

The Media Construction on Heretical Religious Teachings at Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding Schools: A Study of the Media

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Abstract

This article aims to explore the issue of heretical deviations in the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school constructed by four online media sources: metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rejabar.republik.co.id, and merdeka.com which had intensely reported on this controversy for weeks. It is intended to reveal what actually occurred in the institution and analyze how these media framed the issue critically. This study uses Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model through three levels of analysis: critical language analysis, subjective interpretation of the discourse practices, and relevant information on the media's sociocultural practices. This research found that the media's claim that al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school engaged in radicalism is a construction of pseudo-reality. The text narrative is unclear, and the news facts are blurred, containing bias and prone to debates. The findings reveal that the actual reality constructed by the four online media is the contestation of elite groups over the discourse on heretical teachings against Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools.

Keywords: Media studies, CDA, heretical religious teachings, Islamic boarding schools

Introduction

Indonesia has the most significant number of Muslim citizens in the world. According to data from the World Population Review, Indonesia had the largest Muslim population in 2021, with 231 million people, followed by Pakistan, with a Muslim majority of 212.3 million people, and the third place is India, with a majority of Muslims of 200 million.¹ Early education for young Muslims includes studying at Islamic boarding schools. In this school, students stay in dormitories or huts, pray together at the mosques, study classical Islamic books, and are taught directly by Islamic scholars called "kiai."²

While studying Islam through an organized Islamic education, such as through an Islamic boarding school, is paramount, Muslim communities should be careful with the teachings offered in the school. Despite its perfection, the Quranic text is prone to multi-interpretations. Since ancient times, there have been attempts to distort the Islamic teachings. In line with the development of Islamic da'wah in Indonesia, the incidence of heresy has not gone unnoticed. Although the government has been trying to revitalize da'wah efforts through various media and designs at all levels, there are still groups that succeed in penetrating the target group, primarily through specific methods and approaches such as traditional medicine, tariqat, and certain teachings as well as worship and khurafat practices.³

¹Imam Prawoto, Peran Pondok Islamic boarding schools Al-Zaytun dalam Meningkatkan Ekonomi Masyarakat Sekitar, *EKSISBANK*, Vol.7, No. 1, 2023, p. 124

²Muhdi. (2018). *Manajemen Pendidikan Terpadu Pondok Islamic boarding schools dan Perguruan Tinggi (Studi Multistus di Ma'had Dalwa Bangil dan Pondok Ngalag Purwosari Pasuruan*.

³Jakim, *Penjelasan laman Pusat Penyelidikan Islam*. Retrieved July 29, 2023, from <http://www.islam.gov.my/ppi/profil.html>, accessed on August 3, 2023

Muslims, in general, have never been silent about the issue of denial of faith and the spread of heretical teachings. The spread of heretical teachings can be mitigated if every individual Muslim is vigilant, increases their religious knowledge, and avoids gatherings with certain groups that have their interests. In Indonesia, the authorities also took measures such as identifying various instances of deviation under *Jinayah Sharia*, mandating adherence to religious principles for preachers, and closely monitoring independent preachers to prevent the dissemination of teachings that contradict Islam. Serious efforts have been taken since this issue potentially impacted the community as a whole.

This research is particularly interested in the issue of heretical teachings in Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, which has been a trending topic on various social media such as Instagram and TikTok and online news media such as *metro.suara.com*, *Bandung.viva.co.id*, *rebar.republik.co.id*, *merdeka.com*. This phenomenon leads to pros and cons, debates, and media discourses. As mentioned by Hanipudin, it is possible to intersect directly with various opinions and even cross opinions with different modes, some of which criticize, provide input, and even drop. It can be understood that public opinions can influence Islamic boarding schools.⁴

Ma'had Al-Zaytun is a flagship business program managed by the Indonesian Islamic Boarding School Foundation (YPI) in education. Other programs are in trade, agriculture, and animal husbandry. It is a model of a modern boarding school on an international scale. A boarding school that integrates Islamic values and a contemporary system, Al-Zaytun tries to deconstruct

⁴Sarno Hanipudin, *Gagasan dan Manifestasi Modernisasi Pasantren A.S Panji Gumilang di Ma'had Al-Zaytun*, *INSANIA*, Vol. 18, No.2, 2013, p. 246

people's understanding of Islamic boarding schools, which used to be seen as traditional. This new model is expected to motivate students to study more, as they can live in a dynamic environment and adapt well. Every thinker cannot be separated from their existing circumstances, outlook, and political attitudes when expressing ideas or thoughts. For this reason, it is good to know the track record of the founder of the Ma'had Al-Zaytun boarding schools, A.S. Panji Gumilang, because this is where the pros and cons began and could end.⁵

The author could identify positive and negative tones based on interviews with the surrounding communities. The negative assumptions towards A.S. Panji Gumilang cannot be separated from his track records. According to Al-Chaidar,⁶ the figure of A.S. Panji Gumilang is a picture of a master conman who utilized the "emotional spirit of NII ex-loyalists" to revive after a long period of suspended animation. This fact is corroborated by the establishment of Ma'had Al-Zaytun in Indramayu, which has an area of 1,500 hectares; Ma'had Al-Zaytun is nothing more than a "small kingdom of fake NII" built based on fraud and violation of NII's principles.⁷

This research stemmed from curiosity about why negative views of A.S. Panji Gumilang and Ma'had Al-Zaytun were heavily accused of spreading heretical teachings. The intensifying negative views on this school and multiple perspectives by different

⁵Sarno Hanipudin, Gagasan dan Manifestasi Modernisasi Pasantren A.S Panji Gumilang di Ma'had Al-Zaytun, *INSANIA*, Vol. 18, No.2, 2013, p. 250

⁶Sarno Hanipudin, Gagasan dan Manifestasi Modernisasi Pasantren A.S Panji Gumilang di Ma'had Al-Zaytun, *INSANIA*, Vol. 18, No.2, 2013, hal. 246

⁷Sarno Hanipudin, Gagasan dan Manifestasi Modernisasi Pasantren A.S Panji Gumilang di Ma'had Al-Zaytun, *INSANIA*, Vol. 18, No.2, 2013, p. 246

scholars on this issue were the main reasons the researcher is interested in investigating more. The scientific argument for researching this theme is related to the role of the media, which is considered necessary because everything that happens can be communicated directly by the media to the public.⁸ In the context of mass communication, which has developed until now, it always appears in the minds and thoughts of humans.⁹ News in itself is not an event. Instead, it refers to an attempt to reconstruct or frame the events. While news should be neutral and based on a series of actual pieces of evidence, in reality, it is not always the case. Western mass media, for example, often frames Islam as a primitive religion that justifies violence or is equated with terrorism.¹⁰ This has resulted in the stereotyping of Islam as an ideology of violence, and this image was pervasive in the mainstream media.¹¹

Indeed, the media exists at the heart of social reality, surrounded by various interests, conflicts, and a complex array of diverse facts. News bias can happen because the mass media does not exist in a vacuum. That is why discourse analysis is essential in social life. Discourse as a form of verbal communication can be divided into two: oral and written. Oral discourse is a form of oral communication involving speakers and interlocutors, while written discourse is a form of written communication involving writers and readers. The speaker (speaker/writer) activity is productive,

⁸Lestari, P., Ramadhaniyanto, B., & Wardyaningrum, D. (2018). Pemberitaan di media online untuk pengurangan risiko bencana gunung sinabung. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 6(1), pp. 106–120. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.v6i1.15168>

⁹Syuderajat, F. (2017). Ideologi surat kabar dalam pemberitaan terorisme. *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 1(1), pp. 1–12.

¹⁰Mulyana, D. (2008). *Komunikasi massa: Kontroversi, teori, dan aplikasi*. Widya Padjadajaran.

¹¹Jainuri, A. (2016). *Radikalisme dan terorisme: Akar ideologi dan tuntutan aksi*. Intrans Publishing.

expressive, and creative, while the interlocutor (listener/reader) is receptive. Discourse can be packaged with various intentions by the speaker to the interlocutor. The speakers have the flexibility to convey various forms of opinions or thoughts through discourse.¹²

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) examines language using a critical language paradigm. It sees discourse as a language text phenomenon, often opposing descriptive discourse analysis. In CDA, discourse is understood as more than just a study of language. Although CDA analysis uses language in the text to be analyzed, the results will be obtained not to get a picture of the linguistic aspects but to connect with the context.

This research describes how online media constructs news using Norman Fairlough's analysis. This research depicts the misuse of heretical teachings by the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school. Based on this fact, the construction of the false reality of the issue of heretical teachings against the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school in Indonesia reported by metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rejabar.republik.co.id, merdeka.com deserves to be critically examined. The question focuses on the construction of reality in the four online sources reporting the issue of heretical teachings against the Al-Zaytun pesantren in Indonesia. The determination of the research object is based on the reputation and credibility of the four media. In addition, the scientific consideration that the author criticizes in this research is the tug-of-war over the issue of heretical teachings that leads to the stigmatization of Islamic educational institutions.

Method

This study uses a critical qualitative approach, emphasizing

¹²Nyoman Payuyasa, Analisis Wacana Kritis Model Van Dijk Dalam Program Acara Mata Najwa di Metro TV, Vol. 5, November 2017, p.16

the interpretative model (using multiple interpretations).¹³ The socially constructed nature of reality, the close relationship between the researcher and the subject under study, and the pressure of the situation are primary elements that navigate the investigation. Littlejohn, Foss, and Thomas argue that this model focuses on a) domination and repression caused by power imbalances in society, including domination, repression of ideology and belief; b) efforts to promote emancipation, freedom, and equality by exploring social conditions that marginalize certain parties; c) efforts to provide solutions through theoretical and practical synergies to realize social change¹⁴.

The researcher chose CDA to analyze the news about the issue of heresy in Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools. One of the goals of CDA research is to expose inequalities in the text, revealing hidden meanings or interests. Teun A. van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak emphasize five essential characteristics of CDA, namely action, context, history, power, and ideology. Norman Fairclough's model was chosen using three critical dimensions: texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices.¹⁵ It has three mutually supportive steps: systematic, logical, and relevant. First, the text is analyzed linguistically by looking at vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure. Secondly, discourse practice is a dimension that relates to the production and consumption process of the text. Third, sociocultural practice is a dimension that relates to the context outside the text. Applying Fairclough's analysis focuses on three steps. The first one is the description stage. News texts from

¹³Bajari, *Metode Penelitian Komunikasi: Prosedur, trend dan etika* (Bandung: Reflika Aditama, 2015)

¹⁴Krisyantoro, *Public relations, Issue dan Crisis Management*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2015)

¹⁵Fairclough, *Language and Power*, (London: Longman Group, 2010)

metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rebar.republik.co.id, and merdeka.com were selected to identify the discourse behind the text. The whole narrative of the news text is positioned not neutrally but is suspected to have various interests. The text can reveal the news's identity, representation, relation, and intertextuality through critical linguistic analysis.

The second one is the interpretation stage. Researchers interviewed the editorial team in discourse practice to reveal the data regarding the news production process. The researcher also compared it with the print edition. The third one is the explanation stage. Sociocultural practice focuses on situational, institutional, and social analyses. Documentation data sources are metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rejabar.republik.co.id, and merdeka.com to reveal the discourse practices of news texts. This is in line with the view of Jorgensen & Philips (2010) that discourse has three functions, namely identity function, "relationship" or relational function, and "ideational" function.¹⁶

Results and Discussion

The issue of Islamic heresies in the Al-Zaytun boarding school was critically analyzed through three stages, namely text description, interpretation of discourse practices, and explanation of sociocultural practices constructed by metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rebar.republik.co.id, merdeka.com. Fairclough's CDA not only focuses on an object that is assumed to have a discourse or ideological content but also "language as a social practice" and the media's idealism in representing news. This research applied this concept to the four online sources and found that they show different positive or negative presentations of a person's image. Based on the text description analysis, it can

¹⁶Jorgensen dan Philips. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. (US: University of Michigan, 2010)

be revealed that the overall news narrative constructed by metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rejabar.republik.co.id, and merdeka.com have different characteristics. The four cyber media have their own model of selection and sorting of journalistic language.

Table 1. List of Titles on Islamic Boarding Schools Al-Zaytun

Media	Data	News Title
Metro.suara.com	1	Fact Check: Is it true that Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School has a discotheque-like entertainment center?
	2	Ministry of Religious Affairs reprimands Ridwan Kamil about billions in aid for al-Zaytun Indramayu: Talk must be based on data
	3	Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School teaches sacrificial animals not to be slaughtered, but...
	4	Fact Check: Mahfud MD Officially Disbanded Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School Because It Was Considered a Cult
Bandung.viva.co.id	1	Mahfud MD Mentioned Panji Gumilang Feeling Comfortable Until He Committed Alleged Blasphemy.
	2	Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School Has Weapons

		Bunkers, Panji Gumilang: It is Downstairs
	3	Lucky Hakim's confession: Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School Pays The Highest Land and Building tax in Indramayu, up to hundreds of millions
Rejabar.republika.co.id	1	Activities at Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools in Indramayu
	2	Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School will not be sanctioned, will be counseled
	3	Al-Zaytun's teachings were accused of heresy; this is Panji Gumilang's answer
	4	Confession of Al-Zaytun Senior Alumni: It Used to Be Normal
Merdeka.com	1	Shocking Facts about Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School
	2	Looking at The Potential Closure of Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School
	3	Mahfud Confirms Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School Is not Closed; Its Status is Under Monitoring

Metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rejabar.republic.co.id, and merdeka.com have diction and organization of journalistic language that cannot be separated from the direction and purpose of the cyber media's ideological interests.

The issue of heretical teachings at Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school was analyzed through text description, interpretation of discourse practices, and explanation of sociocultural practices constructed by the four media. First, based on the text description analysis, it can be revealed that the overall news narrative constructed by metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rejabar.republik.co.id, merdeka.com has different characteristics. The four cyber media have a selection and sorting of journalistic language that must be distinct from the direction and purpose of the cyber media's ideological interests.

Media metro.suara.com constructs reality with online journalistic language that makes a very clear statement that justifies news related to heresy at the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school. Dictions, sentences, and terms were chosen to state that there are heresies at the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school. Metro.suara.com narrates the existence of heresies at the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school. Metro.suara.com highlights the opinions of influential religious scholars in Indonesia. It framed the Al-Zaytun as a boarding school that provides false religious teachings. Metro.suara.com narrates religious elites in the news text structure, starting from Ustadz Abdul Shomad, Habib Rizieq, and other officials and scholars. The selection and sorting of public participation from the ulama group confirms that those considered worthy by metro.suara.com to describe the reality desired by the media. Because the news text is neutral, partiality or support for public participants (sources) of news indicates a strong power relationship between the metro.suara.com media institution and the elites featured. The dominance of the public space filled with elite text narratives is constructed through expressions that support each other between sentences in one news story.

Meanwhile, the pro-contra description of the issue of heresy teachings is constructed in a separate news section. Media

metro.suara.com provides the most expansive space for elites to discuss issues and when this issue gets other elites. Responses will be constructed in different editions. The elite placement is the same. The absence of elite discourse placement in one news shows the power of the media to present reality based on media interests. The narrative of the news text on the issue of heretical teachings at the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school in Indonesia represents elite power relations through the identification of reality constructed by the editorial staff of metro.suara.com. The whole text tells the discourse of the ruling group and religious leaders because of the public dominance of the elite. Metro.suara.com does not place participants who teach heresy as news sources, so their position is increasingly marginalized in the discourse battle in the media.

The bandung.viva.co.id revealed evidence of the issue of the heretical teachings of the Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School and, at the same time, reported that the community, especially the parents and the students, should not easily believe the issues based on what circulated on the media. Bandung.viva.co.id wants to present itself as a media that displays what is there about the identity of the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school, both in general and in particular. The text structure is shown through bandung.viva.co and the power of elites and public figures dominate id news participants. This shows the contestation of the elites in fighting over the issue discourse. The media constructs the whole news by dominating the elite, indicating that the media is quite hegemonic in presenting false reality to the audience. The relationship with the elite is so essential and dominant that it strengthens the assumption that the reality of the elite controls the issue. However, some news discourses contain opinions and submissions from the Al-Zaytun boarding school, which is accused of being a heretical boarding school.

The editorial narrative by Rejabar.republika.co.id reveals

several facts obtained before and after this negative news. Everything is revealed based on facts from several sources, such as previous alumni. Rejabar.republika.co.id wants to present itself as a media that reports what the facts are about the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school, from several narratives related to the issue of sinful teaching abuse that does not take sides with anyone, all based on facts found at the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school. News from this cyber media uses language that is easy to understand and straightforward, plus every news narrative always uses good journalistic language and seems reasonable in delivering news. The text structure displayed through rejabar.republika.co.id is dominated by elite forces, including the Vice President, West Java Governor, Indramayu Regency Government, Chairman of MUI, LPOI, Commission VIII, Indramayu Regent, Director General of Human Rights, and Deputy Minister of Religion. This shows that the controversy and polemics faced by the Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School require the attention of government elites in dealing with the problem. Not only that, the contestation of elites in fighting over the discourse of issues in dealing with problems considered troubling to Indonesian citizens due to the many differences in worship that are considered to have been misleading.

The overall news constructed by the media by dominating the elite indicates that the media is quite hegemonic in presenting a false reality to the audience. The relationship with the elite is so essential and dominant that it reinforces the assumption that elite reality controls the issue. The role of the government in handling this case has a tremendous impact on the growing issue, with the investigations and observations carried out at the Az-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools able to make the issue progress in the process of knowing the facts that occur in the field. In addition, this cyber provides an interesting and easy-to-understand understanding of delivering news followed by facts. Not only

presenting negative issues, this cyber also made observations of previous Az-Zaytun alumni regarding their experiences while in the boarding school. Elite narrative in the cyber media public space is a form of media power that presents subjective reality on the one hand and builds power relations with the elite on the other dimension. The practice of text narration in the context of the critical paradigm reveals that the meanings displayed by the media are the meanings of reality filled with the power of the media and the elites displayed.

Rejabar.republika.co id has an image that displays news that is factually based on the truth about what happened at the boarding schools. This statement is supported by several reports showing that the Al-Zaytun boarding school will be dissolved through coaching first. It was previously known through alumni statements that most said it used to be unlike what is currently being reported. This issue is strange for alumni because when they were at the Al-Zaytun boarding school, there were no oddities or differences in worship practices. Some of the facts summarized that not all negative things are pinned on Al-Zaytun, but some things have never been known before by the public revealed by this news media to tell the positive facts that have existed in the Al-Zaytun boarding school. Media rejabar.republika.co.id construct reality with online journalistic language that accepts field facts that occur in handling the issue of misguided teachings at the Al-Zaytun boarding school. The news displayed uses vocabulary, sentences, and terms chosen based on the facts listed without any partiality to an agency, all of which are displayed based on the facts obtained, both positive and negative. Not only that, the attractiveness of this media can be seen in terms of titles that match the news without any exaggeration expressed in the title, which usually attracts readers because they are curious about the title. All news in this media is presented with facts found in language that is

interesting and easily understood by readers, and it contains issues that are by the title. The vocabulary, sentences, and terms used in describing the reality of the issue with journalistic language are straightforward, concise, and direct to the topic expressed. The relationship between the sentences supports each other to strengthen the issue raised as an essential issue to be narrated.

The discourse on the issue of heresy against the boarding school is portrayed as serious by the elite, even though it is rejected or denied by some boarding school parties. This represents the attractiveness of rejabar.republika.co.id to the value of controversial news as a reality worth selling to the market. The selection and sorting of public participants from elite groups confirm that elite discourse is considered appropriate by Rejabar.republika.co.id to describe the reality desired by the media. This is because the news text is neutral, which has no partiality towards Islamic boarding schools or government elites. All news is displayed as it is, as for the news that loads in this media, such as Al-Zaytun Boarding School will not be sanctioned, will be fostered, confession of Al Zaytun senior alumni: It used to be expected, Al Zaytun will be banned? This is the Ministry of Religion's response: Al Zaytun's teaching is accused of heresy, this is Panji Gumilang's answer, volume IV demo at Al-Zaytun boarding school is canceled, this is the reason, this is what MUI said about Al Zaytun boarding school controversy, Al-Zaytun Eid prayer controversy, MUI West Java conducts deepening, investigation team formed, Ridwan Kamil asked Al-Zaytun to cooperate, Persis chairman: Al-Zaytun needs to straighten out several irregularities, commission VIII wants Al-Zaytun santri not to become victims of an improper school, Ridwan Kamil: Alzaytun curriculum refined, Some Teachers Replaced. Media rejabar.republika.co.id displays news followed by facts and diction that support the news source.

Merdeka.com's editorial narrative related to the heretical teachings of the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school confirms that the discourse of elite interests in the reality of media texts is very dominant. The vocabulary, sentences, and terms used in describing the reality of the issue with journalistic language are straightforward, concise, and direct to the topic expressed. The relationship between the sentences supports each other to strengthen the issues raised as important issues to be narrated. The discourse on the issue of heresy against the Al-Zaytun boarding school is described as sensitive, complex, and involves many people, even though it is rejected or denied by some of the boarding school parties. This represents Merdeka.com's attractiveness to the value of controversial news as a reality worth selling to the market. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) found new facts that al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School is affiliated with the Indonesian Islamic State (NII). MUI's research results are precise in that it is indicated or affiliated with the NII movement, it is obvious. The structure of the reported text, in terms of informant sources, is controlled by the dominant group (elite), namely the Deputy Secretary General (Wasekjen) for Law and Human Rights, Chairman of MUI Indramayu Regency, Secretary of MUI West Java, Governor of West Java. The dominance of statements from elite groups shows that the discourse that Merdeka.com should display is an elite perspective and shows the identity of the dominant group that controls the issue discourse field.

The discourse of Islamic Islamic boarding schools that are indicated as heretical does not get equal space, so the position of this Islamic boarding school group becomes marginalized in the text discourse. Media relations with the elite get a vast space, while relations with marginalized groups are pretty weak. As is known, text structure is an essential element in building public discourse because the news reality displayed is sourced from selected and

constructed public participants. The overall news constructed by the media by dominating the elite indicates that the media is quite hegemonic in presenting a false reality to the audience.

The relationship with the elite is so important and dominant that it strengthens the assumption that the reality of the elite controls the issue, not some of the Islamic boarding schools accused of teaching heresy. Elite narrative in the cyber media public space is a form of media power that presents subjective reality on the one hand and builds power relations with the elite on the other dimension. The practice of text narration in the context of the critical paradigm reveals that the meanings displayed by the media are the meanings of reality filled with the power of the media and the elites displayed. The strong image that emerges is a conflict of elite discourse, which is the reality regarding the truth of heretical teachings at the Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School. This reality is supported by the fact that throughout the text narrative, news revealed the action, for example, the news of metro.suara.com coaching to the closure of the boarding school labeled as heretical teachings.

Second, the meaning of media discourse practices from the three media studies shows the construction of pseudo-reality on the issue of terrorism-radicalism against Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia with various interpretations. The power relation between the media and elite power (government) occurs in a tug of war. This phenomenon reinforces that historically, the relationship between the two parties (government and media) is colored by unbalanced power relations. The discourse practice of metro.suara.com on the reality of the issue of heretical teachings against the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school displays the power of the media in producing texts with the interests of the media market. This can be critically analyzed based on editorial considerations when choosing the reality and to whom the events

in the text are addressed.

The production process of metro.suara.com, which relies on news value as a condition for the eligibility of an event to be reported, shows that interesting news is news that is in demand by the "market" of metro.suara.com readers. Only events that fulfill metro.suara.com's "subjective editorial" criteria, such as new, unique, dramatic, proximity, actual, magnitude, character, controversy, exclusive, and mission elements, are deemed worthy of production by the editorial team because these news value elements are in line with the perspective of consumer interest in accessing news.

The event of the heretical teachings issue against the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school was constructed, both those who were accused of heresy and those who denied the allegations. In this case, the reality of the issue is of interest in terms of news value, including when it is associated with Islamic boarding schools, which are seen as media consumers. The news about the issue of heresy against the Al Zaytun Islamic boarding school was produced thoroughly and stopped at the elite discourse battle in the media. Readers (audience) of metro.suara.com online will find concrete follow-up news regarding the prosecution of the Al Zaytun Islamic boarding school indicated as part of the NII teaching heresy.

The text narrative dominated by the elite in discouraging the issue of terrorism-radicalism against the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school was produced by the editorial team of Bandung.viva.co.id by considering aspects of news value, which he called meaning journalism. The overall construction of the reality of the news text is determined by the editorial policy of the media, which views events on this issue as necessary to be displayed by the subjective meaning of the editorial team. News

production is considered feasible because the elite displayed represents the reality of the community with an interest in the issue.

The production of texts compiled by the editorial team of Bandung.viva.co.id shows that the power relations between the media and the elite are quite strong. The meaning of journalism that has become the identity of Bandung.viva.co.id is that the flood of information triggers new anxieties; journalism is not just describing events; the task of journalism is to provide interpretation; the challenge is to find meaning; subjective objectivity of journalism; develop rationality but must remain sensitive; the need for social capital and intellectual capital; not just discourse but also provide solutions; discourse not only educates but also enlightens; be careful of the topology trap; the figure of the Polynesian journalist; and interpreting press freedom.

The placement of elites as public participants in the discourse of this issue positions bandung.viva.co.id to tend to side with the discourse on the existence of Islamic boarding schools that are indicated to carry heretical teachings. This is in line with the meaning of journalism, which asserts that the task of journalism is to provide interpretation and subjective objectivity of journalism, showing the power of cyber media bandung.viva.co.id in producing news on this issue. Media power is illustrated in the production of elite discourse as a form of meaning journalism of Bandung.viva.co.id relating to the points "not only discourse but also provides solutions, and discourse is not only educating but also enlightening" directed to form public awareness that Al Zaytun Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia are indicated or suspected of teaching heresy so that the public must be aware of it.

Critical discourse analysis is a part of discourse analysis that uses a critical perspective. Discourse considers the presence of power. Discourse is not neutral. Eriyanto (2015) explains that in

critical discourse analysis, texts and conversations are seen as a practice of values and a reflection of a particular mission. Aswadi (2018) says that in critical theory, there is a domination or marginalization intention toward certain parts or groups in the community communication process.

Regarding the formal linguistic features used, Fairclough (2003) explains several essential points related to vocabulary as a carrier of ideology. First, the experiential value of vocabulary is manifested in various choices, including classification patterns, ideological words, linguistic processes, meaning relations, and metaphors. Second, the relational value of vocabulary is realized in multiple choices, including prominent formal and informal words. Third, the expressive value of vocabulary is realized through choices that include positive and negative evaluation.

All news is displayed simply for most news published in this media, such as “Shocking Facts of Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School,” “Stories of Al-Zaytun Alumni from Garut,” “Given a Code because they are not NII Cadres,” “Fact Check: Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School Burned by the Masses?” “A Row of National Figures Who Have Visited Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School,” “Some Have Come Twice, These Important Figures Are Accused of Backing Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School,” “Mahfud MD Revealed Three Evaluation Points to Decide the Fate of Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding School,” “Ridwan Kamil Mentioned Al-Zaytun Received Billions of/1Rupiah in Aid,” “Ministry of Religious Affairs: That's the BOS Fund,” “Panji Gumilang Mentioned Government Assistance for Al-Zaytun Islamic Boarding Schools Reached Tens of Billions,” “No Responsibility, Al-Zaytun Two Camps at Once Demonstrated Islamic Boarding Schools.” The representation of themes, namely vocabulary and grammar, is used in this study to analyze the news about friends with benefits used in merdeka.com media.

Vocabulary is used to display and describe something. Darma said that language provides information on how the audience can accept reality. The representation of a sentence or clause in several paragraphs illustrates that the independent media supports observations to discover the background of Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools. The absence of wordings that take sides with the Al-Zaytun boarding school for its actions in the misuse of teaching worship practices, the news about this misguidance is still a presumption that cannot be claimed as accurate, so more observations are needed from the government to find out the truth contained in the Al-Zaytun boarding school. This can be seen from the news that only directly takes one party's decision with a carefully designed investigation by the government to reveal the facts in the Islamic boarding school environment.

Media as a connectivity tool often creates messages in various styles of expression. This is in line with Anggreswari & Puteri's idea that each media has different rules or styles of expression, causing significant differences in the disclosure of news in society. In addition, news portals often broadcast news according to sound news writing principles. Therefore, a study needs to be conducted to determine the publishing style of each news portal. In this study, researchers will examine news from two online media, Merdeka.com. Merdeka.com as one of the largest news sites in Indonesia broadcasts news on health, politics, economy, law, sports, crime, and various other channels.

Since its establishment by Steve Christian in 2011, Merdeka.com has consistently reported the latest news to the Indonesian people. The events reported start from local, national, and international issues. Merdeka.com is ranked 11th best portal in Indonesia by Alexa as of December 21, 2021.¹⁷ Third, the

¹⁷Muhdi, *Manajemen Pendidikan Terpadu Pondok Islamic boarding di*

explanation of sociocultural practices on the four cyber media reveals the pseudo-reality of the issue of heresy against the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school in Indonesia with various narratives. In the explanation, researchers revealed the situational issues chosen by the media, the attitudes of media institutions, and the perspectives of the Islamic boarding school community who observed this issue as part of reality.

The metro.suara.com institution, as a media outlet with market-economic ideology, places this issue as a reality of the elite and other community groups fighting. The elite group fighting over the issue of discourse is positioned as the dominant public participant, so it is placed as the primary discourse shaper. Next, other elite forces, such as politicians (Government Agencies), are positioned as a balancing group that criticizes the issue allegations. The Islamic boarding school group that denied the accusation was presented as a comparative discourse in the subsequent pro-contra news together with the elite. Metro.suara.com's view on the issue of terrorism-radicalism generally attracts the media market. The metro.suara.com media places the reality of religious deviation as a commodity (reader/audience) of metro.suara.com. Market interest becomes the editorial parameter in constructing the reality of events; as long as it is still widely accessed by readers, then news production about heresy will be commodified to be more attractive. In terms of news value, the editorial team is seen as not violating the ideals of the media, but from the business aspect; the media gets excellent access to attracting the market power of the audience to increase advertising on the metro.suara.com page.

Based on the text description and interpretation of discourse practices in interpreting this issue, the cyber media

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bandung.viva.co.id supports the elite discourse on Islamic boarding schools that have the potential to teach heresy. As a media with a Humanistic ideology, Bandung.viva.co.id views this issue from the humanitarian side that the notion of violence damages human values. Bandung.viva.co.id displays elite power as the dominant discourse in cyber media so that it becomes the audience's opinion, even though the pros and cons among the elite report it.

Based on the humanitarian aspect, the bandung.viva.co.id institution presents the Islamic boarding school that is indicated to teach heresy as a public participant and allows elite forces to contest the issue in cyber media. The editorial politics of bandung.viva.co.id, which emphasizes meaning journalism, assesses the marginal power of Islamic boarding schools indicated to teach violence, not being placed in a dominant discourse battle. The elite battle over the discourse on the issue of heretical teachings against Islamic boarding schools is subjectively assessed by the bandung.viva.co.id media to have been represented by the interests of groups that represent the current interests of the Bandung.viva.co.id media market.

In the news concerning the action of heretical teachings, bandung.viva.co.id provides ample space with the focus that deviant religious teachings are a violation of human values or a crime against Islam. When the issue of heretical teachings directed at the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school was presented, Bandung.viva.co.id did not place it on news that was interpreted as interesting, so it had to be blown up with various angles. The elite discourse battle on the issue of terrorism-radicalism against Islamic boarding schools is seen as entirely meaningful with the involvement of elite representatives, the Islamic boarding school's government (Islamic boarding school leaders), intellectuals, and scholars (MUI).

The institution bandung.viva.co.id, as an Islamic-National ideology media, places elite discourse as a dominant force in order to maintain the interests of the Muslim-based market. This is because the issue of heresy against Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools is seen as a sensitive issue of Islam and Muslims. Judging from the quantity of news displayed, the reality of this issue is less than the construction of the reality of friendly Islamic boarding schools in the cyber media bandung.viva.co.id. This is reasonable considering the alignment of Bandung.viva.co.id to Muslim readers, one of which is supported by the strength of Islamic boarding schools.

The results of this study state that the Al Zaytun Islamic boarding school studied varies, some of which directly show concrete evidence of heretical teachings and unnatural things related to heretical religious teachings. Some are not too reactive to the issues of religious heresy, with the view that as long as the community can be careful and more careful in choosing schools for their children.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, it can be concluded that the reality of the issue of terrorism-radicalism against Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia reported by the media metro.suara.com, bandung.viva.co.id, rejabar.republik.co.id, merdeka.com is a construction of pseudo-reality. The text narrative is not firm, and the news facts are blurred, containing bias and prone to debates. First, the construction of media text reality, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices on metro.suara.com media confirms that the news reality of the issue of heresy against the Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school is a false reality that all parties must criticize. Second, the construction of text reality, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices in the

cyber media bandung.viva.co.id shows a false reality by acknowledging the issue of heretical teachings that have the potential to occur in the Al-Zaytun boarding schools but warning prospective students to be more careful in choosing which schools to enroll, particularly one associated with the existence of heretical teachings. Third, the construction of news text reality, media discourse practices, and sociocultural practices on cyber media rejabar.republik.co.id and merdeka.com shows the reality of all by putting forward the facts of the Islamic boarding schools on the issue of heretical teachings addressed to the boarding school in Al-Zaytun in Indonesia.

The findings in the research reveal that the actual reality constructed by the four online media is the contestation of elite groups in contesting the discourse on the issue of heretical teachings against Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. The elite power struggle that dominates the public space is the actual reality that indicates the ideological alignment of the media. The implication is that the pseudo-reality constructed by the four cyber media can give birth to false consciousness to the audience of cyber media users.

The novelty of this research is that it reveals that the online mass media news studied does not represent the actual reality, so it does not need to be used as information that forms public awareness. In this context, researchers suggest that the four cyber media should balance the appearance of news sources in the public sphere so that there is no domination and hegemony of elite power over marginalized groups. Media editors should present balanced news sources so the public can get comprehensive information. In this case, cyber media should use investigative journalism tools to reveal the reality of Islamic boarding schools that are accused of carrying heretical teachings so as not to cause a negative stigma on similar institutions.

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