

ABSTRAK

Ini adalah studi wacana kritis tentang desakralisasi civil society dalam diskursus demokrasi karena cacatnya dimensi etis elemen civil society secara praksis. Untuk mendalami persoalan ini, disajikanlah telaah terhadap organisasi kontra-demokrasi, Front Pembela Islam (FPI), dalam konteks Aksi Bela Islam. Terdapat dua pertanyaan yang diketengahkan dalam tulisan ini; 1) Apakah FPI layak dikatakan sebagai organisasi civil society dalam konteks Aksi Bela Islam? 2) Bagaimana implikasi wacana yang dikembangkan FPI dalam Aksi Bela Islam bagi demokrasi? Dalam menelusuri jawaban dari kedua pertanyaan ini, penulis terbantu dengan diadopsinya metode analisis wacana kritis Norman Fairclough dengan tiga tataran analisis; tekstual, praktik kewacanaan dan dan praktik sosio-kultural.

Dari penelaahan pada ketiga dimensi analisis, diperoleh beberapa temuan; 1) FPI (dalam konteks Aksi Bela Islam) menampilkan dua wajah; civil dan uncivil. 2) Meski Aksi Bela Islam terhitung sebagai praktik berdemokrasi, namun wacana dan propaganda negatif yang disebarkan berbagai pihak, termasuk FPI, justru merusak civic virtue yang membentuk kultur demokrasi. Maka FPI dalam konteks Aksi Bela Islam, secara etis tidaklah ideal untuk dikatakan sebagai civil society – pun juga tidak dapat dibebankan harapan untuk mengokohkan demokrasi

Kajian ini pada akhirnya mengetengahkan sebuah refleksi teoritis atas demokrasi liberal untuk memahami tindak-tanduk FPI dalam Aksi Bela Islam. Bahwasanya ketidakidealan FPI sebagai civil society dan paralel dengan itu tindakannya yang membahayakan kultur demokrasi sebenarnya juga dideterminasi oleh kecacatan demokrasi itu sendiri. Keberhasilan Aksi Bela Islam beserta pengaruhnya bagi masyarakat menunjukkan bahwa FPI, organisasi kontra-demokrasi, bukan sekedar tengah menikmati kebermanfaatannya dari demokrasi namun juga seakan mampu membaca kelemahan dari demokrasi liberal.

Dengan demikian, penelitian ini bukan hanya menyibak ketidakidealan civil society secara etis serta efeknya bagi demokrasi, namun kemudian membuktikan pernyataan Tocqueville bahwasanya terlepas dari prinsip-prinsip luhurnya, demokrasi juga memiliki insting yang liar yang memungkinkannya dapat ditunggangi untuk tujuan yang justru menggerus demokrasi.

Kata kunci: *Civil Society, Uncivil Society, Demokrasi, Demokrasi Liberal, Aksi Bela Islam, Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough.*

ABSTRACT

This is a study of critical discourse analysis, aimed to delve an issue about de-sacralization of civil society in the discursion of democracy on account of its ethically flawed in the practical manner. To explore this issues in depth, this research conduct analysis toward an anti-democracy organization, Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), in the context of The Act of Defending Islam (so called ABI, an abbreviation for Aksi Bela Islam). There are two questions raised in this study; 1) Is the FPI eligible to be considered as civil society in the context of ABI? 2) What are the implications of the discourses developed by FPI over the course of ABI toward democracy? To trace the answers of these questions, the author employed Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method with three levels of analysis; text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice.

The examination in the three levels of analysis yielded some inferences; 1) FPI (in the context of ABI) shows its two faces; civil and uncivil. 2) Even though the ABI can be consider as a democratic practice, there's a matter of civic virtue – which certainly sustaining democratic culture – that have been distruped by impertinent rhetoric and propaganda constructed and spread by many, including FPI. Therefore, FPI in the context of ABI, ethically not ideal to be considered as civil society – nor can it be expected to strengthen democracy.

This study is also presented a theoretical reflection on liberal democracy to comprehend FPI's gesture in ABI. FPI's imperfection as a civil society and parallel with its disposition to endanger the culture of democracy are actually determined by the pathology of democracy itself. The triumph of ABI and its accomplished influences on society shows that FPI, as anti-democracy organization whom initiate this action, is not only have been able enjoyed the benefits of democracy but also took advantaged of the laxity of liberal democracy. Thus, this research not only reveal the infamy of civil society (ethically), but further verifies what Tocqueville has ever state in his book. Apart from its noble principles, democracy also has wild instinct, which make it prone to be ridden (including by all the ethically-ill civil society) for any kind purposes that might defy democratic ideals.

Keywords: *Civil Society, Uncivil Society, Democracy, Liberal Democracy, Aksi Bela Islam, Critical Discourse Analysis by Norman Fairclough.*