Analysis of Critical Discourse: The "Sekolah Rakyat" SRMA10 Eco-Social Innovation, A Solution For Indonesian Education

Erlina Puspitaloka Mahadewi[1*], Ayu Larasati[2], Elistia[2], Samudro Seto[3], Intan Silviana Mustikawati[4], Kamalia[5], Mohamad Reza Hilmy[6], Ratu Mulyanengsih[7]

[1*,2,3,4,5] Universitas Esa Unggul, Jakarta Indonesia
[6]Universitas Respati Indonesia (URINDO)
[7]Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas (SRMA) 10, Jakarta Indonesia
[*]Corresponding Author:
Email: erlina.puspitaloka@esaunggul.ac.id

Abstract.
The education gap in Indonesia remains a fundamental problem, especially for low-income or poor families. To address this issue, the government launched the Sekolah Rakyat Program as a strategy for eco-social educational equality that emphasizes inclusiveness and social justice. This study analyzes the discourse on Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas (SRMA) 10 Jakarta, Indonesia. The research in Jakarta, Indonesia, in 2026 uses Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which encompasses three dimensions: text analysis, discursive practice, and eco-social practice. Data was obtained through a documentary study of policy documents, online media coverage, and statements from school and government officials. In the social practice dimension, this program presents itself as a response to inequality and disparities in education while simultaneously creating a new social practice in the form of inclusive and dignified digital education in Indonesia. Critically, this study concludes that the Sekolah Rakyat Program is not only an education policy, but also an instrument of ideological legitimacy and political hegemony that shapes the narrative of a positive direction for educational equality in Indonesia. The results show that in the text dimension, the use of diction such as free and digital-based education builds the image of a friendly and inclusive nation. In the discursive practice dimension, discourse is produced and disseminated by the government through the media to strengthen the positive political legitimacy of its results.
Keywords: *critical discourse analysis, educational equity, inclusivity, power relations and sekolah rakyat.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Family economic conditions, income levels, parental occupations, and limited educational resources have been shown to influence student learning outcomes[1]. The reality in Indonesia shows serious disparities in the education sector, which are generally influenced by socioeconomic factors. Easy access to equitable education is believed to improve people's quality of life and open broader employment opportunities[2].

However, for families with low economic status, access to education is often hampered by school fees, the need for learning resources, transportation, and even nutritional intake. Education is a fundamental right of all Indonesian citizens and a crucial instrument for improving the quality of highly competitive human resources (HR). Children, as the next generation of the Indonesian nation, should receive a proper education to grow to their full potential. Furthermore, sociocultural factors also play a role, with children from poor families preferring to work to support the family economy rather than continue their education. This situation reinforces a cycle of poverty that is difficult to break if equitable access to education is not provided. To address these educational challenges, the Indonesian government introduced the Sekolah Rakyat Program as a strategy and solution to achieve educational equality.

This program is designed to provide free, digital-based, and dignified access to education for children from low-income families. The presence of Sekolah Rakyat is not merely a short-term solution, but rather a long-term investment in developing high-quality, inclusive, and globally competitive human resources [3].

From a public policy perspective, Sekolah Rakyat reflects the government's serious commitment to addressing educational disparities while simultaneously building political legitimacy through an image of siding with vulnerable communities. The discourse of free, digital, and inclusive education has become a crucial instrument for gaining public support and strengthening state legitimacy[4].

In this research, examining Sekolah Rakyat discourse is relevant not only to observe policy implementation but also to understand how language and discourse are produced, disseminated, and interpreted by the public. Several previous studies have addressed the issue of inclusive education and disparities in access to education. For example, research by [5] examines critical discourse analysis on the issue of the independent

curriculum, while research by[6]highlights Sekolah Rakyat as an inclusive education strategy for empowering marginalized communities. However, most of these studies have focused more on conceptual and macro-policy aspects, failing to deeply examine how Sekolah Rakyat discourse is produced, disseminated, and interpreted within Indonesia's contemporary socio-political context.

This research offers a novel approach by critically examining Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas (SRMA) 10 Jakarta policy discourse using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model [7], which is rarely applied to this new program. Unlike previous research that has focused more on conceptually inclusive education, this study highlights how language, power relations, and ideology shape the construction, dissemination, and social function of Sekolah Rakyat discourse.

The findings indicate that this program is not only an educational policy but also an instrument of political legitimacy and hegemony in constructing a narrative of educational equality at Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas (SRMA) 10 Jakarta, Indonesia. Based on this background and research gaps, this study aims to analyze the discourse of the Sekolah Rakyat Program in Jakarta as a strategy for educational equality in Indonesia using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach[8].

Thus, this research is expected to provide academic contributions to the development of educational policy discourse studies while providing a critical perspective on the dynamics of the implementation of the Sekolah Rakyat Program in Indonesia. The analysis focuses on three main dimensions: text analysis to examine the language choices and communication styles used; discursive practices to examine the process of discourse production and dissemination by the government and the media; and social practices to understand how discourse functions in the socio-political context and efforts to achieve educational equality[9], [10] .

II. METHODS

This research uses a qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This method was chosen because it can reveal the relationship between language, power, and social practices embodied in public policies, particularly those related to the Sekolah Rakyat Program[11].

This research uses a qualitative approach using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because this method has proven effective in exploring the relationship between language, power, and social practices in public policies such as Sekolah Rakyat Program[5].

Fairclough states that CDA combines three linguistic, interpretive, and sociological traditions by offering a three-dimensional analytical framework: text, discursive practice, and social practice. These three dimensions are dialectically interconnected and enable researchers to understand how language shapes and is shaped by social practices and power structures[3].

Several recent studies have utilized Fairclough's framework to analyze policy and education discourse in Indonesia. For example, Norman Fairclough applied Fairclough's CDA to a presidential speech regarding social structures, demonstrating the relationship between language and political imagery in public communication.

Furthermore, [12] used the same model to investigate the representation of the Directorate General of Taxes on social media, demonstrating the dynamics of public discourse and criticism through powerful discursive and social practices. Text analysis was conducted to examine linguistic elements within the discourse, such as word choice, sentence structure, style, and the use of metaphors that represent specific values or ideologies. Discursive Practice Analysis was used to examine the processes of discourse production, dissemination, and consumption.

In this context, the analysis focused on how the government, media, and policy actors produced and disseminated narratives about Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas 10 Jakarta, Indonesia, and how the public responded to this discourse. Social Practice Analysis focused on the discourse's relationship to the broader socio-political context[1]. At this stage, the research identified how Sekolah Rakyat discourse was influenced by conditions of educational inequality due to socio-economic factors, as well as how this policy sought to shape new social practices in the form of equitable inclusive education[7].

Data collection techniques used documentation and literature review. The research data were collected from official government documents, online media reports, and statements by officials regarding the People's

School Program. All data were then classified based on key themes relevant to the research objectives[13].

The object of the research was the discourse surrounding the Sekolah Rakyat Program, initiated by the Indonesian government as a strategy for equalizing education. The unit of analysis focused on the linguistic representation and policy narratives emerging in these texts.

Thus, this research not only examines how the Sekolah Rakyat Program was designed and communicated, but also examines how this discourse was produced, distributed, and interpreted within Indonesia's socio-political context, particularly in efforts to address disparities in educational access for children from low-income families[14].

Research Method Flowchart

To provide a clearer picture of the research steps, the research method flowchart is presented in diagram form in Fig.01 below. The diagram shows the stages, starting with the qualitative research approach and the use of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The data collection process includes documentation and literature review, the research data sources, and the analysis stage, which includes text analysis, discursive practices, and social practices. This chart also confirms that the focus of the research is on the discourse of the Sekolah Rakyat Program in the context of educational equality in Jakarta, Indonesia.

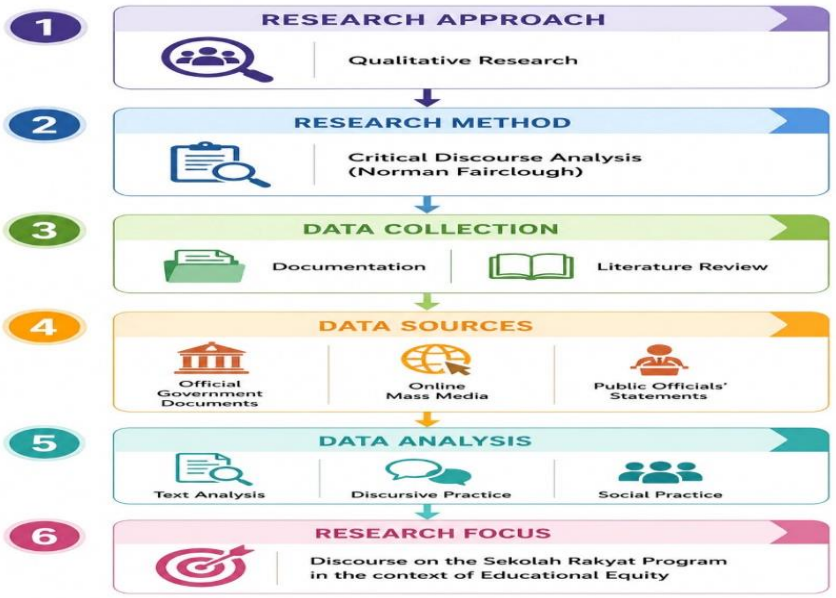

Fig. 1. Flowchart of Research Methods using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The implementation of this research community service was carried out in September to early October 2026. This activity was carried out with follow-up two months after the event, with team coordination with school members and lecturers, directed by the lecturers' team from Esa Unggul University, who were able to support the success of the activity. The parties involved are representatives of Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas 10 Jakarta, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the local community, and other universities.

To clarify the research findings, a critical discourse analysis of Sekolah Rakyat Programs is summarized in a table. The table above in **Fig. 2** below displays how the discourse is analyzed through Norman Fairclough's three main dimensions: text analysis, discursive practice, and social practice.

Practical Aspect	Findings	Description/Meaning of Discourse	Critical Aspect: Ideology/Power Relations
Text Analysis: Word Choice	The use of the terms "free education," "digital-based," and "honoring the underprivileged eco-	Creates the image of a program that is friendly, inclusive, and supports vulnerable	This diction is imbued with populist ideology: the state is positioned as the savior of the poor, building political legitimacy through neutral language.

	social"	communities as its primary beneficiaries.	
Text Analysis: Sentence Structure & Language Style	Clear, affirmative sentences and an engaging language style affirm the legitimacy of the policy and encourage public participation.	Strengthens the legitimacy of policy discourse and builds public support for Sekolah Rakyat program.	Affirmative language demonstrates the state's persuasive strategy, leading the public to accept the program positively, without sufficient room for criticism.
Discursive Practices of Discourse Production	Discourse is officially produced by the government and relevant officials through the media and digital platforms.	This demonstrates the state's complete control in shaping and regulating educational policy discourse for equitable access.	This demonstrates an asymmetrical power relationship: the state is the dominant actor, while society is merely the recipient of meaning
Discursive Practices of Dissemination and Reception of Discourse	Dissemination through media reports, social media, and public discussions. The public positively accepts it as an inclusive solution to educational inequality.	Ensures widespread acceptance of the discourse within the community and strengthens the program's legitimacy as a solution to educational inequality.	The dissemination of discourse through the media demonstrates state hegemony: the discourse is repeated to appear natural and difficult to question.
Social Practice	Background	Present discourse	Describes function

Fig. 2. The elemental composition of sampling sites.

Discursive Practices

This discourse is generated by the government and relevant officials, such as Mohammad Nuh's statement, which officially and strategically conveyed this program through media and digital platforms. The dissemination and acceptance of this discourse occur through media reports, social media, and public discussions[15] that position Sekolah Rakyat as an inclusive solution [16], [17].

In this discursive practice, Sekolah Rakyat discourse adapts to various public and educational policies, while considering how power relations operate, with the state as the primary actor providing educational services to underprivileged communities, while simultaneously managing the narrative to ensure widespread acceptance of the program. This demonstrates an asymmetrical power relationship, where the state plays a dominant role as a producer of meaning, while the public is positioned more as a consumer of discourse, expected to accept policies without adequate bargaining power.

Text Analysis

The elements such as friendly and empowering word choices, such as terms like "free education," "digital-based," and "honoring the underprivileged," are used to convey that this program is a fair and valuable solution for vulnerable groups. The use of clear sentences and an engaging style also contribute to affirming the legitimacy of the policy and encouraging the public to support and actively participate in the program[18] . These choices of diction are not neutral, but rather imbued with political ideology, as they construct the image of the state as the savior of the poor while simultaneously strengthening the legitimacy of power through populist language.

Social Practice

The program reflects the values of inclusivity and social justice and has the potential to transform social structures by opening more equitable and dignified access to education for vulnerable groups[19]. This discourse is not only influenced by Indonesia's socio-political context, which demands equal education, but also creates new social practices by transforming access to education for underprivileged families.

The concept of intertextuality also emerges, for example, by referring to the principles of inclusive education and sustainable human resource development as stipulated in various national policies[18].

However, this discourse of inclusivity also functions as an instrument of hegemony, with the government framing Sekolah Rakyat in line with global development agendas such as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) point 4: Quality Education, thus appearing progressive, even though deeper structural inequality remains[20].

In conclusion, Fairclough's three dimensions are interconnected and provide a comprehensive understanding of how Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas (SRMA) 10 in Jakarta, Indonesia, discourse is constructed, disseminated, and functions within a social context as an effort to equalize education for underprivileged or poor families [17]. Each dimension not only demonstrates linguistic findings and social context but also reveals the ideology and power relations hidden behind the policy language.

The final table in **Fig. 3** below demonstrates the relationship between language, discourse production, and the socio-political impacts resulting in efforts to equalize and resolve educational disparities in Indonesia.

Practical Aspect	Findings	Description/Meaning ɔurse	Critical Aspect: Ideology/Power Relations
Social Context	Inequality in access to education due to socio-economic factors in Indonesia.	As a state response to the problem of educational inequality experienced by the underprivileged and poor.	Discourse as a tool to legitimize state policies to mask the roots of structural inequality.
New Social Practices & Social Values	Creating new ways to access free, digital-based education. Prioritizing the values of inclusivity, eco-social justice, and educational equality.	Promoting social transformation by expanding equal access to education and building a more just social order.	Inclusivity is positioned as a hegemonic strategy: policies are aligned with the global agenda (SDG 4: Quality Education), thus appearing progressive even though structural inequities persist.

Fig. 3. Source: Research Results Data, 2026

IV. CONCLUSION

SRMA 10 Jakarta Indonesia as one of Sekolah Rakyat Program is a government strategy to address inequality and address the challenges of access to education due to socio-economic factors. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) shows that, in the textual dimension, the use of diction such as free and digital-based education builds a positive, inclusive image of the country.

In the discursive practice dimension, discourse is produced and disseminated by the Indonesian government through the media to strengthen political legitimacy. Meanwhile, in the social practice dimension, this program is a response to educational injustice, while simultaneously shaping new social practices that emphasize inclusivity. Thus, Sekolah Rakyat Program is not merely an educational policy, but also an instrument of ideological legitimacy and political hegemony, with a positive direction from the Indonesian government.

The final phase focuses on institutionalization. The team has facilitated the drafting of Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) for managing the Eco-Social Hub and advocated for the program's integration into the School Activity and Budget Plan (RKAS). Additionally, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was already signed between SRMA 10 South Jakarta and local administrative bodies (Kelurahan and RW) to ensure a sustainable collaborative ecosystem beyond the program's initial run. Participation by SRMA 10 South Jakarta is active and equitable.

During the socialization and training phases, the school provided facilities, allocated school hours, and

mobilized the school community. For the technology implementation phase, the school provided the physical space for the Eco-Social Hub and network infrastructure support. Regarding sustainability, the Principal and the School Committee have committed to independently allocating School Operational Assistance or Committee funds for the maintenance of the Smart Waste Bank and the operation of the Eco-Social Clinic.

Evaluation is conducted using a mixed-methods approach. Quantitative indicators are measured via eco-social literacy pre- and post-tests, dashboard data, and eco-anxiety psychometric scales. Qualitative indicators are assessed through Most Significant Change (MSC) narratives from teachers and students.

Sustainability in the field is secured through the establishment of an "Eco-Social Task Force" comprising teachers from various subjects and Student Council members formalized by a Principal's Decree; this ensures the program continues despite changes in school leadership or Student Council composition.

V. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The team authors would like to thank Universitas Esa Unggul, Jakarta, Indonesia, for providing academic support in the preparation of this article. We also extend our gratitude to our colleagues and students who provided valuable input throughout the research process. All assistance, support, and cooperation were invaluable to the completion of this research.

Furthermore, we extend our appreciation to those who provided data and references related to Sekolah Rakyat Menengah Atas (SRMA) 10 Jakarta, Indonesia policy, enabling this research to be carried out smoothly and implemented effectively in Jakarta, Indonesia.

REFERENCES

[1] Erlina Puspitaloka Mahadewi, Mohamad Reza Hilmy, Intan Silviana Mustikawati, Suryari Purnama, and Arman Harahap, "Improved Learning of the Healthy Living Community Movement During the Pandemic for Budi Cendekia Islamic School Students," ***International Journal Of Community Service,*** vol. 1, no. 2, 2021, doi: 10.51601/ijcs. v1i2.29.

[2] R. M. Sihombing, "Pengaruh Model Pembelajaran Case Based Learning Terhadap Kemampuan Menulis Teks Berita Siswa Kelas XI SMK Swasta YWKA Medan Tahun Pembelajaran 2023/2024," ***Pedagogika: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Kependidikan,*** vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 238–245, Nov. 2023, doi: 10.57251/ped.v3i2.1297.

[3] E. Munfarida, "ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS DALAM PERSPEKTIF NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH," *KOMUNIKA: **Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi***, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 1–19, Jan. 1970, doi: 10.24090/komunika. v8i1.746.

[4] A. O. Safitri, V. D. Yunianti, and D. Rostika, "Upaya Peningkatan Pendidikan Berkualitas di Indonesia: Analisis Pencapaian Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)," *Jurnal Basicedu*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 7096–7106, Jun. 2022, doi: 10.31004/basicedu. v6i4.3296.

[5] E. S. B. Barus, J. C. Manik, L. S. Siahaan, N. Nuraini, and F. Lubis, "ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS MODEL NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH PADA LAMAN BABAD.ID TENTANG PERGANTIAN KE KURIKULUM MERDEKA," *IdeBahasa*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 111–118, Jun. 2023, doi: 10.37296/idebahasa. v5i1.122.

[6] I. S. Mustikawati, E. Puspitaloka, I. M. Abna, M. Asmirajanti, and Muniroh, "Peningkatan Pengetahuan dan Sikap mengenai Perilaku Hidup Bersih dan Sehat melalui Upaya Promosi Kesehatan di Sekolah," ***Jurnal Abdimas***, vol. 7, no. 3, 2021.

[7] N. H. Hakim, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough pada Video YouTube Zulfan Lindan 'Unpacking Indonesia,'" ***PRASASTI: Journal of Linguistics,*** vol. 10, no. 1, p. 104, May 2025, doi: 10.20961/prasasti. v10i1.97189.

[8] M. , & M. A. A. Norman Fairclough Hajrah, "Analisis Wacana Kritis pada Pidato Presiden Tahun 2022. ," ***https://e-journal.my.id/onoma***, vol. 10, no. 1, 2022.

[9] E. Puspitaloka Mahadewi, S. Purnama, F. Tamzil, I. Silviana Mustikawati, M. Reza Hilmy, and D. Nurmawaty, "Family Communication Literacy Education and Social Marketing in Health Center West Java Indonesia," ***International Journal Of Community Service,*** vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 219–226, Aug. 2023, doi: 10.51601/ijcs.v3i3.204.

[10] E. Puspitaloka Mahadewi, I. Silviana Mustikawati, M. Reza Hilmy, Z. Zairil, S. Sukardi, and A. Harahap, "Education And Strengthening Of Al Chasanah Students In Preventing Hiv/Aids Among Youth**," *International Journal Of Community Service***, vol. 3, no. 3, 2023, doi: 10.51601/ijcs.v3i3.211.

[11] A. Amini Faskhodi and M. Siyyari, "Dimensions of Work Engagement and Teacher Burnout: A Study of Relations among Iranian EFL Teachers," ***Australian Journal of Teacher Education,*** vol. 43, no. 1, pp. 78–93, Jan. 2018, doi: 10.14221/ajte.2018v43n1.5.

[12] V. , R. M. , & S. K. A. Anggriyani, "Analisis Wacana Kritis Fairclough Terhadap Representasi Ditjen Pajak dalam Tagar **," *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan*,** vol. 10, no. 13, pp. 757–765, 2024.

[13] sulistyo basuki, "Metode Peneltian," 2006.

[14] M. Hillebrecht, S. Klonner, R. Sauerborn, A. Sié, and A. Souares, "The Demand for Health Insurance in a Poor Economy: Evidence from Burkina Faso," Econ. Dev. Cult. Change, vol. 69, no. 4, pp. 1273–1300, Jul. 2021, doi: 10.1086/706341.

[15] R. Khana, M. M. Singh, F. Damanhoori, and N. Mustaffa, "Investigating the importance of implementing ethical value on a healthcare system within a social media context," ***International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change,*** vol. 12, no. 5, 2020.

[16] E. Puspitaloka Mahadewi *et al.*, "Inequality of Thought (IOT) on HIV-Aids and LGBT Through Social Media: A Case Study Gen Z in JPC Foundation," ***International Journal of Health and Pharmaceutical (IJHP)***, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 26–30, Feb. 2025, doi: 10.51601/ijhp.v5i1.401.

[17] M. del C. Alarcón, A. Rialp, and J. Rialp, "The Effect of Social Media Adoption on Exporting Firms' Performance," in Entrepreneurship in International Marketing, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2015, pp. 161–186. doi: 10.1108/S1474-797920140000025007.

[18] J. O. Plekhova and M. V. Prokhorova, "SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENTS OF THE YOUNG ENTREPREUNER TRAINING SCHOOL," V mire nauchnykh otkrytiy, 2015, doi: 10.12731/wsd-2015-5.7-20.

[19] M. Wiharto, E. Puspitaloka Mahadewi, J. Maratis, and A. Firmansyah, "Disease Transmission Prevention Management of Washing Hands with Soap for Students: Case Study at the University of Jakarta, Indonesia," ***International Journal of Science, Technology & Management,*** vol. 4, no. 5, 2023, doi: 10.46729/ijstm.v4i5.849.

[20] D. A. D. P. dan D. [1] E. P. Mahadewi, "Health Promotion Healthy Behavior and Religiosity on Sustainable Marketing Of Healthcare Services," ***The Seybold Report Journal (TSRJ) ,*** vol. 17, no. 9, pp. 501–513, Sep. 2022.