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Rhetoric Debate on Islam Nusantara Discourse

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to describe "the war" rhetoric in Islam Nusantara. Islam Nusantara is an assimilation of cultures that occurred in Indonesia since Islam came to the archipelago. But in a text produced in social media, a lot of pros and cons regarding the practice of cultural assimilation with Islamic values. The text of each other to make the argument, so it's like being at war to persuade the reader. The author uses a qualitative methodology to analyze the rhetoric about the texts. The result showed that the text of the war occurred because of differences in perspective created by the structure of the Islamic organizations in Indonesia.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis, Rhetoric, Social Media

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1. Introduction

Islam Nusantara is an assimilation of cultures that occurred in Indonesia since Islam came to the archipelago. But today, there is "the war" rhetoric in Islam Nusantara on social media. Researcher found that this phenomenon is an interesting object to be studied since it involves exchange of ideas in new media. This exchanges create participation in form of arguments. The emergence of such models what this study wants to look further, which brings questions such as what is the speech act of the chat, how the situation takes its role in rhetoric discourse, and which discourse got more attention from the rhetoric situation that became the focus of the debate?

The purpose of this study are as follows: (1) Understanding Islam Nusantara speech acts produced by the intellectual elite of HTI and NU in their official website, (2) To know how the intellectual elite of NU and HTI use the rhetoric situation momentum to produce Islam Nusantara argumentation, (3) To create model of Islam Nusantara argument in rhetoric argumentation of NU and HTI intellectual elite found in the text from their respective official web column.

Researcher believes this study will help to explain the rhetoric situation of Islam Nusantara argumentation in the new media. Based on the above research purposes, author hopes to create new theories or models of discourse, from the development

and incorporation of theories and models that researchers use in this study, namely the rhetoric situation, speech acts, and a model of rhetorical argumentation.

Researcher is interested to further develop the use of new media to seek out a picture of rhetoric and speech acts by Islamic organizations on the discourse that it carried. As is known, Indonesia is predominantly Muslim and has many Islamic organizations, each of which carries its own discourse.

The focus of this research is emancipatory rhetoric which invites citizens to participate by using rational argument, which not only facilitates political and social change trends. This research is not only taking into account the rhetoric from individual citizens, but also rhetoric from Islamic organizations. What arguments they use, how Islamic organizations exploit the situation in actions and activities in the community, and then disseminate it on the new media? What arguments is used in Islam Nusantara rhetoric, and what speech acts are used in producing the rhetoric in political and social context in the new media. Those questions are the based for the novelty that researcher would have to offer in this study, that is a model of the discourse of Islam Nusantara rhetoric in the new media.

From the social point of view, this research is expected to be one of the studies that bring social benefits, such as enriching discourse in political education and social emancipation, especially for an age group dubbed as native democracy, to be able to read and interpret the political communication and social message that is conveyed by the rhetoric in the context of discourse of Islamic values in the new media.

2. Theoretical Framework

Researcher developed the framework, to explain the interrelationship between one concept to another, from one theory to another theory, which is expected to provide an overview and understanding to the reader through political and social rhetoric in new media, especially those produced by the intellectual elites of NU and HTI. Researcher refers to Toulmin model of argumentation, Bitzer's rhetoric situation theory, and J.L. Austin's speech acts theory. In addition to the rhetoric of Islam Nusantara is also not just rely on the virtual space, but also focus on intellectual movement which has a base on campus and the educational environment, the author also includes Basil Bernstein's pedagogy discourse theory, the class code and control. In addition, in order to refine the analysis, the author also included the depiction that is needed to create a picture of theories and models regarding Islam Nusantara rhetoric of the interpretation of the text from HTI and NU Official Website.

Researcher used Toulmin's model of argumentation to discover how the intellectual elite of NU and HTI employs language, how the level of the argument of NU and HTI intellectual elites compose narrative in a paragraph to organize the text. This analysis is used to find out whether an argument is effective or not. Toulmin's method is not only used to find out the level of effectiveness of an argument, but also trying to criticize the argument itself. Toulmin's argument method employed by reading the text and dividing the argument into distinct parts, consist of a claim, reason, and evidence, so we can make an assessment of how well the parts work together.

Researcher also used the theory of rhetoric in order to know the rhetorical situation experienced by the intellectual elite of HTI and NU in their official Website. Based on the rhetoric situation, author can identify the discourse produced by NU's and HTI's intellectual elites in their Official Website. The discourse was delivered in the form of narratives, photographs, and video. This research will only study discourse from the text column. The rhetorical situation theory used as a preliminary analysis to look at the context in which the intellectual elite of NU and HTI producing rhetoric in the form of a debate on new media where it produced more, disseminated more frequently and reached more widely.

Rhetoric situation is a situation that invites someone to make rhetoric methods and create a political argument and social discourse in new media. In this study, the theory of rhetoric situation is used to get an overview and explanation of the idea of the rhetoric situation of Islamic organizations, that is the situation faced by the intellectual elite of NU and HTI regarding Islam Nusantara on their official website, it describes the process where NU and HTI outlining the concept of social and political arguments to establish the theory of Islam Nusantara rhetoric.

The theory of rhetoric situation in this study refers to Bitzer's. Bitzer said rhetoric situation is the context in which the speaker made rhetoric. Therefore, this study attempts to explain how Islamic organizations make rhetoric, from planning the concept, selecting a word, preparing and presenting arguments in new media rhetoric. In the process of making such rhetoric, the Islamic organizations are faced with a number of situations, including historical context, where there are events that require Islamic organizations to produce rhetoric for the benefit of the organization. Based on the rhetoric situation, Islamic organizations are faced with distributing rhetoric through new media. That situation triggering the Islamic organizations to produce speech acts in the form of rhetoric and then spread them through the new media. Due to the open nature of the new media, the elite cadres or sympathizers of Islamic organizations are faced with open spaces, forums criticism and argument in the new media.

The depiction of the situation above is matching with Bitzer's argument, who said the work of rhetoric is pragmatic. It was created for something outside of itself, according to the function of rhetoric situation, perform some tasks such as changing the reality. In this study, the Indonesian Islamic organizations faced with the rhetoric situation where there is an event and a massive production of texts in the new media with urgency to make a speech act in order to changing realities. All the apparatuses of Islamic organizations, from their elites, rank and files, tried to persuade the citizens of the new media, through a virtual space that is open to the illocutionary speech acts. They hope, through the rhetoric of the argument, they can change the situation naturally, and they have committed emancipatory action to address situational unwanted events.

Moreover, by participating within the situation, Islamic organizations is hoping to gain meaning of its existence as an organization that is taken into account by the public. But in these interactions, there are a number of constraints, such as beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, pictures, interests, motives and the like, which hinder the process of persuasion and can become worse if the situation is not reached common ground in form of perlocusy act. These constraints produced a rhetorical argument based on a claim of speech acts with some evidence and strong support, by developing the most urgent needs (i.e. flooding information to the citizens of the new media by creating hundreds of thousands of messages). Those messages are expected to change the situation, from denunciation into a praise, from crisis to stability, from one that is hated to one that is preferred, from the worst into the best. The question is whether the act of Islamic organizations, especially the intellectual elite of NU and HTI, in producing rhetorical argument in the form of speech act is good enough? This study seeks to present an overview of how the Islamic organizations formulate and communicate a rhetorical argument, so there is a practical need for the investigation of speech acts and emancipatory rhetoric, and wherever possible reduce the obstacles that interfere with cooperative process between the parties argue.

Austin's speech act theory used in this study, because of its ability to portray reality, through the practice of linguistic situations in which people use language to achieve the goal. Under these circumstances, the speech act distinguished by speech. The speech is different, based on the interaction between the speakers in certain situations and places. Among the many situations in various forms of speech acts, there are situations in rhetoric, in which speakers are faced with an utterance which contains measures that take into account the situation rhetoric. In this study, the intellectual elite of NU and HTI manufactures speech act because there is the urgency of the rhetoric situation,

about Islam Nusantara, as that term is important for Indonesian Muslims in everyday interactions.

After the context is known, to acquire meaning and character of rhetoric, it is necessary to examine the speech act of the intellectual elites of NU and HTI. Do rhetorical arguments that produced by the intellectual elite of NU and HTI is an locutionary, illocutionary or perlocusy act? The analysis, then polished with analysis using Gramsci's counter hegemony concept, and analysis of power relations in discourse, language and knowledge from Foucault. After that, author presented findings in a new theory. The theory is the development of the theory of pedagogy discourse, stated by Basil Bernstein which includes class, code, and control.

This theory by author, used to explain the idea behind the phenomenon of Islam Nusantara rhetoric. In making the rhetoric of Islam Nusantara in new media, NU and HTI having a base and a method which, according to them, effectively to disseminate rhetoric. Basis of preparation rhetoric is class and code. Class is a place where the idea came, discussed, until it becomes a code that can be formed into theory and ready to appear in the form of rhetoric. Meanwhile, as a method of control is done so that the Islam Nusantara rhetoric, remains in compliance with the original idea, as when the idea is raised, as well as evaluation methods rhetoric that has been disseminated.

By using the incorporation of concepts, theories, and models above, author expects through this research will obtain a thorough understanding of the discourse of rhetorical argumentation from Islamic organizations, in particular the Islam Nusantara rhetoric produced and distributed by the intellectual elite of NU and HTI in their official website. Hopefully, the result may explain the model of Islam Nusantara rhetoric used in political and social communication in Indonesia new media, especially in producing political discourse and social emancipatory.

Speech act theory used in this study were derived from J.L. Austin. According to him, speech act theory is one theory that positions the language as an important and connected with the situation. For this reason, the author used a speech act theory as a side theory explaining how Islam Nusantara rhetoric created and distributed by intellectual elite of NU and HTI in new media, that is their official web. Here is a conceptual framework that depicts those explanation:

Through that concept, researcher wanted to explain the rhetoric situation that occurred in the new media. The text, which was created by rhetoric of the intellectual elite from HTI and NU about Islam Nusantara posted on the official website. Perlocusy speech act, as are within the purpose of rhetoric which persuasively uses human created symbol to influence the people around speaker, do not always go according
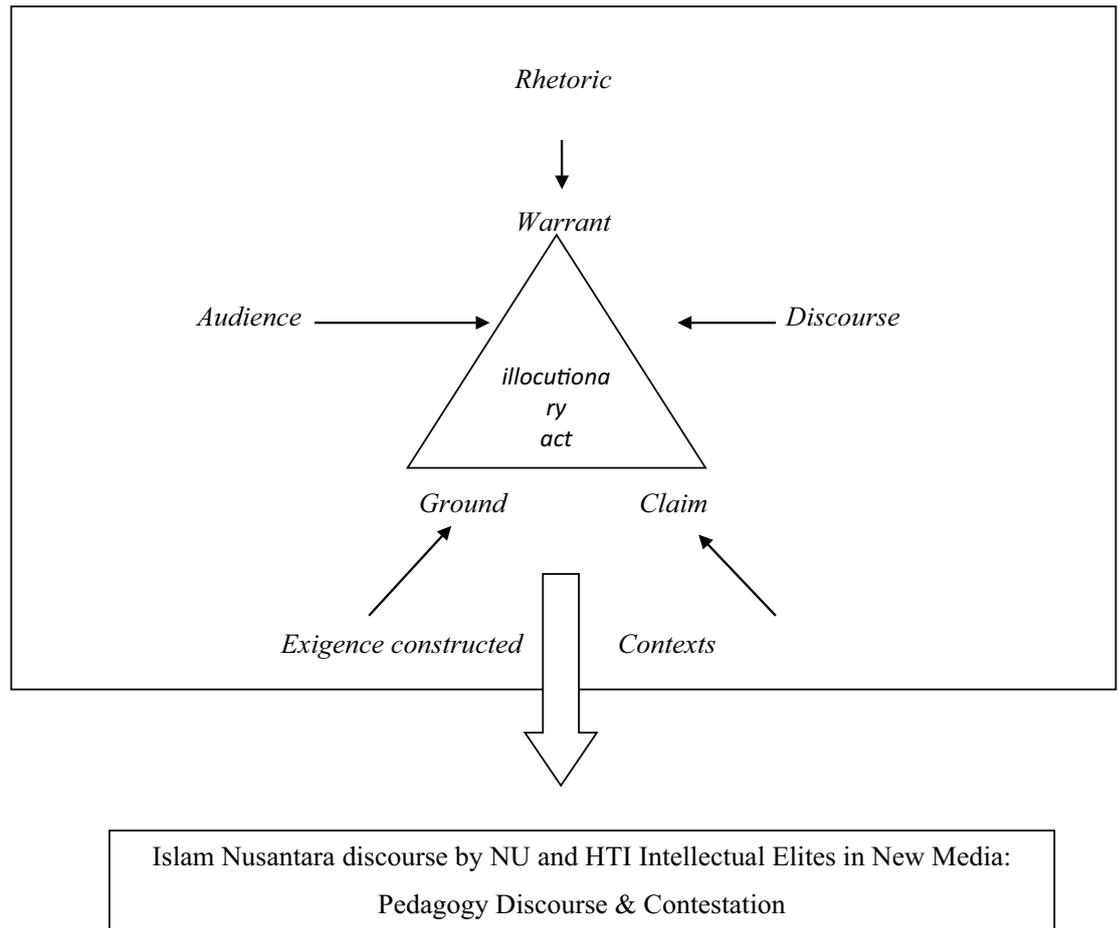
Rhetoric

Warrant

Audience ⟶ ← Discourse

illocutionary act

Ground   Claim

Exigence constructed   Contexts

Islam Nusantara discourse by NU and HTI Intellectual Elites in New Media: Pedagogy Discourse & Contestation

Figure 1: Framework Concepts.

to the intended purpose of the speaker, because it faced with the constraints of the rhetoric situation. It is expected with this concept, the author can explain the meaning behind the text from NU and HTI intellectual elite, ie the construction of pedagogical discourse that is spoken by the intellectual elite of HTI and NU, while improving the theory of rhetoric that had previously been proposed by Toulmin. Previously, research on new media as an effective medium for political and social communications have been conducted, but no one has studied the rhetoric of Islam Nusantara carried NU intellectual elite and HTI using new media.

In the discourse of Islam Nusantara NU, as The biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, NU has the hegemony in the form of discourse and cultural domination. On the other hand, NU has efforts to counter hegemony, to oppose the dominant perspective which perpetuates the marginalization of the class sub altern. In this study, represented by HTI. According to Gramsci, hegemony counter movement, was originally not a radical or extremist groups who choose to use violent means or coercion against the existing hegemony. Them, start with persuasion effort, the campaign,

through propaganda to persuade and make people aware that they are actually in the suppression of hegemony by the dominant class which then must be resisted. These methods are also performed by HTI, although many say that HTI is a radical Islamic organization in Indonesia. As written in one of the web NU Jombang, which include the HTI as radical Islamic movements in Indonesia.

Gramsci portray their war of position to describe the movement of counter hegemony, which is also trying to obtain support and achieve the consensus of the community, to fight the existing hegemony. They are trying to take over the position of the dominant hegemonic class, through violent or peaceful means. Enterprises struggle for a dominant position, Gramsci described as a war of manouvre, which can generally be seen as a form of political and social revolutions. Gramsci illustrates the counter hegemony there will be two levels of action process, namely the national-popular stage, and the stage Internationalist.

Gramsci argued hegemony effective counter movement, first to use nationally to gain mass force. If the movement has the prerequisites to achieve the power of other countries, then the movement up to the second stage of counter hegemony, as the Internationalist movement. In each of hegemony and counter hegemonic movement, are the main actors who have the most important role, namely intellectuals. The intellectuals who first experienced class consciousness and recognize the existence of forms of hegemony that are oppressing class, and later became an important part in the war of position in which intellectuals, who continue the class consciousness of all oppressed classes, and then choose a strategy and lead the war of manouvre in an effort to topple the dominant ruling class.

Gramsci rate, no organization without intellectuals. He also explained the absence of an intellectual actor as the loss of the theoretical aspects of the movement which is the basis of all effective organization. Gramsci divides intellectuals into two types. The first type is a traditional intellectual, which is an autonomous intellectual free from the dominant social groups and separate the intelligence of the bourgeois order. They are described as intellectual leaders in a given society. Examples include clergy, philosophers, artists, until the public figure. The second type is the organic intellectual, as opposed to the traditionalists. Derived from a particular class and have an attachment with the identity of the class defended. Unlike the traditionalists autonomous and independent, they are in favor of one class, and contributes to creating homogeneity and consciousness of its function. The second type is moving to realize the intellectual progress of the masses.

In this study, the research object is a text written NU intellectual elite and HTI. As a major actor in the spread of the discourse, the intellectual elite of NU and HTI is a combination of the two types of intellectuals expressed by Gramsci above. They entered the traditional type, since known as the clergy, and also have an attachment and class identity of the organization that follow. As intellectuals, they also have the power to make a discourse that became the subject of knowledge and meaning, as proposed Foucault. At the end of the 18th century, after the French revolution until the mid-20th century (World War II), the history of a concentration of scientific and human discourse as a subject. Here Foucault shows the relationship between the discourse of science with power. Discourse science who want to find the true and the false.

According Foucault, that, driven by the will to power. Foucault said it is unlikely that a neutral and pure knowledge. Here always happen correlation of power Foucault's concept, which contain the power of knowledge, as well as to contain the power of knowledge. The scientific explanation which one tried to control by removing explanation other sciences.

In addition, the knowledge embodied in the technology, used to force something to the community. Because in an age of high technology, there remains coercion. The phenomenon is not talking about the progress of civilization, all that happened was a shift in the instrument, which is used to coerce. Foucault also explore archeology, to examine the historical archives as establish a system that statement as an event or object. He stated that the archive is a set discourse that actually is expressed in units of the event or set of objects, which serves ideally to master the cultural and social life. Discourse of change and transformation in history, due to rubbing against another discourse. Foucault's discourse is not a priori discourse as in linguistics, discourse but functional, and there in the practical world. Neither the Islam Nusantara, it is a discourse that rub against another discourse. For NU and HTI, the discourse of Islam Nusantara subject to change and transformation in history. Islam Nusantara discourse can also be used as an instrument to impose Islamic ideology as a tool for the ruling by NU and HTI. Based on exposure to research that has been described above, researchers interested in studying the rhetoric of Islam Nusantara, which created the intellectual elite of NU and HTI in new media, which is the official web. Through the development of Toulmin model of argumentation rhetoric, while the design of the novelty that I offer is to develop a model of political and social arguments in new media, particularly in situations of rhetoric in the new media, by developing the intellectual elite discourse. Where in establishing the claim of speech acts in the new media, it takes a synergy between claims-ground-warrant, and can take advantage

of the situation rhetoric through the presence of many followers, who have the same understanding, to the claims made by the author of the column, in order to reach the speech act perlocusy, such as which drafted by the intellectual elite (columnist). But before arriving at perlocusy speech act, the intellectual elite to make a formulation of Islam Nusantara illocutionary speech acts. In the language of the intellectual elite of NU, the illocutionary speech act is to make Islam Nusantara baboon book that became a reference and a reference for understanding the meaning of Islam Nusantara. While HTI, just do illocutionary speech acts that negate the Islamic discourse Nusantara they think are dangerous. From rhetoric both in Islam Nusantara get that argument is made of the basic arguments pedagogical discourse laden with conflict.

3. Methods

The paradigm of this research is critical constructivism. Critical Constructivism is an extension of constructivism, which opposes positivism and insists that nobody repre- sents the purpose and neutral perspective. Critical Constructivism is the incorporation of constructivist or constructionist view of the critical epistemology, developed by the Frankfurt School. Critical constructivism encourages critical thinking and critical in the research process. This paradigm is based on the understanding that knowledge of the world is the interpretation of those people, who created the space contextualized. This research approach is qualitative approach. Qualitative researchers study things in the regulation of human nature, try to understand, or interpret, phenomena in meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 3). With a qualitative approach, researchers hope this study can provide in-depth discussion about the rhetoric of Islam Nusantara spoken intellec- tual elite NU and HTI in new media, which is the official web.

The method in this research is the rhetoric of Stephen Toulmin's argument Nusantara Islamic texts on the official web NU and HTI. This method was chosen for this study, examined the text in a column on the official web NU Islamic organizations and HTI. Text columns researched on the official web,40 text NU and 4 Text HTI. This method is part of a text analysis. Text analysis method selected for rhetoric through new media today, is a method of public communication, either by text (text), which seeks to persuade the audience to believe even do something that feels good, in the present and the future. Through new media, methods of rhetoric as persuasion communication method, applied by revealing communicator credibility (ethos), recognizing emotions and characters communicants (pathos), and formatting the messages that make sense (logos). To produce rhetoric more mature, necessary to search for the data (inventio)

by the retort, the data preparation (dispositio), the selection of delivery style (elocutio) message, the translation of the key points to be expressed as a speech act verbs are illocutionary so easy to remember the reader (memoria) and delivery is guaranteed by the Constitution (Contexts). And the presence of new media, various opinions delivered and disseminated through new media, including the Islam Nusantara discourse. However, this study only limit on Islam Nusantara rhetoric on the official web NU and HTI, because there is competition in voice in the discourse of Islam Nusantara (contestation).

4. Finding and Analysis

Islam Nusantara is the theme of NU to 33 held in Jombang, East Java, on a 1 to 5 August 2015. But before the congress in the title, the theme of Islam Nusantara is already busy discussed, both in the internal and external parties NU. In the internal circles NU, formed many discussion forums Islam Nusantara in social media. Various texts created in the web NU, either in the form of news, and opinion. Even outside the web NU, NU also create a special web that contains Islam Nusantara, which www.IslamNusantara. com. But in this study, researchers focused only on the text NU on the official website, and only on the text 'Columns' which is an opinion article of the intellectual elite NU throughout Indonesia, the Islamic nation.

There are 40 text that investigators collect to be a subject of study in this research. 40 texts analyzed using rhetorical argumentation Toulmin, then captured the essence of the speech act of 40 texts. From this analysis, the researchers found the discourse pedagogy in rhetorical arguments NU and HTI intellectual elite of the Islamic nation.

Theories about the pedagogical discourse, raised by Basil Bernstein. According to Bernstein, consist of a pedagogical discourse of class, code and control. But before discussing more about the discourse pedagogy, in this chapter researchers first want an analysis of text NU regarding Islam Nusantara rhetoric, for the researchers to create a table categorization per text, the elements contained in the rhetoric argumentation Toulmin consisting of Ground, Warrant and Claim (GWC).

HTI manufactures intellectual elite theme to negate Islam Nusantara NU. Not a lot of text produced, since it is not the focus of the struggle HTI. Islam Nusantara text production, just as a response to the discourse of Islam Nusantara carried by NU. HTI

intellectual elite of responding to the rise of Islam Nusantara discourse discussion surrounding, which is crowded spoken in the community, particularly in rooms open discussion, contained in the new media. The response, associated hustle debates involving Islam Nusantara participating discourse questioned Islam Nusantara caliphate in the explication. As for HTI, Islamic caliphate is the focus of the struggle movement, present in Indonesia.

In this study, the same as the production of texts in NU, researchers focus only on the text 'Columns' HTI with the theme Islam Nusantara. Researchers found only four articles related to Islam Nusantara, the text 'Columns' HTI. In addition to the official website of HTI, the article was also published in print version in *majalah* Al Waie. Fourth texts, although not as much as the text 'Columns' NU, according to researchers already represent the views of the intellectual elite of Islam Nusantara HTI. HTI intellectual elite to respond to the issue of Islam Nusantara as the negation of perspective NU, who saw Islam Nusantara will divide Islam, and aims to stem the application of Islamic law in total by the state.

Based on text, the researchers see a distinction GWC between text NU and HTI in viewing Islam Nusantara (IN). On the Ground by NU text writer, the author felt compelled to write because of hectic IN themes discussed, but many people who misinterpret the intent of the discourse IN. Therefore, the author of which is the intellectual elite NU, exposing IN by linking the themes the congress NU as initial capital campaign for the Islam Nusantara style, with explanation Islam Nusantara as a theme of study that can be operationalized in the realm of academia, as well as straighten out a misunderstanding of the IN with exposure sovereignty strategy of culture, and civilization. Among the explanations IN uncovered is the exposure that in the archipelago, scholars rarely burdened by demands to enforce Islamic law on religions and other beliefs. This explanation, met with resistance from HTI, who are struggling to establish Islamic law in Indonesia.

Researchers found five outline themes article to expose IN, namely: First, who is managing the discourse IN. Second, any material that is used to describe IN. Third, the media partner used to disseminate IN. Fourth, the obstacles faced IN. And fifth, Implications IN. First, who is managing the discourse IN. The discourse of IN, drawn in the ground, consisting of three elements, namely: (a) NU central board, especially the committee NU congress to 33, (b) The students (santri), and (c) NU higher education managers. NU central board, particularly board NU to 33, a subject to make IN as theme and initial capital for the Islamic-style campaigning archipelago. Second, the students, who had a large, contributing to disseminate IN and also has a major role to

the Homeland. Third, higher education business NU that would be sheltered in college IN.

Second, any material that is used to describe IN. The materials include four major themes, namely: (a) Islam Nusantara History, (b) Ten Basic Principles of Islam Nusantara, (c) IN is epistemic, methodological, operationalization concept IN, and (d) Presentation on Islam. The first theme, Islam Nusantara History, which also connects the story of scholars Nusantara achievement and is connected to the wider world. Secondly, the explanation *Mabadi Asyrah* or Ten Basic Principles of Islam Nusantara. This explanation is given in order to make easy IN studied, understood and operationalized in the academic realm, as well as straighten out misunderstandings IN. With this article, the author would like to inform IN is an academic endeavor, and cultural sovereignty strategy, and civilization. Scene three is to review IN is epistemic, methodological and operationalization of the concept of IN. And the theme of the four is the exposure of Islam. Presentation on Islam is divided into six parts, namely: (a) Islam as a universal doctrine and diversity (factual), (b) Islam today, (c) Indigenization of Islam, (d) The substance of the teachings of Islam, (e) Islam is only one, and yet. and (f) Authentic teachings of Islam Nusantara.

The theme of Islam as a universal doctrine and diversity (factual), raised the original Islamic polemics is difficult to find these days. This article is concerned with the theme of the two, Islam today. In the presentation, Islam today is the original Islamic ijtihad delivered by the Prophet Muhammad. Islam does not mean that there is today, not the original. Islam remains the original as a doctrine, but his people did ijtihad looking for originality religion. Scene three, explanation of the term indigenization of Islam. Before the idea IN appear, Gus Dur introduced the term indigenization of Islam. Islam is *shalihun li kulli zaman wa makan* (relevant for all times and places). Islam that accommodates and can be absorbed by the local culture. Scene four, explanation of the substance of Islamic teachings. The author is not always associate Islam Arabic, and vice versa, Arabic is not always Islam. Scene five, Islam is only one explanation, but has reference to shari'a excavated from the texts of the Shari'a through umpteen research, and the theme of six, explains the authentic teachings of Islam Nusantara, which *teposeliro*. Third, the media partner used to disseminate IN. The media partner of learning IN consists of three facilities, namely: a. Islamic Museum Nusantara Hasyim Ashari (MINHA), b. Using a case study approach, and c. Means of Cooperation. Means The first, is the Islamic Museum Nusantara Hasyim Ashari (MINHA) in boarding Tebuireng. The existence of this museum is being prepared to be evidence or historical artifacts

IN. Means the second, using a case study approach, such as global injustice spawned by violence (terrorism). Cases like this, confronted with dialogue by managers IN.

The third means of cooperation. There are two sides were cooperative, the first cooperation with the Ministry of Religion, particularly the Directorate of Islamic Higher Education in the 'Arrangement Mozaik Islam in Public Space to Build Nation Character' and secondly, cooperation with civil society organizations (CBOs) in Indonesia, the NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis and Al Irsyad, which has a tradition of the Islamic studies respectively, as a representation of a typical Indonesian traditions of the Islamic studies Fourth, the obstacles faced IN. The constraints faced IN, there are four major lines, namely: (a) Response and attitude Nahdliyin rural residents, (b) IN assumption is syncretism, (c) The reading of the Koran controversy Java style; and (d) Controversy quote Quraish Shihab view of IN. The first obstacle, the response and attitude Nahdliyin rural residents, respond to and understand the idea of Islam Nusantara. From the observation of the author, there are two responses, the first group that does not want to know, and the second, a group that refuses IN. The second obstacle, IN assumption is syncretism that blends Islam with "the religion of Java". The presumption of IN indisputable explanation is cultural awareness in preaching, as is practiced wali songo. As well as denials that western observers are on stigma syncretism to the practice of Islam Nusantara, because paradigm less precise in defining the practice of worship in the archipelago. Third, the reading of the Qur'an Controversy Java style, which became lighter debate among the public, methodologically addressed by the author. What do the scholars who accept and reject the styles in reading the Qur'an. And a fourth constraint, Controversy quote Quraish Shihab view of IN, especially those linked to the obligation for every Muslim headscarf. This quote indicates Islam Nusantara anti-hijab, but instead it is contested, but the perspective of looking at the substance of Islam.

And fifth, Implications IN. As for the implications IN, which is reflected in the ground, including: (a) Manifestations of Islamic values Nusantara (read: Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah) in fasting; (b) Lebaran momentum boost spirit of nation and state building; (c) In the archipelago, scholars rarely burdened by demands to enforce Islamic law on religions and other beliefs; and (d) Victory of Fatin Shidqia at X-Factor Indonesia, which maintains scarf amid singing competition, which features western pop culture without losing their identity as Muslim. IN implication is, for example, how the IN has been applied in Indonesia, especially in fasting, Eid and the condition of Indonesian Islam without proclaim an Islamic state, but Muslims grow into a majority and freely practice her faith. And closing with a phenomenal story of Muslim Indonesia, who won in a singing contest with western pop culture, but still exist with the wearing of

a headscarf. The story, also denied that the anti-hijab IN. Although there are authors who lifted the veil surrounding Quraish Shihab controversy.

Meanwhile grounded in the text of HTI, explains the background to why HTI must fight discourse IN. First, because the discourse IN heralded by important people in Indonesia, namely the intellectual elite, MORA bureaucrats, politicians and a number of prominent Islamic organizations, but it has the interpretation contrary to Islam and must be rejected. Second, IN constructed from the paradigm of the West, but made as if the original thinking Indonesia. Lighters early contestation IN is, the use of Java in style recitations of the Quran on the occasion of Isra 'and Mi'raj of Prophet Muham-mad SAW, May 17, 2015, controversy. Readings are to be assessed against *makrojul* letters and recitation. Moreover, the discourse IN is also supported by a strong fund, especially as the theme of study and research in the various educational institutions and government. For example, research funded by the Ministry of Religious Affairs through the Directorate General of Islamic Education, with the cost of each 50 million to 10 researchers whose proposals pass the selection. The financial support, into the spotlight and the question, why the theme of these studies get the most attention so big, while other people are still many issues that also need an effective solution.

Warrant in the text NU, rhetoric IN made to enhance efforts discourse IN in the running of jurisprudence in accordance with the conditions of society archipelago, urged the involvement of thinkers intellectual elite NU (among kiai, an elder, a cadre of scholars of education practitioners NU and the whole Neven and autonomous bodies NU) to formulate Islamic education archipelago as the ideal concept of Islam Nusantara building which is applied in everyday life; Explain to the rejecters of Islam Nusantara that Islam Nusantara support the experience of Islam in the expression of local culture; Explaining the facts of the history of Islam Nusantara is a series of historical evidence gait Islam Nusantara by the Wali Songo, Ulama, and boarding schools.

The authors of the theme are also adapted to the context of the situation, in which it was written, as the first text to raise the profile of the students *amaliyah, ruhaniyah* of scientific and Islamic teachings, contextualized in the archipelago, because of the determination of the students as a national holiday. Similarly, with other text, made for a situation that demands an explanation because there is a contestation of discourses IN. Among them are: (a) Efforts to enhance the fighters in the running Jurisprudence IN accordance with the conditions of society archipelago; (b) Urges the involvement of thinkers from among kiai, NU elders, scholars NU cadres, education professionals and the entire Neven NU and NU autonomous bodies to formulate Islamic education

archipelago as the ideal concept of Islam Nusantara building which is applied in every-day life; (c) Explain to the rejecters of Islam Nusantara and the bearer of that idiom counterpoint: What should emulate the moral of Prophet, not the expression of culture (not the same Arabization Islamization); Islam Nusantara support the experience of Islam in the expression of local culture; (d) Explaining the facts of the history of Islam Nusantara is a series of historical evidence gait Islam Nusantara by the Wali Songo, Ulama, and Pesantren in contributing force to achieve independence.

Warrant in the text of HTI is to show that the concept of attributing to Wali Songo IN which is a cover to cover the face of secular IN. IN terms is a reincarnation of the term "Islam Liberal", "Islam Moderate", "Islam Indonesia" for various labels, has been deemed a failure by poles, and no longer in demand in the community. So that raised new term, IN. IN almost similar to a Islam Liberal, in the liberal propaganda by Islamist groups in the world of higher education, with a tone of pride. But on the contrary, is not proud voice opinions enforcement of Islamic law. Hence IN negate the enforcement of Islamic law, the HTI concerned to negate rhetoric IN.

Claim in the text NU, IN is Islam NU relevant to the Homeland, where students act as pioneers of Islam Nusantara, to disseminate academic projects, culture, and civilization, which be reinforced with standing university-owned NU with the name of Islam Nusantara Universities, and always contextualized in the movement of history, thus giving birth to the science system with character and social character-archipelago, encourage emancipatory action for the task of the intellectual, humanization, and social welfare, as well as the representation of *rahmatanlil 'alamin*.

Meanwhile, in the text HTI Claim, Islam Nusantara is an attempt to divide the people, arouse sabiyyah, and stem the caliphate. According to HTI, Islam is only one. Moreover, Islam is not for the Arabs, but the heavenly religions for all humans. Therefore, Islam claimed as *rahmatanlil 'alamin*. Claim based on comparison between NU and HTI to IN, it turns out they both use the word *rahmatanlil 'alamin* in a different perspective. In perspective NU, IN is a representation of *rahmatanlil 'alamin*, because it uses the archipelago of jurisprudence that considers the benefit of the archipelago without having negated characteristics. With IN, which is always contextualized problems of people with the historical study of Islam Nusantara, is believed to give birth to the system of science-character and social character of the archipelago, thus encouraging actions for the task of emancipatory, humanization, and social welfare. Thus, IN as an academic project, culture and civilization, the representation *rahmatanlil 'alamin*.

However, HTI refused IN will be *rahmatanlil 'alamin,* because it can divide the people, raise *asabiyyah* (understand the fanaticism of the group), and stem the caliphate. HTI

rejected the term IN for making Muslims into not one, because it has implications for Muslims breaking the focus and attention of Indonesian Muslims, to disregard other Muslims. That a strategy by the west, to make no unification of Muslims in the world. In the absence of unity of the Muslims, the efforts to establish the *Khilafah Islamiyah* is also will not occur.

The results showed that the differences in perspectives, generate differences in speech acts and rhetoric in the way of new media. The worldview is shaped by the contextualization of discourse. Researchers interpret the contextualization of the discourse as research findings in this dissertation as a pedagogical discourse and intellectual elite contestation. The intellectual elite pedagogical discourse, a theory developed by researchers from Pedagogic discourse theory raised by Basil Bernstein. According Bestein, pedagogical discourse that is class, code and control. But in this study, researchers developed into a discourse typical Pedagogy Indonesia, namely: Discourse Pedagogy intellectual elite.

This discourse is made in the space/ class that controlled the intellectual elite. Intellectual elite are some people who become leaders of Islamic organizations and have experienced cadre process in accordance with the guidelines of the organization. Intellectual elite pursued the idea, collate and make the material explication, so the idea of the idea can be understood and interpreted in locutions he said acts, illocutionary, and perlocusy. Once the idea was approved by an intellectual elite within the meaning of uniform, then the intellectual elite and continue convey the idea in teaching and rhetoric that refers to the material that has been agreed upon. The idea was passed on, taught, until practiced. How to forwarding the idea of using keywords or uniform code to be easily understood and accepted by the organization's members and the general public. In addition to using keywords, these ideas are also disseminated in speech acts of media, through the structural and nonstructural in Islamic organizations, then distributed via a communication network in new media and structures, through the production of rhetoric text and symbols to the cadres and the public, and evaluated in space and the intellectual elite. In this version of NU, the evaluation room for larger, because usually in the form Conference / Meeting Islamic leader organizations, whereas room for evaluation HTI is smaller because more closed nature. Here's Cycle or Production Model of Pedagogy Elite Intellectual Discourse:

NU step closer to making the classroom discourse, because it is supported by the power of money, media, and government. NU also has opened Prodi STAINU Islam Nusantara in Jakarta, which has been opened before NU to 33. Therefore, devices discourse more systematic NU class, have a curriculum, methods, theories
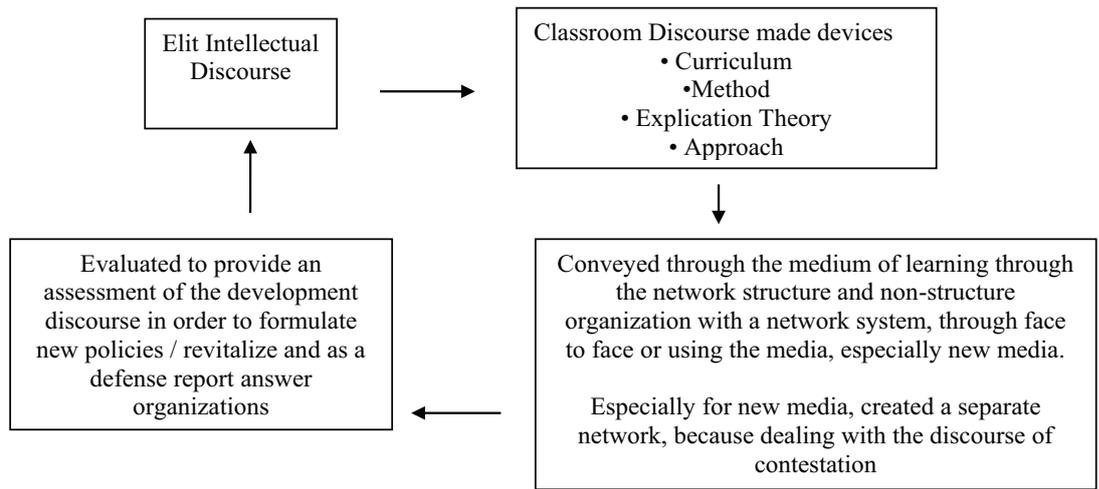
Figure 2: Pedagogy Elite Model Intellectual Discourse.

and approaches explication is more intensive. Meanwhile, HTI manufactures only reactionary negation of Islam Nusantara because it considered it negates the caliphate project Islam Nusantara HTI if the discourse was continuously produced without any explicit negation of HTI.

Second, the discourse of NU and HTI about Islam Nusantara delivered through the media, through the network structure and non-structure organization with a network system, through face to face or using intermediaries' media, especially new media, so that more widespread. For media intermediary, HTI termed the duplication method, device classes that are constructed discourse intellectual elite, then propagated by various methods of rhetoric that are disseminated into infinity. After the distribution of the discourse, then do the evaluation, the extent to which the discourse becomes perlocution speech acts, as understood elite. Evaluation of the elite, then the decision was made to maintain the code or modify the discourse, so it could be a speech act perlocution. All contextualization of discourse pedagogy that has been produced and distributed, then returned to the intellectual elite to pursue the process cycle, or a model of pedagogical discourse further intellectual elite. The bottom line, the role of the elite is not alone, they form networks among other elites, which can be mutually supportive discourse intersecting respectively. Although there are differences of opinion within the NU elite body, which can be read from the new media, but that is loaded in a web NU featuring unanimity to carry Islam as Islam Nusantara NU.

The difference of perspective on Islam Nusantara, also made how to speak in the rhetoric of Islam Nusantara happen contestation. Contestation discourse of Islam Nusantara, led to conflicts within the Muslim body, the meanings of the term Islam Nusantara. In this research, the opposition, represented by NU organizations and HTI,

different to make claims about Islam Nusantara. Therefore, both have different values and discourse in rhetoric against Islam Nusantara. Contestation two organizations, showed that the source of the problem between the two, comes from a different perspective, which makes them compete against each other. First, they compete at the level of discourse in the minds of the intellectual elite of NU and HTI. Second, the two organizations, bringing the congregation participate in the contestation of the pros and cons of Islam Nusantara discourse. Third, the two organizations to identify the causes of contestation that is useful to deepen and sharpen the motive for the broadcast and negating Islam Nusantara. Fourth, look at the characteristics, history, beliefs, and policies of both organizations, it is difficult for them to unite in Islam Nusantara contestation. Both, equally competing and competing on the meaning of Islam Nusantara to create a network through the new media arena pedagogy discourse. Both, equally targeting intellectuals in universities to attract the interest of the academic society in favor of a discourse of Islam Nusantara or cons on the discourse.

Contestation between Islamic organizations above, occurred because the Muslims in Indonesia is not a monolithic group. Muslims in Indonesia to live with plurality in a variety of traditions, understanding, and religious practice, which is an expression of Islamic beliefs. Religious understanding to encourage the rise of religious or into certain Islamic organizations that distinguish themselves with other study groups. The Islamic organizations to bring the aspirations of religious understanding, religious activities, social and economic activities, as well as a political group.

Group feeling can be awakened in the form of group sentiments Islamic organizations emphasize that those limits. The limits of this culture, if strained, could potentially be conflicts between groups. On the contrary, the limits of this culture can be fluid and flexible by the intensity of the interaction, acceptance, and tolerance of one group over another. In this study, the cultural boundaries that want to criticize Islam Nusantara, is not all Arabs are Muslim cultures. Therefore, Islam Nusantara want to dig deeper into the culture of Islam Nusantara in Indonesia. However, because there is some way that is considered too extreme, implying Islam Nusantara as anti-Arab. That matter is in the critics by HTI.

In many studies in Indonesia, the relationship between the Islamic organizations in Indonesia, experiencing the dynamics of peaceful relations as well as relations conflict. Learning from research based on the experience of the interaction of peace and conflict, is expected to be learning to encourage harmony factor that could work,

as well as adapting to create harmony in society, particularly Muslims internal harmony. Configuration Muslims forming social relationships associated with the context of group relations intern Muslims themselves. Ethnic diversity, religious differences, and the diversity of traditions, can be beneficial for the development of society when addressed as a social and cultural wealth. Hopefully, this diversity, it is not addressed as differences, but the basic conduct of accommodation and cooperation relations. However, between NU and HTI, both claim to be followers of *Ahlul Sunnah wal Jama'ah* (Aswaja), which follow the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad.

The phenomenon of Islamic discourse Nusantara contestation between NU and HTI, is contestation between NU as an Indonesian Muslim organization which has passed through three phases of hegemony and HTI as Indonesian Islamic organizations are trying to counter the hegemony of NU. Referring to Gramsci, who said that in society there will always be a plurality of worldviews and ideologies. However, there are groups that obtain cultural and political hegemony. For that, there are three phases are obliged skipped a class to become a hegemonic class, namely: phase of economic, political phase, and phase hegemony. Economic phase or negative phase, namely an economic moment that raises awareness of the classes will be their political hegemony.

The second phase, a phase of political, namely political power relations which allow different levels of homogeneity and political consciousness achieved by a group of potentially hegemonic. The third phase is the phase of hegemony or positive phase, namely the area of freedom, a creative process of a new world view that equipping the masses with the categories of thought, behavior, in the process of creating a new world view. The positive phase is also called the ideological hegemony phase, can be defined as an organization of consciousness. It is distinguished by the dominance that is the arrangement of the material strength.

In the phase of hegemony, a class develop political solidarity with those of the group not only for the present but also for the future, and even overcome the limit of the group as well as the interests of other subordinate groups. Hegemony is when a class has been developing and expanding its interests by taking into account interest subaltern groups. Manifestations of these phases is the formation of the state. State no longer carries the interests of the ruling class, but claimed to represent the public interest. The state is an organ of the dominant group in full coordination with the interests' subaltern groups. This phase is called the phase formation of historical block, in which a group has become hegemonic and extend its hegemony over the whole group of subaltern.

NU, as the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, has gone through three phases above, namely the phase of economic, political phase, and phase hegemony. Phase economic, occurred in the early days of NU formed. The existence of a situation which encourages the formation of NU became a necessity. Three motive behind the birth of NU, namely religious motives, motives of nationalism, and the motive of Aswaja, is facing economic phase NU. In this phase of growing awareness, the scholars of Indonesia to fight the invaders. NU also successfully passed the economic phase, with an active role in the capture and maintain independence, its peak is jihad NU discharge resolution, to defend the Homeland of military aggression allied forces, who want to rob the independence of the Homeland. And after Indonesia's independence, formed the party. NU was involved in it. At this stage, NU entered, the second phase, the phase of politics. Initially NU, joined Masjumi, but in 1952, NU decided to become his own political party. Although in 1984, NU decided not to become a political party again, and returned to *khittah* 1926, however During that NU has entered a phase of hegemony. In this phase, the hegemony NU formed in the shape of domination and cultural discourse of Islamic majority in Indonesia.

Forms of domination NU, when read through the theory of hegemony Gramsci, which is done through the manipulation of social culture, using trust, knowledge, perceptions, and values NU, so consciously make a suggestion to be acceptable classes of society, particularly the Java community, as the general norms and universally valid ideology known as Islam NU, where the values are basically favorable NU as the ruling class.

On the other hand, efforts to expand the value NU teachings to other classes in society, getting resistance. NU addition, there are several kinds of Islamic organizations are trying to counter the influence of hegemony NU, by generating several alternative views and values in society, which aims to challenge the dominant perspective which perpetuates the values of Islam NU. Resistance is, by Gramsci viewed as counter hegemony, which is a form of creation challenge to the hegemony of existing dominant hegemony. This resistance, carried out in ways that persuasive. In this study, represented by HTI, by using the same new media discourse against Islam Nusantara NU.

HTI, via new media, using non-violent means or coercion against the hegemony of Islam Nusantara NU. Them, start with persuasion effort, the campaign, to form a study to convince and make people aware that they are actually in the discourse of hegemony by the dominant class which then must be resisted, because it contains the value of the dangerous and divisive race. Gramsci portrait, HTI speech acts in discourse

against Islam Nusantara NU as a war of position, to describe the movement of counter hegemony, which is also trying to obtain support and achieve the consensus of the community, to fight Islam Nusantara discourse. When you are getting the support, there will be efforts seizure dominant position, between NU and HTI, which Gramsci described as a war of maneuver. But in the case of Islam Nusantara discourse, cannot be regarded as a form of political and social revolutions. HTI as Internationalist is in a stage where the position of HTI, a transnational Islamic movement. But interestingly, in the discourse of Islam Nusantara NU is his wish to maintain the status quo by making Islam Nusantara as a hegemonic discourse that two levels of action process, namely the national-popular stage, and the stage Internationalist. With fully supported by the government, the discourse of Islam Nusantara NU became a popular national discourse and NU is also endeavor to elevate the discourse of Islam Nusantara to be introduced in the international forum. One of them is by organizing International The Moderate Islamic Summit of Leaders (ISOMIL), on 9-11 May 2016 in JCC Jakarta, with the theme 'Islam Nusantara: Inspiration & Solutions to World Civilization'. The theme is actually similar to the theme of the 33rd NU in Jombang, which became the busy discussed by Indonesia netizen.

NU Enterprises above action, contrary to the opinion that argues Gramsci hegemony effective counter movement, first to use nationally to gain mass force. If the movement has the prerequisites to achieve the power of other countries, then the movement up to the second stage of counter hegemony, as the Internationalist movement. In the case of Islam Nusantara, NU as the largest Islamic organizations, wants to disseminate its hegemony by passing a motion stage counter hegemony. As other movements, movements NU Nusantara Islamic discourse, there is also the main actor who has the most important role, namely the intellectual elite NU.

NU intellectual elite, who first experienced class consciousness and develop Islam Nusantara discourse hegemony as efforts to disseminate to other classes. As a major actor in the spread of the discourse, the intellectual elite of NU and HTI is a combination of an intellectual type proposed by Gramsci. They entered the traditional type, since known as the clergy, as well as autonomous intellectual type, because it has attachments pilgrims *Nahdliyin* identity and class.

As NU intellectual elite, they have the power to make a discourse that became the subject of knowledge and meaning, as proposed Foucault. For, the intellectual elite of NU, the discourse of Islam Nusantara is a tool to maintain and widen Islamic values NU. Based Foucault theory, which says that discourse, and knowledge may not be neutral and pure. Scientific explanation of Islam Nusantara, trying to control the value of the

teachings of Islam Nusantara in the NU and well rid of explanations value other branch of Islamic teachings.

In addition, the knowledge embodied in the technology, used to force something to the community. NU and HTI together using technology, for shared value branch of Islam they understand and strive for. Through new media, the two organizations, together compose, and archive the history of their values and ideology, as a system that establish statements as events or objects, for the same mastering social and cultural life.

Nusantara Islamic discourse, as a popular national discourse, also competes with several other discourses, such as mental revolution. Referring to Foucault that said, the discourse is not a priori discourse as in linguistics, discourse but functional, and there in the practical world. Neither the Islam Nusantara discourse, it is a discourse that rub against another discourse. For NU and HTI, the discourse of Islam Nusantara subject to change and transformation in history. Nowadays, the idea of Islam Nusantara NU, became an instrument to impose Islamic ideology NU as a tool for the ruling by NU. While HTI, straining against Islam Nusantara NU discourse with persuasive manner through new media.

5. Conclusions

Islam Nusantara rhetoric in the New Media, the intellectual elite discourse by NU, the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia. Such rhetoric, got a counter discourse of a number of prominent NU and several Islamic organizations in Indonesia, one of which is HTI. In many ways, NU and HTI is sometimes intersect opinion, one of them in Islam Nusantara. As the largest mass organization in Indonesia, though it met with resistance from internal and external discourse NU, but the intellectual elite NU remained vigorous discourse of Islam Nusantara as a popular national discourse.

For making Islam Nusantara discourse as a national discourse that popular, a number of committed NU, which are made Prodi Islam Nusantara in STAINU Jakarta, making the Islam Nusantara Museum in Pesantren Tebuireng, conducting various competitions of research on Islam Nusantara with the help of substantial funds for researchers who pass the selection, and a variety of other pedagogic effort. Not enough to Islam Nusantara as a popular national discourse, NU also held a number of efforts to popularize the International Islamic forum, one of them with a meeting of Islamic leaders and international forum with a number of religious leaders, Muslim scholars, and leaders of Muslim governments around the world. This is done NU as an attempt to counter the

hegemony of the Islamic Middle East issues are often labeled radical. Islamic discourse Nusantara present to show the friendly face of *Islam rahmatanlil 'alamin*.

While plantation, consistent with the discourse of the caliphate and sharia. As a transnational Islamic organization, HTI connected with the organization of the center. All directives and policies that are fundamental, came from headquarters. While that is the issue or the local discourse, is the result of the decision of the intellectual elite of HTI. For HTI, the discourse of Islam Nusantara, not a central issue, but it remains a concern, because it became a national discourse and there is a discourse on Islam Nusantara which is not in line with the value of HTI, then HTI make rhetorical counterpoint. Counterculture rhetoric was also made in new media and also made academic studies to criticize the dangerous ideas of Islam Nusantara discourse.

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