

Social Construction of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Elites on the Issue of Communism through Whatsapp Text Conversations

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Abstract:- The purpose of this study is to explain the social construction found in Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites in shaping the discourse of communism through whatsapp media. This research uses Ricouer's hermeneutic approach to analyze the conversation texts of the elites of the two community organizations. The data mining technique uses qualitative research methods by focusing on the text of conversations through whatsapp media. The focus of the research was on the elites of the two community organizations, especially researchers trying to understand the existing social construction. The findings of this study show that the social construction of perceptions that arise between the elites of the two community organizations is caused by historical factors when they were born in the era of strong propaganda of the new order and the weakness of objective understanding in understanding communism and the events of 1965.

Keywords:- Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Communism, Social Construction.

I. INTRODUCTION

The discourse on the issue of the rise of the PKI is always echoed every September, which is the darkest month of Indonesian history. The issue of the ferocity of past events became a political narrative not only by the military who were directly involved, but also by some groups of other Islamic organizations. The problem is that the opinion-mongering carried out by organizational elites does not get a critical response from some people. The purpose of this study is to examine the social construction of the actions of the elite of Islamic community organizations, especially Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, in shaping narratives about communism.

The emergence of this discussion is because some circles, including religious leaders and elites in Indonesia, generally have difficulty in distinguishing between communism as an ideology and the PKI as a party. Basically, communism is similar to other ideologies in terms of understandings, ideas, and ideas that describe a noble and

ideal life according to its originators. A party, on the other hand, is an organization that manages its members to carry out the ideology with similar orientations, values, ideals, and goals (Mortimer, 2006). Differences arise in the implementation of these ideals, with individuals and groups adopting different means, either ethically or by justifying any means. This creates varied interpretations of ideologies, influenced by the continuous and repeated construction of discursive structures.

In Indonesia, communism had its history before it turned into a party. Before it was banned, it had flourished in Indonesia, introduced by Hendricus Josephus Fransiscus Marie Sneevliet in 1913. Hendricus, a Dutch citizen, together with Adolf Baars, founded the Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging (ISDV). (M. G. Ahmad & Mahasta, 2021). According to the book "Bung Hatta Answered: Dr. Mohammad Hatta's Interview with Dr. Z. Yasni," the ISDV did not initially carry communist views, but over time, it changed to communist views. After the Russian Revolution, they joined mass organizations, including Sarekat Islam under the leadership of Semaun (Wahyudi, 2019). The issue of communism intensified after the 1965 rebellion and the G30 S incident, which was directed at the Indonesian Communist Party. At that time, the name PKI had been framed as a cruel, inhumane group, and was considered an ideology to be avoided. The peak occurred in 1966 with the issuance of TAP MPRS Number XXV/MPRS/1966 which dissolved the PKI and prohibited all activities that contained the teachings of communism. Sulistyono (2011) in his dissertation research that became a book explains that there are historical factors that make people have ambitions in the dissolution of the PKI.

Muhamamdiyah and NU are one of the community organizations that have a great influence in influencing the masses, especially with regard to past events. The existence of technology is a challenge where information is able to spread rapidly and quickly but unfortunately it is not matched by critical data by the community. This research will examine social construction narratives from the perspective of Muhammadiyah and NU elites through whatsapp social media.

Some research related to media development, for example research by Bungin (2008) still sees the role of television media as one of the main media that influence public perception. In its development, television is currently not the main media in influencing the masses. Livingstone (2019) in his research examines how mass consumers have a tendency to be deceived on social media due to the strength of social media platforms and innovative fictional data practices. In China, the government is the main actor in spreading propaganda in disseminating various information on social media used by the public (Stockmann & Luo, 2017).

In Indonesia, the spread of hoaxes and distorted information is actually done through the WhatsApp application. For example, research Chan dkk., (2020) which examines *cyberbullying* in schools through *WhatsApp* groups quantitatively. produced significant findings in the prevalence rate, behavior patterns, and causes of *bullying* against students in Malaysian schools.

Although social media used by various community organizations is not only one, but not all social media platforms are used (Eriyanto, 2021), this research only focuses on whatapps. This research is similar to research by Jupendri (2019) which sees elites as influential actors but the research does not provide cases that are part of the construction tool.

II. LITERATUR REVIEW

Currently, communist ideology is experiencing rejection. The reasons for the rejection are *first*, the lack of understanding and knowledge of communist ideology in detail. *Second*, the trauma of the 1926, 1948, and possibly 1965 uprisings directed at the Indonesian Communist Party. *Third*, communism is considered an ideology that invites others to be anti-God. *Fourth*, because communism itself is not able to be the best solution to solve social problems completely against the theory of capitalism that increasingly grips the global economy. *Fifth*, resistance from capitalists who take refuge behind the jargon of democracy and freedom who continue to produce narratives through text and language about the bad communist ideology.

In this case, the thinking of religious elites has reconstructed the theory of communism, giving rise to discourses and actions that we will examine through a critical approach using Paul Ricouer's critical hermeneutic analysis. This analysis aims to understand the interpretation of the texts produced by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites in Muara Teweh, Central Kalimantan, related to communist ideology. This includes political movements and social systems associated with the ideology. However, people's views on this theory vary, reflecting broad acceptance or rejection according to the social construction of social reality in society. Berger and Luckmann, as the formulators of social construction theory, state that the institutions of society emerge, survive, or change through human actions and

interactions. Although society and social institutions appear objectively real, they are actually formed through subjective definitions in the process of interaction. These interactions become the basis for social construction and interpretation of phenomena and theories, forming understandings and views in people's minds. (Luckmann & Berger, 1990).

With the rapid development of social media, especially in the era of the industrial revolution 4.0 and towards 5.0, where the internet has become an essential need, human social interaction is no longer limited to in-person meetings, but is also commonly done online or virtually. Based on the latest information from the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology in 2021, active users of social media in Indonesia reached 202.6 million, an increase of 11% from the previous year which reached 175.4 million, with 99% of social media users accessing it via mobile phones (Pratiwi dkk., 2020). The data shows that 73.7% of Indonesians use social media and spend significant time on it on average, reaching 9 hours according to information published by Katadata. (Andiarna dkk., 2020).

However, the number of users and time spent on social media is inversely proportional to the low level of literacy and reading interest among Indonesians. UNESCO noted that reading interest in Indonesia is very low, only around 0.001% of the population. In other words, out of 1,000 Indonesians, only one person actively reads. Research from Central Connecticut State University titled "*World's Most Literate Nations Ranked*" ranked Indonesia 60th out of 61 countries in terms of reading interest, just below Thailand and above Botswana (Miller, 2016). This low interest in reading results in the spread of information and discourse that cannot be filtered properly by social media users, due to limited knowledge to validate the news they receive. Even worse, social media can amplify the unhealthy effects, as described by Tom Nichols in his book "*The Death of Expertise*" (2017) with confirmation bias, which is the tendency to seek and accept information that matches beliefs, and reject data that contradicts these beliefs (Arifin, 2019). This reflects that many people only read and accept information that they like without any effort to understand further the quality and truthfulness of the information.

Finding the meaning of truth becomes increasingly difficult in communication through social media, where information is structured by the sender and receiver of the message using language. Like direct communication, interactions on social media also involve message formation with text and discourse. Research into interactions on social media is interesting because discourse conflicts often arise between senders and receivers of messages. When a post is published, several individuals respond to the discourse by assuming from their respective social constructions. In the context of information dissemination, various social media platforms such as Facebook, Youtube, Snack Video, WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook Messenger, Reels, TikTok,

and so on are involved in supporting the production and dissemination of hoaxes, fake news, and hate speech. This trend is not only happening in Indonesia, but also in other countries such as the United States, Russia, Germany, India, and Malaysia (Gunawan & Barito, 2021). All of these platforms compete in creating discourse, sometimes without control, including the discourse on the issue of communism to be explored and criticized. In general, people tend not to verify the truth of information before rolling back the discourse.

The approach that is considered appropriate to analyze the construction of ideological discourse through social media in this study is through Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic discourse study analysis, as described in his book "Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation" (Ricoeur, 1981). Ricoeur views understanding and interpretation as an act of meaning, not just related to language. According to him, no one reads a text with the aim of understanding its content without interpreting and making meaning during the reading process (Ricoeur, 1981). Hermeneutics can be generally defined as the theory of interpretation of vague, unclear, and ambiguous meanings. The process of interpretation begins with interpretation, where we guess the meaning of a text before understanding it deeply, based on our subjective conditions. Ricoeur applies his framework of text to human action, equating it with a text that needs to be interpreted by the reader (Wahid, 2015).

Ricoeur states that hermeneutics is a theory about the rules of interpretation of certain texts, signs, or symbols. Interpretation is the process of interpreting something and is closely related to understanding. Understanding, especially in humans, is complex. It is difficult to determine when someone begins to understand something, because understanding and interpretation are simultaneous processes (Ricoeur, 2021). This analysis focuses on the social construction of communist ideology by the religious elites of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, which is the starting point for this study and drives the creation of conversational texts resulting from this social construction. These texts will then be analyzed to reveal their hidden meanings and interpretations. Texts produced by religious elites from Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama on social media, as revealed by Ricoeur, tend to be autonomous and independent of the control of the author. This means that interpretations of the texts are not always in line with the original intentions of the religious elites. Thus, textual meaning and psychological meaning have different destinies and purposes, in accordance with the rules of distancing or spacing applied by Ricoeur (2006).

This research is also a challenge to Burhan Bungin's social construction theory, which focuses more on the qualitative dimension of social construction through mass media, especially television advertisements. Although in today's world of information technology, television is no longer the dominant media, but is replaced by the role of

social media such as Facebook, WhatsApp, YouTube, Instagram, to OmeTV, TikTok, Reels, and Snack Video. These fast-growing social media platforms have the advantage of influencing people's thinking, enabling direct interaction and the spread of opinions. One of the issues studied is communist ideology, which is repeatedly constructed as a profane ideology and a common enemy of society.

There is a significant difference between print and television and social media. Print and television operate unidirectionally, their files are difficult to retrieve, and their distribution is uneven. In contrast, social media allows for unrestricted, multi-directional communication, with files easily accessible through keyword searches. Individuals can interact and express their opinions without being limited by social class or knowledge (Yoedtadi, 2019). Today, people around the world are drawn to social media, due to its role in changing the global messaging process. Social media has not only changed the map of politics, power and international relations, but also accelerated communication and increased the complexity and consequences of messages circulating in the internet age. Some of the significant changes brought about by social media involve changes in the process of disseminating messages from one-way to multi-stage, an increase in the number of messages circulating by creating information traffic that crosses time and space, and people's experience of "information overload" that causes culture shock (Nurudin, 2012).

III. RESEARCH METHODS

In this study the approach used is a qualitative approach. According to Creswell, this research is research that deepens the understanding of a number of individuals or a group of people. The researcher begins his research by collecting as much information as possible from the participants, after that forming the information into certain categories or themes. These themes are then developed into patterns, theories, or generalizations to later be compared with individuals or with existing literature (Creswell, 2016). The type of research used in this study is hermeneutic research. Hermeneutic is one type of research that is directly related to extracting the meaning of interpretation or interpretation of the meaning of the text.

This critical hermeneutic theory was initiated by Paul Ricoeur, which focuses on issues of interpretation and understanding of the text, which is related to the concept of discourse, namely: oral discourse, language, symbols, signs, written discourse or text (Ricoeur, 2021). This type of hermeneutic research is very appropriate in parsing and analyzing the texts created and produced by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites in Muara Teweh city on the *WhatsApp* social media platform. The location or *locus* and subject of this research are Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites or figures in Muara Teweh city, Central Kalimantan province who are the targets and subjects of the construction of the communist ideology.

Determining the location of research on religious elites in the city of Muara Teweh Central Kalimantan qualitatively is expected to describe better objectivity. *First*, religious elites in the city of Muara Teweh their construction/understanding of the communist issue and the texts they create on social media are still original, not yet affected by national politics which on average use religion and religious organizations as political tools. *Secondly*, if conducted at the national level of the religious elite organizational structure, during interviews to explore their understanding of the communist issue and the interpretation of the texts they convey, it is feared that there could be bias due to the breadth of interests. *Third*, the aim to explore the understanding of the communist issue and the interpretation of texts produced by religious elites in the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama structures was effectively achieved.

Creswell in qualitative research researchers use three data collection procedures (Creswell, 2016), namely: (1) *qualitative observation* is when researchers go directly to the field to observe the behavior and activities of individuals at the research site. (2) *qualitative interview*, researchers can conduct *face-to-face interviews* with participants, interview them by telephone, or engage in focus group *interviews* consisting of six to eight participants per group. (3) *qualitative audio and visual materials, (qualitative documents)*.

During the research process, researchers can also collect qualitative documents. The last category of qualitative data is qualitative audio and visual *materials* (Clandinin, 2007 in Creswell, 2016). Content analysis is collected by the author as secondary information that is used to strengthen the analysis of research results. Guba and Lincoln said that the content analysis technique is an analysis used to find nodes through efforts to connect message characteristics. The subjects and informants of this research are religious elites, namely figures in the Muhammadiyah and NU structures and their autonomous organizations, by capturing as much data and information as possible that will be useful for analysis so that it is useful for the formation of concepts, propositions, and theories as research findings.

Looking at the definition of the elite, it is necessary to listen to the further opinion expressed by Lipset and Solari, as quoted by Schoorl. They argue that elites are positions in society that are at the top of the most important social structures, such as in high positions in the economy, government, military apparatus, politics, religion, teaching and free occupations (Schoorl, 1980). Therefore, in this research, it is determined that the research subjects are several Muhammadiyah and NU elites in Muara Teweh city, Central Kalimantan, who play a major role in influencing the masses and their members when a discourse on communist ideology is raised.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Text Interpretation of Muhammadiyah Elites

In the religious elite of the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership, the topic of this discussion is the distribution of posts from a Facebook account named Muhsin Jokoson, in which it reviews the murder case committed by Inspector General Ferdy Sambo. It should be noted that the dissemination of the post was done by screenshots and adding a narrative because the post had linked the case to communist ideology. In the initial post, which was taken from a different person who was felt to have other interests, it was then carried out as a discourse topic which was added by using a narrative that supported the post so that it could attract the attention of the general public, then shared with the following sentence: *"The concept of communism and Islam is 180 degrees different. So if someone claims to be Muslim but has a communist ideology, it means hypocritical. Where do they study, where do they go to school?"*

The post by the Muhammadiyah Chairperson elicited comments from group members, one of whom was Nurulyakin, who is the Chairperson of the North Barito Aisyiyah Regional Leadership, who said, *"The media is sometimes too discriminatory. Usually this is done to cover up other bigger cases. If we compare, we can't say that the communists were more cruel because the communists committed repeated violence. The main thing is that they did it institutionally. So their cruelty ate many victims."* Ansyori, who serves as Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Youth of North Barito, responded by saying, *"In the past, people also made a fuss about mosque loudspeakers. If it is connected to the current conditions, it is possible that this group is indeed a group that has been hostile to Islam since the beginning, namely the descendants of the PKI."*

B. Interpretation of Nahdlatul Ulama Elites' Conversations

Like the Nahdlatul Ulama religious elite who discussed the distribution of posts from the WhatsApp group. From the WhatsApp group, it was then re-shared on the Nahdlatul Ulama WhatsApp group by one of the group members. From the distribution of these posts, it was then discussed in the discussion. Please note that the post does not have a caption. When conducting an interview with one of the group members, he explained that the screenshots were pieces of video lectures by Gus Baha, (KH. Ahmad Bahaudin). Gus Baha is a well-known scholar and exegete of Nahdlatul Ulama and his preaching videos also provide their own color for social media such as YouTube, reels, snack videos and also Tiktok. In this case, researchers tried to negotiate in order to get pieces of the video. After negotiating, the researchers finally managed to get the video. In the video, it is confirmed that the speaker is Gus Baha who explains about the history and role of Islamic parties.

In a conversation through online media conducted by Muhammadiyah elites, namely between the Chairperson of Muhammadiyah Youth and the Chairperson of Aisiyiyah, they discussed mosque loudspeakers. If we connect it with the current condition, the suspicion is that the group is a group that has been hostile to Islam since the beginning, namely the descendants of the PKI. When compared between the concept of communism and Islam, it is certainly 180 degrees different. So if someone adheres to Islam but has a communist ideology then it can be called a hypocrite. Ngajinya where, where the school. In this case communist atrocities are more dangerous because the atrocities can be done repeatedly. The most important thing they do is institutional cruelty. Therefore, his cruelty ate many victims in the fight for independence. It should be noted that the existence of this video lecture from Gus Baha has no problems, because Gus Baha objectively and validly tells the early history of the emergence of Islamic parties, including the role of Islamic parties in promoting independence. The problem in the video is that an additional narrative is made which is somewhat opposite to the content of Gus Baha's lecture, namely inviting netizens to hate the hegemony of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) as a manifestation of the communist party in Indonesia. In fact, in the video, none of Gus Baha's sentences mention PDIP and communism, let alone the relationship between the two.

C. Ricoeur's Hermeneutic Analysis

➤ *Subyektif Beliefs*

In the perspective of critical hermeneutics and suspicion does not lie in the text hiding other meanings, but rather focuses on the orientation in the background of a writing. This means that the author's knowledge can have a big influence on what is written and made in a production. If the knowledge is accepted then the discourse is not complete. Then something that is written cannot be used as an objective reference, especially if it is based on an ideology. Furthermore, it is about the limitations of exploring sources. In the religious sphere when we study religion we are not taught about critical and in-depth thinking. So when we have information we are asked to accept it as it is (*taken for granted*) even though logically there are several things that are defective in the information. Our educational background doesn't matter much if dogmatic thinking and orthodoxy are dominant. If the basis of our knowledge of information is not sourced from.

When viewed from scientific data or just beliefs, according to Ricoeur, it can create ambiguity or confusion (Ricoeur, 2021). In this case, Ricoeur raises critical and fundamental questions from the start regarding the interpretation process that combines belief or trust in an ideology, thus creating a negative construction. So in the end, several religious elites of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama were used in this study, because they have two options: accepting or rejecting the ideology as a whole. When viewed from the other side, an option that partially rejects or partially

accepts appears, and it should be noted that there is a foundation, namely knowledge. According to Ricoeur, if we only accept or reject information or ideology, we lose the benefits of a tension that we cannot reduce to antithesis or synthesis so as not to confuse.

However, the view of communist ideology formed by some Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites is in line with Ricoeur's concept, where it is influenced by beliefs formed through discursive structures on social media. This discursive structure, initially pre-existing, is then positioned against Muslims as the main target, creating a negative stigma that communist ideology is against Muslim beliefs. Interestingly, though, these writings were able to sustain talk of communist ideology over a time span that involved an election period. Clearly, the interpretations of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama religious elites on social media regarding communist ideology can be analyzed using Ricoeur's hermeneutic method, with the author of the text including the reasoning behind the text, including the historical background of the text's creation that is influenced by previous discursive structures. The main challenge is the limited literacy level or knowledge of these religious elites regarding communist ideology, which is only based on surface information and tends to avoid sources of information that are considered inappropriate, limiting their understanding of the ideology that has been passed down for generations.

➤ *Discursive Structure in the Understanding of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Elites*

As previously explained about the discursive structure of communist ideology in the religious elites of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, if we correlate it with the reality of the research results about the sources of information and understanding of the religious elites about communist ideology. Then we can take some research realities, that the context of writing religious elites in making texts on social media platforms is more likely to be influenced by the discursive structure that has been created or formed by others before. Information in the form of video snippets, screenshots that have been given additional captions are sometimes different from the original posts. These video snippets, screenshots that have been given additional captions are taken from other people's posts, either from personal social media accounts or individual accounts in different groups, then made into discourse. This then continues to be developed until now by several groups on social media, then dividing it into identities that must be opposite or contradictory between ideologies.

We perceive and how we interpret objects and events in the meaning system depends on the preconceived discursive structure, which according to Foucault in (Eriyanto, 2017), makes objects or events look true and real to us. Whereas the discourse structure of reality is still abstract, has not been validated, and is seen as a closed system even though it is discussed in the internal group of the organization. In

Foucault's view, our reality about an object is formed within the boundaries determined by the discursive structure: discourse is characterized by the boundaries of the field of objects, definitions from the most trusted and seen as correct perspectives. Our perception of an object is formed by being limited by discursive practices: limited by views that define that this one is right and the other is wrong (Eriyanto, 2017).

Discourse limits our field of view, including the field of view of the religious elites of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, they issue something different within the predetermined boundaries as perceived by the previous discursive structure. When the rules of the discourse are established, statements are then adjusted to the predetermined lines. Here, accepted statements are included and unaccepted views about an object are excluded. The object may not change, but the discursive structure created makes the object change (Eriyanto, 2017). The most suitable and appropriate example in this study is how the discursive structure is built about the PKI as a banned party.

During the Old Order, this party was an official party and even entered the top five parties that received the most votes. During the New Order, the PKI became a banned party with many vices. Nothing changed in the PKI (as an object), but what made it forbidden was the discursive structure deliberately built by the New Order that the PKI was a rebellious and anti-God party. This kind of discourse certainly limits our field of view so that when the PKI is discussed what emerges is the category of the PKI as a rebellious and anti-God party, not anything else.

On the other hand, from the results of interviews and the form of filling in some of the researcher's questions to the religious elite of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, it appears that almost 100% of the religious elite do not know in detail what communism is. Especially what it means, who is the originator, what this ideology was created for, and in order to respond to what this ideology was raised. In this case, Ricoeur brings us to another perspective on ideology from the books he read and sourced from Karl Mannheim, namely *Ideology and Utopie* about all the consequences of receiving information about ideologies that are repeated and continuously framed by several groups (Ricoeur, 2021). That the challenges and rejection of communist ideology by some religious elites of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, if pursued to the ideological background of their position that seeks to fight or criticize ideologies outside their ideology, is something that we cannot accept scientifically.

This is because the sources of knowledge they get are inadequate to serve as verified sources. Communist ideology is defined by the religious elite of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama based on incompatibility with social reality/long-held ideology, namely Islamic shari'at. In contrast, according to Ricoeur, Mannheim praised Marxist ideology for stating that ideology is not just a local fallacy stemming from

a psychological state, but a discursive structure of thought created by several groups, classes, and even a nation to discredit other groups.

According to Karl Mannheim, ideology is mostly regulated by the ruling classes, but rejected by marginalized classes; in other words, by groups who want to move up to the stage of power (Mannheim, 2013). This is certainly very related to the conditions of the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama religious elites when referring to how their knowledge of the communist ideology they rejected. The pre-formed discursive structure that communists are anti-God, evil, dirty, bad, rebellious, and inhumane, has been constructed in such a way and is reflected in the sentences in the texts they make on social media. If the sentence in Ricoeur's previous language is an expressed situation, of course what the elites and religious figures write about communist ideology is part of the expression they express based on the thoughts in their minds that are very strong.

Some circles, especially the ustadz, asatidz, and preachers in some studies in the religious environment also tend to have made a discursive structure about the badness of this communist ideology from the beginning. It is like a formless ghost that is ready to pounce on anyone who becomes its enemy. Here Ricoeur also explains the difference between spoken and written language. In spoken language, what the dialogue refers to are situations that are commonly known to the speakers, i.e. aspects of reality that can be shown or pointed to; at this point, we can say that the referent is -expandable (*ostensive*). In written language, the referent is no longer ostensive; poems, essays, and works of fiction talk about things, events, conditions, and characters that appear but are never there. Even so, literary texts are still about something. However, Ricoeur does not hesitate to speak of a world, the world of the work. Far from saying that a text is something without a world, Ricoeur would say that it is only now that humans have a world, not just a situation (Ricoeur, 2021).

In the same way, it seems that Ricoeur through the text wants to free its meaning from the confines of mental intentions. In the same way, he also wants to free his referents from the boundaries of unbounded referencing. For the religious elite of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, it seems that the world is a totality of references opened by texts sourced from unverified and even limited information. In fact, texts have a very vital value up to the outer threshold of our investigation. Texts can keep us out of the ideological traps that ensnare our closed-mindedness by researching the text or information back to its original source. Ricoeur views text as any discourse that is standardized by writing. According to this definition, fixation by writing is constituted by the text itself. Ricoeur emphasizes once again: discourse in any form. This also debates how discourse is expressed physically or mentally. In short, the focus again debates whether text and speech have anything in common (Ricoeur, 2021).

In the discourse on communist ideology carried out by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama religious elites on social media, the texts they create do not stand alone. All of them are the result of other utterances or social constructions that they get beforehand from sources outside the religious elite through three simultaneous dialectics called Berger and Luckmann as the process of externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Luckman & Berger, 1990). Information about communism and its knick-knacks enters the socio-cultural world of religious elites, there is adjustment, acceptance, then forms a construction or understanding. The construction of this raw communist ideology because it comes from a discursive structure whose validity is not verified, triggers the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama religious elites to forward information also in the form of a new discursive structure in the form of text either as a whole, additional narratives, or narratives made by themselves, then posted or shared in internal organizational groups.

➤ *The Effect of Social Construction of Organizational Elites on the Organizational Environment*

One fundamental point of contention is that the emergence of communist elite ideological structures of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, which are then recorded and disseminated on social media, can directly provoke other members to make radical changes that further fuel group hatred. Here are our next key questions regarding the discourse that will be raised.

It is very clear that the interpretation of religious elites in Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama on social networks will certainly have a very important impact on community members of the two other organizations. Especially regarding the rejection of communist ideology. Where according to elite theory is a small group of people who have advantages or advantages over other members, including scientific excellence. So that if when the construction of a religious elite with an ideology is formed, other members can spontaneously follow. However, the most important thing is not how they follow a leader, but the gap in understanding between the elite and the congregation can make readers unable to filter all information clearly.

Initially, we want to say that the writing in the form of texts made by the religious elites of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama has several utterances (social construction) that precede it. This is because we interpret speech as the realization of language so that speech by the speaker is in the same position as utterance in the presence of language (Ricoeur, 2021).

In this case, understanding is comprehending the text by following from what is said to what is talked about. This is because, as a reader, we can go beyond what is presented by the author so that we can synthesize the information in the writing. Understanding the text does not have an objective procedure in the sense of scientific objectivity, but must

contain a preliminary understanding that reveals how the reader already understands the author and his work. This shows how Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites are caught in a kind of spiral between understanding the text and understanding themselves (something that is built in their minds). This is what Ricoeur calls the hermeneutical circle. A circle that encloses the mindset of the text maker (Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites) so that it covers up other more authentic information about an ideology.

This can be changed by treating the hermeneutic circle as just an idea that violates all standards of interpretive research. Ricoeur himself does not change the fact that the hermeneutic circle is still an unavoidable structure for interpretation. For, interpretation cannot be authentic unless it culminates in some form of appropriation. With this, we can finally understand the construction process of how elites and religious leaders interpret communist ideology, thus giving birth to texts about communist ideology as an ideology that is anti-God and must be avoided.

The expressions expressed by Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama elites through texts via social media are generally regarded as their own ideological understanding, even though the source of the information is based on the New Order discursive structure that is getting stronger at this time. distribution or broadcast on social media or other media which is a discursive structure. Because it is not uncommon for the structure of an ideology to be designed in such a way as to corner certain parties. Marx believed that all religious ideologies reflect the truth, but the reality is quite the opposite. Because people do not realize that the suffering and oppression they experience is actually caused by the capitalist system, the suffering and oppression are given a religious form.

These forms of expression like Marx if we consider Ricoeur's hermeneutics (the historical world behind the text) as the reason for the creation of the text. This means that the background of the creation of the text, called *asbab al nuzul* in Islamic tafsir, greatly influences our interpretation of the text. Textual expression refers to other texts, including the environmental conditions that caused the text to be written. This condition allows us not to immediately judge the meaning or interpretation of the text in black and white, let alone speak negative judgments. Even so, Marx's ideas and ideas are considered to lack a roadmap and detailed steps on how to realize the ideals of the communist society he initiated.

V. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the texts of elite conversations and Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama cannot be separated from how social construction is contained in the interpretation. There is a historical factor where their generation was born during the New Order era which was strong in propaganda about the negative side of communism. Unfortunately, in the

text analysis initiated by Ricoeur, the elite construction between the two community organizations tends to be strongly based on the discourse of past issues. The failure of the elites of the two community organizations is that they are unable to understand past events objectively and have political tendencies. So that the speech built through the text is a form of strong discursive structure that is built into oneself and has an effect on influencing the masses.

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