# Covid-19 on Online News Media: A Discourse Analysis of Indonesian Government Crisis Management on *Kompas.com*

# PRAYUDI

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#### ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia had attracted debate over how the Government dealt with this crisis. Since the beginning of the pandemic, the Government has denied the spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia, although several cases were found in neighbouring countries. This research aims to analyse how the Indonesian Government handles the pandemic, based on news published online. Further, the research looked at the levels of text, social cognition, and social context of the relevant news in Kompas.com. The research method used was Teun van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis. The research result shows that Kompas.com presented the issue succinctly and criticised how the Indonesian Government handled the pandemic. The discourse built was that the Jokowi government was not ready to deal with the pandemic. The Government tended to ignore inputs from academics, research results, and other parties. Kompas.com sought to uncover the Government's initial response to the pandemic and subsequent policies. Further, the Government issued policies that were unclear, not firm, and constantly changing. *Kompas.com* positioned itself as a media that always presented news objectively, intact, independent perspective, unbiased by various political, economic, and power interests. The substance of this study contributes in the form of new policy recommendations for the heads of online media news editors on how to deliver news to the public in an open, straightforward, and critical manner that prioritises social responsibility.

**Keywords:** Covid-19, critical discourse analysis, online news media, Kompas.com, Jokowi administration.

# INTRODUCTION

The novel coronavirus disease (Covid-19) emerged in December 2019 and has spread to a worldwide pandemic in less than three months. This virus has spread rapidly, precipitating a global crisis that shows no signs of abating any time soon (Dennison Himmelfarb & Baptiste, 2020).

The Lowy Institute, Australia, revealed a research report of how the Government of a country managed the pandemic crisis. Researchers tracked the number of Covid-19 cases in each country and confirmed deaths and levels of testing (Lowy Institute, 2021). New Zealand took the top rank, followed by Vietnam, Taiwan, and Thailand, which came in second, third, and fourth. Indonesia and India are not much better off, at 85 and 86 out of 98 countries, respectively. Until February 14, 2021, there were 1,217,468 cases of Corona in Indonesia, with a death rate of up to 33,183 people (Satuan Tugas Penanganan COVID-19, 2021).

In Indonesia, the Government identified and announced the first and second cases of Covid-19 on March 2, 2020. Interestingly, before the announcement, the Indonesian Government had consistently denied that the Covid-19 had spread to the country. First, as reported by CNN Indonesia (2020, February 11), the Minister of Health claimed that the virus would not infect significant Indonesian populations and asked people not to panic and enjoy

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life. Second, the Health Minister rejected Harvard University's research on modelling the possibility of Covid-19 entering Indonesia. Third, Liputan 6 had covered a news of the vice president stated that Indonesia would be Covid-19 free due to prayers from Muslim clerics (Egeham, 2020, February 29). These facts showed that communication and leadership should be a serious concern. Therefore, the Government's communication policy should pay attention to various aspects, especially on conveying the policy for handling the Covid-19 pandemic to the public.



Figure 1: Discourse on Jokowi's announcement of the first 2 Covid-19 cases in Indonesia

Several developed countries, including Australia and the United States, and the World Health Organization (WHO), questioned Indonesia's ability to detect and treat patients infected with this virus (Gultom, 2020). Therefore, it is interesting to see how the Indonesian Government handles the crisis of COVID-19.

The role of the news media in the Government's efforts to overcome the COVID-19 crisis is critical. The Government relies on the media to inform the public about the steps that have been taken (Prayudi & Sagita, 2021). At the same time, a crisis like COVID-19 has high news value as it impacts the society. It has not only hit Indonesia, but has spread to more than 200 countries in the world.

The news media has the power to influence the meaning and image resulting from the reality it constructs. The news media creates discourse and leads the reader to a specific goal (Katermina & Yachenko, 2020). It presents the facts in the language of the news, which is not value-free. News language has roots in our everyday communicative practices (Wheeler, 1999).

Studies on the news development of government's crisis management in the aftermath of Covid-19 are arguably still uncommon. Most research on Covid-19 has concentrated on the health implications (Block, Berg, Lennon, Miller, & Nunez-Smith, 2020; Gülsen, Yigitbas, Uslu, Dromann, & Kilinc, 2020). As a result, there is a dearth of research on the Covid-19 and especially the Indonesian media. Covid-19 has been the subject of some research in Indonesia, such as Gandasari and Dwiedinawati (2020) and Hayati and Yoedtadi

(2020). These two studies examined the news content in reporting Covid-19 pandemic information by analysing the frequency of appearance and the news content related to social and economic issues in online news and the framing of Covid-19 news. However, these two studies paid scant attention to how the Indonesian Government handled the crisis as reported in the media. It is the void that this research sought to bridge.

Based on the above understanding, the research objective was to analyse the Indonesian Government's crisis management of Covid-19 on *Kompas.com* using Critical Discourse Analysis. Accordingly, the study focused on four *Kompas.com* news items that reported on Government policy on Covid-19 during the one-and-a-half-month period since the President declared the first two Covid-19 cases in Indonesia.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis was born from the awareness that problems in communication were not limited to the use of sentences, speech functions, and more complex message structures. Eriyanto (2017) states that discourse analysis assesses how social groups use language to justify opinions. Discourse analysis reveals the subject's hidden intentions, which reveal a statement. Another definition states that critical discourse analysis studies language's various functions (pragmatics) (Sobur, 2006).

Critical discourse analysis attempts to reveal the hidden subject (writer) who puts forward a statement. Disclosure is done by placing oneself in the writer's position by following the structure of the author's meaning so that the form of distribution and production of ideology disguised in discourse can be known. Discourse can be seen from power relations, especially in forming subjects and various representational acts (van Dijk, 2013). Researchers put themselves in the news production process in the media. Thus, the focus is on studying the news text and looking at media routines.

Discourse is a form of social practice that constitutes the social world and is compiled by other social practices so that there is a relationship with the dimensions of the social level (Gee & Green, 1998). Moreover, language use is constitutive in conventional ways, which help to reproduce and maintain existing social identities, relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, and in creative ways that help transform them (Fairclough, 2013). Finally, language shapes and reproduces social identities, relationships, and systems of knowledge and beliefs in conventional or new ways. In some instances, the three formations can occur to a certain degree (Riley, 2007).

Domination or hegemony of power also involves special access so that it can shape the form of discourse. Dominant or elite groups can describe events or problems through their access and directly or indirectly influence the public and prosecute other groups so that discourse control occurs in a group (Howarth, 2010).

The vital point of critical discourse analysis lies in its comprehensive research by looking at elements or factors outside the text, such as journalists' cognition and social conditions or social contexts. This analysis does not look at the text alone. It must be adequately understood and holistically. Discourse analysis is included in the category of critical paradigm, which has its view of the news that originates from how news is produced, how the journalists and the media sit in the whole news production process (Eriyanto, 2017). Journalists use language to reconstruct events. When the language favours one group, journalists are only the smallest part of the social, economic, and political structure. When journalists see events, they will write them down based on social views, ideologies, and business pressures. Thus, a news story is a compromise of these three things (Eriyanto, 2017).

Based on this understanding, this study analysed the construction of news text regarding the Indonesian Government crisis management of Covid-19 using critical discourse analysis. In addition, the study combined it with the journalists' social cognition and the context of the situation.

# Media Hegemony Theory

This theory focuses on the media's ideology, the form of expression, the way of application, and the mechanisms carried out to defend and develop themselves through obedience to influence and shape their minds successfully (McQuail & Deuze, 2020).

Hegemony is the imposition of a viewpoint on a particular class through ideological power and necessity. In other words, hegemony means efforts to lead audiences to assess and view social problems within a predetermined framework (Andrews, 2017). The media can be a means for a group to strengthen its position and humiliate other groups. The process of marginalisation of discourse takes place naturally and without any awareness. Raymond William (1989) explains that hegemony works through ideology and culture. One of the strengths of hegemony is to create specific ways of thinking or discourse that are considered correct, while other discourses are considered wrong.

Hegemony also concerns the power through the defense of cultural continuity rooted in society by intellectual groups. Intellectual groups produce scientific opinions that unite community solidarity (Andrews, 2017). The concept of hegemony is manifested through how the media report an event by choosing a certain angle, source and highlighting specific news values (Karsa, 2017). Readers consume news according to the perspective of journalists and media institutions.

News is something that is not free of value as there are many ways to convey the various points of view. The choice of one particular point of view is on the media as the media has the authority or authority to impose a frame of mind on an issue. Journalists need to pay attention to and know the rules or habits of the mass media concerned (Newman, Fletcher, Schulz, Andi, Robertson, Nielsen, 2021). Through the news, the audience is invited to have an opinion and think from the media's point of view and could consequently form public opinion (Newman et al., 2021).

# Crisis Management

The term "crisis management" refers to a type of emergency response. This situation can occur in any institution, organization, or business, both private and public. Likewise, a crisis can strike at any time and from any location. So, naturally, it will affect the business (Arandas & Ling, 2020; Hidayat, Anisti, Purwadhi, & Wibawa, 2020). In the context of this study, the crisis in question is the Covid-19 pandemic.

Crisis management is a situation-based management system that includes defined roles and responsibilities and process-related organisational requirements that apply to the entire organisation. According to Enander (2017), an organisation needs to have crisis management planning which comprises three steps. The first step includes gathering basic information such as the cause and severity of the crisis. The second step should involve the

formulation of crisis management plans and teams in light of the severity of the crisis, and the third step should involve the execution of those plans with the assistance of the crisis management team. In this study, an analysis of the discourse of Indonesian government policy in managing Covid-19 in the online news media would portray the Government's readiness in handling the crisis.

# METHODOLOGY

This study used a qualitative research method that focuses on the critical discourse analysis model. Discourse analysis is an effort to reveal the subject's hidden intentions, which reveal a statement (Leipold, Feindt, Winkel, & Keller, 2019).

Discourse consists of three dimensions: text, social cognition, and social context. The essence of van Dijk's discourse analysis is to combine the three dimensions of discourse into a single analysis. First, in the text structure, the emphasis is the usage of the discourse strategy. Second, the level of social cognition studies the process of producing news texts involving individual cognition from journalists. Finally, the third aspect studies the discourse building in society on a problem (van Dijk, 2013). Van Dijk's analysis model is described in Figure 2.

Conte	ext
	Social Cognition
	Text

Figure 2: Van Dijk's Dimension of Discourse Source: (van Dijk, 2013)

The text structure is composed of several levels, each of which reinforces the previous one. Thus, three levels or layers exist, as shown in Table 1. The first is the macrostructure, which is the overarching meaning of a text that can be observed by examining the topics or themes that emerge in news discourse. Second, superstructures are a discourse structure associated with a draft of the text, a well-composed text component. Thirdly, microstructures are those elements of discourse that can be observed in a small section of a text; these elements include words, sentences, propositions, clauses, paraphrases, photographs (van Dijk, 2013).

Table 1: Structure of Text	
Macrostructure	
The global meaning of a text that can be observed from the topic/theme raised by a text	
Super Structure	
The outline of a text, such as the introduction, content, and conclusion	
Micro Structure	
The local meaning of a text includes the choice of words, sentences, and styles used by a text.	

The selection of *Kompas.com* was based on some arguments. First, *Kompas.com* was one of the pioneers of online media in Indonesia when it first appeared on the Internet on September 14, 1995, under the name *Kompas Online*. Second, Kompas has become a significant and reliable reference as indicated by its readers' middle and upper levels of education. Third, *Kompas.com* is a well-known national news media institution with a wide readership.

There were four news items to be analysed. They included *BREAKING NEWS: Jokowi* announces two people in Indonesia positive for Corona (02/03/2020), 5 Jokowi's policies to handle Covid-19, free electricity tariffs to credit relief (01/04/2020), President needs to clarify decisions in handling the Covid-19 outbreak (07/04/2020), President Jokowi signs presidential decree declaring Covid-19 as a national disaster (13/04/2020). The argument for choosing these news items during this period was that they represented the reporting of Jokowi policy on Covid-19 crisis management at the initial pandemic stage, which was one month and a half since the first two Covid-19 cases were declared in early March 2020.

#### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### Level of Text Analysis

The analysis of text structure included four news items that represented President Jokowi policies on Covid-19 crisis management. All news items appeared on *Kompas.com*.com at the initial stage of the pandemic in Indonesia.

Headline 01: BREAKING NEWS: Jokowi Announces Two People in Indonesia Positive for Corona		
Discourse	Element	Result Analysis
Structure		
Macrostructure	Thematic: Theme/topic	First confirmed case of Covid-19 in Indonesia.
Superstructure	Scheme	News headlines contain relevant facts.
		The initial scheme prioritises the information in discovering the first Covid-19 case in Indonesia and the chronology of the incident. However, before the virus entered Indonesia, some Indonesian citizens were exposed to the Covid-19 virus in the content section. Meanwhile, in the final scheme, <i>Kompas.com</i> .com implicitly satirises the Government's steps in preventing the transmission of the virus.
Microstructure	Rhetorical: Perception Graphic Metaphor	In paragraph five, journalists apply elements of presuppositional discourse by including statements from public policy observer Agus Pambagio to support opinions. Graphic elements can be seen in capital letters in the news title's word "breaking news". In contrast, the element of metaphor is not found in this news.
Microstructure	Semantics: Background Details Meaning	The background chosen by journalists to support the opinion that the Government has yet to have concrete preventive measures is to explain the facts about two cases of Indonesian citizens exposed to the Covid-19 virus outside the country. Meanwhile, the details presented by journalists in this news are still related to the background. The intention journalists want to display is to provide vigilance and information to the public that before the Covid-19 case was confirmed in Indonesia, many Indonesian citizens were exposed to this infectious virus outside the country.
Microstructure	Syntax: Denial Coherence	There are at least three ideas that were initially different. They include discovering the first Covid-19 case in Indonesia, the fact that

Table 2: Level of text analysis

	Sentence Form Pronouns	Indonesian citizens have been exposed abroad, and the Government's anticipatory steps, which had attracted criticism. However, in this news, journalists managed to make the coherence of each idea into a whole unified discourse. Elements of denial discourse are not found in this news. However, journalists implicitly agree with the assumption that the Government has not provided concrete steps in anticipating the spread of the Covid-19 virus in Indonesia. The paragraph form used in this article is a deductive paragraph in which the main idea is described at the beginning of the sentence. Regarding personal pronouns, journalists use the word "he" to refer to the source. This shows the equal position of both sources: journalists and readers. In addition, journalists do not take sides with the relevant sources.
Microstructure	Stylistics: Lexicon (Word Choice)	At the beginning of the news, the style of language used by journalists is similar to hard news in general, straight to the point. However, after entering the content section, the journalist used a backward flow by explaining that Indonesian citizens were exposed to the virus before the first case of Covid-19 was found in Indonesia. In addition, in the first sentence of paragraph five, the journalist added the word "many" but did not mention in detail the amount.

Discourse	Element	Result Analysis
tructure		
Macrostructure	Thematic: Theme/topic	Jokowi issued five new policies, two of which were economic stimulus
Superstructure	Scheme	The title of the news is relevant to the content of the news. However, of the five new policies issued by Jokowi, journalists only display two policies in their news titles. Namely the Government's policy in providing free electricity rates and credit relief. Thus, journalists implicitly highlight these two policies in this report. The initial scheme explained that President Jokowi issued a new policy to stimulate the economic sector affected by the Covid-19 outbreak. The scheme of content until the end of the news, journalists describe one by one the five new policies issued by Jokowi.
Microstructure	Semantics: Background Details Meaning	The background chosen by journalists for this news was that the Covid- 19 outbreak had impacted the health sector and the economic sector. Detailed elements can be seen in the elaboration of each of the new policies issued by Jokowi. For example, two of the five new policies issued by Jokowi focused on stimulating the economic sector. Thus, the aim that journalists wanted to achieve was that in addition to thinking about the health impact of Covid-19, the Government also currently thought of the impact on other sectors, namely the economic sector.
Microstructure	Syntax: Denial Coherence Sentence Form Pronouns	The element of discourse coherence was found in using the word "previous," which was journalists' attempt to connect two facts into a single unit. In addition, the use of the word "but" found in several sentences was a sign of contradictory conjunctions. Meanwhile, none of the elements of discourse denial was found. The form of this news paragraph was a deductive paragraph. The main idea was conveyed initially and later explained through additional sentences. Deductive paragraphs can make it easier for readers and writers to find harmony between sentences in the news.

Microstructure	Stylistics: Lexicon (Word Choice)	The harmony of the sentence appeared through the pronouns used. For example, the words "this" and "that" explained the previous sentence. As for personal pronouns, the interviewees used the pronoun "they" to refer to parties taking motorbikes or car loans, such as motorcycle taxi drivers, taxi drivers, and fishermen. "Motorcycle taxi drivers, taxi drivers, and fishermen who have motorbikes or car loans, I tell them not to worry because interest payments or installments are given leeway for one year." The language style used equally to hard news where news was described clearly and concisely. <i>Kompas.com.com</i> used many news
		sources in conveying information. This finding proved that <i>Kompas.com.com</i> as a media did not assume an event. The data sources used in the news came from information submitted through the press conference. Jokowi's presentation as a news source related to the Government's strategy got a more significant share in this news. Thus, the information emphasised in this news was the explanation related to the strategy. In general, the words used had a precise meaning, did not have multiple meanings, and did not favour a particular group.
Microstructure	Rhetorical: Perception Graphic Metaphor	Unlike the previous news, there was no element of perception found in the news. Throughout the news, journalists only explained about five new policies issued by Jokowi. Bold letters on each policy point were the way <i>Kompas.com.</i> com emphasized the information. This was done to make it easier for readers to understand the explanation of each policy. Therefore, no metaphorical elements were found in this news.

Headline 03: President Needs to Clarify Decisions in Handling the Covid-19 Outbreak		
Discourse	Element	Result Analysis
Structure		
Macrostructure	Thematic: Theme/topic	Deputy Chairman of the House of Representatives, Achmad Dimyati Natakusumah, said that the Government's Covid-19 crisis management was unclear.
Superstructure	Scheme	The news title contains the Deputy Chairperson of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Achmad Dimyati Natakusumah, who believes that the presidential decision was still unclear in dealing with Covid-19. The initial scheme immediately presented an opinion that assessed the
		President's decision as not brave, fast, firm, and clear in dealing with the Covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia.
		The news content describes various suggestions submitted by Achmad Dimyati for a more apparent Covid-19 crisis management.
		At the end of the story, journalists flicked about the impact that would arise from a decision.
Microstructure	Semantics: Background Details Meaning	The setting chosen was Achmad Dimyati's assessment of the President's decision. In detail, journalists conveyed various inputs made by Achmad Dimyati related to the presidential decision. By looking at the background and details, it is implied that journalists intend to present to the public that many government decisions need to be updated. This hidden intention was reinforced by the use of Achmad Dimyati as the sole source for the news.
Microstructure	Syntax:	The coherence that appears in the use of words "cause", "until", and
	Denial Coherence	"so" in several sentences is a sign of causal conjunction.
	Sentence Form	Elements of denial discourse are not found in this news. Nevertheless,
	Pronouns	the attitude of journalists implicitly agrees with what Achmad Dimyati

		said that the President's decision in dealing with the Covid-19 outbreak was unclear.
		The form of the news paragraph "President Needs to Clarify Decisions in Handling the Covid-19 Outbreak" is deductive. So the main idea of the news is at the beginning of the sentence. Meanwhile, the following sentence is a supporting sentence. The form of a deductive paragraph shows a combination of sentences and the cohesiveness of ideas between parts.
		The pronouns "this" and "that" are used to show cohesion (harmony) between elements in the text. Meanwhile, to mention sources, journalists use the pronouns "he." This shows the equality of positions
Microstructure	Stylistics: Lexicon (Word Choice)	between journalists, sources, and readers. In general, the style of language used is straight to point. As for the choice of words, in one of the paragraphs, the interviewees used the word "community disease" in referring to the Covid-19 virus that was hitting Indonesian society. However, in general, "social disease" refers to the actions of a person or group of people that are negative such as violence, alcohol, gambling, and prostitution. Therefore, the word "social disease" used in this news can have more meaning and confuse readers.
Microstructure	Rhetorical: Perception Graphic Metaphor	Journalists adopted the element of perception in this news. This can be seen in the news lead section. Journalists did not emphasise or highlight a message by using bold or italics in graphic elements. This news was only equipped with photo documentation of Achmad Dimyati, who was the sole source for this news. Metaphorical elements did not appear in this article.

Discourse	Element	Result Analysis
Structure		
Macrostructure	Thematic: Theme/topic	Jokowi signed a decree that the Covid-19 pandemic was a national disaster.
Superstructure	Scheme	The initial scheme prioritised information that Jokowi signed the coronavirus outbreak as a national disaster through a Presidential Decree. In the content scheme, journalists describe the points of the Presidential Decree. As for the final scheme, Jokowi and Achmad Yurianto were not cohesive in declaring Covid-19 a national disaster. Therefore, the title displays facts that are relevant to the content of the news.
Microstructure	Semantics: Background Details Meaning	The chosen setting was that the Covid-19 pandemic was final declared a national disaster. Journalists carried out the detailed elements in explaining the point of the Presidential Decree one by one. However, in the final scheme journalists presented that one month before the stipulation of th Presidential Decree, the Covid-19 spokesperson had said that th Covid-19 outbreak was a national disaster. By doing so, journalists implicitly intend to show the public that determining the status of a national disaster through the Presidentia Decree by Jokowi was too late. In addition, through this new journalists implicitly display the incoherence of communication mad by Jokowi and Achmad Yurianto in declaring Covid-19 a national disaster.

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Microstructuro	Suptavi	The use of the word "actually" has the meaning of the actual situation
Microstructure	Syntax: Denial Coherence Sentence Form Pronouns	The use of the word "actually" has the meaning of the actual situation. So in this report, journalists attempted to explain to the public what happened. Before Jokowi signed the Presidential Decree regarding the change in the status of Covid-19 to a national disaster, Achmad Yurianto had conveyed it one month earlier. So here is the discourse strategy. "The statement that Covid-19 is a national disaster has been conveyed verbally by the government spokesman for the handling of the coronavirus, Achmad Yurianto" (Paragraph 2). In addition, based on the discourse strategy, journalists implicitly expressed the attitude that Jokowi's determination of the Covid-19 outbreak as a national disaster through a Presidential Decree was a late step. This was evidenced by the presentation of the spokesman for the handling of Covid-19, Achmad Yurianto, who one month earlier had conveyed the same thing. Here was the discourse strategy. "However, in reality, the Presidential Decree on the determination of a national disaster was only signed by the President a month later" (Paragraph 3). The form of the news paragraph "President Jokowi Signs Presidential Decree Determines the Covid-19 Outbreak of a National Disaster" is deductive. However, the flow used by journalists was forward and backward. The pronouns "this" and "that" were used to show the relationship
Microstructure	Stylistics: Lexicon (Word Choice)	between elements in the text. The language style used was similar to hard news in general. It tended to be straight to point and described clearly and concisely. The words used in this news generally have a precise meaning, did not have multiple meanings, and were not biased towards a particular group.
Microstructure	Rhetorical: Perception Graphic Metaphor	Journalists use the element of perception in this news. This can be seen from the use of the statement submitted by Achmad Yurianto one month before Jokowi signed the Presidential Decree. Journalists use this strategy to support opinions by providing a premise that is believed to be accurate. For graphic elements, journalists do not emphasize or highlight a message by using bold, italics, and so on. However, the emphasis on information is conveyed by <i>Kompas.com.com</i> by repeating the sentence above the news lead. Meanwhile, the element of metaphor is not found in this news.

# Analysis of the Social Cognition

At this stage, the study analysed the process of producing news texts involving individual cognition from journalists. Thus, the social cognition framework in the process of analysing critical discourse on Jokowi's policy news in overcoming Covid-19 is that discourse was made with awareness, knowledge of social phenomena, and prejudice. The journalists view this social phenomenon and produce a critical discourse (Eriyanto, 2017). Two elements were identified in understanding the social cognition of the journalist: knowledge and opinion, and behaviour (Yusar, Sukarelawati, & Agustini, 2020).

The article written reflected the journalist's principle to write facts correctly and adequately. This competence becomes very valuable amid so much information flow in electronic media and social media. However, sometimes, the information cannot be justified. This is in line with trainings provided by Kompas.com which includes basic and advanced journalistic training for its journalists to assure that *Kompas.com* reporting fulfils the standard of good quality and professional journalistic products (Inside Kompas, 2021). The training included writing investigative news, features, opinions, popular science, and others as

needed. It then shaped the knowledge and behaviour of *Kompas.com* Journalists, besides the editorial policy.

#### Table 3: Level of social cognition analysis

#### Headline 01: "BREAKING NEWS: Jokowi Announces Two People in Indonesia Positive for Corona"

The journalist saw how the Jokowi administration responded to Indonesia's first two Covid-19 cases. Thus, the journalist constructed the news to provide readers with information on Covid-19 first cases in Indonesia. The journalist portrayed steps the Government had taken in preventing the transmission of the virus. Finally, the journalist brought the issue to the surface based on how the Indonesian Government, through its Health Minister, had continuously rejected the existence of Covid-19 in Indonesia.

The journalist adopted straight news to criticise the Government implicitly. For example, to the knowledge of the journalist, the Government seemed reluctant to admit that Covid-19 had entered Indonesia. This was relevant to the journalist's understanding of *Kompas.com.com* editorial policy, which was brave, critical, and sharp. The interview with the journalist strengthened this by saying that the media must become the representative of society, and therefore the news reported must be in the interest of society. This was reinforced by language, choice of words, and graphic elements used to strengthen the discourse.

#### Headline 02: 5 Jokowi's Policies to Handle Covid-19, Free Electricity Tariffs to Credit Relief

The journalist reported the policy president Jokowi had taken to overcome the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, which emphasized more on the economic aspect. According to *Kompas.com*, government policy on dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic was critical, especially during the early stages. That is why it provided enough space to report this issue. However, President Jokowi had to wait for a month after the first Covid-19 case in Indonesia to announce his policy on the pandemic. This has become the interest of *Kompas.com* journalists. In particular, the journalist paid attention to see the presence of the Government during the crisis.

#### Headline 03: President Needs to Clarify Decisions in Handling the Covid-19 Outbreak

The journalist constructed the news based on the knowledge that Jokowi was not seriously managing the Covid-19. By reporting criticism from the Deputy Chairman of the House of Representatives, the journalist considered that Jokowi's policy in handling the Covid-19 pandemic was still unclear. The journalist presented opinions that assessed the President's policy as not brave, fast, firm, and clear in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic.

In objective journalism, reporting events must be balanced in the sense of trying to present all sides of the story. Fairness means journalists must strive for accuracy and truth in reporting and not skew the news so that readers draw the conclusions that journalists want. So, although *Kompas.com* journalists reported on what steps the Jokowi government had taken in dealing with the crisis, its journalist also criticised the Jowoki Government for being slow in anticipating Covid-19 on other news. So, even though *Kompas.com* is included in the online news media category and has a high potential for bias, journalistic ethics are still applied.

#### Headline 04: President Jokowi signs presidential decree declaring Covid-19 as a national disaster

*Kompas.com* journalist highlighted the President's signature of the decree that stated Covid-19 as a national disaster. The journalist considered this declaration was crucial to show the Government's seriousness in handling the pandemic after some unclear policies regarding the issue. That was why the journalist detailed the element of the decree. Nevertheless, the journalist also portrayed that the Covid-19 task force spokesperson had mentioned Covid-19 as a national disaster one month earlier. Thus, the journalist intended to show that the presidential decree was late in the Covid-19 crisis management. Further, *Kompas.com* journalists implicitly show a lack of coordination between the President and the Covid-19 task force.

In social cognition, journalists presented information in the news based on sources' opinions and related data research. *Kompas.com* journalists do not have any tendencies except to convey information related to the public interest. The scheme above shows the journalist's point of view in writing, which places the position of ordinary people so that the existing presentation can be understood openly by the wider community. This practice results in the news about Jokowi's policies regarding the Covid-19 pandemic being conveyed critically, in detail, and straightforwardly.

# Analysis of the Social Context

Journalists do not live in a separate vacuum, but their thoughts and interpretations are heavily influenced by the values or beliefs they accept as members of a community. News is not produced in an isolated space because journalists interact and relate to their social environment (Allan, 2010). Therefore, the analysis of news texts and the journalist's social cognition must also be related to the social context. Journalists play a role in producing news as part of certain community members with specific values and beliefs.

Social context is the third component of van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model. Because discourse develops dynamically in society, an intertextual analysis must examine how a text is produced and constructed in society. According to van Dijk (2013), two critical points must be examined to understand the social context or discourse that develops in society: power and access. Critical discourse analysis also pays more attention to the reproduced dominance of one group over another in terms of special access (Nurhadi, Marlina, & Firdaus, 2020).

Judging from the practice of power, *Kompas.com* was one of the pioneers of online media in Indonesia when it first appeared on the Internet on September 14, 1995, under *Kompas.com Online*. The early founders of *Kompas.com* Daily, the late P. K. Ojong and Jakob Oetama, were former senior journalists who were highly independent and had rich experience in the dynamics of Indonesian politics. This condition had an impact on the editorial policy that was independent and free of interests. Furthermore, the ownership background that did not orient to the interests of particular groups made *Kompas.com*, in reporting Jokowi's policies in dealing with Covid-19 in Indonesia in its news text, look straightforward and balanced by presenting the perspectives of various parties.

The practice of power by *Kompas.com* appeared in the news of President Jokowi's policies in handling the Covid-19 pandemic. In a news item from Headline 01, *Kompas.com* highlighted that the Jokowi administration was not ready when the virus was finally in Indonesia. His administration's policy to handle the pandemic kept changing and showed his unreadiness in handling the pandemic. *Kompas.com*, for instance, showed this in the last paragraph of news item 01 by saying that,

The Government's steps in anticipating the coronavirus previously drew much criticism. One of them is that the Government is considered not to have given concrete steps to expose its citizens to the coronavirus. "Now we want to hear what the government's steps were when we got the disease, where we are going, what we should do," said public policy observer Agus Pambagio when contacted by *Kompas.com*.com, Sunday (1/3/2020).

Kompas.com also portrayed the slowness of President Jokowi in signing a decree that made the Covid-19 pandemic a national disaster, as shown in news item 04. Again, Kompas.com developed a discourse through a particular perspective of news that represented the interest of larger society. It stated that the President's response to the Covid-19 outbreak in Indonesia was not courageous, swift, firm, or clear. On a larger scale, Kompas.com also criticised the Government's unclear steps of anticipating Covid-19 from spreading in Indonesia. Kompas.com, for instance, showed this in the last paragraph of news item 03,

This condition had confused the community about which rules should be used as guidelines. Achmad thought that the Government had issued too many regulations in dealing with Covid-19. "Central to regional regulations are now only appealing, so the legal sanctions are not clear," he said.

Additionally, this portrays the Government as insecure and confused about Covid-19, resulting in poor decisions, making it increasingly unclear when Covid-19 will conclude. "Therefore, a strategic plan is needed to deal with Covid-19 massively and quickly," said Achmad. He continued, the impact of the decision must also be explored. (Tuesday, 07/04/2020)

After a month of the first two Covid-19 cases in Indonesia, Jokowi announced a policy to ease the economic impact of the Covid-19. In this case, *Kompas.com* constructed the discourse of Jokowi and enforced his power legally through his policy. This issue was interesting as Jokowi had been described as unclear in handling the pandemic. At some point, he threw the responsibility of Covid-19 crisis management to the Local Government. The disagreement between the Jokowi administration and Jakarta governor Anis Baswedan over how the local Government handled the pandemic reflected the sensitivity of this issue. Further, it also reflected another crisis in the exercise of power.

The media has the authority or power to impose a particular frame of thinking on a subject concerning media hegemony theory. The news invites the readers to form an opinion and consider issues from the media's perspective.

*Kompas.com* has the authority to regulate the information they display and what information they fuse. In reporting on the Jowoki government's policies in dealing with Covid-19, *Kompas.com* focuses more on Jokowi's inaction and unclear policies in dealing with the pandemic. *Kompas.com* also explained in detail the policies taken by Jokowi. However, this was followed by criticism from the Secretary of the House of Representatives. The dominance of information carried out by *Kompas.com* aims to strengthen the discourse they produce and invites readers to share the same view that the Jokowi government needs to clearly and decisively deal with Covid-19 in collaboration with local governments and related stakeholders.

# CONCLUSION

Covid-19 is an issue of global concern. The way the Government of a country overcomes the Covid-19 crisis will be the main news in the media. *Kompas.com*, the Indonesian online news media understudy, intensively reported on the policies taken by the Jokowi government.

Analysis on the text level indicated that *Kompas.com* adopted thematic, schematic, semantic, syntactic, stylistic, and is rhetorical in its discourse construction. The online news media also used credible sources such as representatives of the DPR, academics, and research results. *Kompas.com* was careful, humanist, and not bombastic in its discourse construction. It was the way *Kompas.com* criticised government policies. The discourse built was that the Jokowi government was not ready to deal with the pandemic. The Government tended to ignore inputs from academics, research results, and other parties. Further, the Government issued policies that were unclear, not firm, and constantly changing.

In terms of cognition and social context, the ideology adopted by *Kompas.com* is following the vision "Clear Seeing the World." Thus, *Kompas.com* positioned itself as a media that always presented news in an objective, intact, independent perspective, unbiased by various political, economic, and power interests. Moreover, it presented the latest information in hard news and exclusive from various perspectives to explain a sensitive case like the Covid-19 pandemic. *Kompas.com*'s journalists had the knowledge and competence to fulfill the standard of good quality and professional journalistic products. The discourse shown by *Kompas.com* also represents the media ideology. Therefore, in addition to discourse, this study discussed the ideology adopted by *Kompas.com*. In line with the discourse conveyed, the ideology of *Kompas.com* sided with the public interest.

Writing in conveying discourse proved that *Kompas.com* positioned itself as a media that favors the public interest. *Kompas.com* did not tend towards particular groups so that it can review and criticise things in detail. Overall, the purpose of reporting on Jokowi's policies in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic on *Kompas.com* was to criticise the Government and provide information disclosure to the public.

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