CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a brief review of theories relevant to the study. The theories reviewed include media framing, education policy, and an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

A. Theoretical Framework

In this section, the researcher focusses on elaborating the literature related to the topic. This includes a brief overview of media framing, its correlation with educational policies, and the integration of CDA in this research.

1. Media Framing

Media framing theory, initially developed by Erving Goffman (1974) and later refined by Robert Entman (1993), explains how media organizations select, emphasize, and present information to shape public understanding of events and issues. Entman's (1993) seminal work defines

> "Framing as a process of selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p. 52).

This conceptualization has been foundational in understanding how news media construct meaning through selective presentation of information. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) further elaborate that frames serve as cognitive shortcuts that help people make sense of complex issues, operating as "interpretative packages" that give meaning to an issue. In the contemporary media landscape, these frames function as organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, structuring the social world meaningfully and enabling journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely (Van Gorp, 2007).

Media framing operates through specific mechanisms of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, where journalists and media organizations construct meaning through deliberate choices in language, context, and presentation. According to de Vreese (2005), frame-building occurs at several levels, including internal factors such as editorial policies and news values, and external factors such as the broader sociopolitical context. Pan and Kosicki (1993) identify four structural dimensions through which frames manifest in news discourse: syntactical structure (pattern of arranging words and phrases), script structure (narrative form), thematic structure (presence of hypotheses and causal relationships), and rhetorical structure (stylistic choices). These elements work together to create what Matthes (2009) describes as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation" that significantly influence how audiences process and understand information. The strategic deployment of these framing devices by media organizations reflects both conscious editorial decisions and unconscious adherence to established journalistic practices.

Media framing's significance extends beyond simple news presentation, fundamentally shaping public discourse and policy debates through its influence on how audiences interpret and understand complex social issues. Chong and Druckman (2007) demonstrate how frames can affect public opinion by making certain considerations more salient in people's evaluation of issues. In the context of policy communication, framing plays a crucial role in how policy initiatives are presented and understood by the public. This is particularly relevant in the Indonesian context, where Santos et al. (2022) note that media framing has become increasingly influential in shaping public perception of government policies. Tapsell (2015) further argues that the relationship between media framing and policy discourse in Indonesia is characterized by complex interactions between political interests, media ownership, and public opinion. This understanding of framing's role in policy communication provides a crucial foundation for examining how Indonesian media frame educational policies during the Jokowi era, which will be explored

in detail through specific types of frames, their application in political communication, and their manifestation in educational contexts.

a. History of Media Framing

The evolution of media framing can be traced through three distinct eras: the Print Era, Mass Media Era, and Digital Era, each marked by significant technological and social transformations that fundamentally changed how information was presented and consumed.
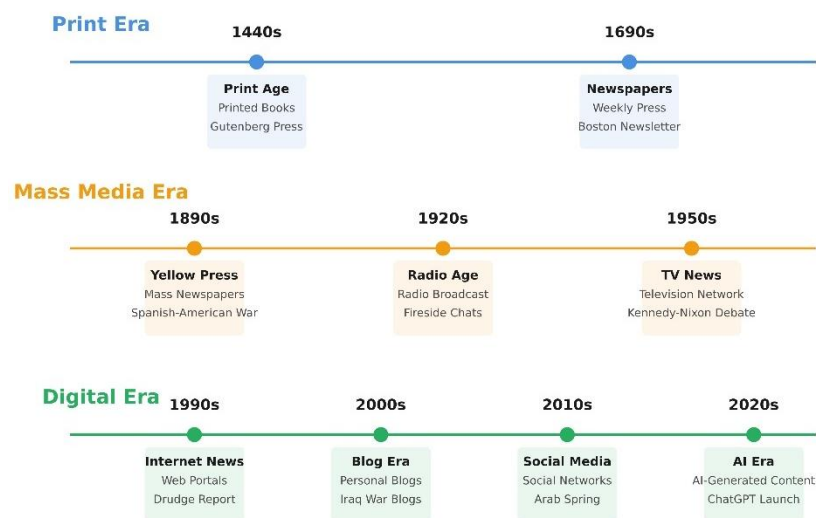
Figure 1. *History of Media Framing*

(Source adapted from Barnouw, 1990; Bell & Owen, 2017; Bennett, 2016; Briggs & Burke, 2009; Campbell, 2001; Craig, 2000; Eisenstein, 1979; McCombs, 2014; Nord, 2001; Pavlik, 2001; Starr, 2005; Wu, 2016.)

1) Print Era (1440s-1690s)

The Print Era, from the 1440s to the 1690s, was an important period for media framing, significantly influenced by revolutionary developments in printing technology. This period marked the beginnings of mass communication, which not only revolutionized

information access but also established foundational frameworks for the structuring, distribution, and comprehension of news and ideas by the public for centuries ahead.

a) The Gutenberg Revolution (1440s)

The invention of movable type printing by Johannes Gutenberg marked the beginning of mass communication. This revolutionary technology enabled, for the first time in history, the consistent reproduction of text on a large scale. The Gutenberg Bible demonstrated the press's capability for precise replication, while Luther's 95 Theses showed its potential for mass dissemination of ideas. The technology's impact on media framing was profound: it introduced standardized formatting, enabled identical messaging across copies, and created the first form of mass-distributed information. This standardization established the foundation for modern media framing by allowing messages to maintain consistency across vast geographical areas, while also democratizing access to information previously controlled by religious and political elites (Eisenstein, 1979; Briggs & Burke, 2009).

b) The Rise of Periodical Press (1690s)

The establishment of the Boston Newsletter represented a crucial evolution in media framing, introducing regular news cycles and professional journalism standards. This period saw the development of the first continuous news publication model, creating systematic approaches to news gathering and presentation. The newsletter's significance lay in its establishment of editorial selection processes and regular publishing schedules, fundamentally changing how information was curated and presented to the public. Its coverage of colonial affairs demonstrated how regular news publication could shape public opinion and create ongoing narratives

about current events, establishing patterns of news framing that would influence centuries of journalism (Nord, 2001; Starr, 2005).

2) Mass Media Era (1890s-1950s)

The Mass Media Era, ranging from the 1890s to the 1950s, represented a significant transformation in media framing, as new technology and journalistic methodologies fundamentally changed the presentation and consumption of information. This period saw the beginnings of sensationalism, the arrival of auditory communication, and the strong integration of visual narrative, each enhancing a more immediate, personal, and impactful mode of mass communication.

a) Yellow Journalism Period (1890s)

The competition between William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer transformed news presentation through sensationalist reporting and emotional storytelling. This era introduced new narrative techniques that prioritized public engagement over strict factual accuracy, most notably in the coverage of the Spanish-American War. Yellow journalism established practices like dramatic headlines, vivid illustrations, and emotional appeal in news presentations. The period demonstrated the media's power to influence public opinion and foreign policy through strategic framing, establishing techniques that would influence news presentation for decades to come (Campbell, 2001; Wu, 2016).

b) The Radio Age (1920s)

Radio introduced an entirely new dimension to media framing through audio communication. This period saw the emergence of immediate, intimate forms of mass communication, exemplified by FDR's Fireside Chats. Radio's impact on media

framing was revolutionary: it introduced tone of voice, emotional inflection, and real-time communication as crucial elements of message delivery. The medium created a more personal connection between communicators and audiences, fundamentally changing how political and social messages were framed and received (Craig, 2000; McCombs, 2014).

c) Television News Era (1950s)

Television revolutionized media framing by introducing visual elements to mass communication. The Kennedy-Nixon debates demonstrated television's unique power to influence public perception through visual presentation. This period established new standards for visual journalism, demonstrating how appearance, body language, and visual setting could impact message reception independently of content. Television news created new frameworks for story presentation, combining visual, audio, and narrative elements in ways that transformed public understanding of current events (Barnouw, 1990; Bennett, 2016).

3) Digital Era (1990s-2020s)

The Digital Era, ranging from the 1990s to the 2020s, has significantly transformed media framing, has eliminated conventional gatekeepers and enabled unparalleled interaction and customization. This era has witnessed the swift progression from the emergence of internet news platforms to the rise of citizen journalism via blogs, the widespread impact of social media, and currently, the revolutionary effect of artificial intelligence and algorithmic content, each fundamentally reshaping the creation, distribution, and perception of information.

a) Early Internet Age (1990s)

The rise of internet news portals, exemplified by the Drudge Report, introduced new dynamics to news distribution and consumption. This period saw the first major challenge to traditional media gatekeepers, demonstrating how digital platforms could break news and shape narratives independently of established institutions. The era introduced hyperlinked narratives and non-linear storytelling, fundamentally changing how news was structured and consumed (Pavlik, 2001; Bell & Owen, 2017).

b) Blog Revolution (2000s)

The emergence of blogs and citizen journalism democratized media creation and distribution. Iraq War blogs provided alternative perspectives to mainstream coverage, introducing multi-perspective framing of major events. This period demonstrated how digital platforms could enable individual voices to influence public discourse, challenging traditional media's monopoly on narrative construction. The blog era showed how personal experiences could be transformed into public narratives, creating new frameworks for understanding events through multiple perspectives (Allan, 2006; Tufekci, 2017).

c) Social Media Transformation (2010s)

Social networks fundamentally altered information dissemination patterns and public discourse. The Arab Spring demonstrated social media's capacity to facilitate and document social movements, bypassing traditional media controls. This era introduced new forms of participatory journalism and real-time event coverage, while also demonstrating how social platforms could influence public opinion and political movements through

user-generated content and viral sharing (Papacharissi, 2015; Newman, 2021).

d) AI and Algorithmic Content Era (2020s)

The current decade has introduced AI-generated content and algorithmic news curation, exemplified by developments like ChatGPT. This era represents a fundamental shift in content creation and distribution, raising new questions about authenticity, authority, and the role of artificial intelligence in shaping public discourse. The period demonstrates how technological advancement continues to transform media framing, suggesting a future where AI systems increasingly influence how information is structured, presented, and consumed (Diakopoulos, 2019; Wu, 2016).

b. Types of Media Framing

Media framing scholarship has evolved significantly since its inception, establishing various categorizations of how news organizations' structure and present information to audiences. The concept of frame types provides essential analytical tools for understanding how media outlets package and present news content to influence public interpretation of events and policies (Entman, 1993). These different types of frames serve distinct purposes in news coverage, from highlighting specific aspects of issues to shaping public understanding of complex policy matters. In the context of educational policy analysis, understanding these frame types becomes particularly crucial as they directly influence how educational reforms and initiatives are perceived by various stakeholders (de Vreese, 2005).

The foundational framework for analyzing news frames, developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), identifies five primary types of frames that consistently appear in news coverage. The conflict frame, which emphasizes disagreement between parties, is particularly prevalent in education policy coverage, where it highlights tensions between

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government initiatives and public response. For instance, Indonesian media often employ conflict frames when covering controversial education reforms, for example, as the recent curriculum changes under the Merdeka Belajar program (d'Haenens and Hollander, 2002). Human interest frames personalized issues by focusing on individual stories, such as profiles of students or teachers affected by policy changes. Economic consequences frames, frequently used in education coverage, emphasize the financial implications of policy decisions, particularly regarding budget allocations and resource distribution. Morality frames contextualize issues within ethical or moral considerations, while attribution of responsibility frames assign blame or credit for educational outcomes to specific actors or institutions (Ellemers et al, 2019).

Beyond these primary categories, scholars have identified additional frame types that offer deeper analytical insights into media coverage. Iyengar's (1991) distinction between episodic and thematic frames has proven particularly valuable in education policy analysis. Episodic frames focus on specific incidents or cases, such as individual school success stories or implementation challenges, while thematic frames place these issues within broader societal contexts. For example, coverage of remote learning initiatives during the COVID-19 pandemic often alternated between episodic frames highlighting individual schools' experiences and thematic frames addressing systemic educational challenges (Wirz et al., 2022). Similarly, de Vreese's (2005) differentiation between generic and issue-specific frames help analyze how media outlets adapt common framing patterns to specific educational contexts.

The application of these frame types in Indonesian media demonstrates distinct patterns that reflect both global journalistic practices and local cultural contexts. Research by Lim (2012) and Tapsell (2015) shows how Indonesian news organizations frequently combine multiple frame types when covering education policies, particularly during periods of significant reform. For instance, coverage of the *Merdeka Belajar*

program often simultaneously employs economic consequences frames to discuss budgetary implications, human interest frames to highlight teacher experiences, and attribution of responsibility frames to evaluate government implementation efforts. This multilayered framing approach reflects the complex nature of education policy discourse in Indonesia and the various stakeholder interests involved in educational reform.

c. Media Framing in Political Communications

Media framing plays a pivotal role in political communication, serving as a crucial mechanism through which policy initiatives are presented, interpreted, and understood by the public. The relationship between media framing and political communication has become increasingly sophisticated in the digital age, where multiple platforms and formats contribute to the construction of political narratives (Entman & Usher, 2018). In the context of education policy, media framing significantly influences how political decisions are communicated to and received by various stakeholders, from educators and parents to policymakers and administrators. This dynamic is particularly evident in Indonesia's evolving media landscape, where traditional and digital platforms interact to shape public discourse on educational reform.

The power dynamics inherent in political communication through media framing manifest in several keyways. First, frames help set the political agenda by determining which aspects of policies receive attention and how they are prioritized (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). In Indonesian education policy coverage, this agenda-setting function is evident in how media outlets choose to emphasize certain aspects of reforms while downplaying others. For example, OECD (2024) found that coverage of the Merdeka Belajar program predominantly focused on implementation challenges rather than pedagogical innovations, thereby influencing public discourse around the policy. Additionally, media frames shape policy legitimacy by influencing how reforms are justified and explained to the

public, often through strategic use of expert opinions, statistical evidence, and stakeholder testimonials.

The Indonesian political communication context presents unique characteristics that affect how education policies are framed and discussed in the media. Research by Tapsell (2021) highlights how media ownership patterns in Indonesia significantly influence political coverage, with different media groups often aligning their framing choices with several political or ideological positions. This is particularly evident in education policy coverage, where competing media narratives reflect different visions for Indonesia's educational future. The rise of digital media platforms has further complicated this landscape, introduced new voices, and perspectives while sometimes fragmenting public discourse on educational issues (Lim, 2017). These platforms have created opportunities for more diverse framing of education policies but have also raised concerns about information quality and accountability.

d. Media Framing in Educational Context

Within the educational context, framing refers to how media outlets select, emphasize, and present certain aspects of educational issues while downplaying others, thereby influencing how the public interprets and evaluates educational matters. As Santos et al. (2022) demonstrate in their analysis of Portuguese media coverage, frames are particularly impactful when discussing complex educational policies and international assessment results, as they help simplify and contextualize technical information for public consumption.

Furthermore, the process of media framing in education operates through several key mechanisms. According to Baroutsis and Lingard (2017), educational media frames typically employ specific narrative devices, statistical presentations, and expert testimonials to construct interpretations of educational phenomena. For instance, when covering international standardized testing results, media outlets may frame the story through a "crisis" narrative focusing on declining scores, or

alternatively, through a "progress" narrative highlighting improvement. The choice of frames significantly impacts public perception and policy responses. This is evident in Santos et al.'s (2022) findings, where Portuguese media coverage of PISA results shifted from "discourses of failure" in early cycles to "discourses of achievement" in later years, demonstrating how frames can evolve to shape different narratives about educational performance.

Additionally, educational media framing is particularly influential in policy contexts, as it helps set the agenda for public debate and policy action. Waldow (2017) argues that media frames serve as powerful tools for legitimizing certain educational reforms while delegitimizing others. This process often involves what Santos et al. (2022) term "externalization to world situations" where media outlets reference international examples, assessment results, or expert opinions to support some policy positions. The authors found that Portuguese media increasingly used such external references to frame domestic education policy debates, demonstrating how framing devices can connect local educational discourse to global contexts. This demonstrates the complex interplay between media framing and educational policy development in contemporary societies.

2. Education Policy

This section focuses on the key components of Education Policy, starting with an analysis of its core concept, identifying the principles and guidelines that govern a nation's educational framework, and recognizing the various stakeholders engaged in its complicated development and execution. The following section will present an in-depth overview of the Historical Development of Indonesia's Education Policy on Curriculum, examining the progression of its curricula from the post-independence era to the present, while emphasizing the key variables and defining features of each major curriculum transformation.

a. The Concept of Education Policy

Education policy encompasses the principles, rules, and guidelines formulated to achieve specific educational goals and regulate educational practices within a nation. According to Ball (2017), education policy represents a complex intersection of political vision, social needs, and educational objectives that shape the direction of a nation's educational system. The concept has evolved from simple administrative directives to comprehensive frameworks that address multiple aspects of education, including curriculum development, resource allocation, and institutional governance (Saguin, 2019). Understanding education policy requires recognizing its multifaceted nature as both a text and a process, where written policies interact with implementation practices and societal contexts.

The formulation and implementation of education policy involve various components and processes that determine its effectiveness. Rizvi and Lingard (2009) identify three key dimensions: policy formation, which involves agenda-setting and decision-making; policy implementation, which concerns the translation of policy into practice; and policy evaluation, which assesses outcomes and impacts. These dimensions operate within what Lasswell (1956) describe as a policy cycle, where each stage influences and informs the others. The complexity of this cycle is particularly evident in developing nations, where resource constraints and institutional capacities often affect policy outcomes.

The role of stakeholders in education policy has become increasingly significant in contemporary policy-making processes. Research by Fontdevila et al. (2016) demonstrates how multiple actors, including government officials, educators, community leaders, and international organizations, influence policy development and implementation. These stakeholders bring diverse perspectives and interests that shape policy outcomes through what Coleman (2015) term "policy networks." The interaction between these stakeholders has become

more complex in the global era, where international standards and comparative assessments increasingly influence national education policies.

b. Historical Development of Indonesia's Education Policy on Curriculum
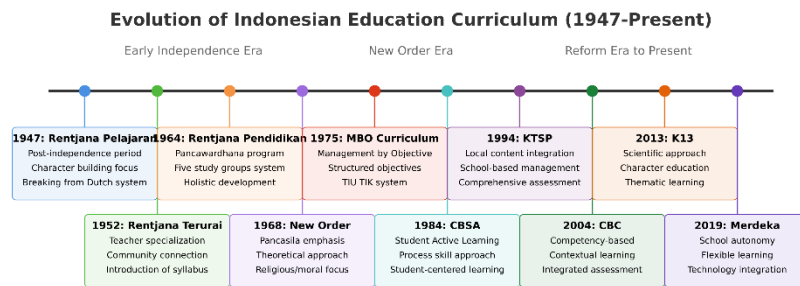
Figure 2 *Evolution of Indonesian Education Curriculum.*

(Source adapted from Baharun (2018); Buku Saku Kemendikbud (2020); Djojonegoro (2017); Hamalik (2007); Hidayat & Patras (2018); Hsb (2018); Insani (2019); Rahman (2021).

1) Rentjana Pelajaran 1947

The Rentjana Pelajaran 1947 emerged as Indonesia's first national curriculum, with its name reflecting the old Indonesian spelling system (before the 1972 spelling reform) and literally meaning "Lesson Plan." According to Tilaar (1995), this curriculum developed amid Indonesia's struggle to establish independence and create distance from the Dutch educational system. Djojonegoro (1996) notes that it was legally founded on UUD 1945 Article 31 and Law No. 4/1950 on Education Fundamentals, though implementation was delayed until 1950 due to revolutionary conditions. Poerbakawatja (1970) emphasizes that its ideology centered on character building (pendidikan watak) and nationalist values, aiming to develop Indonesian identity

through education while breaking away from colonial educational practices. According to Hidayat and Patras (2018), the curriculum required modification due to its limited scope and implementation challenges during the revolutionary period. Despite these limitations, Suwandi (2020) argues that it successfully established foundational changes by introducing Indonesian as the primary language of instruction and incorporating nationalist values into education.

2) Rentjana Pelajaran Terurai 1952

The Rentjana Pelajaran Terurai 1952 added "Terurai" (detailed) to its name, indicating its more comprehensive and structured approach to education. Winarno (2019) documents that this curriculum emerged during Indonesia's liberal democracy period, responding to the need for more systematic educational guidance. The curriculum was established through Law No. 12/1954 and Minister of Education Decree No. 24/1952, introducing formal lesson planning through syllabus development. Rahman (2021) notes that its ideology balanced nationalist values with modern educational methods, aiming to connect subject matter with daily life experiences. According to Nasution (2008), the curriculum required change to address the growing need for specialized education and better-prepared teachers. As documented by Insani (2019), it successfully implemented Indonesia's first structured approach to educational planning and introduced formal lesson planning systems.

3) Rentjana Pendidikan 1964

The 1964 Rentjana Pendidikan marked a significant shift by changing from "Pelajaran" (lesson) to "Pendidikan" (education), reflecting a broader educational philosophy. According to Djojonegoro (2017), this curriculum emerged during Sukarno's Guided Democracy period and was deeply influenced by the MANIPOL-USDEK political

doctrine. The curriculum was established through Presidential Decree No. 19/1965 and introduced the Pancawardhana program. Winarno (2019) emphasizes that its ideology integrated revolutionary spirit with educational objectives through five developmental pathways. As noted by Insani (2019), the curriculum required change following the political transition to the New Order regime, though it successfully introduced important concepts of integrated student development that influenced later reforms.

4) 1968 Curriculum

The 1968 Curriculum marked the first use of a year-based naming convention, signaling a break from previous ideological nomenclature. This curriculum emerged during Indonesia's transition to the New Order regime, characterized by anti-communist purges and a shift toward economic development. According to Loppies (2023), this period represented a decisive break from Sukarno's guided democracy, with education being redirected toward economic development goals. The curriculum was established through TAP MPRS No. XXVII/MPRS/1966 and Minister of Education and Culture Decree No. 2/1968, fundamentally restructuring educational objectives. As noted by Soedijarto (2008), its ideology emphasized Pancasila moral education and basic skills development, deliberately removing communist-associated content while strengthening nationalist values. The curriculum requires modification due to increasing demands for modernization and systematic instruction methods. Despite its limitations, Insani (2019) argues that it successfully achieved its primary objective of establishing a stable educational framework that supported the New Order's development agenda.

5) 1975 Curriculum

The 1975 Curriculum emerged during Indonesia's oil boom period, reflecting the nation's growing economic prosperity and modernization efforts. As documented by Mulyasa (2013), this curriculum introduced the first systematic approach to instruction through the Procedures for Instructional System Development (PPSI). The curriculum was established through TAP MPR No. IV/MPR/1973 and Minister of Education and Culture Decree No. 008-E/U/1975, introducing standardized learning objectives and teaching procedures. According to Baharun (2018), its ideology centered on goal-oriented education with clear instructional objectives, aiming to modernize Indonesia's education system through systematic planning and evaluation. Djojonegoro (1996) notes that this curriculum required change due to emerging needs for more active student participation and the influence of global educational trends. Despite these eventual limitations, it successfully established standardized teaching procedures and learning objectives that formed the foundation for subsequent reforms.

6) 1984 CBSA Curriculum

The 1984 CBSA (Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif) Curriculum derived its name from its central feature of student-active learning methodology. According to Hamalik (2007), this curriculum emerged during the height of the New Order's development era, responding to growing middle-class demands for higher quality education. The curriculum was founded on Government Regulation No. 28/1990 and Minister of Education and Culture Decree No. 0461/U/1983, institutionalizing student-centered learning approaches. Dimyati and Mudjiono (2006) emphasize that its ideology centered on developing student initiative and creativity, marking a significant shift from

teacher-centered to student-centered learning. As analyzed by Tilaar (1995), the curriculum required modification due to implementation challenges and teachers' difficulties adapting to new methodologies. Nevertheless, it achieved several key objectives in introducing active learning concepts and critical thinking skills development, though its full implementation faced practical challenges in many schools.

7) 1994 Curriculum (KTSP)

The 1994 Curriculum represented a comprehensive reform effort during the late New Order period. According to Sanjaya (2008), this curriculum emerged in response to globalization pressures and technological advancement. It was established through Minister of Education and Culture Decrees No. 060/U/1993 and 061/U/1993, introducing significant innovations including Local Content Curriculum (Muatan Lokal). Suryosubroto (2004) notes that its ideology balanced national standards with local wisdom, aiming to prepare students for global competition while maintaining cultural values. As documented by Nasution (2008), the curriculum required change due to its overly dense content and implementation challenges. Despite these issues, it successfully introduced important innovations in school-based management and local content integration that influenced subsequent reforms.

8) 2004 Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK)

The 2004 Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK) derived its name from its focus on measurable competencies and marked Indonesia's entry into modern educational frameworks. According to Mulyasa (2006), this curriculum emerged in response to Indonesia's post-reformation decentralization and the growing influence of international education standards. The curriculum was established through Law No. 20/2003 on the National Education System and

Minister of Education Decree No. 045/U/2002, institutionalizing competency-based learning outcomes. Majid (2014) emphasizes that its ideology centered on developing practical skills and workplace readiness, marking a significant shift from content-based to competency-based education. As analyzed by Sari (2022), the curriculum required modification due to implementation challenges and varying school readiness levels. However, it successfully introduced important concepts of measurable learning outcomes and life-skills integration that continue to influence Indonesian education.

9) 2013 Curriculum (K-13)

The 2013 Curriculum (K-13) represented a major reform in response to digital era demands and global competitiveness requirements. According to Kurniasih and Sani (2014), this curriculum emerged amid preparations for the ASEAN Economic Community and increasing emphasis on character education. It was established through a comprehensive set of regulations, including Government Regulation No. 32/2013 and various Ministerial regulations, implementing a scientific approach to learning. Mulyasa (2013) notes that its ideology emphasized character development alongside academic achievement, aiming to prepare students for 21st-century challenges while maintaining strong moral values. The curriculum underwent several revisions due to implementation feedback and the need to simplify certain aspects. Despite initial challenges, it successfully integrated character education with scientific learning approaches and introduced comprehensive assessment systems.

10) Merdeka Belajar Curriculum (2019-Present)

The current Merdeka Belajar Curriculum (2019-present), whose name reflects the concept of "learning freedom," emerged as a response to Industry 4.0 demands and was later adapted to address COVID-19

challenges. As documented in Kemdikbud's Buku Saku Merdeka Belajar (2020), this curriculum was established through Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 719/P/2020 and various supporting policies. Yamin and Syahrir (2020) emphasize that its ideology centers on learning flexibility and teacher autonomy, aiming to reduce administrative burdens while maintaining educational quality. The curriculum continues to evolve in response to implementation feedback and changing educational needs.

3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) represents a methodological approach that systematically examines the complex relationships between discourse, power, and social practices within specific historical and sociopolitical contexts. This analytical framework, developed through contributions from scholars like Fairclough (2013), van Dijk (2015), and Wodak (2015), views language not merely as a neutral medium of communication but as a form of social practice that both shapes and is shaped by power relations in society. CDA's significance lies in its ability to reveal how linguistic choices and discursive strategies in texts reflect, reinforce, or challenge existing social hierarchies and ideological positions, making it particularly valuable for examining how institutional discourse and media texts contribute to the production and reproduction of social meanings and power relations (van Dijk, 2015). The framework proves especially suitable as an analytical tool because it provides systematic methods for uncovering how language use in specific contexts, such as media coverage, constructs and maintains particular versions of social reality while potentially excluding or marginalizing others (Fairclough, 2018).

While all CDA frameworks share a common goal of exposing power relations, the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) developed by Wodak is exceptionally suited for this specific study. Fairclough's framework excels in analyzing the dialectical relationship between discourse and social practice, and

van Dijk's model provides a powerful lens for sociocognitive processes. However, this thesis is concerned with two elements that are central to DHA: (1) the historical context of Indonesian education policy over a defined period (the 'Jokowi era'), and (2) the analysis of discourse within specific 'fields of action' (namely, media and policy). Therefore, DHA was selected as its methodology explicitly integrates the historical dimension of discourse and provides a suitable framework for analyzing the argumentative strategies used in political and media texts."

a. Critical Discourse Analysis of This Study

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), pioneered by Ruth Wodak and the Vienna School of Critical Discourse Analysis, represents a comprehensive methodological framework within CDA that distinguishes itself through its emphasis on integrating historical context into discourse analysis. According to Wodak (2015), DHA uniquely combines socio-linguistic and historical analysis by examining the ways discourse changes in relation to sociopolitical events over time, making it particularly valuable for analyzing how language use evolves within institutional and political contexts.

DHA's systematic analytical framework integrates multiple interdisciplinary dimensions: detailed linguistic analysis, historical contextual analysis, and sociopolitical interpretation. Wodak (2015) emphasizes that this integration allows researchers to examine how discourse phenomena exist within broader social and historical contexts while maintaining rigorous attention to specific linguistic features. This triangulated approach enables the analysis of texts at multiple levels, from micro-linguistic features to macro-social structures.

According to Wodak (2008), DHA operates through three interrelated analytical dimensions: content analysis, which examines thematic elements and argumentative structures; linguistic analysis, which investigates textual coherence, cohesion, and linguistic devices; and contextual analysis, which considers the historical background,

situational context, and broader sociopolitical context. These dimensions work together to provide a comprehensive understanding of how discourse operates within specific social and historical contexts.

Wodak (2015) presents five fundamental analytical questions that guide DHA analysis: how persons and events are named (referential strategies), what characteristics are attributed to them (predicational strategies), what arguments are employed (argumentation strategies), from what perspective these elements are expressed (perspectivization strategies), and how utterances are modulated (intensification/mitigation strategies). These questions provide a systematic framework for examining how discourse constructs and represents social reality.

While Wodak's framework encompasses five analytical strategies, this study specifically focuses on argumentation and intensification/mitigation strategies to examine media framing of education policies during the Jokowi era. This selective focus is particularly appropriate because these two strategies directly address how media outlets construct and modulate their arguments about policy issues, revealing both the logical structures underlying policy debates and the linguistic devices used to strengthen or soften positions in public discourse.

Within the context of policy analysis, Wodak (2015) identifies several key topoi or argumentative patterns that structure policy discourse. These include the topos of authority (drawing on expertise or position), the topos of urgency (emphasizing immediate action), the topos of threat (highlighting dangers), the topos of numbers (using statistical evidence), the topos of reality (appealing to factual circumstances), and the topos of history (drawing on past experiences). These topoi serve as analytical tools for understanding how arguments about policies are constructed and legitimized in media discourse.

The intensification/mitigation strategies, as outlined by Wodak (2015), encompass specific linguistic devices that modify the

illocutionary force of utterances. These include diminutives or augmentatives, modal particles and tag questions, subjunctive and hesitation markers, indirect speech acts, verbs of saying, feeling, and thinking, and rhetorical devices such as hyperboles and litotes. These linguistic choices serve to either strengthen arguments through intensification or soften them through mitigation, thereby shaping how policy positions are presented and received in public discourse.

The DHA framework specifically addresses how media discourse operates within what Wodak (2015) terms "fields of action," including the formation of public opinion, political advertising and marketing, political control and execution, and legislative practices. This conceptualization helps situate media discourse within broader networks of political communication, demonstrating how different genres of discourse interact and influence public understanding of policy issues. Within these fields, various forms of communication from press releases and interviews to written articles work together to shape public perception and understanding of policy debates.

B. Study of Relevant Research

Studies examining the intersection of critical discourse analysis and education policy have revealed important insights about how media framing shapes policy understanding and implementation. Mejía-Cáceres et al.'s (2020) analysis of Colombia's National Policy of Environmental Education demonstrated how policy texts reproduce dominant ideologies through specific discursive strategies. Their study found that policy documents predominantly aligned with neoliberal policy framing, while critical or alternative perspectives from researchers were notably limited in the texts. The authors recommended greater inclusion of academic voices and research-based evidence in policy formation, along with more transparent discussion of implementation challenges.

Building on this analytical approach, Essa and Harvey (2022) conducted a critical discourse analysis of Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 policy documents and

related media coverage. Their examination of 27 news articles and six policy documents revealed a striking pattern - while sustainability and environmental education were frequently mentioned in policy rhetoric, concrete implementation plans were notably absent, with only one article providing specific details about educational strategies. The researchers identified two dominant framing devices: appeals to authority (both governmental and international) and bureaucratic language that emphasized institutional processes over practical action. They recommended developing more detailed implementation frameworks and increasing stakeholder engagement in policy planning.

Both studies demonstrate how media discourse plays a crucial role in legitimizing certain policy positions while potentially marginalizing others. Mejía-Cáceres et al. (2020) found that media coverage tended to amplify government voices while minimizing academic perspectives, using linguistic strategies such as nominalization and passivation to obscure agency in policy implementation. Their frame analysis revealed three predominant frames: administrative efficiency, economic development, and environmental protection. Similarly, Essa and Harvey (2022) identified how Saudi media relied heavily on bureaucratic framing and international validation frames to present policy initiatives, often using vague language that avoided specific commitments or timelines.

These studies share important commonalities with research on media framing of education policies during the Jokowi era, particularly in their attention to how discourse shapes public understanding of policy implementation. Their methodological approaches - especially their analysis of intertextuality and interdiscursivity - provide valuable frameworks for examining Indonesian media discourse. Both studies particularly emphasize the importance of examining the gap between policy rhetoric and implementation plans, a critical consideration for analyzing education policy coverage in any context. Their findings suggest that effective policy analysis must consider not just what is said, but how it is framed and what may be omitted from dominant discourse, especially in relation to concrete implementation strategies and the inclusion of diverse stakeholder voices.