



## **Deconstructing the Meaning of Structural Da'wah: A Study of the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* by the Government of Ponorogo Regency**

**Mochammad Irfan Achfandhy**  
UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta  
mochirfan96@gmail.com

### **Abstrak**

Safari Subuh Berjama'ah adalah upaya dakwah struktural yang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Kabupaten Ponorogo untuk menekan tindakan perilaku immorality masyarakat. Namun relasi agama dan politik dalam bentuk dakwah struktural terus menjadi perdebatan. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah mengelaborasi motif kepentingan politik dalam bingkai dakwah struktural Safari Subuh Berjama'ah. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif diskriptif. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah pendekatan naratif dengan melakukan analisis teks untuk mendekostruksi motif dakwah dari berita di portal media online. Hasil penelitian bahwa tujuan dari Safari Subuh Berjama'ah adalah meningkatkan religiuitas, membangun ikatan persaudaraan dan tilik desa sebagai upaya mengetahui perkembangan dan problematika masyarakat. Namun di sisi lain, ada motif terselubung dibalik kegiatan yaitu dijadikan sebagai metode komunikasi politik untuk memperoleh suara rakyat atau kampanye. Relasi politik dan agama tidak kompetitif cenderung lebih dominan pada unsur politik. Sehingga nilai-nilai dakwah yang seharusnya berorientasi pada ajaran Islam bergeser kontradiktif cenderung demi kepentingan para politikus.

**Kata Kunci:** Dakwah Struktural, Dekonstruksi, Politik.

### **Abstract**

Safari Subuh Berjama'ah is a structural da'wah effort carried out by the Ponorogo Regency Government to suppress people's immorality behavior. However, religious and political relations in the form of structural da'wah continue to be debated. The purpose of this study was to elaborate on the motives of political interests in the structural da'wah framework of Safari Subuh Berjama'ah. The research method used a descriptive qualitative approach. The approach used is a narrative approach by analyzing the text to deconstruct the da'wah motive from the news on the online media portal. The

results showed that the purpose of the Safari Subuh Berjama'ah is to increase religiosity, build brotherhood bonds and village views as an effort to find out the development and problems of society. But on the other hand, there is a hidden motive behind the activity, which is to use it as a method of political communication to gain popular votes or campaigns. Uncompetitive political and religious relations tend to be more dominant in the political element. So that the values of da'wah which should be oriented towards Islamic teachings have shifted contradictory to the interests of politicians.

**Keyword:** Structural Da'wah, Deconstruct, Political.

## A. INTRODUCTION

The existence of social changes that occur such as globalization and modernization is marked by the development of increasingly massive information technology to provide various easy access for the community. In the other words, the development of the times brings negative impacts on society, including an increase in disobedience, moral degradation, juvenile delinquency, crime, pornography, and porno-action, as well as various other negative actions (Hasfi, 2019, pp. 1–13). As a preventive effort to overcome the immoral behavior of the community, the local government forms a public policy to prevent and reduce these problems. One of them is realized through public policy by adopting a da'wah approach. Such as the “*Bandung Agamis*” program initiated by Ridwan Kamil to improve the spiritual quality of the people of Bandung. The “*Bandung Agamis*” program spawned several policy programs such as the Magrib Recitation Movement, the Let's Pay Zakat, and the Congregational Fajr Prayer Movement (Sugestian et al., 2017, pp. 191–206).

In addition, the government of Ponorogo Regency also has a preventive action initiative to prevent the crisis of community religious values through the “*Safari Subuh Berjama'ah*” program. Starting in 2019, the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* was held in the center of Ponorogo Square every Sunday morning and continued with *gowes* (healthy walks and leisurely bicycles) as the closing event. Over time, *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* program began to be

held in *mushola* and mosques in resident villages (*Bupati Ipong Ajak Warga Jadikan Subuh Berjamaah Sebagai Kegiatan Rutin | Pemerintah Kabupaten Ponorogo*, n.d.). This program continues to be developed and expanded in terms of segmentation of the grass-root class in remote villages in Ponorogo Regency. The *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* Program was attended by the Regent of Ponorogo, Government Officials, and residents with very high enthusiasm. The program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* is claimed to be a solution to community problems related to moral degradation, crime, and juvenile delinquency because the data proves that the number of juvenile delinquency in the population of Ponorogo Regency is relatively high, namely, 2,094 cases in 2013 and this number is up from previous years (*BPS Ponorogo*, n.d.).

The Ponorogo Regency government's initiative through the program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* is a characteristic form of the structural da'wah approach. The definition of structural da'wah is da'wah carried out by a leader or government by utilizing his power to teach Islamic values to his people (Ibnu Hajar S, 2018). The structural da'wah approach is carried out through government power lines including the executive, judiciary, and legislative as well as other forms of state social structures. The structural da'wah approach is formal and very structured systematically by enforcing the rules and norms that have been set. As stated by Muhammad Sulthon that structural da'wah is carried out very professionally and has a fairly high intensity in broadcasting Islamic teachings (Farhan, 2018). Therefore, structural da'wah always integrates with social structures, government bureaucracies, politics, and the economy in realizing its da'wah activities (Syahrudin, 2020). So the state apparatus is used as an effort to achieve the goals of the essence of da'wah. In the context of the Indonesian state, structural da'wah is generally carried out through a local government policy regulated in a Governor or Regent regulation such as the program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* policy in Ponorogo Regency.

The structural da'wah approach is very different and inversely proportional to the cultural da'wah approach. The cultural da'wah approach can be well received in the community through various concepts such as ta'lim assemblies, acculturation of arts, traditions, and culture through subtle adaptation of society (Farhan, 2018). This of course cannot be separated from the history of the entry and spread of Islamic teachings brought by the guardians of the archipelago. While structural da'wah is always synonymous with public policies that have legality through laws, decisions, and provisions of local governments. So seen from its nature, structural da'wah tends to be coercive, legitimizing, and professionally enforced (Abdul Basit, 2013). So the relationship between religion (da'wah) and state politics (government) are two elements of social aspects that coexist.

The structural da'wah approach has two interrelated elements, namely religion and politics. On the one hand, religion and politics are a mutually beneficial combination of both that can be actualized properly. Politics can be used as a method of preaching through government policies or regulations that have valid legality with the aim of enforcing the commandments of ma'ruf nahi munkar. But indicating contrast, the relationship between religion and the state does not always give a positive image of the integration of the two. According to Agus Saputro, it is not uncommon that religion is only used as a stage in politics, such as the euphoria of the presidential election democratic party (Saputro, 2018). Religion colors the journey of politicians and helps win candidate pairs (*paslon*) in the presidential election. Such as in the 2019 presidential election, Joko Widodo chose Vice President KH Ma'ruf Amin as a result of approval from scholars, Islamic parties, and several elements of society. The election of KH Ma'ruf Amin was seen based on a background that was considered a religious figure, a Muslim scholar and experienced in the world of government (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). It confirms that political and religious relations have a very strong integration in both positive and negative aspects.

Responding to the above phenomenon, structural da'wah is an alternative approach that is relevant and a solution to reduce and prevent immorality in society. Structural da'wah is considered an effective government policy to shape social transformation and efforts to disseminate Islamic teachings. It is based on the basic essence of the purpose of da'wah is to enforce the commandments of *ma'ruh nahi munkar*. However, not entirely structural da'wah aims in line with the initial essence. Even the structural da'wah carried out in various places is oriented towards the goals of personal interests related to politics. Thus, it is important to elaborate more on how the practice of structural da'wah in Ponorogo Regency is through the Subuh Congregational Safari program. Nonetheless, the relationship between religion and politics in the framework of structural da'wah activities raises many critical questions to answer the meaning behind the purpose of the program because not entirely purely structural da'wah policies are oriented towards the goal of internalizing Islamic teachings to the community but some other motives and goals are not explicitly shown to the public. Therefore, it is important to uncover the implicit motives and goals of the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* in Ponorogo Regency.

The discourse on the relationship between religion and politics has been widely studied by previous academics. Even so, there are still few debates between religious and political relations that tend to refer to structural da'wah activities. Thus, this research is actualized to respond to the debate in order to deconstruct or deeply dismantle the relationship between religion and politics in structural da'wah activities. Specifically, the focus of this study aims to uncover the motives behind structural da'wah activities through the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* by the Ponorogo Regency government. The research presents the concept of deconstruction to dig deeper into the construction of structural da'wah in online news on social media. Then the formulation of the problem can be formulated into two, namely: a) how is the construction of news related to the structural da'wah of *Safari Subuh*

*Berjama'ah* in online news?; b) how is the deconstruction of religious and political relations in structural da'wah activities? The answers to these two questions are the essence of this research discussion.

## **B. RESEARCH METHODS**

This study uses a descriptive qualitative strategy. The approach used is a narrative approach by analyzing the text or content of news content on social media (Creswell, 2009, p. vii). News content selected from news portals includes; Times Indonesia, Detik.com, Ponorogo.go.id, and the official Instagram from the Ponorogo Regency Government. The online news portal was chosen because it uploads news about the activities of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* regularly. The selected news portals include KP.com, PemkabPonorogo.co.id, Tribatanews.polri.go.id, Timesindonesia.com, Signalponorogo.com, SMNNews.co.id, Tabloidlpk.co.id, and on the Instagram platform page of the Ponorogo Regency Government. uploaded 36 news stories. The entire news was selected with a time duration between January 2019 to February 2020 before the Covid-19 pandemic.

Data were collected by using observation techniques on every news portal that uploads news about the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah*. Each data obtained is then carried out member checking to check the validity and validity of the data according to the reality in the field (Neuman, 2004). Member checking is done by checking again on the official website of the Ponorogo Regency Government website. The results of the data collection were analyzed with descriptive qualitative including; data reduction, displaying data, and drawing conclusions. Data reduction was applied to select data that matched the topic in this study. Furthermore, it is analyzed using the concept of deconstruction by Jacques Derrida, namely; first, compiling all the structure of online news texts. every text contains meaning without any wasted. Second, combine each element of the news text. To find out the relevance of the meaning by combining all news portals and comments from netizens. Finally,

the conclusion presents the results of the analysis briefly and provides academic recommendations.

### C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 1. Structural Da'wah News

The Ponorogo Regency Government is one of the government institutions that has a structural da'wah program initiative the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah*. Initially, the program initiated by the local government took place in the central courtyard of the Ponorogo Regency. The majority of the congregation who attended were from the Ponorogo Regency Government officials because the instructions and recommendations of the Ponorogo Regent (Ipong Muchlissoni) were specifically for Regency Government officials and their staff. This activity began to run conducive and received an enthusiastic response from the officials of the Ponorogo Regency Government. In the middle of 2019, the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* began to expand its segmentation object. The government is trying to increase participation from various levels of society by packaging the Fajr Prayer in congregation and *gowes* (healthy walks and leisurely bicycles). It turned out that the interest of the community members greeted him with enthusiastic responses from various regional delegates in Ponorogo. Then the activities were held nomadic, namely by directly participating in various prayer rooms and village mosques for residents of every village in Ponorogo Regency (Pebrianti, 2019).

One of the series of events from the congregational dawn prayer is a cult or a short lecture after the congregational dawn prayer. Regent Ipong Muchlissoni himself filled it out and brought several materials such as on religion, information on regional developments, future programs, and so on. The purpose of holding the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* is the reward for orderly worship, the establishment of inter-citizen harmony or *uhkuwah Islamiyah*. The hope of the Regent of Ipong Muchlissoni with the Subuh

Congregational Prayer program in various mosques and *mushola* should be a routine activity for all Ponorogo residents. In addition, according to the vision of the Regent Ipong Muchlissoni "Ponorogo is more advanced, cultured and religious" can be implemented properly (*Bupati Ipong Ajak Warga Jadikan Subuh Berjamaah Sebagai Kegiatan Rutin | Pemerintah Kabupaten Ponorogo*, n.d.).

The program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* is increasingly being visited by the public. This is because the news is spread through various platforms on social media. Internet media is one of the methods to convey announcements and attract public sympathizers. One of the internet media that is massive in uploading news about *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* Program is an online news portal. Thus, to further review the structural da'wah motifs through the program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah*, it can be seen from the construction of texts on online news portals.

The objectives of structural da'wah through the program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah*, there are three, including; First, to increase the religiosity of the community. This is an effort to realize the vision of Ponorogo Regency, namely being cultured and religious. Efforts to improve the religiosity of the community in question are increasing awareness and discipline or obedience in carrying out religious orders such as getting used to praying in the congregation because religious commands such as prayer are one of the basic principles of Islam. In addition, to improve community religiosity through the program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah*, it aims to enliven mosques and prayer rooms located in community villages. Because the enthusiasm of the community in enlivening the mosque and prayer room in the village can be used as an indicator of increasing the value of religiosity. From the data above, almost all news portals explicitly inform the purpose of holding *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* program.



Second, to build a relationship or brotherly bond. As a news text from the Times Indonesia portal, strengthening ties of friendship is one form of community development efforts. The program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* can be used as a forum for the Ponorogo Regent and government staff to be able to meet with the community directly. As with the government's task, which is expected to build social change in society. So building relationships with the community is a very basic task. Gathering can be a means of da'wah that can create a closer relationship between the government (da'i) and the community (mad'u). If the government and the community know each other, there will be bonds of ukhuwah Islamiyah by following Islamic law. Thus, the government and the community will have a positive impact from Safari Subuh Berjama'ah program.

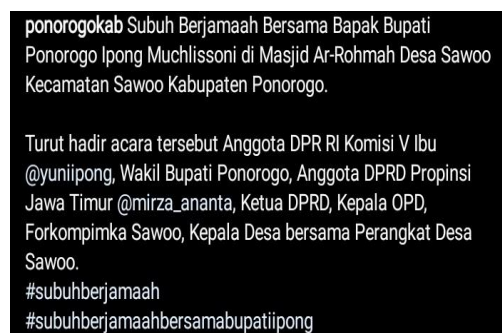
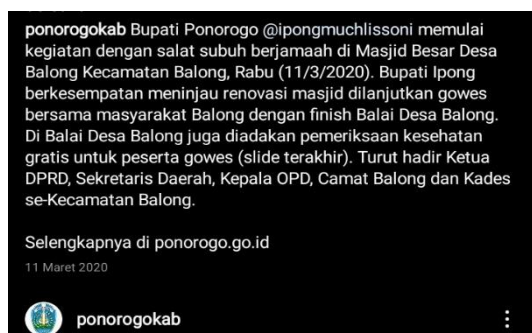
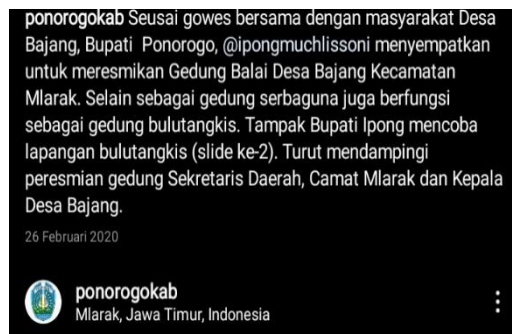
Third, village visits are one of the objectives of the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* which aims to find out the development of the community. Tilik village is not only held as a means of gathering. However, during a village inspection, it is hoped that the government of Ponorogo Regency can visit various settlements, small industries, rice fields, and plantations of residents. The government can know the developments and problems that are being faced by the community directly. In addition, village visits are a form of observation of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs). This program is also almost similar to the *blusukan* program that was introduced during the Joko Widodo era when he was still the governor of DKI Jakarta. Jokowi went directly to various markets, houses, and several other public places. This is pursued with the aim that the grass root community is closer to the government. So that what the public complains about can be directly heard by the government.

The news regarding the regency's program of *Safari Subuh Berjamaah* shows that the Government of Ponorogo is very serious about implementing the program. It can be seen from the very massive intensity of the preaching. There

are seven regional and national news portals that upload the Da'wah *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* activities. With such a high intensity of news, the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* even went viral in the middle of 2019 to early 2020 before the Covid-19 pandemic. Reporting from the official Instagram of the Ponorogo Regency government, namely @pembkabponorogo, from February 2020 to March 2021 it was recorded that he had uploaded news about the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* with a total of 36 reports. The results of the official photo of the Ponorogo Regency Government show that the enthusiasm of the Ponorogo people is very high.

The official Instagram of the Ponorogo Regency government shows that the structural da'wah through the program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* is supported by government officials. The regent of ponorogo builds relations with the government of the DPR and other official communities.

Table I: News Regarding Safari Subuh Berjamaah



From the table I above, that structural da'wah through the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* program was attended by the Indonesian House of Representatives Commission V, Deputy Regents, Members of the East Java Provincial DPRD, Chair of the DPRD, Head of Regional Apparatus Organizations (OPD), District Heads, Establishment of District Leadership Coordination Forums ( Forkopimka), the Village Head and several other communities. The *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* program was formed using institutional methods by building da'wah partners. This shows that structural da'wah is carried out systematically through planning, organizing, and actuating.

## 2. Deconstructing the Meaning of Structural Da'wah

The Program of Safari Subuh Berjama'ah has various objectives, including increasing the community's religiosity, building ties of friendship or brotherhood ties, and conducting village visits. The action of the Regent of Ponorogo, Ipong Muchlissoni, was aimed at making an impressive direct contact with the grass-root community. So that social interaction and government relations with the community will be well developed. A leader should set an example first, from what he instructs the community. So that it can be a reflection for the community to participate in the success of the Program of Safari Subuh Berjama'ah. The advantage of the action of the Regent of Ponorogo Ipong Muchlissoni, apart from being closer to the community, the government can hear the aspirations of the people directly. So that complaints from various aspects can be accommodated by the government for evaluation.

But on the other hand, there is news with a resistance perspective to the previous news. The news leads to the dismantling of the motives that have been sunk to be uploaded to the public space. The following table is the narrative of the news on the online news portal:

Table II;

<div style="text-align: center;">  <p><b>Ngobrol gayeng usai sholat subuh berjamaah di masjid Al iman desa Wates Jenangan Ponorogo</b></p> </div> <p>Dalam sambang dulur di wilayah Jenangan ponorogo, Cabup Ipong juga berdialog langsung dengan para pelaku UMKM seperti jenang Bu Sum di sana dan menanyakan proses pembuatan hingga kendala apa saja yang dihadapi dan itu sebagai bahan dirinya nanti ketika terpilih untuk bisa mengangkat para pelaku UMKM di Ponorogo lebih sejahtera dan mandiri.</p> <p>Tak lupa, setiap pertemuan dengan warganya, cabup Ipong selalu membagikan masker dan kaos sebagai kenang-kenangan kepada setiap warga yang hadir.(Nanang)</p>	<p>Sinyalponorogo.com</p>
<p><b>PONOROGO, PIJARNews.ID</b> – Sholat Subuh berjamaah merupakan salah satu program menarik dari Bupati Ponorogo, program ini selalu diikuti oleh ratusan orang dengan berkeliling ke seluruh Desa di Kabupaten Ponorogo secara bergilir.</p> <p>Menurut Wasis Prananto, salah satu tokoh muda yang berkecimpung di organisasi kepemudaan, menjelaskan sosok Pak Ipong merupakan tokoh yang cukup inspiratif karena bisa menggerakkan jamaah Sholat Subuh.</p> <p>Jarang sekali, lanjut Wasis, seorang pemimpin daerah bisa menggerakkan sholat subuh berjamaah di Masjid. "Bahkan mungkin hanya terjadi di Ponorogo", terangnya saat ditemui PIJARNews.ID (6/9).</p> <p>Setiap safari Subuh di Masjid, Pak Ipong selalu terjun sendiri memimpin gerakan subuh berjamaah di ratusan Masjid, dan antusias masyarakat terlihat dari membludaknya jamaah, bahkan sampai di jalan.</p> <p>"Sebelum adanya Covid-19 memang tidak ada batasan, namun setelah adanya Covid-19 jamaah dibatasi. Hal ini tentu berkaitan dengan protokol kesehatan supaya masyarakat terhindar dari covid-19", tambah pria yang juga Wakil Ketua Karang Taruna Kabupaten Ponorogo.</p>	<p>Pilarnews.id</p>
<p><b>Ponorogo, SMNNews.co.id</b> – Kebiasaan safari shalat subuh berjamaah yang tetap dilakukan Bupati Ponorogo, Ipong Muchlisoni, di tengah himbauan pemerintah pusat untuk social distancing, menghindari kerumunan dan beribadah di rumah, menuai berbagai perdebatan.</p> <p>Ramai diperdebatkan di berbagai grup media sosial, akhirnya Bupati Ponorogo, Ipong Muchlisoni, buka suara tentang kegiatan tersebut. Ipong pun menggelar konferensi pers di Pringgitan, Jumat (27/3/2020).</p> <p>Ipong beralasan, shalat berjamaah adalah bagian dari upaya menolak bala, termasuk wabah covid-19.</p> <p>"Mendekatkan diri kepada Allah juga upaya melawan wabah, salah satunya dengan salat subuh berjamaah di masjid," kilahnya.</p> <p>Ipong pun menukil hadits Nabi yang artinya, "Barangsiapa mau menjalankan salat subuh berjamaah di masjid maka siangnya akan dijaga dari segala bala dan penyakit."</p>	<p>SMNNews.co.id</p>

<p>Menurut Ipong, salah satu sarana menolak bala yang dianjurkan Nabi Muhammad adalah dengan memakmurkan masjid dalam bentuk salat subuh berjamaah.</p> <p>Tapi Ipong mengaku bahwa agenda salat subuh jamaah keliling tersebut berbeda dengan sebelumnya, ketika belum merebak Covid-19.</p> <p>“Sekarang sudah tidak ada lagi salaman, dangdutan, senam dan sarapan. Jadi tinggal salat subuh saja terus lanjut gowes (bersepeda, red),” ungkapnya.</p> <p>Selain itu, kehadirannya diperlukan untuk meredam kepanikan warga dalam melawan Covid-19. Karena dengan dia hadir di tengah masyarakat dan memberikan edukasi, akan membuat mereka tenang menghadapi ancaman wabah ini.</p> <p>Pemkab Ponorogo telah membentuk satgas percepatan penanganan Covid-19. Selain itu juga meliburkan sekolah, mengisolasi pondok pesantren.</p>	
<p><b>Lpk   Ponorogo</b> – Dimasa pandemi Covid – 19 ini, Pasangam Calon (Paslon) nomor urut 02, Ipong – Bambang dalam menghadapi perhelatan di Pilkada Kabupaten Ponorogo tahun 2020, terlihat sangat keratif untuk menyampaikan program – programnya kedepan kepada masyarakat. Salah satunya dengan cara Door to Door atau bertemu langsung dengan masyarakat.</p> <p>Seperti yang dilakukan Ipong Muchlissoni Cabup Ponorogo nomor 02 yang juga petahana. Untuk menekan kerumunan masa, Cabup Ipong menghindari kampanye terbuka. Sebagai gantinya, dirinya aktif datang menjalin silaturahmi ke masyarakat sambil rutin subuh berjamaah, ngopi di warung – warung dan gowes bersama.</p>	<p>Tabloidlpk.co.id</p>
<p>Cabup Ipong menyebut kegiatan ini dengan sambang sedulur, dan kali ini bersilaturahmi dengan warga di antaranya di Desa Wates Kecamatan Jenangan, Desa Kemiri dan di Desa Jenangan Kecamatan Jenangan Kabupaten Ponorogo, Senin (13/10/2020).</p> <p>“Ya, Subuh berjamaah ini adalah untuk menguatkan iman kita dan menjaga silaturahmi dengan warga dan para kiyai. Adapun bersepeda untuk menjaga imun di tubuh kita, dan juga memang hobi,” Terangnya.</p> <p>Dalam sambang sedulur tersebut, Calon Bupati yang diusung 6 partai besar, yaitu Partai NasDem, PKB, Gerindra, Golkar, Demokrat dan PKS ini selain menyampaikan visi – misinya yang akan datang, juga nampak mengampanyekan gerakan protokol kesehatan dalam rangka membentengi diri dan mencegah penyebaran covid-19. Dalam kesempatan ini Cabup Ipong membagikan masker gratis kepada masyarakat.</p> <p>Tak hanya itu, dalam sambang dulur di Kecamatan Jenangan, Ipong Muchlissoni juga melakukan silaturahmi di beberapa pelaku UMKM, seperti di pasar tumpok dan pelaku pembuatan krupuk di Desa Kemiri, pelaku UKM jenang Bu Mun di Desa Semanding dan juga berkunjung di pasar Jenangan sekaligus mekan dan ngopi di warkop.</p>	<p>Tabloidlpk.co.id</p>
<p>Dengan kegiatan ini, warga terlihat sangat senang dengan kunjungan Cabup Ipong. Mereka berharap Cabup Ipong bisa memenangkan di perhelatan pilkada tahun ini dan lanjutkan menjadi Bupati Ponorogo di periode 2021 – 2024.</p> <p>Cabup Ipong dalam kunjungannya di Kecamatan Jenangan sangat dikenal akrab dengan kalangan pedagang, petani dan pecinta kopi. dalam kesempatan ini Cabup Ipong mendapat sambutan sangat baik. Para petani dan pedagang berharap kedepan Cabup Ipong bisa terpilih lagi sebagai Bupati Ponorogo. Ya, selama menjabat sebagai kepada daerah Bapak Ipong dikenal sukses membawa kemajuan di semua sektor di Kabupaten Ponorogo.</p> 	<p>Tabloidlpk.co.id</p>

In the news on Signalponorogo.com, the form of the Ponorogo Regent's action during the Covid-19 period was to provide health protocol tools (*prokes*) and souvenirs in the form of clothes to the public. The action of the

Regent of Ponorogo as a form of direct assistance to the community and a form of government appreciation in the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* activities. In addition, the text on Pilarnews.id shows that the Regent of Ponorogo continues to aggressively organize the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* program during the Covid-19 pandemic. Even though the central government has banned gatherings and crowds because it can cause new clusters to spread Covid-19. On the other hand, on the news portal SMNNews.co.id, the Regent of Ponorogo still holds fast to continuing to organize activities because *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* program is part of an effort to resist reinforcements' (Covid-19). So that *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* program during the Covid-19 pandemic appears to be a forced effort to get something. The implementation leads to violations of the Covid-19 health protocol.

On the Tabloidpk.co.id portal, it is stated that the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* and *gowes* are a form of campaign for the candidate pair (*paslon*) 02 Ipong and Bambang. *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* Campaign is carried out in the form of friendship and socialization. Socialization with the theme of various future government program plans if re-elected. The fact that Ipong Muchlissoni's position as Regent of Ponorogo ends at the end of 2021. Simultaneous regional or regional elections in various regions in Indonesia have been held in September 2020 from 2021 to 2026. The results of the news stated that Ipong Muchlissoni felt very optimistic about advancing to the 2021 election. It was based on the fact that several parties had supported and recommended Ipong to run as regent again.

In addition, the contents of the message conveyed from the online news portal above stated that in the last few months Ipong Muchlissoni had consolidated to various places in the Ponorogo area. Ipong Muchlissoni's consolidation efforts with the community through the Safari Subuh program together with local government officials. At the end of the Subuh Safari in Jama'ah, Ipong Muchlissoni's observations were realized in the form of riding.

Gowes activity is an anjangsana or *tilik deso* activity. This activity aims to hear and explore the aspirations of people's complaints and desires that have not been realized during Ipong Muchlissoni's administration. The results of visits to various regions can be used as evaluations to advance in the next regional elections.

### 3. Political Representation and Da'wah

Structural da'wah approach by utilizing power in the political structure of government can be a solution to internalize Islamic teachings to the community. In line with that, Ipong Muchlissoni as the Regent of Ponorogo adopted the Program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* as a form of structural da'wah. The Fajr Safari phenomenon in congregations tends towards a secularistic paradigm. The secularistic paradigm understands that Islam and politics (the state) are not related. Islam and politics are two separate aspects. By the *Safari Subuh* da'wah, there are two different aspects between da'wah and politics. The secular paradigm assumes that there must be a hidden motive behind these activities.

In understanding the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* motive, there is no absolute or single truth. In a news text narrative, it is necessary to do a review to find other truths because Ipong Muchlissoni's term as Regent of Ponorogo ends at the end of 2021, it can be a starting point for interpreting the structural da'wah. Government power can be used as a method of political communication to get the people's vote or campaign.

Basically, politics is related to public policy. Parties who have power authority utilize various forms of activity as political communication that aims to include political messages to the public. Jamieson (2001) said that political communication during the campaign period contains informational messages to the public so that the public can choose based on the knowledge they get. *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* is the implementation of political communication with a da'wah approach. Broadly speaking, politics includes power, regulation

(authority), obedience, and order (Hasfi, 2019). Power is the ability of a person or group to influence the behavior of other individuals or groups. *We use the term political communication rather than more popular terms, like political media or media and politics, because communication captures the broader, symbolic process by which people transmit and interpret messages and confer meaning on the universe in which power is wielded* (Dixit et al., 2015).

*Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* is used by political figures to portray themselves in public with the hope of causing a curiosity attitude among the public. The Fajr Safari program in congregation becomes a medium or tool to be better known by the people. So that the Ponorogo Regent consciously has constructed an image to gain more popularity. This is contrary to the basic essence of da'wah is the process of delivering Islamic teachings to mankind with the wisdom of wisdom according to the guidance of the Qur'an and Hadith. The purpose of da'wah is to enforce the *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (Samsul Munir Amin, 2009).

The shift in the values of da'wah should be oriented to Islamic teachings but contradictions tends to be selfish in realizing personal interests. Structural preaching of the Ponorogo regent had a positive impact. That the Regent of Ponorogo uses politics as a medium for preaching by making a program for the community. But on the other hand, there is a shift in da'wah values. The initial essence that da'wah is doing good, following directions, carrying out commands of ma'ruf and nahi munkar according to Islamic law has turned into a medium of political communication to gain votes and image individuals in front of the public.

So from the phenomenon of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah*, it can be seen that there is an attempt to construct identity politics from the Regent of Ponorogo. In religious discourse, identity politics is manifested by various efforts to internalize Islamic values and teachings in government activities and policies. The goal is to make a community or group of people have an identical or



certain image. However, identity politics has been hijacked by the rulers and the majority group. Identity politics that are not competitive will only dominate in one aspect between politics and religion or ethnicity. *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* as a form of structural da'wah has been reduced because of the dominating political interests. Politics uses a structural da'wah approach to influence and internalize the political values promoted by the Ponorogo Regent to the community.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

The Program of *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* is a program of the Ponorogo Regency government as a preventive effort to overcome the immoral behavior of the community. The *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* is packaged with a structural da'wah approach which is followed by government officials and the community by visiting several places of worship (mushola and mosques) in remote villages. The aim is to increase the religiosity of the community, build ties of friendship or brotherhood ties, and village visits as a form of monitoring community development.

However, the motive behind the *Safari Subuh Berjama'ah* program was used as a method of political communication to gain people's votes or campaigns. Political figures portray themselves in public with the hope of causing a curiosity attitude in the community or the construction of identity politics. So there is a shift in non-competitive da'wah values, namely the element of political interest dominates over religion. Thus, the recommendations need to be repositioned to be able to provide a structural da'wah space to internalize Islamic values as the basic essence of da'wah. Repositioning can open space and reduce the dominance of political interests so that the integration of da'wah and politics can be mutually beneficial.

## Bibliography

- Abdul Basit. (2013). *Filsafat Dakwah*. PT. Raja Grafindo Persada.
- BPS Ponorogo. (n.d.).  
<https://ponorogokab.bps.go.id/statictable/2015/01/19/67/jumlah-kejahatan-di-wilayah-kabupaten-ponorogo-2013.html>
- Bupati Ipong Ajak Warga Jadikan Subuh Berjamaah Sebagai Kegiatan Rutin / Pemerintah Kabupaten Ponorogo. (n.d.).  
<https://ponorogo.go.id/2019/12/30/bupati-ipong-ajak-warga-jadikan-subuh-berjamaah-sebagai-kegiatan-rutin/>
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (p. 23). Sage Publication.  
[http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/55588\\_Chapter\\_1\\_Sample\\_Creswell\\_Research\\_Design\\_4e.pdf](http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/55588_Chapter_1_Sample_Creswell_Research_Design_4e.pdf)
- Dixit, A., Grossman, G. M., & Gul, F. (2015). The Dynamics of Political Compromise. *https://Doi.Org/10.1086/262128*, 108(3), 531–568.  
<https://doi.org/10.1086/262128>
- Farhan, F. (2018). BAHASA DAKWAH STRUKTURAL DAN KULTURAL DA'I DALAM PERSPEKTIF DRAMATURGI. *AT-TURAS: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 1(2). <https://doi.org/10.33650/at-turas.v1i2.162>
- Hasfi, N. (2019). KOMUNIKASI POLITIK DI ERA DIGITAL. *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.10.1.2019.93-111>
- Ibnu Hajar S. (2018). *Strategi Dakwah Struktural Melalui Kebijakan Publik (Studi Terhadap Pelestarian Terumbu Karang Di Kabupaten Kepulauan Selayar*.
- Neuman, W. L. (William L. (2004). *Basics of social research: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (p. 391). Pearson.
- Pebrianti, C. (2019). *Bupati Ipong Bakal Keliling Desa Geliatkan Salat Subuh Berjamaah*. DetikNews. <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur/d-4740438/bupati-ipong-bakal-keliling-desa-geliatkan-salat-subuh-berjamaah>
- Rusmulyadi, R., & Hafiar, H. (2018). Dekonstruksi Citra Politik Jokowi Dalam Media Sosial. *PRofesi Humas*, 3(1), 120–140.  
<https://doi.org/10.24198/PRH.V3I1.16729>
- Samsul Munir Amin. (2009). *Ilmu Dakwah*. Amzah.

- Saputro, A. (2018). AGAMA DAN NEGARA : POLITIK IDENTITAS MENUJU PILPRES 2019. *Asketik : Jurnal Agama Dan Perubahan Sosial*, 2(2), 111–120. <https://doi.org/10.30762/ASK.V2I2.912>
- Sugestian, G., Syafei, M., & Fakhruddin, A. (2017). PEMBINAAN KEAGAMAAN MASYARAKAT KOTA BANDUNG MELALUI PROGRAM MAGRIB MENGAJI: STUDI KASUS PADA MASJID AL-FITHROH KECAMATAN BANDUNG KULON. *TARBAWY : Indonesian Journal of Islamic Education*, 4(2), 191–206. <https://doi.org/10.17509/t.v4i2.8563>
- Syahrudin. (2020). Kontribusi Dakwah Struktural dan Dakwah Kultural dalam Pembangunan Kota Palopo. *LENTERA*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.21093/LENTERA.V4I1.2050>