

# Proceedings

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## Ideology Representation of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia Through Proselytizing Bulletin of Al-Islam: The Perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis

Firman

Tarbiyah Department STAIN Parepare South Sulawesi, INDONESIA

### Abstract

Discourse can be used as a tool by certain groups and classes to deliver their ideology, not only by the vocabulary but also grammar and text structure. One of organization that is unceasingly extending proselytizing through religious discourse in form of bulletin is the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). HTI delivers proselytizing, not only about religious things but also politic and democracy, society and economy. Through this proselytizing discourse, HTI aims to implant an ideology that is believed to be able to guide this people and nation toward better condition. This study was conducted in order to understand the form and strategy used by HTI to extend the ideology in the perspective of critical discourse analysis. The method used in this study was critical discourse model of Fairclough by examining the aspect of production, such as form, strategy, and argumentation background. This study also used the critical analysis discourse by Roger Fowler, that assumes the language as social practice. The object of this study was the Al-Islam bulletin available in many mosques every Friday from year 2011 through 2012, limited only for ideology related discourse. The research findings show that the form of ideology intended to be implanted by HTI in proselytizing discourse were (1) politic and democracy ideology, (2) economic and social ideology, and (3) religious ideology. The strategies used by HTI to reconstruct discourse are: (1) the words choice such as words classification, meaning relation and metaphor; (2) the structure of discourse: confirmation of arguments and formulation with conclusion. Meanwhile, the ideology used in reproduction of HTI discourse are the Al-Quran, Sunnah (hadith), and Islamic history.

*Keywords : discourse, ideology, proselytizing, critical, representation*

### Introduction

In Indonesia, there are Islamic concepts that create group compartments, from exclusive to liberal. One of Islamic group that intensively produces weekly missionary media, that is named as "Al-Islam", is Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir (HTI). Al Islam is issued each Friday and distributed to the mosques in Indonesia. Al-Islam always discusses about problems that become the headline in the mass media, such as political, economic, and social problems. Al-Islam tries to influence the readers with their ideology that is considered as the right one. In order to influence the readers with the ideology, the missionary discourse of Al-Islam uses language as media, so that the discourse is made as the embodiment of the social practices.

The interesting problem in the investigation about missionary discourse is the language usage as the ideological representation. As stated in the Bourdieu (1991) that lan-



guage is one of the most important human being's attributes. Bourdieu stated that language is not only act as the communication tool and the cultural heritage, but also as the social practice. Language is obtained by individual as the social performer from the society and the environment where he lives, to construct and be constructed. Language becomes an important element that should be mastered by the social performer to socialize with other social performers. Through the socialization, the word meaning is formed and absorbed in the individual awareness. Language as the social practice is the outcome of active interaction between objective social structures with the linguistic habit owned by the social performers.

In the point of view of critical discourse, all text aspects (vocabulary and grammar) are empowered to wrap certain interests (in the form of ideology) that want to be delivered by the writer to the readers. The ideology expression behind the text needs effort to set free the language used by the writer in the discourse text. This is becoming the background of the critical discourse usage as the analysis tool to reveal the ideological representation form that occurred in the text of missionary work discourses that are produced by HTI as organization or as the religious group that has certain ideology and religious sect.

Language in this case the vocabulary, grammar, and text structure are used as a medium to represent the ideology that is fought for by HTI. HTI makes Islamic interpretation based on khilafah (caliphate) spirit and not interpret the Islam based only on the societal life context. So, there is effort to display the ideology with religious understanding format that based on the initial leadership of Islam, that is by caliph leadership. To understand the ideology construction of Al-Islam in its form, delivery strategy, and the argument foundation needs analysis to the text or discourse that is produced by HTI. The analysis tool that is able to reach the understanding is the critical discourse analysis that developed by Fairclough (1989) and Roger Fowler (1979).

This research is qualitative research because there was qualitative research characteristics in this research, such as: (a) scientific research data because the researcher unable to do treatment to research subject, (b) sample taking done purposively, (c) the researcher as the key instrument in the data collection and interpretation, and (d) data analysis was done inductively. Beside that, this method was aimed at giving details viewpoint about the represented ideology in the missionary work bulletin of Al-Islam based on the document used in this research by giving interpretation. As explained by Creswell (2009:262) that the qualitative research is the interpretative research, qualitative research is one of interpretative research forms where the researcher make interpretation to what he looks, listens, and understands.

This research used analysis procedure of critical discourse as follow:

### 1. Critical Discourse Analysis of Roger Fowler Model

Roger Fowler sees language as social practice, through the language a group stabilizes and spreads its ideology. The done approach is known as critical linguistic. Critical linguistic is developed from the linguistic theory, which is by looking at how the certain grammar and vocabulary selection bring certain implication and ideology.

The developed analysis model by Fowler based on the explanation of Halliday about structure and function of language, where the grammar becomes the tool to be communicated to the readers. Fowler placed the grammar and the usage practice to know the ideology practice.



Vocabulary, according to Fowler (1979) is able to create classification system. Language depicts how the world realities are seen so that it gives possibility for someone to control and regulate the social reality. The classification system will be different between individual or a group with the other because different group have different cultural, social, experiences, and religious understanding. Even more, Fowler affirmed how the different experiences and politic can be seen from the used language, that is depicted as the different language. The selection of different language is considered as the practice of certain ideology because different language will produce different reality when it is received by the readers.

## 2. Critical Discourse Analysis Model of Fairclough

Fairclough analysis is based on question, how to connect micro text with macro society context. Fairclough builds a discourse analysis model that has contribution in the social and cultural analysis so it can combine text analysis tradition with the wide societal context. The attention point of Fairclough can be seen by looking at his view that sees the language as the power practice. To examine how the language users bring certain ideology, comprehensive analysis is needed. Language, socially and historically, is the form of action in the dialectic relation with the social structure. Because of that, analysis should be focused at how the language is formed and shaped from the social relation and certain social context (Fairclough, 1998: 131-132)

Fairclough developed model that integrate simultaneously the discourse analysis that is based on linguistic and the social political thought. Fairclough focused the discourse attention at the language, by using discourse that refers more in the language usage as the social practice than to the individual activities to reflect something. So, the discourse is seen as the form of action. Someone uses language as the form of representation to see the reality. The model implicates the presence of reciprocal relation between discourse and social structure so the discourse is divided into the structure of social, class, and social relation that is connected with the specific relation from the certain institution such as law, education, system and classification (Eriyanto, 2009:286).

Fairclough divided the discourse analysis in three dimensions, namely: text, discourse, practice and sociocultural practice. In the Fairclough model, the text is analyzed linguistically by looking at the word, semantic, and sentence arrangement. He also included coherence and cohesion, how the words and sentences be combined to producing meaning. All the analyzed elements are used to look three problems, ideology, relation, and identity

## II. Research Results and Discussion

### A. Construction of HTI Ideology

HTI and other Islamic groups always have totalitarian – centralistic ideology and make their religion as their ideological reference. They understand the religion literally and reject interpretation. The ideological view of totalitarian-centralistic to the *sharia* bring them to the consequences of legal stipulation of totality and centralistic. Because of that, the law should regulate all life aspects of human being without exception and the state control the understanding and the application comprehensively. In the view of HTI, sharia experience cannot be separated with politic (Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani in Maksum, 2011:317)

The totalitarian understanding to Islam as ideology can be known from the HTI's point of view that makes Islam as legitimating source. HTI believes to the coverage of uni-



versal Islam. Islam is not only understood as a religion that manages the spiritual problems, but also the social and political problems. Because of that, the HTI activists understand Islam as the religion and ideology.

Ideological base of HTI movement is the An-Nabhani thought. An-Nabhani thought is the figure that placed ideological foundation of the HTI movement. According to An-Nabhani in Maksum (2011: 318-319), the failure of Islamic revival is caused by three factors:

First, the activists of Islamic revival do not have knowledge about fikra al islamiyah (Islamic thought) and at the same time they are influenced by the thought that come from outside of Islam. Because of the shallow Islamic knowledge and the acceptance of knowledge out of Islam, then the Islamic activists do not understand Islam as a whole and weaken the Islamic knowledge of Moslems.

Second, the weak *al-tariqah al-islam* (Islamic method). In this aspect, the Moslems are considered as do not have clear picture about al-tariqah al-islam. According to An-Nabhani, fikrah of the activists of the Islamic revival still in general, without clear boundary so there is haziness in there. In the tariqah, An-Nabhani deplored the Islamic commitment that is considered as shifting from the commitment to advance Islam to the finding of worldly pleasure.

Third, there is no strong relation between fikrah and tariqah. According to An-Nabhani, if it is viewed from the relation between fikrah and tariqah, the Moslem only consider the sharia law that relate with the life problems that pertains the fikrah aspects only while the sharia that explain about practical way to solve problems are ignored. An-Nabhani deplored the ignorance of Moslem in studying the Islamic law that related with *jihad, ganimah, khilafah law, qada* (judgement) and, the law about kharaj. This way separates fikrah and tariqah between theory and practice.

Because Islam has authentic ideology, Moslems are unable to avoid or reject to implement the Islamic ideology. It is realized nowadays that the Moslems experience the vacuum of ideology because there is no Islamic state that implement the Islam comprehensively. Even the Islamic system ever becomes the hegemon in the world when the daulah khilafah still upright. The vacuum of ideology and daulah khilafah are considered as producing the fatal consequences to the Moslem globally. As the consequences, there is moral degradation and the human degradation wholly because of the influence of materialism and hedonism lifestyle from the western.

## **B. The Form of Ideological Construction in The Al-Islam Bulletin**

### **1. Political Ideology and Democracy**

Radical Islamic movement emerged mostly in the reformation era, such as Islamic Apologist Front (FPI), Jihad Paramilitary Troop, Indonesian Mujahideen Council (MMI), Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir (HTI). The Islamic movements strive to implement Islamic sharia and oppose any governmental system outside of Islamic government. The movement is the form of resistance to the democracy governmental system that is used in Indonesia.

The agenda and goals of HTI thought are to implement Islamic sharia totally by establishing Islamic state. According to them, relation between religion and state is integral in nature. It is the doctrine that they plant, "Islam is religion and power". Thus the implementation of Islamic sharia is a must that if a Moslem left it willingly then it means apostate. Based



on some Al-Islam bulletin that lift the governmental system in Indonesia that called as fail and the solution is Islamic sharia. According to HTI, Islamic sharia offers integral solution for problems of human beings. Quran verses that often be quoted by HTI is “whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed - then it is those who are the disbelievers” (Q.S. 5:44). Because of that, the sharia enforcement is the strive for the establishment of khilafah state that according to them has strong theological foundation. Islamic khilafah follow the doctrine of unity of God and reject democracy because democracy believes to the sovereignty at the people means oppose to the God sovereignty.

The ideological construction that wants to be established by HTI through discourse is democracy and politic that established based on the rule and law that made by human being are unable to solve the facing problems comprehensively. Indirectly, the planted understanding to the reader is the understanding about the need of the God laws implementation in the democratic and political system in the state that is implemented by government that followed by all societies, even for all Islamic state in the form of Daulah Khilafah.

HTI is the representation of Indonesian Islam that rejects the democratic system. Firmly they considered democracy as infidel system because democracy is developed by the infidels. Because of that, it is forbidden for the Moslem to adopt it. They reject the democracy system because the good and bad standards have lost so whatever can be done because the democracy upholds the people voice. For example, if the majority want adultery is permitted then the state should follow the will.

And also with the political and ideological system that should be followed by Moslems, it should be Islamic ideological and system, out of that means infidel. Nationalism, socialism, capitalism, democracy, secularism, liberalism, pluralism, and all product of western thought is secular and non Islam. The system is considered as infidel system so HTI stated that Moslems are forbidden to participate in the democratic process, such as election, people representative election, law making and etc.

Solution form that is offered by HTI to avoid the system is the implementation of Islamic sharia and the upholdling of Islamic khilafah. Both system has deliver Islam in its glory period. Through the both system, HTI is certain that Islamic thoughts will be upheld because there is one that responsible to spread the thought that relate with Islamic sharia in all countrywide.

## 2. Economic and Social Ideology

Society in the HTI views is currently in the multidimensional crisis, such as civilization, education, economy, politic, and morality. It is occurred in Moslem world because of the influence of concepts that come from western, such as secularism, liberalism, capitalism, democracy, and etc. to solve the problems, HTI offer an Islamic ideology. HTI want to offer ideology as the safe way to the facing crisis. As movement, HTI wants the change up to the system so HTI firstly try to change the societies by giving emphasis to the thought change or intellectual change.

In effort to strengthen commitment and give spirit to the movement that is done then it needs jargon. HTI has known jargon, that is: “save Indonesia with sharia”. Through the jargon, HTI has strong will to uphold the sharia as the crisis solution. For HTI the root of all problems in Indonesia is the absence of implementation of Islamic sharia. They believe that sharia is able to solve all problems. If sharia is implemented well then the crisis can be



overcome. According to HTI, sharia not only regulates the problems that relate with the pray only but also regulate the political, social, and economic life. Islamic sharia aimed at creating the ideal societal order, physically and spiritually.

Social movement done by HTI including education and the development of the people thought with Islamic view, to support the thought fight and political activities. In effort to develop the people, HTI spread the true Islamic thought, either in social and political framework and set free the people from damaged belief, wrong thought, mistaken perception, and free them from the influence of western ideas and views that is considered as infidel.

They do the movement of thought fight by peeling the deviant thought and offer the Islamic thought framework. While the political movement is done by oppose the imperialist to free the people from their political domination, free the people from their influence and lift out the root of imperialists, either the thought, culture, economy, or military from all Islamic state.

In the Al-Islam missionary work bulletin, it is stated:

“That big change only can be realized by throwing away the secularism, capitalism, and also its economic and democracy system. And then change it with Islamic deen with sharia laws that implemented totally and comprehensive in the Islamic system, which is Al-Khilafah Ar-Rasyidah” (Al-Islam, edition: 631, November, 16<sup>th</sup> 2012 – Muharram, 2<sup>nd</sup> 1434).

### 3. Ideologization of Religion

HTI as the social religious movement need ideology. According to the Herbert Blumer in Maksum (2011:379), if social movement is not support by ideology then it will face uncertainty and experience disorientation. Ideology is served as vision, goal, doctrine, set of values, myth of movement. Ideology has important position in a movement like HTI.

Austin Ranny in Maksum (2011:380) stated five basic elements in building ideology. First, the value in the HTI thought, in this case is the value component, is the faith. Faith is the divineness element for Moslem that makes explanation about object and the way to believe. Before believe to other aspect, such as religious services and morals, Moslems are obliged to understand the faith. Religious services and moral and other dimension of Islamic thought is derivation of the faith. Because faith contains high value so in HTI it is used as ideational foundation in constructing ideology.

Second, the vision of ideal social life. The reality of life that experienced by the Moslem is experiencing disorientation because the God rules are not upheld. Reality life of the Moslem today is under domination of non Islamic rules, that is capitalism and socialism after the collapse of daulah khilafah in 1924. If Moslem wants to implement again the God rules, then it should be done by upholding again the Islamic khilafah. It is the ideal life in the HTI thought.

Third, the view to the human essence. The understanding about the faith that contains pillars of faith and the rules that imply about the human essence, especially the life that experienced by the human being. Human being life is tied with the God rules, so human being unable to do something especially that related with the action that is done based on the human choice. The actions that are done by human being will get consequences or punishment if against the God rules.



Fourth, strategy of action. To embody the ideological goal, An-Nabhani established HT in 1953. Through HT, the goals will be reached. HTI is very confident that the goals will be reached.

Fifth, tactic or ideological strategy. An-Nabhani has spread the HT in the entire world. The HT network that has spread to the entire world is believed will embody the Islamic khilafah in time where the territory is not bound by the state area. To embody the struggle to the direction, HT use two patterns, that is power pattern and cultural pattern. The power pattern is done by lobbying the ruler and does various persuasive efforts to rule the societies. Second, the cultural pattern is done by giving Islamic missionary work to the societies in order to make islamization process run well. For HT, the societies are the most effective missionary work object and not the state. They realize that if the societies have implemented the Islamic sharia then automatically the state will follow the society's aspiration. HTI tries to build the faith ideology of the societies through the missionary work.

HTI believes that Islam is the only true ideology and able to solve the facing problems of human being in the world. In the Al-Islam bulletin stated as:

“Indeed, it is clear that secularism, pluralism, and liberalism that implemented in this country are bad idea and cause the damage. ... therefore, it is the time for Islamic ummah (Islamic people) to implement Islamic sharia and realize the government that will implement those Islamic laws. Thus, all problems will be solved and justice will be perceived by all people, included non-moslem (non-islamic people) as what been showed many centuries ago in the history by Islamic people.” (Al-Islam, edition: 10/year XVIII).

### C. Discourse Strategy in Construction of Al-Islam Ideology

#### 1. Selection of Vocabularies in The Al-Islam Bulletin.

##### a. Words Classification

The word can be used by the writer by making certain classification in constructing ideology in the discourse. In the Al-Islam missionary work bulletin, the words that often be used in making classification are: daulah, khilafah, sharia, hijriyah, ignorance, politic, modern, Islamic solution, democracy, treasonable, and despotic. The words of daulah, khilafah, sharia, hijriyah are used to support ideology that will be built to point out the other group outside of HTI, such as government, politician, societal group that do not want to implement the sharia concept. In the Al-Islam missionary work bulletin, it can be seen strong efforts to uphold the Islamic sharia by making words classification. The selected vocabulary is the word that strengthens the ideology that is strived by HTI through discourse.

In the Al-Islam missionary work bulletin, the word classification can be seen in the quote below:

“The establishment of Laws and rules that serve more to the capital owner and disadvantage for people will run continuously during the democracy system still used. Because of that reason and to stop all problems, capitalism and democracy system must be thrown away.

There is no other way to make the laws in people side and also to be able to solve many human problems, we must be back to the Islamic sharia as a whole. ... therefore, it is time to come and implement Islamic sharia as a whole in the caliph frame” (Al-Islam, edition: 582, Zulhijjah, 29<sup>th</sup> 1432 H/ November, 25<sup>th</sup> 2011).





### b. Meaning Relation

Fairclough (1989:116) and Santoso (2012:144) stated that the presence of certain word in its relation with the meaning relation often has ideological meaning include “antonym”, “synonym”, and “hyponym”.

Antonym is one of some meaning relations that are known in the meaning analysis. Antonym is the word that has opposition meaning of other word. In discourse of Al-Islam Missionary Work, the word “democracy” is opposed with the word of “daulah”. Literally, both words are not antonym, but both words not always oppose in each expression in the Al-Islam discourse. The discourse producer in this case is HTI, want to give different strength to both words, so it will be clear which vocabulary that will be struggled by HTI through the discourse.

The presence of ideological antonym implies the presence of the synonym. According to Richar, Platt & Platt in Santoso (2012:144), synonym is a word that has same meaning or similar meaning with other word. Synonym relates with the lexeme whose extra linguist reference is the same. Synonym relates with the lexemes that is able to be substituted in the same context. In the Al Islam missionary work bulletin, the word such as “sharia” is always synonymous with “law” and the word of “khilafah system” is synonymous with “governmental system”. Semantically, both words are not synonym but used as the same terms from two different languages. Both words always be positioned as the synonymous word so it can be show the ideological display that struggled for by HTI in the discourse.

The things that are occurred at antonym and synonym also occurred at the hyponym. Hyponym is a relation between two words, where the meaning of one word including the meaning of other word (Richar, Platt, & Platt in Santoso, 2012:145). The relation in hyponym is unilateral in nature or in one direction, different with the synonym that has bilateral relation or symmetric. In the hyponym it is known super ordinate or upper class that mean as parent and subordinate or lower class that means the member word. Each member of group or certain institution placed subordinate in the meaning relation differently. In the Al-Islam missionary word bulletin the word classification can be seen in the quote below:

“The establishment of Laws and rules that serve more to the capital owner and disadvantage for people will run continuously during the democracy system still used. Because of that reason and to stop all problems, capitalism and democracy system must be thrown away.

There is no other way to make the laws in people side and also to be able to solve many human problems, we must be back to the Islamic sharia as a whole. ... therefore, it is time to come and implement Islamic sharia as a whole in the caliph (Al-Islam, edition: 582, Zulhijjah, 29<sup>th</sup> 1432 H/ November, 25<sup>th</sup> 2011).

### c. Metaphor

Metaphor is linguistic expression whose mean can not be reached directly from the used symbols because the meaning in the prediction of linguistic expression (Wahab in Santoso, 2012:145). Then, Santoso explained that the metaphor devices also contain meaning about understanding and experience for the specified things with other things. Alongside with the opinion of Richards, Platt & Platt (1992:139 in Santoso, 2012:145) stated that metaphor is the description of something that is replaced with the other explanation that can be compared.



Metaphor is used to concretize the abstract concept. Metaphor is also empowered to strengthen the ideological message. In the religious discourse, metaphor is used mostly to attack the ideological concept that relate with the struggled ideology by the discourse maker. Below is stated some metaphor use that often be emerged in the Al-Islam missionary work bulletin.

Metaphor Expression	Emerging Impression
But the hope collapses instantly	Hyperboli
Two persons are died vainly	Sarcasm
Thuggery is still reign in Indonesia	Hyperbolic
Government finally become powerless to create job opportunities	Sarcasm
There is opinion, that the presence of civilian is maintained by the apparatus personality (police)	Sarcasm

## 2. Text Structure in the Al-Islam Bulletin

In the critical view, discourse is considered as ideological practice or reflecting certain ideology. Ideology behind the text producer will always give color to the form of certain discourse. The text producer with liberalism ideology or socialism and fanaticism in the religious sect will produce discourse with certain character. There are two important things that relate with ideology in the discourse. First, ideology inherently is social in nature, not personal or individual. Ideology always needs group members, communities, or societies that fulfill and struggle for the ideology. Second, ideology is used internally among the group members or community. Ideology always provides answer about group identity.

So, the linguistic relation essentially is the relation of power and ideology. Investigating language critically essentially is analyzing the linguistic aspects or lingual features critically in order to find explanation why the text producer selects the lingual form. The followed ideology that is believed as the truest will always be strived by the text producer. At the part, it will be investigated the struggled ideology by HTI in the Al-Islam bulletin through text structure that will be used, such as confirmation, control, and formulation that is used. Below it will be formulated one by one the text structure.

### a. Confirmation with Argumentation

One of the ways to fight for ideology of Al-Islam discourse ideology is the confirmation, which is by calling the argumentation that come from Quran and Hadith. The selected argumentation will strengthen the strived ideology. The argumentations that often quoted in the Al-Islam missionary work bulletin are as follow:

“In opposite with capitalism-secularism as ideology that full of lie, Islam is the only right ideology, because it sourced from The Greatest, Allah SWT says: “And whoever turns away from My remembrance (Quran) - indeed, he will have a depressed life (Q.S. Ta-ha [20:124])

..... The True of Allah SWT that say: Then is it the judgment of [the time of] ignorance they desire? But who is better than Allah in judgment for a people who are



certain [in faith] (Q.S. Al-Ma-idah [5]:50)" (Al-Islam, edition: 568/Th.XVIII/1432 H).

#### b. Formulation in the Concluding

Beside of using argumentation from Quran and Sunnah (hadith) in producing discourse, the Al-Islam bulletin also use linguistic formulation by making conclusion. Political system with democracy is formulated in the Al-Islam missionary bulletin with formulation, as given in below quote.

"It is all the cause of liberalism-capitalism economic system implementation. Only with Islamic economy system, mining and other natural resource management will be truly for people prosperity." (Al-Islam, edition: 595/Th. XIX/ 1433 H).

"That's the result of democracy political system, the council is more represented the businessman and their own interest than the people interest. It is time to leave democracy political system and it is time to implement Islamic political system." (Al-Islam, edition: 605/Th. XIX/1433 H).

"It is normal, because the entire problem sourced from democracy capitalism system. As long as the democracy capitalism-secularism still implemented then all problems will never solved" (Al-Islam, edition: 577/Th. XIX/1432 H)

Some quotes above give picture that the effort to reject the democracy and economic system that is done by HTI through Al-Islam missionary bulletin is very strong. The sentence formulation by using concluding pattern is the discourse strategy that is used in producing discourse to influence the reader thought.

### III. Conclusion

Based on the data analysis in the research, it can be concluded that:

The form of ideological construction that is built through Al-Islam missionary work bulletin, which is political, and democracy ideology, economic and social ideology, and religious ideologization.

The strategy to bring ideology in the Al-Islam missionary work bulletin by using the vocabulary selection through word classification, meaning relation and metaphor, while the used text structure as discourse strategy is the confirmation with the faith support and the conclusion formulation.

There are two used main foundations in establishing ideology of Al-Islam missionary discourse, which is Quran and Sunnah (hadith).

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