

**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE ONLINE NEWS
OF YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF'S VISIT TO ISRAEL**

THESIS

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM MALANG
2019**

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE ONLINE NEWS OF YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF'S VISIT TO ISRAEL

THESIS

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2019**

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I state that the thesis entitled “*Critical Discourse Analysis on the Online News of Yahya Cholil Staquf’s Visit to Israel*” is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, 31 October 2019



Ila Rosyada

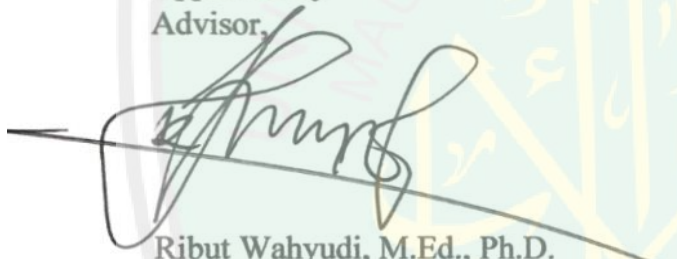
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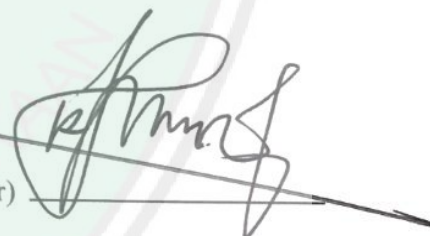
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MOTTO

*“And cooperate in righteousness and piety,
but do not cooperate in sin and aggression.”*

(Q.S. Al-Mai'dah:2)



DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents, Ibu Adibah and Bapak Muchtar. I also dedicate this thesis to my siblings: A.M. Maqдум Biahmada, Rafikhein Novia Ayuanti, Ita Musta'inah, M. Azzam Muttaqien, Dania Hidayati, M. Yusuf Hamadani, Syarrah Lie, and to my two little babies: Afidah Karima Biahmada and M. Azzukhruf . This big family has provided endless supports and prayers to my Sarjana study.

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All praises to Allah SWT. who has given His blessings and guidance from all periods of my life, including this Sarjana study journey. Blessing and salutation may be upon our prophet Muhammad SAW, who has been a good figure in the overall of our life.

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All the processes of completing this thesis help me to have critical thinking, to make arguments, and not to take hasty conclusions. Through this work, I learn a lot about the critical linguistic study and broaden the political and religious sciences which are very important in this life. These thoughts and studies have remarkably change the way I live my life and shape the way I see the world.

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Lastly, I realize that this thesis has some weaknesses and imperfections. Thus, critical comments and constructive suggestions are welcomed for the better of my future studies. May this thesis provide significant benefit to comprehend the linguistics, political, and religious, awareness and knowledge in Indonesia.

Malang, 31 October 2019

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ABSTRACT

Rosyada, Ila. 2019. *Critical Discourse Analysis on the Online News of Yahya Cholil Staquf's Visit to Israel*. Thesis. Department of English Literature. Faculty of Humanities. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Online News, Ideology of Moderate Islam.*

The long decades of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which involves the political and religious realm have been a concern for many countries, especially Indonesia that has the largest number of Muslims in the world. The Indonesian government has declared its full support of Palestinian independence in CEAPAD (Cooperation among East Asian Countries for Palestine Development) 2018 in Bangkok. In the tension between Israel and Palestine, Yahya Cholil Staquf attended an invitation from Israel Council on Foreign Relations to be a speaker at the Global Jewish Forum held in Israel. This visit brought up controversies both in Indonesia as well as in international countries. Either in Indonesia and Israel, the media has reported this issue thoroughly. As Indonesia is implementing 4.0 industry of new technological innovation, online news is highly accessed and becomes an information source. The media being investigated are www.republika.co.id and www.timesofisrael.com as the country representative that involves in this issue. An interview that has been conducted by CNN Indonesia reporter is also chosen to be the supporting data.

This study applies a qualitative method of critical discourse analysis. The researcher opts for the approach of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (2010) to fulfil the objective of this study. Since K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid had previously attended the same event as Staquf, it may be considered as a historical variable. Thus, this study adopts the historical approach that has been proposed by Wodak (2001a). By using the three dimensional model of analysis, this study integrates the analysis of both text and context. This study covers three levels of analysis: the textual practice, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice that embedded in the text. Moreover, this study also implements Fairclough's idea of the recontextualisation of discourses as the construction of the religious ideology in Indonesia differs from the definition of ideology he proposed. Through this study, the researcher aims to reveal how the online media represent Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel in the three level of analysis.

The results of this study show that the journalists have utilized the linguistic (internal) features to achieve a particular purpose. The external factors that affect the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel include the discourse and sociocultural practices such as the existing power relations, the political alignments, the institutional interests, and the religious ideologies. These internal and external factors of discourses lead to the construction of issue representations and the construction of readers' interpretations. Both online media represent a "positive" representation of this issue by focusing on the message of *rahmah* delivered by Yahya Cholil Staquf. This concept of *rahmah* is the manifestation of moderate Islam ideology performed by Staquf. www.timesofisrael.com, as the Israeli online media, provides this representation since the Israel government works on building ties with Muslim countries. Whereas www.republika.co.id attempts to keep the society in a conducive situation as Staquf is the member of Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board (Wantimpres) and as Indonesia would hold the national election.

ABSTRAK

Rosyada, Ila. 2019. *Critical Discourse Analysis on the Online News of Yahya Cholil Staquf's Visit to Israel*. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Ribut Wahyudi, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, Berita Online, Ideologi Islam Moderat.

Dekade panjang konflik Israel-Palestina yang melibatkan ranah politik dan agama telah menjadi perhatian bagi banyak negara, terutama Indonesia, yang memiliki jumlah Muslim terbesar di dunia. Pemerintah Indonesia telah mendeklarasikan dukungan penuhnya atas kemerdekaan Palestina dalam CEAPAD (Kerjasama antara Negara-Negara Asia Timur untuk Pembangunan Palestina) 2018 di Bangkok. Dalam ketegangan antara Israel dan Palestina, Yahya Cholil Staquf menghadiri undangan dari Dewan Hubungan Luar Negeri Israel untuk menjadi pembicara di Forum Global Yahudi yang diadakan di Israel. Kunjungan ini memunculkan kontroversi baik di Indonesia maupun di negara-negara internasional. Media di Indonesia dan Israel telah melaporkan isu ini secara menyeluruh. Saat ini Indonesia sedang menerapkan Industri 4.0 sebagai inovasi teknologi baru yang membuat berita online banyak diakses dan menjadi sumber informasi. Media yang diteliti adalah www.republika.co.id dan www.timesofisrael.com sebagai representasi negara yang terlibat dalam isu ini. Wawancara yang telah dilakukan oleh seorang reporter CNN Indonesia juga dipilih sebagai data pendukung.

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif pada analisis wacana kritis. Peneliti memilih pendekatan analisis wacana kritis Fairclough (2010) untuk mencapai tujuan penelitian ini. Karena K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid sebelumnya telah menghadiri acara yang sama dengan Staquf, hal ini dianggap sebagai sebuah variabel sejarah. Dengan demikian, penelitian ini juga menggunakan pendekatan historis yang telah dikemukakan oleh Wodak (2001a). Dengan menggunakan model analisis tiga dimensi, penelitian ini mengintegrasikan analisis teks dan konteks. Penelitian ini mencakup tiga tingkat analisis: praktik teksual, praktik wacana, dan praktik sosial budaya yang ada dalam teks. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga menerapkan gagasan Fairclough tentang rekontekstualisasi wacana karena konstruksi ideologi keagamaan di Indonesia berbeda dari definisi ideologi yang ia usulkan. Melalui penelitian ini, peneliti bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan bagaimana media online merepresentasikan kunjungan Yahya Cholil Staquf ke Israel dalam tiga tingkat analisis.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa penulis telah menggunakan fitur linguistik (internal) untuk mencapai tujuan tertentu. Faktor-faktor eksternal yang mempengaruhi representasi dari kunjungan Yahya Cholil Staquf ke Israel mencakup praktik wacana dan praktik sosiokultural seperti hubungan kekuasaan yang ada, keberpihakan politik, kepentingan kelembagaan, dan ideologi keagamaan. Faktor-faktor wacana internal dan eksternal ini mengarah pada konstruksi representasi isu dan konstruksi interpretasi pembaca. Kedua media online menampilkan representasi "positif" dari masalah ini dengan berfokus pada pesan *rahmah* yang disampaikan oleh Yahya Cholil Staquf. Konsep *rahmah* ini adalah sebuah manifestasi dari ideologi Islam moderat yang dijalankan oleh Staquf. www.timesofisrael.com sebagai media online Israel, menampilkan representasi ini karena pemerintah Israel berupaya membangun hubungan dengan negara-negara Muslim. Sedangkan www.republika.co.id berupaya menjaga masyarakat dalam situasi yang kondusif karena Staquf adalah anggota Dewan Penasihat Presiden Indonesia (Wantimpres) dan Indonesia akan menyelenggarakan pemilihan nasional.

الملخص

رشادة، إلى. 2019. تحليل الخطاب النقدي على الاخبار الالكترونية لزيارة يحيى خليل ثاقوف إلى إسرائيل. البحث العلمي. قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وآدابها. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف : الدكتور ريبوت وحيودي، الماجستير

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي ، الاخبار الالكترونية ، لدتعلملا ماسللا ةيجولويديا

إن العقود الطويلة من الصراع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني، التي تنطوي على عالم سياسي وديني، كانت مصدر قلق للعديد من البلدان، وخاصة إندونيسيا، التي تضم أكبر عدد من المسلمين في العالم. أعلنت الحكومة الإندونيسية دعمها الكامل لاستقلال فلسطين في CEAPAD (التعاون بين دول شرق آسيا من أجل التنمية الفلسطينية) 2018 في بانكوك. في ظل التوتر بين إسرائيل وفلسطين ، حضر يحيى خليل ثاقوف دعوة من مجلس العلاقات الخارجية الإسرائيلي ليكون متحدًا في المنتدى اليهودي العالمي الذي عقد في إسرائيل. أثارت هذه الزيارة الخلافات في إندونيسيا وكذلك في البلدان الدولية. إما في إندونيسيا وإسرائيل، فقد أبلغت وسائل الإعلام عن هذه المسألة بدقة. بما أن إندونيسيا تنفذ 4.0 صناعة ابتكارات تكنولوجية جديدة ، فإن أخبار الإنترنت يتم الوصول إليها بشكل كبير وتصبح مصدر معلومات. وسائل الإعلام التي يتم التحقيق فيها هي www.republika.co.id و www.timesofisrael.com بصفتها الممثل القطري الذي يشارك في هذه القضية. يتم أيضًا اختيار مقابلة تم إجراؤها مع الصحفي بواسطة مراسل CNN Indonesia لتكون البيانات الداعمة.

تطبق هذه الدراسة بمدخل كفي لتحليل الخطاب النقدي. يختار الباحث مقارنة تحليل الخطاب النقدي في Fairclough (2010) لتحقيق هدف هذه الدراسة. وكان الحاج عبد الرحمن وحيد قد حضر من قبل نفس الحدث الذي قام به ثاقوف، ويمكن اعتباره متغيرًا تاريخيًا. وبالتالي، تعتمد هذه الدراسة المنهج التاريخي الذي اقترحه Wodak (2001a). باستخدام نموذج التحليل ثلاثي الأبعاد ، تدمج هذه الدراسة تحليل كل من النص والسياق. تغطي هذه الدراسة ثلاثة مستويات من التحليل: الممارسة النصية، وممارسة الخطاب، والممارسة الاجتماعية والثقافية المضمنة في النص. علاوة على ذلك، تطبق هذه الدراسة أيضًا فكرة Fairclough لإعادة صياغة الخطابات حيث أن بناء الأيديولوجية الدينية في إندونيسيا يختلف عن تعريف الإيديولوجية التي اقترحها. من خلال هذه الدراسة ، يهدف الباحث إلى الكشف عن الطريقة التي تمثل بها وسائل الإعلام على الإنترنت زيارة يحيى خليل ثاقوف إلى إسرائيل في ثلاث مستويات من التحليل.

تظهر نتائج هذه الدراسة أن الكاتب استخدم المميزات اللغوية (الداخلية) لتحقيق غرض معين. تشمل العوامل الخارجية التي تؤثر على تمثيل زيارة يحيى خليل ثاقوف لإسرائيل الخطاب والممارسات الاجتماعية والثقافية مثل علاقات القوى القائمة، والتوافقات السياسية، والمصالح المؤسسية، والأيديولوجيات الدينية. تؤدي هذه العوامل الداخلية والخارجية للخطابات إلى بناء تمثيل للقضايا وبناء تفسيرات للقراء. تمثل كل من وسائل الإعلام عبر الإنترنت تمثيلًا "إيجابيًا" لهذه القضية من خلال التركيز على رسالة "رحمة" التي ألقاها يحيى خليل ثاقوف. هذا المفهوم من "رحمة" هو مظهر من مظاهر الأيديولوجية الإسلامية الوسطية التي يؤديها ثاقوف. www.timesofisrael.com كوسائل الإعلام الإسرائيلية على الإنترنت ، توفر هذا التمثيل لأن حكومة إسرائيل تعمل على بناء العلاقات مع الدول الإسلامية. بينما يحاول www.republika.co.id إبقاء المجتمع في الأمن لأن ثاقوف هو عضو في المجلس الاستشاري الرئاسي الإندونيسي (Wantimpres) وبما أن إندونيسيا ستجري الانتخابات الوطنية.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CL	Critical Linguistic
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
AJC	American Jewish Committee
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama / Islamic group based in Indonesia
PBNU	Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama / Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board
HTI	Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia / Muslim hardline group
Wantimpres	Dewan Pertimbangan Presiden / The Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board
NKRI	Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia / The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia
UU	Undang-Undang / Government regulation
UUD 1945	Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 / The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides some essential aspects of the study. It includes the rationale of choosing the topic, the questions arise from the problem of the study and the purposes of conducting the study. This chapter also presents the scope and limitation, and the significances of the study. Furthermore, the key terms of this study and previous studies are explained in this study to understand and find the gap of the study thoroughly. Lastly, this chapter provides the research methodology which enlightens the guidelines to conduct the study.

A. Background of the Study

In June 2018, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) cleric Yahya Cholil Staquf, known as Gus Yahya, the Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board (Wantimpres) visited Israel to fulfill an invitation from American Jewish Committee (AJC), the oldest and the largest Jewish advocacy organizations. In Indonesia, as a country with the largest number of Muslim population (Irawan, 2017), this issue becomes very controversial and raises the pros and cons. Besides, Indonesia also has some different religions and guarantees religious freedom for society (Sodikin, 2013). Various issues of religion often occur in Indonesia such as the blasphemy (a religious crime) and *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI) (a Muslim hardline group) disbanding for conducting activities that contradict state ideology Pancasila and

the principle of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one of the global issues that becomes the concern of the Indonesian government. Both the majority of Indonesian Muslims and other people from different religions pay their attention to this issue. The Indonesian government has given many forms of support to Palestine, such as money, medicines, capacity building, etc. The Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi conveyed Indonesia's commitment to Palestinian independence when attending the Conference on Cooperation among East Asian Countries for Palestinian Development (CEAPAD) III in Bangkok on June 27, 2018. The CEAPAD III Joint Press Conference declared that the meeting was aimed to help create a foundation and an environment for the development of a Palestinian state based on a *"Two State Solution"* (Kono, 2018).

There are many mass media talk about Staquf's issue, whether in the television, newspaper, or online media. The online media itself has been in the high demand as Indonesia is in the movement of "making Indonesia 4.0". Industry 4.0 is a current industrial trend of automation and data exchange in manufacturing technologies. Over the advanced technology of the internet, online media distributes accessible news. According to Hasanah and Wahyudi (2015, p.211), "the online news is easier to collect and analyze rather than the printed news which takes more time and is more costly". Both in Indonesia and Israel, this issue is reported thoroughly. Numerous online media present the same issue differently which is not merely just 'giving information'. As explained by Fairclough (1995), that relationship complicity does exist arising

conflict between mainstream media and government, or media and capital. The media overall are in a complex relationship and wide variety forms.

In diverse media, a controversial issue is represented differently and depends on certain interests, such as politics. In particular, *www.republika.co.id* and *www.timesofisrael.com* which bring up the issue of Staquf's visit to Israel, are chosen to be the object of the study. *www.republika.co.id*, as a national media in Indonesia which pays more attention to religious subjects updates news about this issue. While *www.timesofisrael.com*, as a national media in Israel, also reports on this issue in which one of its Jewish organization conference becomes a polemic issue. Fairclough (2010, p.19) points out that "particular strategies and discourses emerge in particular social circumstances. It appears to be the basis of discourses changes over time". Following this, the researcher is appealed to find out the features such as the relation of power, social actors, institutions, events, etc. that link to the emergence of the discourses.

The study of critical discourse analysis (CDA) covers the analysis of text and context (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). According to Fairclough (1992b, 2012), textual analysis has two complementary types, namely linguistic analysis which analyzes the traditional levels and the textual organization above the sentence and intertextual analysis which shows how text selectively draws upon orders of discourse which connects language and social context. He further explains that the relationship between language and social context was inspired by Halliday's multifunctional linguistic theory and the concept of orders of discourse according to Foucault. This theory of multifunctional linguistic views language

in use as simultaneously performing three functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. Fairclough (2010, 2012) affirms that the orders of discourse are defined as a particular social ordering of relationships between various ways (genres: ways of acting, discourses: ways of representing, styles: ways of being) of making meaning (semiotic difference) in text.

The textual analysis is used to perceive the notion of ideational referring to a representation portrayed in the text which generally carries certain ideological content (Eriyanto, 2001). Fairclough (2010, p.257) defines ideology as “a system of ideas, values, and beliefs oriented to explaining a given political order, legitimizing existing hierarchies and power relations and preserving group identities”. He realizes that his view of ideology as a form of social cement is inseparable from the society itself and the recontextualisation of discourses is salient. The recontextualisation of discourses is described by Fairclough (2010) as strategies to analyze discourses within different fields and at different scales. The researcher finds this as remarkable strategies to identify the construction of religious ideology in the context of Indonesia.

Representation is a process of the social construction of practices that includes reflexive self-construction (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The representation and self-representation of social practices constitute discourses that position social life inherently. As a critical discourse analysis study that utilizes the recontextualisation of discourses, the ideology of Staquf in responding with his visit to Israel is investigated as a form of social and cultural practice. The social practice is explained by Fairclough (2010) as the mediation between social

structures (semiotic systems or languages) and social events (utterances/texts). The social structures are acted out to affirm the statuses and roles, and to establish and transmit the shared value and knowledge systems.

As a part of social reality, the social structures in this context performed by Staquf involve his status and roles as an Indonesian Muslim leader and government official. During his visit, Staquf managed to transmit his systems of value and knowledge. Moreover, linked to the issue being investigated, the social events are shaped on the one hand by social practices and social structures, and on the other hand, by referring to Staquf as the 'social actor' (Leeuwen, 1996). This may constitute meaning across the framework of social and cultural practices where the relations between religions and politics in Indonesia are ideologically constructed.

The online news under the investigation may reflect the construction of Staquf's ideology which can be categorized as a moderate Islam. Yakin (2016) defines moderate Islam as *al-wasathiyah*, which stands in the middle, between the fundamentalist or extremist and liberalist. In short, Staquf, who stands in the central position, mediates the society who positioned themselves in the right and left wings. Moreover, *al-wasathiyah* is realistic; it does not turn a blind eye to the reality so that it does not threaten the existence of culture, because both Islam and culture (as long as it is not contrary to shari'a) are practiced by Muslim in Indonesia (Muhajir, 2015). In this case, Muslim clerics affirm that culture and religion must develop hand in hand and must not be challenged (Karim, 2017). Additionally, Baharun (2010) explains that the ideology of moderate Islam

accepts plurality as represented in Indonesia motto “*Bhineka Tunggal Ika*” in which Indonesia is a multi-religion, multi-culture, and multi-ethnic country.

Finally, this study provides an exclusive site for analyzing the representation of Staquf’s visit to Israel and the moderate Islam ideology. Using Fairclough’s analytical method of critical discourse analysis, the researcher intends to demonstrate how the discourse of news creates meanings about Staquf’s visit to Israel and his religious ideology. In order to explore the process of ideological constructions performed by Staquf to his visit, it is necessary to consider both the online media (www.timesofisrael.com and www.republika.co.id) and his life background, especially in the educational background and socio-political and religious context that the next section turns its attention.

1. Yahya Cholil Staquf’s socio-political and religious background

Yahya Cholil Staquf is the nephew of K.H. Ahmad Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus), the caregiver of *Pesantren Raudlatut Thalibin* (an Islamic boarding school) Leteh, Rembang, Central Java. Besides being an outstanding cleric, Bisri is also known as a humanist, artist, poet, and painter (Nafi', 2019). Moreover, Staquf’s father, K.H. Muhammad Cholil Bisri is the founder and declarator of *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB). Staquf was active and once listed as the Deputy General Chair of PKB in one of the party management which had split in 2005.

Currently, since August 2015, until 2020, Yahya Cholil Staquf has been *Katib ‘Aam* or the General Secretary of Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Muslim

organization in Indonesia with 91.4 million members (January 2013, LSI survey)—35.5% of the total 249.9 million people of Indonesia (Qalbi, 2018). Then, he was elected as the Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board (Wantimpres) to replace K.H. Hasyim Muzadi who passed away on March 16, 2017, as the representative of Nahdlatul Ulama which was inaugurated by President Jokowi on Thursday, May 31, 2018.

2. Yahya Cholil Staquf's educational background

Since his early childhood, Yahya Cholil Staquf had been taught both formally and spiritually by his father, grandfather, and uncle, from the famous Bisri family. Then, he is educated by K.H. Ali Maksum (a direct student of Sheikh Umar Hamdan al-Makki (1858-1948) and Sheikh Hasan Masshat al-Makki (1900-1979) Mecca) (1910-1989) at his home as well as a *madrasah* in Yogyakarta (dutaislam.com, 2018). Staquf is graduated from SMA 1 Yogyakarta and the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of Gadjah Mada University (UGM) (Profil Anggota Dewan Pertimbangan Presiden, 2019).

Staquf is the founder and the author of *teronggosong.com*. It is a website that presents short stories he made and articles on religious issues, especially *Islam Nusantara*. *Islam Nusantara* was invented as the theme carried out in 33rd *Muktamar* NU (the largest NU congress). Muhajir (2015) defines *Islam Nusantara* as the tenet and practice of Islam in *Nusantara* (Indonesia) as a result of the dialectic between shari'a texts or *nas* (in Arabic) and local reality and culture. However, it is bizarre to hear and to oppose by some Muslim in Indonesia. Still, some similar labels are already existed in other countries such

as *Islam Malaysia*, *Islam Amerika*, etc. as Islam is bound to the context. The example of *Islam Nusantara* practice was the one performed peacefully by *Wali Songo* (nine saints of Islam in Indonesia) (Nafi', 2019).

3. Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel

Yahya Cholil Staquf is not the first NU cleric who becomes a speaker in the largest Jewish global forum. He is the second person invited to Israel after K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), the 4th President of the Republic of Indonesia, who attempted to put the foundation of peace between Israel and Palestine by becoming the speaker in the highest forum, the Jewish Congress. Wahid conveyed a message of peace that helps motivate Jewish Rabbis that humanity was an important factor in examining every conflict (Aziz, 2017). The Jewish Rabbis who attended the congress were shedding tears as Wahid spoke in Hebrew fluently without any text. After his speech, Wahid was greeted with long applause up to 15 minutes.

Yahya Cholil Staquf is also the former spokesman of the former president Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001). Wahid is K.H. Bisri Musthofa's (Gus Mus) best friend who voices peace diplomacy in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They are known as the Indonesian Muslim cleric who voiced Islamic moderation and peace. Moreover, Aziz (2017) states that during his tenure as President, Wahid attempted to propose a diplomatic and trade relation and begin political and economical communication with Israel as a tactic to create peace between Israel and Palestine.

The manifestation of Moderate Islam is comprehended in *Islam Nusantara* which is identical to NU that had ever led by Wahid for 15 years. In Indonesia, Wahid is known as having a close relationship with the American Global Jewish Forum 20 years ago, he even visited Israel three times. Staquf considers the invitation as an opportunity to go along with Wahid's peaceful diplomacy. It is not guaranteed to be beneficial but worth to try. Regarding this concern, Staquf emphasizes that his visit to Israel is inseparable from continuing what has been done by Wahid (Pratiwi, 2018; Maridasih, 2018).

The issue has become the concern of the majority of the Indonesian people. It has been reported in Israeli as well as in Indonesian media. Some researchers have conducted various studies on online media (Ashuri, 2016; Briones, 2017; Haleva-Amir, 2011; Hasanah & Wahyudi, 2015; Noor, 2017; Rahman, 2017; Wahyudi, 2010; Yazgan & Utku, 2017). Pace and Rosamond (2018) also quote data from www.timesofisrael.com concerning Tony Blair, who conducts politics by using entertainment techniques or "celebrity diplomacy". Moreover, Rahman (2017) has conducted a study on the www.republika.co.id to analyze the interpretation of Jihad in the moderate Muslim perspective as the majority of Muslim identity in Indonesia.

The current study investigates a different issue from the previous studies. It deals with the representation of Staquf's visit to Israel, which is reported in both online media (www.timesofisrael.com and www.republika.co.id) that includes the representation of moderate Islam ideology as well as the interpretation of "peaceful diplomacy" performed by Staquf. Thus, this study

critically analyzes the language used in the texts and the external factors that affect the representation.

B. Problems of the Study

This study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How is the textual representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel portrayed in *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*?
2. How does the discourse practice affect the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel in *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*?
3. How is the sociocultural practice performed on the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel in *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*?

C. Objectives of the Study

Through this study, the researcher aims:

1. To portrays the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel in *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*.
2. To interpret how the discourse practice affects the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel in *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*.
3. To find the sociocultural practice performed on the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel in *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*.

D. Significances of the Study

The results of this study give contributions theoretically and practically. Theoretically, this study contributes to implement the idea of recontextualisation in Fairclough's framework of CDA. The more contextualized ideology has been implemented in Indonesia and investigated in this study. Thus, this study shows that CDA can make a stronger contribution to the transdisciplinary analysis of online news as a form of language use and sociocultural practice which enhances its theory and methodology.

For the practical significance, the results of this study give fruitful information to the lecturers, students, and other researchers about the investigation of a controversial issue, especially on Staquf's visit to Israel in Indonesia and Israel circumstance. It also helps the readers especially the students to improve critical language awareness in practice. By providing an exhaustive analysis that covers the representation of Staquf as the social actors of the issue and the construction of religious ideology, this study improves the insight and the understanding of the CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough, which integrates the analysis of discourse in 'micro' level of text (such as lexical choice and grammar use) and 'macro' level of context (such as social, cultures, and politics). Lastly, this study can be a reference for the other researchers and further studies.

E. Scope and Limitation

This study analyzes six news from two different online media; *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id..* The first online media is from Israel's online media. Whereas, the other news is from national online media. As

the data of this study, the online news was published around the time Staquf's visit to Israel which was from June 10, 2018, until June 16, 2018. To support the data, on the other hand, the researcher took the data from the interview of Staquf concerning this issue that had been conducted by CNN Indonesia's reporter. Meanwhile, the focus of this study is on investigating the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel in the selected online news utilizing Fairclough's three dimensional model of analysis. Additionally, the construction of the moderate Islam ideology performed by Staquf in the media under investigation is also being examined.

F. Definition of the Key Terms

There are some key terms in this study:

1. Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough is a transdisciplinary form of analysis which is drawn from Foucault's orders of discourse and Halliday's metafunctions' concept of Systemic Functional Linguistics. The Critical Discourse Analysis, then, covers the analysis on the internal and external variables of language use in Indonesian context, especially religion.
2. Online news is a form of communicative events that gives information to the readers and is distributed through the internet, provided freely, and could be accessed either on mobile or desktop.
3. Ideology of moderate Islam is the ideology practiced and performed by the majority of Indonesian Muslim (especially Yahya Cholil Staquf) that based on *Rahmatan lil alamin* and NU as its holder.

G. Previous Studies

Several studies relevant to text or news analysis have employed Fairclough's CDA approach which contributes to social and cultural analysis. However, when it deals with an ideological concern, some researchers tend to use the ideological framework proposed by Van Dijk. Some studies attempt to uncover the issue of ideological construction which has been undertaken by Brookes (1995), Teo (2000), and Hassan (2018). Brookes (1995) demonstrates that there is a stereotypical, naturalized, and dominant discourse on Africa in the British Press which arises a neo-colonial racist representation. Similarly, Teo (2000) also conducts a study to probe for the ideological construction of racism on Vietnamese migrants into Australia. It is apparent by an asymmetrical power discourse between the (ethnic) law-breakers and the (white) law-enforcers. The result of these studies illustrates how the features of discourses construct a racist representation of Africans and Vietnamese as an enterprise of maintaining the existing power relations of Western superiority and dominations.

Hassan (2018) explicates that in Pakistan, media as the fourth pillar of the state holds a social responsibility to bring social harmony and stability. Nevertheless, the varying ideological construction and power relations on news media revealed in his study shows its impact on Pakistani society. The news media propagate different ideologies to keep their interests with different strategies. For instance, the media utilizes varying lexical choices and creates different identities of the same events.

Thus, it is following Mengibar (2015), who argues that CDA's underlying assumption is as a social practice, language helps to shape reality for its users. Researching in CDA, her study seeks an explanation to fully uncovering obscured exploitative or unequal social power relations and to enact social change in the study of identity politics.

The study employed by Li (2009) points out the discursive construction of national identities through the intertextual analysis of news discourse. By examining *The New York Times's* and *China Daily's* news, the study shows that the construction of China's national images and nationalist discourse adhere to the ideology and the specific historical and political moments between the US and China. *The New York Times* provides the construction of China wild nationalism, whereas *China Daily* emphasizes the peace and justice promoted by China. The multidimensionality of text discourse contributes to the complex discourse production by the utilization of discursive strategies as well as socio-political and historical interfacing (Teo, 2000; Li, 2009).

Kurniawan and Utami (2017) investigate the representation of a social actor (Jokowi as the governor of Jakarta) by conducting nomination and predication strategies of Discourse Historical Approach proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). The actor is represented 'positively' since his performance is in line with the media values. However, in the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) related issue, the media represents a shifting representation of supporting Jokowi's politics from 'positive' to 'negative' due to the ideology of media that supports the anti-corruption movement. Besides, Briones (2017) also finds that in news discourses, the social actor

is constructed socially and ideologically. The internal discourse features or textual structures such as grammatical, social actors representation, and types of process, have been adjusted to the external ones such as the existing power relations, institutional identity.

On the other hand, some researchers work on Islam religious issues with news discourse as the object of study (Silva, 2016; Yazgan & Utku, 2017). The studies devote a broader analysis, including the concepts of racism, exclusion, marginalization, and negative social capital. Silva (2016) finds out that the media construction of radicalization has shifted from identifying political and economic differences into significantly focusing on Islam, especially on a particular religious affiliation. Whereas, the discriminatory discourses are identified on the representation of immigrants with a Muslim background (ethnic minority) (Yazgan & Utku, 2017). Moreover, Irawan (2017) points out discriminatory discourses in the speeches and articles from the FPI's chairman, Habib Rizieq Shihab. He (2017) reveals that despite the political or economic motives, Ahmadiyya sect representation is also based on religious or theological motives. Shortly, Muslims in these discourses as referred to extreme belief terms such as 'fundamentalist' and 'extremist', are stereotypically associated with radicalism, terrorists, and violence, which trigger the conflict emergence.

Meanwhile, Qazi and Shah (2018) work with Fairclough's framework of CDA to examine the ideology that affects news constructions. The study determines that the production of news discourses is reinforced by the specific social, cultural, and political contexts. Moreover, in examining actors' or subjects' identities, Qazi and

Shah (2018) uncover the media construction of identity, reflecting the media power to shape public opinion. Fairclough (2010) has confirmed that discourses have potentially significant causal effects in the process of social construction. Thus, media discourses are possible to shape people's opinions and behavior in line with specific interests.

The other parallel study is conducted by Abdi and Basarati (2016) which analyze a total of 63 ideologically-inclined newspaper headlines of Iran, Arab, and West. It employs the three dimensional model of Fairclough's analysis to explore the representation of the Yemen crisis. The findings show that discourses in each region are contradictory due to the opposing ideological views of Islam in the Middle East and the discourse of Secularism in the West. In the same way, the study undertaken by Briones (2017), examines the online news that reports on the Moro Islamic Liberation Front's (MILF) submissions of its findings on the "Mamasapano Incident". The analyzed texts seem to portray power relations that exist between the Philippine government and the MILF. The internal textual analysis portrays the ideological and social distinctions among social actors. Moreover, from the viewpoint of the context of the text as external social practices, it exemplifies that the institutional identities as news reports are maintained.

Taking everything into account, the CDA approach by Fairclough takes part in the analysis of both text and context. Fairclough (1993) emphasizes that the analysis focus on the integration between linguistics, social, and political thought, which generally associated with social change and struggle of power. Nevertheless, aside from the practice of the CDA framework, none of these previous studies works on the

ideology of religion, mainly moderate Islam, as it is covered by neither Fairclough's nor van Dijk's CDA. Thus, the result of this study would be meaningful to explore this area in order to make CDA more socially and culturally relevant in the Indonesian context. This study which takes the issue in Indonesia context aims to explore the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel using the three-dimensional framework of analysis (Fairclough, 1993, 2010). Additionally, this also portrays the ideological construction of moderate Islam carried by Yahya Cholil Staquf to his visit.

H. Research Methodology

This section covers the explanation of the research methodology which consists of the descriptions about research design, research instrument, data, data source, data collection, and data analysis.

1. Research Design

This study applies a qualitative method of critical discourse analysis which is considered as a theoretical perspective on language (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Using this method, the researcher is able to build a deep understanding of the issue by conducting a comprehensive analysis of the object of the study. The deep understanding may discover a certain interest of media which affects the representation of Staquf as the subject of this study and how the media construct his ideology. Furthermore, the researcher attempts to explore how the issue of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel is represented on the selected-news through the theory of Fairclough's three dimensional model of analysis. Besides, Wodak and Meyer (2001) assert that there are three essential concepts in CDA: the

concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology. These concepts seems to be constructed and performed in this issue. The concept of ideology seems to be constructed and performed in this issue.

2. Research Instrument

As a qualitative research, the primary research instrument of this study is the researcher herself (Heigham & Croker, 2009) who performs all the processes which are started from collecting the data, analyzing the data until concluding the results of the study.

3. Data

The data of this study are six news that mark moments of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel. These news are selected from two online media: *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*. which are chosen to represent the countries involved in the controversy of this issue. The media have an opposing ideological position in which *www.republika.co.id* stands for the independence of Palestinians as Indonesian Muslims own it. Whereas, the Israeli (Jewish) with their online media—*www.timesofisrael.com* is on the contrary position. The whole text of the online news is the primary data of the study.

Moreover, to support the primary data, the special interview of Staquf with CNN Indonesia's reporter is selected. The interview is taken for digging up Staquf's personal opinions and feelings concerning the issue. Thus, the primary and supporting data being analyzed are in the form of words, phrases, clauses, sentences, and discourses.

4. Data Source

There are two different online media as the data source in this study; *www.timesofisrael.com* and *www.republika.co.id*. The data are retrieved on the range of time around Staquf's visit to Israel which is from June 10, 2018, until June 16, 2018. Furthermore, *www.republika.co.id*, the website or online edition of Indonesian daily newspaper "HARIAN REPUBLIKA" was founded on August 17, 1995 (two years after the newspaper publication in 1993). It was established by the Muslim community and known as "the biggest Islamic commercial online news service in Indonesia" that provides news in Indonesian and English editions (Rahman, 2017, p.378). Now, it is owned by Mahaka Media and managed by Erick Thohir. As the vice president commissioner of Mahaka Media, he is also the President Director of ANTV, President Director of Visi Media Asia, and the chief of President Joko Widodo re-election campaign for the 2019 presidential election.

Www.timesofisrael.com is an Israeli-based online newspaper founded in 2012 by journalist and founding editor David Horovitz, and US hedge fund manager Seth Klarman. Davit Horovitz is a British-born Israeli journalist who often received the awards of Israeli journalism and from Jewish community. While Seth Klarman is active with the Israel Project, a pro-Israel advocacy group that collects and provides information on Israel for journalists to write news. Moreover, he also donates to medical causes, Jewish organizations (such as the American Jewish Committee, Boston's Combined Jewish Philanthropies

and Gann Academy), and Israeli causes. Moreover, in 2018, he gives some \$20 million to Democratic Party (United States) where he was once the biggest donor to the Republican Party (Weiss, 2018). The website covers developments in Israel, the Middle East and around the Jewish world. It publishes the news in English, Arabic, French and Persian Editions.

The interview that had been conducted by the reporter of CNN Indonesia is the supporting data for this study. Miftah Faridl is the reporter from CNN Indoneisa who conducted the interview. CNN Indonesia or Cable News Network Indonesia is a television station and news site owned by Trans Media which is led by Choirul Tanjung. As a news site, CNN Indonesia does not only provide news through the television and website but also on online social media; Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Youtube. This special interview is under the title “Gus Yahya Menjawab Kritik: Nekat Berangkat ke Israel demi Perdamaian” (Gus Yahya Responds to Criticism: Desperate Depart to Israel for Peace) which was published on CNN Indonesia official Youtube account on June 24. Staquf’s clarification in this interview arises ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ comments. Some people support him and some people judge and claim that what he did is completely wrong. Moreover, this video is opted by the researcher as the data source and being transcribed afterwards.

In addition to the online media which are used as the data source, media owners are also very important in this study. Media owners’ organizational institutions especially related to the media economy affects the discourse production. Equally, the media politics also give influence to the life and policies

of the media. As today, the production of news is inseparable from the influence of media economy and politics (Eriyanto, 2001).

5. Data Collection

Primarily, the procedure of data collection starts with selecting the topic. The Israeli-Palestinian feud has been the concern of Indonesian for years. Since it is in relation to politics and religious conflict, things become sensitive when dealing with this issue. The researcher took two months to collect and read the online news that prosecute Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel. Then, the researcher selected two online media from different countries, they are Indonesia as Staquf's homeland and Israel as where the event took place. *www.republika.co.id* is opted as Indonesian media which reported 34 news talking about this issue. The Israeli media, on the other hand, is *www.timesofisrael.com..* It presents three news and displays two live updates. After all, the researcher selected three news from each media. To build a deep understanding of this issue, a personal clarification of Staquf as the subject of the issue is noteworthy. Therefore, the data collection was continued by transcribing the interview of Staquf. Finally, the data needed were selected by the researcher for further analysis.

6. Data Analysis

The data were analyzed by the researcher using Fairclough's three dimensional analysis with the following steps. Firstly, the researcher conducted the textual analysis as the first dimension by exploring the language practice

known as ideational which refers to a particular representation contained in the text. Then, the researcher explained the second dimension of discourse practice by interpreting how the text was produced, consumed, and interpreted. After that, the sociocultural practice in the third dimension was examined to find out its impact on the text. Finally, the researcher gave a conclusion.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter explains the contents of the theories applied in the study. The theory is presented from the general into the specific insight; Critical Discourse Analysis, Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis, and Ideology of Moderate Islam.

A. Critical Discourse Analysis

Wodak and Meyer (2001) regard Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) formerly identified as Critical Linguistics (CL). Nowadays, scholars refer it more specifically to the critical linguistic approach. CDA considers language as a social practice and the context of language use to be crucial. Moreover, the manifestation of language in CDA is a particular interest in the relation between language and power and the relation of struggle and conflict. CDA itself is not just an analysis of discourse (written or spoken language or more concretely text), but it includes systemic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of social process. As the idea of the word 'critical' which indicates the hidden connections and causes (Fairclough, 1992a). Wodak (2001b) asserts that the basic assumptions of CDA are salient as articulated in Kress's work. They are:

- Language is perceived as a social phenomenon.
- In systemic ways, language expresses individuals', institutions', and social groupings' specific meanings and values.

- Texts are the applicable form of language in communication.
- Readers/hearers are active recipients in their relationship to texts.
- There exists similarities between the language of science, the language of institutions, and etc.

Fairclough (2012) states that CDA brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies. He suggests that “the place and role of discourse in society and culture is a historical variable” (Fairclough, 2010, p.88). It elucidates that discourses can be understood referring to their context, including the extralinguistic factors such as culture, society, and ideology. Meyer (2001) asserts that ‘historical’ is a significant characteristic of CDA. It is following the discourse-historical approach (DHA) proposed by Ruth Wodak. The DHA focuses on the relationships of intertextuality and interdiscursivity between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses, as well as considering the extralinguistic or sociological variables, the institution’s history, and situational frames (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Moreover, the relationship between media, politics, and people are very complex that it needs interdisciplinary research to make it transparent (Wodak, 2001).

Wodak (2001, p.70) emphasizes that “the historical context is always analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts”. Discourses spread cross between fields and socio-functionally refer to each other. The intertextuality then makes the relationship with other text clear because it seems to be hard to grasp the meaning of the text without the contextual information and the historical knowledge.

In analyzing the discourses under the investigation, the researcher opts to integrate the existing knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields. Further, the historical dimensions of the issue have been discussed in Chapter 1 and especially Section A. It is a part of the more extensive social practice in which these discourse samples (the selected online news and interview) are located. It is also relevant that these samples appeared in the period between Staquf got the invitation until his return to Indonesia even a few weeks later.

B. Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

Norman Fairclough has been concerned with the critical discourse analysis since the 1980s. He sees how language is positioned and functioned in social relations, especially on the power of domination and ideology. He further explains that discourse analysis is divided into four aspects:

a. Text

In the level of text, it does not only show how an object is represented (ideational) but also how the identity of them is displayed in the text. In this study, the text level deals with the news (text) representation of Staquf in terms of the lexical choices, the way of addressing, the use of active and passive voice, etc. All these aspects indicate the attitudes toward Staquf and represent his identity as the subject being examined.

b. Intertextuality

The intertextuality covers the relationship between a text and the other texts which indicates how reporters deal with readers' voices and views.

This aspect of intertextuality is salient to the CDA approach including for this study which analyzes three online news from each selected media. Since one news is formed by the prior news and it will inspire the upcoming news, they are interrelated and inseparable.

c. Discourse practice

The discourse practice is interpreted to carry out the analysis to know the process of production, distribution, and consumption of text. The chosen words and the composition of sentences influence its consumption processes. It is assumed to be able to change the behavior or the way of thinking of the readers or consumers. Passing through the production process, the news as a form of language use that has been written down is distributed on the online media (in this study).

d. Sociocultural practice

The discourse analysis deals with the sociocultural practice in which discourses appear in the media influenced by the social context outside the text or media. The discourses being analyzed in this study may be influenced by the existing social, cultural, and also political context. The standard of the media is determined by their particular structures and rules which is constructed by many aspects such as politic, economy, etc.

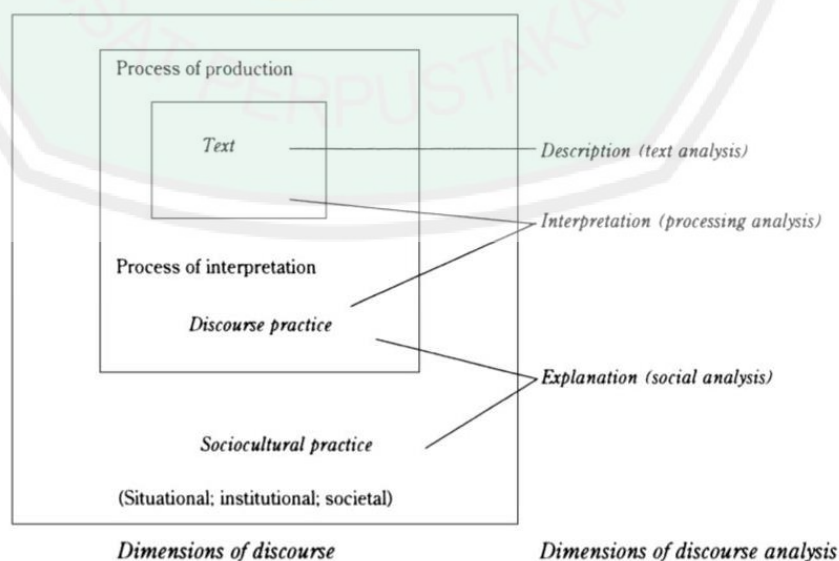
1. Three-Dimensional Analysis

The three-dimensional analysis is an analytical framework that explores the linkages in particular discursive practices. Each discursive practice consists of three dimensions (Fairclough, 2010):

- (1) text (spoken or written language),
- (2) discourse practice (production and interpretation of a text),
- (3) sociocultural practice.

Discourse practice lies between the text and the social practice. On the one hand, discourse practice shapes the text and is shaped by the nature of the sociocultural practice.

Besides, discourse, according to Fairclough (2010, p.95), is “language use conceived as social practice”. It shows complex relations in social life which includes internal and external relations. An example of internal relations is the relations of communication between people who talk (conversations, speech), write (articles, newspaper), etc. While the relations between discourse and power relations or institutions imply an external relation. Moreover, each discourse is embedded within the sociocultural practice at situational, institutional, and social. To gain a clear understanding, Fairclough illustrates below.



(Fairclough, 2010, p.133).

The analysis of the situational dimension concerns the various texts produced in a unique condition as the object and also provides the textual analysis that includes linguistic analysis (Eriyanto, 2001; Fairclough, 2012). In this dimension, the textual analysis is provided in description (Fairclough, 2010). Meanwhile, the wider institutional dimension employs processing analysis or interpretation of the relationship between the productive and interpretative of text. The prominent factors in the institutional dimension, also known as discourse practice (Fairclough, 2010), are the media economy and politics in which the organization or institution's power is exercised. Fairclough (1989) emphasizes that power domination may affect discourse production and interpretation. Lastly, the social analysis explains the relationship between the discourse and sociocultural processes. It provides the identification of the change of social aspects such as social relations, political and economic system, and cultural values which determine the media discourses (Fairclough, 1989, 2012).

To answer the research questions of this study regarding the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf portrayed in the online news (www.timesofisrael.com and www.republika.co.id), the researcher employs this Fairclough's three dimensional model of analysis. Through the situational, institutional, and social dimensions of analysis, the representation of Staquf's visit to Israel is examined thoroughly. Fairclough (2010) believes that this theoretical approach to critical discourse analysis is suitable for use in the sort of research into social and cultural change. It is also considered as a framework of social change that gives three effects toward discourses that are giving a

contribution to: (1) the construction of social identity and subject position, (2) the construction of social relation, and (3) the construction of knowledge and belief system (Fairclough, 1992a).

C. Recontextualisation of Ideology in Indonesia

Fairclough (2010) defines ideology as a system of ideas, values, and beliefs to construct a conception of the world. The conception is oriented to legitimize a particular hierarchy and political order, preserve individual and group identities, and maintain relations of power through hegemony rather than through coercion. Besides, ideology is also defined as a relation between powers, texts, orders of discourse, and languages because meanings of the text constitute and sustain power in social practices and social structures. Wahyudi (2018) explicates that the relations of power are also entangled in Foucault's concept of discourse. Through discourses, power is exercised as a means of constituting and governing the opted subjects without any physical force and violence. Thus, power may be internalized in discourse and vice-versa (Fairclough, 2010). From this view of ideology, it can be concluded that Fairclough focuses on the relations between discourse, power, hegemony, and legitimacy. Ideologies are functioned to serve power and represent or explain aspects of the world.

Above all, Fairclough's views of ideology cannot entirely examine and understand the ideology performed by Staquf in his visit to Israel. Fairclough did not discuss ideology in the context of religion. Still, Fairclough (2010) realizes that every practice recontextualises other social practices based on the principles of that specific practice or field. Consequently, he suggests the critical discourse

analysis category of recontextualisation. Fairclough (2010, p.20) explains recontextualisation as:

“a part of the analysis of how particular discourses become dominant or hegemonic, analyzing their distribution across structural boundaries (between different social fields, such as education and politics) and across scalar boundaries (e.g., between local and national scales), and their recontextualisation within different fields and at different scales.”

Moreover, He emphasizes the importance of recontextualisation in ideological representation because there is a space for ideology to take part when a discourse moves. Recontextualisation process involves the process of recontextualizing discourses through decontextualisation (taking meanings out of their contexts) and recontextualisation (putting meanings in new contexts of discourses).

Applying this to the study, the recontextualisation of ideology, which means that it is inserted into a different context, and therefore is combined with a different sort of religious (Islam) and local (Indonesia) ideology. The view of ideology and relation to its mediation as a form of recontextualisation is used to analyze processes of; (1) re-scaling, changing relations between the national scale of Indonesia and international scale of Indonesia-Israel-Palestine, (2) field or structural boundaries of religion especially Ideology of Islam. Mediation itself is understood as the movement and transformation of meaning (text, discourse, event, etc.).

All things considered, Irham and Wahyudi (2012, p.92) suggest that “one of the main tenets in critical discourse analysis is the notion of ideology”. In this study, the researcher aims to seek the ideological dimensions of discourse because the concept of ideology is essential to understand discourses. Hence, the result of the first research question’s analysis is relevant to the second research

question about the ideology under investigation. As a result, this study brings new insight or theoretical contribution to the notion of ideology as it develops the theory through recontextualising categories and relations from the theory and framework of religious ideology in Indonesia as a different understanding of ideology as understood by Fairclough. This ideology of moderate Islam which carried by Staquf to his visit will be further discussed in the next section.

D. Ideology of Moderate Islam

Pancasila, as the ideology and the basis of the Indonesian state, prioritizes unity as a nation that has different ethnic, religious and ideological backgrounds. According to Muhajir (2015), the beginning of Pancasila emergence is one of the important examples of how the *Nusantara* clerics understand and apply the Islamic tenets as they are aware that “substantially Pancasila is very Islamic” (p.68). The first precepts that inspired other precepts reflect *tauhid* (monotheism or the unity of God), whereas the other precepts are part of the representation of the shari’a (religious rules, norms, and values). It affirms Abdullah’s idea (2015) which asserts that religion is not only related to *akidah* (faith) and *ibadah* (worship) but also related to leadership (in contact with the state and governance system), morality (including the association among people from other groups/religions), social institution, and art. Thus, the religion of Islam is manifested to the ideology Pancasila practiced by Indonesian.

In the field of religion, ideology is the basis of morality and reflects intellectual habits. The ideology of moderate Islam is particularly the ideas attached in the majority Indonesian Muslim’s way of life which is primarily held

by NU. This ideology, however, cannot be separated from *Islam Nusantara* as the religion which interprets religion and culture as an inseparable unity as long as it does not violate shari'a. Besides, it is the core of *Islam Nusantara* that confirms the values of social harmony and tolerance in the lives of its people (Nafi', 2019). Islam is normative, so it tends to be permanent, while culture is human artificial which grows with the times and is dynamic (Wahid, 2015). This raises the possibility of the manifestation of religious life in the form of culture. However, this does not mean that Islam merges into the culture and loses its original qualities, nor it is an attempt to abandon shari'a for culture. The Islamic tenets are interpreted as not textually narrow but are contextualized with social and cultural conditions and contemporary issues.

According to Hosen (2016), substantially, *Islam Nusantara* is the idea of *Pribumisasi Islam* continuation that was proposed by K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, and then be continued by the next PBNU Chairman, K.H. Hasyim Muzadi in the form of rejecting the import Islamic movement (ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) that did not fit into Indonesian culture. K.H. Said Aqil Siradj then continued the idea by offering *Islam Nusantara*. From a scientific point of view, *Islam Nusantara* is a continuation of Prof. Hazairin's idea of a national school and the idea of Indonesian Jurisprudence from Prof. Hasbi As-Shiddieqy several decades ago (Hosen, 2016).

Moderate Islam's thoughts are based on Islamic *rahmatan lil alamin* (compassion for all nature/universe). Whereas, the moderate Islam ideology with its principles is believed to be a solution to world peace. NU as

the holder of moderate Islam ideology stands with the principle of *tawassuth* (moderate), *tasaamuh* (tolerant), *tawaazun* (balanced), *i'tidal* (fair), and *musyaarakah* (togetherness in society) (Hosen, 2017; Nafi', 2019). By applying these principles, NU continues to spread it for the sake of world peace. Additionally, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, are concepts that reflect the understanding of NU (*Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah*) with the core of *rahma* (compassion). Given these points, the ideology of moderate Islam may be signified as any set of beliefs, values, political or cultural attitudes.

E. Nature of Online Media Discourse

Discourse is referred by Fairclough (2010) to any spoken or written language use conceived as a social practice is not merely distributed through printed or written language or through face-to-face communication. Today, discourses are also distributed online as people start replacing physical meetings with virtual meetings by manufacturing technologies such as computers and mobile phones. Its users have become “intertextual operators” who regularly edit multimodal and multimedia materials across different online platforms and for different purposes (Lee, 2011).

In this 4.0 industry, individuals, as well as communities, offer windows into others' lives, lifestyles, and interests. Moreover, not only for a sharing platform, but online media is also used for e-commerce (buying and selling products over the internet) to get profit. By the ease of the internet and online media accessibility, people spend a great deal of time online every day, whether

with computers at home or with mobile phones anywhere. Jones', Schieffelin's, and Smith's study (2011) reveal that although people rarely show up themselves on the online media, but still regularly reading an online site. Thus, online media, or also known as digital media, is a combination of technology and content. In presenting discourse, there is a relationship between the language and the technology. West and Trester (2013) confirm that when linguists entered computer-mediated communication (CMC) study, they hold "characterizing online language as being more like written or spoken communication and describing the various features and genres present in texts on the web" (p.133).

Briefly, online media allow everyone to access or to read (constructed) discourses or given information that has been wrapped in a written language that is published freely. This feature creates a media in which people can selectively choose what they want to read and what information they need for free online. Hassan (2018) states that in contemporary society, people choose different sources of information (print or electronic media) to keep themselves updated with the happenings. It also allows people to access larger geographical areas and longer periods of distributed-discourses.

Online media is accessible and available to encourage both the creativity of their markers and the curiosity of their audiences. The data created on the online media are in a machine-readable format as it can also be viewed, distributed, modified, and saved on digital electronic devices. Thus, the process of production, reproduction, as well as the distribution of online content, are never absent from external factors such as economic and political motives.

However, whether online or offline, spoken or typed, face-to-face, or digitally ‘mediated’ language use has material consequences (Thurlow & Mroczek, 2011). Fairclough (2003) elucidates that discourses may be shaped by the nature of social practice in society as it affects people’s attitudes and behaviors. This suggests that online discourses also can be contrived to a certain extent and certain objectives through the choice of linguistic features from the interface.

1. Israeli Online Media (www.timesofisrael.com)

The latest published survey reveals that Israeli internet penetration rate is on the rise as they spend many hours online doing various activities (Haleva-Amir, 2011). The political actors carry out themselves online through various internet tools, such as websites and social networking sites in order to engage the society into political activity. Youngsters tend to spend many hours in online social activities rather than in traditional media outlets (Haleva-Amir, 2011). Elvestad, Phillip, and Feuerstei (2017) also point out that Israeli students are much more likely to use online social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram and blogs to discovers their society information. Thus, the political actors broaden internet usage to keep up the trends and to reach the society.

Besides this current study, Pace and Rosamond (2018) also quote data from www.timesofisrael.com concerning a celebrity politician rise, Tony Blair as Middle East envoy. The celebrity politicians conduct politics by using entertainment techniques or “celebrity diplomacy”, which simultaneously complements and challenges traditional diplomacy in ways that utilize

controversy (Pace & Rosamond, 2018, p.6). For instance, Tony Blair scheduled a visit to the Middle East and showed a lack of respect for local Palestinian voices, yet he appears to seek media attention by taking pictures. Thus, he does not need to do much to resolve the long decades' conflict. On the other hand, this study points peaceful diplomacy of Yahya Cholil Staquf by the religious approach of promoting *rahmah* (religious values for all creatures), which is also quoted from the same online media. Focusing on a different issue, these studies similarly requires investigation into the individual role in constituting the global politics and the capacity to offer solutions in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The Times of Israel is one of the leading online news sites on current affairs, cultural happenings, and religious issues in Israel (Katz, 2019). Although it is not the first online newspaper in Israel, it is one of the top 9 English-language Israeli online newspaper. The information in this online media is provided not only in English, but also in Arabic, French, Chinese, and Persian. Thus, this online news site seeks to present the news, including the Jewish center development throughout the world. Besides publishing news reports and analysis, this online media provides a multi-author blog platform so that anyone can be a blogger on this site by sending their reports. This online media seems to offer a wide range of analysis and opinion pieces. Additionally, Wahyudi (2010) suggests that “all opinion articles must have been reviewed by the same group editors before being published” (p.380) with the result that the news does not go beyond the media interests.

Lieberfeld (2009) elucidates that the quantity and quality of media coverage enable to influence of public opinion and eventually government policy. The Israelis are addressed as “news junkies” because they have high levels of news consumption. The highest news media usage among Israelis is online (27%), while the printed news usage is 21% (Elvestad, Phillip, & Feuerstei, 2017). The facilitation of online media, then, could generate content by uploading videos, covering issues, writing posts or news, etc. This innovative and sophisticated internet usage of the online media provides any information both internally and externally (the nation). Overall, it may be said that the online activities (including constructed discourses) are likely used by the government, the politician, or the elites to engage and connect with the public.

2. Indonesian Online Media (www.republika.co.id)

Rahman (2017) elucidates that www.republika.co.id is the biggest Islamic commercial online news media in Indonesia. This media is firstly published as a daily newspaper that extended into the online publication and became the first online news service in Indonesia (Nugroho, Putri, & Laksmi, 2012). Republika has a clear Islamic orientation that it's a national and universal mission that is for the good of the nation and to spread benefits for the universe (Rahman, 2017). The mission refers to an Islamic phrase “*rahmatan lil alamin*” which means a blessing for the universe. This Islamic phrase is the basic thought of the moderate Islam ideology. Thus, the media represents the view of the majority of Muslim groups which attempts to contextualize the universal Islamic teaching within the local Indonesian culture.

Rahman (2017) states that *www.republika.co.id* is regarded as the most popular Islamic online news service in Indonesia. The extension from printed media into online media has brought significant influence to society. For instance, the facilitation of the distribution and accessibility, and the broader scope of readers both nationally and internationally. Moreover, it allows news to be presented in innovative and exciting ways. Besides, this Indonesian online media provides the coverage of Islamic events and issues, and regularly publishes special Islamic insights in addition to the daily newspaper editions. Fairclough (1995) suggests that informationally-oriented aspects of media output is ideologically shaped. Thus, online media discourses may be said to contribute to shape public opinion, to establish social relations, to maintain media interests, and of course, to spread religious ideology values.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents findings and discussion section. The findings contain the analysis of the data using Fairclough's three dimensional analysis method, while the discussion contains the relation between the findings and the previous studies involving its similarities and differences. This findings section is divided into two sub-sections referring to the source of the primary data (www.timesofisrael.com and www.republika.co.id) which is analyzed in three dimensions (textual practice, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice).

A. Findings

The findings are elaborated based on the three dimensional model of analysis and the research questions which consist of three divisions, namely textual practice, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. It is also divided into two sections following the online media that becomes the source of the data, which are taken from www.timesofisrael.com and www.republika.co.id. The followings are the findings from both online media.

1. www.timesofisrael.com

a. Textual Practice

In practising Fairclough's model of analysis on textual practice, he suggests three types of value that formal features of a text may have: experiential, relational, and expressive. The experiential value in formal features is to do with contents and knowledge or belief. While relational value comprises relations and social

relationships. Finally, expressive value deals with subjects and social identities. Furthermore, Fairclough (1989) explains that words have experiential values manifesting ideological differences between texts in their representations of an issue. To find out the experiential values, it should be drawn upon the classification schemes alternating the focus between the text and the discourse types. The following are the lexical choices in two different ways of representing Staquf's role portrayed from www.timesofisrael.com.

Excerpt 1:

Text 1:

Top Indonesian cleric; The head of world's largest Muslim organization; Secretary general of the 60 million member Nahdlatul Ulama; The secretary-general of the world's largest Muslim organization; Cleric; The head of the 60 million member Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (12 June 2018).

Text 2:

Indonesian Muslim leader; Secretary general of the 60 million member Nahdlatul Ulama; A leader of Indonesia's largest Muslim organization; Secretary general of the 60 million member Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) (12 June 2018)

Text 3:

Indonesian Muslim leader; Who heads world's largest Muslim organization; Sheikh Yahya Cholil Staquf; Leader of Nahdlatul Ulama; The leader of the world's largest Muslim organization; An Indonesian cleric (15 June 2018)

Excerpt 2:

Text 1:

Government official; A member of Indonesia's Presidential Consultative Council (12 June 2018)

Text 3:

Government official (15 June 2018)

In Text 1 (12 June 2018), Staquf is frequently addressed by referring to his role as a Muslim figure. This text is titled "In Israel, top Indonesian cleric calls for 'compassion' between Muslim and Jews" which talks both about the message (compassion or *rahma*) promoted by Staquf and the current relationship between Israel, Indonesia, and Palestine. While Text 2 (12 June 2018) with the title "Visiting Israel, Indonesian Muslim leader risks backlash at home" focuses on the message of

interfaith compassion (*rahma*). Here, the journalist does not mention Staquf's governmental status. Text 3 (15 June 2018), such as "Netanyahu boasted of Israel's warming ties with Muslim countries, ...", is more likely to discuss politics including Staquf's support for Palestine independence, Israel-Indonesia and Israel with Muslim countries diplomacy relations.

Staquf's intimate meeting with Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, is seen by some people as a way of using Staquf for Israeli political campaigns to approach the Islamic world. In an interview with Miftah, Staquf (2018) asserted that the meeting was not his plan and the intimacy between them was a form of social courtesy. The Israel Prime Minister's Media Adviser quoted Netanyahu's conversation with Staquf saying that *"Israel is the innovation nation, and I'm very happy to see that the Arab countries and many Muslim countries getting closer to Israel. I hope that we have some movement with Indonesia."* (14 June 2018). In the conversation, Netanyahu brought the conversation towards the hope or desire for the normalization of relations between Indonesia and Israel. In response, Staquf (2018) stressed that the normalization of Israeli-Indonesian relations could only be established if there is a credible and tangible commitment from Israel to resolve the Palestinian issue and make peace.

It can be seen in Excerpt 1 and 2 that the lexical choices seem to be exemplifying the perspective of the journalists who consider Staquf's role not only in Indonesia but also involves the world's perspective. The way words co-occur or collocates: thus in Excerpt 1 and 2, e.g. "The leader of the world's largest Muslim organization, an Indonesian cleric and government official, ..." (Text 3, 15 June

2018), reveals how Staquf collocates (and sometimes is added) with his religious organization representative and government official simultaneously, giving an ideologically and dominant scheme for classifying identities. This social identity is “a trace of and a cue of “an expressive value to the journalist’s evaluation of the reality it relates to (Fairclough, 1989, p.112). The journalist attempts to preserve the identity of Staquf especially on his significant role in Indonesia which is also recognized by the people around the world. This sort of social identity projected by the journalist has been ideologically invested.

The vocabulary items opted for representing his role are where ideology is coded. As Fairclough (1989) explains, the ideological significance of a text is acquainted through the lexical choices. Words in Excerpt 1 are a scheme for a social identity—way of acknowledging a person’s social status, and this is likely evident in the text indicating the journalist’s awareness of Staquf’s religious ideology. Notice the journalist’s point of view in the way of addressing Staquf suggested by the relation of power: as with his prominent position in Nahdlatul Ulama that gives better performance from a more powerful person. The manifestation of the religious ideology is drawn into the relations between the influential religious organizations and also Staquf’s position in its management. Therefore, his status in NU along with his status as a government officer who controls the country, in a traditional sense contributes to give a hidden power escorting Staquf’s visit to Israel.

As explained above, another scheme is portrayed in Excerpt 2 for another way of addressing Staquf based on his governmental position. In the Indonesian government, Staquf is positioned as the representative of Nahdlatul Ulama. He is

clearly described by the journalist as a member of Indonesia's Presidential Consultative Council. According to Fairclough (1989), a word has various meaning with a common core for believing the majority interests in the society which stands under social control. As a part of social reality, the social structures in this context performed by Staquf involves his status and roles as an Indonesian Muslim leader and government official. With this representation, the text may be believed as being written for a particular interest of the media. Thus, the journalists work under the control of the online media or the news producer (www.timesofisrael.com).

The classification schemes in different discourse types may differ quantitatively (Fairclough, 1989). With a larger or smaller number of words used in the texts, a particular aspect of reality is presented into different degrees. The high degree of wording or *overwording* often involves many words which are (sometimes) near-synonyms and/or in a similar discourse type. The words *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)*, *Muslims*, and *Jews* are in a more significant frequency of occurrence as it is in the context of religious discourse. These words bring up a value assumption on religious ideology. Value assumption itself is defined by Fairclough (2010) as the values which are made implicit. This case of overwording is assumed to be the means of promoting or negotiating peace through the ideology between religions, though it is not explicitly stated. It will be further explained in Section 3.1.2.

The data from www.timesofisrael.com is much preoccupied with negotiation and support, and this is an evident in the vocabulary for these meanings, including the verbs *call*, *address*, *talk*, *tell*, *appeal*, *promote*, *support*, *affirm*, *spread*, *advance*, and *help*. The meaning relations between these words which appear in the

same discourse type often be regarded as relative to particular ideologies; either the ideology in the discourse type or the ideology being creatively generated in the text. The value of alternating focus between the text and the discourse type also holds for meaning relations between words. Through the text, the journalist aims to show that inviting Staquf to Israel is a way to call for a new discourse between faiths and spread what he calls a message of interfaith compassion. For Staquf, it is accounted as a way of supporting Palestinian Independence.

The media utilize some harsh vocabularies in representing Hamas. It appears to be the journalist's strategy to shape the readers' perception towards this issue in order to keep maintaining the media interest. See the following excerpt.

Excerpt 3:

*Israel **accuses** Hamas, the **terrorist organization** ruling Gaza, of using **demonstrators** as human shields while trying to carry out **attacks** and says it is defending its sovereign border and communities nearby. (12 June 2018)*

The bolded vocabularies put in the text seem to be indicating the ideological values of the media in which it accounts Hamas as Islamic fundamentalist who fights against Israel. Tauhid (2010) states that Zionist Israel denies and does not recognize the existence of Hamas as the winner of the election and the legitimate government of the Palestinian Authority. Israel instead considers Hamas as a terrorist since they perpetrated suicide bombings and have "the Islamic Charter 1998, Hamas' founding document" which contains movements calling for the destruction of Israel (Klein, 2007, p.442). Thus, the textual features of wording or lexicalization constitute ideological and political values.

Besides having an experiential value, words are likely to have such relational values simultaneously (Fairclough, 1989). With these values, the lexical choices (wordings) depend and help create social relationships between participants.

Excerpt 4:

*Yahya Staquf, who heads world's largest Muslim organization, says he wants to **promote ties with Jerusalem**(1), **but stresses he came to affirm 'Palestine's sovereignty'**(2). Visiting Israel this week, the secretary-general of the world's largest Muslim organization appealed for **"compassion" between Jews and his coreligionists**(3), which he said could help **the Jewish state build ties with Muslim countries around the world**(4), including Indonesia, where he serves as a cleric and government official. (12 June 2018)*

The underlined expressions could be another example of experiential values of wordings which is regarded as ideologically different formulations of the same way of addressing Staquf. The bolded expressions seem to be precisely formulations of the same actions on building the relationship between Indonesia and Israel.

Nevertheless, the journalist appears to reject the first; "...promote ties with Jerusalem(1), ..." and the last two; "...**"compassion"** between Jews and his coreligionists(3),..." and "...**the Jewish state build ties with Muslim countries around the world**(4),...", of these formulations in favour of the second; "...**but stresses he came to affirm 'Palestine's sovereignty'**(2).", as part of the process of negotiating a relationship of trust and solidarity. But an expressive value is also involved, the journalist presumably assume that the first (1) and the last two (3 and 4) bolded formulations would constitute 'positive' evaluations for readers (especially the Israeli) e.g. building ties with Muslim countries, and that the second (2) would constitute a 'negative' evaluations, e.g. standing for Palestine and opposing Israel.

On the other hand, the journalist also adopts strategies to prevent 'negative' interpretation of the wordings on the process of text consumption, namely euphemism.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2010) defines euphemism as “an indirect word or phrase that people often use to refer to something embarrassing or unpleasant, sometimes to make it seem more acceptable than it really is” (p.500). Fairclough (1989) regards euphemism as a way of avoiding ‘negative’ values by substituting words for more conventional or familiar one. The following Excerpt 5 appears to contain a number of euphemisms.

Excerpt 5:

*Indonesia recently **revoked** tourist visas for Israeli visitors to protest Israeli actions in Gaza. In response, Israel has threatened to ban tourist visas for Indonesians. (15 June 2018)*

The underlined words above “...has threatened to ban, ...” signify the euphemism which is substituted for avoiding unpleasantness. The journalist who sided with the Israeli media, represent his government policy toward Indonesians indirectly to make it seem more acceptable than it really is. While the Indonesian policy, as mentioned in the text “*Indonesia recently **revoked**...*”, is represented straightforwardly. The word *revoke* means “something (formal) to officially cancel something so that it is no longer valid” (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2010, p.1268). Thus, the euphemism used by the journalist to point out the aim for hiding the shocking fact in which Israel responds to the Indonesian government's policy.

Moving to the grammatical features, the experiential values are also identified through the grammatical forms. This is what Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) called as an *ideational function* which constitutes human experiences. This includes the types of process and participants in the structure of the clause. The data from *www.timesofisrael.com* express respectively the three main types of process that is types of actions, events, and attributions (see Fairclough, 1989; Halliday &

Matthiessen, 2004) which is dominated by the process of *actions*. An action includes two participants, an agent who acts toward a patient in some way. Moreover, an agent and a patient are not always animate. They are sometimes inanimate. See the following sentence in which I have placed labels after each elements noticing any types of processes can freely occur with a variety of different elements.

Excerpt 6:

His schedule(S) also includes(V) meetings(O) at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem(C), and talks(V) with local Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders(O). (12 June 2018)

The agent in Excerpt 6 is *S*, *his schedule*, which is inanimate. Since this sentence is a complex sentence with coordinative conjunction “and” connecting two dependent clauses, it involves two different patients and an agency (*his schedule*, understood *S*). The first patient is an inanimate (meetings), while the second patient is an animate (local Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders). Moreover, the journalist clarifies that the visit consists of many activities involving a meeting with various sides or groups such as *Jewish, Christian, and Muslims*. This dialectic between the religionists discusses to achieve world peace.

Besides meeting with the religionists, Staquf is also reported that he met Benjamin Netanyahu, the Prime Minister of Israel. In Text 3 (15 June 2018), the name of Netanyahu is used to be the headline of the news added with an adverb ‘*unexpectedly*’, preceding the verb ‘*meet(+s)*’. In the other sentence, the journalist includes the phrase ‘*a surprise meeting*’. Based on these lexical choices, the journalist seems to be emphasizing that the meeting was spontaneous or unscheduled. Moreover, Staquf also asserts that the meeting with Netanyahu was not listed on his schedule in which he was invited there (AP, 2018; Mardiasih, 2018). Being invited by

the Israel Prime Minister signifies that Staquf is not just an ordinary person who visits Israel, but he is an influential figure in Indonesia who is recognized by the world especially (in this case) Israel.

The following are the other *action process* in the text with different elements.

Excerpt 7:

Responding to the criticism(A), he(S) reiterated(V) his support(O) for the Palestinian cause(C), saying his visit to Israel aimed at promoting Palestine's independence(A). (12 June 2018)

In this excerpt, the *action process* is modified with *pre-Adjunct (A)* and *post-Adjunct*.

The Adjuncts are attached to give some additional information to the main clause which prominently gives more information. In the main clause, the *agent* 'he' (refers to Staquf) performs an act of 'reiterated' upon the *inanimate patient* 'his support'. Meanwhile, the grammatical shape of Adjuncts in this sentence utilizes a *nominalization* of a verb being used as a noun which is commonly known as a *gerund*. Fairclough (1989, p.124) defines a nominalization as "a process converted into noun". The verb "say" is added by the suffix *-ing* becoming a noun "saying" in which in this sentence constructing an *adjunct (A)*.

The ideological possibilities of the choice of the *actions* as the type of process predominating the data are shown by the data I have mentioned above (Excerpt 6 and 7): representing Staquf's visit to Israel as an action with responsible agents. Similarly with Excerpt 6, both the *actions process* positions Staquf as the agent of social activities including his relations with his country, religious organizations, Palestine, Israel, and also the religionists in Israel. This choice is made to highlight the goals of Staquf visiting Israel which is not absent from Wahid's idea, *a breakthrough strategy*, by offering the value of religion (Islam) as a solution to the conflict, then calling the

world to choose *Islam Rahmah* (Mardiasih, 2018; Staquf, 2018). A relevant piece of situational information, perhaps, is that the Israeli or the Jewish groups who invite Staquf to the forum is aware of Staquf's religious ideology.

Then, dealing with *modes*, Fairclough (1989) mentions that there are three major *modes*: declarative, grammatical question, and imperative. Based on the data, the journalist dominates his texts by utilizing *declarative modes* which are marked by having an S followed by a V with its element variations. In this case, the *modes* position the subject (S) as a giver of the information, and the addressee as a receiver. Referring to the *process*, the declarative modes involves the types of process: *actions*, *events* and *attributions* (see Fairclough, 1989). The elements may be in the form of SVO, SV or SVC, and other combinations. Thus, using this strategy, the journalist is able to deliver the information to the reader obviously without an ellipsis (omission). The S is explicitly displayed, pointing out information or performing an act followed by the V which give a specific description of S.

Besides nominalization and modes which are used to avoid redundancy, the domination of *active* sentences in the data also signifies the journalist's willing to state the agency clearly. Fairclough (2003) elucidates that putting the social actor as the actor in a process means that the journalist attempts to emphasize the social actor as the one who does things and make things happen. However, action processes may appear in both *active* and *passive* sentences. Some sentence in the data also formed in a passive sentence. See the following excerpt:

Excerpt 8:

Many are upset about the situation in Gaza, where over 120 Palestinians have been killed during protests along the Israeli border over the past two months. (12 June 2018)

The sentence mentioned in Excerpt 8 involves an active and passive sentence. Notice that it is an *agentless passive* sentence. Thus, the journalist aims to leave the agency unclear which could be intended to protect his side (Israel) from the fact that it was the doer. The first clause has an inanimate agent of the attribution process: *Many(S) are(V) upset about the situation in Gaza(C)*. The agency itself (S) is left unclear.

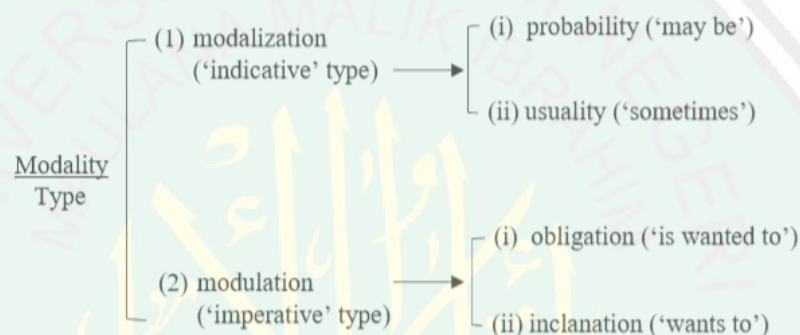
Similarly, the second clause which is in the form of *passive form* conceals the agency who performed the activity of ‘killing’. What is being accentuated is that the Palestinians is being affected by the actions of others. Supposing that the journalist states the agency explicitly, the sentence might have been interpreted in completely different ways. Then, it perhaps harms his institution. Therefore, this strategy is intended to construct the basic assumptions of the readers.

Fairclough (1989) elucidates the importance of modality in the relational and expressive values in grammar. Modality is not only a matter of modal auxiliaries, but it also deals with the speaker or author authority which is divided into two dimensions. First is *relational modality*, as a matter of the authority of one participant concerning the others representing identity or identity-in-relation. Second is *expressive modality*, which considers the speaker or the author’s authority to the truth or probability of a representation of reality. He (2003) further explains that the choices in modality are significant not only in terms of identification but also in terms of action and representation. Look at the following excerpt.

Excerpt 9:

*He says there needs to be “a new discourse” to recognize that Muslims and non-Muslims are equal and **should** be able to coexist peacefully. (12 June 2018)*

Should on its own as a *modal auxiliary verb* can signal offers, commands, suggestions, recommendation, obligation, probability or expectation. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) elucidate that modality stands between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ polarity, referring to the meaning that lies between yes and no. As Fairclough’s (1989) elaboration, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) suggest that there are two types of modality:



(p. 618)

Modalization refers to what Fairclough called *expressive modality*, which considers an authority concerning the truth or probability of a representation of reality. While *modulation* refers to the *relational modality* which deals with the semantic category of proposals in relations to others. Moreover, the basic distinction is the orientation between subjective and objective modality and between the explicit and implicit variants (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

In this case, *should* indicates an *obligation* type (modulation)—*positive proposal* with a *median degree of value* that is attached to the modal judgement. It is categorized as a positive proposal because of the modality exchanged is a command (Halliday, 2000). “Should” is that expressing the meaning of obligation in the median degree of value of the speaker’s request of judgement expressing the meaning of

‘supposed’ that lies between ‘required’ (high degree) or ‘allowed’ (low degree) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Then, it has an *implicit subjective orientation* which is used to demonstrate the speaker’s willingness in communications through the modal adverb “should”. The use of this orientation may indicate a kind of implication that gives rise to an obligation. Thus, it seems that the news journalist implies a viewpoint on this issue of Staquf’s visit to Israel and his message of *rahma* and try to affect the readers’ attitude and behaviour by a recommendation to live together with mutual tolerance.

Notice that the authority and the power relations embedded on Staquf who decides how the message is sent to the audiences or the readers. It is precisely implicit authority claims of Staquf who is the Secretary-general of the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia to deliver the message of peace between religions. This relational modality may denote as a genre which is a “particular way of acting socially” (Fairclough, 2010, p.358). It shows how Muslims and non-Muslims should be interacting and discussing particular kinds of social relations. Moreover, the implicit power relations of the sort illustrated here makes relational modality a matter of religious ideological interest.

The readers can see Staquf’s identity as a specific form of the ‘figure’ of religion as well as politics expert, being constructed in the texts partly through choices in modality. It is considered as a part of how one identifies the other-selves, necessarily in relation to others (interaction) or how one relates to the world and to other people (Fairclough, 2003). However, it is a relational modality which represents *an identity-in-relation*—in relation to the governmental diplomacy and religious ideology and to

the people of Israel, Palestine, and Indonesia as the issue being represented in the online news. Therefore, it also can be identified that Staquf gives a ‘message’ about his religious ideology which he performed through his social identity. This means that the choice of modality is significant in terms of identification, social relation of actions, and representation.

The clause placed before the modal auxiliary verb: “*Muslims and non-Muslims are equal*”, has a simple present tense form (identified by are). This is one terminal point of an expressive modality with a categorical commitment of the journalist to the truth of a proposition. The journalist chooses this categorical commitment instead of the negated proposition or the other alternative possibilities, such as modal verbs, modal adverbs, or modal auxiliary. Fairclough (1989) explains that the report of an issue is commonly signified as categorical truths – facts – without the sort of modality forms. This is such the authenticity claims or claims to knowledge or truth.

Additionally, pronouns in English have different sorts of relational values. Fairclough (1989) emphasizes the preference between the use of pronouns *we* and *you* which is related to the relationships of power and solidarity. For instance, the following Excerpts show the diverse meaning of pronoun *we* used in the online news.

Excerpt 10

*Netanyahu boasted of Israel’s warming ties with Muslim countries, saying “I hope that **we** have some movement with Indonesia.” (15 June 2018)*

Excerpt 11:

*“**We** need to work together, actually, to really find a path to global solutions.” (12 June 2018)*

All these Excerpts are in the form of direct quotation put in the online news.

The news journalists inserted the direct quotations to show the related or additional

information directly from the actor being talked about and to convince the readers. However, the opinion and the attitude of the journalist to insert a specific quotation of a particular speaker is still political. Excerpt 10 and 11 represent the use of pronoun *we* with a different meaning. Excerpt 10 contains what is called by 'exclusive' *we* where the *we* refers to Netanyahu as the speaker and the people of Israel without including the addressees. While Excerpt 11 exemplifies the meaning of 'inclusive' *we* which involves both the speaker and all the addressees.

Staquf as the speaker in Excerpt 11, demonstrates his attempt to legitimize his political strategy and his message associated with his mission as necessary to the situation between Israel, Palestine, and Indonesia. The journalist's way of showing its identification with the government and the state is to treat them as equivalent to its composited *we*, i.e. all of the Muslims. One aspect of this reduction is that it serves the ideology which stresses the unity of all the people (including Muslims, Jews, etc.) who have certain interests both in terms of religion and politics. Besides Staquf, who attempts to promote the ideology of Moderate Islam, K.H. Said Aqil Siradj on several occasions abroad such as in America, Libya, Egypt, Japan, and South Korea campaigned for *Islam Nusantara*. They accept and are impressed by this concept of religious ideology, though in Indonesia, there are still those who refuse (Sahal & Faizin, 2019).

b. Discourse Practice

Fairlough (2012) suggests that the existing reality needs to be described and evaluated whether it matches up to the various value in the society or not. Journalists have a particular way of dividing up some aspects of reality which is built upon their

works. The fact that this media is founded by the Jews which is based on Israel, www.timesofisrael.com shows signs of being in the side of Israeli. Seth Klarman, who is one of the founders of this online media, is “widely known to use his wealth to support Israel causes” (If Americans Knew, 2017). As the US billionaire hedge fund manager, he also funds and be the major donor to the Jewish groups’ establishment like the American Jewish Committee and an Israel advocacy group like The Israel Project (Nathan-Kazis, 2012). Moreover, Klarman’s family foundation also supports Islamic groups such as the American Islamic Forum for Democracy (founded by Zuhdi Jasser). In addition to this, he is the prominent founder of the American Islamic Congress.

Some of Klarman’s funding records above, reflect his particular interest. In line with this, on If Americans Knew’s report (2017), mentioned that Klarman is presumed of having a ‘wedging strategy’ in which he supports Muslim and Arab-oriented front groups who advance pro-Israel interests while weakening the goals of mainstream Muslim and Arab-American organizations. Indeed, Staquf was invited by the Israel Council on Foreign Relations to be a speaker in the American Jewish Committee (AJC) Global Forum held in David Amar Worldwide North Africa Jewish Heritage Center, Jerusalem, giving a material entitled *Shifting the Geopolitical Calculus: From Conflict to Cooperation*. Staquf had prepared a script about his defence of Palestine and the offering of strategies from the values of “*Islam Rahma*” to the world, but it was censored by the committee (Mardiasih, 2018). In the end, the committee changes the event into a talk show guided by Rabbi David Rosen

involving the commemorating Wahid who opened the pathway for the dialogue with Israel.

The course of the event that has been changed by the AJC committee seems to be done for preventing Staquf's talk, which does not match up to the value needed by the society there. However, Staquf was invited to be the speaker in AJC, where Klarman is the major donator of AJC and the founder of *www.timesofisrael.com*. That existing reality of the power relations and social structures or values of the media, and the sociocultural and political values of the Israeli are the contexts under the consideration of the text production. Moreover, the social identity of Staquf is the necessary part of a representation of a figure to be provided in the news. In this way, the structure of the vocabulary used to representing Staquf is ideologically based and aimed to justify specific points of view.

During the talk show, Staquf also conveyed the principles of *rahma* in Islamic values (as the principle for any religion too) which are interpreted as compassion and caring for others. He asserted, the solution to world peace related to the function of religion in real life in the Middle East and in any part of the world is with *rahma*, partly by performing a more inter-religious interpretation to guide the people to create harmony between religious groups or other groups.

The word *rahma* is originally derived from Arabic. Many Qur'an translations render *rahmah* as "mercy". Majid (2012) argues that the description of "mercy" in modern English fails to represents the meaning of the Arabic term *rahmah*. Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2010, p.929) has two definitions of "mercy": (1) "a kind and forgiving attitude towards somebody that you have the power to harm or

right to punish.”, (2) “An event or a situation to be grateful for, usually because it stops something unpleasant.”. In the Islamic standpoint, Allah is indeed *merciful*. Allah has the power to harm and the right to punish us for our sins as well as being kind and forgiving. Majid (2012) emphasizes that *rahmah* is not simply mercy but something more profound—“an emotion closely tied with motherhood”. Therefore, *rahmah* is more likely to be described by referring to emotions we call “compassion” or “nurturing love”.

In the data, *rahmah* is translated as “compassion”. Meanwhile, Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010) defines compassion as “a strong feeling of sympathy for people who are suffering and desire to help them” (p.292). In this context, the journalists represent the point and the value of *rahmah* in several words and phrases. See the following excerpt.

Excerpt 12:

Text 1:

...he looks at **interfaith cooperation** as a basis for solving... (12 June 2018).

Text 2:

Yahya Staquf calls for ‘**new discourse**’ between faiths...; ...to spread what he calls a message of **interfaith compassion**... (12 June 2018).

Text 3:

...“**compassion**” between Jews and his coreligionists... (15 June 2018).

Excerpt 12 portrays that there are different lexicalizations which refer to *rahmah*. Although it has the same point, it is presented differently following the context of the issue being conversed. Two phrases use the word “interfaith”. Interfaith itself means “between or connected with people of different religions” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2010, p.784). While “cooperation” means: “the fact of doing something together towards a shared aim” (p.323).

“Interfaith cooperation” here appears to be the basis for solving the conflict between the Israeli-Palestinian in which they have different religious backgrounds (Jews-Muslims). “Interfaith compassion” is a deep feeling to help other people from different religions. In this context, it refers to the message spread by Staquf, the message of interfaith compassion, which is also a concept of *ukhuwah* (brotherhood) in his religious ideology.

The ideology of moderate Islam performed by Staquf is close to NU as the largest Islamic organization. Moreover, in the position of the Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board, Staquf stands as NU representative. These possibly are the factors that he is invited to the forum and accepted by the Israeli. As quoted in the official website of Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netanyahu told Staquf that *“many Muslim countries are getting closer to Israel for various reasons; the first is security – the common struggle against the Iranian regime and ISIS, and the second is technology.”* (14 June 2018).

The quote seems to be a political statement in which Muslim countries are stated by Netanyahu as getting closer to Israel nowadays for two reasons; security and technology. He hopes that Israel and Indonesia will also have the same development. This ideology of religion is the basis of morality and the reflection of intellectual habits. It asserts the values of social harmony and tolerance in life. Nahdlatul Ulama, as Staquf’s religious affiliation, is the holder of moderate Islam ideology. Additionally, in CNN Indonesia’s interview with Staquf, he emphasized that he came representing himself, not in the name of Indonesia as a country, not in the name of Nahdlatul Ulama, he did this for the Palestinian.

The world, especially Israel probably acknowledges Staquf as a figure with those social identities. Particularly, when there are harmful risks, he does not want the Indonesian government or the Indonesians and Nahdlatul Ulama to bear its consequences (Staquf, 2018). However, the chair of the Indonesian Ulama Council's Foreign Relations (MUI), Muhyiddin Junaidi, explains that Staquf's visit violates the ethics of diplomacy, constitution, and aspects of religious social relations (Wardah, 2018). This can damage the image of Indonesia in the international world and the image of PBNU in the Islamic world. By this opinion, he seems to be expressing his ideology of being a *hardliner*. Moreover, Indonesia can be considered a country that reneged on its promises for its support of Israel's independence, thereby damaging Indonesia's bilateral relations with Palestine, other countries supporting Palestinian independence, and also damaging PBNU's relationship with pro-Palestine religious organizations.

Equally important, the relationship between Wahid, who had a close relationship with Israel in his lifetime, and Staquf affects the Israeli government's view of Staquf. Take into account that Staquf is the nephew of his best friend (KH Ahmad Mustofa Bisri) and during his presidency, Staquf became his spokesman. Staquf himself admitted that he continued what Wahid had fought for most of his life that is not to ignore the diplomatic struggle without violence. He chose peace and offered the concept of *rahma*, the most transcendental element of religious morality which can be accepted by all religions and humanities. This is a construction of thought that Wahid had uttered 16 years ago—religion as a solution, not a source of conflict.

To put it all together, Fairclough (2010) clarifies that a text is shaped by the nature of the discourse practice of the text production. As the text is produced in a particular discourse practice, it shapes the surface features of the text as portrayed in the text analysis. He further explains that a text interpretation will be determined through the nature of the discourse practice as well. At this point, the texts (the online news) appear to me that the readers are creatively articulating two different discourse conventions in their interpretation, that associated with religious ideology, and that associated with governmental diplomacy. On the one hand, the readers with the same religious ideology as Staquf may support his action. The extremists, on the other hand, seem furious and blame his action. Besides, the nature of the discourse practices can itself be linked to the wider sociocultural practice within which it occurs.

c. Sociocultural Practice

The sociocultural practice is where the discourse practice and the text are embedded within (Fairclough, 2010). There are many factors relating to the sociocultural practice itself. The existing social, cultural, political, and also religious context may affect the discourse practice of the process of production, consumption, and interpretation of a text. The conflict between the Israeli and Palestinian is the primary consideration why Staquf's visit to Israel grows into a debate among society. Such a long history involving the sociocultural aspects is salient to understand the conflict.

Jerusalem, the capital city of Israel, is being greatly glorified by the Israeli. In *Tourist Israel The Guide*, Jerusalem is described as a unique city that there is no other place like it—"a city of tradition, religion, and history, but also increasingly, of modern

culture and heritage” (Jerusalem, 2019). Jerusalem, as the capital of Israel, is not recognized internationally, but this city is controlled by Israel (Muhibbuddin, 2014). The seizure of Jerusalem from Palestine and the establishment of Israel was first triggered and based on the Jewish Zionist elite’s thought. Then, Zionism is a national movement of Jews based on the ideology of Jewish national self-determination (Mock, Obeidi, & Zeleznikow, 2012). Garaudy (1985/1988) argues that it appears to be a political movement that began with the doctrine of Zionism compiled by Theodor Herzl since 1882.

Zion itself is defined by LEXICO (2019) as: (1) the hill of Jerusalem on which the city of David was built, (2) the heavenly city or kingdom of heaven (in Christian thought), and (3) a land of future promise or return from exile (among Jews-Israel). Thus, Zion is the name of a real place in the Holy Land—Jerusalem. Garaudy (1985/1988) shows that this can be related to Zionism as a religious movement where adherents of Judaism have a tradition of pilgrimage to this ‘Holy Land’. This tradition only applies to a relatively small group, which is unfamiliar with any political program and does not cause conflicts or disputes between the Jews and the Arabs. Besides, Jerusalem, where Al Aqsa mosque stands, is also considered as one of the holiest sites for Muslims. Additionally, Rivlin (as quoted by Harif, 2016) states that the Qur’an does not belong only to Muslims, it is also important for Jews as a manifestation of the Semitic spirit and could contribute to Zionism and Judaism as a connection to their Eastern origins.

Muhibbuddin (2014) explains that this ideology is filled with the doctrine which states that Jews can become a proud nation and can solve all their problems if

they have their sovereign and independent state. Moreover, it affirms that there would never be peace and security for the Jews wherever they are, forever, unless they have their land. The Zionists have an understandable desire to establish a sovereign Jewish state, given the history of dark oppression from the rulers of various eras, from the Pharaoh's regime to Hitler's (Jews for Justice in The Middle East & Samir, 2002). However, not all the Jews agree with this ideology, especially the Jewish families who have lived side by side with Palestinians for decades in Palestine. Thus, Muhibbudin (2014) affirms that the emergence of this discourse because of the need to distinguish between Zionist Jews and non-Zionist Jews.

On the other hand, the Palestinian Arabs have lived as Palestinian population since the 7th century, or more than 1200 years ago (Jews for Justice in The Middle East & Samir, 2002). The Jews have taken their homeland for over a thousand years in the Zionist movement without consent and mostly with violence. Related to its status, Jerusalem is a "meeting point" between the monotheistic religions so that Christianity, Islam, and Judaism are united in their reverence to this holy land (O'Mahony, 2005b). He (2005a) affirms that as a sacred city, Jerusalem has, the Haram al-Sharif as a symbol of victory for Muslims, the Wailing Wall as a symbol of loss for Jews, and the Holy Sepulchre as a symbol of victory through a loss for Christians.

Most of the Palestinians are Muslim, while the religion of the Jews is called Judaism. The roots and origins of the Jews are Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) who is also the ancestor of Christians and Muslims. However, in the Jewish tradition, Christianity and Islam are the illegitimate children of Judaism (Waardenburg, 2004). In Islam,

Abraham's blood was channeled through Siti Hajar who gave birth to Prophet Ismail, who later became the pioneer of the founding of the city of Mecca, the birthplace of Islam. Meanwhile, in Judaism and Christianity, Abraham's blood flowed through Siti Sarah, who gave birth to Prophet Ishaq (Isaac). So horizontally-anthropologically, these three religions are the descendants of the same father, Abraham (Muhibbudin, 2014). All of them are monotheistic religions with distinctive features of religions and distinctive identity constructions (see Waardenburg, 2004).

Jerusalem with its history, then became a city of dreams, a contested city, and a city called "the promised land". Chaim Weizmann, a famous spokesman for Zionism in the United Kingdom, explained that Palestine or Jerusalem is desirable to be the center of world Zionism because of a strong "sense of belonging" in which it is an old city that has long been contested by the nations of the Semitic dynasty (Muhibbudin, 2014). The Israeli elites consider this holy city a part of the country, and that is an essential part of the ideological system of Zionism. Garaudy (1985/1988) states that the actions they take towards the Arabs are sacred acts or duties stated in the Gospels. In determining the territorial boundaries, Israel (including the Jewish religious) also asserts the historical and religious biblical heartland for the references (Frisch & Sandler, 2004). Ellis (2014) affirms that the territory occupied by Israel is believed to have been given by God to the Jews as a *promised land*. Moreover, the Jewish settlers have used the biblical promise about the land becomes "the most potent weapon and a foundational document" (Ellis, 2014, p.477). In this conflict that still occurs until today, the government of Indonesia voices peace and states its support for the Palestinians independence.

Some Indonesians such as Indonesian Palestinian community, condemned Staquf's visit to Israel even though he had confirmed that he went to Israel to deliver a message of peace. Staquf's visited Israel when hundreds of Palestinian demonstrators were killed and thousands injured (Wardah, 2018). Moreover, Jerusalem—where the event takes place may be interpreted as a form of support for recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. After all, Staquf's visit to Israel not is based on his own will, but he received an invitation from Israel. Israel is not inconsequential in inviting Staquf to the Jewish Forum—they are aware of who Yahya Cholil Staquf is. During his lifetime, Staquf has been active in politics. Since childhood, his life was very close to the religious sciences, especially those which is based on the moderate Islam ideology. Additionally, in a socioculturally diverse society, Israel, Palestine, and also Indonesia, there needs to be a negotiation (such as political or religious dialogue) across the conflict with all the differences and similarities to gain a central concern for peace.

Staquf's religious ideology cannot be separated from his religious organization. Nahdlatul Ulama. Prof. Dr. K.H. Said Aqil Siradj, M.A., the Chairman of the Executive Council of Nahdlatul Ulama, asserts that NU is a moderate, tolerant, anti-radicalism, and antiterrorist organization (Sahal & Faizin, 2019). In Ramadhan Di Kampus UGM (2019), H. Nadirsyah Hosen, LL.M., M.A., Ph.D., the Chairman of Australia and New Zealand Nahdlatul Ulama Branch as well as the senior lecturer of Monash Law School, suggests that moderate in Islam does not mean having any stance and attitude, it is *wasathiyah*—middle people who are fair, not extremely stand in the left or right side which has the characteristic of *rahmatan lil alamin*. He further

explains that Islam *Wasathiyah* tends to opt the understanding and practices that is not *ifrath* (excessive in religion) and *tafrith* (reducing religious teachings). Hosen adds that since Islam is a blessing for the entire universe, according to Islam *Wasathiyah*'s understanding, the duty of Muslims is to convey Islamic messages without imposing their will.

The other sociocultural practice is also portrayed in the surface features of the text. Notice Staquf's representation in Excerpt 1 Text 3: "*Sheikh Yahya Cholil Staquf*" (15 June 2018). The word *Sheikh* is an honorific title in Arabic. It strictly means "elder". However, *Sheikh* carries the meaning of "leader", including a leader or head of religious orders or chief of tribes. It is also applied to a learned man (especially theologians) and to anyone who has memorized the whole Qur'an (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014).

White (2010) stated that Arabia has been limiting the use of *Sheikh* title in which it is only applied to religious scholars and tribal leaders only. This is caused by the use of the title that has become too frequent and is generally given to those who are not entitled to it. Therefore, addressing Staquf with the *Sheikh* title entitled to his name indicates that his religious affiliation or organization as well as his knowledge, his position, and his influence to the religion field is acknowledged by the Israeli especially the journalist.

2. www.republika.co.id

a. Textual Practice

Throughout the critical discourse analysis, the researcher attempts to portray the media representation of Staquf's visit to Israel. By means of addressing Staquf, the data present two different ways.

Excerpt 13:

Text 4:

Kiai Yahya; KH Yahya Cholil Staquf; General Secretary KH Yahya Cholil Staquf; Gus Yahya. (11 June 2018)

Text 5:

KH Yahya Cholil; Gus Yahya; The general secretary of Nahdlatul Ulama. (13 June 2018)

Text 6:

KH Yahya Cholil Staquf; an Islamic figure from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization; Indonesian Muslim figure. (16 Jun 2018)

Excerpt 14:

Text 5:

A member of the Presidential Advisory Board. (13 June 2018)

Text 6:

A government official figure; a Presidential Advisory Board member. (16 June 2018)

Both Excerpt 13 and 14 refer to Staquf's role, showing his social identity that at the same time holds a significant control in the religious organization and Indonesian government. Excerpt 13 demonstrates that Staquf is a person who has a significant role in the religious field. His significant role is as the general secretary of Nahdlatul Ulama in which it is the largest Muslim organization with the largest number of members in Indonesia. According to a survey of the Indonesian Survey Institute in 2013, NU members reached 91.2 million (Muhlison & Faizin, 2019). Meanwhile, Excerpt 14 portrays the discourses where Staquf stands around the influential people in the Indonesian government. The journalists mention clearly his position in the government; "*A member of the Presidential Advisory Board* (13 June

2018); *a government official figure; a Presidential Advisory Board member* (16 June 2018)”).

Important to realize, the social relations, as well as power relations represented in the data both explicitly and implicitly, can be regarded as relational values. Besides, expressive and experiential value is also involved. The textual, as well as the grammatical features utilized on the data, help to create a social relationship between the participants which called as the relational value. The expressive value, then, is articulated in the representation of Staquf’s identity as a social and religious figure. Moreover, the content in Text 4 (11 June 2018) mainly problematizes Staquf’s visit to Israel manifesting his ideology of Moderate Islam and the controversy which arises many responses toward this issue due to the Indonesia’s position which does not have any diplomatic relation with Israel and stands for Palestinians independence. Then, it is recognized as experiential values which convey human experiences, knowledge, belief, etc.

Through the two different way of addressing Staquf, both of them may affect the nature of the discourse practice of the text interpretation which determines how it will be interpreted by the readers. By providing this way of representing Staquf, the journalist attempts to shape the readers’ interpretation of Staquf as a notable social figure for Indonesian and for Muslims in Indonesia. Nevertheless, I cannot preclude “black-and-white” interpretation owing to the fact that each reader has a different belief, background knowledge, and religious ideology. With diverse religious ideologies (extremist-wasathiyah-liberalist) that the readers have as well as their

background knowledge and what they believe, their interpretation will turn out to be different.

In Text 4 (11 June 2018), the journalist does not mention Staquf's status in the Indonesian government. The journalist of the text puts the attention to the invitation that has been received by Staquf. His activities there is mentioned there such as giving a lecture, talking in a global Jewish forum, and meeting with several figures. There is a little discussion in the context of governance in the form of a presidential statement regarding the absence of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Israel. In the last part of the text, the journalist inserts a short explanation about the history of Israel-Palestinians conflict. This seems presented as a justification for the statements in the news which declare Indonesian support for Palestinian independence.

To construct the readers' perception toward the issue, the journalists insert a large number of both direct and indirect quotation of figures' opinions or responses to the issue. Firstly, the journalists (of text 3, 4, and 5) quote President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo's reaction. Widodo affirms that he received information that Staquf is visiting Israel. Even though Staquf is his government official, Widodo does not give many comments regarding Staquf's decision as Indonesia does not have any diplomatic relation with Israel. H. Bambang Soesatyo, S.E., MBA, the chairperson of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI), deplored Staquf's visit to Israel. In his opinion, it potentially causes an uncondusive situation referring to regional elections on 27 June and parliamentary and presidential elections on the following year.

The Muslim figures also speak up responding to this issue. The response from Prof. Dr. K.H. Said Aqil Siradj, M.A., as the Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama and Robikin Emhas as the Caiman of Nahdlatul Ulama are chosen. The journalist's decision to insert their opinion on the text may be influenced by the power relations embedded in those figures. These Muslims figures, who comes from the world's largest Muslim organization, Nahdlatul Ulama, acknowledge that Staquf, who holds a position in NU received an invitation from Israel Council on Foreign Relations but emphasize that their organization does not have any cooperation with Israel. Siradj and Emhas as well as Widodo, however, believe that Staquf has always been fighting for the Palestinians' Independence.

Ma'ruf Amin, the Chairman of MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council), expresses that he did not support Staquf's decision to visit Israel. Notice the following excerpt.

Excerpt 15:

KH Ma'ruf Amin said diplomacy should not be done by individuals, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (13 June 2018)

By using the modality *should* followed by *not*, Amin explicated his disagreement politely. This modality accounts the speaker's attitude toward reality. Advice is expressed by the agency, Amin, as well as giving a recommendation or solution on this issue. In this way, Amin is able to show what is appropriate which should have been done by Staquf as he criticizes his action.

Differing from the MUI Chairman's response, Osama Al-Qawasmi, Fatah spokesman, clearly stated his opposing opinion without any euphemism. According to Zeidan (2019), Fatah is a political and military organization of Arab Palestinians, founded by Yassir Arafat and Kalil al-Wazir. In the same way, Hamas, a Palestinian Sunni-Islamist fundamentalist organization, is against Staquf's visit to Israel. This

assumption arises from the lexicalization or the wording which constitutes an ideological value. For instance, the vocabulary contained in the data from *www.republika.co.id* in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 16:

*The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas **condemned** Staquf's visit to Israel.; ...**a disgraceful act** which is not only **an insult** to the Palestinian people...; ...AJC Global Forum in Jerusalem as **a crime** against Jerusalem, ...; Fatah believed sitting with **the Israeli colonizer**...; ...the conference held in occupied Jerusalem is **a betrayal of religion**,...; ...Indonesian people to hold accountable those who sell themselves to "**demons**"... (13 June 2018)*

The bolded words are in this case, ideologically significant which belong to 'right' ideological frameworks (extremist). The extremists certainly condemn Staquf's visit to Israel, even anything related to Israel will not be approved by them. Therefore, it identifies the 'negative' perception of Staquf's visit to Israel as the journalist represents the opinions of both politicians and organization leaders who agree and against this issue.

These domains are respectively the representation and signification of the world and experience, the constitution of identities of participants and social and personal relationships between them. The participants mentioned in the texts are known for their respective identities. Additionally, with the position they occupy, the relationships they make, the words they say, and the actions they take will be the public concern as well as their opinions on this issue of Staquf's visit to Israel.

In the data obtained from *www.republika.co.id*, it is known that the journalists enter direct and indirect quotations in a relatively equal amount.

Table 1. The number of direct and indirect quotation.

Text	Direct Quotation	Indirect Quotation
Text 4 (11 June 2018)	4	5
Text 5 (13 June 2018)	7	9
Text 7 (16 June 2018)	6	8

From Table 1, it can be seen that the difference between the two is not much. However, the data is dominated by indirect quotations. Hacker and Sommers (2010) explain that the indirect quotation and direct quotation are quite different since a direct quotation utilizes the exact words of the speaker while an indirect quotation reports a speaker's words without quoting word for word. Thus, the indirect quotation is a paraphrase of the original words from the speaker so that the journalists are able to adjust it with a certain interest including the tendency towards the politics and the ideology of the media. In this case, the journalists are free to introduce information about the utterances from his point of view and based on his knowledge (Coulmas, 1986).

In Text 5, the journalist inserts *a mixed quotation*. Johnson and Lepore (2011) describe it as the journalist's combination of direct and indirect quotation. See the following excerpt.

Excerpt 17:

He stressed the need of a "new discourse" to acknowledge that Muslims and non-Muslims are the same and should be able to coexist peacefully.

The excerpt above shows the mixed quotation where the journalist has paraphrased the speaker's original utterance, but a certain passage in the original utterance is particularly put in the sentence. It portrays the journalist intention who wants to ensure the accuracy on that particular key passages which in this case is "*new discourse*". By putting both direct and indirect quotation, the journalists could increase the accuracy and deliver the messages that fit the existing or the needed values to be conveyed to the readers. On the other hand, the quotations are also a form of the journalist's control over the presented content of texts in order to maintain a particular

interest. Working with and under the political and ideological motives, the journalists could avoid the speaker's words that are potentially offending the media interest.

The use of pronoun 'we' is also portrayed in the direct quotation of Staquf's utterance; "As a Muslim, we wanted to do our part with our religion", he remarked. (16 June 2018). This we pronoun is exemplified the meaning of 'inclusive' we which involves the speaker as a Muslim and the other audiences or readers who are Muslims too. Staquf as the speaker demonstrates the solidarity of Muslims. Notice the following excerpt.

Excerpt 18:

Nevertheless, Kiai Yahya was scheduled to meet with several figures, among others the head of the Waqf Board of al-Aqsa mosque Ali al Awar, cleric Mohammed Dajani Daoudi, Catholic patriarchs, Greek Orthodox Christian and Lutheran, Egyptian Ambassador HE Hazem Khairat, and some intellectuals at Hebrew University. (11 June 2018)

Through this excerpt, the journalist is able to represent Staquf's role as a Muslim figure who promotes interfaith cooperation as the basis for resolving many conflicts. The meeting between the religionists is being represented by the journalist clearly. Several figures from a different religion are mentioned in detail—emphasizing that the meeting was really attended by the intellectuals, a reliable religious leader. In his opinion, the current problem of civilization is related to religion. Sutrisno and Amrullah (2018) explain that during the visit, Staquf voiced peace, stressing that there needs to be "new discourse" on the interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims as they have the same values on it and should be able to coexist peacefully. This "new discourse" cannot be separated from the religious ideology performed by Staquf.

Having the same religious ideology as K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, Staquf who called for peace between Israel-Palestine is not a new discourse given that Wahid

had previously attended the same forum in 2002. He also delivered a message of peace where humanity was an important factor in looking at every conflict. Staquf also did not deny that this was an attempt to continue K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid's effort to achieve world peace, including Palestinian independence. Moreover, according to Wahid, sending volunteers to Palestine would not solve the problem. Instead, he believed that diplomacy and concrete support in the political and cultural fields would give a more significant impact (Aziz, 2018).

Wahid (2015) explained that it is possible to be a "good" Muslim while being a social creature. In such a social attitude, bridging a diversity both in religion or social life is a must. This bridging effort is a big job which must be done by dialogue with all parties. With this ideology of Moderate Islam, Staquf had a dialogue with Israel by giving a new insight (*rahma*) without blaming the ideology or the attitude of their religious or social life. Muhajir (2015) asserted that people would stay away if their stance or point of view is criticized. Hence, they must be gradually approached while we are influencing it. This is in accordance with one of the rules of *fiqh* which refer to the principle of *waqi'iyah*:

دَارِهِمْ مَادُمْتَ فِي دَارِهِمْ، وَحَيِّهِمْ مَادُمْتَ فِي حَيِّهِمْ

"Adapt with them as long as you are in their town, and respect them as long as you are in their town" (Muhajir, 2015, p.66). In the same way, what has been explained is the experiential value of the texts which deals with the beliefs to live life.

Another experiential value is portrayed through the grammatical features used in the texts. The data are predominated with *action process* and followed by *attribution process*. See the following sentence that contains both actions and

attribution process. Additionally, I place labels after each elements noticing any types of processes can freely occur with a variety of different elements.

Excerpt 19:

*Gus Yahya(S) will also give(V) affirmation to the world(O), especially Israel(A), **that** Palestine(S) is(V) an independent country(C). (11 June 2019)*

The *action process* is identified by S-V-O and followed by *post-Adjunct (A)*.

This clause put ‘Gus Yahya’ as the *agent* performing an action of ‘give’ to *an inanimate patient* ‘affirmation to the world’. ‘especially Israel’ as *post-Adjunct* is inserted to put more detail. Then, the second clause presents *an attribution process* which employs the composition of S-V-C. ‘Palestine(S)’ stands for the *agent* of the clause which is complemented by an *adjective phrase* ‘an independent country(C)’. The complement is also called a subjective complement as it describes the subject of the clause.

These two clauses which consist of the dependent clause ‘Gus Yahya will also give affirmation to the world, especially Israel, ...’ and independent clause ‘... Palestine is an independent country.’ connected by a subordinating conjunctions ‘**that**’. This conjunction introduces a that-clause which is a subordinate clause (independent clause). Indeed, the subordinate clause cannot stand alone as a complete sentence. It only describes Palestine as an independent country. While the independent clause provides the information of Staquf’s affirmation to the world, especially Israel as the country he visited. Therefore, the subordinating conjunction is utilized to provide more information.

b. Discourse Practice

www.republika.co.id, as one of the online media in Indonesia, is currently managed by Erick Thohir and stood under Mahaka Media. Besides directing this online media, Thohir is also the chief of Joko Widodo re-election campaign for the 2019 presidential election. On the other hand, Yahya Cholil Staquf, who is the figure or the social actor being talked about in the news (text), is the member of Widodo's advisor team representing Nahdlatul Ulama. Through this circle of relationship, media are in a complex relationship involving a broad variety forms of life aspects (owner, social position and condition, etc) that lead to the construction of the power relations. Moreover, this supposed to affect the emergence of the discourses' impact related to the report on the issue of Staquf's visit to Israel.

On May 31, 2018, *www.republika.co.id* had written news about Staquf's inauguration as the Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board by President Jokowi two times in a day. Then, on June 9, this media released Staquf's news concerning the invitation he received from Israel. Since then, this issue had been reported for 34 times. The news contains various responses to this issue, starting from Staquf's response, the Indonesian president's response, foreign ministers', the deputy chairman of the Indonesian Parliament's, religious leaders' including his organization, Palestinian community's, etc. A large number of responses to this issue demonstrates that in Indonesia this issue became very controversial arising pros-cons with various details. Thus, the media reports cannot be separated from the interests of the media or institution.

Referring to the way of addressing Staquf “*KH Yahya Cholil; The general secretary of Nahdlatul Ulama; A member of the Presidential Advisory Board*”, his social identity may suggest that this forms of social practices, social organizations and social institutions linked to the ‘micro analysis’ of texts helps to uncover the media representation. Through this way of representing, the investment of power relations between the social actor, the institutions and the organizations are drawn upon in producing and interpreting the text, especially the way of addressing Staquf.

This way of representing Staquf is not random but socially structured following the order of discourse (social practice). As a specific configuration of discourses, genres, and styles, the order of discourses constitutes particular resources for meaning-making in the text (Fairclough, 2010). In producing the discourses (way of representing), the journalist presents implicitly the power (in traditional understanding) owned by Staquf. The text is shaped by the process of production done by the journalist who works in Indonesia surroundings and under the institutional powers and regulations.

Staquf’s visit to Israel causes controversy and triggers the societies, communities, and also institutions to promote their support as well as criticism. Nevertheless, above all, the partisanship of the Indonesia government and most of the Indonesian people toward Palestine cannot be contested. President Joko Widodo has expressed the support for Palestine firmly (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2018). Moreover, also portrayed in the data that the Indonesia government, as well as Staquf, has been supporting Palestine.

Excerpt 20:

Text 4:

As honest as possible; the one and only opportunity; to generate real advantage; always in every breath of diplomacy of Indonesia; (11 June 2018)

Text 5:

to promote peace and support the Palestinians; had been and will always be on the side of Palestine; (13 June 2018)

Text 6:

stressed his stance towards Palestine. (16 June 2018)

In Excerpt 20, the journalists code the support toward Palestinians and their independency through the lexical choices. It constitutes similar intentions of the journalists and helps him representing this issue with emphasizing the support for the Palestinians. This excerpt shows practices from the journalist perspective who works under the media that stands for Palestine independence.

Staquf (2018) states that AJC is the oldest and the largest international Jewish organization which according to him is the most influential. The American Jewish Committee (AJC) was founded on 11 November 1906 and was the first organization established by American Jews (MJL, 2019). This organization addresses the need to defend Jewish and everyone civil rights in the United States and throughout the world. Furthermore, in its organization website “AJC Global Jewish Advocacy” they introduce themselves with “building a safer, more secure future for the Jewish people, Israel, and all humanity”. Moreover, also quoted in the AJC official website, the former French President Nicolas Sarkozy that “AJC is the most effective, most influential, and most respected of American Jewish organizations.”.

AJC gives an effect on a particular issues that matter the most since it has more than 30 offices worldwide and partnerships with 34 international Jewish community organizations. (Who We Are, 2019). It takes action on the issue that matter: defending Israel, Combating Anti-Semitism, countering radicalism and extremism, defeating

BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions), building interreligious alliances, and protecting human rights. In fact, not all people, especially the readers, are not aware of the background and facts about the AJC. All things mentioned above may be a justification that Staquf had chosen the exact platform to deliver his “message” where it will globally spread and gain a broad audience.

Then, by the dialogue with the Jews, it is expected to build the engagement with the Israel peace movements which has been in rapid development (Staquf, 2018). Hermann (2009) affirms that there are many peace movements inside Israel such as “Mothers 4 Peace” that has been established since 2002 (p.267). Besides, Svirsky (2003) argues that women’s peace movement in Israel has been more varied and developed continuously. By building this peace relation, it will have a wider range in regional and global circles the reach of the peace movement will be broader in the regional and global scale considering the Israeli conflict which also concerns all countries in the Middle East. Besides, this conflict has also become the entire world concern of Islam and humanity as a whole.

c. Sociocultural Practice

Referring to the way of addressing Staquf in Excerpt 12 and 13, it is implicitly the evidence for his significant control in the Indonesian government and in his religious organization. Being a member of the Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres), he is under the President and is responsible to the President. Based on Government regulation (UU) number 19, 2006, the Presidential Advisory Council (Wantimpres) is a government institution who works by providing advice and consideration to the President as referred to in Article 16 of the 1945 Constitution of

the Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945) (Sejarah Wantimpres, 2019). In carrying out its duties, Wantimpres carries out the function of advice and consideration related to the implementation of the power of state government.

In the management of Nahdlatul Ulama, Fathoni (2015) mentions that in the daily management of *Syuriah* (the highest decision-making consultative body in NU), Staquf is the *Katib Aam* (the general secretary) and is also the general chairman in the daily management of *Tanfidziyah* (the daily executive body of *Syuriah*). In addition, his uncle, K.H. Ahmad Mustofa Bisri also is the member of *Mustasyar* (the advisory council of *Syuriah*) in NU. As has been mentioned above, it elucidates that Staquf is an influential person in both social, especially religion and political field. Santi (2018) argues that some observers believe that Israel understood well the symbolic figure of Staquf as they invite him to Israel. From the beginning of the lecture or events held in Jerusalem, the aim is to encourage Staquf symbolically as an Indonesian Muslim figure and a member of the Presidential Advisory Council. She argues that it is propaganda which is intensively carried out by Israel to seek the recognition of Jerusalem as its capital (not the Palestinians'), after the United States moved its embassy there on Monday, May 14, 2019.

Notice that in the data from www.republika.co.id, a larger number of ways of addressing Staquf is presented by focusing on his social identity in the religious field. A larger frequency of the occurrence as the journalists attempts to put the focus in the context of the religious discourse rather than touch the political realm further. This is due to the situation in Indonesia which had approached the presidential election. Consider that the media owner is the chief of President Joko Widodo re-election

campaign for the 2019 presidential election. As a member of the Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board, Staquf's decision to visit Israel may lead to an uncondusive situation and give impacts on the elections. To avoid this, the journalists focus more on the religious ideology realm which has also been arising debates in Indonesia.

On the other hand, in the CNN interview with Staquf, he firmly stated that he came as an individual—representing himself. Additionally, in the data, the journalist (Intan and Dwinanda) also inserts Staquf's consideration on his visit.

Excerpt 21:

*He said it was a matter of credibility and he has been working on it for years.
(11 June 2018)*

In line with this data, Staquf in the interview said that many argued that his visit was at an inappropriate time due to the assault in Gaza. However, he stressed that whenever he visited Israel, there would be no guarantee that there would be no riots—violence and incident may happen every day. He also explained that he did not only come as a speaker at AJC, but he also established relationships with non-government peace movements in Israel. Nahdlatul Ulama, acknowledge that Staquf, who holds a position in NU received an invitation from Israel Council on Foreign Relations but emphasize that their organization does not have any cooperation with Israel. Siradj and Emhas as well as Widodo, however, believe that Staquf has always been fighting for the Palestinians' Independence.

During his visit, he tried to invite or strengthen the peace movement at the grassroots level of Jews society (especially the Israeli Jews) and make it a 'social consensus'—making everyone wants peace. Hermann (2009) argues that the manifestation of a peace movement can be seen from a social movement which

includes a shared goal, solidarity, and interaction with the general public and decision-makers. According to Staquf (2018), if his message of *rahmah* becomes a social consensus, peace will be a fundamental aspiration of the whole society and will be a determinant of the behaviour of his government in international relations.

According to Mock, Obeidi, and Zeleznikow (2014), the conflict has two sides that are Israel and Palestine. Israel as a Jewish state was founded based on Zionism, the ideology of Jewish national self-determination. While Palestinians, an Arabic-speaking and mostly Muslim Population, who believe themselves the indigenous inhabitants of the territory. In fact, the conflict is not only happened between these two states, but they have a dispute in their group. It is due to the disunity in their religion, culture, and ideology which significantly impact their relations internally and externally (International community; US; the population of Arab, Muslim, Christian worldwide). This conflict is now more than a century old. Kelman (2001) states that the Arabs who specifically are constructed as Palestinian identity have been soon perceived the Jewish presence as a threat as it grows there.

Zayyad (2009) affirms that as a result of the 1948 war, the state of Israel was created and more than two-thirds of the Palestinians were uprooted from their homeland and became refugees. This establishment of Israel is based on the Zionist political movement (Devji, 2013). After the war ended, the Palestinian state that coexisted with Israel disappeared. Israel refuses to recognize the nation's right to Palestine to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state (Jews for Justice in the Middle East & Samir, 2002). Said (1992) clarifies that the first UN General Assembly resolution (number 194) stating the right of Palestinians to return

to their homes and property rights, was adopted on December 1948. This resolution was resubmitted up to 28 times since that decision.

Said (1992) emphasizes that although the moral and political rights of a person to return to his place without settling elsewhere for a while are recognized everywhere, Israel closes the possibility of returning Palestinian Arabs home—to be compensated their property, or to live in Israel as an equal citizen before the Israeli Jewish law, and is systematically and legally made it impossible, for whatever reason. The international community has failed so far to resolve this problem because Zionism, in principle, would not allow native citizens (Palestinian Arabs) to exercise their political rights because it would end the efforts of Zionism (Beit-Hallahmi, 1998). Since then, any discussion on Israeli-Palestinian conflict turns into a discussion of the Palestinians' right to return. The Indonesians and its government have also been always standing for the Palestinians independence and support their right to return.

In addition, supporting peace and helping Palestinians are the forms of the teachings of the Islamic religion. Hakim (2018) affirms that this is in accordance with the concept of *ukhuwah* and the message of the Qur'an in surah Al-Mâ'idah [5] verse 32, *"Whoever kills a human being without a compelling reason, then he is like having killed all mankind. On the other hand, whoever helps someone, he has helped all people."* In this way, it can be understood that maintaining and guaranteeing the right to life of others is the obligation of all Muslims because it brings great deeds. Suprayogo (2015) emphasizes that various religions teach their adherents to know each other or *ta'aruf*, to have a mutual understanding or *tafahum*, to respect each other or *tadhammun*, to love each other or *tarakhum*, and to be able to help each other

or *ta'awun* in differences. He further explains that the emergence of various violence in the name of religion is the evidence that what feels ideal in the scriptures or religious teachings is not necessarily successfully manifested in life.

Hakim (2018) further explains that the three concepts of *ukhuwah* (brotherhood) was first introduced by K.H. Ahmad Shiddiq. The first is *ukhuwah islamiyah* which means Muslim brotherhood. The second is *ukhuwah wathaniyah* or nation brotherhood. The last is *ukhuwah basyariyah* or *ukhuwah insaniyah* meaning brotherhood of humanity. This is what came to be called the inheritance and spirit of K.H. Ahmad Shiddiq, the former *Rais Aam PBNU* (the general chair of Nahdlatul Ulama) which is salient for our nation and even humanity.

In *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, a person feels related to one another because they both embrace Islam wherever they are. Then, someone feels related to one another because they are part of a nation called the *ukhuwah wathaniyah* concept. Finally, in the concept of *ukhuwah basyariyah*, one feels brother to one another because they are part of one humanity, which spreads throughout the world. In the concept of *ukhuwah wathaniyah* and *ukhuwah basyariyah*, there are no restrictions, including differences in outerwear and primordial barriers such as religion, ethnicity, race, language, gender, etc. So in giving help, we have to see that he is indeed a human being who is in trouble and we should help, regardless of religion, ethnicity, and nation because if a human being is “injured”, then all humanity is also injured.

The concept of *ukhuwah* can be interpreted as an inspiration or a basis for the formation of a discourse of *Rahmah*. Through *Rahmah* Staquf stressed that we need *interfaith compassion* and *cooperation* where people of different religions must

be able to work together and live side by side in peace. In addition, Huda (2016) explicates that the achievements of the Medina Charter are clear evidence that Islam has a humanitarian mission so that it is not enough to be seen only as a Shari'ah religion, but also a religion of civilization.

In the surface features of the text, the sociocultural practice that has been emerged and used in Indonesia is portrayed. The term *Kiai* in “Kiai Yahya” and *KH* (*Kiai Haji*) in “KH Yahya Cholil Staquf” here, represents the sociocultural practice which is being manifested in the text. According to K.H. Ahmad Mustofa Bisri, the term *Kiai* is the product of and only exists in Javanese culture (Central Java and East Java) (Nafi', 2019) which is used for people who have knowledge (especially religion), dedicate themselves to Muslims, teach and educate with sincerity without any cost (AMR, 2017). He emphasizes that *Kiai* is an honorable person in the community who treats people with compassion (NU Online, 2005; Nafi', 2019). *Kiai*, then, also appears to be objects or people they worship, or they respect and become a strong foundation for the daily religious life of Javanese Muslims.

Besides, in Javanese culture, the term *Kyai* in ancient times not only involved people, but also objects that were deemed honourable such as *Kyai Nogososro*: a term for a kris (Javanese dagger), *Kyai Plered*: as a spear, and *Kyai Slamet*: a sacred buffalo as narrated by K.H. Ahmad Mustofa Bisri (NU Online, 2005; Nafi' 2019). Thus, this term is indeed unique in Javanese culture and has been existed before Islam entered. The term *Kiai* which is lined up with the name Staquf indicates that Staquf was a person who was respected by Muslims and became a role model in religious matters.

The term *Haji* following *Kiai* is a title given to every Indonesian who returns from performing the pilgrimage in the holy land of Mecca. In its history, this began to emerge since 1916, starting with the resistance of Muslims to the colonialism. Every Indonesian who returned from the holy land of Mecca there was always a rebellion and made the colonizers confused, so they made the Hajj Ordinance decision—the use of *Haji* title (Luthfi & Mahbib, 2014). While the term *Gus* is a way of addressing young *Kiai* or the son of a cleric or *Kiai*, and it is one of the ways to spread the NU tradition. Thus, this term only exists in the social practice of Muslims in Indonesia, especially in NU (Abdurrahman, 2017). As has been noted, the terms *Kiai*, *Kiai Haji* and *Gus* are forms of sociocultural practices (both spoken and written) in the life of Indonesian people.

B. Discussion

This study has attempted to portray the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel by analyzing the textual, discourse, and sociocultural practices in the text. These three practices are based on Fairclough's model of analysis (2010). The above findings have demonstrated that there is a social, political, cultural, and ideological concern of religion in the representation of Staquf's visit to Israel. Then, the alignment and contradiction of these study findings with the previous studies are examined.

Many studies of critical discourse analysis have been carried out previously revealed that media discourses manifest the issue of the ideological construction of racist (Brookes, 1995; Teo, 2000; Silva, 2016; Yazgan & Utku, 2017; Hassan, 2018). The production of the racist representation in the society is identified based on Van

Dijk's (1998) definition, where it constructs a polarization of *in-group* and *out-group*. Nevertheless, the researcher considers that the definition proposed by Van Dijk (1998) seems not to be enough to covers the ideology manifested in the current study. Therefore, this study provides a new perspective related to the recontextualisation of ideology (Fairclough, 2010) into the context of Indonesia. It concentrates on the ideology of religion that is the ideology of moderate Islam performed by Staquf.

In the study of critical discourse analysis, some researchers have opted various data sources including media with opposing ideological positions to reveal a specific insight of the complex process of discursive construction on the issue within a text (Brookes, 1995; Teo, 2000; Li, 2009; Chan, 2012; Abdi & Basarati, 2016; Briones, 2017). In textual practice analysis, the identified linguistic features such as the domination of *declarative modes*, *activated sentences*, *action processes* which are employed in order to provide information regarding the issue of Staquf's visit to Israel.

The lexicalization and the frequency of word occurrence are also portrayed as a strategy to construct a social identity representation (Staquf as a Muslim figure and government officer), to display the dialectic between religionists, and to promote religious-based discourse (the concept of *ukhuwah* and *rahmah*). This particular shape of language use instantiates the media ideology that has been generated in the text (see Pan, 2002; Li, 2009; Chan, 2012).

The current study also in conformity with Noor's (2017) finding on the use of the quotation as a form of the media's and the journalist's control over the represented issue, which is not neutrally given but an ideologically based. Also, the current study points out the use of *euphemism* and *passivation* for the same reason. The textual

features are shaped by the sociocultural practices that help to construct the readers' way of thinking and attitudes. As Fairclough (2003) mentioned that by reading and interpreting discourses that are shaped by the nature of the social practice, people learn new things, open their minds, and it may influence their attitudes and behaviors.

Through the analysis of discourse practice, this study determines the external factors of the text, which includes the different religious ideology, the political and the institutional alignment, generated in both media and embedded in the social actors (along with his social identity). It contributes a significant influence to text production as well as the diverse interpretation of the readers. Qazi and Shah (2018) find that identity construction contributes to contradicting discourses emergence and leads to confusion in society. Abdi and Basarati (2016) and Mengibar (2015) point out that each region has certain types of the idea in functioning language use to create a different representation of the same issue due to the opposing ideological and political views. Therefore, the analysis of discourse is not about 'right' or 'wrong', but about the function of language use in the construction of social reality (Wijsen, 2013).

As has been discussed by Li (2009), identity construction is linked to the identification process. It is described by the journalist's way to identify Staquf as the social actor (of being the General Secretary of Nahdlatul Ulama and the Indonesian Presidential Advisory Board) and to represent the issue. Moreover, the features of the text do not only create a link to the social actor, but it also links to the emergence of discourse, reflects the media interest and power relations, and affects the readers' interpretation. Fairclough (2010) states that a particular social circumstance

contributes to a discourse emergence and discourse change over time. These factors show a remarkable influence in representing this issue.

However, the data showed in both media that the representation of identity is dominated by his position as the General Secretary of Nahdlatul Ulama—the world's largest Muslim organization and the 'positive' representation of his visit to Israel. Li (2009) has confirmed through her study that the discursive construction of identities and position in the news represents a particular moment and conflict. It perhaps is seen as the attempt of *www.timesofisrael.com* to approach the Islamic world and Muslim countries as an evident indicating the journalist's awareness of the religious ideology performed by Staquf and as a way of maintaining the media economy and political interests. Whereas, *www.republika.co.id* is also utilized this strategy to lead the readers focusing on the religious concern because of its interest in maintaining the political moment stability in Indonesia that is approaching the general election.

The data from *www.republika.co.id* mostly magnify Staquf's effort on resolving Israel-Palestine conflict by promoting the religious concept of *rahmah*—“*shifting conflict to cooperation*”. This action is one of his manifestations within the religious affiliation he performed. This finding is in accordance with Kurniawan and Utami (2017) study, which discovers the media alignments with the government so that they focus the presentation of the issue is on the 'positive' representation of a figure whose actions reflect the government policy.

Then, the current study also supports Chan (2012) and Kurnian and Utami (2017), who discover a shifting representation in a particular part of the issue, which contradictory with the media ideology. The two online media being examined have

different ideological views that contribute to producing a diverse representation of the issue. *Www.timesofisrael.com* exhibits the ‘negative’ representation of Hamas as ‘a terrorist ruling Gaza’, on the one hand, and describes ‘positive’ part of their institution on the other hand. It is also affirmed by Briones (2017) that ideological and social distinctions among social actors of media can be portrayed from the texts’ internal discourse features.

Irawan (2017) suggests that the construction of discourses is not only based on political or economic motives; it is also based on religious or theological motives. For Israel, Hamas as a Palestinian Fundamentalist Organization is represented ‘negatively’ because their principles challenge the Zionism essence, which is considered as a threat to Israel. Hamas does their action in the name of Islam for its political interests against Israel and demanding back territories occupied by Israel. On the other hand, *www.republika.co.id* is in the context of Indonesia, the majority of Indonesian and the government fully support the independence of Palestine. This media, with its moderate ideology and political interests, represents Hamas (in this conflict) as ‘an Islamic Resistance Movement’ rather than by referring to a part of Islamist terror groups. Since there are possibilities that can affect the media interests and the socio-political context in Indonesia where majority of citizens are Muslims, the use of this term eliminates the ‘negative’ effects.

On the other hand, Indonesia has a distinct Muslim identity which is bounded to the religious ideology. Indonesia is also known as the country that promotes moderate Islam and tries to accommodate religious differences (Sodikin, 2013). Qazi and Shah (2018) and Rahman (2017) have examined Islamic teaching within the local

culture, especially by the construction of a moderate Muslim perspective. In the hand of the readers, the news is being interpreted following their own religious and political background. The representation of Staquf as the moderate face of Islam who promotes its values appears to be a threat to the right-wings or the people who hold an extreme Islamic ideology. Therefore, there is a possibility of a contextual shift in readers' interpretation.

This study reveals that the media in the current discourse of Staquf's visit to Israel's issue is affected by the historical discourses on Israel, Palestine, and Indonesia's relationship—whether in the level of government, society, or religion. Meyer (2001) suggests the necessity of the historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), which stands as an extralinguistic variable (including culture, society, ideology, etc.) and as a significant factor that contributes to discourse production. Israel (the Jews) has already had a close relationship with K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, the former Indonesian President (1999-2001) and the former leader of PBNU for 15 years (1984-1993). Moreover, Wahid made an official visit to Israel, as one of the speakers at a seminar about *Islam on Indonesia* at Universal Native Islam at Hebrew University, Tel Aviv, in 1994 (Gunawan, 2018). At that time, Wahid also met with the former Prime Minister (1984-1986 and 1995-1996) and the ninth President of Israel (2007-2014), Shimon Peres. This political-historical discourse may heavily influence Staquf's visit to Israel and may relate to the emergence of the current discourse.

On the current issue, during Staquf's visit, he also met with the Prime Minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu (2009-now). The direction of the conversation also showed Netanyahu's desire to warm ties with Muslim Countries. Moreover, in the

conversation between Rabbi David Rosen (AJC International Director of Interreligious Affairs, as the host) with Staquf, he brought up their relationship with Wahid and regarded Staquf to be in his footsteps (Rosen, 2018). These are the concrete examples of the historical influence on the emergence of the current discourse. Thus, the salient features of the discourse-historical approach work with the basic variety of background information. Wodak (2001) emphasizes that 'information' is viewed as the integration of social theories to explain the so-called context. It possibly justifies theoretically why particular discourse interpretation seems more valid than others.

Staquf being invited in the Jewish forum held in Israel and met the Prime Minister are not a surprising thing due to the historic pathway on the relationship between Israel (Jewish) and Indonesian Muslims. Although the Indonesian government supports Palestinian independence and does not have any diplomatic relations with Israel, Staquf fulfils the Israel invitation under his consideration and responsibility. On the one hand, Israel also has its own religious and political reasoning to invite Staquf in their Jewish Global Forum. Perhaps, it has the same context as Wahid's visit in the same forum previously. Some previous studies also clarify that the construction of discourses tends to follow the ideology and the specific historical and political moments (Li, 2009; Chan, 2012).

These findings differ the study of Brookes (1995) which claims that discourses are more uniform than it appears to be and that there is not the full range of views including the media and the society's ideology. He (1995) suggests that Western institutional power and Western as the primary definers affecting the media to produce a stereotypical ideology due to the similar discursive histories. This similar

historical discourses on Africa (of travellers, colonialist on African primitiveness, the hierarchy of civilization, etc.) makes such a uniform discourse possible. However, the current study finds the historical and ideological aspects suggest a significant influence on the different discourses.

By utilizing Fairclough's framework of CDA, Mengibar (2015), Briones (2017), and Hassan (2018) argue that the social practices, including the construction of social identity, indicate that news is infused with varying ideologies and power relations. This is what Fairclough (2010) took from Foucault and mentioned as orders of discourse, where language and social context work together in various ways to create meaning. The construction of religious ideology and political interests in both media under the investigation has the appearance of being neutral because it has adopted language features to direct the reader to particular interests and to keep on the 'appropriate' values. It confirms Hassan's (2018) study in which media has a social responsibility to bring and maintain social harmony and stability by playing their 'positive' role. However, sometimes it is not, because media has relations of power and political interests that make it possible to construct something as negative deliberately.

As a final point, the online media as the data source in this study indicates a tendency of today's people who cannot avoid the exposure of new media technology that promotes innovations and facilities. Researchers have also conducted the study on online newspaper or online media (Ashuri, 2016; Briones, 2017; Elvestad, Phillip, & Feuerstei, 2017; Haleva-Amir, 2011; Hasanah & Wahyudi, 2015; Noor, 2017; Nugroho, Putri, & Laksmi, 2012; Rahman, 2017; Wahyudi, 2010; Yazgan & Utku,

2017). Ashuri (2016) find out that a leading news organization expands its strategies from printing traditional newspapers only to publishing news online as well. By distributing the news online, the media is able to expand its scope. Elvestad, Phillip, and Feuerstei (2017) affirm that people are more likely to access foreign news online.

Generally, news distributed on online media provides more convenience and benefits for the media as well as readers. In a website, the news is accessible anywhere from inside and outside the country and can be accessed 24 hours a day (Ashuri, 2016). Whereas printed news is limited to only a few locations, and for distribution and consumption also requires more expensive costs and longer time (Hasanah & Wahyudi, 2015). With some of the advantages of online news, this current study is in accordance with Haleva-Amir's (2011) finding that points out the use of online media as an online political arena where politicians can relate to society, especially youngsters who are usually detached from politics. On the other word, through the online news, an individual or an institution has bigger possibilities to take control over the society by constructing discourses.

Wahyudi (2010) elucidates that the data in the online news can be accessed from different years due to the electronic links which help the readers to find another news of the related topics. Also, online media has been equipped with a search engine. By the search engine, the readers can search for the news that corresponds to specific keywords specified by them. Unfortunately, printed news does not provide these facilities, so finding other related news is difficult. Additionally, Barker (2004) states that the linkages across texts indicate the intertextuality concept which accumulates and generates meaning. He further explains that according to Derrida, since words

carry multiple meanings from different contexts, “meaning can never be fixed” (p.107). Therefore, the relationships between texts (intertextuality) to generate meaning are gained from the electronic links and the search engine provided by the online media.

In reporting this current issue, it perhaps triggers the interest of the international community. The distribution of news is then adapted and created in the particular settings in which the specific technology (such as 24 hours accessibility, electronic links and search engines) is applied. Then, the information in the news that has been distributed worldwide can be used to construct specific discourses which are likely to help the institution to influence others' point of views.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter involves two significant points; conclusion and suggestion. The conclusion section organizes and concludes the findings and discussion of the study in the previous chapter. Then, the suggestion section includes the implications for the readers and the next researchers who employ a similar theoretical framework or investigate an issue related to this study.

A. Conclusion

In this globalized era, people, especially those who live in multi-cultural, multi-religion areas like Indonesia, cannot avoid the global interaction and media exposure. There are many possibilities that most of the media produce varied discourses due to the influence of both internal (linguistic features) and external factors (history, culture, society, and ideology, etc.). It possibly follows the sociocultural values, institution rules, or media interests. Several studies that relevant to this work of critical discourse analysis on online news have employed various approaches and methodologies, as well as focused on a certain point. By employing Fairclough's framework of critical discourse analysis (2010), this study is able to present the following conclusions.

At the level of textual practice analysis, the data (texts) function as online news that reports and provides the information on the issue of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel. The online news is presented in such a way with the use of lexicalization, declarative modes, active-passive voice, modality, direct-indirect quotation, etc. based

on certain goals that are not explicitly stated. The texts also feature a social identity due to its role to shape or affect the society that shares certain norms and values, especially in an interaction or a communication space. Thus, the readers need a critical interpretation to identify the obscured patterns in language use.

Besides, the analysis on the process of production, distribution, and interpretation of the texts that have been discussed in the discourse practice dimension, points out the external factors that have a significant influence on it. For instance, *www.timesofisrael.com* is owned by the Jews, who is also the donator of AJC. Whereas, *www.republika.co.id* demonstrates its support on the government movements as President Joko Widodo does not excessively concern or condemn Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel. Therefore, the news discourses are produced in this specific social and political contexts.

The news being investigated are distributed through online media. The intertextuality is easier to be achieved from the online media rather than from the printed media. The online media has the technology of electronic links and search engines to facilitate the searching need and to gather information from the previous discourses. Besides, in the discourse-historical perspective (Ruth Wodak's DHA), the researcher finds the integration of the existing knowledge about the historical sources (K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid's visit to Israel), the background of the social and political fields (especially concerning the Israeli, Palestinian, and Indonesian), the religious ideology, and the media interests contribute to the emergence of the discourse and to the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel.

The sociocultural practices are the critical aspect that affects a discourse because CDA is a framework of the study in the social and cultural change. The recontextualisation of ideology into the religious ideology of moderate Islam in the context of Indonesia, which is identical to Nahdlatul Ulama, represents a form of social and cultural practice. Moreover, the message of *rahma* delivered by Staquf is acted out to establish and transmit the shared values and knowledge of his ideology in order to achieve peace in the long decades of Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Another sociocultural practice found in the data is the use of the title in people's names and to address them, which indicates a cultural-bound practice.

Despite all, this study discovers the text multidimensionality and the significant connections that exist between the textual features, the discourse practices, and the nature of the sociocultural practices. The use of three-dimensional analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough helps the researcher to understand the narrow scope of linguistic analysis by integrating the broader social, cultural, political, and religious contexts in which the language under the investigation is produced in media. In other words, the representation of Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit to Israel is a form of social construction that will also be identified and interpreted with the interests, values, ideologies, and power relations that are associated with it.

B. Suggestion

The researcher suggests some brief reflections upon the social use and utility of critical discourse analysis, especially the analysis model of Fairclough (2010). This study might contribute linguistic and social research in which this study has simultaneously oriented to linguistic analysis in the textual practice, to the production,

distribution, and interpretation of texts in the discourse practice, and to the wider sociocultural practices. However, due to the complexity of social and cultural factors, it is necessary to conduct multiple interdisciplinary methods in which social theories are needed to improve understanding. By combining several linguistic and social theories, the other researchers will be able to position language in a reliable social life or practice.

The researcher is aware of the limitations which may arise from the data and the method of this study. Hence, the researcher suggests the next researchers and the students of Department of English Literature examine data sourced from local or global dialectics due to the diversity of language practices in sociocultural life. By conducting a broader scope of such a cross-national study, future studies will be able to examine more closely the links between the media discourses and more contextualized ideology (or other aspects). Moreover, the results of the studies will contribute to the readers' critical awareness of languages and discourses that can only be obtained through the integration of language education and the external factors that influence it (such as the political moment, the media economy, the local cultural practice, and the specific religious ideology). Besides, the researcher also suggests the students of Department of English Literature and the other readers develop critical thoughts and critical opinions on media reporting because it never absents from a certain interest.

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CURRICULUM VITAE



Ila Rosyada was born in Jombang on October 15, 1996. She graduated from SMAN 3 Jombang in 2015. She started her Higher Education in 2015 at the English Literature Department in UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang and finished her study in 2019. During her study at University, she became the committee on several campus events and joined the International Language and Language Teaching Conference 2018 held by Sanata Dharma University. She also participated in the mobility program in University Putera Malaysia (UPM).

APPENDIX

Text 1

By Raphael Ahren

Published on Tuesday, June 12, 2018, 2:52 pm

Source: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-israel-top-indonesian-cleric-calls-for-compassion-between-muslims-and-jews/>

In Israel, top Indonesian cleric calls for ‘compassion’ between Muslims and Jews

Yahya Staquf, who heads world’s largest Muslim organization, says he wants to promote ties with Jerusalem, but stresses he came to affirm ‘Palestine’s sovereignty’

Visiting Israel this week, the secretary-general of the world’s largest Muslim organization appealed for “compassion” between Jews and his coreligionists, which he said could help the Jewish state build ties with Muslim countries around the world, including Indonesia, where he serves as a cleric and government official.

“I want to call the world, the whole world to choose a better future. Let us choose *rahma*, meaning compassion and caring about others,” Yahya Cholil Staquf, the head of the 60 million member Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), told The Times of Israel during an interview.

“Rahma is the foundation of anything that we could hope for to find a solution to all the conflicts in our current world,” he said. “And rahma doesn’t need a precondition.”

Part of Nahdlatul Ulama’s mission is to advance “world peace, including the independence of the Palestinian people,” Staquf said.

Asked whether, as part of that mission, he is interested in promoting political relations between Jerusalem with Jakarta, Staquf, who is a member of Indonesia’s Presidential Consultative Council, replied: “Yes, of course. See, we are in the middle of complex problems that needs to be dealt comprehensively in a global manner.”

Any process aimed at full normalization between Indonesia — the world’s largest Muslim country — and Israel needs to address “the global context of the problem,” Staquf stressed. “We need to work together, actually, to really find a path to global solutions.”

Indonesia’s president Joko Widodo is aware of his trip to Israel, Staquf said, adding that he does not know whether he supports his mission or not.

Staquf was heavily criticized in his home country for visiting Israel, a country many Indonesians consider an enemy state.

Responding to the criticism, he reiterated his support for the Palestinian cause, saying his visit to Israel aimed at promoting Palestine's independence.

"I stand here for Palestine. I stand here on the basis that we all have to honor Palestine's sovereignty as a free country," he said in a statement posted on his organization's website.

His week-long trip to the Jewish state included an appearance at the American Jewish Committee's Global Forum Sunday, minutes before Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu took the stage (though they did not meet). At the event, he was interviewed by Rabbi David Rosen, a veteran advocate for Jewish-Muslim dialogue, in front of 2,000 delegates.

On Wednesday evening, Staquf is scheduled to deliver an address entitled "Shifting the Geopolitical Calculus: From Conflict to Cooperation" at the Israel Council on Foreign Relations in Jerusalem. His schedule also includes meetings at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and talks with local Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders.

Speaking to the Times of Israel at the sidelines of the AJC Global Forum, he dismissed the criticism on his visit by appealing for people's compassion.

"People who suffer can choose whether they will be angry or vengeful, or whether they will be forgiving, by having rahma. That's what we need to offer as a framework," he said, speaking in English.

But Staquf remains aware of the "magnitude" of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he said.

"We are facing a civilizational problem here, and it is related to religions," Staquf said in an interview with The Associated Press. "As Muslims, we want to do our part related to our religion."

At the same time, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not the sole focus of his trip, the cleric stressed. Instead, he looks at interfaith cooperation as a basis for solving many conflicts, including in Myanmar, where 700,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled persecution by the country's security forces to Bangladesh.

Staquf says he has identified portions of Islam that he considers problematic, including how Muslims interact with non-Muslims. He says there needs to be "a new discourse" to recognize that Muslims and non-Muslims are equal and should be able to coexist peacefully.

"These elements are problematic because they are not compatible anymore with the current reality of our civilization," he said.

In Indonesia, Twitter and Facebook have been filled with negative comments about the visit. Many are upset about the situation in Gaza, where over 120 Palestinians have been killed during protests along the Israeli border over the past two months.

Israel accuses Hamas, the terrorist organization ruling Gaza, of using demonstrators as human shields while trying to carry out attacks and says it is defending its sovereign border and communities nearby.

Taufiqulhadi, a member of parliament from the National Democratic Party, one of the parties in the government coalition, said “the majority of Indonesians” do not want diplomatic relations with Israel.

In a letter to Indonesia’s foreign minister that was published online, Staquf said the government could “deny” his actions if deemed harmful to state interests. “But if there is a ‘benefit,’ let’s follow it up to be a real advantage.”

Text 2

By Caron Creighton

Published on Tuesday, June 12, 2018, 12:32 am

Source: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-israel-indonesian-muslim-leader-risks-backlash-at-home/>.

Visiting Israel, Indonesian Muslim leader risks backlash at home

Yahya Staquf calls for ‘new discourse’ between faiths as he meets with academics and religious leaders; critics say his trip is tantamount to recognizing Israel

AP — A leader of Indonesia’s largest Muslim organization is visiting Israel this week, braving angry protests at home in order to spread what he calls a message of interfaith compassion.

Yahya Staquf, secretary general of the 60 million member Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), is in Israel as a guest of the American Jewish Committee, a US advocacy group holding a major conference in Jerusalem.

Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim country, does not have diplomatic relations with Israel, and support for the Palestinians there is strong. Staquf’s presence has triggered angry reactions, as seen on Indonesian social media.

But in an interview, Staquf said he remains committed to the visit and hopes the controversy can bring more attention to his message of tolerance.

“Some people here are amazed by my decision to come, because they think it must be dangerous for this man to come, thinking that many, many Muslims must be threatening him with death or something,” Staquf told the Associated Press on Monday.

Earlier this week, Staquf addressed the American Jewish Committee’s conference, appearing alongside a rabbi in his discussion.

His schedule also includes meetings at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and talks with local Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders as well.

There were no meetings with Israeli politicians listed on his schedule.

Staquf said the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not the sole focus of his trip. Instead, he looks at interfaith cooperation as a basis for solving many conflicts, including in Myanmar, where 700,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled persecution by the country's security forces to Bangladesh.

But Staquf remains aware of the “magnitude” of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

“We are facing a civilizational problem here, and it is related to religions,” Staquf said. “As Muslims, we want to do our part related to our religion.”

Staquf says he has identified portions of Islam that he considers problematic, including how Muslims interact with non-Muslims. He says there needs to be “a new discourse” to recognize that Muslims and non-Muslims are equal and should be able to coexist peacefully.

“These elements are problematic because they are not compatible anymore with the current reality of our civilization,” he said.

In Indonesia, Twitter and Facebook have been filled with negative comments about the visit. Many are upset about the situation in Gaza, where over 120 Palestinians have been killed during protests along the Israeli border over the past two months. Israel accuses Hamas, the terrorist organization ruling Gaza, of using demonstrators as human shields while trying to carry out attacks and says it is defending its sovereign border and communities nearby.

A montage of Staquf's photo, and the Israeli and NU flags, has gone viral online. It is captioned: “When Muslims are wounded by an Israeli attack, the NU representative goes to Israel. This visit is a form of recognition of the state of Israel, hurting the hearts of Muslims and Palestinians.”

Taufiqulhadi, a member of parliament from the National Democratic Party, one of the parties in the government coalition, said “the majority of Indonesians” do not want diplomatic relations with Israel.

In a letter to Indonesia's foreign minister that was published online, Staquf said the government could “deny” his actions if deemed harmful to state interests. “But if there is a ‘benefit,’ let's follow it up to be a real advantage.”

Text 3

By AP

Published on Friday, June 15, 2018, 6:28 am

Source: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-unexpectedly-meets-with-indonesian-muslim-leader/>

Netanyahu unexpectedly meets with Indonesian Muslim leader

Yahya Staquf, who heads world's largest Muslim organization, says he wants to promote ties with Jerusalem, but stresses he came to affirm 'Palestine's sovereignty'

The leader of the world's largest Muslim organization, an Indonesian cleric and government official, held a surprise meeting Thursday with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Yahya Staquf, secretary-general of the 60 million-member Nahdlatul Ulama, is visiting Israel at the invitation of the American Jewish Committee, a US advocacy group.

Israel and Indonesia do not have diplomatic relations, and the visit has prompted protests in Indonesia.

Staquf, an advocate of interfaith coexistence, met with several religious leaders this week. However, the meeting with Netanyahu was not listed on his schedule.

Netanyahu boasted of Israel's warming ties with Muslim countries, saying "I hope that we have some movement with Indonesia."

Indonesia recently revoked tourist visas for Israeli visitors to protest Israeli actions in Gaza. In response, Israel has threatened to ban tourist visas for Indonesians.

Speaking to The Times of Israel on Wednesday, Staquf appealed for "compassion" between Jews and his coreligionists, which he said could help the Jewish state build ties with Muslim countries around the world.

Staquf was heavily criticized in his home country for visiting Israel, a country many Indonesians consider an enemy state.

Responding to the criticism, he reiterated his support for the Palestinian cause, saying his visit to Israel was aimed at promoting Palestinian independence.

"I stand here for Palestine. I stand here on the basis that we all have to honor Palestine's sovereignty as a free country," he said in a statement posted on his organization's website.

Text 4

By Novita Intan (Rep): Reiny Dwinanda (Red)

Published on Monday, June 11, 2018, 06:41 WIB

Source: <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/en/islam-in-archipelago/18/06/11/pa4shx414-gus-yahya-staquf-explains-about-the-invitation-from-israel>

Gus Yahya Staquf explains about the invitation from Israel

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, JAKARTA – KH Yahya Cholil Staquf admitted the invitation from Israel Council on Foreign Relations has been received for quite a while. He said it was a matter of credibility and he has been working on it for years.

"I have a message to be delivered globally and the platform will give me the chance," he said.

Kiai Yahya said he had a view point about Jewish. He wanted to convey it as honest as possible without any euphemism or diplomatic touch.

He felt the lecture at the David Amar Worldwide North Africa Jewish Heritage Center, Jerusalem was the one and only opportunity to deliver his message without being framed or stigmatized as anti-semitic. He was asked to speak about "Shifting the Geopolitical Calculus: From Conflict to Cooperation". However, the lecture has been cancelled.

Nevertheless, Kiai Yahya was scheduled to meet with several figures, among others the head of the Waqf Board of al-Aqsa mosque Ali al Awar, cleric Mohammed Dajani Daoudi, Catholic patriarchs, Greek Orthodox Christian and Lutheran, Egyptian Ambassador HE Hazem Khairat, and some intellectuals at Hebrew University.

"If there any of my actions harm the interest of our country or it has no benefit at all, I will take the consequences. But if it has any benefit, let's follow it up to generate real advantage," he said.

Meanwhile, Nahdlatul Ulama Chairman Robikin Emhas denied the largest Indonesian Muslim organization had cooperation with Israel. However, he acknowledged there was an invitation from Israel Council on Foreign Relations to General Secretary KH Yahya Cholil Staquf to give lecture at the David Amar Worldwide North Africa Jewish Heritage Center, Jerusalem.

The lecture was scheduled on Wednesday (June 13). "Gus Yahya represents himself, not in his capacity as katib aam (general secretary) of the Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama," Robikin said to *Republika.co.id*, on Sunday.

Robikin believed Gus Yahya will give support to Palestine during the lecture, not otherwise. Gus Yahya will also give affirmation to the world, especially Israel, that Palestine is an independent country.

The Indonesian government has been consistent in supporting Palestine's struggle for independence despite foreign pressure calling for Indonesia not to side with Palestine. Earlier, President Joko Widodo said Palestinians are always in every breath of diplomacy of Indonesia.

He said the people of Indonesia will continue to fight for the Palestinians. "Indonesia strongly denounces the decision to move the US Embassy to Jerusalem, as it violates various Security Council resolutions and the UN General Assembly," President Jokowi stated while opening a meeting of trilateral Muslim scholars of Indonesia, Afghanistan, and Pakistan at the Bogor Palace in West Java on Friday (May 11).

Israel and the Palestinians are currently embroiled in a decades-long conflict over a region called the West Bank, which is currently under Israeli control.

Israel continues to expand settlements in the West Bank, thereby denying the rights of Palestinians.

During the 1967 war, Israel had taken control of East Jerusalem and annexed the region, though it had been divided between Israelis and Palestinians for the first two decades of its existence.

Text 5

By Debbie Sutrisno, Amri Amrullah (Rep): Reiny Dwinanda (Red)

Published on Wednesday, June 13, 2018, 03:10 WIB

Source: <https://en.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/18/06/14/pa876g414-president-jokowi-to-summon-staquf-on-his-visit-to-israel>

President Jokowi to summon Staquf on his visit to Israel

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, JAKARTA – President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) said KH Yahya Cholil "Gus Yahya" Staquf's visit to give a lecture in an event held by American Jewish Committee (AJC) Global Forum in Jerusalem was not part of the Indonesian Government diplomacy. Indonesia does not have diplomatic relations with Israel and support Palestinian independence. Jokowi assured Staquf, who is a member of the Presidential Advisory Board was representing himself.

Earlier, Staquf said the lecture was cancelled but then it rolled on. Jokowi claimed to have read Staquf's speech. He also received information that Staquf was in the forum to promote peace and support the Palestinians.

However, the president has not got report on the result of the forum attended by Staquf who is also the general secretary of Nahdlatul Ulama. "I will summon him later," Jokowi said in Presidential Palace, Jakarta, on Tuesday.

Indonesian Council of Ulema did not support Staquf decision to visit Israel. KH Ma'ruf Amin said diplomacy should not be done by individuals, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) also stated its stance in Palestine and Israel conflict. PBNU Chairman Said Aqil Siradj said the organization had been and will always be on the side of Palestine. "Kiai Staquf represents himself, not PBNU," Siradj said in a voice recording statement made available to the reporters on Tuesday.

The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas condemned Staquf's visit to Israel. Hamas said it was a disgraceful act which is not only an insult to the Palestinian people and their sacrifices but for the Indonesian people and their long history in supporting the Palestinian cause.

Meanwhile, Fatah considered participation of Indonesian Muslim intellectual in AJC Global Forum in Jerusalem as a crime against Jerusalem, Palestine and all Muslims in the world. Fatah believed sitting with the Israeli colonizer is the same as fighting the Palestinian people.

"Participation of Yahya Staquf, general secretary of Indonesian Muslim organization Nahdlatul Ulama at the conference held in occupied Jerusalem is a betrayal of religion, al-Aqsa and resurrection, Palestinian people, the Arab and Islamic countries," Fatah spokesman Osama al-Qawasmi said in a statement as reported by Palestinow on Tuesday.

Fatah asked Indonesian government and pro-Palestinian officials and Indonesian people to hold accountable those who sell themselves to "demons" and want to be instruments in the the hands of Zionists and Israels.

Earlier, Staquf expressed hope that his presence at the AJC event would draw attention to the message of tolerance.

"Some people here are amazed at my decision to come, because they think it must be dangerous for me to come, thinking that many, many Muslims should threaten me with death or something," Staquf said on Monday.

In his lecture, Palestine and Israel conflict was not his only focus. He assessed inter-faith cooperation needed as the basis for resolving many conflicts. He put Myanmar as example. About 700,000 Rohingya Muslims have fled the persecution by the country's security forces to Bangladesh.

However, Gus Yahya remained aware of the magnitude of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "We are facing the problem of civilization here, and it is related to religion," he said.

"As Muslims, we want to do our part in relation to our religion."

He claimed to have identified parts of Islam that he considered problematic, including on how Muslims interact with non-Muslims. He stressed the need of a

"new discourse" to acknowledge that Muslims and non-Muslims are the same and should be able to coexist peacefully.

"These elements are problematic because it is incompatible with the reality of our current civilization," he said.

Text 6

By Debbie Sutrisno, Amri Amrullah (Rep): Reiny Dwinanda (Red)

Published on Saturday, June 16, 2018, 06:54 WIB

Source: <https://en.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/18/06/16/padpy2414-house-speaker-deplores-staqufs-visit-to-israel>.

House speaker deplores Staquf's visit to Israel

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, JAKARTA – House Speaker Bambang Soesatyo expressed his criticism over the current visit of a government official figure to Israel. He said KH Yahya Cholil Staquf's visit potentially could cause an uproar. Moreover, the visit happened just before elections.

"It is, indeed, deplorable for an elite member to cause controversy and political noise," he said on the sideline of an open house at his residence here on Friday.

He added that the current visit of Staquf to occupied Jerusalem had caused an uncondusive situation. "We are supposed to have common understanding on the need to create a conducive situation ahead of the democracy feast," he said, referring to regional elections on June 27 and parliamentary and presidential elections in April next year.

Staquf, who is an Islamic figure from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization, came to Israel after receiving an invitation. The visit has caused controversy in Indonesia, which has always been supporting Palestinian independence.

Staquf, who was recently appointed as a Presidential Advisory Board member, spoke at the American Jewish Committee (AJC) Global Forum and gave a general lecture at The Truman Institute in Israel. Several days after that, he met with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who later posted the meeting on his *Twitter* account which, in turn, also caused various reactions from netizens and community members in Indonesia.

After meeting Indonesian Muslim figure Yahya Cholil Staquf, Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu boasted that Israel is getting a warmer ties with Muslim countries.

President Joko Widodo has stated that Staquf's departure to Israel was not a part of the Indonesian Government diplomacy. Indonesia does not have diplomatic relations with Israel.

"It was his personal affair because he was invited to be a speaker in Israel," Jokowi said in Presidential Palace, Jakarta, on Tuesday.

Earlier, Staquf said the lecture was cancelled but then it rolled on. Jokowi claimed to have read Staquf's speech. He also received information that Staquf attended the forum to promote peace and support the Palestinians.

However, the president has not got report on the result of the forum attended by Staquf. "I will summon him later," Jokowi said.

Meanwhile, Central Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) also stated its stance in Palestine and Israel conflict. PBNU Chairman Said Aqil Siradj said the organization had been and will always be on the side of Palestine. "Kiai Staquf represents himself, not PBNU," Siradj said in a voice recording statement made available to the reporters on Tuesday.

Indonesian Council of Ulema (MUI) did not support Staquf decision to visit Israel. Chairman MUI KH Ma'ruf Amin said diplomacy should not be done by individuals, but the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Responding to heavy criticism at home, Staquf has stressed his stance towards Palestine. He was in Jerusalem to support Palestine, adding that all should honor Palestine's sovereignty as a free country.

Staquf believed that inter-faiths cooperation could be the basis in solving conflicts. He said the problem was about civilization related to religion. "As a Muslim, we wanted to do our part with our religion," he remarked.

Staquf interview with CNN Indonesia [Video File]

Published on June 24, 2018

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wgDRV8TlscM&t=13s>

Gus Yahya Menjawab Kritik: Nekat Berangkat ke Israel demi Perdamaian