

THE LEEUWEUN AND THE MILLS ON STRONGER TIDES: “RADICALIZATION” TELLS OF “LIES”

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Abstract—The dress code which shows the identity of any believes today becomes interesting issue to debate in many countries. As in Indonesia, this country is known as the biggest “Muslim” country in the world which calculates as much as 87 percent of the total population. Nevertheless, this number does not show the quality of “Muslim” itself. It can be proved by looking at the prohibitions and the number of suspicions on woman wearing “Niqab”. Today, one of media electronic released the news that sounds about the ban of wearing “Niqab” in one big Muslim institution in Yogyakarta for reasons of preventing radicalism. Therefore, this paper will reveal people believes in the “Radical” word by showing the true meaning in “Muslim” perspective through critical discourse analysis. CDA is used to criticize many media electronics that trades “radical” word into negative meaning and re-up woman position in wearing “Niqab” as a form of obedience to religious orders. The data of this paper was taken from electronic news. The significance of this paper is the incorporation of marginalization theory by Leeuweun and Mills. The theory of Leeuweun will be used in general perspective, while Mills will be devoted to marginalization of women. As the result, it can be identified that electronic media offer “radical” word in order to popularize news given becomes more interesting, and marginalize the good image of woman wearing “Niqab” into negative image.

Keywords—Critical Discourse Analysis, Woman Marginalization, Leeuweun and Mills, and Radicalization.

I. INTRODUCTION

The civilization of the world continues to change along with the development of every individual’s thinking, yet everything created and planed by human beings has each limitation both in thought patterns and actions to be taken. This is very reasonable to be happened around us. Moreover it can be said that this is very difficult to avoid, because basically humans are very vulnerable to do mistakes. However, when we talk about wrong and right actions, we are always faced

with the choice of our individual interest. This shows us that right is not always true and false is not always wrong, but these two things will be different if we connect it with a rule in a religion or belief that has an absolute law of commandment. For examples that Moslem are obliged to pray five times a day, Christian are forbidden to marry more than one girls, Hindu are forbidden to eat a cow and many other rules in other religions which are other people have to give respect.

Lately the world of education and social in Indonesia enlivened with a phenomenon of decision-making by a head of one college who arguably quite controversial and not fundamental. The decision of the regulation was very surprising since it came from an institution that had the label that this institution was a particular religious institution which meant that the institution must accept absolutely the rules permitted in that religion. This issue happened in Indonesia where most of the populations of this country are Muslim, meanwhile one of the famous institution in this country release one of controversial regulation that sounds “all of the female students who wear “Niqab” in this institution will be given a counseling about nine times”. This counseling was intended so that these students would release their Niqab when they were in the campus area^[1]. This issue immediately received a serious response by all circles, especially Islamic organizations.

This issue would not be a big problem if the regulation released was not in Indonesia where it was known that this country was predominantly Islamic country. In similar vein if this institution not labeled with a particular religion, belief, gender, nation and etc., then this issue would not get such a response, because it would be considered very reasonable and easy to be accepted by many people.

This paper is important to be highlighted to show the world that the dress-identity that represent one culture, religion or belief or whatever that wear by

certain people do not define whether that they are good people or not. Other than that, women who are always considered weak and often degraded by many people actually are noble human who must be guarded and guided. In addition, the word radical that has neutral meaning is not supposed to be seen as a negative word, because basically this word is used to define a man or woman who tries to deepen their knowledge or ability.

A. Woman, Hijab and Niqab in Islam

In Islam woman is strongly obliged to keep their honor. One of the ways in Islam to safeguard woman is by obliging women to cover their bodies “*aurat*” from the head to toe so that all of the beauty that woman have stay awake and sacred from other human who have no right to see it. This veil is called “*Hijab*”, unlike with the case of “*Hijab*”, “*Niqab*” is a piece of cloth worn on the face of women, however this is not mandatory in Islam but it is only a recommendation for women, so it is permissible but not a necessity, Niqab is a cloth covering the face or part of woman’s face, the only thing that visible is the eyes^[2]. Other than that, the use of Niqab or the woman uses Niqab should conscious about the position and the ban that they are not supposed to do when women take the attitudes as a pious “*Muslimah*”. For instance they have to minimize the interaction with other men that are not the “*Mahram*” or in other word they should talk sufficiently and not excessive^[3]. “*Mahram*” is all the people who are forbidden to marry forever because of heredity, dairy and marriage in Islam.

There are three notions about wearing Hijab and Niqab that are believed by people today. The first is based on the Qur’an Surah Al-Ahzab number 59 that sounded: “Oh Prophet (Muhammad), tell your wives and daughters and women of the believers to bring down over themselves (part) of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused. And ever is Allah forgiving and merciful”. The woman who follows this instruction believes this is the obligation for all women to save themselves in the world and the afterlife world. The second is people who look the Hijab and Niqab as one of the cultures of eastern people, so this people believe that Hijab and Niqab is not an obligation. The third is people look Hijab and Niqab as the liberal clothes. They believe that women use Hijab and Niqab are the extreme believers or the terrorist families^{[4] [5]}. This issue could be found in western country such as France, Bulgaria and many others that released the ban wearing Niqab in their country as the action to minimize the terrorism.

Nevertheless, there are many people and organizations who utilize this garment for the benefit that can damage the good name of Islam before the eyes of the international world. As the result to that, the name of Islam in the international world stamped with terms that mingle negatively such as anarchists, terrorist,

radicals and etc. So that, a few countries also issued the ban on the use of Niqab for several reasons such as Netherlands forbids the Niqab for guarantee of public security reasons, Denmark forbids the use of Niqab to protect woman’s right, and many other country such as German, Austria, and Bulgaria^[6]. The world should look Niqab as a part of rule “*Shari’a*” run by Muslim women “*Muslimah*”. Ferihana said that if there is less than this type of clothing, then not the fashion model that causes, but instead those who use it^[7]. From these words it can be argued that dress that represents the identity of individual cannot be the reason why the other should judge it, since clothing is a tool that anyone can use to trick others into the bad or good actions and interest of irresponsible people.

B. Radicalism

This word becomes a famous word today since there are many people and groups fight the government as the protest of injustice action taken by government. Radicalism is originated from the word “*Radix*”, in Latin means root^[11]. This word can be interpreted positively or negatively based on the protest movement expressed. This protest of criticizing can arise from all kinds of parties, such as organizations, communities, religions and beliefs. Radicalism is an ideology, an action that is attached to a person or group want change, both social and political using violence and extreme action^[11].

Nevertheless, in this study, the word radicalism was not appropriate since radicalism interpreted freely. The people who look different from the society are considered as radical. On the other hand, the concept of radical itself is the action to change. But, it is unequivocally that the women wearing niqab is not radical since they follow the order from their belief that commands them to protect themselves more safe.

By looking at the phenomena above, the questions of this study will be: How are radicalism unveiled through the Niqab prohibition incident? How does the Mills and Leeuweun overview toward the Niqab prohibition?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

It is unequivocally stated that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is not only focused on the language aspect but it is systematically also to the content of the language (News) itself. Critical discourse analysis looks at discourse-language usage in speech writing as a form of social practice^[8]. It means that all of the speech writing such as news, statements, advertisement, and literature are the product of social practice. Considering on the nature of social practice in the realm of CDA it can certainly be claimed that the social practice always has particular background and intension. Other than that, there are three different

points analysis in CDA namely: 1. Text analysis (description), 2. Processing analysis (interpretation) and 3. Social analysis (explanation)^[9]. Regarding to the news discussed on this study, the three points stated by Fairclough implies that the “description” is the analysis of the surface level of the text. Next, the process of analysis is the act of the reader to read the text deeply and take the conclusion based on the reader background knowledge. While, the explanation is the association of the environment and social life from the readers themselves. The reader would not be bounded by other people opinion.

Mills

The main focus that purposed by Mills is about the feminist discourse. She tends to highlight how woman is displayed in a discourse. The focus of discourse analysis is to show how woman are portrayed and marginalized in a news text^[8]. So that, women are poorly portrayed. Women tend to appear in the text as humble side, marginal compare to men. The injustice and poor portrayed women are the main target of the Mills. She highlighted this issue because of there were lot of news showed women as news object^[8].

This study used subject-object position^[8]. The way of this term played was by placing a group, people, idea, or moment until those subjects displayed in certain way in the news. As the result he people read that news had miss interpretation, so that the women viewed as the negative object. The individual who was situated on this study was women wear “*niqab*” in campus area who blamed to be exposed to radical understanding^[1]. Moreover the radicalism issue in this theory analyzed by placing women wearing *niqab* accused being radical as main object. However, these women assumed the wearing of this *niqab* as one of the ways to obey orders in Islam. So that, the word radicalism or radical in this issue was not appropriate, because of they only followed the order that they considered as the correct way. Moreover, this style was also not considered violating in Indonesia environment.

Leeuweun

The model of discourse analysis purposed by Leeuwen is to detect and examine how a group or a person marginalized in discourse^[8]. He highlighted and protested the have people who look the un-have people lower. For examples, Demonstration held by farmer to demanding their rights in one company, because this company does not pay their salary yet. In this case the company has a power to create the news, so it is depends on them to manipulate the news. Such as, “the road was jammed due to a demonstration”. Van Leeuwen generally shows how parties and actors are displayed in the news. There are two centers of attention in this theory, they are: Exclusion and Inclusion^[8]. Exclusion is the process of removing people in the discourse, meanwhile, the inclusion is the process of

displaying people in the discourse^[8]. This study was used exclusion because of the news hid other people in the news.

The exclusion is about, whether in a news text, there are actors or groups that are eliminated or erased from the news^[8]. This process can indirectly change public understanding of an issue and legitimize certain position of understanding. If exclusion relates to the questions of how each group is erased through reporting, then inclusion relates to the question of how each group is displayed through the news.

The way of using exclusion theory is by looking of the BBC news that marginalized women wearing “*niqab*”. One of the examples in that news was they were ordered to join the counseling about radicalism understanding nine times while the other women and men students were not.

The “*niqab*” clothes considered as the radicalism clothes, meanwhile the radicalism itself does not include the clothes but people who apply it in real life.

Looking at the theory used in this study, it can be seen that the word radical or radicalism is not appropriate with the issue subjected. Both of these theories dared the head statement that declared the “*niqab*” as the forbidden clothes in the campus area.

Mills braved the news that presented the women intimidation through their freedom choosing clothes to wear. This media placed the women as the negative object, as the result the theory taken from Mills was Subject-object position. This theory highlighted the women who placed by media as the object, meanwhile, Mills raise women’s dignity by looking at the women as the victim that needed to be raise up. Moreover, Leeuweun defied this issue through exclusion theory where placed the women wearing “*niqab*” as non-radical people. Leeuwen’s theory used to erase women marginalization that presented by media.

III. METHOD

A. Setting

This study took an issue released by BBC news on March 6th 2018 entitled *Larangan memakai cadar di UIN: Antara kebebasan memilih dan ancaman radikalisme* that discussed about the ban of the wearing *Niqab*. This study concerned on the problem of the *Niqab* prohibition which announced in Indonesia which was already known as the biggest Muslim country in the world. Furthermore, this study pinned point Mills and Leeuwen concept in scrutinizing the marginalization of the women who were often intimidated by the policy and media.

B. Instrument and Procedure

The instrument used in this study is CDA and human instrument. The data provision techniques used in this study was *Simak* technique and the sequential

techniques was *Catat* technique. The validity stage used by researcher was *Interreter* and *Intrarrater*.

C. Data Analysis

As the study was a descriptive qualitative study, therefore the first stage that have to conduct by researcher was investigating and analyzing the content of radicalism issue released by BBC news. Based on these findings the next analysis was elaborating how the CDA scrutinize the radicalism values exposed in the news. In purpose to provide comprehensive analysis the researcher applied the Mills and Leeuwen theory. The Mills focused on the women right while the Leeuwen focused on the marginalization.

IV. RESULT

It has been stated that the news was collected from the BBC news which talked about the Ban released by one of the university in Yogyakarta. The rector stated that he released this policy to safeguard Indonesia, specially these Muslimah students who are wearing “*niqab*” from radicalism. So he said that these Muslimah susceptible to falling into radicalism. So, that was why he declared to students wearing Niqab to join the counseling about nine times held by campus. If after accepting the counseling the Muslimah students did not take off the “*niqab*”, the campus would take them out or deport from the campus. Radicalization is a process by which an individual or group comes to adopt extreme political, social, or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo or reject and/or undermine contemporary ideas and expressions of freedom of choice^[10].

Unfortunately, this word radicalism is sometimes associated with Muslims beliefs. This can be one of the reasons why the rector of this university released the ban wearing Niqab in the area of the campus. The question is why does Moslem always associated with radicalism? As we know there are many extreme actions in this world, but they never call as terrorist or radicalist. It sounds like Muslim is one of extremist groups that should be exluded from many people. This issue literally connected with the theory used on this study where one of the groups marginalized because of the intension of other group.

The technique taken from Mills was the subject-object position. This is how a person, a group, an idea, or a problem displayed in certain way in the news discourse that affects the meaning when accepted by the public. Mills emphasized more on how the position of various social actors, ideas or events are placed in the text.

➤ Subject-Object Position

- The women wearing Niqab and the consequences

This point is taken from the rector statements. He stated that “if the students wearing Niqab are not release the Niqab after accepted the counseling, so we cannot give them a chance to join the class”.

This news showed that the rector as the subject on the news ostracized women that placed as an object of the news. The object was intimidated through the ban which was considered to have no foundation. As the result, if these students were not followed campus’ policy, they would not be able to take the class.

• Women’s rights

This point is taken from the ban that prohibited the wearing of the Niqab in the area of the campus. Some people said that this issue have taken women’s right forcibly. Ferihana (2018) stated that the world should look Niqab as a part of rule (Shari’a) run by Muslim women (Muslimah), she also said that if there is less than this type of clothing, then not the fashion model that causes, but instead those who use it.

This issue took women’s right, where the campus that released the ban placed as the subject that took women’s right. Women’s right pined as the object that had been taken through the ban.

• Women as the source of slanders

This statement was taken from Abdullah Ubaid statement which showed that women are the source of the slanders. This statement was like showing that women are the source of the problem of any undesirable event.

This news showed Abdulah Ubaid as the subject who portrayed the women as the source of the slanders. The women were placed as the object that poorly portrayed. As the result people who read this news would look women especially women wear “*niqab*” in negative perspective.

Those statements above show that the subject always judged the object as the negative perspective. As the result the women always showed as the negative object and wrong in media.

Moreover, to have more comprehensive analysis this paper also took Leeuwen’s theory of exclusion.

➤ Exclusion.

- The Man and No-Niqab women not take the counseling nine times

In this point, we can see that the man and no-Niqab women are erased from the discourse, the news was only inform the warning of radicalism of the women wearing “*Niqab*”. But, we also know that radicalism cannot be seen through the dress code of some people.

This news showed that, there were objects hiding or excluded from the news, they were the men and women who were not wear “*niqab*”. Even though, the radicalism was not look from the dress but individual attitude.

- Misleading believe

The rector stated that he afraid these students falling into wrong beliefs. He did not state what belief means.

This news denoted that the rector erased these women’s belief. While these women believed that the order that they were followed was good for themselves.

- Niqab and public attention

Abdullah Ubaid said that Niqab is unfamiliar in our environment. If there are women who wear the Niqab, it actually becomes public attention. While women in Islam must not be a public concern, so as not a source of slanders. This man erased the main point of the reason of why Islam obligate women cover their body and face.

This news denoted that as if Indonesian were not recognized “*niqab*” as the Muslims’ dress. As the result it would be strange if the women wear “*niqab*” were walk around them.

The correlation between these theories is that the counter to BBC news that stated “the rector of one of universities in Yogyakarta” released the ban of wearing “*niqab*” in campus area. The women wearing “*niqab*” were considered to be exposed radicalism. Therefore, these women were ordered to join the counseling about the radicalism nine times. When the counseling had been fulfilled, but these women did not want take off the “*niqab*”, they would be eliminated from campus”^[1].

Both of these theories are used to raise women’s right wearing clothes, they are able to choose what clothes they want to wear since the society are not disturbed.

These two theories confirm that there is marginalization and intimidation that directs radicalization opinions towards women who are wearing “*niqab*”. Moreover, the word radical were not supposed to be associated with the dress that show people’s belief. Belief cannot be used as an object for something to go wrong, because most of the people who commit these deviant actions were misconception of their belief^[12].

This wrong concept of radicalism should not be used as a policy and spread widely in campus and community areas, because it would be cause misunderstanding and even more hoazes or lies themselves.

Mills and Leeuwen’s theory used to raise women’s right since women intimidated and marginalized in the media. The radical tells “lies” on this study when the rector said these women exposed radicalism because of their clothes. Whereas, the radicalism itself has its own meaning^[11].

V. CONCLUSION

Critical Discourse Analysis CDA is one of the media that can protest many problems happened around us. Marginalization of women in this world had been very much happening. Women were often considered inferior to men. One of the examples of women intimidation can be seen in this study where the women were placed as the poor subject. Their right to wear clothes was taken from them. In religious side, this move believed as the “*iman*” to fulfill the command of the god Allah. While, the other side looked this issue as the menace in the real life.

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