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Critical Discourse of Discursive Pluralism and Inclusivism of Islamic Leadership in the Local-National Context

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to find the value of pluralism and inclusivism in the discursive leadership of Islam. The data was collected through the recording of documents from the discursive leader of the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Wathan (abbreviated NW), as well as the governor of West Nusa Tenggara (NTB abbreviated), Indonesia, namely Mr. Guru Bajang (abbreviated as TGB). Data is in the form of thought texts, statements, TGB actions, and other parties' statements as discursive. TGB is positioned as a discursive storyteller as well as a guide in its transformation. Data were analyzed according to the communication function in functional grammar and Critical Discourse Analysis component analysis. Through this study, it was found that the discretion of the TGB was related to optimism, alignment of Islamic values, safeguarding the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, caring for diversity, and building the nation as a discursive common property and needs as a plural society and transformed inclusively. As an ideational communication function, discursive becomes TGB aspirational form of contextual dynamism, as an instrument of accelerating interpersonal development agenda, and textual future historical responsibility. The five discursive TGB in this study belong and jointly guide the dynamics of the future. TGB as a storyteller has a reciprocal relation to the five discourses and has shown results through development progress in the context of NTB and Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Modern Indonesia with a multicultural context must maintain understanding and actions of pluralism and inclusivism among all components of the nation. Multiculturalism with various entities is what makes it Indonesia. The founders of the nation were aware that Indonesia's multicultural context was a historical capital in building a future civilization. Therefore, the choice of various differences in Indonesia. Borrowing the term, Fairclough (1992); van Leeuwen (2008) Dijk (1993); and Wodak & Meyer (2001), awareness accompanied by reason that gave birth to the act of guarding differences in the capital of Indonesia's future civilization development is known as discursive, which is attractively understood through critical discourse analysis. Discursive in the context of multicultural Indonesia is a historical discourse

before Indonesia, present and future. As a historical discourse, awareness, reason, and the actions needed are pluralism and inclusivism. As awareness, reason, and discursive actions are inherent in the person and offered to belong to the collective. Haryatmoko (2010) states, discursive offers are carried out by individuals who have a habitus in responding to and accommodating the contexts they feel and experience. The national figures of their time gave birth to be discursive in accordance with the context as their habitus. In the revolutionary era, Soekarno was known for his discursive nationalism (Dhakidae, 2013); Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur with the discursive humanism (Johan, 2018); (Nuriyah, 2017); (Soim, 2018), and Mr. Guru Bajang (abbreviated as TGB) with discursive pluralism and inclusivism (Nahdi, 2013); (Fogg, 2019). Three

different figures of this era have discursive each of the many national figures and has a significant influence in maintaining the multicultural harmony of Indonesia.

One name at the same time discursive among the three names of the characters is the focus of this study, namely TGB. Tuan Guru Bajang (abbreviated as TGB) is a term for religious leaders or young *Kyai*, as another name for Muhammad Zainul Majdi. Born in Pancor, Selong, NTB, May 31, 1972. TGB Tuan Guru Bajang is the third son of the Haji Muhammad Djalaluddin and Hajjah Sitti Rauhun Zainuddin Abdul Majid. Born as a grandson of an Islamic figure and founder of the NahdlatulWathan Islamic organization, as stated by Nahdi and Fogg. Muhammad ZainulMajdi or TGB received basic education in Mataram and Tsanawiyah Muallimin Madrasah at the Nahdlatul Wathan College in Pancor. Middle school from Madrasah AliyahMu'allimin to religious education in Ma'had Darul Qur'an Wal-Hadith Pancor (Islamic Higher Education). Mr. Guru Bajang continued his undergraduate to doctoral education at his tertiary institution in the Department of Interpretation and the Sciences of the Qur'an, the Faculty of Usuluddin, Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt. Since 1999, Muhammad Zainul Majdi or TGB has been the General Chairperson of PB Nahdlatul Al-Wathan. In 2004-2008 became a member of the Republic of Indonesia DPR for the period 2004-2009. In 2008, he was elected Governor of NTB at the age of 36 and served for two periods until 2018. After not being a governor, TGB was still actively sharing Islamic knowledge and became one of the pioneers of moderate Islam in Indonesia.

Pluralism and inclusivism are important agendas fought in the context of multicultural Indonesia to avoid the presence of modern tribalism. Pluralism and inclusivism are not only the needs of modern Indonesia but are born from Indonesian history. Howell (2005); Cholil, Suhadi & Bagir (2008); Hasyim (2019); Hanafi (2011) each mentions that this context is important regarding the various differences that gave birth to Indonesia. This context not only concerns the internal Indonesian pluralism but in the global context of Asia and the World. Phillips (2008); Munira, Mutalib, & Sulaiman (2017); Sinn & Tong (2016); and Brockington (1991) mention the contextual needs of pluralism and inclusivism based on the

truth relativity of each religion and civilization. The condition of harmony in plural societies, in addition to religious relativity, Bahri (2018); Nuriz & Awang (2018); Siregar (2016) mentions the importance of aspects of knowledge in guiding the transformation of religion and belief in social contexts. Although there are conflicts, as described by Nurhidayah (2017) and Maksum, Febrianto, & Wahyuni (2019), each can return to the universality of each other's relative beliefs, and each does not feel the most correct.

As discursive, pluralism and inclusivism are always attached to the persona who is present in the middle of society and his people as a trigger. Embedding as a trigger is based on several considerations. Mustaqim, (2014) mentions these considerations, namely popularity, the influence of thought, the existence of a controversy, uniqueness, intensity, and relevance to the developing context. At the national-international level, there is no doubt of the popularity of TGB. TGB is also popular as a governor who guides the fastest development in Indonesia. In recent popularity, TGB is known as an Islamic moderation figure that offers discursive pluralism and inclusivism towards a prosperous and just Indonesia. Discursive pluralism and inclusivism are not discursive without resistance and controversy in some Indonesian people. Resistance and controversy came from Islamic groups that carried the leadership of the Khilafah and wanted to replace the current government system. Citing the views of Fraenkel and Oberreuter, Höffe (2015) states, as a theory, pluralism including inclusivism is very much in accordance with modern democracy today. Pluralism and inclusivism can be a connecting bridge between society and the state, accommodating different groups in various state objectives. A good example is shown by Gökariksel & Secor (2015) through a study of the daily diversity of the Istanbul community in Turkey. His study shows that religious teachings are like metaphors of public space, and real reality is seen in everyday life with various dynamics and differences that are united by universal common needs. The pluralism and inclusivism offered by the TGB are framed through the teachings of moderate Islam is a unique phenomenon. The uniqueness related to TGB as a figure that has the capacity of Islamic sciences as well as a transformer of plural and inclusive Islamic values. As an expert and

transformer of plural and inclusive Islamic values, TGB does not merely offer it through the da'wah and education agenda, but it appears in the practice of plurality and inclusiveness in the public sphere. In terms of intensity, the role of TGB is quite long and broad in the process of transmitting pluralism and inclusivism. TGB is of the view that these attitudes and choices are relevant to the Indonesian context based on history and future ideals.

Indonesia's multicultural context with a variety of differences: religion, ethnicity, regional languages, indigenous and regional cultures pose serious challenges to discursive pluralism and inclusivism. One form of a serious challenge is the desire to make religious teaching a source of state law, and deny the universality of the teachings of all different religions. The religions that developed in Indonesia were not only basic ideological differences but related to geography. The Indonesian context is relatively the same as pluralism and inclusivism of the Republic of Mali and Mauritius, as Benjamin (2008) and Eisenlohr (2011) show. As a country with a decentralized governance system, Mali has three major ethnic groups, and the central government is responsible for legalizing various forms of plural and inclusive values for all citizens with different differences. Mauritius is a plural country like Indonesia. Its uniqueness, according to Eisenlohr, is that Islamic values guide social cohesiveness between groups and faith-based media becomes instruments of disseminating information on Islamic values. Indonesia has carried out this discursive since the beginning of the birth of Indonesia, as understood through the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. It's just that the latest dynamics show some challenges in the purpose of nation and state in the two documents. TGB does not come up with a discursive pluralism and inclusivism in order to challenge the various challenges that occur but does education in the context of reconstruction of an understanding of the universality of plural and inclusive values towards modern Indonesia without eliminating its multicultural entity.

The discourse offered by TGB, as stated by Chang (2015), does not intend to eliminate partial entities but offers the universality of values that accommodate shared interests in social, cultural, and humanitarian contexts. TGB offers a plurality and inclusive inclusiveness based on Islamic

reasoning which it believes starts from the local context in Indonesia. The social, cultural, and human universality in question is the core of Islamic teachings in the framework of salvation for all. Podungge (2018); Rachman (2012); Dzaki (2014); Moko (2017); Fata (2018); and Lukito (2012) called it critical and comprehensive Islam. The word critical and comprehensive means that Islam is active, accepts differences, becomes a bridge and a partial glue to universalism. As a form of discourse in the communication process, discursive pluralism, and TGB inclusivism can only be understood through the communication function and its context. Understanding of ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions according to Halliday, et al (2004) clearly shows the experience of inner and outer, social roles and responsibilities in the social context that surrounds them, and requires that TGB gives birth to discursive pluralism and inclusivism. The three meanings in the discursive have been meaning in social relations as understood through the Critical Discourse Analysis component.

METHODS

This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis as a multidisciplinary method as Williams (2015); Sanauddin, (2015). TGB discursive data is in the form of propositional text, which is delivered on various occasions and documented in book form. Data is collected through text classification according to discursive aspects in this study. Data were analyzed to find the aspects of pluralism and inclusivism TGB according to the principle of Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis is grouped into three parts, as Janks (1997): who has an interest? Who receives benefits? And social dynamics when discursive is conveyed.

To facilitate the achievement of objectives through the three sections in Critical Discourse Analysis, discursive data (propositional text) TGB is laid out in sequence: discursive text, interpretation of aspects of pluralism, and inclusive in the three sections of Critical Discourse Analysis, as above.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In accordance with the text analysis stage on Critical Discourse Discursive analysis of pluralism and inclusive of TGB through three communication

functions according to Halliday as the findings and analysis below.

A. Discursive, Communication Function, and Meaning. Optimism Discursive

The first period of Tuan Guru Bajang was election to be the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara (abbreviated NTB) was in 2008-2013. The first discourse that was offered by TGB to all NTB people was an optimistic attitude. TGB said: *“Optimism is the first foundation that I built. I believe that, when we have optimism, the universe will move together with that optimistic attitude”. The optimism record was enshrined in the slogan “Together solve our problems Together”*

Semantically, the word *together* means everyone in unity. Everyone in the context of NTB society related to the differences in beliefs, economic levels, ethnic differences, language differences, differences in educational levels, and physiological and psychological differences. It indicated NTB community is very plural in many ways. Together in a variety of differences means inclusive. It did not mean one group based on one entity become more dominant among other groups. It was undeniable that the socio-economic conditions of the NTB society at that time were still below the national average. However, with optimism and togetherness, nothing is impossible to get better.

The Optimism and togetherness in the idealization communication function were TGB's thought as the experiential expressions based on sensing results as participants in the context of time, space, and quality contextual of NTB. TGB believes that it was a necessity to convey this reasoning in order to improve the dynamic context of society towards better conditions. The interpersonal function through optimism and togetherness took the form of maintaining cohesive social relations through the balancing of communication for the creation of shared ideals, namely the better condition of NTB in the future. On other hand, the textual function through optimism and togetherness provided an opportunity for the TGB to offer various development agendas by maximizing the potential of each plural in an inclusive context.

Islamic-Nationality Discourse: Pluralism-Inclusive and Communication Function

TGB said: “Islam and nationality are in one breath.” Islam with its all agenda is the welfare of

the Ummat (society), because the Ummat (society) is not prosperous, his Islamic agenda usually disrupted. Islam in this context is the value of human welfare. Nationality aspires to prosper its people. Prosperous in the overall meaning in all aspects of the life of the nation's citizens. To realize the parallel values between Islamic and nationality, TGB guided the improvement of competitiveness on education and economic value. Philosophically, education and economics are the basis of all human rights. Humans with ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic differences need education and economics to reach prosper. Semantically, the parallels between Islamism and nationality were introduced through the agenda of educational and economic development containing the logic of pluralism, penetrating the social boundaries of society. Therefore, TGB guided the process of education development and economic value without social indicators but solely moved from educational conditions and economic level. NTB is known as an area with a majority of the Muslim population. With the plausibility of pluralism, education and economic issues are issues of everyone, government services did not consider the majority of the group, but based on the appropriate conditions to be facilitated in terms of education and economy. As a result of this reasoning and agenda view, during the 10 years TGB led NTB, there was a decrease in poverty from 23, 81 in 2008 to 14.75 in 2018. There was an average reduction in poverty of 1% per year. In 2018, especially at the end of TGB as governor of NTB, NTB's Gini Ratio was 0.372, and it was lower than the national ratio gini that is 0, 389.

According to the idealization of communication function, reasoning, and purposing of the aligning religion (Islam) and nationality with plural boundary cross-border programs without prioritizing the interests of the majority inclusively was TGB's reasoning which was expressed periodically based on the real conditions of the NTB community at that time. As a regional leader, TGB was responsible for improving these conditions regardless of differences and the number of communities. The discursive pluralism and inclusive was as the realization of the religious teachings (Islam) alignment and as the ideals of nationalism on creating the welfare of the nation citizenship, it was an interpersonal communication from TGB through balanced services in accordance

to the real conditions on the development sector. With this discursive pluralism and inclusive, the social cohesiveness would be maintained without the suspicion of one community group to another community group. Textually, the discursive pluralism and inclusivism was a conducive context for TGB in delivering messages and development agendas to the people which he led without any conflicts. The entire community got the same benefits through the entire government development agenda.

Discursive Care for Diversity: Pluralism-Inclusivism and Communication Functions

On one occasion of giving a lecture in front of the Indonesian community in South Korea, in October 2017, TGB said: "We are coming from one nation, we are given the extraordinary gift of diversity. We must be grateful for this favor". To reinforce his statement, TGB exemplifies diversity in NTB, with a population of around five million people, three major tribes, are Sasak, Samawa, and Mbojo, as well as it has a majority Muslim population. Even though Islam is the majority religion, but life between some religions runs safely, harmoniously, and peacefully. TGB viewed the diversity with various entities for Indonesia as a valuable social capital. The discursive through the logic of pluralism, contextually the history of NTB and Indonesia has a variety of diversity. For TGB, this diversity is social capital as a source of developing strength in the region and nation, and not the other way around. TGB was well aware that various differences were the markers for each other, not as the separators of each other. The majority group identities in terms of numbers, religious beliefs, coexist inclusively without feeling superior to other groups.

Ideally, the awareness and the purpose of caring for the diversity in NTB and Indonesia as strengthening social capital was a TGB experiential expression on the history of NTB and Indonesia as a plural society with various diversity entities. Interpersonally, the awareness of the diverse life was the only strategy to maintain the harmony and social cohesiveness between groups and different entities. This discursive has proven to date and continuously has not been an obstacle to communication in the development sector in NTB, and Indonesia. Textually, the reason and the purpose to continue the history of diversity by TGB was to make all

development agendas became easier to communicate. The discursive pluralism and inclusive which was developed by TGB became a strategic instrument for recognizing every social problem and discussing the alternative solutions together.

Discursive as Maintaining NKRI: Pluralism-Inclusivism and Communication Function

This section began with a TGB's statement on the occasion of giving the religious lectures (Islam) at the Great Mosque of Sumbawa Besar: "*Indonesia as a nation which destined by Allah SWT is as the nation with the largest number of Muslims in the world. In fact, the number exceeds the number of Muslims in several Arabic countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, Egypt, and others. Yet, behind the large number, there is a big responsibility, namely to maintain and care for the great unity of this nation to be maintained*".

That statement did not necessarily appear as a performative discourse that merely maintains social harmony as an archipelago nation, a plural nation with various diversity entities, but it was the realization of awareness, reason, and purpose in historical responsibility towards the future as the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia is a place, means, goals, and ideals of independence. Indonesia is continuously to be Indonesia with has various differences. TGB was aware that becoming Indonesia as it is today was not easy. Therefore, everything must be grateful and continue to be maintained. TGB did not deny that, Indonesia with its pluralism can become a unity in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia to change into another form. But, TGB warned that the possibility is still predictive, and if it is developed, it would require huge sociocultural costs. Through Islamic norms, TGB strengthens the awareness, reasoning, and the discursive agenda of the Republic of Indonesia as a meaning of pluralism and inclusive that Islamic groups as the majority did not become dominant groups in an Indonesian context. In fact, Islam as the majority group is a significant contributor to diverse social cohesiveness.

Ideally, TGB's discursive of NKRI was an expression of appreciation for the context of social-cultural harmony and cohesiveness that forms a whole known as Indonesia. Logically, TGB said that Indonesia's plurality actually became the

connectivity of the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. In the interpersonal function, TGB needed to strengthen all parties, especially the majority of Muslims, who are responsible for maintaining the wholeness and unity within the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, even though each one was from a different entity. In the textual function, TGB convinced and invited all parties, by accommodating and recognizing differences, all issues became our together problems and must be strategized together.

Building Nation as Discourse: Pluralism-Inclusive and Communication Function

Indonesia continues to be Indonesia according to the dynamics of the times without forgetting its history. This statement was an introduction to TGB's statement about the importance of building Indonesia as gratitude for the independence and responsibility of future history. As TGB stated on one occasion: *"The Indonesian context, according to historians, has a colonial period of more than 300 years. During this long period of time, there must have been a lot of suffering, until it finally became independent on August 17, 1945. Since 1945, we have enjoyed the gift of independence, and it was a sufficient time span to see conditions better, ponder, and give thanks. The form of gratitude is to fill independence with good deeds for the betterment of the nation and state"*.

TGB's discursive about "building a nation" implied the pluralism meaning. Building a nation is a shared responsibility as a form of gratitude for the gift of independence. Obviously, those responsibilities must be realized without questioning each other's differences. Inclusively, all different groups must take roles and responsibilities according to their respective capacities.

The idealization communication function which was built by this discursive was the position of TGB as an example based on awareness, reasoning, and a concrete purpose on the importance of gratitude for the gift of independence through development agendas. Logically, TGB applied the role of an activator of awareness, reason, and development agenda after Indonesia's independence. Inter-personally, TGB made the process of awareness and agenda to develop Indonesia as the inter-generational development communication in continuing the agenda to fill an independent Indonesia. Textually, discursive on

building a nation as a form of gratitude for Indonesia's independence became a continuity of Indonesia's dynamic history.

B. Discursive and Communication Functions in Critical Discourse Analysis Components

The five of TGB discursive as stated in part A of data analysis semantically implied the meaning of pluralism and inclusivism, as well as Halliday's communication functions. In part B the five discursive analyzes were presented according to the Critical Discourse Analysis component, which related to the people who have an interest in discursive texts, who was to be benefited (beneficiaries), and the dynamic context when the discursive was delivered. Discursive optimism, Islam-nationality, maintaining the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, caring for diversity, and building a nation was the discursive needs of all parties. If it is sorted, the two parties referred to the government and its bureaucratic organs, policymakers, academics, and civil society organizations as development facilitators and the community as a whole stakeholders' development. There was a reciprocal relationship between the two parties which was concerned with the discursive. The optimistic transformation of Islamic values in nationality, safeguarding the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, caring for diversity, and building a nation were strategic discourses for all members of society. This discursive awareness-raising, reasoning reflexes, and agenda guided to build a civilization in dynamics that are always developing.

The maximum benefit of awareness building, reason, and agenda through the five discursive returned to both parties as to its stakeholders. The optimism made NTB people no longer inferior in comparison between regions in Indonesia. The NTB community can be juxtaposed equally in the progress of development in various fields. Half of that success was illustrated through the reduction of poverty rates as stated on the previous page. The agendas of transforming Islam-nationhood, safeguarding the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, caring for diversity, and building a nation characterized every community development agenda in NTB, and have proven successful through the cohesiveness, conductivity, and social harmony of the NTB community to date. Although scientific mapping and analysis have not been carried out as a single variable, it was believed that collectively, the

five discourses had a contribution and benefit in creating the current conditions of the NTB community. It can also be understood that the awareness and reason and technical agendas have been built that the five discourses were very strategic in driving development agendas. At the same time, the new awareness, reasoning, and agenda against the five discourses were believed to be unproductive and add greater socio-economic costs. The real conditions of a good life as a society, nation, and state are the conditions that are running right now, not the predicted condition.

The dynamic context of society, especially NTB in relation to the communication function between speakers (TGB) and interlocutors (the public) can be understood through the development progress in various fields. The social context of the community with its optimism, understanding of religious relations (Islam) and nationality, the responsibility of maintaining the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and caring for diversity, and building the nation had become the referential discursive of the NTB community on seeing the future. TGB as the storyteller of the five discourses had proven it for two periods on guiding the development of NTB. In fact, TGB considered the five discursive to have become new social capital in addition to the previous social capital in being responsible for developing NTB and Indonesian communities. As a storyteller from the discursive, TGB had an opportunity to deliver at some discussions outside the NTB region, such as in Malaysia, Taiwan, South Korea, to the United States. The media information showed the high appreciation of the people from outside NTB for the five discourses as strategic social capital to build a better future.

Simply ways, discursive was understood as a text or propositional which was born as an individual or group treasury that contains the awareness, reasoning, and agenda of something. Something in question was related to aspects of virtue. Therefore, the personnel with certain habits and have access to guide the good in the community have the opportunity to occur a variety of discursive. According to the functional grammatical perspective, discursive can be understood as communication functions in the relations of the speaker and the interlocutor. The aspects of awareness, reasoning, and agenda which were occurred by discursive, as pluralism and inclusive in

this study can be understood through the Critical Discourse Analysis component. Thus, language as a discursive instrument was not understood solely as a medium of communication but as virtues that were a reference for development.

CONCLUSION

Based on the data analysis of the communication function and the analysis component of the Critical Discourse Analysis, it was concluded that the TGB discursive contained awareness, reasoning, and an agenda of pluralism and inclusive. The awareness, reasoning, and the agenda of pluralism and inclusive in the discursive became a new social capital in the process of community development today and in the future. The optimism, transformation of religious values (Islam) and nationality maintaining the Unitary Republic of Indonesia, caring for diversity, and building a nation was the needs of all components of the nation with its plurality of entities, and would succeed if it was developed inclusively. The five discursive in this study were communication media on the communication function as an idealization, interpersonal, and textual function. As an idealization, the discursive was a process and product of TGB's appreciation of contextual conditions. Interpersonal media became the acceleration of ideas and development agendas, and textually it became the media of historical responsibility for the future. From the perspective of the Critical analysis of Discourse Analysis, TGB was positioned as a storyteller for the discursive, useful for all components of the nation, and the results were proven through the progression of current development, as well as being productive social capital for future development.

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