

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TERM *PEMIMPEN* IN *TAFSĪR TĀJ AL-MUSLIMĪN* BY MISBAH MUSTHOFA

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Abstract: *This study aims to analyze the concept of the word pemimpin (leader) in the Javanese language as presented in Tafsīr Tāj al-Muslimīn by Misbah Musthofa, using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. The research explores the historical context of the New Order, in which the term pemimpin is rooted not only in culture and politics but also in religious teachings that shape society's perception of leadership. Through this study, it is revealed how the word pemimpin is constructed in the interpretative text and the implicit meanings or messages it conveys. The data sources include both primary and secondary sources, and the research method employed is library research, grounded in the Critical Discourse Analysis theory popularized by Norman Fairclough. The findings of this study highlight several key dimensions. First, in the text dimension, the research analyzes Misbah's interpretation of the word pemimpin written in Javanese and Arabic Pegon script, particularly concerning educational issues found in QS. Al-Baqarah verse 49. Second, the contextual dimension examines the production and consumption of the text, where Misbah's interpretation is understood within the historical context of its writing, with criticisms directed toward Soeharto's leadership during the New Order era, including policies on education and the prohibition of the hijab in schools, which were politically motivated to suppress radical Islam, as the hijab was seen as an ideological symbol at the time. Third, the sociocultural dimension explores how the interpreter's environment and personal experiences influence his interpretation, demonstrating how exegesis can serve as a medium of political critique that positively impacts society and fosters progress in interpretation.*

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis; Pemimpin; Tafsīr Tāj al-Muslimīn.*

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konsep kata pemimpin dalam bahasa Jawa pada *Tāj al-Muslimīn* karya Misbah Musthofa dengan pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis. Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi konteks sejarah Orde Baru, di mana istilah pemimpin tidak hanya bersumber dari budaya dan politik, tetapi juga dari ajaran agama yang mempengaruhi persepsi masyarakat terhadap kepemimpinan. Melalui penelitian ini, diungkap bagaimana kata pemimpin dikonstruksi dalam teks tafsir, serta makna atau pesan tersirat yang terkandung di dalamnya. Data yang digunakan berasal dari sumber primer dan sekunder, sementara metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah studi kepustakaan dengan teori Analisis Wacana Kritis yang dikembangkan oleh Norman Fairclough. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan beberapa dimensi penting. Pertama, pada dimensi teks, penelitian menganalisis penafsiran Misbah terhadap kata pemimpin yang ditulis dalam bahasa Jawa dan Arab Pegon, terutama terkait masalah pendidikan, seperti yang termuat dalam QS. Al-Baqarah ayat 49. Kedua, dimensi konteks membahas proses produksi dan konsumsi teks, di mana penafsiran Misbah dipahami dalam konteks sejarah pada masa penulisan tafsir ini, dengan kritik yang ditujukan pada kepemimpinan Soeharto di era Orde Baru, misalnya pada kebijakan pendidikan dan pelarangan jilbab di sekolah yang mengandung unsur politik sebagai bentuk upaya menekan gerakan Islam radikal, mengingat jilbab saat itu dianggap simbol ideologis. Ketiga, dimensi sosiokultural mengkaji pengaruh lingkungan dan pengalaman hidup mufasir terhadap penafsirannya, memperlihatkan bagaimana tafsir dapat menjadi wadah kritik politik yang memberikan dampak sosial positif serta dapat mendorong kemajuan dalam dunia penafsiran.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana; Pemimpin; Tafsir *Tāj al-Muslimīn*.

Introduction

Leadership derives from the word *pimpin* (to lead).¹ In the Indonesian language, a leader is often equated with terms like president, religious scholar, role model, and others.² During this period, alongside remarkable successes in various sectors, there existed stark social inequality. This disparity covered aspects of the economy, political freedom, and various other issues. It was evident in several New Order regime policies that disadvantaged the public, including harsh actions against PKI families in various regions, such as in Java.³ There were also issues of corruption, legal injustice, bribery, and economic policies that burdened the people.⁴ In addition, the relationship between the Muslim community and the government experienced fluctuations due to political shifts that began to accommodate the interests of the Islamic community. In fact, in the 1990s, Suharto started accommodating Islamic demands regarding the issue of wearing the hijab in schools in 1992, yet repression through violence and attempts to silence critical voices, especially in the mass media, continued.⁵

In this context, the legitimization of power, such as support for government policies, was not detached from the role of religious leaders or *kiai* at that time.⁶ However, the sincerity of the *kiai* in supporting

government programs was often viewed negatively by some, leading to labels such as pro-government *kiai*, pragmatic *kiai*, or opposition *kiai*.⁷ Within such a political climate, the publication of Quranic interpretations emerged as a form of intellectual expression reflecting the needs of the Muslim community, growing and developing through the contributions of *ulama* and Muslim intellectuals.⁸ In the early 1960s and 1970s, Bisri Mustofa wrote *Tafsīr al-Ibriz li Ma'rifat Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīz bi al-Lughah Al-Jāwīyah* and Bakri Syahid produced a Javanese-language interpretation titled *Tafsīr al-Hudā*. In the following decade, Misbah Muthofa authored *Tafsīr al-Iklīl fī Ma'āni al-Tanzīl*, while Oemar Bakri produced *Tafsīr Rahmat*.⁹

In this context, Quranic interpretation indirectly supports, opposes, or remains neutral toward the government, yet explicitly addresses ongoing social conflicts. Thus, *tafsīr* (interpretation) has the potential to shape societal values and thought in alignment with the ruling ideology.¹⁰ This is carried out by intellectuals or '*ulamā'* with influence in religious spheres, who shape public opinion and influence societal perspectives through Quranic interpretation. Consequently, power can shape Quranic interpretations to fit cultural and political contexts. Referring to the Quran, Indonesian intellectuals voiced various criticisms of the New Order regime, such as disapproval of government policies deemed misaligned with the spirit of Islam.¹¹

Additionally, they highlighted flaws in the government's concept of tolerance, which was often seen as misguided, as it frequently led to conflicts stemming from differences in faith. Through Quranic interpretation, they conveyed suggestions to the New Order regime, such as concerns over the Family Planning (KB) Program, which was viewed as a policy that hindered the growth of the Muslim community, and the importance of the government providing religious and moral education in various schools. These critiques were articulated through verse interpretations in surahs such as al-Baqarah, al-Mā'idah, al-An'am, and others.¹² Thus, *tafsīr* serves as an effort to interpret the Quran, providing space for social critique by accommodating diverse aspects of life. It lays a foundation for interpretations that can adapt to social and political contexts, with criticism reflected in the evolving trends of interpretation that tend to develop the *al-Adabī al-Ijtīmā'ī* approach (linguistic and social approach) and a contextual approach by linking meanings to contemporary issues.¹³ *Tafsīr* becomes a space where interpreters can shape discourse in line with their objectives. This text was analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory, emphasizing an in-depth effort to dissect *tafsīr* to uncover not

only language structures but also meanings and social contexts embedded within. Thus, *tafsir* is not merely a text but an active linguistic practice.¹⁴

CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) is not merely about understanding communicative language; it is a tool for implementing power strategies to describe realities or content that imply certain interests, intentions, and objectives, thus requiring sharp analysis in interpreting meanings. This is evident in the context of discourse on leadership in *Tafsir Tāj al-Muslimin*, written by Misbah in Javanese a language with a hierarchical system in addressing others, reflected in verb, noun, and adjective forms, namely *ngoko*, *krama*, and *krama inggil*. These levels convey different meanings, as Misbah expresses intentions and objectives within his interpretation.¹⁵

In examining Misbah's interpretation related to leadership texts, the author applies Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory, which broadly views a text as inseparable from the socio-historical context of the interpreter. Additionally, other influencing factors include the cultural, political, and theological trends of the time, which may lead to somewhat controversial interpretations of the Quran.¹⁶ The academic rationale behind selecting this research is to conduct a more critical and objective study of the potential of *Tafsir Tāj al-Muslimin* in shaping social-political and religious thought dynamics in Indonesia. This approach aims to enrich scholarly understanding and distinctive thinking while exploring political critique within the realm of Quranic interpretation, which could benefit society and the development of interpretive studies. Through this endeavor, a culture of critical thought can be continually fostered, enabling Muslims to understand religious values in the context of governance through an evolving interpretive process. In *Tafsir Tāj al-Muslimin* by Misbah Musthofa, there is an emphasis on the term "pemimpin" (leader), which can be interpreted from an Islamic leadership perspective. This *tafsir* is significant not only as one of the *pegon* interpretations within the Nusantara tradition but also because *Tāj al-Muslimin* contains messages and values relevant to the nurturing and development of the Muslim community, which are hoped to be applicable in modern contexts, such as through implied critique of government educational policies during the New Order era.

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research is to conduct a more critical and objective study of the potential of *Tāj al-Muslimīn* in shaping social-political and religious thought dynamics in Indonesia. The origin of the word “discourse” comes from the Latin term *discrete*, meaning “to run back and forth.” Thomas Aquinas first introduced the term “discursive” in the context of philosophy. For Thomas, “discursive” referred to activities such as intellectual reasoning, recognition through concepts, and thinking conducted within concepts.¹⁸

Discourse is a social phenomenon manifested in symbolic interactions, which can be expressed through speech, writing, images, diagrams, films, or music. CDA focuses on how language and discourse are used to achieve social objectives, with discourse viewed as a semiotic process representing the social world. Therefore, CDA’s objects of analysis involve sources like documents, discussion papers, parliamentary debates, speeches, films, photos, newspapers, advertisements, or brochures.

The term discourse analysis encompasses meanings, covering diverse activities. Schiffrin suggests that discourse analysis remains a linguistic sub-discipline with wide and ambiguous scope, despite its growing research area and popularity.¹⁹ This is true both as a study of discourse itself and in terms of the insights it offers about language, society, culture, and thought. CDA can be defined as an attempt to interpret a text about social phenomena to understand the interests embedded within it. As a form of social practice, discourse can be analyzed using CDA to understand the relationship between discourse and social-cultural developments across various social domains with distinct linguistic dimensions. CDA is considered a relatively new analytical tool, emerging from an evolving paradigm in social theory and critical linguistic analysis.²⁰ The development of CDA has expanded from its initial focus on language elements, such as sentences or clauses, to encompass broader social dimensions.

CDA responds to advances in scientific fields. In providing critical responses, CDA intellectuals—including van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, and Roger Fowler—apply critical thinking inspired by Michel Foucault’s critical philosophy, Marxist linguistics, and political theory.²¹

Norman Fairclough is one of the key figures who formulated CDA, and his approach serves as a methodological foundation for this research.²² His works have inspired academics to investigate hidden agendas. Fairclough strives to develop a discourse analysis model that significantly contributes to understanding social and cultural analysis. In this endeavor, he combines textual analysis traditions, which tend to confine language within a closed space, with the broader societal context.²³

Fairclough's main focus is viewing language as a practice of power. He sees language as a form of action that is both social and historical. Therefore, discourse analysis must be grounded in an understanding of specific social relations and social contexts. This perspective guides the following steps:

First, the *Text Dimension* (a language text) involves analyzing the text through a linguistic approach, examining formal aspects such as grammar and textual structure. Each formal aspect should be further explored to uncover the values embedded within. This lies in revealing ideological differences expressed through language within the text.²⁴ In Fairclough's model, the text is analyzed linguistically, focusing on vocabulary, semantics, sentence structure, writing, coherence, cohesion, and all forms of linguistic features within the text.²⁵ This text analysis emphasizes how selected vocabulary relates to specific meanings. The nature of discourse practice in text production sharpens the text and leaves traces in its surface forms, which are to be interpreted.

Second, the *Context Dimension* or *Discourse Practice* refers to the processes of text production and consumption. Discourse practice is the dimension that involves the production and consumption processes of a text.²⁶ Fairclough combines historical and social facts in his analysis, whereas intertextual analysis examines how these elements are integrated and modified within the text. Interdiscursivity acts as a bridge between text and context, providing an overview of how discourse is presented within a specific discursive order to produce and interpret the text.²⁷ Discourse practice analysis focuses on how the production and consumption of texts are shaped by discourse practices, which determine how the text is produced and interpreted.²⁸

Third, the *Sociocultural Practice Dimension* encompasses social practices within broader social, and cultural networks and purposes. In this analysis, intertextual examination of texts begins, where social events illustrate how a text is shaped by and shapes the social practices of society.²⁹ Sociocultural practice is the dimension related to external contexts that influence how the discourse emerges. While not directly connected to the text itself, sociocultural practice determines how the text is produced and understood. With this framework, the researcher will examine the discourse in *Tafsir Tāj al-Muslimīn* by Misbah Musthofa.

Biography of Misbah Musthofa and Characteristics of *Tāj Al-Muslimīn*

Misbah was born in 1919 in the Sawahan, Palembang, Rembang, Central Java.³⁰ As a child, he was named Masruch, and his full name is

Misbah bin Zainal Mustafa. He is the third child of H. Zainal Mustofa and Chodijah. He has four siblings, with the eldest brother initially named Mashadi (who later changed his name to Bisri Mustofa), a second brother named Salamah, and a younger sister named Aminah.

After completing his education at the Kasingan Islamic boarding school, led by Kiai Cholil, in 1357 H, Misbah continued his studies at the Tebuiireng Islamic boarding school in Jombang under the guidance of KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of Nahdlatul 'Ulama (NU).³¹ Feeling that his previous achievements were insufficient, he further pursued knowledge at the Tasik Agung Islamic boarding school and then continued to the Kaliwungu Islamic boarding school. Subsequently, he deepened his religious knowledge in Makkah.³²

In 1975 Misbah Mustafa established a mosque and an Islamic boarding school with the aim of promoting the spread of Islamic teachings through education.³³ The location for this establishment was chosen in Dusun Karang Tengah Bangilan, Tuban. After its establishment, the mosque and boarding school were named Al-Balagh by Misbah. In addition to preaching from the podium and at the Islamic boarding school, Misbah was active in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community and other organizations.³⁴ After KH. Misbah Mustafa passed away at the age of 78 on Monday, 7 Dzulqo'dah 1414 H or April 18 1994 the leadership of the Islamic boarding school was taken over by his third son KH Muhammad Nafis Misbah. Misbah's thoughts were influenced by 19th-century intellectual movements when the Middle East was under Western pressure, leading to a revolution in intellectual thought spearheaded by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh, who expressed concerns about similar situations.³⁵ Gus Mus (Mustofa Bisri) commented that the naming of the book *Tafsīr al-Iklīl fī Ma'ānī al-Tanzīl*, or Misbah's first *tafsīr*, was greatly influenced by tafsir works from the middle east. These middle eastern texts often utilized poetic language, such as *al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufasssīrūn* and *Bidāyah al-Mujtahid fī Nihāyah al-Muqtaṣid*. Similarly, *Tafsīr al-Iklīl* employs resonant words, much like those composed by al-Suyūṭī.³⁶

Thus, Misbah's active role in promoting of reform and modernism in Islam in Indonesia is evident from his educational background in the Middle East and his contributions to various governmental organizations and educational institutions in Java. His participation in socio-political organizations includes membership in Masyumi, NU, Golkar, and other organizations.³⁷ Misbah was also actively involved in writing several works, including *Tafsīr al-Iklīl fī Ma'ānī al-Tanzīl* and *Tāj al-Muslimīn*, which

adopt a critical perspective. Misbah critiqued the prohibition of birth control (KB), MTQ, and bank interest (riba), as well as certain traditional Islamic practices, such as the *nogo dino*, *tahlilan*, *nyatus dino*, *manaqiban*, and others. Regarding the writing of *Tafsir Tāj al-Muslimīn*, Misbah began in 1987 CE/1408 AH to complete his first tafsir, *al-Iklīl*. However, before he could finish it through to the 30th chapter (juz), Misbah passed away on Monday, 7 Dzulqo'dah 1414 AH, or April 18, 1994 CE. He managed to complete only up to the fourth juz.

In the preface to his tafsir book, the background of writing *Tāj al-Muslimīn* is explained as a means of da'wah, aimed at spreading the teachings of his religion not only through words but as part of his livelihood to provide for his family. Misbah states in the introduction to *Tāj al-Muslimīn* that his primary motivation for compiling this tafsir was the observation that many while professing to be Muslims and having recited the *shahada* countless times, have a limited understanding of the Quran in its Arabic language. Consequently, only a small portion of them can implement the teachings of the Quran in their daily lives. Even many graduates from *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) or other educational institutions, after marriage, starting a family, and settling into work, often neglect their understanding of the Quran despite having free time. This lack of understanding leads many Muslims to blindly follow figures often regarded as ulama, kiai, or Muslim intellectuals.³⁸ For this reason, Misbah compiled this tafsir using the Pegon-Javanese script to make it more accessible.

Misbah explains the verses of the Qur'an based on the sequence found in the *mushaf* (written Qur'an), employing the *tahlīlī* method. He provides meanings for each word in the verses using a layered *gandul* translation model. Then, he fully translates each verse and offers detailed explanations or interpretations.³⁹ At times, Misbah includes *asbāb al-nuzūl* (the occasions of revelation) and presents narratives from both hadith and related *athar* (reports of the Companions' practices). His explanations are comprehensive and occasionally accompanied by *tanbīh* (alerts) for added clarification. The dominant style of *Tāj al-Muslimīn* reflects an *adabī ijtimā'ī* approach and leans towards *bi al-ra'yi* (interpretation based on opinion), as it includes critical nuances within its interpretation.⁴⁰ Misbah Mustafā's *Tāj al-Muslimīn* is divided into four parts, printed across four volumes. The size of each volume follows the *mushaf* Uthmani format, with each volume containing the interpretation of one *juz* of the Quran. The fourth volume, covering pages 1189 to 1689, spans a total of 500 pages.

In this *tafsīr*, several interpretative sources are referenced by Misbah Mustafa. Some of the commentators he uses as references include *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, *Tafsīr al-Qurtubī*, and *al-Khāzin*. However, this work also showcases Misbah Mustafa's distinctive thought patterns and interpretative approach, indicating that it can be categorized not only as *tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr* (based on Quranic verses) but also as *bi al-ra'yi* (based on reasoning). Misbah uses the term "keterangan" (explanation) to elaborate on the interpretation of a verse, often presented in detail to clarify its meaning. This is abbreviated as "ket." He also includes the verse number being interpreted, using "mas'alah" (issue) to illustrate specific problems discussed, as a means to address Quranic matters not commonly understood by the general public.⁴¹

Additionally, "*tanbīh*" serves as an important supplementary note. According to Ibn Manẓūr's dictionary, "*nabbaha*" means to awaken, either physically or as a reminder, to warn, inform, or advise someone so they do not forget something. He then uses "fa'idah," a term signifying the essence or benefit of a verse, which can mean utility, benefit, or advantage, guiding one towards goodness with a positive impact. Ibn Manẓūr explains that "faedah" refers to something valuable, useful, and beneficial. Furthermore, "kisah" (story) includes narratives or accounts relevant to the verse being interpreted. The word "*qiṣṣatun*" derives from "*qaṣa*" meaning to follow something closely. Terminologically, *qiṣṣatun* represents clear events experienced by someone.⁴² Over time, the term has expanded to include stories or tales and, when paired with "*khurāfiyah*," implies legend, while "*qiṣṣatun khayāliyyah*" denotes a fictional story. According to the Indonesian dictionary, *qiṣṣatun* means a story or event in someone's life.⁴³

The writing style in *Tafsīr Tāj al-Muslimīn* exhibits characteristics of reportage. In parts of the report, conclusive words are included to convey the moral message of the Qur'an. Misbah pays particular attention to aspects such as *munāsabah* (contextual relevance), *nāsikh mansūkh* (abrogating and abrogated verses), *asbāb al-nuzūl* (circumstances of revelation), historical narratives, *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* (principles of Islamic jurisprudence), and the differing opinions of fiqh scholars.⁴⁴

The Text Dimension of the Interpretation of QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 29

هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ لَكُمْ مَا فِي الْأَرْضِ جَمِيعًا ثُمَّ اسْتَوَىٰ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ فَسَوَّاهُنَّ سَبْعَ سَمَاوَاتٍ
وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ

He is Allah, who created all that is on the earth for you, and He directed Himself toward the heavens, forming them into seven heavens. And He is

Knowing of all things. (QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 29)

Tanbih: Kanggone ngijolake opo kang dadi kandungan ayat Qur'an kang mengkene iki, kabeh lapangan pendidikan arep dirubah maleh dadi lapangan ilmu duniawi, hingga ono sak wenehe wong kang disebut pemimpinan kang dawuh: kang aran ulama yaiku wong kang kejobo hukum-hukum agomo kudu ngerti ilmu-ilmu menejemen, ilmu teknik, lan ilmu umum liyane. Akibatate saking panemuan kang mengkene iki sebagian saking wong kang disebut pemimpinan islam ono kang dawuh: bocah-bocah kang sekolah lan pelajaran-pelajaran ojo diwedeni seksone Allah Swt. Tahun 2000 masyarakat bakal mlayu saking islam.⁴⁵

To alter the content of this Quranic verse fields of education will be transformed into worldly domains, to the point where even those considered leaders remark: scholars view religious law in conjunction with knowledge of management, technical sciences, and other general disciplines. As a result of such statements, some who are regarded as Islamic leaders say children in school and other students should not be instilled with fear of Allah's punishment. It is anticipated that by 2000 society will diverge from the true essence of Islam.

Koyo mengekene gunemane pemimpin islam ing zaman saiki. Opo pemimpinan-pemimpinan kang mengkene iki ora ngerti yen Nabi Muhammad iku tugase "basyiran wa nadzir" tegese ambebungahake ganjaran lan meden-medeni seksone Allah Swt. Opo ora ngerti utusan islam wajib anut mareng Nabi? Akibat sangking olehe arep podo ngejar wong Nasrani lan yahudi ono ing bidang ilmu dunia iki, akeh wong ngaku intelek muslim podo nyalahake ulama-ulama kuno, luweh-luweh ulama tasawuf kang uripe namung kanggo ibadah belaka.⁴⁶

This is the type of fatwa issued by today's Islamic leaders. Do such leaders not understand that the Prophet Muhammad was appointed by Allah as "*bashir wa nazir*" a bringer of glad tidings and a warner of Allah's punishment? Do they not understand that Islam's teachings are obligations that must be followed by the Prophet? As a result of allowing Muslims to chase after the ways of Christians and Jews in worldly matters, many who claim to be intellectual Muslims now criticize the earlier scholars, such as the sufi scholars, whose lives were devoted solely to worship.

Akibat sangking panemuan mengkene iki, akeh wong kang ngaku intelek muslim arep podo mindahake titel ulama ono ing awak e arep podo gowo titel agomo kang disebut ulul al-bab sedang wong-wong kang mengkene iki ora ngerti artine kalimah ulul al-bab lan opo kang dadi ciri-cirine ulul al-bab lan opo mengerti, tentu ngerti yen dakwahne iki lagi ono tingkatan rendah.⁴⁷

Misbah Musthofa begins the interpretation of QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 29 by focusing on the concluding part of the verse (*wa huwa bi kulli*

shay'in 'alim), discussing knowledge and Allah as the source of knowledge. He connects this to the social reality of the time, where Muslims were significantly lagging in education, particularly in the fields of natural sciences, engineering, and other general knowledge, compared to Christians and Jews. Misbah constructs his interpretation by repeatedly emphasizing the term *pemimpin* (leader) four times in his commentary, indicating a clear direction for his exegesis.

In his *tafsir*, Misbah addresses the educational challenges faced by the Muslim community, which felt inferior in knowledge compared to non-Muslims, such as Christians and Jews. This situation motivated them to pursue knowledge in various fields dominated by non-Muslims, including natural sciences, engineering, and others. However, this response resulted in significant changes in the education system influenced by Western values, leading to a new perspective on scholars and religious leaders.⁴⁸ According to Misbah, the views of leaders during that period contributed to imbalance and division within the Muslim community, causing a decline in religious understanding, particularly affecting future generations. He expresses concern that by the year 2000, society would drift further away from true Islam, suggesting a growing detachment from Islamic teachings.

In his interpretation of QS. Al-Baqarah (2): 29, Misbah discusses the term *pemimpin* written in Javanese and translates to leader. This discourse of employed to depict leadership during the life of the *mufasir* particularly during the presidency of Soeharto. The use of terminology in Misbah's critical interpretation is closely tied to the *mufasir's* intentions and objectives. The term *pemimpin* is utilized to illustrate that certain figures played a role in the irregularities of government policies, especially concerning education, as mentioned in his critical commentary. Thus, these figures can be identified with President Soeharto and the Minister of Education at that time. This connection integrates Misbah's perspective on the interpretation of the verse with an understanding of leadership discourse in the context of education and knowledge. Therefore, it can be concluded that the term *pemimpin* in this context refers to the President and the Minister of Education and Culture during that era.

Dimensions of Context in Discourse

In this subsection, the main focus of the analysis is on the interpretation of text and discourse practices related to the relationship between the process of interpreting texts and the ongoing discourse practices.⁴⁹ This text analysis involves two main discussions: first, the relationship between the interpretation text and the historical context of leadership during

the Suharto era, integrating with the events that occurred; second, the disclosure of the dimensions of the leadership discourse context through the discourse practices written by the interpreters.⁵⁰

Based on the interpretation that has been explained in the text dimension, Misbah has made educational critiques his interpretation regarding aspects of knowledge. The discourse on the word “*pemimpin*” certainly has meanings and objectives that the interpreter wants to convey in his interpretation. This is realized within the historical context that the interpreter witnessed during his lifetime, such as the policies implemented by the Minister of Education and Culture regarding the 1983 curriculum, where the government enforced several regulations related to school holidays and the use of headscarves by female high school students. The minister in office was Daoed Joesoef, who maintained Ramadan as a learning period and prohibited female students from wearing headscarves to school through Ministerial Decree No. 0211/U/1978.

This seems to indicate that there has been an Islamization or an effort towards Islamophobia. This decision sparked controversy because previously, Ramadan was considered a month-long holiday. The controversy intensified after the Second National Congress of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) in late May 1984 urged the Ministry of Education and Culture to review the holiday policy during Ramadan. In a working meeting with Commission IX of the DPR, Minister of Education and Culture Daoed Joesoef reiterated that despite Ramadan, schools must continue to carry out teaching and learning activities as usual.⁵¹

In his interpretative text, Misbah critiques the state of education at that time. As previously explained, during Suharto’s administration, certain individuals exploited the education curriculum as a means of indoctrination. For example, many school subjects served as brainwashing patterns and justifications for the New Order regime’s power.⁵² Although there was debate regarding the state ideology, particularly between Islamic and nationalist groups, this did not help national stability; rather, it led to political instability. Misbah emphasizes the lag in knowledge among Muslims compared to non-Muslims, prompting efforts to catch up.

Misbah’s main critique of education is a statement to the government that religious knowledge is as important as the development of other general sciences. He highlights that the government is overly focused on general knowledge, such as technical skills and other fields, neglecting religious knowledge and creating an imbalance in education. Misbah’s critical discourse can be substantiated by examining the history of education in Indonesia, which at that time faced significant problems.

This background informs Misbah's thoughts, which diverge from the government's perspective.

For example, the prohibition of wearing headscarves in schools during Minister Daoed Yoesoef's tenure under Suharto's leadership. In 1982, the Directorate of Primary and Secondary Education issued Decision No. 52/C/Kep/D.82, which established the school uniform guidelines.⁵³ This decision sparked controversy among female students who had chosen to wear headscarves in all social activities, including at school. A female student wearing a headscarf was understood to be not part of the school uniform, necessitating the removal of the headscarf while at school in accordance with the ministerial decision regarding No. 52.

The issue regarding this regulation became more pronounced when Minister Nugroho Notokusanto reaffirmed Regulation No. 52, succeeding Minister Dr. Daoed Joesoef. During a press conference, he stated. The polemic over the wearing of headscarves among students in public schools was caused by the deteriorating relationship between the Islamic community and the government during the early years of the New Order regime. Various tensions arose during that time, such as many youths getting involved in jihad movements, which led to religious wars in Maluku and caused riots everywhere. The tension between the Islamic community and the New Order government reflected the government's fears that Islam would threaten its continuity, particularly with the rise of Islamic radicalism that could undermine Suharto's power.⁵⁴

It is clear that the prohibition on wearing headscarves was part of the New Order government's politics. The ruling New Order sought to marginalize Islamic symbols during the early years of its leadership. The government's stance in issuing such regulations led to ongoing issues; they should have viewed the headscarf not from a political standpoint but as an individual's right to fulfill their religious obligations. After delving into the historical context presented, the discourse surrounding the construction of the word "*pemimpin*" by Misbah sharply critiques the educational policies issued by the Minister of Education and Culture at that time, particularly aimed at President Suharto, who endorsed these policies, and Daoed Joesoef, who was renowned for his policies. This critique highlights the imbalance in the educational approach that Misbah believed did not take into account the needs of the majority of the Indonesian population, who are Muslim.

Sociocultural Dimensions in Indonesia

In this subsection, the main focus of the analysis is on the social

and cultural practices related to the texts and leadership as a discourse constructed in Misbah Musthofa's *Tāj Al-Muslimīn*. This analysis of sociocultural dimensions involves two main elements: first, examining the socio-political and religious culture in Indonesia; second, the implications of a leader's responsibility towards their community within the sociocultural context and social situations.

From Misbah's interpretations, a deep understanding emerges regarding the educational challenges faced by Muslims during his time, where they sought to catch up with non-Muslims in knowledge, particularly in fields such as engineering, technical sciences, and others. Misbah firmly critiques government policies related to education, as previously explained in the context dimension.⁵⁵ By striving to catch up as Misbah elaborated in the interpretation of QS. Al-Baqarah verse 29, the government seems to place religious knowledge in the background, as exemplified by the policy prohibiting the wearing of headscarves in schools issued by the Minister of Education. Therefore, Misbah emphasizes the essence of this verse that Allah is the source of all knowledge and conveys the understanding that Islam does not recognize a dichotomy in education. Thus, the government should not differentiate between the development of general knowledge and religious knowledge.

In general, the term dichotomy is used to distinguish between two different things. In this context, dichotomy can be understood as a separation between general knowledge and religious knowledge. Dichotomy is a term used to separate the characteristics of religious knowledge from general knowledge. This is closely linked to the historical-cultural background, where, in its development process, there was a dramatic separation between these two fields of knowledge, involving political elements in education.⁵⁶

Scholars in the past did not recognize the term dichotomy in knowledge, let alone in distinguishing between general knowledge and religious knowledge. According to Muhammad Abduh, both types of knowledge hold equal importance. General knowledge and religious knowledge are both essential, as religious knowledge serves as a basic necessity for individuals who practice their faith and is a fundamental foundation for diversity. The identity of Muslims is reflected in the understanding and teaching of religious knowledge, making it the main foundation of a Muslim's life. Scholars in the past understood and appreciated the importance of various disciplines of knowledge, valuing the scientific authority they possessed and mastered.⁵⁷

The dualistic and dichotomous approach in education is a legacy of the colonial era, separating general education from religious education.

This is seen as a primary factor contributing to chaos and disparities in the education system, particularly in Indonesia, along with all its consequences. Therefore, in this regard, Muslim scholars need to unite to create their teachings in the development of natural sciences, social sciences, and other humanitarian studies. Additionally, Muslim thinkers must dare to challenge Western scientific thoughts based on materialistic hypotheses that reject the existence of God's will in this universe. The greatest hope is that Muslims can rediscover the Islamic education system entirety.

In a society where the majority of the population is Muslim, the responsibility of a leader carries a more complex dimension and requires a very wise approach. A leader in this context must be sensitive not only to the social and economic conditions of the community but also to understand and respect the values and teachings of Islam embraced by a majority of their people. This means that leaders must carry out their duties with integrity fairness, and without prioritizing personal desires or interests in power. Islam teaches the importance of justice and concern for others.⁵⁸ Therefore, the role of leaders in a majority Muslim society must ensure that the policies adopted reflect the principles of justice and social welfare. Every decision must be made with consideration of its impact on all layers of society, especially those in greatest need.

Conclusion

The discussions in the previous chapters regarding the critical discourse analysis of leadership texts in *Tāj al-Muslimīn* have led to this study. This research also demonstrates that every interpretative work is a cultural product shaped by the experiences, learning processes, and living environments of the interpreter. Several conclusions can be drawn from this research. In *Tāj al-Muslimīn*, Misbah deliberately develops the discourse of the term *pemimpin* about government power, particularly by providing meanings or interpretations of the Quran that align with the socio-political context of his time. Misbah highlights educational issues in the interpretation of QS Al-Baqarah verse 29, which can be observed through the text and the use of the term *pemimpin* directed towards President Suharto and Minister of Education Daoed Yoesoef.

By examining social, political, and religious aspects, Misbah emphasizes that Islam does not separate religious knowledge from general knowledge. The approach of critical discourse analysis explores the space for political critique within the realm of interpretation, which can benefit society. Thus, if a critical culture continues to be nurtured, Muslims will be able to understand religious values within the context of

statehood in an evolutionary manner through an ongoing interpretative process.

Endnotes

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