

## Educational Ideology In The 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile: Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Of The Minister Of Education And Departmental Education Regulation Number 10 Of 2025

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**Abstract:** *This study aims to uncover the linguistic constructions that represent educational ideology in the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile document, analyze the production, distribution, and consumption practices of policy discourse by the state, and interpret its role as a social practice in shaping the identity of Indonesian students. This study uses a qualitative approach with Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, which encompasses text analysis, discursive practices, and social practices. The primary data, in the form of the Minister of Elementary and Secondary Education Regulation Number 10 of 2025, supported by literature and public discourse, were collected through documentation, library research, and observation and note-taking techniques. Then, they were analyzed using the Relationship, Appeal, Equalization (HBS) and Relationship, Appeal, Differentiation (HBB) techniques. The results show that the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile document is not merely a pedagogical formulation, but rather an articulation of the state's educational ideology that operates hegemonic. The dominance of normative diction emphasizes the state's power relations in determining educational standards. Discourse is produced and disseminated centrally, becoming common sense, limiting the scope for critical interpretation. In social practice, this policy shapes religious, nationalist, rational, and productive student subjects. The ideology represented is technocratic nationalism based on Pancasila. Education serves as a strategic instrument of the state in reproducing social values and identities, thus requiring critical awareness to ensure education remains a space for emancipation.*

**Keywords:** *critical discourse analysis, educational ideology, graduate profile, educational policy, hegemony*

## Introduction

Education has always been a strategic arena in shaping the character, identity, and ideological direction of a nation. In the Indonesian context, education is understood not only as an instrument for transferring knowledge, but also as an ideological medium for instilling national values and shaping the state's ideal citizens. Ki Hadjar Dewantara emphasized that education is essentially an effort to liberate humans, both physically and spiritually, within the framework of the nation's values and culture (Dewantara, 1967). However, in practice, education also operates within a power and ideological relationship, as outlined by

Althusser (1971) through the concept of the Ideological State Apparatus, where educational policy functions to instill dominant ideologies through the curriculum and social practices.

A phenomenon currently attracting significant attention is the issuance of the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 10 of 2025 concerning Graduate Competency Standards (SKL), which introduces the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile. This document explicitly defines eight dimensions of graduate achievement: faith and piety, citizenship, critical reasoning, creativity, collaboration, independence, health, and communication. This policy

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represents a transformation of the previous policy, the Pancasila Student Profile, with the addition of health and communication aspects and a restructuring of competencies to be more adaptive to current demands. This change appears to be a pedagogical innovation, but it also opens up space for an ideological reading of how the state defines the "ideal human" in the contemporary socio-political and global context.

Practically, this issue is crucial because the 2025 SKL document will serve as the primary reference for curriculum development, assessment, and national education financing. Academically, the significance of this research lies in its effort to read education policy not merely as an administrative text, but as an ideological text containing representations of values, discourse, and power. Within the broader framework of education studies, this topic occupies the intersection of critical discourse analysis, educational policy studies, and ideological critique. Therefore, this research seeks to uncover how educational ideology is represented through policy language and how the state frames the subject of education within a hegemonic discursive structure. The scope of this research is limited to an analysis of the text and discourse within the official document, Permendikdasmen Number 10 of 2025, specifically the section explaining the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile. This research does not cover policy implementation in schools, but instead focuses on the discourse and ideological dimensions contained within the regulatory text.

Studies on ideology in education policy reveal several common patterns. First, prior research has highlighted that education policy serves as an arena for the reproduction of state ideology. Giroux (1981) described schools as production spaces for dominant ideologies that legitimize power through curriculum and policy language. Second, a number of studies emphasize the ideological function of education as a tool of state hegemony in shaping ideal citizens (Gramsci, 1971; Apple, 2004). In this context, education plays a role in instilling certain values, morals, and social orientations that align with the political vision of those in power. Third, other research focuses on discourse analysis of educational documents using Fairclough's (1992) approach, highlighting how policy language acts as a social practice that reproduces power relations (Luke, 1995; Ball, 1994). Fourth, cross-national comparative studies have emerged that demonstrate the ideological dimensions of graduate profile policies as a reflection of the national political direction of each country.

For example, China's Core Literacy Education Reform emphasizes socialist ideology and loyalty to the

state (China Law Translate, 2018); India's National Education Policy 2020 combines cultural nationalism with economic liberalization (Indian Education, 2021); the Common Core Standards in the United States signal the hegemony of neoliberalism (Apple, 2004); and Finland's education reform prioritizes egalitarianism and social welfare (Sahlberg, 2011). These patterns demonstrate that education policies in various countries consistently operate as ideological practices.

However, there is a research gap in the Indonesian context, particularly regarding the ideological analysis of Ministerial Regulation Number 10 of 2025. Most studies in Indonesia still focus on implementation aspects, such as learning strategies, character building, and assessment, without critically examining how policy language functions as a tool for constructing national education ideology. Therefore, this research aims to fill this gap by employing Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis approach in depth.

This study aims to uncover the educational ideology represented in the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile as stated in the Regulation of the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education Number 10 of 2025 through a critical reading of its linguistic structure, discourse practices, and social practices. This study positions the policy text as a discursive practice that is not neutral, but rather loaded with certain interests, values, and power relations in the construction of national education. Specifically, this paper seeks to answer three main questions formulated to examine the ideological dimension.

(1) How do the linguistic elements in the document represent certain ideological values? (2) How are the production, distribution, and consumption of policy discourse carried out by the Ministry of Elementary and Secondary Education as an institutional actor? And (3) How does the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile function as a hegemonic instrument of the state in shaping student identities according to the agenda of power? Answering these questions is both scientifically and practically important. Theoretically, this study expands the application of Critical Discourse Analysis in the field of education policy in Indonesia. Practically, the research findings can serve as a reflection for policymakers and educators to become more critical in understanding how policy language shapes the direction of national education.

This research is based on the main argument that the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile in Ministerial Regulation Number 10 of 2025 represents the state's educational ideology, which functions hegemonic in

shaping the image of the "ideal human" of Indonesia in the era of globalization. The language in this document is not neutral, but rather works to negotiate moral, spiritual, and productivity values within the framework of interests of power and national development.

This paper outlines the theoretical foundations and findings of previous research relevant to the study of ideology in education policy. Various previous studies have shown that critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the dominant approach in unraveling the relations between ideology and power in educational texts and the media. Safriki Munfi'atil Mawaddaha et al. (2021) highlighted the ideological struggle within the discourse of Freedom to Learn using Fairclough's model, asserting that educational discourse is an arena for negotiating meaning and social interests. Seylla Arifeni et al. (2024) demonstrated, using Van Dijk's model, how the media portrayed the complexity of education digitalization policy, while Ariska Erawati et al. (2022) identified the construction of hegemony and social framing in news coverage of President Jokowi using Fairclough's model.

Other studies, such as those by Hasnah Satiani et al. (2023) and Ni Putu Dewi Eka Yanti et al. (2019), demonstrate that political discourse and the media are vehicles for shaping public opinion. St. Rahmaniari (2021), Dina Mardiana (2021), and Wiwit Sariasih (2023) explore the representation of ideology and power in literary and news texts using various AWK models (Foucault, Sara Mills, and Roger Fowler). In general, these studies demonstrate that language consistently carries ideological values and serves as a tool for social and political legitimacy.

Meanwhile, conceptual studies such as those by Rendy Pribadi (2024) demonstrate the dominance of Fairclough's model in AWK research in Indonesia due to its ability to link texts to social and cultural practices. Other ideological research by I Ketut Wisarja et al. (2017) and Ulfah Nury Batubara et al. (2021) highlights how conservatism and liberalism shape educational paradigms and social order. Sulistya Evingrum et al. (2017) and Abdul Malik (2020) emphasized the importance of Pancasila education as an ideological bulwark in facing the challenges of globalization and transnational ideologies.

Overall, this review emphasizes the crucial role of critical discourse analysis in understanding the relationship between ideology, policy, and power. Unlike previous research that has focused largely on social or media discourse, this study specifically examines the state's educational ideology as manifested in the official policy documents of the Ministry of

Primary and Secondary Education. Thus, this research broadens our understanding of how policy language functions as an instrument of hegemony and the reproduction of national educational ideology.

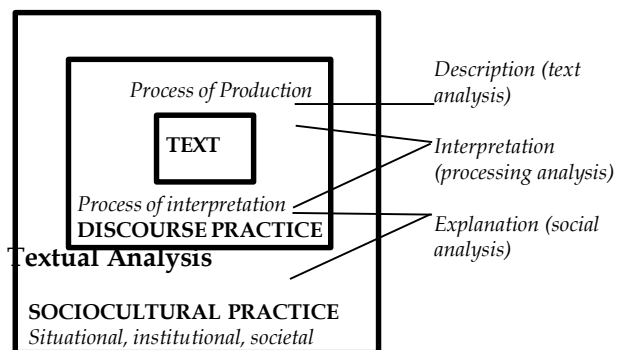
### Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) views language as a social practice imbued with power and ideology, not simply a tool for linguistic communication. This approach highlights how language is used to maintain, challenge, and distribute power in society. Norman Fairclough was a central figure in formulating the three-dimensional CDA model: textual analysis, discourse practice, and social practice. This model offers a systematic framework for exploring the relationship between language, power, and ideology (Fairclough, 1992). This approach views texts as not neutral, but rather as part of social and political strategies that shape and reproduce particular value systems.

In this study, Fairclough's model is used to interpret the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile document in Ministerial Regulation Number 10 of 2025 as a representation of state ideology. Through CDA, the document is understood not merely as a normative text but as an institutional discourse that shapes the student subject according to the state's ideological vision. Thus, CDA becomes an intellectual instrument for uncovering the power relations hidden behind national education policy.

One of the key figures in the development of Critical Discourse Analysis is Norman Fairclough. In his 1992 work, Fairclough proposed a three-dimensional model for analyzing discourse: text analysis, discursive practice, and social practice. Fairclough (1992) emphasized the importance of viewing language as a social practice bound to power structures and ideologies in society. He developed a three-dimensional model of discourse analysis that allows researchers to unpack how texts are produced, disseminated, and infused with power relations and larger social structures. These three dimensions can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 1.1. Norman Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model



This analysis focuses on the linguistic aspects of the text, such as vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and discourse organization. Fairclough (1992, pp. 75–102) asserts that each language choice reflects a specific ideological position. In the context of the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile, vocabulary such as faith, piety, citizenship, and independence represent the state's ideological construction of the ideal Indonesian person. Grammatical structures, such as the active sentence "students are able to...", portray an empowered subject while normalizing ideological control. Cohesion and coherence are built to create harmony between spiritual, cognitive, and social values, while the textual structure demonstrates a moralistic hierarchy that places the spiritual as the primary foundation.

Mahsun (2017) strengthens this analysis by emphasizing that texts are not merely collections of grammatical structures but also contain socio-cultural meanings that reflect societal ideologies. He distinguishes between linguistic and social meanings and emphasizes the importance of context and intertextuality in understanding discourse. The collaborative theories of Fairclough (1992) and Mahsun (2017) allow for an analysis that integrates the micro-aspects of language and its social context, thus uncovering the ideologies at work behind national education policies.

### **Discursive Practice Dimension**

This dimension encompasses the processes of production, distribution, and consumption of discourse. Fairclough (1992, pp. 78–100) asserts that texts are produced within networks of power and ideology. In the context of the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile, production involves bureaucrats, academics, and curriculum experts operating within the institutional framework of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. Stuart Hall (1980), through his encoding-decoding theory, added that messages encoded by institutions are not necessarily uniformly decoded by the public; the reception of discourse is dynamic. Theo van Leeuwen (2008) highlighted the aspect of representation in the production and distribution of discourse, namely, who is given or silenced.

Mahsun (2017) further reinforces that texts are always born within an inherent social and cultural context. The integration of the ideas of Fairclough, Hall, van Leeuwen, and Mahsun provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how education policy is produced, disseminated, and interpreted differently by society.

### **Social Practice Dimension**

Fairclough (1992, pp. 100–138) places discourse within a social structure encompassing political, economic, and cultural aspects. Policy texts are not

merely reflections of reality but also tools of social construction. In Ministerial Regulation Number 10 of 2025, the eight dimensions of the graduate profile: Faith and Devotion to God Almighty, Citizenship, Critical Reasoning, Creativity, Collaboration, Independence, Health, and Communication represent the state's image of the Indonesian people: religious, nationalist, rational, adaptive, and compliant with social norms. This discourse demonstrates the state's efforts to reproduce the values of Pancasila as a moral and political ideology through the education system.

### **Educational Ideology and Power Relations**

Education is never neutral. It always operates within an ideological framework that guides its direction, content, and practice. O'Neil (2001) defines educational ideology as a set of moral and political beliefs that define a nation's ideal human model. Thus, every educational policy reflects specific ideological interests. Mansour Fakhri (2001) asserts that behind the claim of educational neutrality lies a hidden power relationship that influences the direction and goals of education. In Althusser's (2008) view, schools are Ideological State Apparatuses that function to reproduce dominant ideologies through the values and discipline instilled in students.

Meanwhile, Foucault (2002) sees power in education as operating through knowledge and discourse, shaping subjects who comply with social and state norms. Van Dijk (2006) explains that ideology operates through control over discourse. Therefore, documents such as the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile are not simply a guide to universal values, but rather a state ideological construction of the ideal Indonesian human being. Freire (2013) reminds us that education can be a tool for liberation if students are encouraged to become aware of the hidden power relations within the education system.

According to O'Neil (in Fakhri, 2001), educational ideologies are divided into two: conservative and liberal. Conservative ideology has two main variants: Educational Fundamentalism, which instills absolute values (religious or nationalist), Intellectualism, which emphasizes classical rationality, and Conservatism, which maintains the stability of social institutions and culture. Liberal ideology, on the other hand, views education as a means of liberation and the development of individual potential. These ideologies include Educational Liberalism, Liberationism, and Educational Anarchism (Illich & Goodman in Fakhri, 2001). Liberalism emphasizes freedom of thought, liberationism highlights critical awareness of social injustice (Freire), while anarchism rejects institutional controls that stifle creativity. These two ideologies demonstrate that education can function

as a tool for preserving social order or as a space for human liberation.

## Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with critical discourse analysis (CDA) as developed by Norman Fairclough to examine policy texts and narratives in official documents from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kemendikbudristek) related to the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile. This approach aims to uncover the ideological values and power relations hidden behind the language of education policy. Fairclough (1992) asserts that every text contains not only linguistic structures but also reflects social practices that reproduce domination and power. Similarly, Mahsun (2005) believes that discourse analysis must go beyond linguistic aspects and explore the social context that shapes the meaning of the text. Van Dijk (1997) emphasizes that discourse is a tool of power that can maintain or challenge dominant ideologies. Based on these expert perspectives, this research seeks to explore in depth how the discourse of the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile is textually constructed, disseminated through discursive practices, and shapes social practices in national education.

The primary data for this study consists of written texts from official documents from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, particularly Regulation No. 10 of 2025 concerning the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile, which contains narratives of educational policy within the framework of state ideology. According to Mahsun (2005), such texts reflect power relations and ideology, while Bungin (2008) emphasizes that qualitative data is contextual and must be understood within its social, cultural, and political context. Therefore, policy documents serve as the primary data for uncovering the formation of student subjects within the national development vision.

The data sources for this study consist of primary data in the form of official documents from the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, and secondary data in the form of supporting literature such as books, journals, and previous research. Mahsun (2005) describes written documents as representations of institutional thinking and interests that are steeped in ideology, while Bungin (2008) emphasizes that secondary data is important for providing social and historical context while maintaining the objectivity of analysis through data triangulation.

Data collection methods include documentation and literature review. The documentation method was used to obtain the official texts of the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (Kemendikbud) that served as the object of analysis. As explained by Sugiyono (2013),

documentation is effective in tracing formal and institutional communication. Meanwhile, a literature review was used to strengthen the theoretical and interpretive framework of the research through relevant scientific references. According to Mahsun (2005), literature review serves not only as theoretical background but also as a means of reading texts intertextually and contextually, as required by the AWK approach. Using these two methods, this research ensures the validity and depth of analysis of ideological constructions within national education policy discourse.

The data analysis method in this study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (AWK), a three-dimensional model developed by Norman Fairclough (1992). This model was chosen because it can reveal the ideological dimensions and power relations hidden behind policy texts, particularly in the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile document as outlined in Permendikdasmen Number 10 of 2025. Fairclough views language as a non-neutral social practice, therefore, the analysis is conducted at three levels: text analysis (micro), discursive practice analysis (meso), and social practice analysis (macro), to examine the relationship between language, power, and ideology.

To strengthen the linguistic reading, this study integrates language analysis techniques from Prof. Mahsun (2017) in *Language Research Methods: Stages, Strategies, Methods, and Techniques*, namely the Equating Appeals (HBS) and Differentiating Appeals (HBB) techniques. These two techniques are used as micro-linguistic tools in examining policy texts, thereby complementing Fairclough's macro-discursive framework. This integration results in a more incisive, comprehensive, and empirical analysis of education policy text data.

In the micro-text analysis stage, the research focused on diction, sentence structure, grammar, and rhetorical strategies in the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile document. The HBS technique was used to identify consistent linguistic patterns, such as the repetition of the phrase "capable students...", which indicates an ideological construction of the state's idealization of students. Meanwhile, HBB was used to uncover differences in meaning between dimensions, for example, between "Faith and Piety," which has moral-religious overtones, and "Critical Reasoning," which is rational-intellectual. According to Eriyanto (2001), text analysis is the initial stage in uncovering the hidden structures behind policy discourse.

The discursive practice analysis (meso) stage examines the production, distribution, and consumption of education policy discourse. The Permendikdasmen document is seen as a discursive product of state institutions born within a specific social and

bureaucratic context. The HBS technique is used to explore similarities between policies, such as between the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile and the Pancasila Student Profile, while the HBB technique reveals shifts in meaning, such as the shift from the term "student" to "graduate," which indicates an orientation toward learning outcomes. This stage helps explain the intertextual relationships between policies and clarifies the texts' ideological positions within the national discourse landscape.

The final stage, the analysis of social practices (macro), connects policy discourse with the surrounding social and ideological structures. The 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile is understood as an ideological instrument of the state in shaping the character of ideal citizens in accordance with the national development vision. The HBS-HBB technique is used to distinguish hegemonic values such as nationalism and morality from counter-hegemonic values such as creativity and critical reasoning. In Fairclough's (1992) framework, the analysis process through the description, interpretation, and explanation stages shows that the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile is not just a technical guide, but an ideological text that plays an important role in the construction of national identity and strengthening national values amidst the flow of educational globalization.

## Results and Discussion

This research uses the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 10 of 2025 as the primary source for examining the discourse on graduate profiles within the framework of national education policy. This document is a formal regulation with legal force and contains graduate competency standards as part of the National Education Standards. Structurally, the document consists of an introduction, considerations (considering), legal basis (recalling), and regulatory substance in the form of normative and declarative articles.

Articles 1 and 2 define graduate competency standards as minimum criteria encompassing attitudes, knowledge, and skills. They serve as a reference for developing other educational standards and determining student graduation. This formulation is based on national education objectives, student development levels, and the national qualifications framework.

The main finding of the research lies in Article 4, which establishes an eight-dimensional Graduate Profile, encompassing: faith and piety, citizenship, critical reasoning, creativity, collaboration, independence, health, and communication. Each dimension is formulated normatively to describe the ideal individual characteristics expected to be developed

through the educational process. These dimensions represent not only academic achievement but also the personal and social capacities of students.

To clarify the structure of the document's content, the eight dimensions were mapped to key keywords reflecting value orientations, cognitive abilities, and social skills. This mapping demonstrates that the graduate profile is designed as a systematic and integrated set of competencies.

The data is presented using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, which encompasses the dimensions of text, discursive practice, and social practice. Within the text dimension, the analysis shows that policy language utilizes normative diction, declarative structures, and prescriptive patterns that affirm ideal standards for students. Within the discursive practice dimension, discourse is produced by the state through formal legal mechanisms, distributed through regulatory, bureaucratic, pedagogical, and digital channels, and consumed by various actors through dominant, negotiating, and oppositional patterns.

Meanwhile, within the social practice dimension, the eight-dimensional graduate profile serves as a policy instrument that binds the national education system and reflects the relationship between discourse, ideology, and power. This discourse not only regulates educational standards but also plays a role in shaping the direction of national education and responding to social and global dynamics.

Overall, the data presentation in this study utilizes a combination of analytical tables and interpretive narratives to demonstrate the relationship between language structure, discursive processes, and social context. This approach allows for a systematic and critical analysis that uncovers ideological constructions in education policy.

This discussion answers the first research question: how the structure of linguistic elements in the eight-dimensional graduate profile document represents ideological values. The analysis utilizes Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework, which focuses on the textual dimension, which views language as a medium for representing values and power relations in education policy.

## Textual Analysis

In general, all dimensions in the eight-dimensional graduate profile exhibit a consistent linguistic pattern, namely the use of normative vocabulary, declarative sentence structures with the generic subject "individual," and prescriptive and standardized meaning constructions. This pattern serves to normalize certain values as the ideal character of graduates.

First, the dimension of faith and piety is represented through religious-normative vocabulary such as belief, practice, and noble character. The declarative and affirmative grammatical structure positions religiosity as a moral foundation integrated with social and ecological responsibility. The ideology represented is divinity, which is normative and integrative.

Second, the dimension of citizenship uses vocabulary such as pride, respect, obedience, and harmony, reflecting a fusion of the ideologies of nationalism, multiculturalism, and globalism. The textual structure demonstrates the expansion of the meaning of citizenship from personal identity to global responsibility, while remaining within the framework of compliance with state norms.

Third, the critical reasoning dimension is dominated by cognitive vocabulary such as logical thinking, analytical thinking, and problem-solving. The grammatical pattern "able + verb" emphasizes thinking competence as a functional individual capacity. This dimension represents the ideology of rationalism and educational instrumentalism.

Fourth, the creativity dimension features vocabulary such as productive, innovative, and solution-oriented, indicating an orientation toward results and usefulness. Creativity is represented as a functional competence directed toward productivity, reflecting the ideology of productivism and innovationism.

Fifth, the collaboration dimension uses social vocabulary such as caring, sharing, and cooperation. The text structure constructs the meaning of collaboration as a normative and harmony-oriented social practice, representing the ideology of collectivism and social cohesion.

Sixth, the independence dimension is characterized by vocabulary such as responsible, initiative, and adaptation. The linguistic structure positions the individual as the primary agent, thus representing the ideology of functional individualism and personal responsibility.

Seventh, the health dimension includes vocabulary such as healthy lifestyle, fitness, and mental health. Health is represented as an individual practice based on awareness, reflecting the ideology of preventive health and personal responsibility.

Eighth, the communication dimension utilizes vocabulary for language skills such as listening, reading, speaking, and writing, along with normative standards of good and correct, as well as ethics. This represents the normativism ideology of language and communication as a tool for social order.

Overall, the analysis shows that lexical choices, grammatical structures, and textual cohesion and

coherence serve to normalize certain ideological values, such as religiosity, nationalism, rationality, productivity, collectivism, individualism, preventive health, and language normativity. The policy language in this document is not neutral, but rather serves as an instrument for representing and reproducing ideologies institutionalized through the education system.

### **Dimension of Discursive Practice**

In the dimension of discursive practice, the analysis focuses on the aspect of discourse production using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis framework, which encompasses institutional actors, legal-formal mechanisms, power relations, intertextuality, and ideological strategies (encoding). The analysis shows that Permendikdasmen Number 10 of 2025 concerning the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile is a discourse predominantly produced by the state through formal and centralized administrative legal mechanisms.

Institutionally, text production is controlled by the state through the role of the Minister of Primary and Secondary Education and the Directorate General of Legislation, Ministry of Law of the Republic of Indonesia. This confirms the state's position as an authoritative speaker with structural legitimacy in determining national education standards. Discourse production occurs hierarchically without the direct involvement of non-state actors such as teachers, students, or the community, indicating the exclusion of social actors from the formation of policy meaning.

From a mechanistic perspective, legalization through the State Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia establishes this discourse as a binding institutional truth. This legal legitimacy serves as an ideological strategy to normalize the formulated values and competencies, so that they are no longer viewed as policy choices but as normative standards that must be implemented. Thus, legal-formal mechanisms act as instruments of power that reinforce the vertical relationship between the state and educational subjects.

This power relationship is also reflected in the state's monopoly on the definition of the "ideal graduate." Values and competencies in eight dimensions are constructed through institutional authority without an open public deliberation process. This practice demonstrates a form of authorization, where the legitimacy of meaning originates from state authority, thus appearing objective and universal, while in fact being the result of a specific ideological construct. The policy narrative conveyed through official media further reinforces this position by framing the policy as an urgent need and a solution for the future.

Furthermore, the production of discourse has intertextual links with previous policies, particularly Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and

Technology Regulation No. 5 of 2022. The shift from the "Pancasila Student Profile" to the "8-Dimensional Graduate Profile" indicates a process of discourse rearticulation, not a radical ideological shift. The state maintains the continuity of character education values while adjusting terminology to maintain relevance in the evolving socio-political context.

Furthermore, ideological strategies in discourse production are evident through the encoding process (Hall, 1980), namely the packaging of policies within narratives such as "strengthening," "adjustment," and "future competencies." This narrative frames policies as rational responses to global challenges while normalizing public acceptance. Consequently, the space for critical reading is limited because the discourse has been legally, institutionally, and symbolically legitimized since the production stage.

Thus, the practice of producing the 8-dimensional graduate profile discourse is not merely administrative but also an ideological practice that affirms state dominance in defining the direction of national education and shaping students according to desired value constructs.

The distribution of the Graduate Competency Standards (SKL) policy discourse and the 8-dimensional graduate profile occurs through various, multi-layered and interconnected channels, including formal regulations, bureaucratic mechanisms, pedagogical tools, professional spaces, digital media, and public discourse. Each channel serves not only as a medium for disseminating texts but also as a state strategy to ensure the internalization and reproduction of policies at various levels of educational practice.

First, regulatory distribution is carried out through the establishment of Ministerial Regulation Number 10 of 2025 as a nationally binding legal product. In this context, distribution functions as a mechanism of structural coercion, where the state monopolizes interpretive authority and establishes the SKL as a normative standard that must be followed. Policy discourse is positioned as "official truth" that requires no additional legitimacy, thus limiting the space for alternative curricula. This process reflects what Fairclough calls the naturalization of power, namely, domination institutionalized through seemingly objective regulations.

Second, bureaucratic distribution is realized through circulars, technical instructions, and implementation guides. At this stage, discourse undergoes a transformation from a normative form to an operational form that is procedural and measurable. Bureaucratic channels function as institutional disciplinary mechanisms that place the Ministry of Education and Culture in a position to The institution

serves as the center of authority and educational units as implementers. As a result, the space for critical interpretation is increasingly limited because policies are presented in the form of instructions that must be followed.

Third, pedagogical distribution occurs through the integration of graduate profiles into the curriculum, learning outcomes, and teaching modules. At this stage, policy values undergo a process of ideological naturalization, where they are presented as reasonable and universal pedagogical goals. Through daily learning practices, discourse is internalized by teachers and students, thus forming a pedagogical habitus. From Fairclough's perspective, this condition demonstrates the process of internalization of discourse, where discourse is not only understood but also shapes social practice.

Fourth, professional distribution occurs through teacher training, technical guidance, and learning communities. Policy discourse is reproduced through the language of professionalism and capacity building, thus appearing as the result of scientific consensus and best practices. This mechanism operates hegemonic because it uses persuasion based on scientific authority, rather than direct coercion, so that teachers indirectly reproduce policy ideology in their teaching practices.

Fifth, digital distribution occurs through official portals, learning platforms, and popular articles. Discourse is presented in simpler and more promotional formats, such as infographics and policy summaries. This simplification tends to depoliticize discourse by obscuring the power relations and ideological assumptions behind it. Thus, policies are perceived as neutral and progressive innovations, rather than as ideological constructs.

Sixth, public discursive distribution occurs through mass media and educational articles. The media acts as a mediator, framing policies as solutions to educational problems and the nation's future needs. This representation contributes to the formation of social consensus (manufactured consent), where policies are widely accepted without much room for criticism.

Overall, the distribution of discourse on the eight dimensions of graduate profiles demonstrates a systematic and mutually reinforcing multi-channel strategy. Regulation provides legal legitimacy, bureaucracy ensures compliance, pedagogy instills values in practice, professionalism strengthens scientific legitimacy, digital media expands reach, and public media builds consensus. Thus, the distribution of discourse is not simply a process of disseminating information, but an ideological practice that enables the state to shape the thinking and actions of educational actors effectively and sustainably.

From Fairclough's critical discourse analysis perspective, discourse consumption is understood as the process of textual meaning-making by social actors, occurring within the context of power relations and institutional practices. The eight-dimensional graduate profile text is not given a single meaning, but rather is interpreted, negotiated, and even debated by various educational actors. To analyze this variation, this study uses Stuart Hall's (1980) encoding-decoding model, which classifies responses into three positions: dominant, negotiated, and oppositional reading.

The analysis shows that oppositional readings emerged in the public sphere, particularly regarding the change from the Pancasila Student Profile (P5) to the eight-dimensional graduate profile. The emergence of the term "P7" as a misinterpretation indicates that the policy message was not fully received according to the state's intended framework of meaning. In this context, the public understands the change but interprets it through an alternative framework. This demonstrates that discourse consumption is active and can become an arena for contestation of meaning, necessitating clarification by the state to maintain the stability of the policy's meaning.

Conversely, at the educational unit level, a tendency toward dominant readings was found. Schools accepted and translated the eight dimensions of the graduate profile normatively into institutional practice without questioning their ideological foundations. In this case, schools act as agents of state discourse reproduction, where policies are internalized as pedagogical common sense. A similar pattern is also seen at the school managerial level, where policies are not merely adopted technically but also serve as the basis for aligning educational vision, mission, and goals. This indicates a deeper internalization, where policy discourse shapes the orientation and identity of educational institutions.

On the other hand, a negotiative reading is seen in educational practitioners who accept the policy framework but adapt its implementation to real-world conditions. Adaptation is achieved through pedagogical strategies such as project-based learning, reflection, and extracurricular activities. This pattern demonstrates that discourse consumption is not mechanical, but rather involves a process of adjustment between policy demands and the learner's reality.

Furthermore, empirical findings indicate a reading that straddles the line between negotiation and opposition. Although teachers accept the policy normatively, its implementation faces various structural obstacles, such as limited resources, institutional readiness, and conceptual understanding. This situation suggests that resistance is not always ideological but can also arise from limited implementation capacity. From

Fairclough's perspective, this confirms that the effectiveness of a discourse is determined not only by its ideological strength but also by material and institutional support.

Overall, the consumption of the 8-dimensional graduate profile discourse demonstrates a diverse spectrum of readings, ranging from dominant, negotiative, to oppositional. This variation demonstrates that education policy is a dynamic discursive practice, continuously negotiated in interactions between the state, educational institutions, practitioners, and the public. Thus, educational ideology operates not only through the production and distribution of texts, but also through how these texts are understood, adapted, and practiced in the social reality of education.

### Dimensions of Social Practice

From Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, social practice positions education policy as part of a social structure that both reflects and reproduces power relations and ideology. The 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile in Ministerial Regulation Number 10 of 2025 functions not only as a pedagogical formulation, but also as an articulation of state ideology that integrates the demands of national development, globalization, and the formation of ideal citizens.

The data shows that policy discourse is produced within a hierarchical and top-down structure, where the state monopolizes the determination of graduate competency standards as mandatory "minimum criteria." This position places educational institutions as implementers, rather than dialogical actors, thus enabling education to function as an instrument of social regulation. The graduate profile becomes a symbolic means of defining the character of religious, rational, productive, and nationalistic citizens.

In terms of ideology and power, the change in terminology from "Pancasila Student Profile" to "Graduate Profile" indicates a shift in orientation from process to outcome. This reflects the penetration of technocratic logic into education, which emphasizes measurement, efficiency, and accountability. Through discursive strategies such as "strengthening" and "continuing," the state builds social consensus and normalizes policies as rational and unproblematic. In this context, education functions as an ideological state apparatus that reproduces dominant values through curriculum and evaluation.

Socio-historically, the 8-dimensional graduate profile represents a continuation of previous policies, adapted to global challenges. The interdiscursive nature of discourses on education, development, globalization, and nationalism demonstrates that this policy is not ahistorical but rather part of the state's ideological adaptation strategy. Institutionalization through

evaluation systems such as educational report cards reinforces the discourse's position as a mechanism of social control and reproduction.

Thus, the 8-dimensional graduate profile operates as an ideologically imbued social practice, which not only regulates learning but also shapes the identity, values, and direction of society.

The analysis of the textual dimensions, discursive practices, and social practices indicates that the 8-dimensional graduate profile is an ideological construction that operates systematically and hegemonic. Linguistically, the use of normative terms such as "mandatory" and "minimum criteria" serves as a mechanism for legitimizing state power in determining educational standards.

At the level of discursive practice, the production and distribution of discourse is centralized through regulations, bureaucracy, curriculum, teacher training, and digital media. This pattern creates a layered normalization that renders policy common sense, thus limiting the scope for criticism. Meanwhile, at the level of social practice, this policy constructs students as ideal subjects who are religious, rational, productive, and nationalistic within a development framework.

From the perspective of educational ideology, the findings reveal a hybrid configuration of conservatism and liberalism. The dimensions of faith and citizenship reflect moral conservatism and nationalism, while critical reasoning, creativity, and independence demonstrate a liberal orientation. However, this liberalism is limited (managed liberalism) because it remains within the framework of state control. Meanwhile, aspects of health and communication demonstrate the regulation of behavior and discourse as a form of social control.

Overall, the dominant ideology can be formulated as Pancasila-based technocratic nationalism, a combination of religious and national values with an orientation toward productivity, rationality, and global adaptation. Within this framework, education serves as a strategic instrument for the state to shape obedient, adaptive, and productive subjects according to development needs.

These findings confirm that education policy is not neutral but rather imbued with ideological interests. Therefore, critical awareness is needed to ensure that education is not merely a tool for ideological reproduction but also opens up space for pedagogical reflection and emancipation.

## Implications

Based on the overall analysis of the textual dimensions, discursive practices, and social practices,

this study confirms that the 8-Dimensional Graduate Profile in Permendikdasmen Number 10 of 2025 cannot be understood simply as a technical pedagogical document, but rather as a structured, systematic, and hegemonic articulation of state educational ideology.

At the linguistic level, the dominance of normative terms such as "minimal criteria," "mandatory," and "must have" indicates that policy language functions not only as an instrument of administrative regulation but also as a symbolic mechanism for reinforcing state power relations in determining ideal educational standards. Language, in this context, plays an active role in shaping the construction of meaning about graduate success, quality, and identity.

At the discursive practice dimension, the production, distribution, and consumption of discourse occurs centrally through various channels formal regulations, educational bureaucracy, curriculum tools, professional training, as well as digital media and public spaces. This pattern demonstrates that policy discourse is not only disseminated but also normalized in layers until it becomes common sense in educational practice. Consequently, the space for critical interpretation at the educational unit level tends to narrow because the discourse has been institutionalized in evaluation, accreditation, and quality measurement systems.

In the social practice dimension, the eight-dimensional graduate profile functions as a state instrument in shaping ideal student subjects aligned with national development needs and global demands. Students are constructed as religious, rational, productive, adaptive, and nationalist individuals within a global framework. This emphasizes that education not only represents social values but also actively shapes students' social identities and orientations for action. Thus, education operates as a strategic arena for the reproduction of state ideology.

Furthermore, this research demonstrates a shift from a relatively fluid educational discourse to a more rigid and binding formalization. Compared with the previous discourse, which was more open to contestation, the eight-dimensional graduate profile reflects ideological consolidation through stricter standardization. Affirmative and normative policy language serves to quell resistance by presenting policies as rational, objective, and inevitable. In this context, power operates through normalization and consensus-building, rather than open conflict.

From an ideological classification perspective, this study found that the eight-dimensional graduate profile represents a hybrid ideological configuration. The dimensions of faith, citizenship, and health reflect conservative tendencies, while the dimensions of critical reasoning, creativity, independence, and

communication demonstrate a liberal orientation. This combination produces a conservative-liberal ideology integrated within a single policy framework.

Conceptually, this ideology can be formulated as Pancasila-based technocratic nationalism, a combination of religious and national values with an orientation toward productivity, efficiency, and global competitiveness. Within this framework, education is positioned as a strategic instrument of the state to shape subjects who are not only obedient and moral, but also adaptive and productive.

Ultimately, this study emphasizes that education policy is never neutral but always contains ideological content. Therefore, critical awareness is needed to ensure that education becomes not merely a tool for ideological reproduction but also a space for reflection and emancipation. However, this study's limitations lie in its predominantly document-based analysis and public discourse, which does not fully capture the empirical dynamics on the ground. This opens up opportunities for further, more contextual and practice-based research.

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