



Framing English Education Policy in Indonesia: A Comparative Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Representation in The Jakarta Post

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Abstract

This study examines how English education policy in Indonesia is ideologically framed in news media by comparing two *Jakarta Post* articles from 2013 and 2025. While most Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research in Indonesia has focused on textbooks and classroom practices, little attention has been paid to how media constructs English policy over time. The qualitative CDA analysis followed three stages: textual coding of lexical choices and modality, framing analysis using Entman's problem-cause-evaluation-solution matrix, and cross-period comparison of the 2013 and 2025 articles. The findings show a marked shift: the 2013 article frames English as an optional local initiative, while the 2025 article presents it as a compulsory national priority linked to teacher professionalism and global competitiveness. The study concludes that *The Jakarta Post* not only reports policy changes but also shapes public ideology by reinforcing neoliberal and globalizing discourses in English education. These findings have important implications for policymakers, curriculum developers, and teachers seeking to understand how media discourse normalizes accountability and global competitiveness in education reform.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; Framing Theory; English Education Policy; Media Discourse

Introduction

In recent years, debates over English education policy in Indonesia have gained renewed attention, particularly following the government's plan to make English a compulsory subject in primary schools by the 2027/2028 academic year. This initiative, formalized in *Permendikbudristek* No. 12/2024, represents a major policy shift that underscores the importance of teacher preparation and regional capacity during the transition phase. This policy shift highlights the importance of

teacher preparation and regional capacity while reflecting broader ideological orientations toward globalization and competitiveness.

Zein, Sukyadi, Hamied, and Lengkanawati (2020) point out that educational policies, ideologies, and sociocultural and religious values are always competing to shape research and practice in English language education in Indonesia's complex and changing sociolinguistic setting. These insights show how policy reforms affect multilingual contexts and the ongoing balance between global English and local languages. As one of Indonesia's most influential English-language newspapers, *The Jakarta Post* occupies a central position in shaping how such educational reforms.

Media discourse has the capacity to amplify certain voices while marginalizing others, thereby legitimizing or challenging particular policy directions. In this sense, media narratives mediate the complex relationship between public understanding, ideological positioning, and policy interpretation. However, as Fairclough (2007) and van Dijk (2014) argue, media discourse is never ideologically neutral. The ways in which journalists select sources, frame issues, and employ particular linguistic structures often reproduce deeper power relations and institutional interests.

Hence, the media's portrayal of English education reform is not only descriptive but also constitutive: it constructs meanings that shape social reality. These depictions are particularly important in today's context, as educational policies are more closely associated with global competitiveness, job readiness, and neoliberal economic principles. Given this ideological and representational function of media discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides a relevant framework for examining how such meanings are linguistically and socially constructed.

CDA is not merely a linguistic method but a critical approach that investigates how social power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted through text and talk in specific socio-political contexts (van Dijk, 2015). As Wodak (2002) explains, CDA seeks to uncover both opaque and transparent structures of dominance and control as manifested through language use. In this view, discourse is not neutral but a social practice that both constitutes and is constituted by power. According to Fairclough (2015), CDA forms part of critical social analysis that aims not only to describe discourse but also to explain and challenge how language sustains unequal social relations and ideologies.

In order to better understand how readers process meanings cognitively, this research also utilizes Cognitive Critical Discourse Analysis (Hart, 2023) and media framing theory (Entman, 1993), which illustrate how specific language choices trigger mental frameworks that shape interpretation, assessment, and ideological positioning. Building on these insights, Cognitive Critical Discourse Analysis (Cognitive CDA) as developed by Hart (2023) integrates cognitive linguistics with critical discourse theory.

It highlights how linguistic choices activate structured mental templates that guide perception and reasoning about events. Cognitive CDA combines cognitive linguistics and critical discourse theory to show how language choices shape the way people think and understand information. Media frames, like *journey* or *war*, affect how people feel and judge issues. Verbs such as *enforce*, *promote*, or *impose* create ideas of coercion, progress, or authority, which shape how people interpret events (Entman, 1993).

Framing highlights certain parts of reality to support specific problem definitions, causes, or moral judgments. Using these ideas to study English education policy helps us better understand how the media build, support, or question different viewpoints. Looking at how The Jakarta Post frames these issues shows how language, ideology, and power are connected. While Critical Discourse Analysis has been extensively applied in English Language Teaching (ELT) research in Indonesia, much of the existing scholarship has focused on classroom practices or textbook representations.

For instance, Mandarani, Purwati, and Santoso (2021) examined cultural content in junior high school textbooks, whereas Utami and Yulianawati (2025) explored the construction of national identity in *English for Nusantara*. Other studies have investigated multicultural and moral values (Maulidiah et al., 2023; Wahyuni et al. 2024) or classroom power relations (Silalahi, 2023). While these studies provide important perspectives, there have been limited investigations into how the media depict educational reforms as ideological endeavors. Even studies that have analyzed news discourse through CDA, such as Hibatulloh et al. (2023), have tended to overlook English education policy as a focal issue.

Consequently, there is still a restricted comprehension of the ways in which media framing affects public views on language policy, impacts teacher identity, and either upholds or challenges neoliberal and nationalist ideologies in the context of educational reform. This deficiency is becoming ever more significant in today's environment, where policy discussions spread quickly via digital media and have a direct impact on public confidence in education reform.

To address this gap, the present study undertakes a comparative CDA of two *Jakarta Post* articles published twelve years apart: "*Eliminating English from Primary School and Its Discontents*" (2013) and "*Strengthening English Language Education: Investing in Teachers for a Global Future*" (2025). The first article reflects a period when English was removed from the primary curriculum, while the second corresponds to its reintroduction as a compulsory subject. Comparing these two moments offers a valuable opportunity to examine how media framing evolves alongside shifting policy orientations and ideological climates. The present study is organized according to the following research questions:

1. In what ways does *The Jakarta Post* frames English education policy in Indonesia from 2013 to 2025?

2. Which main ideas or beliefs are shown in each period through these media framings?
3. How do these framings show the roles of teachers, the government, and globalization in the discussion about English education policy?

This study aims to analyze how *The Jakarta Post* frames the discourse of English education policy in Indonesia and how these framings reveal broader ideological currents. Specifically, it seeks to (1) identify the linguistic and discursive strategies through which policy is represented, (2) compare the ideological assumptions embedded in each article, and (3) interpret how such framings reproduce or challenge dominant ideologies of globalization, neoliberalism, and teacher professionalism. The findings of this study are intended to inform curriculum development, enhance teachers' critical awareness of policy discourse, and strengthen media literacy within English Language Teaching (ELT) contexts.

These results will enable educators and students to critically evaluate the ideological framing of educational reforms in news media. The goal is to deepen understanding of how language influences educational reform policy and how media discourse shapes public perceptions of English Language Teaching (ELT) in Indonesia.

Method

In this research, the researchers used descriptive qualitative research. This research has described, discussed, and analyzed the research problem. Qualitative research itself aims to answer questions related to developing an understanding of the meaning and dimensions of the experience of human life and the social world. A qualitative research method is research that is related to the scientific method used to create an understanding of human experience and action, including social progress (Mackey & Gass, 2023).

This study employed a qualitative research design within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how English education policy is discursively constructed and ideologically framed in news media. The analysis integrates two complementary perspectives: Fairclough's (2007) three-dimensional model; text, discursive practice, and social practice and van Dijk's (2014) socio-cognitive model, which emphasizes shared beliefs, mental models, and ideologies in the production and interpretation of discourse. CDA was selected because policy discourse in media is not merely descriptive but constitutive: it constructs meanings, legitimizes actions, and reproduces power relations.

By examining linguistic choices and framing strategies, the research provides a critical interpretation of how media discourse shapes public understanding of English education reform in Indonesia. The data for this study consist of two news articles published in *The Jakarta Post*, each representing a different policy moment in Indonesia, the first "*Jakarta to Keep English in Schools*" (December 12, 2013) reporting the government's decision to maintain English as an extracurricular

subject, with emphasis on administrative support and debates over early exposure.

And the second “*Strengthening English Language Education: Investing in Teachers for a Global Future*” (April 12, 2025) reported the plan to make English compulsory in primary schools, highlighting professional development and national competitiveness. The selection of these two articles was based on three main considerations: (1) their direct relevance to major national policy changes in primary-level English education; (2) their illustration of contrasting policy approaches, specifically the removal or reinforcement of English instruction; and (3) their editorial prominence as headline policy reports in Indonesia’s leading English-language newspaper.

The dual function of this outlet as both a national and international news source positions it as a strategic site for analyzing the ideological framing of English education policy for domestic and global audiences. The analysis combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Framing Theory, forming a multi-layered interpretive approach:

Table 1: *Analytical Framework: Integration of CDA and Framing Theory*

Theoretical Lens	Main Focus	Contribution to Analysis
Fairclough’s 3D Model	Text → Discursive Practice → Social Practice	Traces linguistic features to institutional routines and socio-political contexts
van Dijk’s Socio-Cognitive Model	Mental models, shared beliefs, ideology	Explains how discourse shapes and is shaped by collective knowledge and power
Entman’s Framing Theory	Problem – Cause – Moral Evaluation – Solution	Reveals how media highlight certain aspects of reality to promote a particular interpretation

The data were examined through four sequential stages informed by critical discourse analysis procedures.

1. Initial Coding (Textual Level)

In the first stage, each article underwent close reading to identify lexical choices, evaluative adjectives, modality, metaphors, and intertextual references. The coding categories were: (a) lexical evaluation, such as positive or negative policy descriptors; (b) modality clusters, including must, should, can, and will; (c) actor positioning, such as government, teachers, students, and global actors; and (d) metaphor mapping, such as education as investment, competition, or burden. This step was aimed at uncovering how teachers, students, policymakers, and national identity were linguistically represented within the text.

2. Framing Analysis (Discursive Practice)

Level) The second stage applied Entman's framing model by mapping how each article defined the issue, attributed causes, offered moral evaluations, and proposed solutions. Citation patterns (whose voices are foregrounded and whose are marginalized) were also examined to reveal positioning and authority among social actors.

3. Ideology Interpretation (Social Practice Level)

The third stage interpreted the findings through the perspectives of Fairclough and van Dijk to identify underlying ideological assumptions and power relations embedded in the discourse. This stage involved tracing dominant ideological themes such as globalization, neoliberal competitiveness, nationalism, and teacher professionalism.

4. Comparative Synthesis.

The final stage synthesized insights from the previous stages by comparing the framing found in the 2013 and 2025 articles. The comparison focused on shifts in policy narratives, changes in the representation of social actors, tonal differences, and the ideological functions embedded in each text. The analysis then related these discursive shifts to broader sociopolitical developments in English language education in Indonesia during the respective periods.

Trustworthiness

Several methods were used to make sure the research was reliable and could be trusted. Talking with graduate researchers helped test new ideas and reduce personal bias. Taking regular notes kept track of decisions, questions, and changes in how the data was understood. Using different theories, including Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, and Entman's framing theory, deepened and made the analysis more consistent.

Ethical Considerations

This study used only news articles accessible to the public, which kept ethical risks low. The research followed ethical rules by citing sources correctly, representing information honestly, and being careful with interpretations. The analysis did not criticize individual journalists but instead examined patterns in how media organizations communicate and the ideas they promote.

Results

The comparative analysis of two Jakarta Post articles, *Eliminating English from Primary School and Its Discontents* (2013) and *Strengthening English Language Education: Investing in Teachers for a Global Future* (2025) reveals significant shifts in how English education policy is framed over time. In 2013, English was portrayed as an optional, extracurricular skill, with a neutral,

facilitative tone emphasizing access and local governance support. By 2025, the discourse shifts toward a mandatory, strategic policy, highlighting teacher professionalism, nationwide implementation, and global competitiveness. This evolution reflects a broader ideological transition from local and facilitative approaches to neoliberal and globally oriented frameworks. To guide readers through this analysis, the findings are presented in three connected layers: words and structure shape how things are discussed, which in turn shape broader ideas in society.

These changes are reflected across textual, discursive, and social practices, as summarized in Table 2, which illustrates how lexical choice, modality, cohesion, and discursive strategies signal the evolving ideological positions and policy priorities over time.

Table 2. Comparative CDA–Framing

CDA Level	Focus	Indicators	2013 Article	2025 Article	Comparative Insight
Textual Analysis	Lexical choice, modality, cohesion	Keywords, modality, cohesive devices	<i>Extracurricular, opportunity, “have the opportunity to learn”; cohesion linking policy with teacher support</i>	<i>Mandatory, ambitious, empowering, “will require”, “must be”; cohesion linking policy with teacher development</i>	Shift from <i>soft/optional</i> → <i>strong/mandatory</i> ; emphasis shifts from access to urgency & global goals
Discursive Practice	Media production and framing	Institutional stance, authorial voice, policy narrative	Policy framed as supportive opportunity; neutral–informative voice; teachers positioned as facilitators	Policy framed as national priority and investment; evaluative–persuasive voice; teachers positioned as professional developers	Evolution from opportunity-centered → investment and strategic; shift toward more authoritative voice
Social Practice	Ideological orientation	Ideologies and power relations	Emphasis on local governance support; ideology: English as useful skill; limited global discourse	Emphasis on teacher professional development and nationwide implementation; ideology: neoliberal/globalization and competitiveness	Ideological shift from <i>local/facilitative</i> → <i>global/neoliberal/competitive</i>

Text Examples	Lexical & evaluative features	Direct excerpts	“Although English is not included in the elementary school 2013 curriculum, the Jakarta administration has ensured that its students have the opportunity to learn the language as an extracurricular subject.”	“Achieving the 2027 target of mandatory English instruction in third grade classrooms will require scaling efforts to reach 180,000 teachers and ensure consistent quality.” / “The government has set an ambitious goal of making English a compulsory subject starting in third grade.”	Clear transition from <i>optional/soft phrasing</i> → <i>mandatory/strong phrasing</i> ; evaluative language reinforces urgency and policy authority
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Overall, lexical and evaluative choices, modality, and cohesion indicate a shift from optional, facilitative approaches (2013) to mandatory, strategic, and globally oriented policy (2025). Importantly, this change is not just about language but also about how things are run, as it shifts responsibility from local management to control by the national government.

The *table 3* below presents several selected text segments from the two articles that exemplify key linguistic and discursive features identified through Fairclough’s (2007) three-dimensional framework. Each segment illustrates how English education policy is ideologically framed across time, highlighting lexical choices, modality, cohesion, evaluative language, and rhetorical strategies.

Table 3 Selected Text Segment

No.	Article / Text Segment	Linguistic/Discursive Feature	CDA Level	Theme / Focus
1	2013: “The government’s decision to omit the teaching of English from elementary schools is huge... Those attending international private schools will have more opportunities.”	Lexical choice (omit, huge), Cohesion (contrast between public/private schools)	Textual	Access inequality; early concern about policy impact
2	2013: “Like it or not, we need to fully realize that there are still a number of teachers who	Lexical choice (grammar translation-based), Modality (we need to),	Textual / Discursive	Teacher competence; instructional

	teach their young students using a grammar translation-based method.”	Evaluative tone		challenges
3	2013: “Learning another language and another culture shouldn’t equate with not being nationalistic or unpatriotic.”	Evaluative lexical (shouldn’t equate), Rhetorical contrast	Social	Ideology; nationalism vs. global competence
4	2025: “Achieving the 2027 target of mandatory English instruction in third grade classrooms will require scaling efforts to reach 180,000 teachers and ensure consistent quality.”	Lexical choice (mandatory), Modality of obligation (will require), Cohesion / purpose (to reach)	Textual	Policy urgency; teacher development necessity
5	2025: “The government has set an ambitious goal of making English a compulsory subject starting in third grade of elementary school.”	Lexical choice (ambitious, compulsory), Evaluative	Discursive	Policy ambition; strategic orientation
6	2025: “Over 100,000 elementary school teachers nationwide lack formal English language teaching backgrounds.”	Lexical indicating deficiency (lack)	Textual	Teacher competence gap; reform challenge
7	2025: “Professional development must be rooted in real classroom needs: managing large class sizes, maximizing limited instructional time and keeping students motivated.”	Strong modality of obligation (must be), Purpose cohesion	Textual / Discursive	Practical reform; teacher professionalism
8	2025: “English communication skills help Indonesians stay globally competitive, unlocking opportunities for individuals and communities alike.”	Evaluative lexical (globally competitive), Dynamic lexical (unlocking)	Social	Globalization; neoliberal ideology

Textual Analysis

Textual analysis focuses on lexical choices, modality, and cohesive devices in both articles. In the 2013 article, the use of words such as “*opportunity*” and

“extracurricular” frames English as optional, reinforcing the notion of access rather than obligation. The modality is soft; phrases like *“have the opportunity to learn”* suggest facilitation rather than imposition. Cohesive devices link policy references with teacher support, emphasizing a localized, supportive structure.

For instance, segment 1 reads: “The government’s decision to omit the teaching of English from elementary schools is huge... Those attending international private schools will have more opportunities.” Here, *“huge”* signals the perceived impact of policy removal, while the contrast between public and private schools highlights early concerns about access inequality. This contrast highlights socio-economic stratification as an underlying theme in early media framing.

Similarly, segment 2 illustrates a soft but evaluative modality: “Like it or not, we need to fully realize that there are still a number of teachers who teach their young students using a grammar translation-based method.” The lexical choice *“we need to”* indicates a mild obligation, while *“grammar translation-based method”* evaluates existing instructional practices, signal attention to teacher competence. In the 2025 article, textual analysis reveals stronger, more authoritative language. Words such as *“mandatory,” “ambitious,”* and *“empowering”* convey urgency and policy commitment.

Segment 4 illustrates this: “Achieving the 2027 target of mandatory English instruction in third grade classrooms will require scaling efforts to reach 180,000 teachers and ensure consistent quality.” Modality here (*“will require”*) imposes obligation, while cohesion links policy goals to teacher development, emphasizing implementation strategies. Together, these textual features indicate a shift from optional facilitation toward mandatory, strategic framing

Segment 8 further highlights the ideological framing of English as a tool for global competitiveness: “English communication skills help Indonesians stay globally competitive, unlocking opportunities for individuals and communities alike.” This segment combines evaluative (*“globally competitive”*) and dynamic (*“unlocking”*) lexical items, framing English as both a strategic national skill and a personal empowerment tool, aligned with neoliberal ideology. The shift from “opportunity” to “obligation” shows how language can drive changes in ideology over time.

The 2025 discourse revives reform debates from the post-2013 curriculum transition. Concerns about teacher preparedness, curriculum readiness, and national identity now appear within a neoliberal context focused on global competitiveness and workforce readiness. This connection demonstrates that current policy discourse builds on earlier ideological struggles. Building on the textual analysis above, the discursive practices reveal how media framing shapes the positioning of policy actors and authority.

Discursive Practice

Discursive practice examines how the media positions policy actors, constructs

narratives, and employs evaluative language. In 2013, The Jakarta Post maintained a neutral, informative voice, presenting teachers as facilitators rather than agents of reform. The policy is framed as a supportive opportunity rather than an obligation: *"Although English is not included in the elementary school 2013 curriculum, the Jakarta administration has ensured that its students have the opportunity to learn the language as an extracurricular subject."* At this stage, the dominant voices quoted are government administrators and educational observers, while classroom teachers and students are only indirect beneficiaries. This suggests partial silencing of grassroots pedagogical perspectives.

In contrast, the 2025 article employs a persuasive, evaluative voice. Teachers are positioned as professional developers responsible for nationwide implementation. Segment 7 reads: *"Professional development must be rooted in real classroom needs: managing large class sizes, maximizing limited instructional time and keeping students motivated."* The strong modality (*"must be"*) conveys institutional expectation, framing teacher professionalism as essential for policy success. The policy narrative is no longer neutral; it emphasizes investment and strategic planning, aligning with national competitiveness and global skill requirements. Here, institutional authority is legitimized through expert quotations, global benchmarking rhetoric, and numerical targets such as "180,000 teachers", which help naturalize large-scale reform as necessary and inevitable.

This analysis suggests that changes in the discourse show a shift in how authority and responsibility are expressed. The Jakarta Post shifts from a neutral, supportive approach to a more directive, strategic style that supports government action, aligning with Fairclough and Fairclough's (2018) notion of practical argumentation in policy discussions. Extending from textual and discursive patterns, social practices highlight the underlying ideological and power structures that inform the policy discourse.

Social Practice

Social practice analysis interprets the ideological and power structures underpinning the discourse. In 2013, ideology centers on local governance support and English as a useful skill, but global discourse is limited. Segment 3 exemplifies this tension: *"Learning another language and another culture shouldn't equate with not being nationalistic or unpatriotic."* Here, the article negotiates national identity versus global competence, reflecting early resistance to policy change in the context of nationalism. The 2013 article employs discourses of nationalism, cultural preservation, and educational caution, which reflect broader debates surrounding the post-2013 curriculum.

By 2025, the social framing emphasizes global competitiveness, teacher professionalism, and nationwide policy implementation (segments 5 and 8). This overlap in different discussions frames English education as an economic investment instead of just a teaching issue. Using van Dijk's (1998, 2015) socio-

cognitive lens, shared mental models of globalization and teacher professionalism influence both text production and audience interpretation.

Media production stands out in how it uses persuasive headlines, strong opening paragraphs, and carefully chosen quotes. The 2025 headline highlights urgency and national investment, making the policy seem both necessary and focused on the future. The first paragraph stresses the size and goals of the reform, leading readers to see it as something that must happen. Quotes from government officials and experts precede those from classroom participants, which supports a top-down view and excludes grassroots voices.

Comparative Insights

The analysis across textual, discursive, and social levels reveals several key shifts in how English education policy is represented over time:

Lexical and modality shift: The 2013 article employs soft and optional language (e.g., “opportunity,” “extracurricular”), whereas the 2025 article adopts authoritative and mandatory expressions (e.g., “will require,” “must be”), signal stronger institutional obligation and urgency.

Discursive positioning: Teachers are positioned as facilitators in 2013, emphasizing local autonomy and voluntary engagement, but as professional developers and policy implementers in 2025, reflecting greater institutional accountability and strategic alignment.

Ideological orientation: The 2013 discourse emphasizes local governance and practical skill development. In contrast, the 2025 framing highlights global competitiveness and neoliberal values, including efficiency, investment, and professionalization.

Overall, these findings indicate that *The Jakarta Post* does not merely report policy developments but actively constructs social meaning and guides public interpretation. This aligns with Fairclough’s (2007) view of discourse as a form of social practice and with framing theory (Entman, 1993), which posits that media texts both define problems and shape ideological understanding.

Discussion

The findings above show a clear transformation in how *The Jakarta Post* frames English education policy between 2013 and 2025. This transformation directly addresses the study’s three research questions: the shift in media framing of English education policy (RQ1), the ideological orientations within these framings (RQ2), and the discursive construction of the roles of teachers, government, and globalization (RQ3). According to Fairclough (2007), who views discourse as a form of social practice, textual and discursive changes demonstrate how language constructs social reality.

The shift from soft, facilitative expressions such as “have the opportunity to learn” in 2013 to stronger, obligatory phrases like “will require” or “must be” in 2025

suggests a reconfiguration of power relations. The media discourse does not only describe policy but also reproduces institutional authority by normalizing policy obligation and control. This reflects a shift from viewing English as an optional, access-based subject to positioning it as a mandatory component of a centralized national agenda in relation to RQ1.

This finding builds on earlier CDA studies in Indonesia, which mainly looked at classroom practices and textbook content (Mandarani et al., 2021; Maulidiah et al., 2023; Wahyuni et al., 2024). While those studies showed ideological processes in teaching, this study shows that similar mechanisms are also present in national media discourse. [RQ1] Entman's (1993) framing theory explains how changes in language influence public understanding. The 2013 article frames the policy issue in terms of access, inclusion, fairness, and opportunity. In contrast, the 2025 article emphasizes national competitiveness and teacher accountability.

By shifting the issue description, the media changes public perceptions of the "problem" and "solution," shifting the focus from local fairness to global readiness. [RQ2] State ideology, from a critical perspective, this reframing supports state ideology by positioning English as a strategic tool for national competitiveness and global integration. It presents the national English reform agenda as urgent, necessary, and largely unquestionable. [RQ3] From a socio-cognitive perspective, van Dijk (2014) explains that such discursive change reflects transformations in shared mental models between text producers and readers.

When *The Jakarta Post* portrays teachers as key agents of national reform, it also shapes how society perceives the role of teachers, not only as facilitators but as professionals responsible for achieving global standards. This finding directly shows how teachers are discursively repositioned from local facilitators to national policy implementers. This represents a cognitive and ideological shift toward neoliberal values emphasizing productivity and performance. The result is similar to Silalahi's (2023) findings on classroom power relations, which also showed that responsibility and performance demands are becoming more individualized for teachers.

Accountability Critique | RQ3], Another way to look at this issue is that it places greater responsibility on teachers while overlooking larger problems, such as limited resources, crowded classrooms, and unequal access to training. This could make it seem normal to hold teachers accountable without providing them with sufficient support from the system. Hart's (2023) cognitive linguistic approach to CDA also helps unpack the subtle persuasive power of language. Modal verbs such as "*must*" and "*will require*" carry deontic force, creating a sense of necessity and inevitability. These linguistic constructions subtly encourage readers to accept government initiatives as both logical and desirable, thereby legitimizing authority and minimizing contestation.

Marginalization of Local Voices | RQ3. From a critical CDA perspective, this raises questions about whether such framing marginalizes local and alternative

voices. The experiences of classroom teachers, students, and regional communities are largely absent from the media discourse. This absence backs up the concern raised by Hibatulloh et al. (2023), who stressed that media-based CDA should carefully consider which voices are highlighted and which are left out in news reporting.

Ideological Shift. Regarding RQ2, the ideological orientation shifts significantly between the two periods. In 2013, discourse reflects caution and cultural protectionism, balancing English and national identity. By 2025, this nationalist hesitation is replaced by a focus on global competitiveness and economic instrumentalism, framing English mainly as economic capital. From a critical perspective, this shift reflects the commodification of English under neoliberal globalization, with linguistic equality and multilingualism becoming increasingly marginalized.

Discursive Continuity vs Shift | RQ2] The discursive changes between 2013 and 2025 show both continuity and change. Concern over teacher competence remains constant, while overt nationalist anxiety disappears by 2025. The ongoing focus is on teacher quality, while fears about English threatening national identity fade. This indicates a broader ideological shift where economic competitiveness takes precedence over cultural protection.

Pedagogical & Policy Implications | RQ3] These discursive shifts have significant pedagogical and policy implications. For teachers, media framing increases accountability but overlooks structural constraints. For curriculum developers, prioritizing global competitiveness may limit English education to workforce preparation, marginalizing local culture, multilingualism, and critical language awareness. For the public, treating English reform as inevitable may limit debate over equity, regional disparities, and language sustainability.

CDA Debates | RQ2], Overall, these initial interpretations suggest that *The Jakarta Post* plays an active role in constructing, rather than merely reporting, the discourse of English education reform. These findings are consistent with wider CDA discussions about how media discourse supports state ideology, turns English into a commodity, and shows the changing balance between global and national identities in education. The newspaper's evolving linguistic and framing strategies reflect broader ideological movements from local facilitation toward global alignment and set the stage for a more detailed discussion of how media discourse shapes public understanding of educational policy in Indonesia.

Conclusion

This study shows that The Jakarta Post frames English education policy in ways that shift over time in response to changing socio political priorities. The 2013 article presents English as an optional and supportive opportunity, with access, equity, and cautious nationalism. By contrast, the 2025 article frames English as a compulsory national investment connected to global competitiveness, teacher

professionalism, and economic preparedness. These distinctions indicate that media discourse actively shapes public understanding of educational reform, rather than merely reporting policy changes. The findings confirm that language choices, framing strategies, and ideological positioning collectively legitimize shifting policy agendas and redefine the roles of teachers, government, and globalization in English education.

In addition to these findings, this study shows that using a comparative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model across different policy periods can be a useful framework for future research on Indonesian media policy. By combining Fairclough's three-dimensional model with framing theory and Cognitive CDA, this method helps researchers track how ideologies continue or change in media coverage of public policy. This model can be used not only for education policy but also for areas like curriculum reform, digital education, and vocational training, where media coverage shapes how people understand state policies.

Limitation of the Study

While this study makes important contributions, it also has some limitations. First, it looks at only two articles, which limits the variety of media perspectives. Second, like most CDA research, interpreting the discourse involves some personal judgment. Third, the results are shaped by the news genre, which often highlights the views of institutions and policy leaders. Finally, the study uses just one English-language newspaper, which mainly serves a specific, globally focused audience and does not fully reflect the wider public conversation in Indonesia.

Future Research

To overcome these limitations, future research could take several paths. One option is to compare how English education policy is presented in both English-language and Indonesian-language media to see how different audiences receive it. Other studies could look at how policies are shown through headlines, images, infographics, and digital formats. Including sources like government press releases, ministry websites, and social media would give a fuller picture of how official messages are shared. Finally, studying how teacher identity is discussed over time and across different education reforms could help explain how ideas like professionalism, accountability, nationalism, and neoliberalism influence the changing role of English teachers in Indonesia.

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