

## WHEN THE JARGON SHIFTS THE PHILOSOPHY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EVOLUTION OF CURRICULUM AND LEARNING APPROACHES IN INDONESIA

### QUANDO A TERMINOLOGIA MUDAR A FILOSOFIA: UMA ANÁLISE CRÍTICA DA EVOLUÇÃO DO CURRÍCULO E DAS ABORDAGENS DE APRENDIZAGEM NA INDONÉSIA

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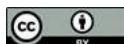
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#### **Abstract**

This study aims to analyze the shift in the orientation of education policy in Indonesia from a philosophical approach to a jargonistic dominance, with a focus on the Independent Curriculum and its derivative policies, such as deep learning and the seven Habits of Great Indonesian Children. The research method uses a descriptive qualitative approach with Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

#### **Resumo**

*Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar a mudança na orientação da política educacional na Indonésia, passando de uma abordagem filosófica para um predomínio do jargão, com foco no Currículo Independente e nas políticas dele derivadas, tais como a aprendizagem profunda e os sete hábitos das crianças indonésias de excelência. O método de pesquisa utiliza uma abordagem qualitativa descritiva*



method. This study analyzes official policy documents, teacher training guidelines, and public discourse on education. The findings show that the policy terms that are often used are rhetorical and not yet fully rooted in consistent philosophical and pedagogical values. This condition creates ambiguity at the level of classroom practice and weakens teachers' interpretive capacity in translating policy into meaningful learning. Philosophical approaches such as constructivism, humanism, and critical pedagogy have been marginalized in contemporary policy discourse. This study recommends the importance of restoring value-based and philosophically reflective policy directions, as well as the need for academic community involvement in the education policy formulation process.

**Keywords:** Education Policy. Independent Curriculum. Critical Discourse Analysis. Educational Philosophy. Jargonistic.

*com o método de Análise Crítica do Discurso (CDA) de Fairclough. Este estudo analisa documentos oficiais de política, diretrizes de formação de professores e o discurso público sobre educação. Os resultados mostram que os termos de política frequentemente utilizados são retóricos e ainda não estão totalmente enraizados em valores filosóficos e pedagógicos consistentes. Essa condição cria ambiguidade no nível da prática em sala de aula e enfraquece a capacidade interpretativa dos professores de traduzir a política em aprendizagem significativa. Abordagens filosóficas como o construtivismo, o humanismo e a pedagogia crítica têm sido marginalizadas no discurso político contemporâneo. Este estudo recomenda a importância de restaurar orientações políticas baseadas em valores e filosoficamente reflexivas, bem como a necessidade de envolvimento da comunidade acadêmica no processo de formulação de políticas educacionais.*

**Palavras-chave:** Política Educacional. Currículo Independente. Análise Crítica do Discurso. Filosofia Educacional. Jargão.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Education policy articulates ideological content that reflects the direction and project of a nation's civilization (Juliswara & Muryanto, 2022). These policies do not merely function as a set of administrative regulations, but rather as manifestations of ontological and epistemological views about humans, society, and the purpose of education. In critical policy studies, educational policy is understood as a discourse that produces power relations, while also serving as an arena for ideological contestation between various social and political actors (Ball, 1993; Ozga, 2005). Globally, this shift marks a shift away from philosophical and humanistic discourses that emphasize emancipatory goals and critical pedagogy, towards the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM) (Sahlberg, 2021). The GERM phenomenon is characterized by the proliferation of policy language that seems progressive, with terms such as accountability, standards, innovation, efficiency, and twenty-first century learning. As a result, the rhetoric hides an economic-political logic rooted in neoliberal rationality, which subtly

obscures the orientation towards standardization, competition, and measurable results (Apple & Apple, 2004).

In Indonesia, education policies also tend to be discontinuous and fluctuating (Tintingon *et al.*, 2023). Curriculum reform in Indonesia has been a concern for many researchers, especially in relation to the tension between local values and the response to global pressures (Suprpto *et al.*, 2021; Widiastri, 2022). Mahaswa *et al.* (2025) emphasizing how the curriculum functions not only as a formal educational instrument, but also as an epistemological medium involved in the construction of meaning about social reality and the purpose of human life (Braden *et al.*, 2025). The curriculum is seen as a discursive arena that is not neutral, but rather loaded with ideological content about how humans should understand their world (Chandra *et al.*, 2025). This perspective shifts the understanding of the curriculum from a mere technical learning design to an arena of value and meaning contestation that is vulnerable to the co-optation of dominant ideologies.

This absence of a solid philosophical foundation reflects the absence of a consistent and visionary policy framework. Policy changes are generally more influenced by electoral and figurative political dynamics than based on substantive needs that arise from deep reflection on national educational practices (Sumarta *et al.*, 2025). Consequently, almost every change of minister is accompanied by a reorientation of the curriculum and learning strategies, so that national education is trapped in the circulation of narratives and slogans that tend to obscure the substance that pre-existed (Purba, 2025).

This phenomenon shows a shift from the philosophical foundations of education towards the dominance of terminology and performative narratives packaged in the form of policy jargon (Ferary, 2023). Terms such as independent learning, independent curriculum, differentiated learning, Pancasila student profile, deep learning, and 7 children's habits, which appear in the latest policies are part of the dominant discourse. This terminology often prioritizes aspects of policy imagery rather than the internalization of values and true praxistic renewal. A framework of Gramscian hegemony theory, this condition describes the process of hegemonization of discourse by the state through the ideological apparatus of education to build a pseudo-consensus on what is considered progressive in education (Gramsci, 2023).

The Independent Curriculum, which was introduced in response to the need for flexibility and autonomy in learning, normatively promises a pedagogical transformation based on the philosophy of Ki Hadjar Dewantara (Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022). Based on a document from the Ministry of Education and Culture (2022), the Independent Curriculum aims to encourage students' independent thinking and expand the space for teachers' creativity in developing learning. Empirical studies showed that the implementation of this curriculum is still experiencing various challenges, especially in terms of meaning and technical implementation in schools, due to the lack of reflective mentoring and limited access to substantive training for teachers (Simatupang, 2023).

New terminology such as deep learning began to emerge in education policy after the Independent Curriculum period, precisely in strengthening the transformative discourse brought by the next minister. In the realm of high-level pedagogy, the concept of deep learning includes the ability of students to build integrative conceptual understanding, elaborate cross-disciplinary knowledge, and have a reflective awareness of the meaningful, mindful, and joyful learning process (Bhardwaj *et al.*, 2021; Feriyanto & Anjariyah, 2024), but in practice, this concept is often simplified to simply deepening the material or enriching the topic, without paying attention to the pedagogical principles and underlying learning philosophy (Şahan, 2020). The approach to teacher training, which is still administrative and technocratic in nature, also weakens the internalization of the meaning of this concept in the field (Ma *et al.*, 2022).

Educational practices in Indonesia have actually recognized various pedagogical approaches that are rooted in local contexts and human values. Approaches such as Contextual Teaching and Learning (CTL), constructivistic learning, humanistic approach, and critical pedagogy have been introduced in several previous curriculum phases, such as the Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK) and the 2013 Curriculum (Lukum *et al.*, 2024). CTL, for example, emphasizes the linkage between learning content and students' real lives to encourage active engagement in the learning process (Adiputra & Hidayah, 2025; Daud, 2024). Meanwhile, a constructivist approach encourages learners to construct meaning through learning experiences, and critical pedagogy directs learning to social awareness and transformation (Suryadi *et al.*, 2022). With the advent of education policy, these approaches do not get a proportionate portion of articulation in policy

discourse, and are often replaced by new terms that are not necessarily substantially aligned.

The independent curriculum aims to realize the six Pancasila Student Profiles, namely, critical reasoning, independence, creativity, mutual cooperation, global diversity, and noble character (Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022), which are then added to 8 profiles by the next policy makers, namely, faith and piety to God Almighty, citizenship, critical reasoning, creativity, collaboration, independence, health, and communication (Curriculum and Learning Center, 2025), without going through an in-depth study of the changes. The latest policy also introduces 7 children's habits that are part of strengthening the character of Indonesian students (Pusat Penguatan Karakter, 2024). The 2013 curriculum has also been based on character education (Sukriyatun, 2022). According to contemporary policy, these values are repackaged in a narrative of novelty and innovation, which risks obscuring the continuity of the educational philosophy that has been developed earlier. This rebranding process shows a policy tendency that focuses more on symbolic repackaging than on deep philosophical recontextualization.

Historically, Indonesia has undergone significant changes in the national curriculum five times in the last three decades: the 1994 Curriculum, the 2004 KBK, the 2006 KTSP, the 2013 Curriculum, and the Independent Curriculum (Sari, 2022). Each change brings with it jargon, a new pedagogical orientation, and administrative demands that often lead to implementable confusion. The 2013 curriculum, for example, adopts an explicit scientific approach and character education, but faces technical constraints at the implementation level such as administrative burden and gaps in the quality of teacher resources. The KTSP, which gives greater autonomy to schools, fails to be optimized due to weak supervision systems and school managerial capacity. This situation shows that curriculum reform in Indonesia is more like a bureaucratic response than the result of philosophical reflection and continuous contextual evaluation (Mahaswa *et al.*, 2025; MASJUDIN, 2024).

The pressure on national education systems on a global scale to meet international standards such as PISA, TIMSS, and ICILS has had a significant influence on the direction of education policy. The 2022 PISA results show that the literacy scores of Indonesian students are still below the OECD average (*PISA 2022 Results (Volume I)*,

2023). This achievement reflects that repeated curriculum reform without emphasis on values and consistency does not necessarily result in substantive improvements in the quality of education. Instead, reliance on global indicators without a synthesis of local values risks lowering the cohesiveness of the national education system and causing alienation of educational practices at the grassroots level.

Criticism of the direction of Indonesia's education policy in this case does not aim to reject innovation, but rather encourages a repositioning of the foundation of values and philosophical orientation that should be the starting point for any policy formulation. Education cannot be positioned solely as a neutral technical practice. Education is a space of reflective praxis that determines the direction of the formation of the whole Indonesian human being (Herlambang, 2021). If education policy is managed within the framework of jargonistic and aesthetic novelty, then the transformation of education will only become an empty discourse without transformative power (Dahur & Solosumantoro, 2024). Therefore, this study aims to elaborate on the dynamics of the shift in education policy orientation from a philosophical approach to a jargonistic dominance through reflective studies and policy discourse analysis.

This research seeks to examine how the structure of education policy has shifted from substantive meanings to manipulative policy aesthetics with a critical hermeneutic approach and discourse analysis. In addition, this research also seeks to restore the significance of the basic values of national education, cultural context, and philosophical heritage as the foundation for a more sustainable and meaningful Indonesian education reform direction. Education should be reinterpreted as a process of humanization and liberation rooted in the existential reality of students, not just an instrument of technocratic development that ignores social and cultural complexities.

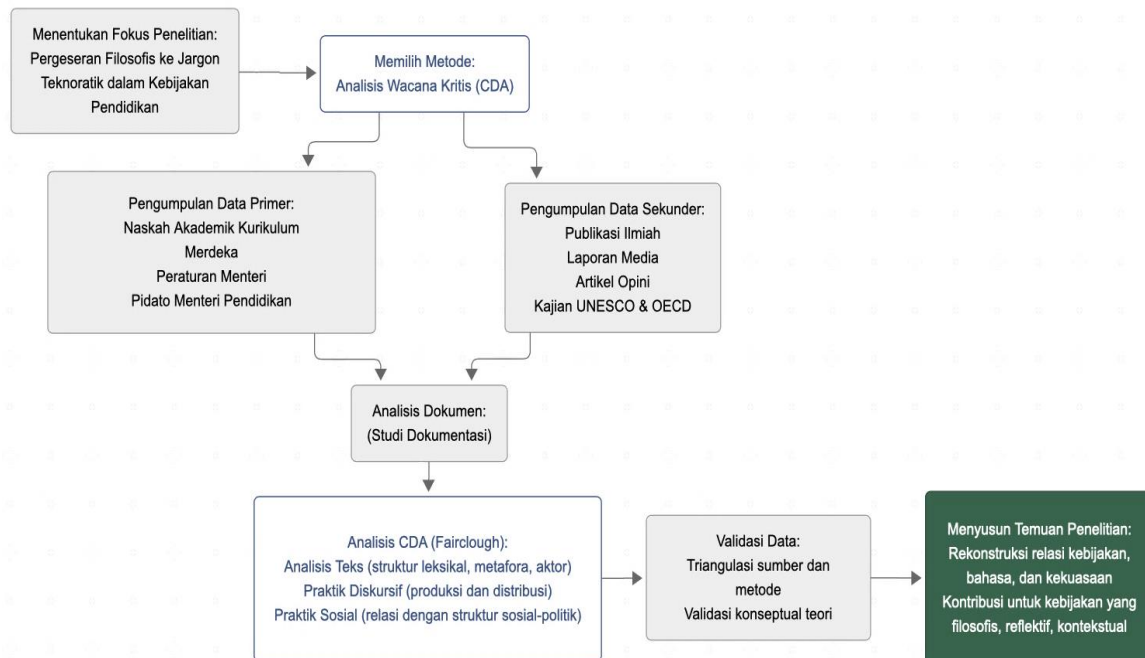
## **2 RESEARCH METHODS**

This study uses a qualitative-descriptive approach with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method to dissect the construction of education policy discourse in Indonesia which has shifted from philosophical values to the dominance of technocratic jargon. CDA was chosen as a method because it allows researchers to explore how policy language is used ideologically to create dominance of meaning and legitimacy towards a

particular policy direction (Fairclough, 2013). The following is presented a research diagram using the CDA method.

**Figure 1**

*CDA method research flow chart (Fairclough, 2013)*



The main data sources include official documents of the national education policy, such as academic manuscripts and implementing documents of the Independent Curriculum, Ministerial Regulations, speeches of the Minister of Education, and learning implementation guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Secondary sources in the form of scientific publications, media reports, opinion articles, and the results of studies by international institutions such as UNESCO and the OECD are used to enrich the analysis and support triangulation.

Data were collected through a documentation study and analyzed using Norman Fairclough's version of the CDA framework which consists of three layers of analysis: (1) text, including lexical structures, metaphors, and representations of actors; (2) discursive practices, including the process of production and distribution of policy discourse; and (3) social practice, examining the relationship between discourse and

socio-political structures, including the influence of bureaucracy, power politics, and knowledge capitalism.

The validity of the data is ensured through triangulation of sources and methods, conceptual validation of the theories used, and collegial discussions with education policy experts. The results of the research are expected to be able to reconstruct a critical understanding of the relationship between education policy, language, and power, as well as contribute to the formation of a more philosophical, reflective, and contextual policy direction.

### 3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study through the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to national education policy documents, including the Independent Curriculum text, public statements by education officials, and implementative training documents, reveal a dominant pattern that represents a shift from a philosophical approach to jargonistic aesthetics.

This research also analyzes the latest official document, namely the Academic Manuscript of Deep Learning (Kementerian Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Republik Indonesia, 2025), as a material for the study of contemporary policy discourse. The study shows a shift in the meaning of education from a philosophical approach towards performative and technocratic. Terms such as mindful, meaningful, and joyful are used explicitly but appear to be more rhetorical than implementive (Feriyanto & Anjariyah, 2024). The document emphasizes education based on the philosophy of Ki Hadjar Dewantara and KH. Ahmad Dahlan, however, these values often appear as narrative decorations rather than policy foundations that are integrated into operational strategies in the classroom. The Deep Learning Policy that is currently being developed emphasizes more on the legitimacy of modernization and global adaptation than on authentic and contextual philosophical reconstruction (Bartlett *et al.*, 2021). The implication is that teachers are not empowered as policy subjects, and the national education philosophy is marginalized in actual policies.

Based on Fairclough's version of the three layers of CDA analysis (text, discursive practice, and social practice), the findings of this study can be described in the following dimensions:

**Table 1***Three-Dimensional Analysis of Indonesia's Contemporary Education Policy Discourse*

CDA Analysis Dimensions	Focus of Analysis	Key Findings and Textual Evidence	
		Findings	Evidence
<b>Text (Textual Analysis)</b>	Redefinition and Meaning	Philosophical terms (e.g., character, deep learning) are reduced to technical-behavioristic.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Deep Learning Academic Literature uses meaningful, encouraging, and conscious rhetoric (p. 25), but reduces its main strategy to Project-Based Learning (PBL) (p. 45).</li> <li>The concept of character in the Guide to 7 Great Indonesian Children's Habits is reduced to a list of physical-routine habits, such as Fast Sleep (p. 5).</li> </ul>
	Technocratization & Measurement	Philosophical discourse is transformed into a bureaucratically measurable device.	The 7 Great Indonesian Children's Habits Guide provides a Sample Daily Record Application Form (pp. 82-83), which effectively transforms character (ethics) into a daily compliance checklist.
	Rhetoric of Legitimacy	The use of philosophical/historical references as narrative embellishments (Sanctions Narrative) to legitimize technocratic policies.	The Deep Learning Academic Manuscript refers to Ki Hadjar Dewantara and K.H. Ahmad Dahlan (pp. 15-18), but his operational analysis (PBL) does not show a clear pedagogical connection to the philosophy of these figures.
<b>Discursive Practices</b>	Discourse Production	Discourse is produced in an elitist, top-down, and exclusive manner.	The Drafting and Directing Team pages of key documents are dominated by the bureaucratic elite of the ministry and the circle of appointed academics, indicating the lack of participation of the epistemic community (teachers, critical pedagogical experts).
	Discourse Distribution	Discourse is distributed in one direction (normative-administrative), causing a gap in understanding.	Discourse is disseminated through Ministerial Speeches, media releases, and technical training. This creates confusion at the consumption level (teachers) who accept jargon without pedagogical depth, a finding consistent with studies on curriculum implementation
<b>Sociocultural Practices</b>	Ideological Context	Discourse is driven by global ideologies of efficiency, accountability, and standardization.	The push for checklists (as in 7GICH) and measurable outcomes (PBL in Deep Learning) reflects a neoliberal rationality (focus on measurable performance) that shifts the focus to humanistic (process).
	Political & Global Context	Jargonistic discourse serves as political branding to respond to global pressure (GERM).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Permendikdasmen No. 13 of 2025 explicitly considers the need to adapt to global developments (p. 1).</li> <li>This pressure stems from global assessments such as PISA (OECD), which encourages countries to adopt the language of reform (such as deep learning).</li> </ul>

The discussion in depth interprets the findings presented in Table 1, the key findings of the CDA analysis and addresses the research gaps. as follows:

### 3.1 Textual dimension (redefinition and meaning)

An in-depth analysis of the language structure in the latest education policy documents in Indonesia, such as the Academic Manuscript of Deep Learning and the Movement Guide to the 7 Great Indonesian Children's Habits (7GICH), shows the reduction of the meaning of philosophical terms to narrow and operational technical tools. Terms such as meaningful, mindful, and joyful, which semantically represent the value of humanistic and reflective education, are reduced to a single implementative approach, namely Project-Based Learning (PBL) (Pusat Kurikulum dan Pembelajaran, 2025). In fact, from the perspective of critical pedagogy and constructivism, these terms should imply learning strategies that touch on the metacognitive aspects of students, such as internalization of values, reflective elaboration, and the meaning of learning experiences in depth (Mahaswa *et al.*, 2025; MARTON & SÄLJÖ, 1976). Deep Learning Policy, the term plays more of a role as a policy branding element than as an epistemological foundation.

The term character in the 7GICH document, is practiced as routine behaviors that can be recorded in daily checklists, such as fast sleep and eating vegetables (Pusat Penguatan Karakter, 2024). The transformation of the concept of character from moral and cultural values into indicators of administrative behavior reflects the process of technocratization of philosophical terms (Sahin, 2018). This is in line with the findings (Mahaswa *et al.*, 2025), which states that the Indonesian curriculum is currently moving in an anthropo-centric orientation that obscures the philosophical meaning of education based on environmental and humanitarian emancipation.

The rhetoric of educational terms such as character, freedom of learning, and deep learning shows that the language of policy is used as an instrument of political legitimacy and not as a complete philosophical reflection (Widiasri, 2022). Even when the document cites the great names of Ki Hadjar Dewantara and K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, no substantial pedagogical connection is found to the among, dialogical, or contextual principles that are the spirit of national education (Falaqi *et al.*, 2025; Suprpto *et al.*, 2021). These

phrases eventually morph into a narrative of pseudo-historical reference sanctions attached to wrap up technocratic policies. The current education policy document is seen from the textual dimension, acting more as a tool of political communication than as a pedagogical conceptual tool. This condition is evidence that there is a shift in the meaning of discourse from the domain of value and meaning to the domain of procedure and measurement (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017).

### **3.2 Dimensions of discursive practice (production and reproduction of elitist discourse)**

Analysis of the dimensions of discursive practices in contemporary Indonesian education policy shows that the discourse production process is still dominated by an elitist top-down approach. This can be seen from the structure of the document preparation team such as the Academic Manuscript of Deep Learning and the Guide to 7 Great Indonesian Children's Habits (7GICH), which is predominantly filled by structural officials and affiliated academics, with a lack of representation of field teachers or critical epistemic communities (Curriculum and Learning Center, 2025; Character Building Center, 2024). This condition indicates that the language of policy is produced by the central actors of discourse power, not as the result of dialogue with education actors (Fairclough, 2013; Falaqi *et al.*, 2025).

The distribution of policy discourse takes place in a linear and normative manner, such as through ministerial speeches, technical training modules, and institutional social media content. These sources convey jargon such as deep learning, differentiated learning, and independent learning without pedagogical feedback mechanisms from teachers or trainees. This is in line with the findings Widiastri (2022) and Mahaswa *et al* (2025), which notes that the implementation of a global jargon-based curriculum often fails to be rooted in local social and cultural contexts.

Consequently, there is a discourse consumption gap between policymakers and education actors. Teachers not only have difficulty understanding the technocratic terms used, but are also not involved in the process of drafting or developing their meaning. In fact, as shown in document 7GICH (p. 83), teachers are tasked with recording student behavior in a standard form, with no room for reflection or contextual pedagogical

considerations. This suggests that discourse is not only produced elitistically, but also distributed without reflective participation, making it a hegemonic practice (Apple & Apple, 2004). According Suprpto *et al* (2021), this kind of process is a form of alienation of educational actors from the transformation process they should have. Teachers as the main actors in education transformation are actually reduced to policy users.

### **3.3 Dimensions of social practice (political legitimacy of modernization)**

The discourse of Indonesia's education policy in socio-cultural practice can be understood as part of the strategy of political legitimacy of modernization and response to global pressures. The government uses the language of transformation such as deep learning and strengthening the character of Pancasila as a form of reform branding, which aims to show that the national education system is moving towards global quality. Such rhetoric is not always accompanied by substantial structural changes that are contextual (Falaqi *et al.*, 2025; Mahaswa *et al.*, 2025).

One of the most obvious forms of pressure comes from international assessments such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) and TIMSS, which have become the main reference in shaping the direction of national education policy. Policy documents such as Permendikbudristek No. 13 of 2025 even explicitly mention the need to adapt to global trends and 21st century competencies, without explaining how local values and national philosophies will be contextualized within the framework. The 2022 PISA results show that the literacy scores of Indonesian students are still lagging behind the OECD average (*PISA 2022 Results (Volume I)*, 2023). Ironically, although global jargon such as deep learning is adopted in education policy, its application in the classroom does not indicate any internalization of meaning or significant improvement in learning outcomes. This shows that there is an assimilation of terms without a transformation of practice (Apple & Apple, 2004).

Adoption of a project-based learning model (PBL) and the use of assessment instruments such as daily character checklists (Kemendikdasmen, 2025) reflects a performative neoliberal logic that emphasizes measurable results rather than an in-depth and reflective educational process. Education policy is part of the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM), where quality control, accountability, and efficiency are

used as the main benchmarks of success (Sahlberg, 2021). This condition has implications for two things. First, education is positioned as an instrument of global competitiveness, not as a process of culture and liberation. Second, teachers and students lose space for reflection and emancipation because learning is narrowed down to a tool for achieving scores and technical indicators.

### 3.4 Devaluation of Indonesia's philosophical heritage of education

One of the key findings in this analysis is the systematic tendency to marginalize philosophical values in contemporary Indonesian education policy. Although figures such as Ki Hadjar Dewantara (KHD) and KH Ahmad Dahlan are often mentioned in academic texts and official documents such as the Deep Learning Academic Text, quotations of their thoughts serve more as narrative ornaments than as the basis for operational pedagogical action (Pusat Kurikulum dan Pembelajaran, 2025). The principle of among or tri centers of Ki Hajar Dewantara education in the deep learning document is mentioned in the normative background but is not described in the framework of learning strategies, assessments, or teacher training. Values such as education as a culture and liberation that are characteristic of Ki Hajar Dewantara's thinking have been replaced with an emphasis on efficiency, competency targets, and measurable performance. This is a form of losing philosophical meaning in the production of policy discourse (Apple & Apple, 2004; Fairclough, 2013).

The jargon of independent learning that is supposed to represent the independence and autonomy of students' thinking is often implemented as administrative flexibility, such as the selection of teaching modules, or simply a shift in the classroom structure. Freedom of learning in practice, loses its reflective-emancipatory meaning and shifts to bureaucratic technical policy (Falaqi *et al.*, 2025; Mahaswa *et al.*, 2025).

The concept of deep learning which in the original version by Marton & Säljö (1976) emphasizing the process of internalizing meaning, reflection, and elaboration, it is also reduced to a model of student exploratory projects without epistemic reinforcement. Deep learning is only used as jargon to give a progressive impression to policy, but it is not transformed into a teacher training approach or assessment system that encourages meaning and criticism.

These findings reinforce the argument that there is a devaluation of Indonesia's intellectual and philosophical heritage, where local values do not undergo pedagogical transformation, but only function as a legitimacy narrative for policies formulated based on global pressures and neoliberal logic (Sahlberg, 2021; Suprpto *et al.*, 2021).

### **3.5 The relevance of the findings to education reform**

The findings in this study affirm the urgency of reconstructing the direction of Indonesia's education policy so that it is not only responsive to global indicators and novelty narratives, but also rooted in the philosophical values and culture of national education (Arifa & Agustini, 2025). True reform is not just a terminological innovation or administrative shift, but an ideological and epistemological recontextualization that considers the relationship between policy, language, power, and social context.

The emphasis on jargon such as deep learning, Pancasila student profiles, and independent learning has shown how these terms function as policy branding strategies that often lose the philosophical meaning that should accompany them. When the concept of education as liberation, liberation, and culture (Ki Hadjar Dewantara) is reduced to an administrative device or institutional slogan, then the direction of educational transformation risks deviating from its substantive foundation (Apple & Apple, 2004; Fairclough, 2013).

The results of this study show that the tension between the demands of global modernization and national contextual-philosophical needs has not been responded to in a balanced way by current education policies. The influence of global agendas such as PISA, TIMSS, and 21st Century Skills has prompted countries including Indonesia to adopt uniform reform narratives, which in many cases dilute local epistemic and pedagogic diversity (Mahaswa *et al.*, 2025; Sahlberg, 2021).

Education reform in Indonesia should be directed at three main pillars. First, it must foster genuine, reflective dialogue among all stakeholders, which crucially repositions teachers as active subjects of change rather than mere policy implementers. Second, this reform demands a deep consistency of values that are embedded within the very structure and implementation of the curriculum, moving beyond the mere symbolic inclusion of historical figures or local principles. Finally, this entire effort must be

underpinned by systemic and sustainable support aimed at strengthening pedagogic capacity, especially in empowering educators to understand and translate abstract philosophical values into concrete educational praxis. In an effort to strengthen understanding of the shift in education policy discourse, the following is presented a comparative table between the characteristics of philosophy-based educational discourse and contemporary educational discourse dominated by technocratic jargon.

**Table 2**

*Findings of the Shift in Philosophical Discourse to Jargonistic*

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Philosophical Discourse (Before)</b>	<b>Jargonistic Discourse (Present)</b>
Value Orientation	Based on humanistic and emancipatory values	Oriented towards efficiency, performance and accountability
The Role of the Teacher	Teachers as facilitators, subjects of change	Teachers as technical implementers of central policies
Educational Objectives	Liberation, humanization, and critical reflection	Work competence, standardization, and scalability
Policy Language	Reflective, philosophical, and participatory narratives	Technocratic language, policy branding
Reference Source	Thoughts of national figures and local contexts	Global indicators, PISA, international standards
Epistemic Community Engagement	Higher – teachers, academics, the community involved	Low – dominance of the central bureaucracy
Assessment and Evaluation	Qualitative, formative, and reflective narratives	Quantitative, summative, based on global indicators

Source: The author's elaboration, based on (Apple & Apple, 2004; Fairclough, 2013; Mahaswa *et al.*, 2025)

#### 4 CONCLUSION

This study confirms that Indonesia's education policy in the last decade has undergone a significant discursive shift, from an approach rooted in philosophical values to the dominance of technocratic and jargonistic discourse. Through Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, it was found that terms such as independent learning, independent curriculum, differentiated learning, Pancasila student profile, P5, deep learning, up to 7 great children's habits, are more widely used as rhetorical symbols than operational representations of reflective and contextual educational paradigms.

This shift cannot be separated from the elitist and top-down way of producing discourse, pressure on the achievement of global standards (e.g. PISA and TIMSS), and the lack of involvement of epistemic communities (teachers, academics, society) in the

policy-making process. As a result, there is a narrowing of the meaning of education which should be humanistic, emancipatory and based on philosophical reflection.

These findings also show that pedagogical approaches such as constructivism, critical pedagogy, and contextual humanism relevant to Indonesia's educational history are not given adequate articulative space in contemporary policy. The disconnect between policy rhetoric and educational practice in the field is evidence that the policies produced are not always able to answer the substantive needs of learning.

The direction of Indonesia's education reform needs to be corrected and re-reflected so that it is based on authentic philosophical values, not solely oriented towards accountability and technocratic performance. Governments and education stakeholders need to strike a balance between global innovation and local recontextualization, by involving the community of teachers, education experts, and communities in every policy transformation process. The transformation of Indonesian education will only be meaningful if it is built on a solid philosophical foundation, participatory discursive practices, and a just social orientation, not just trapped in the packaging of new terms that are empty of meaning.

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