

## THE DERRIDA'S DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO THE WOMAN OF ACEH

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### ABSTRACT

In the beginning of January 2013, the Lhokseumawe Municipal Government imposed a "new rule" *qanun* or Law no. 002/2013 dated on January 7th, 2013 on the ban of sitting by astride (*duekphang*) for adult women who were ridden on motorbikes, for the establishment of Islamic law and the "*kaffah*" on its implementation. It preserved the cultural values and customs of the Aceh people. This new law triggered public opinion from various circles. Many of them expressed their support, but also not a few who protested it. From the perspective of critical discourse analysis according to Derrida's deconstruction, the text contained a contradiction in itself. The contradiction in terminology. It was a textual engineering which commonly used by the authorities to intercept the dominant tricks. The contradictions between the terms in this "*qanun*" precisely led to the reduction and denial of the meaning of Islamic Shari'a and the cultural values of indigenous peoples. The Derrida's deconstruction technique was finally also being able to uncover the textual reality that would be enforced. It was not the Islamic Shari'a or cultural values of the Aceh people. That would be protected was not the Islamic image of Lhokseumawe women, but the interests of the local government operated the "*qanun*" texts.

**Keywords:** critical discourse analysis, deconstruction, text, ideology, dissemination, meaning

### INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of 2013, it was opened a surprise news from Serambi Mecca, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD), precisely in Lhokseumawe. Lhokseumawe Municipal Government, on 7th of January issued a "*qanun*" (regional regulation) related to the Circular Letter no. 002/2013 which prohibited adult women sitting astride when they were on a motorcycle.

To enforce the Shari'a of Islam in a "*kaffah*" manner, preserving the cultural values and customs of the people of Aceh in their daily interaction. The form of efforts of the Lhokseumawe city government to prevent the vice publicly, the government appeals to all of the people of Lhokseumawe area to forbid them to sit "*duek phang*" for adult women who are riding a motorbike by "*muhrim*" men, within the family relation or not "*muhrim*", or their fellow women, they should not sit by cross-legged (*duekphang*), and the exception is only in the emergency conditions. On ridding vehicles, such as: cars or other vehicles, it is prohibited to behave irresponsibly such as hugging, holding actions and other ways that violate the Islamic law, the culture, and the customs of the Acehnese society.

For men and women should wear clothes which cover their "*aurat*", To all "*geucik, imum mukim, camat*" the leaders of government agencies or private institutions are ordered to convey this rule to all of their staffs. It was signed in Lhokseumawe, on January of 7th, 2013, by the Lhokseumawe Mayor Suaidi

Yahya, the Chairman of DPRK Lhokseumawe, SaifuddinYunus the Chairman of the MPU Lhokseumawe, Tgk H Asnawi Abdullah Chairman of MAA Lhokseumawe, Tgk H Usman Budiman.

The background of the local regulation (*qanun*) was issued according to the Mayor of Lhokseumawe Suaidi Yahya who wants to restore the image of Acehnese women who are having Islamic nuance with full of gentleness, courtesy, and civilized. "If you see "*duek pang*" (sitting astride) when she was ridden on motorcycle, she was lost her good image of softness as a woman", Yahya said, (The "*Jawa Pos*", 7/1/2012).

This peripheral prohibition rule not only prompted much support, but also fueled not a few protests. The sympathy and support came from the Lhokseumawe Ulama Council (MPU), the Nanggroe Aceh Ulama Council (MUNA), the Aceh Traditional Council (MAA), the MUI, the PKS, the Wak Haji Rhoma Irama, the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Union (Perti), the HMI Aceh Utara and Lhokseumawe, and KAMMI Lhokseumawe, while the disagreement and rejection came from the Minister of Home Affairs GamawanFauzi, Minister of Women Empowerment MeutiaHatta, the general leader of PP Muhammadiyah Din Syamsudin, the NGOs The Aceh Institute, the YLKI, the Civil Society Network for Sharia (JMSPS), the Assembly DuekPakatMukim (MDPM), the LBH of Indonesian Women Association for Justice (APIK) Lhokseumawe, the Lhokseumawe Civil Society Communication Forum (FKMS), and the Aceh Woman Network Monitoring 231 (JPAP). Who seemed to have not taken a clear stance until this study was conducted (June 2013) was the Governor of NAD Zaini Abdullah. Nevertheless, as a special region may apply Islamic law within the umbrella of the Unitary of Republic Indonesia. The prediction that of the joint "*qanun*" (regional regulation, local regulation) was serious - obviously cannot be denied ([www.atjehcyber.net](http://www.atjehcyber.net), June 8, 2013).

Taking steps to reveal Derrida-style texts this study is focusing on the meaning of the peripheral prohibiting texts for Lhokseumawe women. It is formulated in the following formula. (1) Which elements are meaningless? (2) Based on binary words, what is the textual ideology of this regulation? (3) What is the sequence of text elements that are metaphysical? (4) What is the meaning of the totality of the text of this local regulation in the process of meaning dissemination to all parts?

## RELATED REVIEWS

### Determining the Undécidable Elements in "*Qanun*" Text

the first step is specifying the undécidable element in the ban on "*duek phang*" by "*Perda*". In the introductory paragraphs of the local regulations, it is immediately possible to find words that deserve to be suspected as an undécidable elements, such as Islamic law, "*kaffah*" cultural values, and customs of Acehnese society. "Uncoverable meaning" does not mean wrong, not important, but rather referring to abstract references, because abstract is easy to be used and utilized by absolute interpreters who feel they having the authority of interpretation to protect their power. The words are not meaningless. The meaning of these words has been considered to be final-essential, when it is undécidable. Therefore, it opens the door to the inclusion of other meanings. However, the authorities hold an authority that the door should be closed.

Islamic terms refer to the rules of Allah The Almighty for people through the Prophet Muhammad SAW, including teachings of belief (ushuliyah, i'tiqadiyah), and teaching relating to human actions (furu'iyah, fiqhiyah). The teachings of belief and human deeds are so many. It can be thousands. Then, who are the formulators? Are they already or not? Who gave the mandate for the formulation? How is the realization? Can it be measured? What is the standard? And, these questions are endless.

“*Kaffah*” means 'perfect' or 'total'. What is the standart? Who is entitled to measure it? What are the areas or scopes? What is the underlying base? How should the values of the conscience of a practice be assumed in terms of the Code of Conduct? Then who has the right to do? On what basis?

Cultural values include the value of art, customs, language, religious practice, science and technology, economic system. Well, at this point it has been triggered awareness of how all this is not meaningless meaning. Take one: the cultural value of the economic system: what is the value of Aceh's economic system? Which economic activities (production, distriubusi, consumption) are typical of Acehnese genealogists? Who has the right to formulate? Since when does a certain activity or norm fit into an economic value? What is the bottom? Who formulated that basis? Who gives the mandate? Since when? Etc.

To be more ambiguous when the meanings are related to the words of customs of the Acehnese society. Which custom? Who decides? On what basis and since when? Because Aceh is made up of many cities, and if each city has a specific custom, then are all the customs covered? Who has the right to decide? This is evidence that not all of abstract ideas have certainty of meaning or undécidable (Haryatmoko 2012).

Not to mention the use of words ‘and’ on long phrases of cultural values and customs. The word ‘and’ never has the stability of meaning, the certainty of meaning, because it always has two meanings at once: 'distinguish' and 'add / unite'. On one side of the word ‘and’ want to affirm that the cultural value is different from the custom, on the other hand the word ‘and’ also unit' the two to be the custom-cultural values form a unity of new meaning. Done? Not yet. Remember, in advance it is explained that in terms of cultural values there is an element of custom. On the other hand, why does the text of the law choose the word “and” both on meaningful distinguishing adding or unifying? Thus, indeed every text (including the text of local regulations) constantly stores the voltage and paradox in itself (cf. Derrida 2011).

## RESEARCH METHODS

This horrendous “*Qanun*” will be examined with a qualitative textual analysis approach. The data in the form of regional perda texts were analyzed by critical discourse analysis (Wodak 2008; Bungin 2011). The interpretation of the meaning of the text in this study applies the deconstruction technique by Derrida (Haryatmoko 2010). Derrida deconstruction wants to find the tension and paradox in the text to find the unspeakable, then process it into a new meaning (Haryatmoko 2010; Derrida 2011) by re-referring to the text because "nothing is outside the text". To that end, the meaning of a text can be expressed through steps: (i) determining the undecidable as an element of non-meaning; (ii) dismantling the binary logic of the ideology of the text, (iii) reversing the metaphysical hierarchy and neutralizing it, and finally (iv). disseminating meanings throughout the text (Haryatmoko 2012).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Dismantling Binary Logic, Finding Text Ideology

Step (ii): dismantling the binary logic of the ideology of the “*Perda*” in prohibition. This law contains exposure to binary words:

Islamic Shari'a	- cultural values and customs
Islamic law	- Lhoseumawe municipality
Lhoseumawe city government	- community
Shari'a of Islam in “ <i>kaffah</i> ”	- vice verse openly
Male	- female

Although the Lhokseumawe municipal regulation places both parties as equally important (mentioned parallel in the introductory section of the text and verses 2, 3); it remains inconceivably that what is predicated in the hierarchical series of norms is the Islamic Shari'a. In the introductory and verse 2 verses, the first of three syllables of Islam are mentioned, culture and custom are mentioned thereafter. This is

more visible when the closing paragraph is called the Islamic Shari'a alone, the other two disappeared. Thus, our appeal is conveyed to be carried out with full awareness in an effort to enforce Islamic law. Until here, it can be concluded that the ideology that dominates the texts of local regulations is the Shari'a of Islam. Is it right?

Wait for a moment.

The couple that is posed as the next binary logic is the Islamic Shari'a - Lhokseumawe City Government. Binary logic is always ideological. If the interpreter only reads the introductory text, the text of the verses (there are 4 points), and the closing text, it is not wrong that the conclusion drawn is the Islamic Shariah as the ideology of the text; All this is fought for the sake of Islamic Shari'a. Though less frequently mentioned than cultural values and customs in the text (introduction - 4 point verses - cover), the Lhokseumawe City Government explicitly appears in the introductory text and implicitly appears in verse 4; The right to rule geucik (head of gampong / kampung), imummukim (head of gamponggampong), sub-district head, government agency in Lhokseumawe, of course his boss, the city government. In the closing text, the city government is lost, not mentioned. However, try to note the names lined up who signed this regulation: Mayor of Lhokseumawe Suaidi Yahya, Chairman of the DPRK Lhokseumawe Saifuddin Yunus, Chairman of the MPU Lhokseumawe TGK H Asnawi Abdullah, Chairman of MAA Lhokseumawe TGK H Usman Budiman. If ideology is understood as a set of values imposed on others for the sake of the rulers, it is not actually the intended Islamic Shari'a, but all for the sake and perpetuation of the interests of the rulers: the City Government of Lhokseumawe; And this is the ideology behind this perverted ban.

In fact, if in binary opposition couples there are "men" versus women, the "men" here is actually the Lhokseumawe Municipal Government itself. Here women are not only victims of discrimination law, moreover also diametrically confronted by the man authorities (Mayor of Lhokseumawe Suaidi Yahya, Chairman of the DPRK Lhokseumawe Saifuddin Yunus, Chairman of the MPU Lhokseumawe TGK. H. Asnawi Abdullah, Chairman of MAA Lhokseumawe TGK H. Usman Budiman). Thus, Lhokseumawe women are sacrificed for the sake of enforcing a qanun.

#### Reversing and Neutralizing the Metaphysical Hierarchy

Step (iii) reverses the metaphysical hierarchy and then neutralizes it. The text of this regulation states: on the one side will enforce Islamic *Shari'akaffah*-perfect Islamic law-, preserve cultural values and customs of the people of Aceh in daily life. On the other hand, prohibiting bestride (Duekphang), cuddle, holding-grip, clothing that does not cover the Aurat, tight fashions.

Let the readers deconstruct the meaning by reversing the metaphysic hierarchy. Law and cultural values include things so sacred, transcendent and sublime, covering important aspects of spirituality and humanity as well as to reach the fundamental values of community life in Aceh. To pursue the transcendent-sacred-substantial matters only to the imanen-profane-trivial matters (how to sit, how to ride, how to dress) is clearly a reduction to the sanctity and nobility of a living value. Thus, the local regulation that originally intended to enforce Islamic law in a kaffah ways-perfect-, in fact, it even trivializes, reduces the teachings; Originally attempted to achieve kaffah level (perfect totality), which resulted in siltation of behavior on the partial outer shell of bits and pieces. Here Derrida's deconstruction becomes a mediating bridge for the emergence of a new meaning (Haryatmoko 2010: 2012) .

Next, this reversal is passed on to neutralization of hierarchical relations. Keywords in this text are Islamic law, kaffah, and cultural values and customs of society. Islamic terms refer to the rules of Allah the Almighty to human through Prophet Muhammad SAW, including: teachings of belief (*ushuliyah*, *i'tiqadiyah*) and teachings about human behavior (*furu'iyah*, *fiqhiyah*). The doctrine of belief and human behavior is not much. Words and behavior of the Prophet (Hadith) alone, for example, could be

thousands. Cultural values include the value of art, customs, language, religious practice, science and technology, economic system. The customs are already covered in the concept of culture.

### **Disseminating Meaning, Creating a "Textual Earthquake"**

The final step of Derrida's (2011) deconstruction is to disseminate meaning to all parts of the text, so as to create a "textual earthquake". There is no single essential principle that can ultimately encompass all meanings. The dissemination of texts means suspecting authentic texts by formulating all possible meaning chances throughout the text. This is possible because the text can "speak for itself" regardless of the purpose of the subject or the maker (Lhokseumawe City Government). In other words, the new meaning is possible because of the autonomization of the text (Haryatmoko 2012).

Holistically, the words in the text straddle regulations ban is already in itself contradictory, laden with a pair contradiction in terms - a commonly used textual authorities for cloaking deception domination (cf. Haryatmoko 2010). The original sacred word *kaffah* on one side is harassed with very profane words: sitting astride, dressing, hugging, riding. Here the text of this local regulation has made silting and reduction of meaning in the rankings beyond. Of course, this does not mean covering the *aurat* is unimportant, but the word *kaffah*, which wanders freely in the spiritual sky of life, certainly can not be simplified and transmitted in the earth of clothing reality and the way Muslims sit.

*Kaffah* the meaning of the word refers to the 'totality of the perfection of charity' is also reduced and narrowed when only achieved by simply preventing *dhuek pang* undertaken by the City Government Lhokseumawe. So, this mean that the closed vice should be understood, allowed? What about the pair of lovers in the hotel room *kelonan*? Lhokseumawe citizens who suck marijuana in a dorm room, binge drinking in the backyard, or stealing neighbor's wife libido in the middle of the garden, gamble in a locked cubicle, ... etc.? Can this be left unchecked as an obstacle to the realization of *Shari'a* practice in a *kaffah* manner? When this regulation was originally intended for the sake of *kekaffah* practice of Islamic law and the preservation of the image of women Aceh Islamic nuance, as repeatedly called for by the Mayor of Lhokseumawe SuaidiYahya (Java Post, 07/01/2013), is it true image of Islamic women (could and should) be achieved simply by not *Dhuek pang* (sitting astride) when riding a motorcycle? Daffi can be achieved only by dressing nagged, sitting sideways when riding? The counseling text of the weight of this regional regulation, indeed, has been contradicted since it was called for, contradictory *in terminis* since the text was born.

What's going on? The text itself has answered: it is to protect the interests of the text engineer, the Lhokseumawe Municipal Government (signed by the Mayor of LhokseumaweSuaidiYahya ...). So, not about the establishment of shari'a and customary values of society, but the interests of Mayor et al.

It is the right of the people of Aceh, especially the citizens of Kota Lhokseumawe, to continue to enact qanun-rule- no. 002/2013. However, regardless of the question of *shari'a* and the value of cultural customs it is believed, it should be asked: has the safety of a woman's soul on a motorbike being considered? Common sense can already be answered: which way of sitting is more able to guarantee the safety of a woman's soul riding a motorcycle: sitting astride (*dhuek pang*) or *dhuek* sideways? Is it true that the enforcement of Islamic law in the context of qanun in Lhokseumawe may sacrifice the lives of half of its female citizens?

### **CONCLUSION**

From the perspective of critical discourse analysis from the perspective of Jacques Derrida's deconstruction, the qanun texts contain contradictory in itself, the *contradictio in terminis* - a textual bias commonly used by authorities to interfere with dominance tricks. The contradictions between the terms in this qanun precisely lead to the reduction and denial of the meaning of Islamic Shari'a and the cultural values of indigenous peoples. Derrida deconstruction technique is finally also able to uncover the textual

reality that would be enforced is not the Islamic Shari'a and cultural values of the people of Aceh, who want protected is not the Islamic image of Lhokseumawe women, but the interests of local government operating behind this qanun texts.

As a preliminary review of the local regulations from the perspective of Derrida's deconstruction, there are many flaws here and there. Since from his perspective Derrida's perspective has the disadvantage of discovering absent and hidden elements outside the text. Therefore, if this study is to be continued, it is best to equip it with another perspective that enables the escalation of intercourse (intertextuality). How would the victim's "candidate" response (female Lhokseumawe), for example, be easily expressed and contextualized with the meaning of the totality of texts if Michel Foucault's discourse of knowledge discourse is used as an analytical perspective. For that reason, for example, we can use the archaeological perspective of knowledge and genealogy of Foucault's power (Haryatmoko 2010; cf. Jupriono 2012a). Combining the deconstruction of Derrida and Foucault's archeology-genealogy will result in a very comprehensive find; Both complement each other.

Descriptive discourse analysis, which does not overly suspect the motive of the veiled power of the text-maker, can also be used. Preferably the application is prior to surgery with Derrida deconstruction. Because the descriptive discourse analysis will dissect all the discourse-building elements of language (Bungin 2011; Jupriono 2012), its findings will be very useful as "initial guidance" for the assessment that will apply critical discourse analysis. Moreover, as a component of critical discourse analysis, deconstruction Derrida principally autonomizes the text: "nothing outside the text" (Derrida 2011; Haryatmoko 2012), then this is precisely the intersection between critical discourse analysis and descriptive discourse analysis.

### **Conflict of Interest**

The authors have not declared any conflicts of interest

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- Submit Date: 02.02.2017, Acceptance Date: 02.03.2017, DOI NO: 10.7456/1070ASE/042

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