

Framing Analysis of Ulama in the Presidential Election

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Abstract: The bargaining position of the ulama in the midst of Indonesia's political dynamics ahead of the Presidential Election Indonesia in 2019 is in influential opinion leaders. Although ahead of the 2019 presidential election the votes of the ulama were divided, but this condition did not discourage politicians from continuing to hold the ulama to seize power. The aims study is framing analysis to the news at kompas.com and republik.com. This study uses a qualitative methodology with Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model. The results of the discussion it was concluded that the framing of the two media in revealing the reality of the results of *ijtima ulama 2* was objective while still carrying different media agendas. The neutrality of the media in the content of the news is more focused on maintaining group relations between the two camps of the presidential and vice-presidential couples who are equally supported by the clerics. This is assumed to keep *ukhwah Islamiyah* in the Indonesian Muslim community so that it is not divided by black campaign discourses, especially discourses that corner ulama. Thus, it can be understood that scholars and power in the perspective of political communication are the opposite components.

1 INTRODUCTION

Ulama and power are like two sides of a coin which in essence are inseparable. The independence achieved by the Indonesian people is inseparable from the role of the ulama as the front guard. Therefore, the relationship between the ulama and the power becomes an inseparable component of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

The bargaining position of ulama in the midst of Indonesian politics ahead of the Presidential Election of the Republic of Indonesia in 2019 is in influential opinion leaders. Although ahead of the 2019 presidential election the votes of the ulama were divided, but this condition did not discourage politicians from continuing to hold the ulama to seize power. The political dynamics in Indonesia have unwittingly brought massive involvement of ulama to participate in affiliation with practical political forces. As a result, this condition caused the ulama to be drawn towards practical politics in order to seize power. When carefully understood, ulama are people who have Islamic scholarship that focuses on developing Islamic propaganda and propaganda. When scholars are involved in practical politics, in essence they are never a problem. Even so far, the involve-

ment of ulama in the political sphere has become something very possible.

The problem now is, how does mass media frame this reality into a news that has ideological, factual, and balanced values, so that this phenomenon becomes an objective reality. The relationship between ulama and power is not seen from the political aspect, but must be seen from various other aspects. It is undeniable that the existence of mass media is currently defeated by the development of social media. If you see the rapid development of communication technology, mass media is in a very competitive position. In fact, some of the media owners were forced to slam the steering wheel by affiliating to power or playing the role of capitalist media business by putting forward maximum profits. As a result, mass media coverage seemed to be a 'special order' for affiliate groups.

Therefore, to see how far the media ideology plays a role, this study focuses on the study of framing analysis on the results of *ijtima ulama 2* related to the discourse on the choice of president and vice president for the 2019-2024 period. The aim is to analyze the framing of the media against the coverage of the *ijtima ulama 2* related to the determination of the choice of the president and vice president of the Re-

public of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period. There are two online media reviewed, namely *kompas.com*, and *republika.com*.

2 THEORITICAL REVIEW

Ulama and Power

The history of Indonesia during the colonial period, the Dutch government once restricted the political role of the scholars. Even various regulations made by the colonial only to alienate the ulama from various activities that could cause social-political turmoil. This effort was carried out by the colonial government because ulama were considered to be an influential group capable of mobilizing the masses to oppose the colonial government so that it could potentially create socio-political conflicts. So it is not surprising, if the strategy of seizure of power carried out by the ulama is not oriented to occupying the position of ruler, but seeks to save the Indonesian republic unit from the cruelty of the invaders.

In principle, the concept of power encourages the ongoing process of zero sum which can be analogous to that one party will benefit and the other party will bear the loss. Because it is this zero-sum approach that causes the inevitable power of conflictual situations with the logic of their thinking is that each other of the class facing each other will try to maintain or gain power. Thus, the actual power relations are sufficiently appropriate to be studied from the Marxian approach which considers that in power relations there is always a dominant (superordinate) class and subordinated class, and therefore it is possible for the resistance movement to be typical Marxian (Muslim et al., 2015).

In understanding Marxian power relations this can be traced from the four steps of the approach: first, power relations as manifestations of special modes or configurations of class domination rather than as a phenomenon of pure interpersonal relations. Second, power relations pay close attention to the relationship between economy, politics and the dominance of class ideology. Third, power relations pay attention to the limitations inherent in many executions of power rooted in a class or other form of class domination and try to explain this in structural contradictions and antagonisms. Fourth, Marxian directs strategies and tactics to reproduce, defend or overthrow class domination (Muslim et al., 2015).

Politics and Power

When talking about politics and power, the stereotype that emerges is that politics as a means of gaining power. In fact, the political meaning and power are

not as cheap as that, precisely politics must be understood philosophically as a manifestation of the efforts of every citizen to achieve common good or mutual interests.

"The abuse of power in the political world that is often carried out by political actors raises the view that the main purpose of participating in politics is only to gain power. In fact, in essence the use of power in politics aims to regulate the interests of all people in the organization, not for personal or group interests. For this reason, the limitation of power is very necessary in order to grow the trust of members of the organization towards the holders of power and the creation of justice and comfort in life (Paramita, 2011).

In his article, Paramitha also explained that power is the capacity a person has to influence the way people think and behave in accordance with what they want. This power can be obtained from various sources which are divided into formal power and personal power. Power is usually synonymous with politics. Politics itself is interpreted as an effort to participate in managing and controlling community affairs.

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Ulama and Politics

The phenomenon of scholars contributing to politics is not unusual. However, the position of the ulama in the midst of the ummah must be placed in a place that is in accordance with the realm of the ulama (*khittah*). Ahead of the upcoming 2019 Election and Presidential Election, the involvement of ulama in Indonesia's democratic political vortex must get the right attention. More than that, serious criticism is needed in order to return the ulama to their *khittah* and make religion a source of inspiration, not disintegration. This is what must be the attention of the Indonesian people when ulama are in a practical political vortex.

Zuhairi Misrawi in his article in *Geotimes* stated that the ulama were not actually involved in politics, either directly or indirectly. Ulama must be an example and heir of the Prophets who build harmony among the people, not just the opposite to encourage disharmony.

"Khaled Abiyou el Fadl in *And God Knows the Soldiers: The Authoritative and Authoritarian in Islamic Discourse* (El Fadl, 2001), presents an interesting solution regarding the importance of understanding the authority of the ulama. He divided the two ulama models: authoritarian scholars and authoritative scholars. Authoritarian scholars will always regard their views as absolute truth. In fact, his views crossed the principles commonly used in the Islamic legal tradition. Not only that, authoritarian scholars will heed morality which is the foundation of every religious view.

On the contrary, authoritative scholars will use views that reflect objectivity, rationality, and prioritize general welfare. Authoritative scholars will be very careful in issuing their views, especially religious views which have a greater impact on the public".

Media Settings Agenda

The main theorem of the agenda setting is Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. They wrote that the audience not only studied the news in other matters through mass media, but also learned how much importance was given to an issue on the topic of the way the mass media emphasized the topic (Nurudin, 2007). For example, in reflecting on what the candidates said in an election campaign, the mass media seemed to determine which topics were important.

"Assuming the Agenda Setting has advantages because it is easy to understand and relatively easy to test. The rationale is that among various topics published by mass media, topics that get more attention from the media will become more familiar to their readers and will be considered important in a certain period of time, and will be the opposite for topics that receive less attention from the media (Vivian, 2008).

Political Communication

There are two words in understanding political communication namely communication and politics. So that it can be understood simply that political communication is the whole process of transmitting, exchanging, and seeking information (including facts, opinions, beliefs, etc.) carried out by participants in the framework of institutionalized political activities. This definition requires the process of political communication to be carried out institutionally. Therefore, communication carried out between friends or relatives is not included in the focus of the study. Nevertheless, the concepts studied in political communication are very large, which due to limited space, will only take a few (Syaiful Rohim, 2009).

3 METHODS

This study used qualitative approach. The data collection technique was carried out through documentation in the form of online media clips about news about the results of Ijtima Ulama 2 at kompas.com and republika.com, which were then analyzed using Robert N Entman framing analysis.

There are several important aspects in Robert N Entman's framing analysis, namely; Define Problems (Defining the Problem) How is an event / issue seen? As a what? Or what problem? Diagnose causes (estimating problems or sources of problems). What event was seen caused by what? What is considered the cause of a problem? Who (actor) is considered the cause of the problem? Moral judgment (making moral decisions) What moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to legitimize or delegate an action? Treatment recommendation. What solutions are offered to solve the problem / issue? What path is offered and must be taken to overcome the problem? (Kriyantono et al., 2014).

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

• Ijtima Ulama II Supports Prabowo-Sandiaga, This Is Jokowi's Comment ... (Edition 17 September 2018)

In the news, the editor of Kompas presented Joko Widodo's comments about Ijtima Ulama 2. It was explained that Indonesia was a democracy. That there was one group then supporting Prabowo, another group supporting Jokowi and Kiai Ma'ruf Amin were part of the dynamics of democracy. Here's the quote:

"KOMPAS.com - President Joko Widodo responded to the results of Ijtima Ulama II which stated that he supported the pair Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno in the upcoming 2019 Presidential Election. According to Jokowi, as a democracy, the support of a group for certain vice presidential candidate pairs is common. "Indonesia is a democratic country. That there is one group then supports Pak Prabowo, another group supports me and Kiai Ma'ruf Amin, that is democracy. So please, it is not prohibited in a democratic country like ours," Jokowi said when met at MNC Tower, Jakarta" (Kompas, 2018a).

• Prabowo Attends the Second Meeting of the GNPF Ulama (Edition 16 September 2018)

In this report, the Kompas editorial directed more about the presence of Prabowo at the meeting of the

Table 1: Ijtima Ulama II Supports Prabowo-Sandiaga, This Is Jokowi's Comment.

Define Problem	The definition of the problem is directed and clear, namely Jokowi's response to the results of the ijtima ruling ulama 2
Diagnose Causes	The issue that was rolled out directed the public to Jokowi's response to the ulama's support for Proabowo.
Moral Judgment	By choosing the incumbent Presidential Candidate informant, he was impressed that Jokowi did not question the results of the ulama's ijtima verdict.
Treatment Recommendation	There is an emphasis on the common thread of the problem, that the results of ijtima ulama are a dynamic of democracy. The treatment recommendation statement was impressed that Jokowi accepted the ijtima ruling ulama 2.

two GNPf scholars and the reason GNPf held ijtima; scholars 2. Next quote:

"Previously, the Chairman of GNPf Yusuf Muhammad Martak said the meeting of the ulama was a meeting of the two GNPf scholars. For information, at the first meeting, the GNPf cleric recommended two combinations of presidential and vice presidential pairs. First, Prabowo Subianto partnered with Ustadz Abdul Somad. Secondly, Prabowo Subianto was accompanied by the Chairman of the PKS Syuro Council Salim Segaf Al-Jufri. "Because the two vice presidents recommended were not accommodated, it was appropriate and upheld the respect we gave to the forum in the second ijtima (meeting)," Yusuf said at a press conference at Grand Cempaka. In this second meeting, said Yusuf, the GNPf ulama will convey various aspirations and struggles that have been carried out (Kompas, 2018b).

• Hasto: Jokowi Already Runs the Pact of Integrity of Ijtima Ulama

In the September 17 2018 edition, the Kompas editor directs his coverage of the Jokowi camp's response to the results of ijtima ulama 2 and the fact that integrity has been made. Here's the quote.

Table 2: Analysis of News Framing Entitled: Prabowo Attends Second Meeting of the GNPf Ulama.

Define Problem	The definition of a directed and clear problem is the presence of Prabowo at the Ijtima meeting Ulama 2 and the response of the Chair of the GNPf to the reason for holding the ijtima ulama 2.
Diagnose Causes	The discourse that was rolled out focused more on the reason for holding the ijtima ulama.
Moral Judgment	The moral value presented by the editor of Kompas.com is trying to see ijtima ulama as a political dynamic in democracy.
Treatment Recommendation	The solution offered in the news is the objectivity of reality that is presented in a directed manner.

"KOMPAS.com - The stronghold of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin honored the support given by the Fatwa Guards National Movement (GNPF) to the pair Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno in the 2019 Presidential Election. Secretary of the National Campaign Team (TKN) Hasto Kristiyanto said, all parties were free to determine political choice. "The attitude of the campaign team, we believe that freedom of opinion, assembly, including to express aspirations give support to which candidate pairs we respect," Hasto said at Cemara Post, Central Jakarta, Monday (09/17/2018). Regarding the integrity pact, Hasto claimed that Jokowi had run it during the administration period. According to Hasto, Jokowi had not merely promised "black and white", but had realized it. "President Jokowi in his leadership also did what became an integrity pact that was generated from the order of the cleric where Jokowi also carried out publicity programs very well," he explained. "

Framing Analysis of News Regarding Ijtima Ulama 2 at republika.co.id

• Participants of the Ijtima Ulama Are Requested to Provide Support (September 16, 2018)

Republika.co.id's September 16, 2018 edition entitled "Participants of the Ulama's Ijtima Requested to Provide Support" emphasized to the audience that ijtima ulama as a final decision on GNPf, and all partici-

Table 3: Framing Analysis News Entitled: Hasto: Jokowi Already Runs the Pact of Integrity of Ijtima Ulama .

Define Problem	Defining the problem is quite objective even though it still directs the discourse by selecting pro Jokowi's informants
Diagnose Causes	The media agenda was directed to Jokowi's team's attitude towards the decision of Ijtima ulama
Moral Judgment	There was a moral decision that was impressed that Jokowi was not just a promise. The editor directs the public discourse that Jokowi has integrity.
Treatment Recommendation	That Jokowi runs public relations programs very well.

pants to the wing-syap GNPf must commit to support it. The following is the excerpt of the news:

Republika.Co.Id, Jakarta - The National Fatwa Guards Movement (GNPF) of the Ulama has just completed Ijtima Ulama and National Figure II at the Grand Cempaka Hotel on Sunday (9/16). Ijtima Ulama and National Figures II I plenary session decided and determined four things.

The Chairperson of Organizing Committee of the Ijtima Ulama and National Figures II, Ustadz Dani Anwar said, firstly, to set Prabowo Subianto as a presidential candidate in the presidential election in 2019. Second, set Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno as his vice presidential candidate.

"Third, bind all Ijtima Ulama and National Figures II participants to provide support to the presidential and vice-presidential candidates recommended in this decree," Ustadz Dani said through a written statement to Republika at the Grand Cempaka Hotel, Sunday (9/16).

Ustadz Dani, who is also the Chairperson of the Ijtima Plenary Session I Ulama and National Figure II, said that the fourth stipulation required the Ijtima' Ulama participants to socialize the results of this recommendation to all Muslims. In addition, Ijtima Ulama and National Figure II also produced 17 points of integrity facts for candidates for president and vice president (Republika,).

• **Official Ijtima Ulama II Supports Prabowo-Sandiaga (September 16, 2018)**

News titled "Official Ijtima Ulama II Supports Prabowo-Sandiaga" reveals that the ulama and the

Table 4: Framing Analysis News Entitled: Participants of Ijtima Ulama Requested to Provide Support.

Define Problem	Defining objective issues. Nevertheless the editorial staff of Republika continued to roll out the discourse that the GNPf and all its wings in all regions to support the results of Ijtima 'Ulama 2.
Diagnose Causes	The reality analysis is directed at convincing the public that the ulama's decision to become the final verdict.
Moral Judgment	Moral decisions emphasize that do not regard GNPf as a former ulama fighter as a political fighter.
Treatment Recommendation	The recommended recommendation is to require the Ijtima Ulama participants to socialize the results of this recommendation to all Muslims.

entire Muslim community in Indonesia support Prabowo-Sandiaga. The editor emphasized that the ulama's decision was the decision of the Muslim community. The following is the excerpt of the news:

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, JAKARTA - Ijtima Ulama II officially declared support for the pair of presidential candidates-vice-president Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, after being signed by the former pegen Kopassus integrity pact. Prabowo arrived at around 1:00 p.m. when the Ijtima Ulama II plenary session continued on Sunday (9/16), and signed the integrity pact at around 2:30 p.m. WIB. The Ijtima Ulama II Forum, according to Habib Rizieq, through a message played at the session, said there were three main agendas in the forum. First, directly listening to the reason Prabowo chose Sandiaga Uno as a vice presidential candidate rather than the vice president of the Ulama I Ijtima recommendation, Ustadz Abdul Somad and Salim Segaf Al Jufri. This is to avoid mutual suspicion and divisions within the ulama's body and the Nationality Coalition. Second, the signing of an integrity pact by the candidate pairs as a form of strong agreement and binding on both. Third, to arrange the winning steps for Prabowo-Sandiaga Uno. Prabowo, after the signing of the integrity pact conveyed his gratitude and gratitude for the support provided by

ijtima ulama. "On behalf of Prabowo-Sandiaga to thank the Ijtima Ulama II of the GNPF Ulama for the trust given to us, for the sincere support given, this is truly a touching time for me, and I have promised Ijtima that I will do what "I will offer the best, as long as my body and soul are dedicated to the Indonesian nation and state," Prabowo said at a press conference.

Table 5: Analysis of Framing News Entitled: Ijtima Ulama II Official Supports Prabowo-Sandiaga.

Define Problem	The definition of editorial issues was very clear and directed that Ijtima Ulama II officially expressed support for the pair of presidential candidates-vice president Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno.
Diagnose Causes	The analysis of events stressed that support for the pair of presidential candidates - vice president Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno was a follow-up of the first Ijtima Ulama.
Moral Judgment	The moral decision presented was the signing of an integrity pact by Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno as a commitment to the Islamic ummah.
Treatment Recommendation	The recommendation that was discussed was Ijtima Ulama II Officially Supporting Prabowo-Sandiaga.

• **Kiai Ma'ruf Responds to the Results of Ijtima Ulama II (September 17, 2018)**

News titled "Ma'ruf Kiai Responding to the Results of Ijtima Ulama II" was an editorial effort to balance the news about the results of the ijtima ulama 2. General President (Presidential Election) 2019. He remains optimistic that the pair Joko Widodo (Jokowi) -Ma'ruf can win the 2019 Presidential Election. The following is the quote:

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, JAKARTA - Will be vice presidential candidate (vice presidential candidate) KH Ma'ruf Amin not worried about the results of Ijtima Ulama II which supports the pair Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno in the 2019 Presidential Election. He remains optimistic that the couple (Jokowi) -Ma'ruf can win the 2019 Presidential Election. "Yes, I don't think there is a problem," he said at the KMA

House, Jalan Saharjo, Tebet, South Jakarta, Sunday (9/16). He claimed, he also received support from the scholars from the Islamic boarding school. According to him, around 400 scholars have expressed support for the Jokowi-Ma'ruf pair on Saturday (9/15). He considered, scholars who support Jokowi-Ma'ruf are people who truly have knowledge about Islam. Because of this, he was not afraid of being left behind by clerics. "His ulama is truly a cleric, a cleric, and that supports Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. So there is no problem," he said. He stressed that the differences of opinion between the ulamas would not necessarily divide Muslims. According to him, all groups have the right to determine support.

Table 6: Kiai Ma'ruf Responds to the Results of Ijtima Ulama II .

Define Problem	The explanation of the definition of the problem is very clear that KH Ma'ruf Amin was not worried about the results of Ijtima Ulama II supporting the pair Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno.
Diagnose Causes	An analysis of the events emphasizes that the difference in views between these scholars will not necessarily divide Muslims.
Moral Judgment	Moral decisions are explained that all groups have the right to determine support.
Treatment Recommendation	The recommended recommendation is that scholars who support Jokowi-Ma'ruf are people who truly have knowledge about Islam.

Based on the results of the framing analysis, it is clear that the Kompas and Republika are still objectively describing reality. However, the media agenda presented provides a framing that the two media have alignments with each pair of presidential candidates. The neutrality of the media in the content of the news is more focused on maintaining group relations between the two camps of the presidential and vice-presidential couples who are equally supported by the clerics. This is assumed to keep ukhwah Islamiyah in the Indonesian Muslim community so that it is not divided by black campaign discourses, especially discourses that corner ulama.

Thus it can be understood that scholars and power

in the perspective of political communication are the opposite components. The ulama ideally became the ummah communicator who was the heir of the prophets, while the authority was the guardian. That is, in the perspective of political communication, scholars have a very important role in the sustainability of a country. It must be admitted that the phenomenon of scholars contributing to politics is not unusual. However, the position of the ulama in the midst of the ummah must be placed in a place that is in accordance with his khittah.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of the discussion it can be concluded that the framing of the two media in revealing the reality of the results of ijtima ulama 2 is objective while still carrying different media agendas. The media agenda directed by the two media was very impressive in favor of one of the presidential candidate pairs. In the perspective of political communication, scholars have a very important role in the sustainability of a country. Scholars take part in politics is not a strange thing. However, the position of the ulama in the midst of the ummah must be placed in a place that is in accordance with his khittah.

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