



# Public Ideologies

## *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Sexual Violence Regulation in Indonesian Universities on Online News Sites*

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### ABSTRACT

In recent times, the government's news regulation toward sexual violence in the university has got attraction among different parties. This issue has triggered biased responses on various online platforms. Such every person who responds brings ideologies that have been their own belief in determining whether it is a proper regulation or neither. This study aimed to examine public ideological friction on online news sites toward sexual violence regulation in Indonesian universities. This study was a qualitative study designed to understand phenomena that occur such as responses, comments perceptions, etc. holistically. Data collected were public responses taken from online news site platforms, such as KOMPAS.com, Detik.com, Merdeka, VOI, tirto.id, Hidayatullah.com, and kumparanNEWS. Data collection was done by a collation of documentation, listening, and taking notes. The responses were identified through a series of agreements and rejections which is a thematic grouping based on public ideological friction. For data analysis, this study used Fairclough (1992) critical discourse analysis to address the research questions of the study. The results revealed that the public agreement used vocabulary, personal pronouns, and modality by referring to the victim to instill an ideology of legal protection and justice. Meanwhile, the public rejection used an understanding based on religion, liberalism, and destruction of the nation's character and morals, especially students, and Pancasila. In addition, with the findings in the study, new ideology friction variations emerged that continue to grow from several multicultural perspectives our public societies have now in their own mind.

**Keywords:** *Critical discourse analysis, Ideologies, Public, Sexual violence in university.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The occurrence of Permendikbud Number 30, 2021 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in the university's environment (Permen PPKS) is a breakthrough to protect victims that draw public attention to online platforms. Its news coverage, which seemed controversial, drew biased responses from various parties from various parties. Since its existence, there have been different responses to its discourse ranging from government, institutions, Islamic mass organizations, parties, universities, activists, students, and netizens. The trigger responses are different perspectives in looking at the issue. The public response showed agreement and opposition to sexual violence regulations in the university. The public who supports the regulation considers it a good step to oversee the implementation of this regulation (Rivaldi, Fernanda, & Baidhowi, 2021). However, rejection tends to be based on a wrong understanding of the context (Marune, 2021).

The agreement responses are such justice support for victims to get psychological and mental security by law to hold the right to self-security and protection in the university. It relates to the psychological function's victims that are better and decreased self-blaming towards themselves (Filipas & Ullman, 2001; Orchowski, United, & Gidycz, 2013), the rejection may elude the reality of cases of sexual violence in the university. As a result, there are still many hidden cases. Bogen et al. (2019) considered that these responses can treat victims differently which is to distract victims from needs, control victims, and blame victims. Thus, compromising solution for the prevention and treatment of sexual violence is needed to show tolerance toward victims under the control of the perpetrator's power.

Therefore, further study is needed to investigate how public responses contribute to sexual violence regulation among students in Indonesian universities. The role played by text, talk, and images in advancing ideology is

the case in this study regarding public ideology on online news sites towards sexual violence regulation in the university which so far has not been widely available get attention. Although public ideology has widely been practiced in various fields, particularly in psychology, the practice of public ideology in the higher education context still gets very little attention from researchers. So, the present study provides empirical evidence from the public who responded to sexual violence regulation in Indonesian universities using Critical Discourse analysis (CDA). Thus, this study aimed to examine public ideological friction on online news sites toward sexual violence regulation in Indonesian universities.

### ***1.1. Ideology and Critical Discourse Analysis***

Ideology has been widely treated in CDA (Wodak, 1989; Fairclough, 1989, 2000, 2003, 2013; Eagleton, 1994; Van Dijk, 1995, 2000, 2011, 2013; Weiss & Wodak 2003; Chilton 2004). A previous study investigated ideology referring to CDA in any issue. Such Marpurdianto (2021), five ideologies in President Joko Widodo's speech are nationalism, equality, unity, prioritizing citizens, the prosperity of the nation, and hard work. It is in line with Munandar, Arvianti, and Muhid (2021) to prove that there is a relationship between language, power, and ideology in President Jokowi's speech as president of Indonesia. In speeches, political leaders, especially the prime minister, manipulate vocabulary, pronouns, and modal verbs to express ideology in the language they use (Shah, Ahmad, & Danish, 2021).

But moreover, the media has its ideology. As found by Badara and Jamaludin (2020), the secular-nationalist ideology in Merdeka newspaper presented women marginally. Not only the media, but the public (such as netizens or media users) also bring ideology to the text produced in comment columns on social media. Rahmatika, Setiawaty, and Wahyudi (2021) examined the spectrum of ideological frictions on netizens' attitudes in the comments column of news accounts on Facebook bringing political, historical, and religious ideological frictions to the discourse of the Hagia Sophia conversion policy.

### ***1.2. Sexual Violence Regulation in University***

Study on the prevention of sexual violence on Indonesian universities has been widely studied by previous researchers (Sitorus, 2019; Adiyanto, 2020; Istiadah, Indah, & Rosdiana, 2020; Jailani, 2020; Dewi & Purwani, 2021; Marfu'ah, Rofi'ah, & Maksun, 2021; Andrianika et al., 2022) regarding the measurement of the prevention and countermeasures task force, forms of legal protection, the use of media as a discussion space, policy documents, and regulatory challenges. On the other hand, studies had adopted the approach of law,

Islamic law, sociology, online perception, and religion to examine Permen PPKS (Adawiyah, Luayyin, & Ardil, 2020; Amal, 2021; Busyro et al., 2022; Apriani et al., 2022; Rahmasari, 2022; Rahmi, 2020; Sholekhah, Baroroh, & Alfi, 2022; Virgistasari & Irawan 2022). Anggini (2020) found that the existence of this regulation is motivated by the iceberg phenomenon related to sexual violence in Indonesian universities. Later on, this regulation has an impact on the social life of the community through various responses.

## **2. METHOD**

The qualitative research design was chosen in this study to gain an in-depth understanding of public ideology about sexual violence regulation in the university. Data were collected from public responses toward sexual violence regulation on online news site platforms, such as KOMPAS.com, Detik.com, Merdeka, VOI, tirto.id, Hidayatullah.com, and kumparanNEWS. Those sites are national news sites platforms in Indonesia. Data were divided into two frictions: agreement and rejection. Data were selected using purposive sampling based on their background and identity who have the power in their parties. For data analysis, this study used Fairclough (1992) critical discourse analysis framework involving three main elements: description (text analysis), interpretation (text analysis), and explanation (social analysis). The goal is to identify the ideology or belief in the text produced by the public. In the first dimension, discourse as text involves a systematic descriptive analysis of linguistic features. At the text level, the focus is on parts consisting of structure, vocabulary, grammar, and cohesion (Fairclough, 1992). In the produced texts, search for words or terms related to friction, such as to identify how this friction describes Permen PPKS. Another part of the analysis of the grammatical components of modalities. The second dimension, discourse practice is a level of discursive practice that involves interpretive analysis of processes related to the social context in which the text is produced and received (Fairclough, 1992). The third dimension, discourse as a social practice involves the analysis of social explanations of sociocultural conditions and ideological effects in which discourse has been formed. Overall, the response in the form of text was reread to find the most dominating discourse produced by the public. In presenting the results, the responses have been translated from Indonesian to illustrate to get an understanding of the meaning.

## **3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### ***3.1. Results***

This study identified two public ideological frictions toward sexual violence regulation in Indonesian universities. The friction responses were identified as

agreement and rejection. Each of this friction of each response represented the ideology to the underlying described below.

### 3.1.1. Public Ideologies in Agreement Friction

The majority of responses categorized as agreement focused on the victims. Public expressed victims repeatedly to instill that the victims have the right to get protection, treatment, and justice for their safety. So that victims are not always concerned and marginalized. In each response, the public holds consideration to be conveyed to society relating to supporting Permen PPKS. The following is an explanation of the responses.

#### 3.1.1.1. Guaranty law

Guaranty law is expressed by HS as Deputy Chairman of Commission X DPR refers to her belief that the legal principle of law is a must. In this quote, HS's response expresses the demands for the legal system to get justice in a precise and clear manner and to secure the rights of victims through the principle of legality. In Excerpt 1 below, it can be seen.

Excerpt 1:

*"Formulasi 'tanpa persetujuan korban' itu kan sebetulnya bertujuan untuk menjamin bahwa korban tidak akan turut mengalami sanksi dari kampus setelah mengalami pemaksaan oleh pelaku kekerasan seksual, sehingga korban pun merasa aman dan bebas mengadukan kasusnya".*

"The formulation 'tanpa persetujuan korban (without the victim's consent)' actually aims to ensure that the victim will not be the subject of sanctions from the university after being coerced by the perpetrator of sexual violence. Thus, the victim feels safe and free to report its cases."

HS, Deputy Chairman of Commission X DPR  
(KOMPAS.com)

The text above expressed mutual empathy for the victim. Her empathy is expressed by the use of the vocabulary *menjamin* 'guarantee' indicating victim safety through legality. So that the victims do not become victim blaming as a perpetrator of immoral acts. On the other hand, the vocabulary of '*korban* (victim)' is repeated twice indicating that HS was identified as Deputy Chair of Commission X DPR who represents her organization that points to legal justice through guarantee law given to the victims. In addition, to show her side with the victim, HS used the phrase *tidak akan turut mengalami sanksi* 'will not suffer sanction' which is used so that legal guarantees can prosper the victims and obtain their rights and freedoms from the demands of perpetrators of sexual violence. Modality *akan* 'will' emphasis shows that the victims will not become double victims by not getting threats back from the perpetrator, such as defamation.

With the guaranty law, the victims have the right to report what happened to her without any fear in herself that arises on the basis of other parties, such as the university encouraging students to hide the case of a crime of sexual violence to protect the good name of the university. Thus, the victims are not ensnared by the law, even the victims get legal protection and assistance psychologically and mentally for the experience. Furthermore, the phrase *merasa aman dan bebas* 'feel safe and free' to describe HS affects the attitude of victims that they should not always be oppressed by the authorities. This is part of the imbalance of power relations as part of the legacy of a patriarchal culture that is still ingrained.

#### 3.1.1.2. Oppression

The negative embedding used by MR on the victims is a form of oppression that the victim will receive. Moreover, with the continuous rejection of regulations, victims are increasingly cornered and will not get justice for their rights.

Excerpt 2:

*"Narasi penolakan aturan ini justru berpotensi menyerang korban. Dengan mendasarkan kekerasan seksual pada aspek adanya perkawinan sesuai norma, korban akan sulit memperoleh keadilan karena akan distigma terlibat dalam hubungan tidak legal, moralitasnya akan digali, korban akan dikotak-kotakkan dan terus dan terus direndahkan. Ketika melaporkan kasusnya, ketimbang memberikan ruang aman bagi korban."*

"The rejection rule of narration has the potential to attack the victim. Basing sexual violence on aspects of the existence of marriage according to norms, victim will find it difficult to get justice because they will be stigmatized as being involved in illegal relationships, their morality will be explored, victims will be compartmentalized and continue to be humiliated when reporting their cases, rather than providing a safe space for victims."

MR, Researcher in Institute for Criminal Justice Reform  
(Merdeka)

The following Excerpt 2 shows annoyance towards those who reject. This reject has the potential to continue to oppress the victim. MR represented as a Researcher of the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform shows the negative impact in the future on victims of rejection of regulations. The aspect that underlies the impact obtained by the victims based on the phrase "*kekerasan seksual pada aspek adanya perkawinan sesuai norma*" 'sexual violence in the aspect of having a marriage according to the norm' will make it difficult for the victims.

She believes that rejection is a form of oppression that has the potential to attack the victims, injustice to the victims, demean the victims, and insecurity the victims. In this case, the impact experienced by the victim is double suffering from the community or their selves. Attacks from outside will continue to corner the victims

until they get protection and justice for her rights. This means that the repetition of the word *korban* 'victim' which is repeated four times show the urgency to be handled because the negative embedding in each victims' vocabulary is the same as oppression. Furthermore, the use of the modality *akan* 'will' followed by judgment shows the future impact of attention on the victim. In this case, the victim is awry and marginalized.

### 3.1.1.3. Justice

Demanding justice is a must done by NRZ in handling and recovering victims for the welfare of victims in sexual violence crimes.

Excerpt 3:

*"Terhadap kelompok yang menolak Permendikbud Ristek, tentu kami menyayangkan sikap-sikap tersebut karena cenderung mengesampingkan nasib atau kepentingan korban. Aku rasa perdebatan soal moralitas agama kelompok tertentu ini harus dihentikan karena sudah menjauhkan korban dari upaya-upaya pemulihan dan memperoleh keadilan."*

"For group who reject the Permendikbud, Research and Technology, exactly we regret these attitudes because they tend to override the fate or interests of the victims. I think this debate about the morality of the religion of certain groups should be stopped because it has distanced the victim from efforts to recover and obtain justice."

NRZ of KOMPAKS  
tirto.id

Loss of respect is shown for the opposition group who rejects Permen PPKS. Explicitly, NRZ appointed a group that rejected the regulation as referring to Islamic and political organizations. In that case, the use of the personal pronoun '*Kami* (we)' represents the general opinion of the Coalition of Civil Society Against Sexual Violence (KOMPAKS) which regrets the attitude that marginalizes and does not focus on the fate and interests of the victims to get full justice.

The vocabulary *korban* 'victim' which is repeated over and over is represented to demand for justice. In this case, NRZ supports the group's opinion by using the personal pronoun *Aku* 'I' refers to her personal opinion which considers that the rejection of Permen PPKS is related to the religious-based attitude of certain groups. According to her, excluding victims on the basis of religious teachings is not justified. Therefore, she uses the modality *harus* 'must' to indicate prohibition because the victims need justice from assistance to recovery. In this case, the demand shown by NRZ is the provision of justice to the victims.

### 3.1.1.4. Religious Moderation

Religious moderation represented by YCQ as Minister of Religious is considered a way to solve various issues. It has been discussed that the concept is used to

strengthen religion in the midst of religious diversity, political, religious, social, cultural, and so on.

Excerpt 4:

*"Maka hemat saya perlindungan terhadap civitas akademika dalam konteks kekerasan seksual itu adalah bagian dari implementasi moderasi beragama dan tentu saja bagian dari aktualisasi beragama tadi."*

"In my opinion, the protection of Academicians society in the context of sexual violence is part of the implementation of religious moderation and an actualization of religion."

YCQ, Minister of Religious Affairs  
Detik.com

In excerpt 4, YCQ commits religious moderation in solving any issue currently happened. According to him, to express its commitment to religious moderation, YCQ uses the conjunction *maka* 'so' as a conjunction that explains the conclusion in the opinion held. In his emphasis, the use of the pronoun *Saya* 'I' refers to the speaker, namely YCQ as Minister of Religious, indicating that the response he uttered was purely a belief that he understood.

In protecting the academic community in the world of education, he believes that resolving the issue of sexual violence in the university is part of the indicators of the implementation of religious moderation. In this case, he is committed to making the world of education free from sexual violence under the programs that are sheltered, as well as contributing to providing guarantees in the form of assistance and protection on the basis of humanity from various victims of sexual violence anywhere, both inside or outside university, social media, or so on regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, race, and background for the welfare and dignity of the victims.

### 3.1.2. Public Ideologies in Rejection Friction

Public rejection friction comes with a different understanding of the context. The responses did not focus on the victims on the presence of regulations to prevent and protect. This is actually suspected of being able to damage the nation's morale, legalize free sex, the emergence of LGBT, and other violent behavior that are not based on religious norms, Pancasila, and the values held by Indonesian people. The explanation of ideological friction is below.

#### 3.1.2.1. Immoral Regulation

Immoral regulation is considered LSD as an understanding that can lead to things that violate religious norms, customs, laws, and Pancasila which are believed and owned by Indonesian people if implemented in Permen PPKS.

Excerpt 5:

*“Permendikbud ini dievaluasi karena dianggap bisa merusak standar moral mahasiswa. Permendikbudristek tersebut berpotensi memfasilitasi perbuatan zina dan perilaku menyimpang seksual, di antaranya LGBT.”*

“Permendikbud was evaluated because it was considered to damage students’ moral standards. Permendikbudristek has the potential to facilitate adultery and sexual deviant behavior, including LGBT.”

LSD, Commission X DPR  
VOI

The negative attitude expressed by LSD is a form of discrimination. The use of modality *bisa* ‘can’ indicates the possibility to take an action that is not justified, because it is contrary to the norms, values, customs, and laws that apply in Indonesia. LSD views that the phrase *merusak standar moral* ‘damaging moral standards’ refers to Permen PPKS as an immoral regulation for the nation’s successors, especially students who are studying in the university. In addition, he also predicts that the regulation can provide a platform for committing disgraceful acts on the basis of the approval of both parties. This is indicated by the phrase *“memfasilitasi perbuatan zina dan perilaku menyimpang seksual”* ‘facilitating adultery and sexual deviant behavior’. According to him, one of the deviant behaviors is LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) because the regulation is not based on Pancasila and religious norms. However, it was born from the construction of western thought which is contrary to the nature of human creation. So, the act is not only based on the agreement of the two parties.

### 3.1.2.2. Religious

Understanding religion is one of the benchmarks to prevent all actions that are not commendable, both in all policies taken in the welfare and upholding the values they have.

Excerpt 6:

*“Sangat disayangkan bahwa satu peraturan yang dimaksudkan untuk mencegah terjadinya kejahatan terkait kekerasan seksual justru sama sekali tidak memasukkan landasan norma agama di dalam prinsip Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual yang termuat di pasal 3.”*

“It is unfortunate that a regulation that is intended to prevent the occurrence of crimes related to sexual violence does not at all include the basis of religious norms in the principle of Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence contained in article 3.”

LHA, Member of Education Commission in DPR RI  
Hidayatullah.com

The text above shows the disappointment expressed by the LHA. LHA, who commented as a member of the Education Commission in the Indonesian House of

Representatives, regretted the regulation on sexual violence that did not contain religious elements. The vocabulary *sangat* ‘very’ shows that Permen PPKS is really detrimental. In fact, the intention of the regulation is to prevent the crime of sexual violence in the university. As a result, it destroys the nation’s generation by not carrying the values of Pancasila. In fact, the regulations are considered to tend to include the values of liberalism in which the context of *persetujuan* ‘consent’ related to social behavior can be justified as long as it is consensual even though there is no legal marriage relationship between both sides.

### 3.1.2.3. Pancasila

Pancasila is the ideology of the Indonesian state that is upheld and used as a guide in regulating all regulations. According to SSA, Pancasila is the bull of everything for strengthening the soul of the nation.

Excerpt 7:

*Saya* apresiasi sekian ormas dan tokoh masyarakat yang menentang. Kalau negeri ini tidak dibentengi Pancasila, agama, 10-20 tahun mendatang akan kemana negeri kita?

*(I appreciate the ormas organizations and community leaders who oppose it. If this country is not fortified by Pancasila, religion, where will our country be in the next 10-20 years?)*

SSA, Head of Majelis Syuro  
kumparanNEWS

This appreciation is expressed by SSA to those who have rejected the existence of regulations for the prevention and handling of sexual violence in the university. The use of the personal pronoun ‘*Saya* (I)’ at the beginning of the sentence refers to the opinion of SSA who represents himself as the Head of *Majelis Syuro*. He explicitly criticized the parties who supported Permen PPKS. According to him, the regulation needs to be evaluated to strengthen the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia by appointing relevant parties such as national leaders, statesmen, and ministers. Behind his criticism, he uses the personal pronoun *Saya* ‘I’ to show appreciation to organizations and figures who reject, because they are considered contrary to religion to Pancasila. Pancasila is the main understanding in making regulations. If there is no element of Pancasila, it is feared that there will be destruction to the progress of the nation in the future. Based on the basic guidelines of Pancasila, in regulating the rules, there are still filters for western culture to enter and spread.

## 3.2. Discussion

Apart from previous researchers who were interested in study using a critical discourse analysis approach, only a few have examined how public ideology contributes to the decision to determine Permen PPKS to create

prosperity in the university. This study addresses the gap in the public ideology of the response that agreement and rejection of sexual violence regulation in the university. The results show that the public response identifies the friction of agreement to contain the ideology of guarantee law to obtain justice and legal security. For instance, Azzahra et al. (2021) report that the victim who is student at Universitas Riau received a counterclaim on charges of defamation and demanded a compensation of 10 billion.

As mentioned earlier, researchers (Soejati & Susanti, 2020; Palomino-Manjón, 2021) consider that victims of sexual violence in universities experience bullying and victimization. With the increasing number of victims of sexual violence, the public assumes that Permen PPKS is to provide protection for safe learning so that victims are not always oppressed by quasi-relationships. Thus, public assumes that the victim needs justice. With the regulation, the public can demand justice for the victims. Therefore, Anggini (2020) reports on the existence of this regulation due to the spike in violence in Indonesian universities to prevent and protect victims of sexual violence in the university. Furthermore, the Ministry of Religious has a commitment to overcome the problems that occur by implementing religious moderation. In accordance with the indicators of religious moderation consisting of national commitment, tolerance, non-violence, and accommodative to local culture (Agama, 2019; Subchi et al., 2022).

However, public ideologies rejection friction was revealed in each response, among others showed that the presence of Permen PPKS was immoral regulation. The regulation can facilitate free sex. This is in contrast to Marune (2022) who reports that the public in responding to Permen PPKS rejected the tendency to be based on an erroneous understanding of the context. In addition, in the religious aspect, regulation does not contain norm values which are considered a form of liberalism. Meanwhile, Pancasila is an Indonesian ideology that is used as a guide in regulating all sequences. Sholekhah, Baroroh, and Alfi (2022) reported that Islamic teachings prohibit adultery, so the regulation is considered inappropriate with Islamic teachings. Furthermore, the public also assumes that Permen PPKS does not contain ideological values that are believed and used by the Indonesian people.

Rivaldi, Fernanda, and Baidhowi (2021) agree with the article that the act is against the nation's ideological values and is against the law and religion in Indonesia. This is in line with Suherman, Aryani, and Yulyana (2020) who philosophically reporting that the formation of Permen PPKS is still considered to be in line, although there are several articles that are considered to be against the philosophy of Pancasila and the opening of the 1945 Constitution.

Study on ideology on social media platforms using a discourse analysis approach has been encountered by Rahmatika, Setiawaty, and Wahyudi (2021) report a spectrum of ideological friction on netizens' attitudes toward the policy of Hagia Sophia conversion on news accounts on Facebook who bring political, historical, and religious ideologies. In contrast to this study, both studies examine friction using a critical discourse analysis approach. The results show different frictions in each response that is realized by public.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Through critical discourse analysis, this study examines public ideological frictions on online news site platforms toward sexual violence regulation in Indonesian universities. The ideology of friction found in the public response is agreement and rejection. Based on the response's agreement, the public tended to use the vocabulary 'victim' over and over to instil that the victim is important. The use of this pronoun is for the speaker to convey belief through the language to impose the ideology on society. That is, public opinions support that the victims need justice and protection. So that, they can get their compensations for these miserable experiences.

However, it is different from the opposite party who views that with the regulation to prevent and protect victims from sexual violence by the authorities in the university, they use their understanding based on religion, liberalism, destruction of the nation's character and morals, and Pancasila as their reasons in responding to the contents of Permen PPKS. They focus more on things that are not related to the victims affected by this rampant violent crime.

Moreover, most of the discourse on sexual violence regulation in universities reflects and reproduces the position of power that the public has in controlling justice and the safety of victims of sexual violence. Furthermore, the formal support public in education responds to disclosure by focusing on the needs of the victims.

These results have implications for the government, Islamic organizations, political parties, and researchers to view a regulation that is not based on the principle of personal or group interest not to perpetrate sexual violence in the university. In addition, with the findings in this study, new variations of ideological friction emerge that continue to grow from several multicultural perspectives that are in the minds of our public society today.

A limitation of the study is not all public responses were investigated in this article. Public chosen are people who have a position and power in its organizations. In addition, study on the public's response in responding to the ideology of response friction has not been widely studied. Furthermore, further study is needed regarding the identification and revealing of professional ideologies

in higher education which is not only limited to media toward sexual violence to know whether they bring themselves ideology or organizations' ideology.

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