
THE IDEOLOGY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION CELEBRATION SPEECH: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TEXT

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Received: February 10, 2024; Accepted: June 27, 2024; Published: July 12, 2024

Abstract- *This study seeks to explore critical discourse analysis in the speeches of Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendi. The speeches of these two figures were chosen because the text is a kind of Critical Discourse Analysis object (CDA). The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method examines the relationship between language, ideology, and power. This study employed a descriptive qualitative method. The researcher uses Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework (CDA) to analyze Critical Discourse Analysis data. The researchers used qualitative data analysis theory from Miles and Huberman (1994) to present and analyze the data, which included data reduction, data display or representation, and conclusion drawing or verification. The result of this study shows that both the script of speeches from Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendi have micro, mezzo, and macro-level related to the framework of Norman Fairclough. The language used in both speeches is the standard language. Still, the speech of Nadiem Makarim used more natural and creative language that can touch the millennial generation. In contrast, in the speech of Muhadjir, familiar words can confuse the audience.*

Keywords: *critical discourse analysis; speech act; nadiem makarim; muhadjir effendi; ideology*

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INTRODUCTION

Education is the best weapon' is a popular tagline that brings a powerful spirit to countries, including Indonesia. Indonesia has already put Education in the up-bottom long history for each development of the country, especially the existence of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia. The chief figures in this Ministry of Indonesia have always gotten much attention from the public for their gestures, policies, and

languages in Education. The language used by groups of government officials such as the Ministry of Education and Culture, whether verbally or in writing, is only one of many contexts in which language is used (Ocansey, C. 2016). Those in positions of authority in government can shape events on a local, national, and global scale to further their respective governments' goals (Novelly & Agustina, 2021).

A leader or other influential person typically gives the term speech to express their views or thoughts that should be considered (Sarfo & Krampa 2013). As the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in this study, Mr. Nadiem Anwar Makarim and Muhadjir Effendy attracted special attention from the community due to their position as important figures and the information he conveyed, especially on the important day of Education, namely National Education day. The language, theme, and the way these two important people of Indonesia piqued the interest of the researchers to examine their speeches using a critical discourse analysis approach (Leong, 2017).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a branch of research that looks at discourse to the linkages between rhetoric, ideology, and power, as well as hidden meanings (Arce & Anderson 2020). CDA analysis looks at the text as a speech act; thus, CDA affects how a language is used and how meaning can be formed. The multidisciplinary nature now embedded in critical discourse analysis has implications for using critical discourse analysis for various functions in theory and research methods (Yuhastina et al., 2020). In terms of pedagogy, CDA is more concerned with raising general awareness on the part of learners, teachers, school staff, and government of the role of language in society than directly improving their language proficiency (Bayyurt, Y. 2011). Further, the three-dimensional model of CDA proposed by Fairclough (2013) includes text analysis, sociocultural practice, and discourse practice.

Some of the articles that have been explored are related to the concept of CDA in a pedagogical context. Rahimi & Sharififar (2015) investigated the effects of critical discourse analysis on male and female students. In doing so, the study employed an experimental design with 62 individuals, 32 of whom were men and 32 of whom were women with English language majors. To accomplish this, students were given a text copy of Obama's political speech to study by CDA. The results indicate that women were more likely to be influenced than men, but the difference was not particularly striking in

any area. Zembylas (2010) used CDA to examine the underlying philosophies and ideologies of diversity and intercultural Education in some recent iterations of Cyprus's educational policy. This article focused on sociopolitical and textual aspects of chosen policy documents. Thus, the lesson can be learned in this article by discussing the implications of this analysis for policy-making on intercultural Education in the Republic of Cyprus and other multicultural settings.

In addition, several studies have been done on Mr. Nadiem Makarim's speeches through critical discourse analysis. Obos et al. (2022) found that at the microscopic level, Nadiem Makarim's speech used language to highlight the positions of the audience members. The linguistic patterns used are polysemy, metonymy, synonyms, collocation, and contrasting conjunction. The text was a transcript posted on the websites on May 12, 2022, at the mezzo level. The speech delivered during the National Education Day celebration serves as a macro example of the situational level. During his tenure, the institutional level demonstrated and delivered the speech. The audience's and all Indonesians' responses to the minister's speech were both favorable and negative, as shown by the social level. Another of the newest studies is from According to Ramadhan & Assidik (2022), Teun A. Van Dijk's model's critical discourse analysis divides the text's dimensions into macro, superstructure, and microstructure. Each discourse structure includes several of Mendikbud's speech discourse's constituent parts.

This study addresses several research gaps in the analysis of Mr. Nadiem Makarim's speeches through critical discourse analysis by incorporating a comparative approach, an expanded analytical framework, and a broader contextual analysis. Unlike previous studies, which focused individually on Nadiem Makarim's speeches and specific linguistic features or structural components, this research compares the ideologies of Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendi, providing a wider perspective on the discourse within the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia. Utilizing Fairclough's three-dimensional model, the study delves into the micro, mezzo, and macro levels of the speeches, integrating linguistic analyses within this comprehensive framework (Deng, X. 2020).

The novelty of this study lies in its comprehensive and comparative approach to analyzing the speeches of Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendi, key figures in the

Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia. Furthermore, This study aimed to examine the ideologies of Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendi as figures of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia. Their speeches were chosen because they represented the bearer of education change. The text analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice components of Fairclough's (2003) three-dimensional model are all used in the analysis because the researchers are interested in the micro-mezzo-and macro-levels of the speeches.

METHODS

This study applied a descriptive qualitative method design. The researcher aims to find out the ideology of the speeches by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The focus of the study is the three-dimensional framework by Fairclough in analyzing data of CDA.

The data of this study are written text speeches delivered by two Ministers of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendy. Their speeches were delivered on October 2, 2022, and 2018 to commemorate the National Education Day of Indonesia. The speech was recorded and published on the YouTube KEMENDIKBUD RI channel and then transcribed. Researchers use transcripts to review data and ensure it is true and accounted for properly.

Table 1. Transcribed of speech

Nadim Makarim Speech	Muhajir Effendy Speech
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Saudara-saudariku sebangsa dan setanah air. b. Selama dua tahun terakhir, banyak sekali tantangan yang harus kita hadapi bersama, yang tidak pernah terbayangkan sebelumnya. c. Hari ini, saudara-saudariku, adalah bukti. Bukti bahwa kita jauh lebih tangguh dari semua tantangan, lebih berani dari rasa ragu dan tidak takut untuk mencoba. d. Anak-anak kita juga tidak perlu lagi khawatir dengan tes kelulusan karena Asesmen Nasional yang sekarang kita gunakan tidak bertujuan untuk "menghukum" guru atau murid, tetapi sebagai bahan refleksi agar guru terus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> l. Dalam peringatan Hari Pendidikan Nasional tahun 2018 ini, mengambil tema menguatkan pendidikan memajukan kebudayaan. m. Peringatan Hari Pendidikan Nasional kali ini juga kita jadikan momentum untuk melakukan musyabbahah, mesubudhi atau refleksi terhadap usaha-usaha yang telah dilakukan di bidang pendidikan. Dalam waktu yang bersamaan kita menerawang ke depan atau membuat proyeksi tentang pendidikan nasional yang kita cita-citakan. n. Para Insan pendidikan dan kebudayaan yang berbahagia. o. Kita yakin bahwa kebudayaan yang maju akan membuat pendidikan kita kuat begitu pula sebaliknya, manakala pendidikan kita

<p>terdorong untuk belajar; supaya kepala sekolah termotivasi untuk...</p> <p>e. Semangat yang sama juga sudah kita dengar dari para seniman dan pelaku budaya, yang sekarang mulai bangkit lagi</p> <p>f. Di tengah hantaman ombak yang sangat besar, kita terus melautkan kapal besar bernama Merdeka Belajar, yang di tahun ketiga ini telah mengarungi pulau-pulau di seluruh Indonesia.</p> <p>g. Kita tidak hanya mampu melewati, tetapi berdiri di garis depan untuk memimpin pemulihan dan kebangkitan.</p> <p>h. berkat kegigihan kita untuk melahirkan terobosan dana abadi kebudayaan dan kanal budaya pertama di Indonesia. Dampaknya, sekarang tidak ada lagi batasan ruang dan dukungan untuk berekspresi, untuk terus mengerakkan pemajuan kebudayaan.</p> <p>i. Tahun ini kita membuktikan diri bahwa kita tidak lagi hanya menjadi pengikut, tetapi pemimpin dari gerakan pemulihan dunia.</p> <p>j. Para penggerak Merdeka Belajar di seluruh Indonesia yang saya banggakan.</p> <p>k. Langkah kita hari ini sudah semakin serentak, laju kita sudah semakin cepat. Namun, kita belum sampai di garis akhir. Maka, tidak ada alasan untuk berhenti bergerak meski sejenak. Ke depan, masih akan ada angin yang kencang dan ombak yang jauh lebih besar, serta rintangan yang jauh lebih tinggi. Dan kita akan terus memegang komando, memimpin pemulihan bersama, bergerak untuk Merdeka Belajar. Selamat Hari Pendidikan Nasional.</p>	<p>subur dan indah akan membuat akar budaya hujan yang dalam, di dalam tanah tumpah darah Indonesia. Itulah sebabnya undang-undang nomor 5 tentang pemajuan kebudayaan mengamanatkan bahwa pemajuan kebudayaan memerlukan langkah strategis berupa upaya-upaya perlindungan, pengembangan, pemanfaatan dan pembinaan, guna mewujudkan masyarakat Indonesia yang berdaulat secara politik, berdikari secara ekonomi dan berkeprabdian dalam kebudayaan.</p> <p>p. Sebagaimana yang kita ketahui dalam 3 tahun terakhir, pemerintah telah membangun dan memperkuat infrastruktur di hampir semua penjuru tanah air. Meskipun terbatas, bangunan-bangunan baru sekolah juga didirikan di wilayah pedalaman dan perbatasan. Tak heran anak-anak di pedalaman oleh merasakan nikmatnya belajar yang memadai dan menyenangkan. Begitu Pula saudara-saudara kita di perbatasan, kini bisa dengan tegap dada menunjukkan tapal batas negara..</p> <p>q. Bersamaan dengan pembangunan infrastruktur Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, dilakukan juga penguatan modal manusia atau sumber daya manusia agar menjadi handal</p> <p>r. Karena itu mulai tahun ini Presiden Joko Widodo dan wakil presiden Jusuf Kalla..</p> <p>s. Guru, orangtua dan masyarakat sebagai harus menjadi sumber kekuatan untuk memperbaiki kinerja pendidikan dan kebudayaan dalam menumbuhkan kembangkan karakter dan literasi anak anak bangsa.</p> <p>t. Tri pusat pendidikan itu, harus secara simultan...</p> <p>u. Semua pihak harus bergandeng tangan, bahu membahu ,bersinergi memikul tanggung jawab bersama menguatkan Pendidikan. Kita optimis bahwa Indonesia memiliki semua hal yang dibutuhkan untuk menjadi bangsa besar yang maju asal kita kita bersatu padu mewujudkannya.</p> <p>Selamat Hari Pendidikan Nasional.</p>
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FINDINGS

This study seeks to find Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Nadiem Makarim and Muhajir Effendy's speeches. The transcripts of these two Indonesia Education Ministry speeches are the data that are examined using Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework. The Fairclough framework analyzes spoken or written language texts, discourse usage, and discursive occurrences from a sociocultural perspective (Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Fairclough's three dimensions are described in the following table.

Table 2. Fairclough's Three Dimensions

Level	Items being Examined
Micro-level	the usage of cohesion, coherence, grammar, topic, modalities, and linguistic structures in the text or script
Mezzo-review	How the text was created, disseminated, and used. The production and consumption of the texts are also examined at this level, with a focus on the connections between power relations
Macro-level	The texts influence the social environment's situational, institutional, and social levels.

These analyses display the information that was discovered in the scripts:

Micro Level

All sentences of the speech are analyzed. The researcher tries to simplify understanding by analyzing all sentences in each paragraph in the speech of Nadiem Makar. Thus, the micro level will be easily identified.

- Nadiem Makarim Speech

In this speech, the micro-level in such aspects of linguistic are found:

- *Saudara-saudariku sebangsa dan setanah air*
- *..banyak sekali tantangan yang harus **kita** hadapi bersama..*
- *.. **Anak-anak kita** juga tidak perlu lagi khawatir dengan tes kelulusan karena Asesmen Nasional yang sekarang kita gunakan tidak bertujuan untuk "menghukum" **guru atau murid**, tetapi sebagai bahan refleksi agar guru terus terdorong untuk belajar; supaya **kepala sekolah***
...
- Semangat yang sama juga sudah kita dengar dari **para seniman dan pelaku budaya**, yang sekarang mulai bangkit lagi.

The diction often used to denote the standing of the figures involved in the speech includes words like *saudara-saudariku* and *kita* to indicate the intimacy between the first speaker with the audience. The word *Kita* is the pronoun We in English, used to call him and all education stakeholders. The word *saudara-sudariku* means sibling used to mean anyone related to the family, but now it only refers to children of the same parents. In this context, the parents are the nationality of the speaker is the same as the listener, Indonesian. With those pronoun choices, the speaker declared that he and the teachers in the audience were one.

The pronoun *saya* or I in English is employed by the speaker to refer to himself. On the other hand, *Anak- Anak kita* means our students, *Guru* means teacher, *kepala sekolah* means headmaster is another pronoun (third person) or object which are being discussed in the text. Further, the speaker also brought up the notion of artists and cultural actors or in Bahasa *para seniman dan pelaku budaya* in the speech, which can be implied not only in term of education rise but also cultural field rise also being noticed by the speaker.

- *Kita tidak hanya mampu **melewati**, tetapi berdiri di garis depan untuk memimpin pemulihan dan kebangkitan.*
- *berkat **kegigihan** kita untuk melahirkan terobosan dana abadi kebudayaan dan kanal budaya pertama di Indonesia. Dampaknya, sekarang tidak ada lagi batasan ruang dan dukungan untuk bereksprosi, untuk terus **menggerakkan** pemajuan kebudayaan.*
- *Tahun ini kita **membuktikan diri** bahwa kita tidak lagi hanya menjadi pengikut, tetapi pemimpin dari gerakan pemulihan dunia.*
- *Namun, kita belum sampai di garis akhir. Maka, tidak ada alasan untuk berhenti **bergerak** meski sejenak.. Dan kita akan terus **memegang** komando, memimpin pemulihan bersama, bergerak untuk Merdeka Belajar.*

The statements of Makarim' speech indicated something good in the diction. "melewati", "membantu", "kegigihan", "meningkatkan", "menggerakkan" words means "pass", "help", "persistence", "improve", "move" in English have positive denotation. Further, it is found in the dictionary, that to pass is *to give a peculiar form*, to help is to give assistance or support to someone, persistence is the ability to keep doing something difficult, to improve means to (cause something to) get better, to move is to cause someone to take action.

In addition, the resource statements also implied the samples of the data conjunction used in Makarim' speech. The conjunctions are; *tetapi* (but), *namun* (however). Thus, the cohesive sentence was formed by the conjunctions utilization. The conjunction in example A.9 has a function to is a coordinating conjunction that connects

two grammatically equivalent statements. The conjunction, however, has the function of showing contradiction or opposition, both between words, between phrases, between clauses, and between sentences, and that serves as linking words between two contradictory sentences.

- Muhajir Effendy's Speech

From the recourse of Muhajir Effendy, the researcher found several micro-level linguistics aspects of speech.

Effendy used a similar pronoun as Nadiem Makarim, Kita means Us in English. Effendy often uses words to show that his speaking is not only for the audience but also for himself as the part of education stakeholders in Indonesia. He also tries to engage another subject in the speech such as Guru (teacher), orangutan (parents) dan masyarakat (public). Several words of conjunctions used in effendy's speech are begitu pula sebaliknya (otherwise), meskipun (although), karena itu (Thus).

Mezzo Level

On this level, it shows how the text was created and used. The speech of Nadiem Makarim was transcribed and utilized as the text. The transcript was made available by the Ministry of Education and Culture on May 12, 2022. While the speech of Muhadjir Effendy was published on May 12, 2018. Their speeches were written by their selves and published on the YouTube channel of the Ministry of Education and Culture for the benefit of all Indonesians. After the speech videos were published, the speeches were delivered at the National Education Day ceremony. The master of ceremonies would read the address.

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Macro Level

The idea of macrostructure refers to the inclusion of a theme and topic in a text. Any text's overarching notion is its theme. The word "macrostructure" refers to an abstract property that might manifest itself in various ways concerning grammatical concepts, mental operations, or social action theories. Numerous expressions of the underlying macro structures and their correlates can be used to construct each of these areas (Rahimi & Sharififar 2015). Based on an analysis of the macro-level structure, the two Ministries

of Education and Culture of Indonesia brought different themes even though they celebrated the same annual day, which is described as follows.

i. Nadiem Makarim Speech

The text of Makarim's speech denotes its theme of "Educational Recovery Post Pandemic Era". This theme was implicitly implied in the text. It can be seen from the sentence "*Selama dua tahun terakhir, banyak sekali tantangan*" means that during the pandemic emerged two years ago, there were many challenges faced by all elements in the education system. However, in the middle of pandemic, Nadiem brought new nation namely "Kurikulum Merdeka", this can be inferred from the sentence "*Di tengah hantaman ombak yang sangat besar, kita terus melautkan kapal besar bernama Merdeka Belajar*". This new curriculum is believed to be the solution to the learning loss of Indonesian students, which became a national problem at that time.

Nadiem in his speech mentioned "*terbukti mampu mengurangi dampak hilangnya pembelajaran*" which means that this new curriculum has proven to be a solution to the student loss phenomenon. It is in line with the finding in the Yuhastina et al. (2020) study that the concept of independent learning was chosen because it was inspired by the philosophy of K.H Dewantara, with the essence of Education meaning independence and freedom which brings how Education can rise after a disaster or maybe a war. This speech' text also often mentioned the words "*bangkit*" "*termotivasi*" "*terdorong*" which drew rising action from the downturn of the Pandemic from all stakeholders in Education. Learning on the situational level, Makarim's speech is on National Education Day 2022. As the Ministry of Education and Culture who must deliver his speech.

ii. Muhajir Effendy Speech

Effendy's speech theme is "The synergy of Education and Culture to develop character and literacy of education". This theme can be seen from the sentences "*Kita yakin bahwa kebudayaan yang maju akan membuat pendidikan kita kuat begitu pula sebaliknya, manakala pendidikan kita subur dan indah akan membuat akar budaya*" means that the better cultural understanding the better education can be. Effendy euphuized in his speech that Indonesia's national infrastructure development including educational infrastructure, along with the development of human research of Indonesia as part of National Mental Revolution. In the text also, some of the words related to strengthening notions such as *memperkuat, perlindungan, pengembangan, pemanfaatan dan pembinaan* mean that

Effendy wanted to make sure by the celebration of National Education Day, all listeners can be strengthened, protect, developing and advantaging to all educational asset of the country.

The language used in the speeches of Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendi

The language employed in Nadiem Makarim's speech was accurate, and the concept wasn't expanded throughout. Makarim claimed that his speech differed slightly from the typical speech that was full of motivational and rhetorical terms. His speech was genuine. Makarim's speech was concise and to the point; some have compared it to a poem with its sparse use of extended sentences. The speech was written by Nadiem Makarim. Although the terminology was conventional, it was handled in a more inventive manner that kept the audience interested. In his lecture, Nadiem Makarim uses "Selamat hari pendidikan nasional" which is meant to celebrate the moment. Nadiem's sentences are unique with many polickey words and various kinds of sentences. Nadiem's text seems more natural by not mentioning Undang-Undang (law) in his speech.

Further, the language used in Muhajir Effendy's speech was more rhetorical form. It is also in the form of standard language. In terms of **word choices**, the dominant usage of pronouns is *Kita*. In other words: para insan penedidikan refers to the audience who are listening to the speech, and Effendy wanted to point out the. Other words such as *masyarakat, pemerintah, anak-anak, saudara-saudara, guru represent to mereka (they)*. The unique word of the speech is that Muhajir Effendy embodied two other figures in the speech such as Jokowi Dodo and Jusuf Kala as implicitly supporting the notion of Muhajir Effendy's decision. In addition, in the **sentence choice**, Effendy tends to use declarative as the sentence "*Kita optimize*" or, in English, we are optimistic. Most of the sentences utilized informative ones due to the fact of Indonesian education circumstances repeatedly mentioned to ensure the listeners that the fact must be dismissed and begin with the proposed change.

The last, effendi's speech also found several imperative sentences in the last paragraph. The sentences are "...*guru dan masyarakat harus...*", "*tri pusat Pendidikan tinggi harus..*", and "*semua pihak harus bergandeng tangan*". The word *harus* means must or obligation. In this imperative sentence, Effendy wanted to emphasize his power in the speech to obligate people to do something related to education activity. The last is

a language style. Muhadjir uses clear and rhetorical speech in general by community leaders. However, the sentences were longer and the script reached four pages. This means that Muhadjir Effendy on Education Day 2018 wants to announce to the public that under the leadership of the current government, the world of Education is far better, as evidenced by infrastructure development in the field of Education is the development of human resources. Parents and others to take a role in advancing Indonesian Education.

CONCLUSIONS

Because this study focused on speech using Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model, three levels should be investigated to determine the micro-level, mezzo-level, and macro-level. The researchers discovered that Nadiem Makarim and Muhadjir Effendy's speeches used diction to emphasize the position of the people who would be participating in his speech, as well as polysemy, metonymy, synonymy, collocation, and contrasting conjunction. The researchers transcribed videos of speeches into text form and then analyzed them. The published text of the speech was used in the National Education Day 2022 ceremony. The findings are that the macro, mezzo, and micro levels exist in both speeches and present a compelling perspective on the intricate dynamics of language use in contemporary communication.

Therefore, examining the micro-level, mezzo-level, and macro-level aspects of these speeches, the study illuminates the deliberate linguistic strategies employed by these speakers (Zembylas, M. 2010). At the micro-level, the study highlights the significance of word choice or diction in shaping the audience's perception and emotional engagement. Moving to the mezzo level, it delves into the utilization of linguistic devices like polysemy, metonymy, synonymy, and collocation, demonstrating how these tools enable speakers to convey complex ideas and frame their messages effectively. Moreover, at the macro-level, the study underscores the societal and political impact of these speeches, as they contribute to shaping public opinion, influencing policies, and contributing to the broader national narrative. The methodology of transcribing video speeches into text for analysis showcases the adaptability of language analysis techniques in the digital age. Moreover, the speeches' role in the National Education Day 2022 ceremony emphasizes

the broader implication that language can be a powerful tool for promoting national values and agendas.

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