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**Ideological perspective on guideline “merdeka belajar – kampus merdeka” through systemic functional linguistics**

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**ABSTRAK**

This research exists to ignite the awareness and critical thinking from stakeholders and parties related to MBKM policies that have a long ideological impact on the life of higher education in Indonesia so that the implementers do not necessarily carry out policies without conducting assessments in depth first. Therefore, this study aims to explore and find the ideological and socio-political aspects behind the use of the lexicon in the Merdeka Learning guidebook – Merdeka Campus (MBKM) using textual metafunction and interpersonal metafunction approach model within Halliday's SFL framework (2004 & 2013). These textual and interpersonal approaches were chosen due to the scarcity of studies that apply this approach to analyze the discourse of this independent curriculum compared to studies of other disciplines. The data used in this study are in the form of lexicons used in the MBKM manual book as words or clauses within the chosen chapters. The result obtained is that the *MBKM* practical guidebook has a strong capitalist economic perspective. This is evidenced using lexicons that indicate the direction of higher education to be achieved tends to follow the circulation of the free market and higher education and all stakeholders involved are regulated to follow this globalization trend. “Independent Campus – Merdeka Learning” requires students to be able to equip themselves to survive life's challenges. In contrast, the campus as an “intellectual factory” is always billed for the needs of the industrial sector, not a place for “true intellectuals”.

**Keywords:** SFL, CDA, independent learning – independent campus, capitalization of higher education

**Perspektif ideologis tentang pedoman "merdeka belajar – kampus merdeka" melalui linguistik sistemik fungsional**

**Abstrak**

Penelitian ini hadir untuk memantik kesadaran dan nalar berpikir kritis dari para pemangku kepentingan serta pihak-pihak yang terkait dengan kebijakan MBKM yang dipandang memiliki dampak ideologis jangka Panjang terhadap hidup dari Pendidikan tinggi di Indonesia, dan agar para pelaksana tidak serta merta menjalankan kebijakan tanpa melakukan pengkajian secara mendalam terlebih dahulu. Maka dari itu kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi dan menemukan aspek ideologis dan sosio-politis di balik penggunaan leksikon dalam buku panduan Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka (MBKM) dengan menggunakan model pendekatan *textual metafunction* dan *interpersonal metafunction* dalam kerangka SFL milik Halliday (2004 & 2013). Pendekatan tekstual dan interpersonal ini dipilih dikarenakan masih langkanya kajian yang mengaplikasikan pendekatan ini untuk menganalisis diskursus kurikulum merdeka ini dibandingkan dengan kajian disiplin ilmu yang lain. Data yang digunakan dalam kajian ini berbentuk leksikon-leksikon yang digunakan dalam buku panduan MBKM baik berupa kata atau klausa pada bab yang dipilih. Hasil yang diperoleh adalah buku panduan praktis MBKM tersebut memiliki perspektif ekonomi kapitalis yang cukup kuat. Hal ini dibuktikan adanya penggunaan leksikon-leksikon yang menunjukkan arah pendidikan tinggi yang hendak diraih cenderung mengikuti sirkulasi pasar bebas dan pendidikan tinggi beserta seluruh *stakeholder* yang terlibat diregulasi agar mengikuti tren globalisasi ini. “Kampus Merdeka – Merdeka Belajar” menuntut mahasiswa untuk dapat membekali diri agar mampu bertahan menghadapi tantangan hidup, sedangkan kampus sebagai “pabrik intelektual” selalu ditagih untuk kebutuhan sektor industri bukan tempat untuk “intelektual sejati”.

**Kata kunci:** SFL, CDA, merdeka belajar – kampus merdeka, kapitalisasi pendidikan tinggi

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## INTRODUCTION

In responding the growing demand of regional and global economic involvement of ASEAN countries including Indonesia, the education system of the following country plays prominent role to preserve this country for future challenges. The undeniable challenges may create more inclusive and borderless type of education system and high flow of human migration in this globalization era since globalization is tightly related to the idea of free trade system within area such as ASEAN or EU or international area which involving almost all countries. As the result of applying the idea of free trade towards education system is that the country's education systematization (including curriculum) should follow the agenda of free trading system. Things happen that way since education is included in one out of the 17 agenda based on FGDs that should be implemented for the countries which ratified it. That means, the curriculum of higher education campuses will be directed to achieve things the industry and economic system needed, and the students serve as human capital to fulfil the needs of industry and the nation's (even global) economic wheel. However, inclusivity of education system may or may not touching the root problem on why ones need education: to be whole human being.

Based on that willing to explore the curiosity of whether or not the newest curriculum do the fundamental work, this paper is examining text so called guideline of *Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka* or *MBKM* published by the Director General of Higher Education of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture in 2020 (Kebudayaan, 2020) by using systemic functional linguistics or SFL approach especially textual and interpersonal metafunction. This topic is chosen to create awareness and critical thinking from the stakeholders including the policy object such as higher education institutions, the rector in many campuses, and even the university students that this policy has ideological dimension that may have long term effects towards the life of the higher learning processes and higher learning student's profile as human being who live in this mother earth. Therefore, this text is not an ordinary text, because it is representing the power behind the producer of this guideline that is able to direct all education stakeholders to move based on its guidance. When we talk about power, the underlining reason is usually ideological, and the creator of the discourse may have agenda through the implementation of the policy. This text-oriented research aims to explore the relationship between the socio-political situation in Indonesia and the *MBKM* practical guidebook issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Meanwhile the reason why we choose the SFL approach to uncover the data is due to its richness of text analysis tools such as textual metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and ideational metafunction which serve us "beyond just a language code" to see text representation from multilayer dimensions; from cognitive to physical or from social to political representation. Thus, this research is aimed to broaden the perspective of (especially but not limited to) linguistic students and other language researchers to critically examine any texts including any government policies about how the texts are being produced, what kind of ideology that are dominating the texts, and/or how the effect of the texts when they are being implemented towards the society. The *MBKM* guideline is one of the new government policies that will give major effect towards the life of higher education institutions in Indonesia and it is just a right step to analyze each statement, clauses, and words within the guideline from linguistics approach (SFL approach) to uncover which ideology used by the text producer and which direction our higher education would lead to.

Therefore, the research question on this issue is "how systemic functional linguistics uncover the ideology behind *MBKM* discourse". The question will guide the research to obtain its purpose, that is to identify the representation or the tendency or perspective within the *MBKM* guideline through its lexicons and clauses and to explain the ideology behind the *MBKM* guideline.

As this paper is transdisciplinary type of research, there are several frameworks being used to analyze the data, they are systemic functional linguistics from Halliday, language and symbolic power from Bourdieu, critical discourse analysis including the explanation of discourse and ideology behind text. This paper will begin to cite the systemic functional linguistics concept from Halliday. He conceptualizes the idea of Systemic Functional Linguistic or SFL (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2013; Haratyan, 2011) which views language is functional in a social context or social phenomena. SFL deals with text structure from the smaller part of the text (lexicon) as the influence of social, cultural, and maybe political context towards the text production. It means that SFL's perspective is formed through the linguistic choice "in paradigmatic and the syntagmatic level of discourse" (Haratyan, 2011). For the definition of discourse, Halliday defines discourse as "multidimensional process" which views text as not only a form of grammatical structure but also serves much higher-level function, beyond just a

language code, that is to see text as representation of cognitive, physical, interpersonal, social, cultural, and situational context. As concept of beyond just a language code, SFL deals with how speaker or writer of certain utterance or text generates their intended meaning through the idea of metafunction which consists of three systems, they are textual metafunction, interpersonal metafunction and ideational metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, 2013).

The textual metafunction is the basic function in SFL which deals with clause level in the form of theme and rheme. Theme, as described by Halliday, is consisted of topic (subject of clause) that indicates the identity of text relations and usually locates in the first part of the clause. Theme can be found in two ways of identification, that is marked theme and unmarked theme as the marked one is the word or group of words that do not have direct relation with the subject of the clause, and the unmarked one is the direct subject of the clause. Rheme, on the other hand, is the remainder of the message and consists of predicator and complement of circumstantial adjunct and it provides additional information from the previous topic (Fatimah et al., 2021; Thi Tu Trinh et al., 2017). As stated by Halliday, this stage of analysis allows the text's producer to create the flow of discourse. In this level, we also deal with cohesion of the text, which deals with semantic meaning that is non-structural within the text relation (Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Haratyan, 2011). In other words, textual metafunction explains clause as a message.

The interpersonal metafunction is mood system which deals with mood and tenor to see the meaning of the clause as an exchange (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013). Mood explains the topic of information and whether or not that information is in a form of giving or demanding something (goods & services, information) from the initial speakers towards their addressee (Dordah, 2019; Fatimah et al., 2021). Mood consists of subject plus finite plus residue of the clause. This structure can be established as declarative, interrogative, or wh/ yes-no format of clause. In this domain, the clause acts as expression of persuading, motivating, enticing, demanding, ordering, inviting, recommending, proposing, confirming, denying, and persisting in the form of indicative or imperative clause (Haratyan, 2011). In other words, interpersonal metafunction explains clause as an exchange.

According to Bourdieu, in order to draw the interpretation of an exited text, there should be interpreters who interpret the text. He states that there should be balance work between interpreter and the interpretations. The interpreter needs to be careful to not doing over-interpretations, or doing the self-interpretations in regards to correcting and preventing misinformed or malicious interpretations and even legitimizing authorized that should be interpreted just the way it is. As the source of competence and warranty, texts are naturally the object of strategies that are effective only if they are concealed as it is. That is the function of belief in the eyes of the text authors, which is "their symbolic capital is granted in exchange for that respect for the proprieties which define in each case, according to the objective distance between the work and the interpreter, the style of the relation to be established between them" (Bourdieu, 1991: 156).

To further approach the data, this paper is using Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA as transdisciplinary framework which integrating many concepts including SFL, ideology, power, even philosophy explore in depth the hidden meaning or agenda behind the clause or the text. Based on Wodak, the terminology of Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be used consecutively. In current CDA, it concerned a distinct interest towards the relation between language and power. The terminology of CDA is often used by the critical linguistic approach's scholars who explore the larger discursive unit of text is actually the basic unit of communication (Wodak, R., Meyer, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The CDA approach considers a range of discourse from institutional, political, gender and media discourses which explore to covert or overt relations of struggle and conflict. Another perspective of CDA are articulated in Kress's work. Kress's assumptions include:

*Language is a social phenomenon; language is not only individuals, but also institutions and social groupings hold special meanings and values that are expressed in language in systematic ways; texts are the relevant units of language in communication; readers/hearers are not passive recipients in their relationship to texts; - there are similarities between the language of science and the language of institutions, and so on (Kress, 1989).*

In the later time, Fairclough (Fairclough, 1992, 1993) gets in depth to elaborate some advances in CDA in terms of not only how the analytical framework for investigating language in the linkage to power and ideology developed, but also how CDA is useful in explaining the change of the discursive

aspect social and cultural. The previous work of Van Dijk about text linguistics and discourse analysis promotes his interest about texts and discourses as basic units and social practices. Van Dijk explores the origins of linguistic beyond language that is more than sentences and in text- and context-dependency of meanings. Van Dijk (Frawley & van Dijk, 1987) explore the relevance of discourse to the study of language producing. They have taken notes about the development of discourse's cognitive model which create the process of understanding in individuals, then develop it into cognitive models for defining the construction of meaning on a societal level gradually.

Based on Anthonissen, it is important to relate the critical theory in the contribution to the understanding of CDA and the terms of 'critical' and 'ideology' (Anthonissen, 2001). Thompson (Thompson, 1990) explains the concepts of ideology and culture, beside explaining the relations between those concepts to the specific aspects of mass communication. He highlights the concept of ideology has changed its functions and meanings from time to times. According to Thompson, ideology relates to social structure and how the process of symbolic forms being distributed in the social world. Ideology is viewed as a significant factor of establishing and preserving unequal power relations. The critical linguistic approach has taken a specific concern on how language bridging ideology in any social institutions. Based on Thompson (1990), the concept of ideology is a study of how to construct certain meaning and to convey by various types of symbolic forms. This study also explores the social contexts in which symbolic forms are used and removed. There some theorist who pays has attention in determining whether ideology can establish or sustain relations of domination. One of them is Eagleton (Eagleton, 1994) who considers the study of ideology has the relation between thought and social reality. He assumes 'that there are specific historical reasons why people come to feel, reason, desire and imagine as they do' (1994: 15).

CDA also relates to power and symbolic power. Power is mostly related to the effects of discrepancy in social structures. The continuous unity of language and other social aspect confirm that language is interweaved within social power in some ways: 1) language indicates power, 2) language states power, and 3) language is involved where there is a notion over and a defiance to power. Although power does not root from language, language may be used to challenge power, to topple it down, to shift the distributions of power in the intended period of time. Language may provide a prominent means for defiance in power within social structures. In the relation to CDA, CDA pays attention on how linguistic aspects are being applied in different expressions and power manipulations. Power is indicated not only by grammatical aspect within a text, but also by a person who has control of a social occasion and the outcome of certain genre of a text. In other words, the genres are often associated with given social occasions that power is being held or being challenged.

The last but not least is the concept of language as symbolic power that ensures the effectiveness of philosophical negation. In given social situation, people are able to recollect any censored meanings and find additional effect in the relationship between the overt system and the hidden system which is instigated by this return of the repressed. It is hard not to see this as proof of the powerful ability of 'essential thought' to ground in Being such realities as the derisively representation 'social security'-so unworthy of thought that they are named in inverted commas. Therefore, as stated by Bourdieu "in this 'upside-down world', where the event is never more than the illustration of the 'essence', the grounding is grounded by what it grounds" (Bourdieu, 1991: 146). That is why, the philosophical discourse dictates the conditions of its perception. (Bourdieu, 1991: 152-153).

## METHOD

The collection of data is retrieved (and distributed) through the website that become the source of information in the era of World Wide Web. Thus, this research collected data from the website of Ministry of Education and Culture through Buku-Panduan-Merdeka-Belajar-Kampus-Merdeka-2020 (kemdikbud.go.id). Some criteria to reach the aims of the study have been selected from the guidebook. First, since the study is focused on the ideology behind the text, the parts of the body texts that being taken to analyze are 1) opening speech of Director General of Higher Education, 2) opening speech of Director of Learning and Students, 3) Point B. Background, 4) Point C. Purpose, 5) Point b. Internship, and 6) Point f. Entrepreneurship Activity. Second, those parts are chosen because they contain the clauses that may contain more ideological biases rather than other parts, and the clauses in there are coming from the stakeholder's inner perception of the whole education system in Indonesia stated through the *MBKM* guidebook.

This study was a qualitative type of research with the three dimensional analysis of critical discourse analysis framework from Fairclough (Fairclough et al., 1989). The first was description level

which explored the textual metafunction and interpersonal metafunction dimension of the *MBKM* text. This level ensured this paper to maintain its textual-oriented to ensure the data were reliable enough to analyze. The second level of analysis, although not subsequently, was interpretation level. This level ensured this research to engage with current eco-socio-political circumstances of the implementation of the *MBKM* guideline. The third level of analysis was explanation level which ensures this paper to go in depth until we discover the ideology and the impact of power behind discourse.

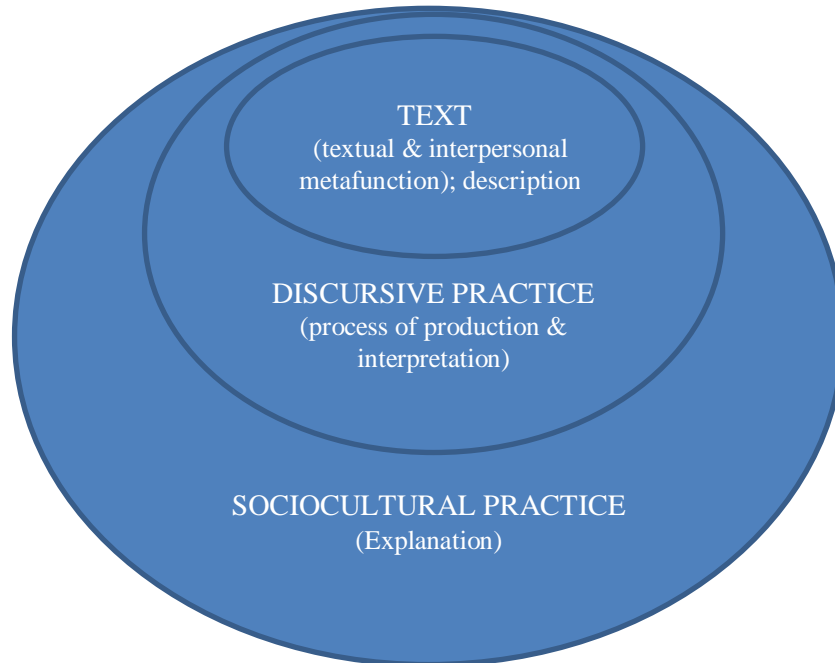


Figure 1. Three dimensional analysis of CDA (Fairclough et al., 1989)

For the first method of analysis, this research was highly focused on the lexicon’s choices within *MBKM* guideline since the chosen lexicons might indicated deeper meaning beyond the surface. The textual metafunction dealt with the themes and rhemes that would be described as below.

Table 1. Textual metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013)

Textual metafunction	Tools of analysis	Examples
Theme	Marked Theme (the marked topical theme is not the clause’s direct subject, the form of marked theme can be circumstantial elements like time, place, or participant within declarative clause)	e.g. textual theme “ <i>saat ini # kreativitas dan inovasi menjadi kata kunci penting</i> ”
		e.g. interpersonal theme “ <i>kita meyakini # pembelajaran dapat terjadi di mana pun</i> ”
		e.g. topical theme “ <i>dalam rangka menyiapkan mahasiswa menghadapi perubahan sosial, budaya, dunia kerja dan kemajuan teknologi yang pesat # kompetensi mahasiswa harus disiapkan lebih gayut dengan kebutuhan zaman</i> ”
		e.g. noun or group of nouns
	Unmarked Theme (unmarked theme is the direct subject of the clause)	e.g. pronoun e.g. nominalization “ <i>pekerjaan dan car akita bekerja # berubah</i> ”
Rheme	Remainder of the clause (can be consisted of finite, complement, adjunct)	e.g. “ <i>merdeka belajar – kampus merdeka # merupakan kebijakan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i> ”

# indicating part of the theme

^ indicating part of the rheme

Besides textual analysis, this research also used interpersonal metafunction in order to uncover moods and residues of clauses within MBKM guideline since the chosen lexicons might indicated deeper meaning beyond the surface. This metafunction dealt with the mood and residue that would be described as below.

**Table 2. Interpersonal metafunction**

Interpersonal metafunction	Tools of analysis	Examples
Mood	Subject (nominal group)	e.g. “ <i>panduan ini * diharapkan dapat bermanfaat bagi pengelola atau pimpinan perguruan tinggi<sup>^^</sup></i> ”
	Finite (verbal group of operators that expressing tense or modality / expressing polarity, contrast, or passive voice)	e.g. “ <i>diharapkan dapat bermanfaat<sup>^^</sup></i> ” e.g. “ <i>banyak lapangan pekerjaan * hilang<sup>^^</sup></i> ”
Residue		e.g. predicator “
		e.g. complement “
		e.g. adjunct “

\*indicating part of the mood

<sup>^^</sup> indicating part of the residue

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Results

The findings of this research are divided into two parts. The first part is the lexicons which represent the bias perspectives of the text producers which are leaning more to the economic aspect. The second part is the ideology behind the chosen lexicons, that is capitalism which enable every country (in this sense is Indonesia) to emphasize every regulation including the regulation of higher education to only emphasizing mostly to the “economic capital” or “the industries” without paying much attention to other human basic need such as spiritual fulfilment. This is the consequence of following the global trend that is neo-capitalism in the concept of free market.

In order to uncover the ideology behind the discourse of *Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka* guidebook, the discussion will be presented into several sub-topic, they are 1) actor behind the discourse, 2) microstructure analysis: marked theme, 3) microstructure analysis: unmarked theme, and finally the discussion.

#### *Actor behind the dicourse*

In order to find the actors or agencies that being involved and the ones that becoming the objects of regulation within the mechanism of MBKM, this paper investigates some parts of the guideline: the disclaimers, opening speech from Director General of Higher Education, opening speech from Director General of Learning and Student Affairs, the background, the general qualification of MBKM in Unit II.

The stakeholders that are being involved here are the Indonesian government through Directorate General of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Education and Culture himself, the Director General of Learning and Student Affairs, the higher education students who come from accredited study program and registered in Higher Education Database or *PDDikti*, the campuses, the faculties, the study programs, the lecturers, the partners such as the industries, the research laboratories/ research centers, the independent projects, other national campuses, foreign campuses, the non-profit foundations, multilateral organizations, government

institutions, and start-up companies. There are also programs which running in education units for those interested in teaching. The actor in this programs such as Indonesian Teaching Student Movement Forum (FGMMI) and other approved units by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Another program is running as humanitarian programs where the students are able to enroll as volunteers. The actors can be domestic partners or foreign partners such as Red Cross Organization (PMI), UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO, etc. Last but not least, the program will be about Thematic Real Work Lecture or KKN, which actors are The Ministry of Village PDDT and all its managements until village level, villagers, local government, state-owned enterprises, local industries, social investment, and village community (nomads and diaspora).

### Microstructure analysis: Marked theme

**Table 3. Marked theme with interpersonal interpretation**

Thematic Analysis	Lexicon	Mood Value/ Polarity/ Contrast/ Passive Form
Marked Theme (textual/ conjunction theme → it sets up a relationship of projection to the discourse)	e.g. 1 “ <i>Dalam rangka menyiapkan mahasiswa menghadapi perubahan sosial, budaya, dunia kerja dan kemajuan teknologi yang pesat, # kompetensi mahasiswa harus disiapkan untuk lebih gayut dengan kebutuhan zaman. juga dengan masa depan yang berubah dengan cepat</i> ”.	Mood ( subject + finite) = <i>kompetensi mahasiswa harus disiapkan</i>  Residue = <i>lebih gayut dengan kebutuhan zaman; juga dengan masa depan yang berubah dengan cepat; dalam rangka menyiapkan mahasiswa menghadapi perubahan sosial, budaya, dunia kerja, dan kemajuan teknologi yang pesat</i>  Polarity = positive  Commodity of exchange = goods & services

Table 3 above deals with textual metafunction from Halliday (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013) more specifically the marked themes in conjunction with the interpretation stage using interpersonal metafunction or mood system. There are six prominent examples of marked themes that will be articulated here as the bridge to discover the hidden ideology behind the texts. The example 1 has thematic type of textual theme, which means the theme is functioning to set up a projection clause to the independent learning & independent campus or MBKM discourse. The theme “*Dalam rangka menyiapkan mahasiswa menghadapi perubahan sosial, budaya, dunia kerja dan kemajuan teknologi yang pesat, #*” consist not only one word, but they consist of a group of words to project the discourse in motion or the flow of discourse. The independent subject of this clause, *kompetensi mahasiswa harus disiapkan* and the finite of the clause *untuk lebih gayut dengan kebutuhan zaman. juga dengan masa depan yang berubah dengan cepat*” indicate the high degree of demanding from the Ministry of Education and Culture and Higher Education towards all campus to be able producing students with high degree of agility and ability to preserve themselves in the face of future challenges such as social shifting, cultural shifting, dynamic situation of workplaces, even the advance growth of technology. The sign of high degree demanding can be seen in the using of *harus disiapkan* lexicon, while the context to move in discourse’s motion (MBKM discourse) is indicated by the using of *untuk lebih gayut dengan kebutuhan zaman* or agility to match future’s needs. From this example 1, we may be able to see an indication of exchange aspect within the example 1, that is “goods & services” from the perspective of interpersonal metafunction. It means that there is a “goods” or “services” that being demanded to be done by the addressee of discourse, that is the campus and all stakeholders in relation to it. There is a need of involvement by all stakeholders, so the output results are expected to fulfil the ideal visualization of the Ministry. As the consequences, for those who are not involved in this policy, there will be certain constraints in terms of accreditation and so on. In other words, MBKM discourse has become policy that must be applied into all campuses in Indonesia.

**Table 4. Marked theme analysis and interpersonal interpretation**

Thematic Analysis	Lexicon	Mood Value/ Polarity/ Contrast/ Passive Form
Marked theme (textual/ temporal theme → almost similar to conjunction functioning as projection)	e.g. 8 “ <i>Sementara # industri mendapatkan talenta yang bila cocok nantinya bisa langsung di-recruit, sehingga mengurangi biaya recruitment dan training awal/ induksi^</i> ”	Mood = <i>industri mendapatkan</i> Residue = <i>telanta yang bila cocok nantinya bisa langsung di-recruit sehingga mengurangi biaya recruitment dan training awal/ induksi</i> Commodity of exchange = goods & services

Table 4 has different aspect of theme compared to table 3, which table 3 has textual – conjunction theme, the example 8 here has temporal type of theme. The temporal theme here indicates time reference that functioning as projection towards discourse of industry. Thus, if we take the correlation with lexicon in example 1, discourse of industry is highlighted very much within the framework of MBKM discourse since the advancement of civilization nowadays is highly linked to the advancement of industry and higher education system is in a row to deliver the means. In example 8, *sementara* indicates the temporal theme, and the clause *industri mendapatkan talenta yang bila cocok nantinya bisa langsung di-recruit, sehingga mengurangi biaya recruitment dan training awal/ induksi* refers to rheme. Although the theme is not directly linked to the subject of the clause, it still gives information that the actual subject *industry* is linked with higher education. From the perspective of clause as an exchange within the interpersonal framework, the subject *industry* here gets the most advantages from the internship program from the university’s students who enrolled themselves towards certain companies that in contract with universities. The advantages range from link and match with internship’s proper candidates, until the less fund that should be paid by the companies due to short period of selection to recruit the proper candidates from campus’s fresh graduates. That is to say, the commodity that is being exchanged here is the university’s students whose qualities are highly matched with the “term & conditions” from the companies.

**Table 5. Textual analysis and interpersonal interpretation analysis**

Thematic Analysis	Lexicon	Mood Value/ Polarity/ Contrast/ Passive Form
Marked theme (topical theme → functioning as representational of circumstantial factor)	e.g. 9 “ <i>Melalui kegiatan ini #, permasalahan industri akan mengalir ke perguruan tinggi sehingga meng-update bahan ajar dan pembelajaran dosen serta topik-topik riset di perguruan tinggi akan makin relevan^</i> ”.	Mood = <i>permasalahan industri akan mengalir</i> Residue = <i>ke perguruan tinggi; sehingga meng-update bahan ajar dan pembelajaran...</i> Commodity of exchange = goods & services
Marked theme (topical theme → functioning as representational of circumstantial factor)	e.g. 10 “ <i>Berdasarkan Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI) pada tahun 2018 #, Indonesia hanya memiliki skor 21% wirausahawan dari berbagai bidang pekerjaan, atau peringkat 94 dari 137 negara yang disurvei^</i> ”	Mood = <i>Indonesia hanya memiliki</i> Residue = <i>skor 21% wirausahawan dari berbagai bidang pekerjaan...; berdasarkan Global Entrepreneurship Index (GEI) pada tahun 2018</i> Commodity of exchange = information

Example 9 and example 10 in table 5 have similar indication of marked theme, as both examples use topical theme but in different form of lexicons. The example 9 indicates the use of *melalui kegiatan ini* to show the representation of the circumstance within industrial discourse that has several problems which need to be addressed. The problems that occurred in industry discourse range from research high valued commodities, the appropriate way to produce low budget commodities with high quality, the patents, until the way to distribute the commodities around the specific areas in target. Those are some problems, from the perspective of the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Higher Education, which need to be recognized, even solved, by the universities. In other words, universities are placed as institutions



to directly solving all industrial's problems through their curriculum, academic agendas, joint projects between university and industry, joint project between university and the society and so on. The indication can be seen in mood *permasalahan industri akan mengalir* and within residue *ke perguruan tinggi* that even being followed by complement *sehingga meng-update bahan ajar dan pembelajaran dosen serta topik-topik riset di perguruan tinggi makin relevan* meaning the aligning the relevance between higher learning purposes and the needs of industry world. That is the textual interpretation of example 9. The example 10, the lexicon which represents topical theme is *berdasarkan GEI pada tahun 2018*. This theme is not the subject of the clause since the direct subject of clause is *Indonesia* and finite *hanya memiliki* and rheme *skor 21% wirausahawan dari berbagai pekerjaan atau peringkat 94 dari 137 negara yang disurvei*. The function of this topical theme, although it is not the direct subject of the clause, is to represent the circumstantial factor on why this policy pushes the universities to produce more and more entrepreneur in all field of jobs. The orientation of higher education institutions is so much boxed in industrial demands within the framework of economy free trade in capitalism paradigm. The commodity, in perspective of interpersonal metafunction, exchanges information regarding the current status of entrepreneurship in Indonesia and thus, sets the MBKM discourse in flow to be applied.

### Microstructure analysis: Unmarked theme

**Table 6. Unmarked theme and interpersonal interpretation analysis**

Thematic Analysis	Lexicon	Mood Value/ Polarity/ Contrast/ Passive Form
Unmarked theme ("link and match" subject of the clause that is chosen as the theme)	e.g. 2 " <i>link and match # tidak saja dengan dunia industri dan dunia kerja tetapi juga dengan masa depan yang berubah dengan cepat</i> "	Mood = <i>link and match tidak saja dengan</i> Residue = <i>dunia industri dan dunia kerja tetapi juga dengan masa depan yang berubah dengan cepat</i> Polarity = positive although the clause contains with negative tag " <i>tidak saja</i> "
Unmarked theme ("kampus merdeka" → indicating a degree of demands from independent universities to be able to give proper preparations)	e.g. 5 " <i>Kampus merdeka # diharapkan dapat memberikan pengalaman kontekstual lapangan yang akan meningkatkan kompetensi mahasiswa secara utuh, siap kerja, atau menciptakan lapangan kerja baru</i> "	Mood = <i>kampus merdeka diharapkan dapat memberikan</i> Residue = <i>pengalaman kontekstual lapangan yang akan meningkatkan kompetensi...</i>
Unmarked theme (nominalization, contains the degree of demand)	e.g. 6 " <i>Program-program yang dilaksanakan # hendaknya disusun dan disepakati bersama antara perguruan tinggi dengan mitra</i> "	Commodity of exchange = goods & services Mood = <i>program yang dilaksanakan hendaknya disusun dan disepakati</i> Residue = <i>Bersama antara perguruan tinggi dan mitra</i> Commodity of exchange = goods & services

The unmarked theme is indeed different from the marked ones, for the unmarked themes mean the direct subject of clause that can be seen in the form of nouns, pronouns, or nominalization words. From the example 2 in table 6 above, the direct subject is *link and match* then being followed by finite *tidak saja dengan* and rheme or residue *dunia industri dan dunia kerja, tetapi dengan masa depan yang berubah dengan cepat*. The finite *tidak saja dengan*, although contains with negative tag *tidak*, is not indicating negative polarity, rather it indicates emphasis on the flow of MBKM discourse with its program, *link and match*. The terminology *link and match* is not free from bound of meaning, but rather

it has specific definition to begin with. In short, it is the main program of MBKM policy to connect higher education institutions with industry, society, opening new study programs in universities in Indonesia, student exchange or student transfer towards another study programs for at least three semesters, and connecting including mass media to align their vision with industrial world. The commodity that is being exchanged in this clause is information that will be discussed until the last part of the guidebook. In the example 5, the unmarked theme *kampus merdeka* indicates the main subject of the clause that being the target of link and match program (information from previous clause), since this theme is followed by modal finite *diharapkan dapat memberikan* and complement or residue *pengalaman kontekstual lapangan yang akan meningkatkan kompetensi mahasiswa secara utuh, siap kerja, atau menciptakan lapangan kerja baru*. The theme *kampus merdeka* is supposed to run the whole program from the MBKM framework so that the degree of demands *diharapkan dapat memberikan* from the Ministry can be applied to achieve the intended results such as real-life experiences for apprentices who enrolled themselves into company or institution that come into agreement with the university or even created new field jobs for other jobseekers to enroll into their future companies. In other words, there is high demanding commodity of services coming from the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Higher Education towards the campuses and universities in Indonesia. The pre-condition that will follow the flow of discourse is there should be an agreement fixated between universities and the partners that have been explained in the *actor* section and within the example 6.

**Table 7. Unmarked theme and interpersonal interpretation analysis**

Thematic Analysis	Lexicon	Mood Value/ Polarity/ Contrast/ Passive Form
Unmarked theme (nominalization theme → indicating the description of 3 semesters' rights to learn outside ones study program)	e.g. 7 “ <i>program “hak belajar tiga semester di luar program studi” # adalah untuk meningkatkan kompetensi lulusan, baik soft skills maupun hard skills, agar lebih siap dan relevan dengan kebutuhan zaman, menyiapkan lulusan sebagai pemimpin masa depan bangsa yang unggul dan berkepribadian</i> ”.	Mood = <i>program “hak belajar tiga semester di luar program studi” # adalah</i> Residue = <i>untuk meningkatkan kompetensi lulusan, baik soft skills maupun hard skills, agar lebih siap dan relevan dengan kebutuhan zaman, menyiapkan lulusan sebagai pemimpin masa depan bangsa yang unggul dan berkepribadian</i>
Unmarked theme (group of nouns → indicating the purpose of entrepreneurial program)	e.g. 14 “ <i>Tujuan program kegiatan wirausaha antara lain # menangani permasalahan pengangguran yang menghasilkan pengangguran intelektual dari kalangan sarjana</i> ”	Commodity of exchange = goods & services  Mood = <i>Tujuan program kegiatan wirausaha antara lain</i> Residue = <i>menangani permasalahan pengangguran yang menghasilkan pengangguran intelektual dari kalangan sarjana</i>  Commodity of exchange = goods & services

Table 7 above consist of two examples of unmarked themes. Example 7 has nominalization theme because it is in a form of a group of words *program “hak belajar tiga semester di luar program studi”* which indicate the right to learn outside the student’s initial study program. This clause can be indicated as descriptive type of clause that trying to explain the meaning of the theme without giving indication of polarity in its clause. This example has “goods and services” commodity in exchange so it doesn’t only inform the readers about the program, but it also the future agenda that will be implemented towards all university students. As stated in the example 14, this clause also has nominalization type of theme *tujuan program kegiatan wirausaha antara lain* and has rheme *menangani permasalahan pengangguran yang menghasilkan pengangguran intelektual dari kalangan sarjana*. From interpersonal

perspective, this clause indicates information and at the same time providing goods and services as commodity of exchange about the solution towards the high number of unemployment citizens. In other words, entrepreneurship is the main issue within the MBKM discourse that is projecting as the main solution of unemployment situation without other perspective about the root problem regarding this problem.

### **Discussion**

This part deals with the third level CDA's analysis from Fairclough (Fairclough et al., 1989) that is explanation stage of analysis. This part may deal with broader sense beyond linguistics aspects, it deals with economic, socio-political, and ideological perspective beyond lexical-choices from the text producers. By using the framework of transitivity system (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013), we may go beyond the textual meanings through the use of *processes* that indicating some degree of power beyond discourse because the idea of transitivity is that clause as representation of any actor's world (Amoussou, 2018; van Dijk, 1997, 2017).

### ***Ideology behind text***

Although the guideline of "Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka" seems to be strictly into higher education program, it is indeed needed a power of political influence to push certain agenda in the form of formal and even legal policy making. Specifically, any political action is possible because actors or agents, who are part of the social world, have a (more or less adequate) knowledge of this world. Many actors can articulate any actions on the social world by doing things based on their perception of this world. These actions intend to produce and impose representation of ideology of the social world which may be possible of moving on this world by actuating based on agents' representation of it. More precisely, this representation intends to create the collective actions to transform the social world according to their interests, that is by producing or reproducing the representations that create certain groups available for themselves and for others. As an object of perspective for the who live in it, the economic and socio-political world utilizes a force upon them not in the form of a physical enforcement but in the form of a knowledge effect. It is obvious that, at least in the case of dominated groups, this effect does not tend to require political action (Buchanan et al., 1993). Through the implementation of Policy "Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka", the actors who's in the government, in the higher education units, the industries or companies, and any international non-profit organizations are collaborating to maximize the economic gains by taking advantage of regulating the rigged-education system for the sake of economy, or companies, or industries, or anyone behind it. As Gunnar Myrdal has stated, "*the key words in the vocabulary of economics, not only terms like 'principle', 'equilibrium', 'productivity', 'adjustment', 'function', etc., but also more central and unavoidable concepts like 'utility', 'value', 'real' or 'subjective' costs, etc., not to mention notions like 'economic', 'natural', 'equitable' (to which one should add 'rational'), are always simultaneously descriptive and prescriptive.*" (Bourdieu et al., n.d.,1991:134). Thus, the ideology behind the actor's perception of the world is about the economy gain and how to generate more economical advantages throughout the whole society without making the society realize this ideology. Although the discourse of capitalism may not be necessarily hidden, the realization of economy drive within the society has been normalized since the education system has also been normalizing (by creating programs that celebrate the idea of capitalism and materialism) economy as core idea of our modern civilization. This means that the society has been conditioned to accept that the future of the civilization will be more into economy, industry, and anything revolves around it. Does economy as civilization core idea always bad? It will be discussed within the next subunit of discussion. Thus the chosen lexicons within the MBKM guideline show how the economic sector and its supporting institutions have already in power position to manipulate the later generation to fit their agenda through education system.

### ***The future impact of the discourse***

Education in university level in recent years is seen as commodity of prestige and excellence due to the implementation of neocapitalism and neoliberalism globally including Indonesia. As stated by many previous researches, higher education in universities act as corporates that have been shifted their performances, structures, sources of fundings and values more into market and industry oriented. This shifting leads to redefinition of university's role into intellectual factories with the mindset of casual

academic whom accepting temporary contracts of jobs, the disappearance of permanent works, the increase of cut offs employees due to efficiency-oriented by the industries. Indeed, for many decades, universities had been in position to prepare the graduates for a changing world until today. However, in today's process of higher education learning, there is a strong tendency to cut off the student's main role that is to pursue a mission for social change, to engage with communities even mobilize new sets of thinking as translated from Gramsci's. As Bourdieu already stated:

*The science of the social mechanisms which, like the mechanisms of cultural heredity linked to the functioning of the educational system, or the mechanisms of symbolic domination linked to the unification of the market in economic and cultural goods, tend to ensure the reproduction of the established order can be put to the service of an opportunistic, laissez-faire approach committed to rationalizing (in both senses) the way these mechanisms function.* (Bourdieu, 1991: 136)

This means that when the education system is linked directly to the market mechanism so the system of economic and the circulation of goods are dominating the education paradigm, the students will not be able to critically thinking about what is wrong with the communities, what is happened with the political and social struggle in the communities and what kind of change that should be existed to pursue sustainable prosperity for the community, since they are directed highly towards the mechanism of neoliberal and neocapitalism type of world.

## CONCLUSION

This research has two novelty that can be looked and used as reference for other researchers within the same area of discipline or outside of it. The first result is that this research uses three dimensionals analysis of critical discourse analysis as the main framework and for the descriptive part, this research uses textual and interpersonal metafunction to identify the whole flow of the discourse textually and the commodity of exchange. We found that the main issue of Policy *Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka* is about how the campuses and universities in Indonesia can create solutions around economical wheel such as industry, research, internship, even unemployment. There is a degree of pressure towards the higher education institutions from the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Higher Education to be able to answer the current and future civilization's challenges.

The second results from this research is that there are high degree evident that the policy of MBKM is fully industry-oriented, leaning towards the neocapitalism interests. The way industry able to decide the flow of higher education agendas are such a huge shifting education orientation from educating “to be human being” into “human capital” to fulfil the demand from the industry. There should be re-orientation of education system in Indonesia so that the vision to produce “survive” next generation can be achieved from today's learning processes.

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