



Dialectics of Da'wah, Politics, and Media in Madura (Analysis of RadarMadura.id News Discourse on Gus Miftah Distributing Money in Pamekasan)

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Abstrak

Kata kunci:

Analisis Wacana,
Dakwah Politik,
Money Politic,
Politik Dakwah

Artikel ini mengkaji hubungan kompleks antara dakwah dan politik di Madura, khususnya dalam konteks fenomena dakwah yang terpolitisasi. Fokus utama adalah pada analisis wacana terhadap berita RadarMadura.id mengenai dan kontroversi Gus Miftah membagikan uang di Pamekasan: bagaimana media mengonstruksi cerita melalui pemilihan kata dan tata bahasa untuk membangun naratif terkait isu tersebut. Penelitian ini merupakan studi kualitatif yang menggunakan analisis wacana sebagai bagian dari metode interpretatif. Objek penelitian ini adalah berita pada RadarMadura.id dengan judul "Bawaslu Pamekasan Akan Panggil Gus Miftah terkait Aksi Bagi-Bagi Uang" yang dipublikasikan pada 5 Januari 2024. Berita dianalisis menggunakan analisis wacana model Roger Fowler dkk yang memfokuskan pada analisis elemen kata dan tata bahasa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pemberitaan cenderung menggambarkan aksi tersebut sebagai bagian dari rutinitas sedekah. Media membatasi pandangan dengan fokus merespons video viral dan mengandalkan sumber-sumber sekunder untuk mengonfirmasi informasi, daripada melakukan investigasi mendalam. Terdapat juga pertarungan wacana antara publik yang mendukung ide politik uang dan media yang menyoroti klarifikasi serta rutinitas sedekah. Secara bahasa, RadarMadura.id menggunakan kalimat aktif untuk menggambarkan peristiwa, namun penggunaan nominalisasi mungkin mempengaruhi penafsiran terhadap aktor yang terlibat. Artinya, analisis ini menunjukkan bagaimana media menggunakan bahasa untuk membangun narasi dan mempengaruhi persepsi publik, meskipun cenderung netral dalam penyajiannya terhadap isu-isu kontroversial.



Keywords:

Discourse
Analysis,
Money Politics,
Politics of
Da'wah,
Political Da'wah

Abstract

This article examines the complex relationship between da'wah and politics in Madura, especially in the context of the politicized phenomenon of da'wah. The main focus is on discourse analysis of the RadarMadura.id news regarding the controversy over Gus Miftah distributing money in Pamekasan: how the media constructs the story through word choice and grammar to build a narrative related to this issue. This research is a qualitative study that uses discourse analysis as part of the interpretive method. The object of this research is news on RadarMadura.id with the title "Bawaslu Pamekasan Akan Panggil Gus Miftah terkait Aksi Bagi-Bagi Uang" published on January 5, 2024. The news was analysed using the discourse analysis model of Roger Fowler et al which focuses on the analysis of word elements and grammar. The research results show that news reports depict this action as part of the alms routine. The media limits its views by focusing on responding to viral videos and relying on secondary sources to confirm information, rather than conducting in-depth investigations. There is also a discourse battle between the public who supports the idea of money politics and the media which highlights clarification and alms routines. Linguistically, RadarMadura.id uses active sentences to describe events, however, the use of nominalization may influence the interpretation of the actors involved. That is, this analysis shows how the media uses language to build narratives and influence public perceptions, even though they tend to be neutral in their presentation of controversial issues.

INTRODUCTION

In the political year, the relationship between da'wah and politics becomes increasingly complex and closely interrelated (Nirwana, 2016). Da'wah is intended to revive social functions that grow and develop in society. This means inviting and calling Muslims to follow the guidelines for life that are approved by Allah SWT, in the form of ordering the good (amar ma'ruf) and preventing the evil (nahi munkar) (Abrori & Alnashr, 2023). However, da'wah is often politicized or included in the political realm as an effort to influence public policy to reflect or accommodate Islamic values. This phenomenon can be seen in various countries with a Muslim majority, including Indonesia (Alqodrisyah et al, 2023), where da'wah is often used to rally the masses or support political candidates who are considered to be fighting for Islamic values. Conversely, politics also uses da'wah as a source of legitimacy and support from the majority of the Muslim community in Indonesia.



In a more specific context, there is also an intense dialectic between politics and da'i. Da'i is a figure who has an important role in spreading Islamic da'wah, which in essence is inviting people to follow Islamic teachings and values in everyday life. However, amid increasingly complex political dynamics, da'i are often involved in the political realm. They not only convey da'wah messages but also play a role in influencing the political views and attitudes of the community. Usually directed to support political candidates who are considered to represent or fight for issues that are close to Islamic religious values.

In Madura, community participation in da'wah activities is a strong foundation for the increasingly close relationship between da'wah and politics, especially during political campaign periods. The proverb "bhepa' bhebu' ghuru rato" which is the philosophy of life of the Madurese people also has implications for political dynamics in Madura. Proverbs The terms "bhepa'" "bhebu'" mean that a child must respect and obey his parents, the term "ghuru" means that students must respect and obey their teachers (kyai or ulama). The term "rato" means that as a society we must respect and follow our leaders (formally) (Hefni, 2007). In this case, the kyai has a big role in the order of life of the Madurese people, including helping to color the dynamics of politics. Kyai is trusted by the community to provide direction in choosing leaders and determining political paths. The community considers that Kyai's advice is not just ordinary advice; it is a determinant in choosing people's representatives in general elections. This means that Kyai's decree is considered very influential in the process of making political choices (Amalia Syahidah, 2022).

On that basis, prospective people's leaders or political parties then approach Kyai to gain mass support, considering the influence that Kyai has in the eyes of the community. However, the involvement of the Kyai in political discourse often raises debates about the boundaries that must be maintained. To what extent can Kyai's intervention in political dynamics affect the integrity of Kyai as a respected figure by the community? Kyai who should prioritize religious values and morality often falls into the realm of practical politics, where religious considerations can be ignored for political interests.

One of the concrete problems that is often discussed is money politics. According to Chairuddin, money politics is an effort to influence others by using material rewards or can also



be interpreted as buying and selling votes in the political and power process and the act of distributing money, both personal property of political parties and successful teams to influence voters' votes to influence the public's attitude or support for political candidates (Putri Cantik Rumajar & et al., 2022). If the practice of money politics involves a preacher, it can certainly damage the image of the preacher himself who should be free from intervention by worldly interests. In addition, the involvement of money politics with a preacher can also tarnish the spiritual integrity of the preacher who should be neutral in politics.

Gus Miftah is known as a preacher who supports presidential candidate pair number 2 in the 2024 election (Wahidin, n.d.). Gus Miftah attracted public attention when he visited Hj. Her in Pamekasan. Hj. Her is a successful businesswoman who now leads PT Bawang Mas Group as CEO, not only known for her success in the business world. She is also the Chairperson of the Paguyuban Pelopor Petani dan Pedagang Tembakau Se-Madura (P4TM). Hj. Her is known as a generous figure who never hesitates to do good. In addition to giving alms regularly, she is also involved in humanitarian projects such as helping to build 132 houses for residents in Pamekasan Regency who are in need. Hj. Her was also a topic of conversation when she bought a car that was previously owned by Gus Dur (Puspita, n.d.).

The activity became controversial due to allegations of money politics (Taufiqurrahman, n.d.), where Gus Miftah distributed money to Hj. Her employees and the surrounding community are overflowing. This phenomenon has sparked heated debate among the public and political observers. Money politics is a practice that seeks to influence others, especially the public, by giving material rewards. This often occurs in the context of the political and power process, where votes are traded by giving money to voters. This action can involve the distribution of money from personal sources or political parties to influence the outcome of votes in elections or other political decisions (Kumolo, 2015).

Money politics is a practice that is often criticized because it is considered to damage the essence of democracy (Padilah & Irwansyah, 2023). This practice can influence the election process in an unhealthy way, such as by buying support and changing the dynamics of political competition from what should be based on ideology, vision, and work programs - to solely because on money. The incident of distributing money carried out by Gus Miftah in Pamekasan



created a dispute among supporters of the 2024 presidential candidate pair and also the general public, although they clarified that the money distributed to the congregation was a form of alms that Hj. Her usually does (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VRHZgfZFS7g>). Reactions to this incident varied, ranging from strong criticism of practices that were considered detrimental to democracy, to justification on the basis of alms. On suspicion of money politics, Ifdhal Kasim, Director of Law Enforcement and Advocacy for the TPN Ganjar-Mahfud Legal Team, filed a report regarding the act of distributing money carried out by Gus Miftah in Pamekasan to the Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu) (Wardani, n.d.).

In the view of secularism, religion is seen as a personal matter that is theological, while politics is considered a worldly matter that is separate from the domain of religion. Thus, it is important to separate religion from politics to maintain plurality and individual freedom in a diverse society. However, in practice, a clear separation between da'wah activities and even da'i as one of the icons of da'wah and politics is often difficult to implement in a society that has a strong tradition that involves religion in various aspects of life, including politics. The integralist view believes that religion and politics should be considered as an inseparable whole. According to this view, religion is not only a matter of personal belief but also plays an important role in regulating the lives of society and the state as a whole (M. Abduh Wahid, 2019).

On the other hand, the role of the media in narrating the relationship between da'wah icons and politics is also very important. The mass media has the power to shape public opinion (Aliano & Adon, 2023) and influence perceptions of political practices based on religion. In the case of the debate over alleged money politics involving Gus Miftah's da'wah in Pamekasan. The media has the power to highlight, describe, and moderate the event. Through the media, information about alleged money politics practices can be widely spread to various levels of society in a short time. Media involvement has a significant impact on shaping public views on the issue. In-depth and comprehensive coverage can provide diverse perspectives, uncover new facts, and explore opinions from various parties involved. However, media involvement in this debate discourse can also have several negative impacts. For example, in some cases, media coverage can be tendentious or overly sensational, leading to societal polarization or the spread of inaccurate information.



Discourse analysis is an appropriate methodological approach used to dig deeply that seeks to uncover activities, views, and identities based on the language used in the discourse (Badara, 2014). In this context, it is to find out to what extent the media discusses the alleged money politics involving Gus Miftah as a preacher in Pamekasan, including how the media constructs stories, chooses language, and builds narratives related to this issue. By using this discourse analysis approach, it is expected to understand not only what the media conveys regarding the alleged money politics of Gus Miftah in Pamekasan, but also how the way the information is conveyed can influence public perception and attitudes towards this issue.

METHOD

This research is a qualitative study that uses discourse analysis as part of the interpretative method. This method relies on the interpretation and interpretation of the researcher (Sobur, 2002) to reveal the hidden meaning of the narrative or text to be studied. The object of this research is the news on RadarMadura.id with the title “Bawaslu Pamekasan Akan Panggil Gus Miftah terkait Aksi Bagi-Bagi Uang” which was published on January 5, 2024 with the URL address <https://radarmadura.jawapos.com/pamekasan/743697213/bawaslu-pamekasan-akan-panggil-gus-miftah-terkait-aksi-bagi-bagi-uang>. The data collection technique used is documentation, with the main data in the form of news texts, and other data that support the research such as books, journals, articles, and other relevant sources. After the data was collected, the researcher conducted an analysis using the discourse analysis model of Roger Fowler et al.

Table 1.1 Discourse Analysis Framework of Roger Fowler et al.'s Model (Eriyanto, 2021)

Level	Things to See
Words	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Choice of vocabulary used to describe events- Choice of words used to describe the actors (agents) involved in the event
Sentences	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- How events are described through a series of words



Roger Fowler et al.'s discourse analysis model focuses on the analysis of word and grammatical elements in the texts studied, with the aim of understanding the construction of reality built by the media (Eriyanto, 2021). This analysis also aims to explore how reality is expressed through media language and how the use of this language influences the perception and response of the audience

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Society understands the world through mass media (Luhmann, 2020). However, Wodak added that politics and culture are now increasingly entering a symbiotic relationship in the media, which of course has several negative consequences (Wodak, 2009). The blurring of political boundaries between reality and fiction, between the informative and the entertaining, is especially evident in the media. Luhmann calls this symbiotic relationship "mutual borrowing", which aims to combine codes from each type of media. Although their functions are different, their contributions are different (Luhmann, 2020).

RadarMadura.id describes itself as a media with diversity that is reflected in its vision and mission (<https://radarmadura.jawapos.com>). Da'wah itself is interpreted as an invitation, either verbally, in writing, or in actions, which seeks to influence others to produce an attitude of understanding, appreciating, and appreciating the teachings of a religion. In addition, da'wah is also seen as a process that leads humans to the right path, namely Islam. Meanwhile, da'wah media has the same role or position in the components of da'wah, such as da'wah methods, da'wah objects, and others (Syukir, 1984).

This definition allows da'wah to merge with mass media, thus creating prejudice. Like the fusion of news and advertising in advertising articles, the fusion of news and da'wah will also make it difficult for viewers to distinguish between da'wah (invitation/propaganda) and news (facts). Online mass media and disinformation The history of mass media shows that new technology never eliminates old technology, but replaces it (Sobur, 2002). Therefore, it can be said that online media may not be able to completely replace old media. Online journalism does not eliminate traditional journalism but increases its strength by combining internet technology features with traditional media. But also argues that virtual space resembles a busy market where various 'commodities' (in the form of ideas and concepts about Islam and Muslims) are exchanged and traded. New media has introduced humans to virtual reality, a way for humans



to visualize, manipulate, and interact with computers and very complex data in this virtual reality, as if what we see and feel is real by offering a different level of experience, perception, feeling, and emotion from the real world. At a certain level it produces an understanding or feeling (sense) that is close to what is obtained in the real world, even at a higher level it is an enlargement of the effect of that feeling (Malik, 2014).

Roger Fowler et al.'s discourse analysis model is an analysis model that focuses on the function and structure of language. Roger uses grammar and its usage practices to understand ideological practices. The RadarMadura.id news text is the object of analysis. By using Roger Fowler et al.'s discourse theory, this study focuses on two elements: First, the aspect of words, namely how to discuss events and the actors involved in them using certain words. Roger Fowler views linguistic vocabulary as a classification system by Roger. The importance of classification here is how an event can be discussed in various languages. Language differences are not considered merely a matter of grammar or technical. But this is more of a special ideological practice. The vocabulary that needs to be considered is; classification, limitation of views, discourse battles, and marginalization. Second, is the level of grammar or sentences. Sentence structure is not something that is standard. Its arrangement can be changed, removed, added, and combined with other sentences. This change not only changes the structure of the sentence but also changes the meaning of what is displayed. According to Roger Fowler et al., language consists of various processes and categories. Categories are also called "models" that explain the relationship between objects and events. The use of grammatical aspects in Roger Fowler et al.'s theory is divided into two, namely: the effect of passive sentences: the removal of the actor, and the effect of nominalization: the removal of the actor (Eriyanto, 2021, 152).

The news that will be used as the object of analysis in this study is the news on RadarMadura.id with the title "Bawaslu Pamekasan Akan Panggil Gus Miftah terkait Aksi Bagi-Bagi Uang" (<https://radarmadura.jawapos.com>). This news is the earliest news after the video of distributing money by Gus Miftah went viral on social media Youtube. RadarMadura.id as one of the largest newspapers with the largest circulation in Madura is considered worthy of being analyzed in its news narrative as part of the representation of media reality in Madura, especially in Pamekasan, where the case occurred. By following the analysis model of Roger Fowler et al., can be described in the following levels of analysis:



Table 1.2 Roger Fowler et al.'s Discourse Analysis Framework (Eriyanto, 2021)

Level	Things to See
Words	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Making Classifications How do the media categorize reality? The task of critical linguistics here is to dissect the possibilities of using the language to delegitimize a person or an idea.2) Limiting Views How do the media classify news? Classification provides an arena for controlling information or experiences. Vocabulary influences how readers interpret events because the audience does not experience or follow the events directly.3) Discourse battle How or what version of the media's opinion on the news is the object of research? Vocabulary must be understood in the context of discourse battles. In an effort to win public acceptance.4) Marginalization Does the media carry certain ideological values? Here the use of words, sentence forms, and positions are not seen as mere technical grammatical issues, but expressions of certain ideologies to form public opinion. In this case, words are not seen as something neutral.
Sentences	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1) Effect of Passive Sentence Form Omission of the Actor - Does the media change the sentence structure into a passive form? Changing sentences is not only to make it easy to read or understand but is a syntactic manipulation. By changing sentences into passive, an actor is not only hidden but also removed from the news.2) Nominalization Effect Omission of the Actor - How are groups, activities, or individuals



presented by the media in public discourse? The main focus of Roger Fowler et al. is on the process of representation. The process of representation is generally through the medium of language. The main focus is not bias or distortion of language use but how the use of certain languages is not objective and carries certain ideological values.

Critical discourse analysis investigates how through language certain parties display their ideology and see how inequality in a reported event occurs. And to see this, here are the characteristics that must be considered in critical discourse analysis (Eriyanto, 2021: 133). In this context, several important characteristics must be considered including analysis of the power contained in the use of language, the social construction of reality through narrative and framing, and criticism of the domination and hegemony built through media narratives. In addition, critical discourse highlights resistance to ideological domination through alternative languages, as well as the importance of criticizing the use of power and knowledge in manipulating public perception.

Table 1.3 Characteristics of Critical Discourse Analysis (Suharyo, 2018).

Characteristics	Description
Action	Is there a purpose or effort to influence, debate, persuade, support, react, and a specific purpose put forward by the media?
Context	How is the background, situation, event, and condition provided by the media?
Historical	How does the media display the historical context in which the text was created?
Power	How does the media display debate in the form of text, conversation, or whatever?
Ideology	Does the media assess reality in the form of discourse as truth or fairness in its news text?

Using Roger Fowler et al.'s discourse analysis framework and paying attention to the characteristics of critical discourse analysis, will lead to classifying the words and sentences



used in the writing of the news that will be studied. Classifying how the vocabulary is used to describe the actors in the event, and how the event is described in a series of sentences that form grammar to then interpret it.

Table 1.4. Roger Fowler et al.'s Discourse Analysis on RadarMadura.id News about Gus Miftah Distributing Money in Pamekasan

Level	Things to See
Words	1) RadarMadura.id classification categorizes reality as follows (Rahayu, 2023): <ul style="list-style-type: none">a. Social reality: Money sharing actionb. Symbolic reality; Category of alleged money politicsc. Objective reality; Clarificationd. Subjective reality; Sharing alms

The use of core words in the news shows that the media constructs the news that the money sharing will be followed up but still displays a balanced cover both sides. This is normal for news media to do if the case has not been investigated. RadarMadura.id wrote two facts about the distribution of money; namely the alleged money politics because the momentum was carried out during the election and was at the house of one of the presidential candidate's successful teams, on the other hand, the fact that Hj. Her was carrying out her routine activities, namely alms, when Gus Miftah was also at the location.

2) Limitation of Views

The series of facts in the news is found in the viral video on social media response from Opinions from political observers-clarification narrative from Gus Miftah. The news is predicted to be more of a response to the viral money-sharing video, the news angle that uses secondary sources as news data sources emphasizes the limitations of the news view as a confirmation narrative and response



to viral news without the aim of monitoring and exploring the case in depth and investigative

3) Discourse Battle

How or what is RadarMadura.id's opinion on the news that is the object of research:

- a. Public discourse; money-sharing supports politics
- b. Media discourse; clarification is needed because the suspect said that the money-sharing activity was actually a routine charity from Hj. Her

4) Nilai idiologi tertentu RadarMadura.id

The words; “aksi bagi-bagi uang”, “klarifikasi”, “rencana pemanggilan”, “dugaan pelanggaran”, “kejadian vulgar”, “memberikan sedekah tiap hari”, and “membantu sedekah” (<https://radarmadura.jawapos.com>) are the keywords in the news.

Based on these keywords, it is found that RadarMadura.id is quite balanced and neutral in reporting and throwing discourse to the public. Although the words that lead to the discourse of money politics are more, namely 4 words; “aksi bagi-bagi uang”, “rencana pemanggilan”, “dugaan pelanggaran”, and “kejadian vulgar” (<https://radarmadura.jawapos.com>).

Sentences

- 1) Passive Sentence Form Effect: Does RadarMadura.id change the sentence structure into passive form in the news sentence;

Aksi bagi-bagi uang oleh publik figur Miftah Maulana Habiburrahman yang viral di media sosial (medsos) berbuntut panjang. Badan Pengawas Pemilu (Bawaslu) Pamekasan akan memanggil tokoh yang biasa dipanggil Gus Miftah tersebut (<https://radarmadura.jawapos.com>).

This is the first paragraph of the news on RadarMadura.id. In this narrative, there is no omission of the figure being reported. Even the figure who is under suspicion is presented textually. In the



sentence as a whole, there is also no omission of the character's name or text bias.

2) Nominalization Effect: how a person is presented by RadarMadura.id in public discourse:

Gus Miftah menyampaikan, Hj. Her adalah seorang pengusaha kaya asal Pamekasan yang memberikan sedekah setiap hari di berbagai tempat. Mulai dari pasar, sawah, pesantren, dan tempat lainnya. Bagi-bagi uang yang dilakukan karena diminta membantu pembagian sedekah oleh pengusaha tembakau asal Kota Gerbang Salam itu. "Saat bersilaturahmi kepadanya, beliau sedang membagikan sedekah. Saya diminta turut serta dalam proses pembagian(<https://radarmadura.jawapos.com>)

In the sentence above, there is a biased meaning, namely in the text that Hj. Her gives alms every day in various places, when visiting him, he was distributing alms I was asked to participate in the 'pembagian' process. If the sentence is examined from the textual aspect, it seems like a factual sentence, but behind the sentence, it can be interpreted that there is an unawareness that Gus Miftah is a public figure who when he comes to an area has an impact on the many residents who come, so that the distribution of alms that is claimed as usual, cannot be accepted because the public figure effect can be predicted even long before. In addition, this incident occurred during the 2024 election campaign, as is known from the political map Gus Miftah is also known as a supporter of the presidential candidate pair number 2 (Hutajulu, n.d.).

This sentence becomes a representation of money politics implied from the action of distributing money carried out by Gus Miftah. RadarMadura.id's position in reporting casually and innocently is suspected to be part of sharpening the discourse that there was no money politics in the action of distributing the money. Especially if it is associated with the fact that Gus Miftah is a preacher who has a congregation. Here, a strong relationship is implied between preaching



and politics. Between preachers being used as extensions of the mobilization of the masses in the political field, and or the use of preaching congregations to succeed in certain political agendas.

Grammar Roger Fowler et al. views language as a set of categories and processes. In general, there are three models introduced by Roger Fowler et al. (Eriyanto, 2021). First, is the transition model. A model that considers cause and effect. Second, is the intransitive model. In this model, actors are associated with the process without showing the results or objects affected. Third, is the relational model. The relational model describes the relationship between two entities or parts when the first and second models describe an action where one does something and the other is the result of that action.

Roger Fowler et al.'s main concern is representation. The process of expression is primarily always through the media used for expression, usually language. The main focus here is not on the bias or distortion of language use, but on the fact that the use of certain languages is not objective, but involves certain ideological values.

Table 1.5. RadarMadura.id News Discourse on Gus Miftah Distributing Money in Pamekasan

Characteristics	Description
Action	In the news text on RadarMadura.id under the title "Bawaslu Pamekasan Akan Panggil Gus Miftah terkait Aksi Bagi-Bagi Uang" the characteristics present facts with a small percentage and are subtle in leading the discourse that there was no money politics in the money distribution action carried out by Gus Miftah as a preacher during his visit to the residence of Hj. Her, a Pamekasan tobacco business figure. The key sentence at the end of the paragraph of the news implies a critical question that is not revealed by the RadarMadura.id narrative.
Context	The background, situation, events, and conditions provided by RadarMadura.id in the news are responses from social media by taking statements from online narratives, both events that have indeed occurred long before the news narrative was published, as



well as statements from political observers that are already widely available on social media. The Bawaslu interview is possible to take directly from the Bawaslu, but then it is closed with Gus Miftah's statement taken from social media in the clarification that was carried out. In taking the news, it can be concluded that RadarMadura.id is doing chunking journalism.

Historical

The historical context presented by RadarMadura.id is in Pamekasan with indirect sources because the reported event has already occurred.

Power

RadarMadura.id displays the debate in the form of text, and conversation in the text narrative. There are 4 major discourses in the narrative, namely the narrative of the facts of the action of distributing money, the second discourse is the alleged money politics, the third discourse is the opinion of political observers who support further investigation, and the last discourse is a clarification statement from Gus Miftah.

Ideology

The clarification discourse is placed at the last point as if locking the previous text narrative so that there is a highlight on the last point. The discourse that is likely to receive greater attention is the key discourse placed at the end outside the title text.

The article "The Political Role of Kyai in Society" lists three reasons why Kyai is involved in politics. First, Islam not only regulates aspects of religious rituals and moral guidelines, but also social, scientific, economic, political, administrative, and legal aspects, and Islamic teachings regulate people's lives. Second, a long historical study of Indonesia shows the involvement of Kyai in national politics from pre-independence to post-independence. This is evidenced by the role of Kyai in uniting the people in fighting colonial invaders. Third, Kyai must overcome social problems in society, have many followers and communities, and become an influential force in society. Kyai are responsible for ensuring the survival of their people and society in accordance with religious principles that regulate everything, including government



procedures (Maktumah, 2016). So, if in social reality there is a close relationship between Kyai or preachers and politics. Then it can be interpreted as a mutualistic symbiotic relationship.

Within the media framework, the news presented by RadarMadura.id regarding the action of distributing money by Gus Miftah is not too prominent or dominant. Although the event may have the potential to be a high-profile event, media coverage may not have placed sufficient emphasis on the event, which may be due to the media's editorial perspective, or other factors in setting the news agenda.

CONCLUSION

Based on the critical discourse analysis of RadarMadura.id news about Gus Miftah and the action of distributing money in Pamekasan using Roger Fowler et al.'s analytical framework, it can be concluded that the news tends to describe the action as part of the alms routine carried out by Hj. Her, who at that time was represented by Gus Miftah. RadarMadura.id limits its view by focusing on responding to viral videos and relying on secondary sources to confirm information, rather than conducting in-depth investigations. There is also a discourse battle between the public who support the idea of money politics and the media who highlight clarification and the alms routine. In terms of language, RadarMadura.id uses active sentences to describe events, but the use of nominalization may affect the interpretation of the actors involved. This means that this analysis shows how the media uses language to build narratives and influence public perception, although it tends to be neutral in its presentation of controversial issues.



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