

PROTEKSI ISI LAPORAN KEMAJUAN PENELITIAN

Dilarang menyalin, menyimpan, memperbanyak sebagian atau seluruh isi laporan ini dalam bentuk apapun kecuali oleh peneliti dan pengelola administrasi penelitian.

LAPORAN KEMAJUAN PENELITIAN

Informasi Data Usulan Penelitian

1. IDENTITAS PENELITIAN

A. JUDUL PENELITIAN

Candidacy contestation in the world-largest Muslim organization: Lesson learned from political campaign discourses during Muktamar Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) 2021

B. SKEMA, BIDANG, TEMA, DAN TOPIK PENELITIAN

Skema Penelitian	Bidang Fokus Penelitian	Tema Penelitian	Topik Penelitian
Penelitian Terapan	Sosial Humaniora - Seni Budaya - Pendidikan	Pembangunan dan penguatan sosial budaya	Demokrasi, politik, dan pemilihan umum

C. KOLABORASI DAN RUMPUN ILMU PENELITIAN

Jenis Kolaborasi Penelitian	Rumpun Ilmu 1	Rumpun Ilmu 2	Rumpun Ilmu 3
Kolaboratif Luar Negeri	ILMU SOSIAL HUMANIORA	ILMU POLITIK	Ilmu Pemerintahan

D. WAKTU PELAKSANAAN

Tahun Usulan	Tahun Pelaksanaan	Lama Penelitian
2022	2023	1

E. ANCOR RESEARCH

Anchor Research	Topik Anchor
Eko Priyo Purnomo, Prof., S.IP., M.Si.,M.Res., Ph.D.	ICT Governance interoperability, Development and Policy Sustainability

2. IDENTITAS PENELITIAN

Nama	Peran	Tugas
Rijal Ramdani, S.IP., MPA	Ketua Pengusul	

Nama	Peran	Tugas
Susilo Nur Aji Cokro Darsono, S.E., M.R.D.M., Ph.D.	Anggota Pengusul	Data analysis of NVivo coding and finalizing the article manuscript.
Eloy Sinai Leriand	Mahasiswa Bimbingan	NVivo coding

3. MITRA KERJASAMA PENELITIAN (JIKA ADA)

Pelaksanaan penelitian dapat melibatkan mitra kerjasama, yaitu mitra kerjasama dalam melaksanakan penelitian, mitra sebagai calon pengguna hasil penelitian, atau mitra investor

Mitra	Nama Mitra	Kepakaran
Rizal Technological University, the Philippines	Dr Josephine P. Aloc	Discourse analysis

4. KOLABORASI PENELITIAN (JIKA ADA)

Mitra	NIDN/NIK	Instansi
Dr Josephine P. Aloc	EC50012923PHL	Rizal Technological University, the Philippines

5. LUARAN DAN TARGET CAPAIAN

Luaran Wajib

Tahun	Jenis Luaran
1	Publikasi Jurnal Internasional terindeks SCOPUS,
1	Naskah Kebijakan

Luaran Tambahan

Tahun	Jenis Luaran
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6. KLUSTER

Kluster	Sub Kluster	Group Riset	Mata kuliah
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7. ANGGARAN

Rencana anggaran biaya penelitian mengacu pada PMK yang berlaku dengan besaran minimum dan maksimum sebagaimana diatur pada buku Panduan Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat.

Total Keseluruhan RAB Rp. 27,000,000

Tahun 1 Total Rp. 27,000,000

Jenis Pembelian	Komponen	Item	Satuan	Vol.	Harga Satuan	Total
BAHAN	Bahan (Habis Pakai)	NVivo 12 Plus licence (Asli)	Unit	1	Rp. 12,463,604	Rp. 12,463,604
PENGUMPULAN DATA	Biaya Konsumsi Harian	Konsumsi Harian Coding (3 Asisten Peneliti)	OH	120	Rp. 40,000	Rp. 4,800,000
ANALISIS DATA	Biaya Konsumsi Rapat	Rapat Perencanaan Coding, Trial coding, Evaluasi Coding, dan Finalisasi hasil coding	OH	3	Rp. 500,000	Rp. 1,500,000
PELAPORAN, LUARAN WAJIB, DAN LUARAN TAMBAHAN	Article Processing Charge (APC)	Native proofreading	Artikel	2	Rp. 3,000,000	Rp. 6,000,000
ANALISIS DATA	Biaya Konsumsi Rapat	Rapat perencanaan Proposal, Hasil Penelitian, Penulisan Artikel, dan Finalisasi Artikel	OH	2	Rp. 500,000	Rp. 1,000,000
PELAPORAN, LUARAN WAJIB, DAN LUARAN TAMBAHAN	Biaya Seminar Internasional	Sminar International Fee	Paket	1	Rp. 1,236,396	Rp. 1,236,396

8. LEMBAR PENGESAHAN

HALAMAN PENGESAHAN LAPORAN KEMAJUAN PENELITIAN SKEMA:

Judul : Candidacy contestation in the world-largest Muslim organization: Lesson learned from political campaign discourses during Muktamar Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) 2021

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Prodi : S1 Ilmu Pemerintahan

Mitra : Rizal Technological University, the Philippines
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Kepakaran : Discourse analysis

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Biaya : Rp. 27,000,000

Yogyakarta, 17 Mei 2023
Mengetahui,
Kepala LRI,



Prof. Dr. Dyah Mutiarin, MS.i.
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9. RINGKASAN

Campaigns have such a strategic position in political contestations such as the election of presidents and governors as well as the congress of political parties and social movement organisations. This study analyses what kinds of acclaim, attack, and defence messages were used by both Said Aqil and Gus Yahya during the pre-*Muktamar* Nandlatul Ulama (NU) 2021. Do those discourses influence the success of Gus Yahya, as the challenger, in taking over the NU leadership from the incumbent (Said Aqil)? The study applied the discourse analysis method. We base our data on the statements of both candidates, including their successor teams and supporters, appearing in the three largest online news media in Indonesia: 1) tempo.co, 2) detik.com, and 3) kumparan.com.

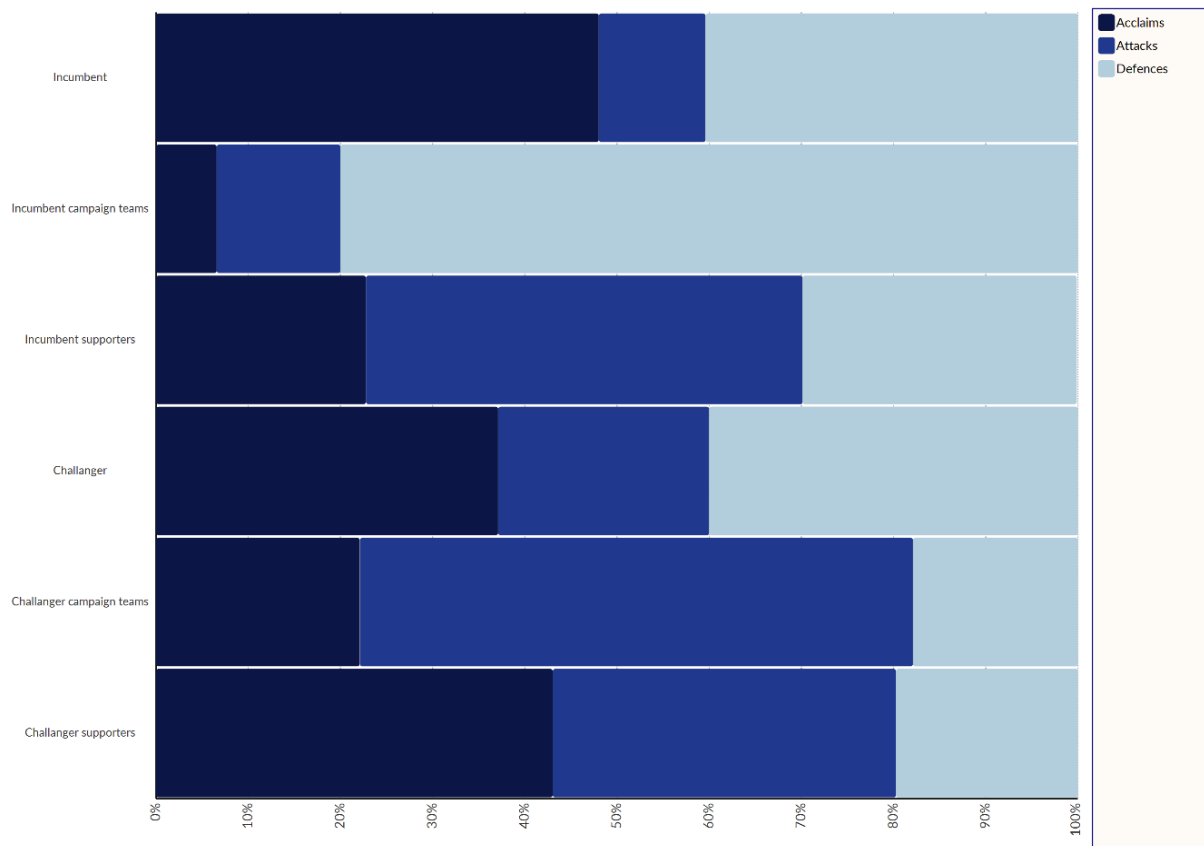
10. KEYWORDS

Political contestation, Muslim organisation, functional discourse analysis, and local democracy

11. HASIL PELAKSANAAN PENELITIAN

Based on the crosstab analysis, we found that the incumbent acclaimed as many as the challenger (25.33 % and 26.67 %). The challenger (16 %) and its campaign teams (27.07 %) attacked more frequently against the incumbents. In other words, the incumbent attacked the least (6.77 %), and the attack messages from the incumbent side mostly came from its supporters (27.82 %). The challenger (28.57) addressed the defence messages more frequently than the incumbent (21.43 %), yet the campaign teams (17.86 %) and supporters (12.5 %) of the incumbent defended more than the challenger (8.93 % and 10.71 %) (Figure 1). We also found that both the incumbent and challenger discussed more on policies in all functions of the discourse: acclaims, attacks, and defences; meanwhile, their campaign teams and supporters discussed more on characters (Appendix 1).

Figure 1. The percentage of acclaim, attack, and defence messages addressed by the incumbent and challenger as well as their campaign teams and supporters



Acclaims of the incumbent and challenger in policy and character

In terms of policy, the incumbent acclaimed more over past deeds (73.68 %), particularly on the issue of education, economic affairs, and politics. Meanwhile, the challenger acclaimed more over future plans (73.81 %) (Appendix 2), particularly on the issue of politics and organisational affairs (Appendix 3). For example, the incumbent acclaimed that during his ten years of leadership, PBNU established 34 new universities and seven hospitals and granted annual scholarship awards to about 100 NU activists to continue their studies abroad. He was able to develop *pesantren An-Nahdliyah* under the legal entity of PBNU. Although NU was well known as a network of *ulama* and its *pesantren*, Said Aqil claimed the legal entity of *pesantren* was mainly under the *ulama's* ownership. The incumbent also claimed he had reformed the organisation for transparency and economic development. For the first time in NU history, the organisation's budget was evaluated by an external auditor. The savings budget of the organisation increased from 500 million IDR to 1.8 trillion IDR. In terms of politics, Said Aqil claimed he would keep the closed relationship between NU and the Joko Widodo regime and continue supporting the government programmes, particularly in encountering Islamic fundamentalism. Moreover, Said Aqil said that NU would be proactively engaged in politics in which the NU activists should lead the strategical positions within the government institutions (Detik.com, 8.12).

In contrast, the challenger promised political repositioning of NU if elected as the NU's executive leader. He promised there would not be a vice presidential candidate from NU in the next-2024 presidential election as in 2019 (Tempo.co, 12.10). NU would also have an equal relationship with all political parties, including the National Awakening Party (PKB). Although PKB was established by NU's leaders in 1998, Gus Yahya believed that not all NU followers were affiliated with the PKB (Kumparan.com, 14.12). The vision of his leadership was to revive the idea of Gus Dur.

president to learn about Islam and politics (NU online, 18.12). His supporters claimed that Gus Yahya represented the unique character of Gus Dur (Detik.com, 9.10).

Regarding personal qualities, Said Aqil said that he came from a *pesantren* family in Cirebon, West Java, where his father was the founder and leader of the *pesantren*. He learned about the Islamic scriptures from his father at an early age. Said Aqil continued his study at Lirboyo in East Java (one of the oldest *pesantren* founded in the 1990s). He pursued a bachelor's degree in Islamic theology (in 1982) from King Abdul Aziz University and his master's and PhD in Islamic theology and philosophy (in 1987 and 1994) from the University of Ummul Quro, all in Saudi Arabia (NU online, 18.12). His supporters claimed that with such a prestigious background in Islamic education, Said Aqil was better suited to lead NU than Gus Yahya (Padasuka TV, 23.12). Gus Yahya also came from the *pesantren* family background where his father was the leader of *pesantren* Raudlatul Thalibin in Rembang, Central Java and one of the founders of the National Awakening Party (PKB). He was the nephew of a charismatic *ulama*, Mustafa Bisri and the grandson of Bisri Mustofa, one of the outstanding NU leaders (Mutaqin, 2022). Gus Yahya studied Islamic scriptures from *pesantren* Al-Munawir Krapyak in Yogyakarta while involved in public schools. He continued his education in sociology at Gadjah Mada University, but he decided to leave the college to study Islam in Saudi Arabia (NU online, 18.12).

Based on the cloud analysis, we also found that 1) the idea and legitimation of Gus Dur, 2) the role of NU in political affairs (*politik*), 3) the proposal of programmes, 4) political support from PWNU and PCNU, and 5) legitimation of *ulama* (*kyai*) were five dominant issues coming up in the discourse of acclaims (Figure 2). There were also secondary issues such as 1) regeneration (*regenerasi*), 2) changes (*berubah*) in NU leadership (*kepemimpinan*), and 3) NU achievement in higher education (*perguruan tinggi*) (Figure 2).

Attacks against the incumbent and challenger in policy and character

In terms of policy, both the incumbent and challenger discussed more past deeds (50 % and 64.71%) and general policies (50 % and 29.41 %) (Appendix 6). The incumbent attacked more on the issue of politics (57.14%), followed by religious affairs (28.57 %). Meanwhile, the challenger attacked more on the topic of political affairs (64.29%), followed by organisational matters (35.71 %) (Appendix 7). For example, the incumbent was critical of the challenger's decision to attend an international forum organised by the global American Jewish Committee (AJC) in Jerusalem in 2018. On his visit, Gus Yahya also met with the Prime Minister of Israel, Netanyahu, in Tel Aviv. Said Aqil said that NU should always stand with the Indonesian foreign policy for the independency of Palestine (Detik.com, 6.10). The incumbent claimed that he also received the invitation to the forum, but he refused it because NU would not recognise Israel as a nation if they did not do so to Palestine (Detik.com, 17.10). The supporters of the incumbent saw that Gus Yahya's decision was controversial among the Indonesian Muslim society, who most of them supported the freedom of Palestine (Kumpraran.com, 21.12). Said Aqil argued that the liberalism ideology of thought influenced such attitude (the visit to Israel). He worried about the rise of liberalism within the young generations of NU because it could lead the organisation to move away from its tradition (*ahli sunnah wal jamaah*; Sunni orthodoxy doctrine) (Kumpraran.com, 14.12).

In contrast, the challenger was critical of the NU's active involvement in the presidential election during Said Aqil's leadership. According to Gus Yahya, the success of NU in supporting Ma'ruf Amin as the vice president of Joko Widodo came at the cost of conflicts between the supporters and oppositions of the president (Kumpraran.com, 14.12). Gus Yahya also regretted using political identity in the 2019 presidential election when people attacked their opponents' particular races, religions, and social backgrounds (Tempo.co, 12.10). He argued that NU needed to maintain harmonies within society instead of taking part in the conflict and using political identity

(Detik.com, 18.10). For example, Gus Yahya deplored Said Aqil, who often used jokes of "crooked pants" and "black forehead" against the Salafi Muslim communities (NU Online, 18.12). Gus Yahya also criticised the incumbent statement that NU was entitled to lead all strategic positions within the government. According to Gus Yahya, that statement represented the vision of a political party leader, not a social movement organisation (Kumparan.com, 14.12). Gus Yahya was also concerned with the centralisation approach of Said Aqil when the central boards of NU needed more awareness to share its programmes with the local boards (Detik.com, 11.12).

Figure 2. Word frequency in the discourse of policies and characters in acclaims



Looking at the characters, the supporters of the incumbent actively attacked the challenger, particularly on values (19.18 %) in ideals, followed by experiences (8.22 %) in leadership and education (1.37 %) in personal quality. In contrast, the campaign teams and supporters of the challenger were critical of the incumbent, particularly on the principles (37.74 %) in ideals and regeneration (39.47 %) in leadership (Appendix 8). For example, the incumbent was concerned with the government intervention to support the challenger in *Muktamar*. Said Aqil publicly asked Joko Widodo to be neutral and to let the congress delegates decide the executive leader of NU (Detik.com, 14.12). This statement came up since there was an indication of the hotel's sabotage around the venue of *Muktamar* by the Ministry of Religious Affairs to mobilize NU local delegates in supporting the challenger (Detik.com, 14.12). The minister of Religious Affairs, himself, was the younger brother of the challenger. The supporters of Said Aqil told the media that the challenger's campaign teams facilitated free flight tickets for 469 NU local delegates (voters) to come to Lampung (Kumparan.com, 21.12). The supporters reminded all congress delegates that the challenger needed more experience to lead NU (Kumparan.com, 23.12). They also degraded the educational background of Gus Yahya, who never completed his undergraduate from either Gadjah Mada University or any university in Saudi Arabia (Pada Suka TV, 23.12).

Contrary, the campaign teams and supporters of the challenger argued that Said Aqil was too old (70 years old) to lead the NU (Kumparan.com, 10.9). For example, Saifullah Yusuf and Nusron Wahid said regeneration was in need since most Indonesian Muslims were demographically young people under 45 years old (Tempo.co, 18.12, Detik.com, 8.10). The supporters of Gus Yahya argued that if Said Aqil led the organisation for the third time, it would obstruct the regeneration processes within the NU leadership (Tempo.co, 15.12). Moreover, Saifullah Yusuf was very critical of the fairness of *Muktamar*. He perceived that the decision of Said Aqil on 16th November to postpone the *Muktamar* (from 23rd to 24th of December 2021) for an undetermined time was an act that violated the NU constitution (Kumparan.com, 1.12). He said that Said Aqil, as the executive leader of NU, could not organise the *Muktamar* and the postponement of *Muktamar* would benefit Said Aqil in consolidating his supporters (Tempo.co, 19.11). Saifullah Yusuf also questioned Said

Aqil's fairness in issuing several act letters of NU local boards, such as the regional board of North Sumatra, who were perceived to have a favourable vote for him (Tempo.co, 21.12).

We also found that there were five dominant issues discussed in the attacks namely 1) Israel, 2) politics (*politik*), 3) regenerations (*regenerasi*), 4) sabotage and hotels (*sabotase*), and 5) letters (*surat*) (Figure 3). The issue of Israel and politics represented the discourse on policies, while regenerations, sabotages, hotels, and letters reflected the dominant discourses in characters.

Defences of the incumbent and challenger in policy and character

In terms of policy, the incumbent defended more on the future plan (66.67 %) followed by the past deed (37.5 %), while the incumbent defended more on the past deed (62.5 %) followed by future plans (33.33 %) (Appendix 9). For example, the incumbent defended his plan that the active involvement of NU in politics would be for the sake of organisation's development, not for his own ambition. He told the media that he had no ambition to become a president or a minister. He promised that NU would always be independent of any government intervention event the organisation took part in supporting the presidential candidacy (Tempo.co, 21.12). Said Aqil answered against the critics of his top-down leadership on the organisational affairs that if the regional boards of NU were not satisfied with his programmes, they would not accept his accountability reports during the *Muktamar* (Kumparan.com, 23.12). He claimed that although there were not many transferred programmes from PBNU, NU's regional boards were very independent in creating their economic initiatives to empower rural Muslim communities in dealing with property (Kumparan.com, 23.12). Moreover, the campaign teams of Said Aqil doubt Gus Yahya's campaign teams' acclaim on the majority supports from the congress delegated. They said that the supporters of Said Aqil would remain solid and commit to voting for him in the *Muktamar*, and Said Aqil would defeat Gus Yahya (Detik.com, 8.12).

From the challenger side, Gus Yahya was concerned about the criticisms against his visit to Israel in 2018. He argued that building a close relationship with Jews communities was critical if NU committed to participating in the peace negotiation of Palestine – Israel. He claimed that he continued Gus Dur's legacy, who visited Israel in 2002 to promote a harmonious relationship between Muslim and Jews communities (Detik.com, 6.10). Gus Yahya said that he always stood for Palestine, and his efforts were aimed at the freedom of Palestine (Kumparan.com, 14.12). He claimed that during the visit, he asked the Jews communities to change their attitudes and mindset about Palestine and Islam (Detik.com, 28.9). He believed that there were shared values and interests between Muslim and Jews communities. Gus Yahya argued that NU, as the most prominent Islamic organisation had a responsibility to take the lead in the Palestine-Israel conflict resolution processes as Gus Dur previously pioneered that effort (Kumparan.com, 14.12).

Figure 2. Word frequency in the discourse of policies and characters in acclaims



Looking at the characters, the incumbent and his campaign teams and supporters defended more on the ideals (76.47 %) and leadership (38.1 %), particularly on the fairness of *Muktamar* and regeneration. Meanwhile, the challenger and his campaign teams and supporters defended more on ideals (76.47 %), and personal qualities (23.53 %), yet the topics were related to government intervention towards the *Muktamar* and the educational background (Appendix 10). For example, Said Aqil clarified that he postponed the *Muktamar* for an undetermined time because he followed the social mobility restriction of the covid-19 introduced by the central government (Tempo.co, 18.11). His campaign teams also answered Syafullah Yusuf's question that Said Aqil would constitutionally be legitimate to lead the organisation until the upcoming *Muktamar* (Tempo.co, 2.12). In answering the issue of regeneration, Said Aqil argued that the constitution of NU allowed him to take part in the contestation for the third round period of leadership. He illustrated himself with Gus Dur, who had also led NU for the third period (Detik.com, 7.10). He defended that NU followers should not worry about his age because he would involve many young generations in the next NU central boards. He claimed that, under his leadership, PBNU would always be fresh with its programmes and with the main support of young generations (Detik.com, 8.12).

Regarding fairness, Gus Yahya also defended himself by saying there was no government intervention to support him in the *Muktamar*. He granted that President Joko Widodo had no political interest in intervening in the result of *Muktamar* (Kumparan.com, 22.12). His supporters were also concerned about criticising Gus Yahya's lack of leadership experience. They claimed that Gus Yahya was actively involved in organisations since he was a student, particularly in Islamic Student Association (HMI). They contended that Gus Yahya was one of the crucial figures in reforming the management of GP Anshar (one of NU's autonomous organisations) to be the largest youth organisation in Indonesia (Kumparan.com, 22.12). The supporters also regret the attack on Gus Yahya's educational background. They said that an academic degree did not guarantee the ability of somebody to lead an organisation. Even though Gus Yahya did not hold any college degree, they believe that the challenger had the intellectual capacity to lead the NU, as Gus Dur, who did not finish his study at the university (Tempo.co, 22.12).

We also found in the cloud analysis that the issues of 1) Palestine, 2) free from government intervention (*pemerintah; dukungan*), 3) constitution of the organisation (*konsitusi*), 4) politics (*politik*), and 5) property (*kemiskinan*) were five dominant issues coming up in the discourse of defences (Figure 3).

12. STATUS LUARAN

Manuscript in preparation.

13. PERAN MITRA

Data analysis and language editing.

14. KENDALA PELAKSANAAN PENELITIAN

Sulitnya mengkoding, mengolah, dan mengalisis hasil coding.

15. RENCANA TAHAPAN SELANJUTNYA

Menulis chapter discussion untuk manuscript to (targeted Journal) Asia studies Review.

16. DAFTAR PUST Ali, H., Yilmaz, G., Fareed, Z., Shahzad, F., & Ahmad, M. (2021). Impact of novel coronavirus (COVID-19) on daily routines and air environment: evidence from Turkey.

Air Quality, Atmosphere & Health, 14, 381–387.

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