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The Invasion of Globalization to Higher Education: The Critical Discourse Study of Emancipated Learning Policy

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Abstract

This study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore the argumentation strategies or Topoi analyses used to justify the importance of the Emancipated Learning Policy (Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka/MBKM) in response to the globalization of education. The discourse of globalization of education around the world, including in Indonesia, has been a topic of growing concern that attracts researchers and academics. In the context of Indonesia, this country deserves a close look since globalization has shaped and reshaped the education policy and practices, as well as enforced the shift of higher education curriculum. Besides unfolding the argumentation strategies utilized by the government to legitimize the policy, the study sheds new light on an alternative analysis to comprehend the marketization of higher education in Indonesia. The topoi analysis was used to identify how globalization shapes the policy and how the national authority discursively justifies the claim of its importance. By analyzing topos of urgency utilized in policy texts and the minister's speech, the findings reveal that the presence of globalization invasion in the policy is evident, as identified in the following arguments, namely 'link and match', 'quick change', 'competitiveness', and 'collaboration'. These findings convincingly show that the education policy and its implementation should be

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advanced to match the global values of globalization, which is expected to bring a positive impact to national education, especially in the higher education context.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, globalization, global education, Indonesian emancipated learning policy, public policy.

1. INTRODUCTION

Policy documents have been one of the many objects of analysis in critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013; Mulderrig et al., 2019). In discourse and social studies, the change in attitude and behavior toward a particular policy is determined by the shift in discourse. In this context, the establishment of a new policy on curriculum signifies a change in its discourse. Before issuing the new one, policymakers need to construct a new discourse to justify and legitimize why such a new policy needs to be implemented. As it should be different from the old one, policymakers need to add and remove certain information, statements, or arguments to explain why the old one should be changed or modified, and what essential aspects need to be added and highlighted. All these aspects influence the establishment of new discourse and new policy.

One of the key elements in the discourse shift of policy is how policymakers strategically present certain arguments. These arguments are deliberately employed to emphasize the urgency of implementing a new policy. This change in discourse can be discursively conveyed by highlighting the urgency of the policy through the use of an argumentation strategy called *topoi*. According to Wodak (2001, p. 74), “*topoi*, within argumentation theory, can be described as parts of argumentation which belongs to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument(s) to the conclusion or claim.” These *topoi* are the argumentative strategies used to justify the transition from the argument(s) to the conclusion (Wodak, 2001) or aim to secure “the transition from an argument to a conclusion” (Žagar, 2010, p. 5). From the speaker’s point of view, both persuasion and manipulation involve an attempt on the part of the speaker to influence the judgments, decisions, and actions of the audience (Reisigl & Wodak, 2015; van Dijk, 2015). Most studies agree that *topoi* are strategies of argument utilized to persuade people with the best conclusions or promises they offer (Hasan, 2020).

Topoi analysis focuses on finding out the use of *topos* of urgency as one of the types of *topoi* that are mainly utilized to analyze policy texts and talks. It identifies strategies or argumentation used to justify political actions and policies. The type of *topoi* examines how certain power holders, e.g., governments (national or local) or policymakers, make particular statements to justify the urgency of policymaking. Besides argumentative strategy, the use of this *topos* can also be identified in the use of the following words, such as urgency/urgent, important/importance, necessary/necessity, essential, and substantial, to justify certain claims and actions.

This study identifies the *topoi* or argumentative strategies used in texts produced and disseminated by officials of the Indonesian Ministry of Education in addressing the influence of worldwide globalization on the practice of higher education in Indonesia. As a global superstructure above the national and local schooling systems (Spring, 2009), globalization directly and indirectly forces many nations to adapt to compete in the global economy. Indonesia is no exception. The Indonesian national government has attempted to respond to this globalization through a series of curriculum innovations and shifts. The latest curriculum is the launch of the policy on the implementation of the MBKM (Merdeka Belajar-Kampus Merdeka) policy since 2020, which is then translated as Emancipated Learning.

The Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek) launched a ministerial regulation that then influenced how universities set their curriculum, organize their academic activities, and restructure their management. The policy has fundamentally changed the attitude and behaviors of universities and forced them to reorganize

and refocus their purpose, vision, curriculum, and teaching and learning practices. Following this new policy, the government encourages universities, either public or private, to implement it. Some workshops and seminars were conducted to transfer knowledge and skills and to enforce lower-level policies in universities.

As this new policy has a significant impact on the practices of higher education in Indonesia, some studies have tried to elaborate it from many different perspectives, for example, on students' rights (Krishnapatria, 2021); students' learning creativity (Rajagukguk et al., 2022); constraints in its implementation (Pratikno et al., 2022); collaborative learning model (Alimuddin et al., 2022); and its implementation in the level of department (Isnaniah & Kurniawan, 2022; Zakiyyah et al., 2021).

However, studies examining the link between the global economic demands of globalization and emancipated learning policy remain underdeveloped. The ways in which the global narrative of globalization was translated, transformed, and presented by Indonesian authorities in educational policy have received little attention. By analyzing recent shifts in Indonesian educational policy, particularly the implementation of the MBKM program, it appears that these changes are influenced or driven by global values that urge national education systems to adapt to and adopt such values. This study addresses this question: How is the presence of globalization in Indonesian education argumentatively presented and justified in recent shifts in educational policy? This question is significant, as educational policy has a profound impact on educational practices, which in turn shape broader social practices within Indonesian society.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Globalization of Education

The impact of globalization on education around the world has led to changes and shifts in policy at the national and local levels of a country. Globalization has shaped and reshaped the organization, management, curriculum, and teaching and learning practices in higher education institutions. In the context of higher education, globalization has forced the restructuring to cope with its impact on education (Altbach, 2001). Many evidences have succinctly and convincingly revealed that this neo-liberal economy influences the development and management of national education in many countries.

Besides globalization of education (Spring, 2012), the invasion of globalization to national education is identified in various terms such as marketization of higher education (Kheovichai, 2014) and globalized education (Samier, 2015). Other similar terms are university transformation driven by marketization (Foskett, 2011, p. 26), globalizing systems of schooling (Gupta, 2018), market ethos colonizing higher education discourse (Xiong, 2012) and the invasion of corporate discourse to universities (Han, 2014). The essential reason forced by globalization is that education should play a crucial role in economic development (Brown, 2011) and prepare labor for participation in the economy (Torres, 2002).

Globalization of education refers to a worldwide discourse, including discussions, processes, and institutions, affecting the policies and practices of education at the local levels (Spring, 2009). It is a global view on the structure, management, and institutionalization that shape the practices of education at the country level. This view enforces the adaptation of education to the development of, for example, free trade, global market, global economy, in which education should take an important role to support the continuity and stability of neoliberalism (Brown, 2011). The talk about the importance of education to meet the needs of the global economy began in the 1990s, and this signifies the insertion of the term globalization into the discourse of education or schooling. According to Spring (2012, p. 140), 'globalization of education refers to the worldwide discussions, processes and institutions affecting local educational practices and policies.' The current management and reorganization of higher education could not be separated from the globalization of education and the global demand for economic growth.

Currently, there is ‘an increasing global uniformity of educational goals, organization and curriculum’ (Spring, 2012, p. 139), which is enforced by human capital ideology and consumerist economics. The ideology is supported by multinational corporations such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in promoting the education management and the capital model of education to support the continuity and the survival of globalization and meet the needs of the global economy. At the same time, the World Trade Organization (WTO) would provide a regulatory framework to encourage international trade in education and service-related industries (Altbach & Knight, 2007).

With this globalization, the educational values such as autonomy, freedom, and independence from sociopolitical influences have been shifted to serve economic interests (Xiong, 2012). It is undeniable that the management and reorganization of higher education are becoming business-like. According to Fairclough (1993), globalization has forced a change in the discursive practices of higher education. Education should produce ‘products’ which adapt to market needs. This marketization of education can also be identified in how universities reorganize their management through investments.

Universities should be able to organize financial resources to cover the costs of their daily management. They also do promotions and advertising. Xiong (2012) views this as the genre of advertisement for academic posts to attract students, where, in this case, they are viewed as customers (Williams, 2011). According to Han (2014), although the invasion of corporate discourse is important to establish academics’ professional identities, it may have a negative impact on academic integrity and creativity.

In line with this view, higher education should be able to be competitive and actively participate in providing workers or human resources that are skillful and knowledgeable as required by the global market. Education should meet the needs of the global economy (Spring, 2009). Consequently, higher education should modify and set up its goals and curriculum to support this demand. There should be a match between education and its graduates with the market demand. In this case, the education sector should be able to provide laborers who have the skills and competencies required by the business and labor market (Al-Hattami, 2021; Maali & Al-Attar, 2020).

2.2 Globalization of Education in the Indonesian Context

Different countries may have different ways of adopting and adapting globalization into their national and local education policies. Likewise, the impact of globalization on educational practices may also vary. In this context, the national government attempts to translate the global phenomena of education, globalization, and the marketization of education into national and local policies. This is influenced by some internal factors and the potential benefits of adoption and adaptation for the country and its people. This arouses a debate on whether adapting globalization into national and local policies and its influence on educational practices have positive or negative impacts.

According to Nurwahidah (2019), globalization has brought a positive impact on Indonesian education in terms of changing characteristics to be more competitive in the global world and adjusting its curriculum to prepare qualified human resources to meet international standards. In line with quality human resources, the Indonesian government plans to achieve a new level of economic development that corresponds to the growth of the global economy by prioritizing access to education and employment issues. Globalizing education in Indonesia is viewed as the strategy to “move toward a knowledge-based economy to establish high-quality education to prepare a highly skilled workforce ensuring fast economic growth” (Kryrychenko, 2018, p. 160).

Another strategy to adopt globalization in national education is by adjusting it to the constitution and institutional capacity. The term ‘glocalization’ refers to how the Indonesian government accommodates the global economy and marketization and adjusts it with the capacity and internal needs to get benefits from it (Jannah, 2018). This glocalization can be identified in the forms of, for example, the opening of international classes using bilingualism, providing

scholarships for overseas study, and student exchange. This process of internationalization of higher education requires a shift in policy and educational practices.

In the level of curriculum, the presence of globalization and how Indonesian education should adapt can be found in The Curriculum 2013. This curriculum was developed as a response to internal and external challenges. From the external point of view, for example, the acknowledgment of English as a compulsory subject at every level of education is salient evidence. According to Phillipson (2001), from the colonial to the post-colonial era, English has been used and developed to serve the interests of Western countries that promote globalization and neo-liberalism to maintain their power over other countries, not only in terms of economy but also in all aspects of life, including education. It is claimed that to be better involved in globalization, students should be prepared with English competence. English has been a dominant language in interpreting the global world. It is developed and taught as the language of international businesses (Spring, 2009). Consequently, those who want to be successful in the global world should improve their English, primarily in writing skills. It is also associated with the growth of globalization, where Indonesia is a part of this world system and some other current international issues. The curriculum was developed to prepare Indonesia to have a better involvement and earn profit in some global matters.

The newly launched policy of emancipated learning is no exception. The policy was launched in 2020, and it immediately influenced higher education, both in public and private universities, to adapt and change their organization, management, and practice. The policy is a new set of Indonesian curriculum developed and implemented as the government's strategy to keep renewing the curriculum and to bring higher education into a better adaptation of current global and national demands. It is a new policy that enforces reorganization and sets new goals for higher education.

Based on the review of these previous studies, it is undeniable that globalization has been present and influenced the practices of education in Indonesia. Instead of rejecting globalization, the national authority accepts this worldwide discourse and adapts it to the local needs and challenges the country faces. As the flow of globalization is dynamic and proposes quick change in its system and structure, the authority should conform to this dynamic and enforce the change of interpretation, policy, and practices of education at all levels.

3. METHOD

This study is a critical discourse analysis (CDA) study in nature. It has been utilized to unravel how policy texts are used to justify certain ideologies or political interests of policymakers and authorities. Wodak (2001) and Fairclough (2003) state that CDA is an approach that can effectively be used to reveal how particular ideology is represented through discourse, in which the discourse is deliberately selected to justify a particular interest. Wodak (2001) then argues that this critical approach is an effective means to find out why certain arguments presented in certain texts (including policy texts) are selected and justified over other arguments.

Following this theoretical framework, the current study employs topoi analysis, specifically the topos of urgency. It explores the arguments presented by the national education authority to justify the urgency of the emancipated learning policy in Indonesian higher education. The analytical approach is used to examine how globalization, as a global ideology, influences and reshapes the Indonesian emancipated learning policy.

In topos of urgency, the argumentative strategies are utilized in texts to justify a certain claim in a way that "decisions or actions need to be drawn/found/done very quickly because of an external, important, and unchangeable event beyond one's reach and responsibility" (Hasan, 2020, p. 129). The external, important, and unchangeable event that happens quickly then forces the national authority to make rapid changes in policy and institutions, including in education. This can be identified primarily in various arguments in written and spoken discourses. Therefore, the analysis focuses on identifying the arguments presented by authority in texts or talks, along with the factors underlying them. These arguments are deliberately used to justify the claim that

an emancipated learning policy is urgently needed in the current situation of Indonesian education.

The texts analyzed are (1) *Panduan Penyusunan Kurikulum Pendidikan Tinggi di Era Industri 4.0 untuk Mendukung Merdeka Belajar-Kampus Merdeka* [Guidelines for Developing Higher Education Curricula in the Industry 4.0 Era to Support Emancipated Learning Policy] (Data 1: D1) published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Research and Technology in 2020, and (2) official speech (Data 2: D2) delivered by Nadiem Makarim (the Minister of Education and Culture, Research and Technology), presenting the importance of emancipated learning policy. Kemendikbud RI posted this the speech on YouTube entitled *Merdeka Belajar Episode 2: Kampus Merdeka* [Emancipated Learning Policy Episode 2] (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xoQSlZSUUhI>).

These texts were selected in this study because they are the main discourses representing the importance of the the emancipated learning policy (*Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka*/MBKM) policy to be issued and implemented. They are official documents that consist of some explanations and justifications about the urgency of the policy. This then provides guidance for universities, both public and private, on how to set out higher education curricula, restructure their management, reorganize the teaching-learning process, and reach learning goals. It also contains the government's reasons and arguments why MBKM is urgently needed as the national government's response to the change in the global situation. Therefore, these texts must be analyzed to identify how the national government justifies the urgency of the MBKM policy to respond to pressing global demands of globalization through various argumentative strategies.

Both texts mentioned are written and spoken in Bahasa Indonesia. In finding the data suitable for the analysis, the authors selected the most appropriate arguments justifying the urgency of the policy, and these arguments are presented in the forms of both lexical [words] and grammatical [phrases, clauses, or sentences]. These lexical and grammatical constructions elaborate on the reasons why the policy was urgently needed, the strategies developed, and the real actions carried out to reach the policy goals.

Before selecting the arguments, the written texts were carefully read, while the spoken texts were transcribed. The data excerpt in written text was shown on the page where the argument was presented. The data excerpt presented in a talk or speech is shown in minutes. Because the data were provided in Bahasa Indonesia, the authors then translated the data excerpts into English using semantic translation. This method is more focused on the source text. It was used to accurately capture the real meaning of statements or arguments in the source texts and gave close attention to the meaning maintenance. This method was selected in this study to guarantee the maintenance of the real meaning of the source text and to carefully avoid free translation that could lead to the bias of meaning.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In topos of urgency, the government takes a decision or action in making or shifting a new curriculum policy due to the existence or force of external factor. This external factor is an aspect beyond government control on the one hand, and there is a need to adapt with this external force to avoid loss and take some benefit from it on the other hand. The policymakers provide an argumentative justification to support their claim of why they need to do so.

In developing a policy, policymakers provide an argumentative justification to support their claim of why they need to do so. In the case of the emancipated learning policy in Indonesia, the authorities, through various text genres such as speeches and written documents, needed to reveal the policy's urgency, and this should be discursively justified. They argued that, for example, the current policy no longer worked properly and was not adaptive to face the future challenges.

Further, these authorities need to convince the readers that the policy is of high importance and should be taken quickly. This aims at persuading the public that the policy is required to appropriately respond to any challenges and external factors that may provide challenges. In this case, besides preventing losses due to globalization, the national government needed to provide the

proper response to capitalize on globalization by restructuring and changing the practices of education. Based on the framework of topoi analysis, the study found some justifying arguments to reveal the urgency of emancipated learning policy, i.e., quick change, link and match, competition, and collaboration.

4.1 Urgency 1: Quick Change

The rapid shift in the global economics, driven by globalization, affects the processes of production, consumption, and investment (Spring, 2012). This then enforces the changes in political, cultural, and educational domains, including the schooling system. One of the reasons presented by some national authorities in responding to globalization is that there is a need to respond to this change appropriately. As this global demand may bring a negative impact on countries, the national authority should bring the positive effects of globalization that may contribute to the state. In this case, the government can enable education to engage in the international commodities market (Samier, 2015, p. 696). This makes sense as education and its institutions can play a significant role in supporting national and global economic activities by developing curriculum, teaching various courses, and training to create, for instance, skilled workers.

In the context of Indonesian education, the current change in educational policy and practice is caused by the inability of national education to adapt to this quick global change. This is evident from the low absorption of university graduates into the job market. Therefore, the shift in policy should be quickly undertaken. The justification of this new policy in properly responding to the quick change was identified in the speech delivered by the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, Nadiem Makarim, as shown in Excerpt (1):

- (1) *Pendidikan di Indonesia harus menjadi ujung tombak yang bergerak tercepat, karena dia begitu dekat dengan dunia pekerjaan. Dia harus berinovasi tercepat dari semua unit pendidikan, karena harus adaptif dan selalu berubah dengan lincah namun situasinya saat ini tidak seperti itu.* (D2,min. 2:05-2:33)
[Education in Indonesia should be **the fastest moving** spearhead because it is so close to the job market. It has to be **quickly innovating**. It has to **be adaptive and move with agility**. However, the current situation (of education) is not on this track. (D2, min. 2:05-2:33)]

The salient argumentative strategy of Indonesian educational authorities can be identified in the following phrases: ‘fastest moving’, ‘quickly innovating’, and ‘be adaptive’. These phrases were deliberately selected to reveal the urgency of emancipated learning policy as the government’s strategy to benefit from the global market. Further, the urgency of the policy was then discursively reinforced through the statement: ‘However, the current situation (of education) is not on this track’. It can be argued that the old policy was no longer fully reliable in meeting the globalization demand, which could result in Indonesia losing the opportunity. The argumentative strategy above implies two meanings: besides enforcing the change of management and the practices of higher education, the emancipated learning policy would accelerate the process of adaptation of Indonesian education to globalization.

The strategic efforts promoted by the ministry were by creating a new curriculum and opening new study programs in universities. This was a response to the growing demand for skilled labor in the global job market. The Indonesian minister’s argumentation presented in Excerpt (2) confirms this burden or ‘responsibility’.

- (2) *Menciptakan mata kurikulum baru dan prodi baru....untuk menjawab kebutuhan industri yang selalu berubah....* (D2, min. 4:07-4:26)
[Creating new curriculum and new study program...to respond **the ever-changing industrial needs**.... (D2, min. 4:07-4:26)]

Additionally, the argument above implies that education should be responsive to industrial needs. As this industrial demand requires a certain standard of ability and qualification, education should adjust itself to meet the requirements set out by industries. There would be new skills needed, especially in information and technology (IT), accounting, and digital technology. To

address this, educational institutions should make changes in all aspects, including their curriculum, management, and teaching and learning practices. Through this policy, the Ministry of Education gave flexibility and autonomy to both public and private accredited universities to establish new study programs to satisfy future needs (particularly industrial needs).

4.2 Urgency 2: Link and Match

Another salient argument justifying the emancipated learning policy is the need to prepare university graduates with skills and knowledge that are applicable to market jobs. Educational practices should align with the global job demands. Higher education institutions should ensure that their graduates are well-suited for the workforce in industry or corporations. The term ‘link and match’ explicitly delivers a message that educational practices, including courses and curriculum development, class management, and teaching and learning processes, should all link student achievement with future jobs (Spring, 2012).

In this topos of urgency, education has a ‘responsibility’ for providing skilled labors. Students should be prepared with the skills and abilities required by the global market demand. According to Torres (2002), education has now been shaped by the demands to prepare labor for participation in the economy, both nationally and globally. Similarly, Teo and Ren (2019) argue that education in general and higher education in particular are now an integral part of national strategy to meet the socio-economic development by providing a quality labor force, especially in scientific and technological developments. Al-Hattami (2021) also confirms that educational institutions, especially those in higher education, have a burden to provide the proper supply that meets the job market demands. The argumentative strategy of this urgency is reflected in Excerpt (3).

- (3) *Untuk meningkatkan link and match antara lulusan pendidikan tinggi dengan dunia usaha dan dunia industri serta masa depan yang semakin cepat mengalami perubahan, pada awal tahun 2020 ini Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan memberlakukan kebijakan baru di bidang pendidikan tinggi melalui program Merdeka Belajar – Kampus Merdeka (MBKM). (D1, p. vii)*
[In order to achieve link and match between university graduates with business and industrial and fast-changing future as well, in the beginning of 2020, the Ministry of Education and Culture enforced a new policy in higher education through the so-called emancipated learning program. (D1, p. vii)]

It is arguably presented by the authority that one of the problems of this mismatch is the tendency of curriculum and study programs, along with their courses, to be too theoretical in nature and not pay close attention to the more practical knowledge, focusing on skill development. This form of curricula and course developments prioritizes the comprehension of knowledge and theoretical understanding without giving close attention to developing practical application of the knowledge, which is then required by job demand. Currently, there is an increasing demand from industry for high-skilled workers in modern labor markets (McIntosh, 2002). To respond to this demand, higher education should modify and develop its curricula and courses that are adaptable and meet global market needs.

- (4) *Sekarang, banyak kurikulum dan prodi di Universitas kita sifatnya itu sangat teoretis. Tidak banyak yang bisa dibilang 100 persen link and match dengan kebutuhan di dalam dunia nyata. (D2, min. 4:29-4:47)*
[Nowadays, there are many curricula and study programs in universities that are theoretical in nature. They do not 100 percent link and match with the needs of real world of job demands. (D2, min. 4:29-4:47)]

The argument presented in Guidelines for Developing Higher Education Curricula in the Industry 4.0 Era to Support Emancipated Learning Policy also confirms this need. Higher education should always observe, evaluate, and change its curriculum to respond and match it with the current development of science, society, and stakeholders who will then employ the university graduates. This is indicated in Excerpt (5).

- (5) *Perubahan kurikulum di perguruan tinggi merupakan aktivitas rutin yang harus dilakukan sebagai tanggapan terhadap perkembangan Ilmu Pengetahuan, Teknologi, dan Seni (IPTEKS) (scientific vision), kebutuhan masyarakat (societal needs), serta kebutuhan pengguna lulusan (stakeholder needs).* (D1, p.viii).
[The **change of curriculum in higher education** is a routine activity that must be carried out as a **response** to the development of science and knowledge, technology and arts (scientific vision), society needs and **stakeholder needs**. (D1, p.viii)]

By identifying the connectives between education, especially higher education, with industry and the job market nationally and globally, there was a pressing demand for the Indonesian authorities to perform necessary actions. The emancipated learning policy is expected to respond to this challenge and be a bridge to increase the link and match as a strategy to get a positive impact of globalization. At least, the policy with the emphasis on preparing skillful graduates will then contribute to the absorption of the Indonesian labor force into the job market. This strategy is then expected to reduce poverty in the country, increase the income of its people, and improve welfare. To make this happen, students must be well prepared by equipping them with the required knowledge and skills.

- (6) *Profil lulusan adalah peran yang dapat dilakukan oleh lulusan di bidang keahlian atau bidang kerja tertentu setelah menyelesaikan studinya. Profil dapat ditetapkan berdasarkan hasil kajian terhadap kebutuhan pasar kerja yang dibutuhkan pemerintah dan dunia usaha maupun industri, serta kebutuhan dalam mengembangkan ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi.* (D1, p.22)
[Graduates should play important role in their area of expertise and field of work after completing their study. **Graduates profile** can be set out based on the result of analysis on **the needs of job market** as required by government, **business and industry**, and the needs to develop science and technology. (D1, p.22)]

The implementation of policy at the university level is then expected to change the graduate profile that matches the profile required by, for example, a business enterprise. On the official website of the Indonesian Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (<https://kampusmerdeka.kemdikbud.go.id/program>), the government launched nine programs called *Program Kampus Merdeka* [Emancipated Learning Program], namely *Kampus Mengajar* [Teaching Campus], *Magang bersertifikat* [Certified Internship], *Studi Independen* [Independent Learning], *Praktisi Mengajar* [Teaching Practitioners], *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* [Independent Student Exchange], *Wirausaha Merdeka* [Merdeka Entrepreneurship], Indonesian International Students Mobility Award (IISMA), *Pengembangan Kompetensi Mahasiswa untuk Berkarir di Dunia Teknologi* [Development of Students' Competencies for Careers in the Field of Technology], and *Gerilya/Gerakan Inisiatif Listrik Tenaga Surya* [The Solar Power Initiative Movement].

The attempt to achieve skills and practical capacity of students can be identified, for example, in *Magang* [certified apprenticeship], in which students are given the opportunity to learn and improve self-development through carrying out activities outside the classroom. In this apprenticeship, students have direct and real work experience by sitting in the industry for about one or two semesters. Similarly, *Gerilya* Program (in cooperation with the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources) also initiates the creation of a professional workforce by giving opportunities to students with real experience and working in the renewable energy industry (<https://www.esdm.go.id/id/page/gerilya>).

4.3 Urgency 3: Competition

In line with the above urgency, the issuance of an emancipated learning policy should also address one crucial aspect of globalization, namely, competition. To benefit from globalization, education should be aware that competitiveness is an absolute prerequisite. Due to this belief, the government should create a supportive atmosphere and ecosystem for higher education to improve its quality and achievement. Besides Indonesia, other countries such as China have earlier prepared themselves and started this urgency. China has been aware that participating in the global economy requires competitiveness. Since 1995, the Chinese government has promoted competitiveness among Chinese universities as its strategic plan in the knowledge-based global

economy by initiating a number of funding projects to build world-class universities (Teo & Ren, 2019).

The Indonesian authority also has the same goal to promote competitiveness amongst Indonesian universities and encourage them to be world-class universities. Currently, in 2023, there are at least 21 universities that reach a status of *Perguruan Tinggi Negeri Badan Hukum* or PTNBH (the state universities with the status of autonomous public legal entity), and they are projected to hold world-class status. To support the PTNBH as part of the emancipated learning policy, the government provides an endowment fund through the Ministry of Finance's matching fund scheme of the Indonesian Endowment Fund for Education, called LPDP.

This support is based on the awareness that the government should encourage the ability of universities in Indonesia to compete in the global arena as a prerequisite for enhancing the country's competitiveness at the international level. Besides the endowment fund, the government also launched policies and systems as a supporting ecosystem to build globally competitive university governance. These policies include the New Credit Number Appraisals policies and systems, Database and Information Research and Community Services (BIMA), Science and Technology Index version 3 (SINTA), World Class University Analytics System, and PTNBH Analytics. The minister's argument shown in Excerpt (7) asserts the pursuit of competitiveness.

- (7) *Banyak prodi yang kurikulumnya, kontennya, materinya, itu belum bisa bersaing di panggung dunia.* (D2, min. 4:50-4:56)

[There are many study programs in our universities whose curricula, learning contents and course materials **cannot yet compete on the global stage.** (D2, min. 4:50-4:56)]

With the status of PTNBH, universities are given a wider opportunity to raise their standard and to reach the status of World Class University. They have to compete with each other by providing better service, improving their management quality, and employing the best teachers. As they are required to increase their source of income beyond government assistance, the universities are given wider authority and support to develop their strategies to meet their financial needs to fund their educational practices.

Besides enforcing some new strategies, another main target of the implementation of the emancipated learning policy is to improve the competitiveness of students and university graduates. By creating a competitive educational ecosystem, the policy will encourage universities to prepare competitive students for future economic success. As the nature of globalization shifts economic production to knowledge-intensive products and processes, the global system demands highly educated labor (Carnoy, 2005). The only acceptable human resources in this system are those who have global competence that meets the needs of the global market.

- (8) *Kebijakan MBKM memberikan kesempatan kepada mahasiswa untuk mendapatkan pengalaman belajar yang lebih luas dan kompetensi baru melalui beberapa kegiatan pembelajaran di luar program studinya, dengan harapan kelak pada gilirannya dapat menghasilkan lulusan yang siap untuk memenangkan tantangan kehidupan yang semakin kompleks di abad ke 21 ini.* (D1, p. vii).

[Emancipated learning policy provides opportunity to students to have wider learning experience and **new competence** through several learning activities outside their study program. Through this policy, it is expected that university is able to produce **graduates who are ready to win harder life challenge in this 21st century.** (D1, p. vii)]

4.4 Urgency 4: Collaboration

To successfully implement the emancipated learning and reach its goals, the policy must encourage collaboration with many parties. Universities are encouraged to build strategic partnerships that can benefit both universities and their collaborative partners. They can exchange knowledge and expertise based on mutual understanding, which can help universities improve their quality and service. By establishing networking with industry, universities can learn how to prepare skilled human resources, and their graduate can be directly accepted into the industry, for

instance. The statement by Nadiem Makarim presented in Excerpt (9) confirms the urgency of collaboration and this is considered as solution to lift Indonesian education up to higher position.

- (9) *Apa solusi kita? Apa kebijakannya? Kita ingin melakukan kolaborasi..... apa yang dimaksud dengan kolaborasi? Yaitu kerjasama universitas dengan berbagai macam pihak yaitu organisasi-oragnisasi kelas dunia: pelaku industri kelas dunia, organisasi nirlaba kelas dunia, BUMN atau BUMD dan QS Top 100 world Universities.* (D2, min. 5:05-5:47)
 [What is our solution? What is our policy? **We want to build collaboration....** What does collaboration mean? It is cooperation between universities and stakeholders such as world class organizations, world class business enterprises and world class non-profit organizations, state-owned enterprises at the national and local levels and QS Top 100 world Universities. (D2, min. 5:05-5:47)]

According to Dugis (2015, p. 26), in the level of universities, collaboration and networking are in “urgent need to channel the effect of globalization more on the positive side”. As globalization may adversely affect national education, the positive side can be capitalized on by collaboration with universities in developed countries. Universities in developing countries, including those in Indonesia, can adopt best practices developed and maintained by top-ranked universities.

The cooperation can be implemented in the forms of university-university (U-U) collaboration, university-industry (U-I) collaboration, and university-organization (U-O) collaboration. These types of collaboration are based on the expectation of knowledge, skill, and technology transfers from both sides. To achieve the world rank status, for example, universities in Indonesia are encouraged to establish networking with universities in the US, UK, Australia, or in neighboring countries such as those in Singapore. The adoption of best practices is expected to bridge the quality between universities, thereby improving the capacity and quality of education, particularly in higher education.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of the data in this study has unraveled that critical discourse analysis (CDA) can be a practical approach to identify the use of argumentative strategies in shifting education policy. It shows that the policy shifting and urgency of the MBKM policy need further justification at the discursive level through the use of various arguments. This study importantly implies that CDA is one of the linguistic and social analyses to reveal the influence or invasion of globalization values, such as market-driven education or globalized education, on the change of educational policies and practices at the national level.

The influence of globalization on the practices of Indonesian education, particularly in higher education, is evident. The issuance of an emancipated learning policy that is massively implemented in universities is the real attempt of the educational authority of the country to find the best strategy on how to take advantage and avoid loss. The process of adaptation demands the change of policy, management, curriculum implementation, and teaching and learning processes. The emancipated learning policy has significantly changed the view, action, restructuring, and practical implications of Indonesian higher education.

The paper does not intend to evaluate whether the globalization of education in Indonesia would bring a positive or negative impact on its people. The topoi analysis utilized in this study aims to reveal how national authority constructs argumentative strategies to justify the urgency of the emancipated learning policy. The analysis of topoi, especially the topos of urgency, has revealed that the existence of the external force of globalization encouraged the change of the government’s point of view and discourse on the relationship between globalization and Indonesian education. It then enforced the change of policy and practices at the national and local levels. At the discursive level, written documents released and spoken text through speech presented by the national education authority showed the urgency of the policy by presenting arguments of quick change, link and match, competition and collaboration to justify the claim, i.e., ‘the emancipated learning policy is urgent to issue and implement’.

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