Regulatory Discourse on Woman's Body
The Case of Muhammadiyah and Salafi's Clerics Preaching

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ABSTRACT

This discourse analysis aims to compare and evaluate the patriarchal language on woman's body represented by the preaching of Muhammadiyah and Salafi's clerics. Both have positioned the woman's body as a regulatory discourse that must be controlled by men. The data, which included 15 minutes and 5 minutes of transcripts of the respective clerics' preaching, were taken from *Youtube* by employing stratified purposive sampling. Deploying transitivity system by Halliday and three interacting domains of Appraisal, evaluation language theory, postulated by Martin and White, this study found that each cleric approached this discourse in discrepant linguistic manners. From the language of Muhammadiyah's cleric, it was found that the cleric delineated this discourse based on the segregation of the dubious religious correct and incorrect propriety for the women, different from Salafi's cleric, the plausible religious normality. Both clerics' languages were dominated by relational processes alongside negative judgements within intensified heteroglossic utterances.

Keywords: Appraisal, cleric, patriarchal language, preaching, regulatory discourse, transitivity system

1. INTRODUCTION

The discussion on the discourse of woman's body in Islam cannot be separated from patriarchal language of its religious leaders (in this case Muhammadiyah and Salafi's clerics) in constructing this discourse in their preachings. The discourse of woman body from their viewpoints operate in a congruent framework that the body should at all times be "wrapped up" to avert male gaze, especially in public spaces. Not only can this framework be read explicitly, but that it also has the potential to be polysemous. For instance, when the body is wrapped, it is interpreted as the woman's effort to cover her intimate areas with "concealed" clothes, such as veil, *niqab* (face cover that only leaves the eyes area opened), *khimar* (full-length type of veil which covers half of woman's body). However, from the feminist perspective, this indicates restraint, not only on the body, but also on women's sexuality (Priyatna, 2018; Selby, 2014; Calhoun et al., 2011; Fadil, 2011; Jakobsen & Pellegrini, 2003, 2008; Mahmood, 2009; Anwar, 2018), i.e., women are not given space to express their sexuality and desires. In this sense, women in the patriarchal framework are positioned as seducers, whilst

men as predators (Priyatna, 2018; Assemble´e Nationale Que´bec, 2011).

This polysemy then becomes the basic elements that are intertwined with Foucault's concepts of knowledge and power, i.e., woman's intimate areas and natural characteristics function as the foundation for the public justification of women morality. It also serves to regulate women's duties. Not only is this conducted by implementing regulations, rules, laws, or instilling these religious teachings through learning processes in daily practice, but more importantly also institutionalizing the foundation in the private and public spheres and monitoring the implementation (Foucault, 1975).

The preachings of these two clerics can also be seen as the patriarchal religious "regulations" that harness, especially the Muslim women. Patriarchy itself is not simply about male domination in public and private spheres (Sultana, 2010). It also induces masculinity, i.e., the daily practices, understandings and personal experiences of how men act, think, believe, appear and also primarily hold the roles of political leadership, moral authority, and social privilege (Hearn & Pringle, 2006; Coles, 2009; Lusher & Robins 2009). Echoing

this, Haywood (2007, p. 90) also adds the concept of masculinity itself can be easily internalized by employing the foregrounded cultural sensibility, i.e., a dialectical discussion between the religious concept of masculinity and local culture. This is imperative to be conducted as these religious regulations cannot merely be seen as a representation of conceptual imperialism. This imperialism in the lens of Nisa (2019) can be confronted by seeking the alternative voices, especially on how the Islamic feminists offer gender-egalitarian understandings by directly interact with religious texts. This is conducted to balance the countervailing powers in the (Indonesian Muslim) society (Hefner, 2000), as Brenner (2011) argues the battlefield of gender, sexuality and female places the Islamic morality in contestation.

Research on woman body has widely investigated (Fitrianita, 2018 and Dewi, 2012). Studies on the patriarchal language of Salafi and Muhammadiyah's clerics from the viewpoint of Hallidayan discourse analysis are scarce. Leiliyanti and Larasati (2020) investigated how the issues of woman body and sexuality and the domestication are propagated in the 1 to 2 minutes Salafi preaching Instagram videos. They found that the clerics employed languages which represent negative judgment of propriety in the form of condemnation towards Muslim women who disobey their husband. This study aims to compare and evaluate the patriarchal language of the preaching of Adi Hidayat; Muhammadiyah's cleric, and Khalid Basalamah; Salafi's cleric, on woman's body focusing on the transitivity system along with the language evaluation theory (the ideational and interpersonal metafunction).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In comparing and evaluating the patriarchal language of Muhammadiyah and Salafi's clerics, transitivity system and language evaluation theory were deployed. Transitivity system in the lens of SFL represents ideational meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)— material process (action verb, representing outer experience, i.e. the activity of doing and/or happening), mental process (mental verb, representing inner experience), relational process (linking verb, representing the relation of inner and outer experiences), behavioural process (representing the combination of physical and mental activities, such as the verb "laugh"), verbal process (saying verb), and existential process (marked by the word "there").

As for the language evaluation theory (Appraisal Theory), it used to construe interpersonal meaning (Martin & White, 2005). This theory is concerned with how writers or speakers approve and disapprove, like and dislike, applaud and criticize, and how they position their readers or listeners to do likewise. Martin and White (2005) assert that this theory focuses on registering status of texts which involves three interacting domains: attitude (deals with emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour, and evaluation of things), engagement (deals with sourcing attitudes and play of voices around opinions in discourse), and graduation (deals with grading phenomena).

3. METHODS

This textual analysis deployed transitivity system by M.A.K. Halliday and three interacting domains of Appraisal— attitude, engagement, and graduation— by Martin and White in investigating the transcripts of Adi Hidayat's and Khalid Basalamah's preachings. The data were the words, phrases, clauses, and sentences from the transcripts. The data collecting process was conducted by watching closely Adi Hidayat and Khalid Basalamah's preachings on Youtube. It was then followed by selecting the clerics' preachings discussing the woman's body based on stratified purposeful sampling. The selected preachings were then identified to reveal the dominant topic and transcribed into two separate transcriptions.

Data analysing procedures commenced by creating a matrix code of words, phrases, sentences from the transcripts of the clerics' preachings which indicate the patriarchal language on woman's body. The analysis of the coded words, phrases, and sentences from the transcripts follow suit afterwards using M.A.K. Halliday's transitivity system (2004). The data were then analysed using Appraisal Theory by J.R. Martin and P.R.R. White (2005). This was conducted to evaluate how the clerics appraise, grade, and examine their alternative positions and voices towards the discourse on woman's body in their preachings. The analysed data were then compared to point out, contrast and synthesize the differences and similarities towards the employment of patriarchal language on woman's body.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This section provides findings and discussion of the patriarchal language on woman's body represented by Adi Hidayat and Khalid Basalamah. The findings and discussion are divided into three sections, i.e., lexico-grammatical features (focusing on ideational and interpersonal analysis), logical structures, and social functions of the preachings.

Table 1. Process Types

| Process Types | Adi Hidayat | Khalid Basalamah |
	Merias Wajah: Apakah Termasuk Tabarruj?	*Cara Berhias untuk Suami*
Behavioural	-	-
Existential	4 (4%)	27 (7%)
Material	24 (22%)	94 (26%)
Mental	14 (13%)	58 (16%)
Relational	62 (57%)	166 (45%)
Verbal	4 (4%)	24 (6%)
Clause	108 (100%)	369 (100%)

4.1. Lexico-Grammatical Features

Table 1 demonstrates the dominant process type of Hidayat and Basalamah's preachings, which are relational processes (57% and 45%). Relational process serves to identify (relational identifying) and characterize (relational attributive) entities, such as humans or inanimate subjects (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In these two preachings, relational identifying is predominantly used to identify the moral principles of woman, whereas relational attributive is used to characterize the physical appearance of woman as well as the clerics' commentary towards woman's behaviours. The example of relational process (in bold and underlined) are as follow:

"Salah atau tidak? Oh belum tentu. (**Is** it right or wrong? Oh, it depends.)" [Clauses 3 - 4 in *Merias Wajah: Apakah Termasuk Tabarruj?* by Adi Hidayat]

"Ini memang alamnya wanita. (This **is** the nature of women indeed.)" [Clause 2 in *Cara Berhias untuk Suami* by Khalid Basalamah]

Hidayat attempted to introduce the topic of his preaching by questioning the righteous of woman in adorning herself and revealing the outcome responses on it. The pronoun *'itu'* (it) in the above clauses [Clauses 3 - 4], that is used to represent the action of adornment functions as the carrier of attribute *'salah atau tidak'* (right or wrong), and the relational process (is) serves to characterize them. The attributes '*salah atau tidak'* (right or wrong) operate as judgement of propriety which evaluate the woman's ethics. Hidayat continued to argue that if the woman adorned herself for

the sake of fulfilling her husband's sexual desire, she would be considered virtuous. However, if it is intended for the woman's narcissistic end, i.e., becoming the centre of the look, she will be considered mischievous.

On the other hand, Basalamah introduced the topic of his preaching (*Cara Berhias untuk Suami*) by justifying the distinction between men and women. This can be clearly seen from the aforementioned clause [Clause 2]. The pronoun *'ini'* (this) in the above clause, which refers to the action of women adorning themselves, is identified with the identifier *'alamnya wanita'* (the nature of women). At this stage, Basalamah aimed to affirm that men and women shared different realms. Adorning is claimed to be women's world, whilst men are labelled *'berbeda'* (different). Basalamah did not provide further explication on this. By this, this clause affirms not only Basalamah's perspective towards woman's nature, but it also represents his attempt to regulate woman's body.

The second dominant process type of their preachings are material process (22% and 26%). The use of material process in these preachings serve to represent the action of woman, i.e., either complying or violating moral principles, as well as the clerics' dispositions towards it. The followings exemplify the aforementioned argument:

"*..., [sic.] sehingga banyak kebiasaan orang-orang jahiliyyah ketika tampil membuka bagian atasnya.* (…, [sic.] so that the *Jahiliyyah* people **used to open** the upper part of their bodies in public places)" [Clauses 71 - 72 in *Merias Wajah: Apakah Termasuk Tabarruj?* by Adi Hidayat]

"*Pelacur-pelacur jalanan itu tidak ada yang laku itu bu, kalau istrinya melayani benar suaminya.* (Those street prostitutes will have nothing to sell, ma'am, if the wives **serve** their husbands properly)" [Clauses 133 - 135 in *Cara Berhias untuk Suami* by Khalid Basalamah]

Hidayat attempted to specify the habit of *jahiliyyah* people, especially on the Clauses 71 - 72, using material process ('used to open'). This verbal group demonstrates the violation of Islamic moral principle, i.e. revealing the woman's upper body. Not only is this aimed at the women who do not wear hijab, but that it also indicates the ruling that doing such action will be regarded as violating *tabarruj* (Hidayat perceived *tabarruj* as one of Islamic laws, whilst Wati and Saputra (2018) argued that it connotes an Islamic concept which regulate woman's body). At this stage, it can be argued that Hidayat attempted to attach pejorative label towards women who choose not to wear hijab.

Referring back to Basalamah's statement [Clauses 133 - 135], this statement was stated when he discussed a case study about his friend's divorce due to the wife rejection in fulfilling her husband's sexual desire. These clauses represent Basalamah's patriarchal justification

that the social phenomenon of street prostitutes stemmed from women's preferences in complying their husbands' sexual demands. This can overtly be seen from the phrase *'pelacur-pelacur jalanan itu'* (those street prostitutes) which functions as the carrier of attribute *'tidak ada yang laku'* (have nothing to sell) and the circumstance of *'kalau istrinya melayani benar suaminya'* (if the wives serve their husbands properly). At the same time, the relational process (have) stands to characterize the attribute. The aforementioned circumstance also operates as a secondary clause. Material process *'melayani'* (serve) with the adverb of manner *'benar'* (properly) as well as the conjunction *'kalau'* (if) represent the situation in which women supposed to act based on their natural characteristics, i.e., giving birth and maintaining a household (Nisa, 2019). This justification, at the same time, also connotes the cleric's attempt to regulate the woman's body (Anwar, 2018). Basalamah's next statement that the basic instinct of men is their biology reinforces such regulation and justification.

From the lens of interpersonal analysis, it is found that the clerics appraise woman's behaviours and physical appearance in their preachings can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2 indicates that both clerics have the similar focus on appraising women in their preachings. From the attitude domain, Adi Hidayat and Khalid Basalamah mainly used negative judgements to evaluate women's behaviors and physical appearances.

Table 2. Total of appraising items

Three Interacting Domains of Appraisal			Clerics	
			Adi Hidayat	Khalid
Attitude	Affect	(+)	-	2
		(-)	-	4
	Judgement	(+)	9	53
		(-)	48	70
	Appreciation	(+)	-	2
		(-)	1	14
Engagement	Monogloss		6	59
	Heterogloss		42	207
Graduation	Focus		-	14
	Force		46	232
Total			809 Appraising Items	

As for the engagement, the clerics generally delivered their preachings in the form of heteroglossic utterances. This engagement type is deployed to indicate the reliability of their opinions. These are also reinforced by the intensification of quality in the aspect of graduation.

The Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5 are the results of each three interacting domains of appraisal.

Table 3 demonstrates that judgement dominates the attitude branches. Both clerics used positive judgement 31% of the appraising items whereas the negative judgement 58%. As judgement deals in valuing assessment of human's character through the reference of ethics and social norms, it is divided into two categories: social esteem and social sanction (Martin & White, 2005). The negative judgement which the clerics used in their preachings are mostly classified as judgement of propriety, which belongs to the social sanction. It is commonly directed to the actions of women that are considered to be immoral according to Islamic regulation. For instance, *'hanya karena malas'* (selfish), *'merasa tidak penting'* (unfair), and *'tidak peka'* (insensitive) are a few judgements of propriety that are employed to appraise them.

Table 3. Classification of attitude

Classification of Attitude		Frequency	Percentage	
Affect	Positive	2	1%	3%
	Negative	4	2%	
Judgement	Positive	62	31%	89%
	Negative	118	58%	
Appreciation	Positive	2	1%	8%
	Negative	15	7%	
203 Appraising Items			100%	

Table 4. Classification of engagement

Classification of Engagement		Frequency	Percentage	
Monogloss		55	18%	18%
Heterogloss	Contract	156	51%	82%
	Expand	93	31%	
304 Appraising Items			100%	

Table 4 displays that the clerics generally delivered their preachings in the form of heteroglossic utterances. Surpassing monogloss with the total percentage of 82%, heterogloss dominates the engagement branches. The resulted gap between the two sub-branches of

heterogloss points out that the clerics tend to limit the scope of alternative positions and voices as how frequent the heterogloss contract appears. It can be seen from affirmation '*ini memang alamnya wanita*' (This is the nature of women indeed) and '*kalau laki-laki berbeda tentunya*' (As for men, it is different of course) [Clauses 2 - 3 in *Cara Berhias untuk Suami* by Khalid Basalamah], as well as pronouncement '*Jadi persoalan pertama tabarruj yang paling utama ada pada bagian wajah*' (So, the first main issue in *tabarruj* is the face) [Clause 70 in *Merias Wajah: Apakah Termasuk Tabarruj?* by Adi Hidayat].

Table 4 also demonstrates the deployment of monoglossic utterances (the preachings are delivered only based on the clerics' perspectives or 'bare declaration', i.e., the author's perspective with lack of references [Martin & White, 2005 p. 99]). However, the lack of references occurs intermittently, since the utterances in the preachings are supported by religious quotations from Hadiths. By this, these results clarify that though Adi Hidayat and Khalid Basalamah used patriarchal language in delivering their preachings, they are the professionals who arguably attempted to seek for balanced evaluation.

Based on table 5, force is completely exceeded the focus with the percentage of 95% in the analysis of graduation. This result reinforces that the two clerics generate their religious teachings to convey the degree either for positive or negative assessments of, for instance, social sanction ('*ini umumnya menampakan bagian yang tampak terlihat indah*' (This is generally to reveal parts that look beautiful) [Clause 48 in *Merias Wajah: Apakah Termasuk Tabarruj?* by Adi Hidayat; '*Yang penting orangnya baik,…* (The important thing is the person has good characters) [Clause 53 in *Cara Berhias untuk Suami* by Khalid Basalamah]), and social esteem ('…, *yang penting dompetnya tebel*' (the important thing is his wallet is full of money) [Clause 54 in *Cara Berhias untuk Suami* by Khalid Basalamah].

Table 5. Classification of graduation

Classification of Graduation		Frequency	Percentage	
Focus		14	5%	5%
Force	Intensification	255	87%	95%
	Quantification	23	8%	
292 Appraising Items			100%	

Since most of the graduation presence in the preachings are found in the form of force-intensification, this indicates that the clerics tend to

intensify the quality in forming their opinions (Martin & White, 2005) as the aforementioned statements.

4.2. Logical Structure

Both of the preachings used analytical exposition as its genre. The orientation, arguments, and reiteration of the preachings are dominantly represented by employing relational and material processes and negative judgement of propriety.

In the orientation part, Hidayat introduced the topic of his preaching by stating that it is okay for women to put on cosmetics and dressed up as long as it is intended for their husband. However, if it is deliberately intended for her own publicity, it will then be perceived as she commits *tabarruj*. He argued that (1) the highlight of women's beauty lies on the face; (2) when women feel they are unattractive, they will wear jewelries. As for the reiteration, Hidayat indoctrinates his audiences that women who do not wear hijab but wear revealing clothes as well as jewelries engender *tabarruj*. Hidayat delineates these improper/incorrect (?) women's behaviors closely related with *jahiliyyah,* whereas the proper/correct (?) ones, *non-jahiliyyah*.

In comparison to Hidayat's preaching, *Cara Merias Wajah ala Suami* by Khalid Basalamah sums up the basic principles of adornment that women must follow accordingly. In orientation part, he began justifying the different nature of men and women and that adornment belongs to women's world. He argued that (1) women are only interested in men's financial condition as well as moral virtues, whilst men, the women's physical appearance; (2) it is the woman's nature to satisfy the man's biological needs; (3) It will be woman's responsibility if her husbands have an affair. Basalamah reiterated the importance of women taking care of their own bodies. The women's off-limit areas are the breast and genital parts. He also added that women's attempt to take care of her own body will receive God's reward. Therefore, it is a must for women to comply with the version their husband's desire.

4.3. Social Function

The preachings of both clerics are meant to regulate women's behaviours and ethics, so that they are aligned with their natural characteristics, i.e., women are biologically responsible for giving birth to offspring and maintain a household according to Islamic law, especially in the domestic sphere. Thus, the freedom of women to adorn themselves is only allowed to follow the principle of their husbands' pleasures. Hence, women and their bodies are delineated by these religious patriarchal regulations.

5. CONCLUSION

From Two focuses appeared in the preaching: adornments and obedience. Muhammadiyah cleric, Adi Hidayat evaluated women's behaviours through the initial purpose of their adornments, whereas Salafi cleric, Khalid Basalamah, the obedience towards their husband. Therefore, each cleric approached this discourse in discrepant linguistics manners. Thus, Hidayat delineated this discourse based on the segregation of dubious religiously correct and incorrect propriety, whereas Basalamah, the plausible religiously normality. The patriarchal language on women's body in the preachings are mostly implemented by employing relational processes alongside negative judgement of propriety within intensified heteroglossic utterances to condemn women as immoral, mischievous, selfish, and unfair. This condemnation is aimed at women who leave the upper parts of their body opened and wear certain jewelleries in the public spaces, as well as women who disobey their husband. In this sense, the clerics positioned the women's body as a regulatory discourse that must be controlled by men. Hence, it implies that men are dominant while women remain submissive.

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