

Representation of Indonesian Leaders Post Covid-19 Revealed Through On Line Media Reports by BCC Indonesia and CNN Indonesia: A Study of Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This research is motivated by the importance of critical discourse analysis in the Representation of Indonesian Leaders Post Covid-19. This study aims to reveal the representation of the Indonesian government after covid-19 through covid-19 news. This research method uses a critical paradigm that focuses on multilevel methods. Discourse analysis in research also focuses on the ideology carried by online media. The approach in this study uses an approach developed by van Dijk. Research data is sourced from COVID-19 news throughout 2020. The accuracy of this research is also maintained because it uses layered search sources according to the critical discourse analysis approach in accordance with Fairclough's theory. The results of the discourse analysis show that CNN and BCC have similarities in representing the handling of Covid-19 in Indonesia, namely: the Indonesian government, under Jokowi's leadership, is not able to handle Covid-19 properly. From the point of view of critical discourse analysis, such representations contain partiality. This strengthens van Dijk's (2013) opinion that a text contains dominance and partisanship. In fact, according to Holmes & Castañeda (2016), representation can be considered as truth. The representation provided by CNI and BCI is also motivated by social elements, as stated by Fairclough (2013) that discourse is always related to social elements, including power, ideology, institutions, and other identities.

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INTRODUCTION

From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, language is seen as being able to be used for certain purposes, both for ideological purposes and for certain missions. In line with this, Munawar (2018) stated that language is a social process that is produced and conditioned

socially. Including language in online newspaper news. Tebba (2005) also stated that the news conveyed by the mass media is generally a picture of the background or colored by the owner of the media, be it religious background, ideology or the values they adhere to.

To reveal the mission, representation and ideology behind news discourse in letters on the online media of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Indonesia (BBC-I) and Cable News Network (CNN) Indonesia, this research uses Critical Discourse Analysis like research conducted by Alo & Ajewole-Orimogunje, (2013) who succeeded in uncovering the discourse strategies used by journalists to manipulate opinions, mobilize action, and influence perceptions of main news on a radio station in Osun State. Apart from ideology, this research also analyzes aspects of language as a whole. This is based on the view that the meaning of discourse is closely related to the communicative situation in society (van Dijk, 2013).

Based on the description above, the aim of this research is formulated to reveal the representation of the Indonesian government after Covid-19 through Covid-19 news.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Critical discourse analysis in the context of this research refers to understanding the language used in communication (Badara, 2018). Therefore, critical discourse analysis not only examines discourse from the linguistic aspect, but also from the context aspect (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). This view also strengthens the argument that discourse is closely related to facts that occur in society (Ledin & Machin, 2019). Ledin & Machin's (2019) opinion is reinforced by Fairclough's opinion in Jorgensen & Phillips, (2002) which says that discourse is a social practice in a certain context.

Furthermore, Fairclough divided discourse into three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and social practice (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). If it is related to online media discourse, the analysis focuses more on linguistic aspects only.

Based on the description above, the meaning of discourse analysis in the context of this research is formulated as an activity, view and identity based on the language used in mass media.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research method uses a critical paradigm that focuses on multilevel methods (Hamad, 2004) which in its analysis always considers the sociocultural context and background of the actors who create the text. Discourse analysis in research also focuses on the ideology promoted by online media which is analyzed according to the opinion of Sobur (2004) that

ideology contains a system of ideas expressed in communication. According to Larrain (in Sobur, 2004) it is important to analyze ideology in the media because ideology is considered a world view that states the social values of a group to defend certain interests. In fact, according to van Dijk, (2015) ideology can be considered a false consciousness to distort a person's or group's understanding of reality.

The approach in this research uses an approach developed by van Dijk, namely an approach that focuses on the discursive production of abuse of power and other forms of social inequality.

The research data comes from news coverage of Covid-19 throughout 2020, considering that the news at that time greatly influenced public perception. The data amounts to 6 news stories from BBC-I and 6 news stories from CNN-I. Each of the 6 news stories selected as the unit of analysis was based on the view of the Stempel stamp which states that 6 samples can produce accurate analysis results as long as they are used in similar newspapers (Krippendorff, 2018). The accuracy of this research is also maintained because it uses layered search sources according to the critical discourse analysis approach in accordance with Fairclough's (2013b) theory, namely following the steps: description; researchers describe the discourse strategies used by newspapers, interpretations; researchers interpret the results of data analysis, explanations; The researcher explains the results of his interpretation.

FINDINGS AND DUSCUSSION

Representation of the Indonesian Government on CNN-I Media

As an international newspaper, CNN has a vision of revealing the facts as they are. The titles used during the outbreak of Covid-19 can be categorized as an infodemic because they can influence the epidemic process and cause a negative social response in the audience (Kim et al., 2019).

The titles in question are analyzed as follows.

1. The discourse strategy in data (1) is the discourse strategy of using the clause "Kominfo asked to be transparent about corona". This strategy creates a negative representation of the Indonesian Government regarding its handling of Covid-19. This representation is strengthened in the news content as in the following news content.
Kominfo is expected to be able to share transparent information with the public regarding the corona virus....In fact, based on Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 54 of 2015, Kominfo also functions to issue policies....

2. An assimilation discourse strategy was found with the mention of the social group "central government". The central government in this context is the President and Vice President, ministers who assist the president, DPR and MPR (Law Number 32 Number 2004). This strategy creates a negative representation because it can give rise to the public's perception that the emergence of the Covid-19 hoax was caused by the government's failure.
3. The discourse strategy in data (3) is an individualization strategy by referring to Jokowi individually. This strategy is emphasized in the content of the news as follows.
Jokowi is considered to have a good vision for development, but does not have a clear vision... in the midst of the Corona Virus outbreak.
4. In data (4), an activation discourse strategy was found by highlighting an Australian institution -- the Lowy Institute --. This institution was used by the editorial staff to strengthen the phrase "Jokowi's unpreparedness" to face Covid-19. The mention of the institution raised public awareness that the Australian institution highlighted Jokowi's unpreparedness in dealing with Covid-19. In fact, Jokowi's statement of unpreparedness in the news content was only expressed by Benjamin Bland, one of the directors at the Lowy Institute as in the following content.
Benjamin Bland assessed that before the corona virus case was confirmed, Indonesia's response through the Minister of Health Terawan Agus Putranto was already very worrying.
5. The strategy used in data (5) is an assimilation strategy which is marked by the mention of "PKS" (Prosperous Justice Party) in the title. The linking of PKS with the clause, "Not Satisfied with the Government's Advice Regarding the Corona Virus" gives rise to a negative representation, namely, "PKS is not satisfied with the government's appeal regarding the Corona Virus". In fact, the person who was dissatisfied with the content of the news was Sohibul, who is one of the PKS administrators. This is illustrated in the content of the news as follows.
Former Deputy Chairman of the DPR RI, Sohibul, asked the government not to make policies that are responsible for dealing with the spread of the corona virus.
6. The discourse strategy used in title (6) is a combination of objectivation discourse strategies and abstraction discourse strategies. The objectivation discourse strategy is characterized by the use of the phrase "500 times as much". At first glance, this data is valid data. However, basically this phrase can be categorized as hyperbole, because the actual data is contained in the content of the following news.

...Meanwhile, during the third week or March 16-23, there were an additional 445 positive patients.

Representation of the Indonesian Government in BCC-I Media

1. The discourse strategy used in data (1) is an individualization discourse strategy characterized by the clause, "Jokowi Announces Measures to Control Covid-19" and the clause "But Without National Command". In title (1), a discourse strategy for using subordinate clauses is also found, such as in the phrase "without national command". Even though the phrase does not mention the actor directly, the public knows that what is meant by "national commander" is Jokowi. Paradoxical statement and use of the clause, "without national command". Gives rise to a negative representation of Jokowi.

2. The discourse strategy used in news (2) is the discourse strategy of using clauses such as in the clause, "Meanwhile other countries are transparent". This clause tends to represent Indonesia as "bad" in managing Covid-19 information compared to other countries. In fact, the editorial team knows why Indonesia is "not open", as in the content of the following news.

The characteristics of South Korean citizens are indeed different from those of Indonesia. Residents there are used to receiving emergency alerts from local authorities in the form of SMS because the country often experiences problems with fine dust due to pollution.

3. The discourse strategy used in data (3) is an assimilation discourse strategy by calling the community of social actors "doctors" and "nurses". When the community of doctors and nurses is mentioned, that is where the discourse strategy works by generating negative representations.

4. The title in data (4) uses an abstraction discourse strategy to attract the audience's attention. The results of discourse analysis show that the Editors actually know the number of people exposed to Covid-19, but because they have a specific goal, the Editors use the vocabulary "multiple". The data that shows that the editorial team knows the number of positive Covid-19 cases can be found in the following news data.

Ridwan said that of the 50 thousand rapid test kits distributed to districts/cities in West Java,... the result was that 677 people tested positive for Covid-19.

5. The strategy used in data (5) is an assimilation discourse strategy by mentioning the social category of actor, namely "worker" which means people who receive wages for the results of their work. This strategy creates the perception that all workers in Indonesia do not have

the right to work from home. In fact, what is meant by workers in title (5) are couriers as in the following news data.

One of the couriers admitted that he was worried about continuing to do activities outside the house. Even so, he is more worried about not providing for his family than contracting the corona virus from one of his customers. ...

6. The discourse strategy used in data (6) is a discourse strategy that uses the clause, "why did this happen and what is the solution?" The purpose of the Editors is to add clauses in the form of questions to ask for explanations and dig up information. Apart from that, the editorial team intends to emphasize the main sentence, "Journalist with Covid-19 Symptoms Dies After 'Rejected'". Thus, data (6) causes negative public perceptions of the Indonesian government, especially referral hospitals which are unwilling to accept patients with Covid-19 symptoms.
7. The results of the research above are interpreted based on the characteristics of critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 2015) with reference to research that has been conducted previously, namely: (a) Action, Rogers et al (2016), (b) History, Wodak & Meyer (2016), (c) power, KhosraviNik & Unger (2016), (d) ideology, Alo & Ajewole-Orimogunje (2013), and Badara (2020).

a. Action

Discourse is seen as action in the form of influencing, persuading, refuting, reacting, and so on (Polyzou, 2018). As part of the discourse, news in the media also has a specific purpose (Stepchenkova & Eales, 2011). In relation to action in CNN and BCC news discourse, as carried out by Hajer & Versteeg (2017), it was found that CNN and BCC aimed to influence readers' perceptions by forming negative representations regarding the handling of Covid-19. This thesis is also strengthened by processing analysis by following the steps taken by Fairclough & Wodak, (1997) by comparing CNN and BCC actions with actions on national online media in Indonesia. Research findings show that the national media also highlights the handling of Covid-19, but in a euphemistic style to avoid sensitive discussions (Ren & Yu, 2013). Kompas.com highlights Jokowi's leadership, using a polite language style with the news title, "Leadership and Communication in the Covid-19 Crisis Period". Republika.com also uses an expository language style and tends to support Jokowi with the news title, "Jokowi: I will mobilize all my strength to face Corona" (Firmansyah, 2020). Kompas.com's politeness can be linked to the media's motto, "don't want to be part of

the noise" (Kompas.com, 2020). Meanwhile Republika.com's neutrality is related to its media vision, namely to achieve an advanced, civilized society.

b. Context

Critical discourse analysis considers the discourse context, such as the setting, situation, events, and conditions, in which the discourse is produced. In line with this, Cook, (2003) suggests that discourse analysis also considers the context of a communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what situation; through what medium; and how. In relation to reporting on Covid-19 in Indonesia, CNN and BCC made negative representations towards the Indonesian government in the context of the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic. In such a context, the news can trigger public panic. In fact, according to Cinelli et al (2020), the representation of a person or institution in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic can influence a person's behavior and views. Including it can be used by the media to increase the number of readers (Chon & Latz, 2020). Even more so if what is being represented is a figure. Thus, it can be said that CNN and BCC are taking advantage of the pandemic context to make negative representations to the Indonesian government.

c. History

One aspect that is important for understanding a text is to place the discourse in a certain historical context (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). In the context of this research, the vocabulary aspect is used to reveal historical aspects of the Indonesian government's representation in handling Covid-19 by referring to the research of Antonakaki et al., (2017). The findings of this research are that the vocabulary used by CNN in making representations is: 'The center is stuttering', 'Hoaxes are rife', 'Jokowi's unpreparedness', 'PKS is dissatisfied'. BCI uses vocabulary without national command, Indonesia is not open, hospitals are rejected.

Lexically, "stuttering" means difficulty saying something (Cambridge, 2020). However, in Indonesia "stammering" has become a journalistic technical term to describe something that is slow to handle. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the word 'stutter' was often used by the national media in Indonesia to describe the slow handling of Covid-19. For example, Republika.com uses the vocabulary 'stutter' in the title, "Stuttering in the Face of the Corona Outbreak" (Azra, 2020). Kompas.com, uses the vocabulary 'stammer' in the title, "Observer: Government Still Stuttering in Handling the Corona Outbreak". Both media use the vocabulary 'stutter' in a polite context. However, in CNI the word 'stutter' tends to have a negative connotation because it is

directly associated with the Indonesian government. In fact, title (2) can be interpreted as the Indonesian government's 'stupidity' causing the rise of hoaxes.

The vocabulary 'hoaxes are rampant' is used by CNN to attribute it to the Indonesian government as the cause. This gives rise to a negative representation of the Indonesian government in handling Covid-19. As general vocabulary, this word is also used by the media *Republika.com* and *Kompas.com* in their news titles. However, it still has a positive connotation. For example, *Republika.com* uses the vocabulary 'hoax' in the title of its news, "Covid-19 Hoax Spreads on Social Media, This is the Reason for the Perpetrators" (Saturday 28 Mar 2020 00:24). *Kompas.com* uses the vocabulary 'hoax' in the title "Police Handle 101 Cases of Alleged Hoaxes Related to Corona" (04/05/2020).

The vocabulary "Jokowi's unpreparedness" was used by CNN to show Jokowi's unpreparedness to handle Covid-19. Different from CNN, *Republika.com* and *Kompas.com* also highlights Jokowi's unpreparedness, but still in a polite context. For example, *Republika.com* wrote the title "Jokowi Orders Integrated Corona Patient Data" (Monday 13 April 2020). *Kompas.com* wrote the title. "Jokowi is optimistic that 2021 will be the year of recovery from Covid-19".

Regarding the vocabulary 'PKS is not satisfied' on CNN, *Republika.com* and *Kompas.com* are also used. For example, *Republika.com* wrote the title, "PKS has distributed IDR 68.9 billion to prevent Covid-19" (27 May 2020). *Kompas.com*, "PKS Asks President to Listen to Experts in Handling Covid-19" Both media outlets show PKS's dissatisfaction with the management of Covid-19 in Indonesia. However, *Republika.com* uses figures of speech to be sarcastic, while *Kompas.com* uses a metaphorical style. CNN uses denotative language with the title, "PKS is not satisfied with the government's appeal regarding the Corana virus (4), giving rise to negative representation.

The vocabulary 'without national command' in data (1) BCC is interpreted as the absence of a leader in handling Covid-19. The leader in data (1) is pinned on Jokowi so that it represents Jokowi negatively. The results of discourse practice show that *Republika.com* and *Kompas.com* also highlight Jokowi's leadership, but by using vocabulary that has a polite nuance. *Republika.com* implicitly uses the vocabulary 'must be comprehensive' as in the title: "Academics: Handling of Covid-19 must be comprehensive" (12 Apr 2020). *Kompas.com* also uses command vocabulary but in a

euphemistic language style as in the title "Collaboration in Handling the Pandemic Needs Clear Commands" (29 May 2020).

Regarding the vocabulary "Indonesia is not open" used by BCC to represent the Indonesian government in managing Covid-19 information. *Republika.com*. and *Kompas.com*. also reported similar things, but in a polite language style. *Republika.com* published the title "Jokowi: No Data Covered About Covid-19" (22 Apr 2020). *Kompas.com*. "Jokowi Reminds His Staff about Information Disclosure Regarding Covid-19 (20/04/2020).

The vocabulary 'rejected by hospital' in BCC shows that the handling of Covid-19 patients in Indonesia is very serious. Moreover, in the news it was stated that the patient had visited 5 hospitals. Even though the news of patient refusal is news that attracts attention, *Republika.com* and *Kompas.com* did not report it. It is likely that both media considered the impact of the news, both its impact on public panic and the prestige of the Indonesian government.

Through exploring historical aspects as described above, it was found that the vocabulary used can shape representations in a negative direction. This is possible because CNN and BCC are giant cyber media which have the best rankings on Alexa (Alexa, 2020) in searching for news about Covid-19. In this way, both media have the opportunity to form representations according to their wishes (Bruyer & Jacobs, 2012). Especially when it comes to reporting on Covid-19, people in Indonesia will "swallow it" without criticizing (Badara, 2014).

d. Power

Discourse analysis views news discourse as not something natural, but rather a power struggle (Howarth, 2010). Apart from that, news discourse also has a power control function (Lounasmeri, 2013). In fact, news discourse is used as a medium to influence audiences (Fairclough, 2013b). There is a discourse battle over CNN and BCC's representation with national media. BCC and CNN represent the Indonesian government under Jokowi's leadership negatively in handling Covid-19. Jokowi is even represented on CNN-I as a leader who has no vision (Title 3, CNN-I), lacks readiness (Title 4, CNN-I), and cannot command (Title 1, BCC-I). Based on the leadership perspective (Fernandez & Robinson, 2006), Jokowi is categorized as holding power due to coercion. On the other hand, *Republika.com*. and *Kompas.com* describes Jokowi as a leader who has charisma, especially in handling the Covid-19 pandemic. This is reflected in the news discourse of both media. *Republika.com* describes Jokowi's figure

as in the title; "Jokowi Orders Integrated Corona Patient Data". Kompas.com. wrote the title: "Jokowi Orders Integrated Corona Patient Data". It could be that the difference in the representation of power in the news discourse is caused by Republika.com and Kompas.com being influenced by the Javanese philosophy which is widely adhered to by journalists. They prefer to agree with the leader's opinion, and often forget their inner voice and personal awareness (Siswanto, 2016). Meanwhile, CNN and BCC are influenced by ideological aspects as described below.

e. Ideology

News is not a value-free representation of reality but is an ideological construction (Khodadady & Khosravany, 2014). Likewise, representation on CNN-I and BCC-I is motivated by ideology as a particular political force (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016). The results of discourse analysis from the ideological aspect found that Jokowi was more inclined to build relations with China, which has a Marxist ideology, rather than the United States, which adheres to democracy (Dudziak, 2011). Apart from that, Jokowi also often disturbs the practices of the American monopoly PT Freeport Indonesia. From a discourse analysis perspective, it is suspected that CNI as an online media based in America represents America's ideological interests in the international arena. Including representing American interests against Chinese ideologues and the economy which is starting to grow rapidly (Xuetong, 2018). This thesis is strengthened by the fact that, before the popularity of online media, America also used films to increase its influence and ward off ideological attacks from other countries (Alfian, 2014).

The ideology underlying CNN's representation tends to be the same as that underlying BCC's ideology. As an online media based in England, the BBC of course also represents British interests in the international arena. Under Jokowi's leadership, relations between China and Indonesia are getting better, while relations between Britain and China during the Covid-19 pandemic are getting worse (Jitu News). If we refer to the view of Khodadady & Khosravany (2014) who hold that news is not a value-free construction of facts, then the thesis of BCC representing British interests can be justified.

Apart from the above, representation and labeling are also suspected to be influenced by the ideology of the media owner. This view is reinforced by van Dijk (1995) that ideology does not have to be socialism, liberalism, communism, or other ideologies, but can also be a social framework that regulates organizations or

institutions of social cognition. In Indonesia, CNN is owned by Chairul Tanjung (Adzkiya, 2015). Chairul Tanjung was once a close person to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) who was at odds with Jokowi. Chairul Tanjung is also close to PKS, which often opposes Jokowi's policies. Thus, the thesis is that the representation and labeling of CNN is also likely to be influenced by CNN license holders in Indonesia. Meanwhile, BCC-I's representation and labeling of news on handling Covid-19 in Indonesia is solely due to its vision of prioritizing excellence in innovation and authenticity of news. This research did not find any national political influence because BCC is not affiliated with any particular political party in Indonesia (Pradipta et al., 2018). Similar to CNN and BCC, national media have also highlighted the handling of Covid-19, but still in polite language. It is suspected that it still has something to do with the owner's ideology. Kompas.com is owned by Jacob Oetama who is not affiliated with any particular political party. Meanwhile, Republika is owned by Erick Tohir, who was the Chair of Joko Widodo's Winning Team during the 2020 Presidential Election (Gautama, 2020).

Discussion

This research thoroughly reveals the representations expressed from action, context, history, power and ideology, through this analysis it reveals thoroughly and completely what is behind the news discourse. Thus, this research covers the shortcomings of French Theory discourse analysis (Marchese, 1987) which was widely used in the 1990s as carried out by Nancy (1992), Aoki (1995), and De S.-O.-L'E. Lasser (1998) whose analysis only focused on the ideological aspect. This research also shows that analyzing action, context, history and power, and ideology covers the shortcomings of practical discourse according to Fairclough, 2013a which cannot be done in online media because online media content can be updated quickly, both in substance (content and data) and editorial (Almgren & Olsson, 2015). Due to changes in substance and editorial, the production process and process of interpretation from Fairclough (1987) are not functioning. Through comprehensive discourse analysis starting from action, context, history, power, to ideology, the chronological order and ideology behind an online media discourse will be known.

In the view of critical discourse analysis, it is important to understand the discourse strategies used by the media to convey the mission and ideology carried by online media. Such analysis will help identify the ways or strategies used by online media to spread ideological missions and be accepted by society. Indonesia, as a country with cultural and ideological

diversity, is vulnerable to attacks by foreign ideologies. This happens in the era of globalization where information can easily spread via the internet and social media. In this context, critical discourse analysis can reveal how foreign ideology has seeped into the culture and thinking of Indonesian society, including influencing people's trust in their leaders.

The coverage of Covid-19 by the BBC and CNN will have a significant impact on the perceptions and attitudes of the Indonesian people towards national leaders. This research found the importance of understanding the narrative and language used by media because through language and narrative the audience's thoughts and emotions can be influenced. Apart from that, it is also important to analyze the motives behind the news, whether to provide objective information or to influence public opinion according to a certain agenda. In the Indonesian political context, strategies to maintain national leadership are important. This interest is due to the fact that through the media other countries can entrust their interests. This research found that the strategies used by the BBC and CNN media could erode public trust in national leadership.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The results of discourse analysis show that CNN and BCC have similarities in representing the handling of Covid-19 in Indonesia, namely: the Indonesian government, under Jokowi's leadership, is unable to handle Covid-19 well. From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, this representation contains bias. This confirms van Dijk's (2013) opinion that a text contains domination and partiality. In fact, according to Holmes & Castañeda (2016), representation can be considered as truth. The representations provided by CNI and BCI are also based on social elements, as stated by Fairclough (2013) that discourse is always related to social elements, including power, ideology, institutions and other identities.

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