the revival of religious-based community movements. It is still a discourse in observing this phenomenon, between political commodities and religious revival. On the one hand, we can conclude that religion has become a political commodity. Religious issues have become warm in public spaces when there are political moments, such as elections or building public support. On the other hand, the large capacity religious movements that appear among Muslims can be understood as a religious revival.

We see how people from some parts of Java and Sumatera are consciously moving, together expressing support for Islamic martial arts. When government efforts to prevent mass movements, such

as the banning of public transport in mobilizing the mass of action, they chose to walk. From West Sumatra itself, the mass of action chose to fly using air transport. I see this is the era of religious revival, especially Islam in practical stage politics in Indonesia.

Islam as a mover of dynamics and social change is nothing new in the history of the world. Islam as a mobilizer against the domination of the invaders took a role in the formulation of independence and contributed to the communist crackdown. In the new order period, despite the un intimate relationship between the religious elite and the government, the religious movements can still be controlled by the ruler. In the Reformation era, the religious movement rose again. The growing religious-based political party, religious organizations, signified the revival of religion in this second era.

The action undertaken by Nasrudin Joha is one of the forms of religious revival. Especially Islam, the act of volunteering for the duality and oppression, is as well as it's own. The debate of the oppressed (*Mustadh'afin*) with the rulers (*al-Mala'u*), in hell, is a tangible form of this assertion. Islam firmly invites its adherents to fight with these weak people in search of justice. Of course, there are different texts and contexts in understanding a religious discourse. Nasrudin Joha and the group whose interests feel represented (representative), then will see the concept of suppression and disadvantage. Nasrudin Joha and the Muslim group were one idea with him to judge their actions as a struggle instead of rebellion.

Lately, the lives of religious interfaith began to be wiped out by the government. Attempts to uniformity, such as banging the universal values of religion with local wisdom, are deeply condensed in public debate. The country's sole interpretation of local wisdom gives a controversial understanding of Indonesian society. Local cultures are forced to comply with definitions given by political elites and bureaucrats. We can see in the case of the local wisdom of Minangkabau. Traditional adagio of Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi Kitabullah was pronounced by a group of people as a form of religious communalism, radical, and "anti-Kebhinekaan".

Facing the universal value of religion with local wisdom, certainly a debate that is not comparable. Local wisdom only responds locally to local people in interpreting and practicing that universal religion. Local wisdom is used to facilitate religion as a sacred, sacred, and universal text to contextualize. Unlike religious communalism, which seeks to make one religion the identity of its community, and seeks to reject different identities. However, as local wisdom, in terms of the context of Minangkabau, 'Adat salingka Nagari'. The local wisdom has boundaries that are not intended by its followers.

Concluding this discussion, the author quoted the opinion of Sila (2016) "Religion should be appeared as a form that is able to answer the new needs of human, able to empower the structure and custom of local society. It is necessary to find a formula that conveys

the local wisdom of traditional society and religion in making solutions towards the challenge of the modern society”.

Conclusion

The research concludes that Nasrudin Joha's articles contain identity politics and propagate the caliphate system. Joha hides his identity and is only active on social media. Joha builds opinions but doesn't force his readers. Joha gives freedom to the reader to agree or disagree with his. Thus, Joha has practiced the theory of active reception or active audience. This study finds that Marxist and post-Marxist ideas on Joha in constructing ideology and discourse have an urgent influence. Joha is a representation of the oppressed group by rulers and capitalist groups. Joha carries a political identity of the Islamic in its article. Joha seeks to build a perception equation among the oppressed classes to be more active in criticisms of both government and capitalist rulers. As for Joha's strategy in building discourse using social media. Ideas and discourse are planted strongly with certain communities and then the followers share broadly to the general public. Nasrudin Joha's success rate influenced the audience, and what obstacles the ruling regime gained over the discourses built by Nasrudin Joha into two separates aspects became a space for future research. Combining the results of this research with the results of research on these two aspects provides complex and profound results about the success of Nasrudin Joha building political forces based on religion.

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