



Journal of Pragmatics and Discourse Research

journal homepage: <https://jurnal.ppjb-sip.org/index.php/jpdr/index>

Unraveling the Language and Ideology: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Permendikbudristek No.30 Year 2021 in Republika Newspaper

Rina Rosdiana^{1*}, Sandi Budiana², Tri Mahajani³

¹²³Universitas Pakuan, Bogor, Indonesia

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 03 March 2023

Revised 27 April 2023

Accepted 06 June 2023

Keywords:

Crime, discourse analysis, media, Facebook

ABSTRACT

This study examines the ideological construction in the national newspaper *Republika* (a newspaper with an ideological perspective on Islam in Indonesia and reader responses to the news regarding *Permenristekdikti* No. 30 of 2021. The method used in this study is critical discourse analysis. The research technique is qualitative descriptive. This research has explained the ideological construction through the Fairclough framework for critical discourse analysis (CDA) by applying it to news texts, articles/opinions from experts, editorials/editorials, and main reports published mid to late November 2019, a total of 13 articles, in details, five articles in the form of news, four articles including the main report, 1 article in the form of articles/ opinions from education experts, and 2 in the form of editorials, only 1 article was published by *Republika* which is a form of support for this regulation. An in-depth analysis was carried out on intertextuality. In the modality analysis, the use of modalities in the news text studied was dominated by epistemic modalities compared to three other modalities, namely intentional, deontic, and dynamic modalities. The use of these modalities in positive or negative sentences represents a certain ideology (Requests from education experts and Islamic mass organizations that *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021 be reviewed; accommodate religious guidance, Islamic teachings, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and cultural values in Indonesia. An ideology can be detected by analyzing the linguistic corpus data on the selected diction in the concordance series. The corpus data in the concordance series strengthens the ideology of the newspaper. Among the word series in concordance are *Permendikbudristek* (80), violence (72), agreement (44), criticism (10), and revised (5).

©2023 PPJB-SIP. All rights reserved

^{1*}Corresponding author:

Email addresses: rinarosdiana@unpak.ac.id (Rina Rosdiana)

<https://doi.org/10.51817/jpdr.v3i2.337>

©2023 PPJB-SIP. All rights reserved (2828-4755)

1. Introduction

It is widely known that the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia (Permendikbudristek) Number 30 of 2021 addresses the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education Environments. The regulation defines sexual violence as any act that degrades, insults, harasses, or physically attacks an individual's body and reproductive functions, arising from unequal power relations and gender disparities. Such acts may cause psychological and physical suffering, harm to reproductive health and hinder pursuing higher education safely and optimally. The regulation is seen as progressive in its approach to preventing and addressing sexual violence from a victim's perspective, specifically the issue of consent. Nevertheless, various Muslim experts argue that the regulation has formal and material flaws. They contend that the process lacks involvement from multiple parties and that Article 5, containing the phrase "without the consent of the victim," may inadvertently legalize illicit sexual relations (zina). This raises concerns about undermining the true essence of sexual violence, which should not be justified under any circumstances, even with the concept of "victim consent". (Kemendikbudristek, 2021).

Looking at the relationship between power relations here shows that the issuance of this Permendikbudristek gave rise to opposing ideologies. Through the content and data of the language, the study of critical discourse analysis is relevant to become a study method in this study. The embodiment of power relations and language in the current era no longer appears in a concrete space that involves physical activity. Both operate in a representational space that uses symbol resources as an abstract power to create truth. Through representation, a reality that previously could not be presented can be represented again through the mobilization of a symbol/language system. (Amin, 2014). Information in newspapers became part of the ideological representation. Such is the information regarding Permendikbud No. 30 of 2021.

Fairclough (Mair & Fairclough, 1997) ; Hassan s argues that media discourse should be considered to have complex and contradictory ideological constructions that are not always fixed but vary in construction. Consequently, it becomes important to investigate the ideologically invested meanings associated with mass media. For this reason, a comprehensive framework is needed that can provide a deeper investigation of issues of ideology, power, and hegemony. Consequently, this research draws largely on Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework which emphasizes the three-dimensional investigation of any "communicative event." The first level includes close textual and linguistic analysis; the second level includes the discursive analysis framework provided by Fairclough which emphasizes the three-dimensional investigation of any "communicative event." The first level includes close textual and linguistic analysis; the second level includes discourse analysis of close textual and linguistic analysis; practice, while the last level studies social practices and socio-cultural phenomena in depth. This study aims to reveal the ideology in the construction of news published in the *Republika* newspaper.

Fairclough argues that analyzing the explicit ideology in media discourse and "reading" various texts is crucial to expose the ideological work present in a particular medium. The relationship between language usage and power is often obscure to the public, leaving them susceptible to easy exploitation and manipulation (Hassan, 2018). The media enjoy the freedom to express ideas and thoughts, which facilitates the dissemination of information that might otherwise be hard to obtain. However, it is widely recognized that the media can influence the masses, serving the interests of specific societal segments or "special classes" (Hassan, 2018). With its Islamic perspective, the newspaper *Republika* plays a pivotal role in promoting the development of Islamic values in Indonesia.

Republika manifests its ideology through its information development. This is achievable because the ideology of mass media is reflected in its content. As a form of mass media, the *Republika* newspaper has the authority to select, arrange, and decide which issues should be presented and which ones should remain concealed in line with its editorial policy. Moreover, it can emphasize certain issues, making them appear significant to the broader audience. This ability is known as agenda setting, where the media highlights particular issues that are deemed important. Consequently, these highlighted issues gain significance in the eyes of the public. Conversely, any topics overlooked or disregarded by the media may also be overlooked or neglected by the public. (Zakaria & Nordin, 2021)

An ideology in constructing critical discourse analysis is a study in the first stage. Information regarding the issuance of *Permenristekdikti* No. 30 year 2021 is a big concern for *Republika* newspaper. Regulation issued by the Minister of Education and culture, Research and Technology on Sexual Prevention

and Management in Higher Education (PT), promulgated September 3, 2021. This Ministerial regulation is issued because of the prevalence of sexual violence. Weak victim protection, and the slow handling of cases at PT. As stated by Darmawan (2022), the intention behind this regulation is perceived positively, as evident from its preamble, which emphasizes the right of every citizen to be safeguarded against all forms of violence, including sexual violence. Additionally, the Ministry of Education and Culture acknowledges the adverse effects of sexual violence on the Tri Dharma of Higher Education and the overall quality of higher education. However, the positive essence of this Permendikbudristekdikti is compromised by the content of Article 5, specifically in paragraphs 2 (letters b, f, g, h, l, and m), where certain forms of sexual violence are described using the phrase "without the consent of the victim."

This phrase has resulted in disagreement among various parties concerning this Ministerial regulation. *Republika*, possessing agenda-setting capabilities, utilizes its influence to gather the perspectives of numerous Islamic experts and academics to scrutinize this regulation. It is perceived or even interpreted within the context of Islam that this Ministerial regulation strays from Islamic teachings and, rather than being beneficial, it appears to condone adultery, particularly within the campus environment. This paper aims to analyze the ideology of *Republika* newspaper regarding Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation No. 30 in 2021. Various writings published by *Republika* newspaper will be critically examined using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis to fortify the analytical approach.

Critical Discourse Studies as a Research tool

This study gains insight from the CDA framework principles of CDA as follows: CDA addresses social problems. Power relations are discursive. Discourse shapes society and culture. Discourse does ideological work. The discourse is historical. The relationship between text and society is mediated. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory (Fairclough, 2017). Discourse is a form of social action. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), also known as Critical Discourse Studies, is an approach that covers almost all aspects of language use in social and political matters. It is a qualitative analytical approach to critically describe, interpret, and explain how discourse constructs and legitimizes social inequality in a broad context. (Fairclough, 2017), (Haryani, 2020) argues that CDA is a method of analyzing language about power and ideology. Van Dijk (1998) has emphasized, "Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of discourse analysis research that primarily studies how abuses of social power, domination, and inequality are enforced, reproduced, and opposed by texts and discourses in social and political contexts". The main focus of CDA is to highlight how the power exercised in discourse is used to oppose and control the thoughts and actions of dominant groups, and to protect their interests. The CDA thus emphasizes how certain events or people are legitimized in certain ideological beliefs.

Critical discourse analysis of media texts involves analysis of texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices. According to Fairclough, text analysis involves a deeper investigation of language forms. Text analysis includes vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. The second analysis is discourse practice. This discourse practice is considered a formal feature of the text and contributes more to discourse practice analysis. These concepts involve utterance power, text coherence, and text intertextuality. The third analysis involves sociocultural analysis, which can be achieved by examining the power relations prevailing in any society. The analysis of power relations further elaborates on the hegemonic struggles of the people of a particular society. In addition, unequal power relations will reproduce, restructure, or challenge the prevailing hegemony (Mair & Fairclough, 1997); easily (Hassan, 2018).

To understand the news discourse presented in the print mass media, it is essential to apply critical discourse analysis to comprehend the textual practices within the discourse. Critical discourse analysis perceives spoken and written language as a manifestation of social practice (Fairclough, 1992) where discourse is viewed as an act and a form of interaction. Discourse is not confined to closed or internal spaces but rather exists within a social context. This perspective has two implications. Firstly, discourse is considered purposeful, aiming to influence, persuade, challenge, or convince. Every speaker or writer always has a purpose, whether significant or minor. Secondly, discourse is seen as an intentional and controlled expression, not a manifestation beyond consciousness or outside of one's awareness. The speaker or writer consciously crafted and realized all discourses (Santoso, 2008). In this study, the news discourse concerning Minister of Education and Culture No. 30, as presented in various text types within the *Republika* newspaper, is examined using the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough.

Fairclough's "social change" approach explores the relationship between discourse and the accompanying social changes. Therefore, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is deemed the most suitable method to dissect the discursive practices involved in constructing a text.

2. Method

Critical Discourse Analysis is one of the categories of discourse analytic research that tries to show representations of texts related to political and social contexts. For this study, data was collected using documentation data collection techniques. The data collected regarding the *Permendikbudristek* from *Republika* newspaper in November 2021 was analyzed using a descriptive qualitative approach. The range of data collection periods was chosen because of the intensity of reporting on the *Permenristekdikbud* in this period. During this period, 12 news articles were collected that were relevant to the details: 5 articles in the form of news, 4 articles including the main report, 1 article in the form of opinion articles, and 2 articles in the form of editorials. All data from the twelve data were analyzed in this study. This qualitative research uses critical discourse analysis, a research method and tool developed under the constructionist critical research paradigm in the 1970s. Concerning sampling in discourse studies, discourse analysts do not pay much attention to the sample size of the specified corpus, because 'large samples can create unmanageable amounts of data without adding to the analytical results' of the research. Therefore, analytical interpretations useful in discourse studies can also be made with a small corpus sample size. (Waikar 2018), (Khan et al., 2018).

This study investigates the ideological basis in the news regarding the enactment of *Permenristekdikti* No. 30 presented in the type of writing in the newspaper *Republika*. Qualitative analysis was carried out by following Fairclough's framework which focused mainly on textual analysis, taking into account the variables of lexical choice, cohesion, style, bias, and rhetoric in writing in the form of news, articles/expert opinions, editorials, and main reports on the topic of *Permenristekdikti* No. 30 of these. The analytical framework is provided by the CDA which includes three different levels of analysis that are further linked to three complementary dimensions of discourse: text analysis, processing analysis, and social analysis. However, in this study, emphasis is placed on the linguistic analysis of the text, intertextual analysis, and sociocultural analysis. Fairclough focuses discourse on language because the use of language is used to reflect something. First, discourse is a form of action. Language is used as a form of representation in seeing reality, so that language is not only observed traditionally or micro-linguistics, but on a broader macro-level and cannot be separated from its context. Second, it implies a reciprocal relationship between discourse and social structure. (Saraswati & Sartini, 2017). Further details are disclosed (Surdiasis & Eriyanto, 2018) which divides discourse analysis into three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. (1) The text is used to represent something that contains a certain ideology so that the text is disassembled linguistically because it wants to see how something reality is displayed or shaped in the text which may lead to a certain ideology. The author constructs his relationship with the reader as an identity to be displayed. This means that text analysis includes representation, relation, and identity. (2) Discourse practice is a dimension related to the process of production and consumption of texts. The text production process is more directed at the creator of the text. This process is attached to experience, knowledge, habits, social environment, conditions, circumstances, context, and so on that are close to the text maker. Meanwhile, for text consumption, it depends on the experience of someone receiving the text that has been presented. While the relation is in the distribution of the text, namely as the capital and effort of the text maker so that his work can be accepted by the community. (3) Sociocultural practice is a dimension related to context outside the text. Like the context of the situation. Contexts related to society, or culture, and certain politics that affect the presence of the text.

3. Result

This section will describe the results of critical discourse analysis on the construction of news discourse about *Permendikbudristekdikti* in the *Republika* Daily. The results of this analysis include the textual dimension, which is dissected through three stages, namely the stages of description, interpretation, and explanation. The study in this paper shows that the structure of the news text consists of four units: news title, orientation, sequence of events, and closing (Sumarlam, 2016). The following is presented for each unit.

Title (news article)

The following is an example of a news text of *Republika* 5/11/2021, entitled "*Permendikbudristek No. 30 criticized.*" The text construction built by the four discourse units has different functions and forms a unified type of news text. The first unit, the title, shows the important events that occurred. This section determines whether or not an event is worthy of being made news. News texts must present interesting, important, and phenomenal information. The more controversial, the more worthy/interesting news to expose.

a. Orientation

The second unit, orientation, is the part that introduces the core of the events being reported. In this case, the essence of the incident is criticism of *Permendikbudristek No. 30* which contains a public spotlight on the issuance of *Permendikbudristekdikti No. 30* of 2021 concerning the prevention and handling of sexual violence in Higher Education. The emergence of the diction of consent or sexual consent was seen at the beginning of the policy reviewing the definition of sexual violence.

b. sequence of events

The third unit of discourse, sequence of events, becomes the most important part of the news text because it is this part that fully describes and details the main events that occurred. This section includes the participants of the event, the time, and the place where the event occurred. This section also contains sources of supporting information, such as interviews, quotes from sources, or visual images supporting information about the events reported. In text (1), there is a quote from an expert, the first highlight of an expert on Islamic Education, Dr. Adlian Husaini, Friday (11/5/2021) "Means if students like each other, the campus doesn't care", ... "if you agree to take off your clothes, have sexual relations, if you agree, this is not included (sexual violence). The points he criticized and rejected were related to the free sex paradigm based on consent (sexual consent). This is because the standard of right and wrong of sexual activity is not judged based on religious values but on the consent of the parties, as long as there is no coercion, has reached adulthood and consented.

c. Closing

The fourth discourse unit, closing, serves to close the delivery of information on the events that occurred. For example, one of the news texts closes with an appeal, suggestion, or input as follows. However, according to the title, this news is the first to be published by *Republika* because it has drawn criticism. This paper concludes with a contradicting opinion that agrees with the *Permendikbudristekdikti* Acting Head of the Bureau of Cooperation and Public Relations of the Ministry of Education and Culture *Anang Ristanto* asserted that *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021 is in line with the goals of education as set out in the National Education System Law (*Sisdiknas*).

To give a better idea of the data, the following is a visualization of the coverage in the *Republika* newspaper as follows.



Fig. 1 Main Report



Fig. 2 Expert Article

b. News Text Theme

The data regarding the Permenristekdikti found 13 articles with various types of writing. The types of writing are news, articles/opinions, editorials, and main reports. The following details are shown in table 1 below.

Table 1. Permenristekdikti news coverage in Republika. Newspaper

No Data	Type of writing (page and date of issue)	News Headlines And Terraces
01	News (p.16; 5/11/21)	"Permendikbudristek No. 30 is criticized"
02	News (p.10), 6/11/21	"Campus Questions <i>Permendikbudristek</i> No. 30" The immaturity of this rule makes criticism and protests from various parties very common
03	Opinion Article (p.4; 6/11/21)	"Check the Regulations of the Minister of Education and Technology" (<i>Cecep Darmawan</i> , Professor of Indonesian Education and Researcher in Educational Law) <i>Adamy</i> said the phrase "without the victim's consent", as if to legalize free sex under the pretext of being willing or consensual
04	Headlines (p.4; 6/11/21)	"Listen to Public Aspirations"
05	News (p.16; 8/11/2021)	"MUI Highlights <i>Permendikbudristek</i> No 30" This rule is feared to legitimize free sex behavior under the pretext of consensual consent
06	News (p.16; 11/11/21)	"Fortify Young People from Free Sex" AYPI questions Minister of Religion's support for <i>Permendikbud</i> 30/2021
07	Headlines (p.4; 12/11/21)	"Revised <i>Permendikbudristek</i> Number 30"
08	News (p.16; 12/11/21)	"MUI: Revoke <i>Permendikbud</i> 30" <i>Ijtima Ulama</i> is a positive Islamic tradition for the nation
09	Main Report: News (p.11; 12/11/21)	<i>Permendikbud</i> No. 30 Needs Revision The government formulates policies in an open and accommodative manner "If the campus prohibits (free sex) it means that it will violate government regulations"

10	Main Report: Interview (p.11; 12/11/21)	Prof. Purwo Santoso 'Sexual Consent Not Indonesian Culture'
11	Main Report News (p.9; 12/11/21)	Prevent Harassment, Remove Sexual consent The government responded to the rise of sexual harassment in the campus environment by issuing Permendikbudristek no 30/2021. However, the existence of the phrase "victim consent" which smells of sexual consent in the definition of sexual violence is rejected by many parties, the government should be able to hear the voices of the people who are worried that prevention efforts will legalize adultery.
12	Main Report: News (p.10; 12/11/21)	Prevent Harassment Don't Legalize Adultery "Every campus has actually prepared prevention of sexual violence" Because it could be a rubber article. For example what is the definition of consent in this context?
13	News (p.10; 12/11/21)	Voice of Support amid Controversy

4. Discussion

The grammar in the analysis of news texts is focused on modalities, positive and negative sentences used in news texts produced by both the media and participants or discourse participants (Sumarlam, 2016). The description is as follows. The analysis was carried out on the concept of modality. According to Perkins (1983), modality is not only the speaker's attitude to the proposition, but also the speaker's attitude to events. Modality is the judgment/attitude of the speaker, like it or not, reject or accept it, agree or disagree (or it may be neutral in the middle), which contains the speaker's ideology (ideas, opinions, ideas, beliefs). It shows which position the speaker is in. Referring to the research of Alwi (1992); (Sumarlam, 2016), modalities that also show the attitude and stance of the text producer can be classified into four subcategories, namely intentional modality, epistemic modality, deontic modality, and dynamic modality (Sumarlam, 2016). In this study, thirteen of the observed *Republika* newspaper news texts were analyzed based on the four subcategories of these modalities.

a. Intentional modality, related to the meaning of 'want, hope, invitation, request':

- 1) "I hope that *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021 is canceled.... (5/11/2021)
- 2) MOI asks the Minister of Education and Technology to revoke *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021 to replace it with a new rule.... (6/11/2021)
- 3) A rule should have been prepared carefully, every word, phrase contained in a public policy has a big impact. (6/11/2021)
- 4) *Mendikbudristek* must of course listen to public aspirations regarding *Permeristekdikdikti* Number 30 of 2021. (6/11/2021)
- 5) One of the recommendations made by the forum was to ask the government to revoke the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research and technology ... (12/11/2021)
- 6) Therefore, *Kiai Asrorun* continued, *ijtima ulama* asked the government to revoke or at least evaluate or revise *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021 ... (12/11/2021).
- 7) One of the recommendations made by the forum was to ask the government to revoke the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research and Technology ... (12/11/2021).
- 8) The *ulama* requested that the content and content that was controversial and not in accordance with the *Shari'a*, *Pancasila*, and the 1945 Constitution was revised. (12/11/2021)

b. Epistemic modality, related to knowledge and belief/belief, which can mean 'possibility/predictability, necessity, certainty':

- 1) "There are still several substances that need to be reviewed, such as the meaning of the definition of sexual violence....(5/11/2021)
- 2) MOI expresses its rejection of *Permendikbudristek* No 30/2021. (6/11/2021)
- 3) According to MOI, the *Permendikbudristek* not only has the potential to legalize and facilitate adultery and damage students' morale, but LGBT deviant behavior that is contrary to *Pancasila*.... (6/11/2021)
- 4) various elements should be involved in the preparation of a public policy (6/11/2021)
- 5) Before being promulgated, the policy should also be tested and published. (6/11/2021)

- 6) The urge for the regulation to be revoked or revised is getting more and more intense. (12/11/2021)
- c. Deontic modality, related to the meaning of 'obligation, permission, command/prohibition/warning':
- 1) "In religious teachings, which is also the basis of our country, Belief in One God (sexual relations outside of marriage) is something that is not justified... (5/11/2021).
 - 2) The rejection of the rules that were set by the government some time ago should be an important lesson. (6/11/2021).
 - 3) *Ijtima ulama* asked the government to revoke or at least evaluate or revise the Minister of Research and Technology,...(12/11/2021)
 - 4) The recommendation of the *Ijtima Ulama Fatwa* Commission throughout Indonesia must be immediately responded to by the Minister of Education and Culture *Nadiem Makarm* (12/11/2021).
- d. Dynamic modalities, related to the meaning of 'ability':
- 1) The meeting which was attended by the MUI Advisory Council and Leadership Council,... and academics in the fatwa sector, one of which resulted in recommendations related to *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021 (12/11/2021)
 - 2) The *Ijtima Ulama* Forum for the Fatwa Commission throughout Indonesia appreciates the good intentions of the Minister of Education and Technology to make efforts to prevent and handle sexual violence in universities... (12/11/2021)
 - 3) *Ijtima ulema* Fatwa commissions throughout Indonesia also consider that the material and content of these regulations are contrary to the *Shari'a*, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, other laws and regulations and the cultural values of the Indonesian nation (12/11/2021)
 - 4) Minister of Religion (*Menag*) *Yaqut Cholil Quomas*, is sure that the decisions made by *ijtima ulama* will be very useful and beneficial (12/11/2021).

The following is a data visualization in the form of a *Republika* newspaper Header (Plan).



Fig. 3 Headlines (6/11/2021)



Fig.4. Headlines (12/11/2021)

4.1 Discourse Practice in News Discourse *Permendikbudristekdikti No. 30*

Interpretation is an analysis of discourse practice, namely the analysis of the relationship between text and discourse practice by viewing the text as a production process. Interpretation uses interpretation sources and various interpretation principles (Sumarlam, 2013) to produce an accurate interpretation (high level of truth). In addition, researchers/analysts can also conduct intertextuality studies (Fairclough, 1992, 1995), (Sumarlam, 2016), which examine the relationship between one news text and other news texts that are gay, as well as the context behind the birth of a text. This study is based on thirteen news texts from several media sources. These thirteen titles are news, articles/opinions, editorials, and main reports. News sources from *Republika* newspaper from 5 November to 12 November 2012. The news titles are in table 1 above.

Of the thirteen news headlines, almost all titles have negative values (92%). The twelve titles discuss the need for the Minister of Research, Technology, and Higher Education to be revised, evaluated, and reviewed because there are controversial articles. Generally, the writings ask the Minister to revise *Permenristekdikbud* Number 30 of 2001. The parties requesting an assessment of the *Permenristekdikti* are from many government circles and practitioners of Islamic education and influential Islamic organizations in Indonesia. The following is an excerpt from the results of an interview with *Republika* journalist *Imas Danmayanti* with a public policy expert who is also the Chancellor of the *Yogyakarta Nahdlatul Ulama* University (UNU), *Prof. Purwo Santoso* quoted from an article entitled "Sexual Consent Not Indonesian Culture" (12/11/2021) as in the following interview excerpt with a question asking views on the phrase 'sexual consent'. He said, "I know that our Minister of Education and Culture is a graduate of a foreign campus, so it seems a bit like his way of thinking when you look at the regulation (*Permendikbudristek* 30/2021) that was issued. But I'm also a foreign university graduate, and I don't think it's appropriate to apply this in Indonesia. There is a very pronounced cultural bias from the policies he issued. So, I can't imagine, in the logic of this regulation, there is no reference to it being adultery, so the minister does not use the Indonesian religion. It means that the phrase seems to normalize adultery. The logical framework is not Indonesian at all, adultery—not adultery. So, then the rector seems to be in charge of people's sexuality, yes, you can't. In fact, if we look at Indonesia, let's just count, for example, how many schools and campuses are managed by religious-based foundations. What does it mean? This Indonesian religious concept is deeply embedded in the realm of our education." (Shouldn't this be displayed considering the limitations of the pages that must be created?)



Fig. 5. Expert interviews (12/11/2021)



Fig. 6. Voices of support (12/11/2021)

Only one article out of thirteen articles was published in the *Republika* newspaper with a positive tone, meaning that it supports the issuance of *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021. Writing with the title "Voice of support during controversy" (12/11/2021) "In his written statement, the Acting / Director General of Higher Education Research and Technology of the Ministry of Education and Technology, *Nizam* said, the assumption that *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021 legalizes adultery arises because of a wrong angle of perspective. According to him, the rule was made to prevent acts of sexual violence. "There is not a single word in this PPKS regulation that indicates that the Ministry of Education and Technology allows adultery. The headline at the beginning of this *Perndikbudristek* is prevention, not legalization," said *Nizam*.

4.2 Socio-cultural Practice in News Discourse *Permendikbudristekdikti* No. 30

After analyzing the news text and interpreting the text intertextuality, then Fairclough (1989); (Sumarlam, 2016) stated that the analyzer concluded to interpret the discourse built by the text. The

interpretation carried out includes four dimensions: (i) what is going on (what's going on), (ii) who is involved (who's involved), (iii) what relationships are at issue, and (iv)) what is the role of language. The results of interpreting the news text regarding *Permendikbudristekdikti* Number 30 of 2021 published by the *Republika* newspaper can be described as follows.

- 1) What's going on. The issuance of *Permendikbudristekdikti* Number 30 of 2021 is a very urgent issue to be discussed and discussed. The contents of the candy are a guide in regulating sexual violence in universities. This is contrary to religion, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and cultural values in Indonesia.
- 2) Who's involved. In this paper, the main role is *Mendikbudristekdikti, Nadiem Makarim*. The opposite role is the *ulama* in various Islamic mass organizations, Muslim scholars, and education experts from several campuses who are very well known for the strong concept of Islamic education.
- 3) What relationships are at issue? *Republika* newspaper following its function, always providing information and presenting interesting news. The more controversial the news is, the more interesting it is. *Republika* newspaper voiced its aspirations through publishing news, articles/opinions, main reports, and the newspapers' views in the form of editorials revealing the issuance of *Permendikbudristekdikti* Number 30 of 2021. This government policy needs to be known by the wider community and efforts to urge the ministry to revise the enactment of the regulation.
- 4) What's the role of language? The use of language (text structure, sentence structure, vocabulary selection) in news texts greatly determines the attitudes and opinions of consumers (readers/viewers). If someone (a certain party) is reported negatively repeatedly, then the public will believe and participate in a negative assessment of that person/party. This is the power of language discourse and media participants use to build an image (Sumarlam, 2016). The use of words or diction that is repeated and on concepts that have the same meaning in several writings is repeatedly disclosed in this report. The *LansBox* linguistic corpus application (Endarto, 2020) is used to determine the corpus of data. The following are some of the words intended, such as the words *Permendtkbudristek* (68 data), sexual violence (67 data), victim consent phrases (29 data), refusal (14 data), withdraw (7 data), the concept of 'sexual consent' (7 data) , revised (5 data) reaped: controversy, rejection, polemic, criticism (5 data), from opponents of the issuance of *Permendikbudristek* Number 30 of 2021. The following is a visualization of the selected word concordance.

Index	File	Left	Node	Right
1	Bertengki Kau	di lingkungan Perguruan Tinggi menuai kontroversi dan	penolakan	dan banyak kalangan. Dalam pandangan ketua Dewan
2	Bertengki Kau	sangat wajar jika peraturan tersebut menuai banyak	penolakan	dan kritik. Sejumlah kalangan menilai, beleid itu
3	Permendikbu	organisasi masyarakat (ormas) Islam satu suara menyerukan	penolakan	dan revisi atas beleid tersebut. Ketua Majelis
4	Permendikbu	Ormas Islam (MOI) KH Negeri Hatis menyampaikan	penolakan	MOI terhadap beleid yang diterbitkan Kemendikbudristek merupakan
5	Permendikbuperdzinaanperdzinaan di lingkupendikdik	Dia juga menegaskan,	penolakan	tersebut bertentangan pada nilai-nilai agama, Pancasila, dan
6	Permendikbu	umum PP Wanita Islam Marfuah Musthofa menyampaikannya	penolakan	terhadap Pemien PPKS yang dikeluarkan oleh Mendikbud
7	Permendikbu	tergabung dalam Majelis Ormas Islam (MOI) menyatakan	penolakan	atas Permendikbudristek No 30/2021. MOI menganggap bahwa
8	Tajuk Dengar	di Lingkungan Perguruan Tinggi menuai kritik dan	penolakan	Majelis Ormas Islam (MOI), yang beranggotakan 13
9	Tajuk Dengar	pasal 5 ayat 2 menjadi biang munculnya	penolakan	dan kritik publik terhadap permendikbudristek itu. Frasa
10	Tajuk Dengar	sebagai bentuk legalisasi perdzinaan. Munculnya kritik dan	penolakan	dari publik terhadap sebuah aturan, menandakan rendahnya
11	Tajuk Dengar	sebuah kebijakan publik memiliki dampak yang besar	penolakan	terhadap aturan yang ditetapkan pemerintah pada beberapa
12	Tajuk Dengar	stake holder dalam penyusunan aturan kerap melancarkan	penolakan	Mendikbudristek tentu harus mendengarkan aspirasi publik terkait
13	Tajuk Dengar	dalam aturan itu hendaknya diperbaiki. Kritik dan	penolakan	publik harus diterima sebagai bentuk kecamatan masyarakat
14	Telitik Aturan	Muatan materi di atas, memicu kritik dan	penolakan	karena dianggap kental bernuansa paradigma seks bebas dengan

Fig. 7. Example of Diction in Linguistic Corpus

In this critical discourse analysis, the next stage is explanation. Explanation analyzes the relationship between discourse practice and social context (analysis of socio-cultural practice). Explanation aims to find an explanation of the results of the interpretation at the description and interpretation stages. At this level, the relationship between tendencies in the text, complexity in discourse practice, and processes in social change is explained (Sumarlam, 2016). However, this paper will not reveal this explanation stage due to the limited space for writing this article.

5. Conclusion

This study was conducted to reveal several reports published by the Republika newspaper regarding Permendikbudristekdikti Number 30 of 2021 in various texts, according to the structure of the text in various types of news. Discourse analysis in this study uses Fairclough's AWK model (1989, 1995). This study produces the following conclusions. In the modality analysis, the use of modalities in the news text studied is dominated by epistemic modalities compared to the other three modalities: intentional, deontic, and dynamic. The use of these modalities in positive or negative sentences represents a certain ideology (Requests from education experts and Islamic mass organizations that Permendikbudristek Number 30 of 2021 be reviewed; accommodate religious guidance, Islamic teachings, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and cultural values in Indonesia).

Declaration of Conflicting Interest

This research was well conducted. There are no conflicts that occur in the research process, article writing, and publication in this research, so it will not cause problems to any party or cause any problems in the future.

Acknowledgments

This research was carried out thanks to the help of funds from Universitas Pakuan. A thank you to Unpak because this research can be carried out and published.

References

- Amin, M. F. (2014). *Bahasa dan Ideologi: Mengungkap Ideologi dan Kekuasaan Simbolik di Balik Penggunaan Bahasa (Kajian Teks Media Melalui Analisis Wacana kritis)*. 19(1).
- Darmawan, A. (2022). *Analisis Wacana Kritis Sosial dalam Teks Surat Kabar Pasca Reformasi*. 3(4), 208–219.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 3(2), 193–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926592003002004>
- Fairclough, N. (2017). Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis. In *You Tube* (p. 1). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3w_5riFCMGA
- Haryani, H. (2020). Perempuan Dalam Budaya Patriarki: Kajian Semiotika Sosial Dalam Cerpen Sunda Berjudul "Si Bocokok." *Ensains Journal*, 3(1), 11. <https://doi.org/10.31848/ensains.v3i1.299>
- Hassan, A. (2018). Language, Media, and Ideology: Critical Discourse Analysis of Pakistani News Bulletin Headlines and Its Impact on Viewers. *SAGE Open*, 8(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018792612>
- Kemendikbudristek. (2021). Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Perguruan Tinggi. *Jdih.Kemdikbud.Go.Id*, 5, 6.
- Mair, C., & Fairclough, N. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Analysis of Language. *Language*, 73(1), 189. <https://doi.org/10.2307/416612>
- Santoso, A. (2008). Jejak Halliday dalam Linguistik Kritis dan Analisis Wacana Kritis. *Bahasa Dan Seni*, 36(11), 1–14.
- Saraswati, A., & Sartini, N. W. (2017). Wacana Perlawanan Persebaya 1927 terhadap PSSI : Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough. *Mozaik Humaniora*, 17(2), 181–191.
- Sumarlam. (2016). Representasi Kekuasaan Melalui Sabda Raja Pada Teks Berita Mengenai Konflik Internal Keraton Yogyakarta (Sebuah Analisis Wacana Kritis). *Seminar International PRASASTI III, Hb X*, 58–70. <https://jurnal.uns.ac.id/prosidingprasasti/article/view/1444/1338>
- Surdiasis, F., & Eriyanto, E. (2018). Narrative of politics in the era of social media: A multimodal analysis of president Joko Widodo's video blog. *E3S Web of Conferences*, 74. <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/20187410012>
- Zakaria, K., & Nordin, M. Z. F. (2021). ... dan kuasa: analisis wacana bahasa perundingan Nabi Yusuf AS dengan saudara-saudara Baginda: Language and power: discourse analysis of the language of *Al-Irsyad: Journal of Islamic and ...*, 6(1), 662–670. <http://al-irsyad.kuis.edu.my/index.php/alirsyad/article/view/194>

Other Bibliography:

- Darmawan, Cecep. 2021. "Telisik Aturan Mendikbudristek" dalam *Republika*, Sabtu 6 November 2021 halaman 4.
- Republika*. Jumat, 5 November 2021 halaman 5. "Permendikbudristek No 30 Dikritik: Beleid ini akan memberikan Stigma di Masyarakat bahwa seks bebas tidak dilarang."
- Republika*. Sabtu, 6 November 2021 halaman 4. Tajuk: "Dengarkan Aspirasi Publik"
- Republika*. Sabtu, 6 November 2021 halaman 16. "Kampus Persoalkan Permendikbudristek No 30".
- Republika*. Senin, 8 November 2021 halaman 16. "MUI Soroti Permendikbudristek No 30".
- Republika*. Jumat 12 November 2021 halaman 4. Tajuk: "Revisi Permendikbudristek Nomor 30".
- Republika*. Jumat, 12 November 2021 halaman 11. Main Report: "Permendikbud No 30 Perlu Revisi".
- Republika*. Jumat, 12 November 2021 halaman 11. Main Report: "Wawancara Prof. Purwo Santoso: Sexual Consent Bukan Budaya Indonesia.
- Republika*. Jumat, 12 November 2021 halaman 10. "Cegah Pelecehan Jangan legalisasi zina".
- Republika*. Jumat, 12 November 2021 halaman 10. "Suara Dukungan di Tengah Kontroversi".
- Republika*. Jumat 12 November 2021 halaman 13. "Cegah pelecehan, Hapus Sexual Consent".
- Republika*. Jumat, 12 November 2021 halaman 16. "MUI: Cabut Permendikbud 30: Ijtima Ulama merupakan Tradisi keberislaman yang Positif Bagi Bangsa".

About the author

Rina Rosdiana is a lecturer in the Indonesian Language and Literature Education Study Program at Pakuan University. Currently continuing his studies at the Applied Linguistics Study Program, Jakarta State University (UNJ). In addition to teaching the activities he is engaged in related to his professional field is to carrying out research and guidance to the community. His study of research on language learning and linguistics. Writing teaching materials related to the fields of language, literature, and learning studies. Email: rinarosdiana@unpak.ac.id

Sandi Budiana is a lecturer in the Indonesian Language and Literature Education Study Program at Pakuan University. Currently continuing his studies at the Applied Linguistics Study Program, Jakarta State University (UNJ). The concentration of scientific studies related to the fields of language, learning, evaluation, and elementary school. Writing teaching materials related to the fields of language, literature, and learning studies. Email: budianasandi@gmail.com

Tri Mahajani is a lecturer in the Indonesian Language and Literature Education Study Program at Pakuan University. The field of study of science he is engaged in is language teaching and field of linguistics. Writing teaching materials related to the fields of language, literature, and learning studies. Email: trimahayani68@yahoo.co.id