Pedagogy of Freedom: Van-Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Discursive Analysis on Nadiem Makariem Endgame Podcast

Pinkan Margaretha[1,2], Rustono Farady Marta[3], Hana Panggabean[1], Denny Putra[4]

[1]Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

[2] Krida Wacana Christian University, Jakarta, Indonesia

[3]Universitas Satya Negara Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia

[4]Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, USA

Correspondence: Pinkan Margaretha, Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia / Krida Wacana Christian University, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Abstract

Indonesian Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology initiate *Merdeka Belajar* (Independent Learning) policy since 2020 to improve education quality. Education holds a crucial role in human capital development of nation to respond structural transformation challenges, global industrial revolution, and disruptive changes in many dimensions of human life. Indonesian education quality still needs to be improved, since the Indonesia 2018 PISA (*Programme for International Student Assessment*) rank in lower quartile compare with other 78 countries. Nadiem Makariem, the Education, Culture, Research and Technology minister, convey the discourse about Independent Learning through Endgame podcast series 113, hosted by Gita Wirjawan, an Indonesian investment banker, entrepreneur, philanthropist, and former Indonesian minister of trade. This study aims to analyse the podcast uses Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to demystify ideology behind the policy through critical analysis of language, cognition, and social-cultural context, from macro (context) to micro (social cognition, ideology) level. Freire's pedagogy of freedom and Bourdieu's concept about social structure of educational system used as a framework. This study found that Independent Learning policy strive to break the social domination of banking education system that already practiced in Indonesian education and resulting in low quality of education that withheld the competitive index of Indonesian human capital. Symbolic violence and power in the education bureaucracy system hinder the implementation of the Independent Learning policy in Indonesian schools and universities, leading to resistance among stakeholders.

Keywords: socio-cognitive discourse, independent learning, pedagogy of freedom, banking education, symbolic violence

1. Introduction

This study will approach the discourse of the *Merdeka Belajar* policy through critical discourse analysis to demystify the ideology behind the policy. It will utilize discourse in the form of podcasts featuring the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, Nadiem Makarim (*Mas Menteri*). The researchers discovered two critical discourse analysis studies examining the discourse presented by *Mas Menteri* through speeches and Instagram Live sessions regarding the Independent Learning policy (Helena et al., 2021; Pratama & Sriwulandari, 2022). This research will analyze the discourse of *Mas Menteri* in the form of the podcast episode titled "Nadiem Makarim: Ready to Be Criticized in Defense of the Next Generation". This podcast episode is hosted by Gita Wirjawan, an Indonesian entrepreneur, banker, scholar, and former trade minister. This podcast episode chosen because of its rich discourse information regarding the *Merdeka Belajar* policy. The policy aims to develop student competencies through an outcome-based education, which provide various learning experiences, inside and outside the classroom. In higher education, this includes internships, student exchanges, community services, and independent study in higher education. In the school level, project based learning and smooth transition from kindergarden to elementary school become the emphasize of the policy. *Merdeka Belajar* seeks to provide a flexible and dynamic learning environment that cultivates critical thinking, problem-solving, and innovation. *Merdeka Belajar* as a public policy meant to improve Indonesia education quality, but this goal won't be effective if the policy stakeholders misconstrue the message about it. Stakeholders of the policy could comprehend *Merdeka Belajar* by using critical approach such us Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 2015) used to analyse the text in the podcast episode because its focuses on the way discourse shaped by power dynamics and ideology. CDA gives advantage of multiple levels analysis (textual, social and cognitive) than allows for more comprehensive understanding compare with framing technique. A comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach is necessary to understand educational system policies because education is not solely limited to the process of human learning but exists within the context of interpersonal social relations, communities, and society. Therefore, sociological perspectives also need to be considered. Educational institutions, as one of the formal institutions in society, have an ideological role and serve as a social mechanism for instilling social and cultural values. Thus, a critical perspective on the social system is also required to understand educational policies. Critical discourse analysis employs an eclectic approach, allowing for flexibility in understanding educational policies to uncover injustices and the relationships between language, power, and ideology embedded within them (Smith, 2013).

CDA is employed as an approach to deconstruct podcast messages from social to cognitive levels. To comprehend the implied meanings in the Merdeka Belajar policy messages, the researcher utilizes Freire's pedagogy of freedom framework by Paulo Freire, which emphasize on the essence of humanity and believes that the core of education is a process of humanization. According to this perspective, humans are fundamentally in control of themselves and possess the freedom and autonomy to choose matters related to thinking, creating, and innovating. (Freire, 2017; Giroux, 2010; Misiaszek, 2022). Freire's concepts of the 'banking education' and the problem-posing method will be employed to analyze the policy of self-directed learning in this podcast (Dhungana, 2021). The main message conveyed through this podcast discourse is the policy of independent learning. The implication of this policy is educational practices that provides space for learners to choose learning objectives according to their interests, exposes learners to problems to be solved through the learning process, and no longer spoon-feeds learners with materials to be memorized and tested for examination.

Literatures consist of conceptual studies that analyse the essence and ideology behind the policy of independent learning using Freire liberation pedagogy have been reported (Madhakomala et al., 2022; Marliyani & Muhtar, 2022; Mones et al., 2022; Nanggala & Suryadi, 2021; Prahani et al., 2020; Wulandari & Fauziati, 2022). Nevertheless, this freedom of learning occurs within a complex social space involving multiple stakeholders, and thus, the practice of such freedom is also influenced by the presence or absence of equality within that social space. A social justice perspective needed to complete the critical analysis of the podcast. Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, capital, and symbolic violence used to comprehend the resistance that arises against change initiatives, indicating the solidification of an ideology, and the political efforts of stakeholders to perpetuate that ideology (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu's concept of how educational institutions can perpetuate a hegemony, favouring only those groups with economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital, thus fostering symbolic violence, can be utilized to analyze the systemic resistance experienced by the policy of *Merdeka Belajar* (Allolayuk, 2021).

The purpose of this study is to identify the social dominance that has become hegemonic and has fostered symbolic violence through education, and to counter it through the policy of independent learning that embraces the ideology of liberation pedagogy. This study aims to offer a critical understanding of the policy as a reference perspective for stakeholders involved. A comprehensive perspective on the ongoing changes in the implementation of the *Merdeka Belajar* policy is expected to provide significance and confidence for agents of change to be motivated, devote their efforts, and not easily give up enhancing the quality of education in Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

CDA takes a socio-cognitive approach, critical stance, involving multidisciplinary perspectives, and aims to deconstruct a text in a clear manner that is easily comprehensible to the message recipients. This approach allows for the implicit ideologies within the text to be brought to light and fulfil its function of influencing perceptions (Haryatmoko, 2017). The socio-cognitive approach strengthens Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis by considering the cognitive interface between discourse and social structure, such as individual cognitive processes (thinking, feeling, believing, understanding) as part of a community, mental representations, the resulting discourse, which ultimately influences behaviour and interactions among individuals (Van Dijk, 2017). The implementation of educational policies requires comprehensive interventions at both the micro and macro levels. Therefore, a critical discourse analysis approach that can connect micro and macro processes through depiction, interpretation, and contextual explanation is a suitable framework for this study (Rogers et al., 2016).

Paulo Freire, an educational expert, and philosopher from Brazil, put forth his ideas on critical pedagogy, which emphasizes the significant value of education as a tool for social change and liberation from oppressive conditions. Freire criticized traditional pedagogy that imposed power structures by certain groups through educational institutions, where everyone is subjected to the same standards for the benefit of the powerful group, while neglecting to provide space for learners to critically reflect on their experiences and foster critical consciousness to take responsibility for transforming their life situations (Freire, 2017). Freire criticized the educational model that solely supports the economic and consumerist models, disconnected from the educational goal of fostering human ethics. Education, in its essence, should provide opportunities for new ways of thinking, facilitate learners with the necessary skills and knowledge to expand their capacity

(Giroux, 2010). Freire introduced the concept of 'problem-posing education' as a solution to the 'banking education' concept, which positions learners as objects of education and suppresses them, creating a dichotomy between humans and the world they inhabit. Problem-posing education will awaken students' critical awareness of reality. Teachers and students exist in a co-existing relationship. Students are not merely memorizing but also capable of critiquing information, questioning their existence, and empowered to bring about change. Students develop ownership over their learning journey, which is manifested in real-life skills (Suoranta et al., 2022).

Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, introduced ideas in the field of sociology of education, such as the concepts of habitus, capital, field, and symbolic violence. Habitus is a property of actors and represents a system of dispositions or ways of being (Bourdieu, 1977). Field refers to the social space where interactions, transactions, and events occur in the lives of individuals or communities, and where certain parties dominate or are dominated. The praxis of individuals, communities, or institutions need to be understood by considering the system of dispositions (habitus), their positions in the field determined by capital, and the specific context in which the field is situated (Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu believed that educational institutions play a role in social reproduction, which allows social injustice to occur through the education system, manifesting as symbolic violence. Students from middle to upper-class social backgrounds possess economic, social, and cultural capital, such as academic habits and experiences within their families. Consequently, formal educational institutions become an extension of their habitus. On the other hand, students from lower-class backgrounds experience formal school arenas that have different habits than their homes and families, thus placing them in a disadvantaged position (Breinholt & Jæger, 2020, 2020; Jæger & Møllegaard, 2017; Košutić, 2017; Nairz-Wirth et al., 2017; Reay*, 2004; Tramonte & Willms, 2010).

3. Method

A critical discourse analysis was conducted using Van Dijk's perspective (Haryatmoko, 2017), focusing on three dimensions of discourse: language use, cognition, and socio-cultural context. The analysis moved from the macro level, which included analysing the context to not only consider the background of place and time but also to unravel the participants' situation in the conversation, their characteristics, and relations. Furthermore, the analysis delved into the social cognition aspect to explore the beliefs and social representations of a community constructed through discourse. The micro-level analysis aimed to uncover the implicit ideologies present in the discourse of the Endgame episode 113 seminar, titled "*Nadiem Makarim: Siap Dihujat Demi Bela Generasi Berikutnya*," specifically from the 4:59 to 48:48-minute mark. The data consisted of transcribed segments divided into five sub-themes: Education from Home, Early Childhood Education 101, Social Media, Appreciating the Process, and Independent Learning. The verbatim transcriptions were coded thematically using Freire and Bourdieu's perspectives as the analytical framework, following the steps of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive critical discourse analysis. The obtained codes were then grouped into significant themes as the findings of the analysis, namely the themes of context, social cognition, and ideology.

4. Results

The podcast (Wirjawan, 2023) transcription was analysed based on duration and coded thematically according to the implicit meanings within each duration. The analysis focused on context, social cognition, and ideology following Van Dijk's framework. Freire's perspective on liberation pedagogy and Bourdieu's perspective on habitus, capital, and field were used as analytical tools. The important themes resulting from the analysis are outlined as follows.

Context

The results of thematic coding on the seminar transcript for the context dimension are as follows:

Table 1. Educational Institution Context

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
5:28 – 6:03	Explanation of the authority structure of the Ministry of Education and Culture at the central, provincial, and district levels.	Educational institutions in social reproduction.

Table 2. Educational Arena Context

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
6:48 - 7:42	Parents and households as the closest context to a child's education.	Two arenas of a child's life that influence habitus.
11:17 - 12:14	The mutually influencing relationship between school (teachers) and home (parents).	Two arenas of a child's life that influence habitus.
23:06 - 24:19	The rapid development of digital technology requires parents to take a role in managing the use of gadgets within the family.	The digital world as a new arena that needs to be managed.

Table 3. Context of Resistance Situations

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
13:09 - 15:00	The Ministry of Education and Culture, Research, Technology, and Higher Education (Kemendikbudristekdikti) faced opposition to the proposed National Education System Bill in the House of Representatives (DPR) to be prioritized as a legislative program in 2023.	Resistance from those in power to maintain symbolic capital.
20:53 - 21:22	Deviation in the management of BOS funds by schools through the purchase of books that are not suitable for the needs of children.	Symbolic violence in educational institutions.

Table 4. Liberation Pedagogy Context

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
28:50- 30:35	The abolition of the National Examination as a graduation requirement has been replaced by a national assessment aimed at obtaining an overview of the quality of learning outcomes by educational institutions.	Liberation pedagogy
45:22- 46:09	The program of learning in industries and the workforce for students through internships, teaching, independent studies, with the conversion of credit hours.	"Problem-posing" pedagogy
43:03- 43:31	The IISMA program that provides students with the opportunity to study for one semester at partner companies abroad.	Access to economic, social, and cultural capital

Social Cognition

The discourse that occurs in human communication is monitored by social cognition, meaning that individuals' understanding of social events, even though it happens within individual cognition, is essentially a social phenomenon because its construction involves the intersection of individuals and society (Van Dijk, 1999).

The results of assigning theme codes to the transcript of the podcast for the dimension of social cognition are as follows:

Table 5. Social Cognition "Education is school responsibility"

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
06:48 - 7:42	The most important tools for parents to enhance literacy and numeracy are love and time. Time is a resource that is more valuable than money.	Parent as educator
34:51 - 35:40	In response to the *Merdeka Belajar* policy, which promotes project-based learning approach, parents understand the additional responsibility involved. It is no longer sufficient for students to simply attend classes or complete assignments behind their desks; they need parental facilitation in carrying out their learning projects. Parents can no longer rely on schools to be a place of childcare and education, where all responsibilities are transferred to the teachers.	Parents and teachers collaborate in the education of children.

Table 6. Social Cognition "Preschools should be able to provide early literacy and numeracy education *(calistung)*"

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
17:53 - 19:02	There was a common understanding in society prior to the launch of the *Merdeka Belajar* policy that children should already be proficient in reading, writing, and arithmetic when they enter elementary school. In fact, some elementary schools even require early literacy and numeracy skills (*calistung*) as one of the selection criteria for admission.	Child as the object of education
20:26 - 20:47	Learning at the early childhood education level requires adequate play facilities, as young children learn through play.	Playing is learning

Table 7. Social Cognition "Teacher's Growth Mindset"

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
10:15 - 11:17	The term "*Guru penggerak*" indicates that teachers are not the sole source of knowledge for students, but rather they serve as facilitators and catalysts for the actualization of students' potentials.	Teachers as facilitators - catalysts.
16:00 - 17:53	Teachers need to have a growth mindset as a foundation for being good teachers. Teachers need to have the motivation to help children and be child oriented.	Child as the subject of education.
31:12 - 32:02	Before the implementation of the *Merdeka Belajar* policy, teachers were accustomed to using templates provided by the education authorities at the district, provincial, and national levels. Therefore, when given the freedom to design the learning process according to the students' context and local culture, cognitive dissonance occurs. Cognitive dissonance is a cognitive situation where what is known is no longer sufficient to generate student-cantered lesson plans, rather than simply transferring knowledge content from the teacher to the students.	"problem-posing" pedagogy

Table 8. Social Cognition: "Violence and Sex as Taboo Topics of Discussion"

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
6:10 - 6:48	There is a social cognition in Indonesian culture in general, where issues such as sexual violence, bullying, and religious-ethnic conflicts are considered domestic matters and are not prioritized in discourse. The challenges of diversity and tolerance among different ethnic groups and religions are crucial for national unity, given the country's diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds.	Reproduction of symbolic violence

Ideology

Van Dijk states that domination, as a form of power abuse, is legitimized by ideologies that organize and control the social representations of groups and their members (Haryatmoko, 2017). The following themes are the findings from the analysis of the transcript of Minister Nadiem Makarim's talk show, aimed at uncovering the ideologies that have dominated the education system in Indonesia.

Table 9. Ideology

Duration	Summary of transcription meanings	Theme code
8:05 - 8:41	The importance of reading books to stimulate early literacy in children is emphasized. Reading books, such as "MAGIC, it just works," enhances critical thinking skills	Critical thinking
8:46 - 10:15	Implied in this is the renewal of the meaning of communication between children and parents, shifting from a one-way (didactic) approach to a more interactive and two-way discussion. It allows children to ask questions, and the learning journey is driven by the child rather than dominated by the parent.	Discussion relationship
11:17 - 12:14	Teachers have a growth mindset that believes in the capability of children to learn. They then proceed to assure parents by witnessing the growth of their children in the classroom. The independent curriculum empowers teachers to be proactive, while also involving parents in their children's learning through project-based assignments as part of the learning process.	Partneship of teachers and parents
15:07 - 16:00	Teachers play a crucial role in education, not solely based on their exceptional abilities, but rather on their motivations for becoming teachers.	Teacher's motivation
20:12 - 20:26	Lifelong learners aim to cultivate individuals as lifelong learners, ensuring that the learning experiences in formal schools do not result in traumatic experiences that discourage or hinder children's enjoyment of learning.	Lifelong learners

4. Discussion

The context analysis of the podcast transcript aims to reveal the discourse context structure presented by the speaker (Haryatmoko, 2017). Nadiem Makarim, through his answers to Gita Wirjawan's questions as the host, implies the social institutional context structure within the Ministry of Education and Culture, which does not have direct authority over primary and secondary schools. The management of schools at these levels is carried out by district and provincial governments. The Ministry of Education and Culture only has direct access to higher education institutions. The implication of this institutional structure is the limited space for initiating changes in the *Merdeka Belajar* curriculum, where drastic changes are more likely to occur at the university level compared to schools. The division of authority among stakeholders at the central, provincial, and regional levels requires effective strategies for socializing the content of curriculum changes in schools, so that relevant parties can actively participate. In light of Bourdieu's thoughts on the role of educational institutions in social reproduction (Bourdieu et al., 2000), the institutional structure of education divides power in the management of formal educational institutions, as long as those in power fulfil their responsibilities by striving for equality among various groups. Conversely, if those in power have personal or group interests, the power they possess may perpetuate symbolic violence that sustains the hegemony of specific interests, turning education into a field of reproducing social inequalities (Allolayuk, 2021).

Educational institutions serve as the formal context for the learning process, but there is a non-formal context that has a closer influence on children's education, namely parents and the family. Interactions occur between the school and home arenas, between teachers and parents. The curriculum should serve as a medium that bridges these two habitus, thus creating continuity between home and school. The rapid advancement of digital technology poses a real challenge that needs to be managed collaboratively by parents and teachers as the primary educators of children. The era of digital technology is a context that influences children's habitus and serves as a new arena in their lives. Sufficient access to economic capital, which provides technological facilitation in learning, social capital through networking relationships, and cultural capital in the form of relevant knowledge and skills related to technological advancements, will empower children to develop their potential (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017).

Nadiem Makarim implies the existence of resistance from political power holders towards the proposed National Education System Bill as the legal framework for the *Merdeka Belajar* (Independent Learning) policy. This has resulted in the rejection of the bill as a priority in 2023. The year 2024 marks a change in government of Indonesia, further diminishing the chances of the bill being passed. This data indicates that the dynamics of Indonesia's education system are heavily influenced by the political power situation. Bourdieu argued that the bourgeois groups, who possess economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital, strive to maintain their capital, leading to symbolic violence that is reproduced through educational institutions (Bourdieu et al., 2000). The misappropriation of School Operational Assistance (BOS) funds by schools through the purchase of library books that align with children's interests but end up neglected and covered in dust is an example of symbolic violence within educational institutions (Wirjawan, 2023). Children, who should be active learners and have a voice in choosing books based on their interests, are silenced by those who seek personal gain from the book procurement funds in schools. As a result, although books are available through the assistance funds, their content is irrelevant to children's interests.

The implementation of the *Merdeka Belajar* (Independent Learning) policy in higher education, such as the International Student Mobility Award (IISMA) program for students to study abroad for one semester at foreign universities, opportunities for interdisciplinary learning through internships, teaching, and self-directed study in industries and the workforce, represents a practice of liberating pedagogy and provides access to capital for students from diverse backgrounds. Freire criticized the banking education approach that objectifies students. The opportunity for students to directly acquire knowledge and skills in industries and the workforce is a praxis of the "problem-posing" pedagogical approach that positions students as active subjects (Dhungana, 2021; Prahani et al., 2020). Students from all universities in Indonesia are given the opportunity to compete in the IISMA program to experience one semester of study at foreign universities. This represents a provision of economic capital in the form of financial support, social capital through the opportunity to broaden perspectives and establish national and international networks, as well as cultural capital through multidisciplinary knowledge acquired from global campuses. From Bourdieu's perspective, through international student mobility program, there is an opportunity for students to transform their habitus. Without intentional interventions to change habitus, the same structure will be perpetuated because habitus is not only a product of structure and generates practices but also functions to reproduce social structure (Power, 1999).

The social construction that schools are fully responsible for the education of children, while parents entrust their children to schools for education, and the success of a child's education is entirely the responsibility of teachers at school needs to be examined and deconstructed. Bourdieu, through the perspective of habitus, explains that family culture is one of the predispositions that influence a child's habitus. The family provides habits as one of the social capitals that will determine the smooth adaptation of children to the formal educational arena in schools. Children have a higher chance of success in

education if they come from families with high socioeconomic status compared to children from low socioeconomic backgrounds because children from higher socioeconomic backgrounds possess cultural capital that can be converted into educational success (Jæger & Møllegaard, 2017).

School and home are two closely related arenas in a child's education and have a significant influence on their educational success. Teachers and parents, as adults in a child's life, need to be continuous collaborative partners in facilitating their growth and education. Home and school should form a continuous habitus. However, even if a child comes from a less supportive habitus for learning, the school could intervene by providing a more conducive habitus for their education. The project-based approach of the *Merdeka Belajar* curriculum will require a commitment to collaboration from parents and teachers to accompany the child or student in their active learning process. Conflicts between the habitus of home and school can be detrimental to a child's education and can take the form of symbolic violence towards the child (Nairz-Wirth et al., 2017).

The practice of drilling young children to achieve reading proficiency is a form of "banking education" criticized by Freire. Children are seen as objects rather than subjects of education. Early childhood children have diverse developmental rhythms, therefore the learning experience in early childhood education should facilitate their education according to their developmental characteristics. Parents and teachers need to align their understanding and expectations regarding the stimulation of early literacy skills in children, not solely focusing on reading tests. Parental involvement in early childhood education at school, creating a home environment that stimulates literacy, and school interventions that involve parents in transitioning children from early childhood education to elementary school influence early childhood children readiness to learn at the elementary school level (Barnett et al., 2020; Carroll et al., 2019; Hoffman et al., 2020).

The social understanding that teachers are the source of knowledge and students are blank slates on which knowledge is written by the teacher, or like empty vessels filled by the teacher, needs to be dismantled in educational practice. The *Merdeka Belajar* (Independent Learning) curriculum aims to deconstruct this social cognition. Freire's concept of "problem-posing" education can serve as a framework that helps construct an understanding of the teacher-student relationship. The teacher plays the role of a facilitator, a catalyst that enables the learning process when students face problems, critique, question, and even propose changes as solutions to the problems, leading to an awareness of the relevance of the subject matter to students' lives (Siswadi, 2022).

Teachers need to reexamine the constructed mindset they hold regarding the role of the teacher and the teacher-student relationship in the learning process. Teachers may have absorbed these mindsets from their own experiences as students or from cultural school practices that resemble "banking education," where intelligence is seen as an innate, unchangeable potential and each student is believed to have a predetermined capacity that greatly influences their learning success. A shift in mindset from a fixed mindset to a growth mindset is necessary for teachers to become catalysts of the *Merdeka Belajar* curriculum. A teacher's growth mindset is related to the cultivation of a growth mindset in students (Mesler et al., 2021); Similarly, teachers with a growth mindset towards their teaching abilities will enjoy the responsibility of being an educator and become more engaged in their tasks (Frondozo et al., 2022).

The independent learning curriculum also advocates for the mainstreaming of discourses on sexual violence, religious and ethnic conflicts, and bullying in the educational environment. The social understanding prevalent in Indonesian society generally considers these issues as taboo for discussion, despite the increasing reports of incidents related to violence, bullying, and religious and ethnic conflicts over time. If educational institutions refuse to address these issues, the reproduction of symbolic violence within schools occurs, as suggested by Bourdieu's theory (Bourdieu et al., 2000). The reproduction of symbolic violence occurs due to the social cognition that considers violence, sex, and bullying as taboo, which is perpetuated and inherited through the reluctance to educate students, teachers, and parents about these topics.

The ideology that is being challenged through the curriculum of independent learning is rote learning, which is characterized by memorization and imitation of examples given by teachers, without engaging in more complex cognitive processes such as analysis, synthesis, and creation. This approach is referred to by Freire as "banking education." On the contrary, critical thinking should be a goal of education to nurture students who are creative and possess innovative problem-solving skills. Freire proposes an educational ideology that promotes freedom and emphasizes the development of critical thinking skills, which in turn fosters students' awareness and active engagement with knowledge (Dhungana, 2021). Freire argues that educators who rely on the banking method of education, where the teacher is seen as the source of knowledge who bestows and deposits knowledge onto the students, perpetuate a pedagogy of oppression (Freire, 2017). Conversely, educators grounded in a liberating pedagogy view students as partners in learning, jointly confronting problems, and engaging in a process of dialogue to seek solutions. Consequently, students' critical thinking abilities will develop, enabling them to recognize real-life problems, understand the relevance of the knowledge they acquire, and utilize it to solve problems.

5. Conclusion

The Endgame podcast by Minister Nadiem Makarim is filled with messages about liberation pedagogy conveyed through a series of policies known as the "*Merdeka Belajar*" (Independent Learning) initiative. From the analysis of the contextual dimensions, social cognition, and underlying ideologies inferred from the podcast's transcript, it can be concluded that Minister Nadiem is delivering a message to the public about the goals of the *Merdeka Belajar* policy, which aims to demystify the dominance of the "banking" pedagogy ideology and the reproduction of symbolic violence from Bourdieu's perspective.

A good teacher bases their education on the belief in the potential of every child and is willing to invest time in students who may be left behind. In Bourdieu's thinking, talent does not have a significant influence. What matters more is habitus or the background of a child (Bourdieu et al., 2000). Education should be able to transform the habitus of children and provide the necessary modalities or capital to actualize their potential. Whether it is economic capital, social capital, or cultural capital, education plays a crucial role in equipping children with the resources they need to succeed. Freire asserts that the purpose of education is to humanize individuals and foster critical consciousness (*critical conscientia*). Both characteristics serve as measurable indicators for the concept of lifelong learners. Therefore, schools as formal educational institutions need to carefully design learning systems that provide opportunities for marginalized groups in society to access economic, social, and cultural capital, thus enabling them to improve their socio-economic status.

The *Merdeka Belajar* policy, which eliminates the national exam as a determinant of student graduation, promotes partnerships between educational institutions and industry partners as learning arenas for students, and provides interventions in the students' habitus by offering opportunities to acquire social and cultural capital through studying abroad, all contribute to the concrete practices of deconstructing the dominance of teacher centred pedagogy or content knowledge, shifting towards a learner centred pedagogy. Stakeholders need to comprehend the policy beyond just the administratives changes, but as movement of reconstruction the education social arena to cultivate Indonesian future leaders, to be the Game Changer.

Data sharing statement

No additional data are available.

Open access

This is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

Copyrights

Copyright for this article is retained by the author(s), with first publication rights granted to the journal.

<div align="center">

Appendix A

</div>

If your manuscript has only one appendix, label it Appendix; if your manuscript has more than one appendix, label each one with a capital letter (Appendix A, Appendix B, etc.) in the order in which it is mentioned in the main text.

References

Allolayuk, A. (2021). Unveiling the Dark Side of Education as a Reproduction Arena of Social Inequality Based on Pierre Bourdieu's Perspective. *Syntax Idea, 3*(8), *Syntax Idea*. https://jurnal.syntax-idea.co.id/index.php/syntax-idea/article/view/1407

Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J. C., Bourdieu, P., & Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (2ed., reprinted). Sage Publ.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Harvard University Press.

Breinholt, A., & Jæger, M. M. (2020). How does cultural capital affect educational performance: Signals or skills? *The British Journal of Sociology*, *71*(1), 28-46. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12711

Dhungana, T. (2021). *Understanding Freire's Banking and Problem-Posing Concepts of Education: A Concise Discussion*.

Freire, P. (2017). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Penguin Classics.

Frondozo, C. E., King, R. B., Nalipay, M. J., & Mordeno, I. G. (2020). Mindsets matter for teachers, too: Growth mindset about teaching ability predicts teachers' enjoyment and engagement. *Current Psychology*, *41*(8), 5030-5033. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-020-01008-4

Giroux, H. A. (2010). Rethinking education as the practice of freedom: Paulo Freire and the promise of critical pedagogy. *Policy Futures in Education*, *8*(6), 715-721. https://doi.org/10.2304/pfie.2010.8.6.715

Haryatmoko. (2017). *Critical discourse analysis* (2ed). Rajawali Pers.

Helena, W. M., Yulianto, B., & Kisyani. (2021). Nadiem makarim's speech in the merdeka belajar series: critical discourse analysis of social situations and ideology (Perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis Theory). *Jurnal Education and development Institut Pendidikan Tapanuli Selatan*, *9*(2), 220-224.

Hoffman, J. A., Uretsky, M. C., Patterson, L. B., & Green, B. L. (2020). Effects of a school readiness intervention on family engagement during the kindergarten transition. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *53*, 86-96. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecresq.2020.02.005

Ignatow, G., & Robinson, L. (2017). Pierre Bourdieu: Theorizing the digital. *Information, Communication & Society*, *20*(7), 950-966. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1301519

Jæger, M. M., & Møllegaard, S. (2017). Cultural capital, teacher bias, and educational success: New evidence from monozygotic twins. *Social Science Research*, *65*, 130-144. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2017.04.003

Košutić, I. (2017). The role of cultural capital in higher education access and institutional choice. *Center for Educational Policy Studies Journal*, *7*(1), 149-169. https://doi.org/10.26529/cepsj.20

Madhakomala, Aisyah, L., Rizqiqa, F. N. R., Putri, F. D., & Nulhaq, S. (2022). Merdeka curriculum from the perspective of paulo freire's educational thought. *At- Ta'lim : Jurnal Pendidikan*, *8*(2), 162-172. https://doi.org/10.55210/attalim.v8i2.819

Marliyani, T., & Muhtar, T. (2022). Policy analysis of the new curriculum from a critical pedagogical perspective: a critical review of Indonesian education policy. *Syntax Literate: Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia, 7*(5).

Mesler, R. M., Corbin, C. M., & Martin, B. H. (2021). Teacher mindset is associated with development of students' growth

mindset. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *76*, 101299. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2021.101299

Misiaszek, G. W. (2022). Reinventing: Essence and usefulness of Freire's work for the past and next 100 years. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *54*(13), 2153–2159. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2022.2144222

Mones, A. Y., Masitoh, S., & Nursalim, M. (2022). Freedom to learn: a legitimation of freedom and educational transformation (a critical pedagogy review according to Paulo Freire). *Jurnal Yaqzhan: Analisis Filsafat, Agama dan Kemanusiaan*, *8*(2), 302. https://doi.org/10.24235/jy.v8i2.11599

Nairz-Wirth, E., Feldmann, K., & Spiegl, J. (2017). Habitus conflicts and experiences of symbolic violence as obstacles for non-traditional students. *European Educational Research Journal*, *16*(1), 12-29. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474904116673644

Nanggala, A., & Suryadi, K. (2021). Campus merdeka in the perspective of thoughts of ki hajar dewantara and paulo freire, and the debate between the philosophical thoughts of education between john dewey and robert m. hutchins. *JISIP (Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Pendidikan), 5*(2). https://doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v5i2.1812

Power, E. M. (1999). An introduction to Pierre Bourdieu's key theoretical concepts. *Journal for the Study of Food and Society*, *3*(1), 48-52. https://doi.org/10.2752/152897999786690753

Prahani, B. K., Deta, U. A., Yasir, M., Astutik, S., Pandiangan, P., Mahtari, S., & Mubarok, H.. (2020). The Concept of "Kampus Merdeka" in Accordance with Freire's Critical Pedagogy. *Studies in Philosophy of Science and Education*, *1*(1), 21-37. https://doi.org/10.46627/sipose.v1i1.8

Pratama, A., & Sriwulandari, Y. A. (2022). The dominance of symbolic struggle in nadiem makarim's ideology: a critical discourse analysis by norman fairclough. *Konfiks, Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra & Pengajaran, 9*(2), 24-33.

Reay, D. (2004). 'It's all becoming a habitus': beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *25*(4), 431-444. https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569042000236934

Rogers, R., Schaenen, I., Schott, C., O'Brien, K., Trigos-Carrillo, L., Starkey, K., & Chasteen, C. C. (2016). Critical discourse analysis in education. *Review of Educational Research*, *86*(4), 1192-1226. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654316628993

Siswadi, G. A. (2022). Philosophical thoughts of paulo freire on education and its relevance to the merdeka belajar system in indonesia. *Guna Widya: Jurnal Pendidikan Hindu*, *9*(2), 142-153. https://doi.org/10.25078/gw.v9i2.164

Smith, K. (2013). Critical Discourse Analysis and Higher Education Research. In J. Huisman & M. Tight (Eds.), *International Perspectives on Higher Education Research* (Vol. 9, pp. 61-79). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3628(2013)0000009007

Suoranta, J., Hjelt, N., Tomperi, T., & Grant, A. (2022). Reinventing Paulo Freire's pedagogy in Finnish non-formal education: The case of Life Skills for All model. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *54*(13), 2228-2242. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2021.1974839

Tramonte, L., & Willms, J. D. (2010). Cultural capital and its effects on education outcomes. *Economics of Education Review*, *29*(2), 200-213. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2009.06.003

Van Dijk, T. A. (1999). Critical Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *10*(4), 459-460. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010004001

Van Dijk, T. A. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 466-485). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584194.ch22

Van Dijk, T. A. (2017). Socio-cognitive discourse studies. In J. Flowerdew & J. E. Richardson (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies* (1st ed., pp. 26-43). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315739342-3

Wirjawan, G. (2023, January 10). Ready to be criticized for the sake of defending the next generation. *Endgame* [Youtube]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TSER7bEmkXg

Wulandari, W., & Fauziati, E. (2022). Liberating education (merdeka belajar) in the perspective of paulo freire. *Syntax Literate: Jurnal Ilmiah Indonesia. 7*(3).