




Ideology representation in the editorial of *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas* on COVID-19 handling in Indonesia

Representasi ideologi dalam tajuk *Koran Tempo* dan *Kompas* tentang penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia

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KEYWORDS

critical discourse analysis, editorial discourse, ideology, COVID-19

ABSTRACT

This article examines the editorials in *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas* in representing their ideology of COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. This linguistic research is conducted qualitatively. The data were in the form of Indonesian-language editorial discourse, which discussed the COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. The written research data were taken from national newspapers, namely *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas*, and were obtained through the use of listening and note-taking techniques. They were then analyzed using Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model. The results of the analysis show that there are differences in the representation of ideology in *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas* on COVID-19 handling in Indonesia through their editorials that are systematically constructed in microstructure, superstructure, and macrostructure. In the microstructure, ideology is realized through the lexicon, specifically the use of the dominant persona, use of syntactic structures in the form of active-passive sentences, affirmative sentences, and imperative sentences, as well as the use of repetition styles and metaphors. *Koran Tempo* uses ideological patterns as actions and ideology beliefs in its superstructure. Meanwhile, *Kompas* uses ideological patterns as systems of thought and systems of action. The difference between the microstructure and the superstructure results in a different macrostructure. *Koran Tempo* portrays government as the key stakeholder in handling COVID-19 in Indonesia. Meanwhile, *Kompas'* editorial was directed at how the handling of COVID-19 was done through communal actions. The *Koran Tempo* ideology underlines who has a role in handling COVID-19, while the *Kompas* ideology focuses at what needs to be done in handling COVID-19.

KATA KUNCI

analisis wacana kritis, wacana tajuk, ideologi, COVID-19

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini mengkaji perihal bagaimana tajuk pada *Koran Tempo* dan *Kompas* merepresentasikan ideologinya tentang penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia. Penelitian ini berjenis kualitatif dalam bidang linguistik. Data yang dianalisis berbentuk wacana tajuk berbahasa Indonesia yang berisi tentang penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia. Sumber data penelitian berwujud tertulis yang diambil dari surat kabar nasional: *Koran Tempo* dan *Kompas*. Metode simak dan teknik catat dilakukan untuk mengumpulkan data. Model analisis wacana kritis dari Van Dijk diterapkan untuk menganalisis data. Hasil analisis menggambarkan adanya perbedaan representasi ideologi *Koran Tempo* dan *Kompas* tentang penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia melalui tajuk yang dikonstruksi secara sistematis dalam struktur mikro, super struktur, dan struktur makro. Dalam struktur mikro, ideologi direalisasikan melalui leksikon, khususnya penggunaan kata persona yang dominan, penggunaan struktur sintaksis berupa kalimat aktif-pasif, kalimat berita, dan kalimat perintah, serta penggunaan gaya repetisi dan metafora. *Koran Tempo* menggunakan pola ideologi sebagai tindakan dan ideologi sebagai keyakinan dalam super strukturnya. Sebaliknya, *Kompas* menggunakan pola ideologi sebagai sistem pemikiran dan sistem tindakan. Perbedaan struktur mikro dan super struktur tersebut menghasilkan struktur makro yang berbeda pula. *Koran Tempo* mengangkat tema tentang pemerintah sebagai aktor kunci dalam penanganan COVID-19 di Indonesia. Sementara itu, tema tajuk *Kompas* diarahkan pada penanganan COVID-19 yang dilakukan dengan berbagai tindakan secara bersama-sama. Ideologi *Koran Tempo* mengarah pada siapa yang ber-

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peran dalam penanganan COVID-19, sedangkan ideologi *Kompas* mengarah pada apa yang perlu dilakukan dalam penanganan COVID-19.

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Introduction

This study analyzes the ideology of two Indonesian national newspapers, *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas*, highlighting the COVID-19 handling in Indonesia in a specific time frame. This study uses critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2008). Globally, COVID-19 has been a controversial issue. Its origin remains an inconclusive debate among academics (Beaumont, 2020; Conforti et al., 2020; Lynas, 2020); therefore, countries' policies related to COVID-19 handling are also full of uncertainties and apprehension.

We focus on the editorial of *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas*, illustrating the editorial staff's attitude toward Indonesian COVID-19 handling. These two newspapers were selected since they seem to have embraced different visions. *Koran Tempo* is envisioned to be the reference in improving public freedom and have an opinion to establish a civilization respecting brilliance and differences. In this way, *Koran Tempo* becomes the only Indonesian mainstream newspaper that presents issues with investigative nuance. This newspaper has attained numerous awards, such as four Golden Winner in Indonesian Print Media Awards 2021 (Aji, 2021). In contrast, *Kompas* is envisioned to be an institution that enlightens Indonesian society's democratic and dignified development advocating humanity values and principles. Consequently, *Kompas* serves comparable Indonesian issues and has become the mainstream newspaper with the highest circulation in Indonesia. This newspaper has been acknowledged nationally and internationally, as reflected in its various awards in 2020 (Kurniawan, 2020).

This study compares the ideologies of these two newspapers in dealing with Indonesian COVID-19 handling. These newspapers are the most influential media in Indonesia with different angles when discussing a variety of issues in the country. *Koran Tempo* with its investigative subtlety was assumed to seek for the primary subject of Indonesian COVID-19 handling, while *Kompas* that prioritizes the aspect of balance was presumed to evade the aspect of the subject.

A similar investigation has been carried out in various media and countries. Al-Mwzaiji (2021) correlates issues of COVID-19's first appearance from two newspapers, the *China Daily* and *The Wall Street Journal*. These newspapers offer the same conceptualization of COVID-19, but they present different frames on COVID-19 handling. *China Daily* demonstrates a positive viewpoint in every progress of COVID-19 handling, while *The Wall Street Journal* is dominated by a pessimistic perspective in the COVID-19 handling development. Further, the results reflect distinctive responses from the two countries toward COVID-19 issues.

Abbas (2020) examined the opposing views of *The New York Times* from the United States of America and *Global Times* from China in discussing the COVID-19. This study concluded that the COVID-19 reports on those two newspapers are loaded with specific political interests. A study on COVID-19 issues correlation has also been carried out by

Dezhkameh et al. (2021), focusing on the ideological difference of *Tehran Times* from Iran and *The New York Times* from the United States of America in disclosing COVID-19 issues. The results signify that quantitatively those newspapers mostly use micro strategy to manipulate the readers' minds in COVID-19 matters. Besides, *Tehran Times* shows a contrasting attitude from the Iran government in COVID-19 handling, signifying that the mainstream media may have varies attitude from the incumbent government, specifically on the COVID-19 issues.

In addition, a discursive strategy has been adopted by the Indonesian government in handling COVID-19 through informing the discourse toward the available mass media in Indonesia (Sultan & Rapi, 2020). A study from Sultan and Rapi (2020) signifies that the Indonesian government establishes a positive discourse strategy in communicating Indonesian COVID-19 handling. The adoption of this strategy aims to sustain and enhance society's optimism.

This present study offers differences from those existing previous studies. First, this study adopts different contexts and data sources from a study from Al-Mwzaiji (2021). Al-Mwzaiji (2021) examines the mass media from two countries, China, which was the first country to announce the COVID-19 case, and the United States of America, which proclaimed China as its enemies in the world economy war. Besides, the United States of America's senator and president accused that COVID-19 was originated from a laboratory in Wuhan, China. That accusation was denied by the Chinese ambassador, Cui Tiankai, declaring that the virus was spread from the United States of America's laboratory through its soldiers coming to China. Besides, this study investigates the ideology from two mass media in Indonesia. This context difference may implicate different results. Second, this study also has a different context from a study carried out by Dezhkameh et al. (2021) that compared newspapers from Iran and the United States of America, two mainstream media that emphasizes the COVID-19 relevant policies. Meanwhile, this present study uses the Indonesian context.

Third, this study adopts issues from a study carried out by Sultan and Rapi (2020) investigating Indonesian's COVID-19 issues from the government discourse perspective. Differently, distinctive ideology between the mainstream media and the government on COVID-19 handling in Indonesia was selected in this study. Therefore, this study focuses on the ideology representation from the editorial of *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas* in Indonesian COVID-19 handling.

Editorial is a typical discourse in a newspaper. This discourse is produced by the editorial staff in a newspaper, discussing the newspaper's perspective or attitude on the recent issues in society (Subagyo, 2016). In editorial, the newspaper persistently and confidently presents their viewpoints on the essential issues to gain society's concentration (Santana, 2017). Editorial is classified as an argumentative discourse as presented by the inclusion of factual data bolstering their ideas, perspective, or attitude that aim to convince the readers (Sumarlam, 2003).

In the critical paradigm, the editorial is constructed through the language and non-language aspects, positioning it as a discourse rather than a mere text. Therefore, an editorial is arranged consciously by the editorial team, focusing on particular tendencies. Thus, the editorial is used as a social practice by the newspaper. This social practice serves as a frame in highlighting the same issue, knowledge about the concept (Renkema, 2004).

Therefore, it frames the construction and interpretation that affects human knowledge upon a reality (Eriyanto, 2001).

Subagyo (2016) examined different editorial frames of the rampant Indonesian terrorism act between 2002—2013 on several national mass media. Their frames were systematically represented in the introduction session, showing the ideology of the editorial. *Suara Pembaruan* frames the issue as *Dalang teror adalah Jamaah Islamiyah dan jaringannya* 'mastermind behind the attack of Jamaah Islamiyah and its organization'. The frame is reflected to reassure that the violent perpetrator was using the name of Islam. In contrast, *Republika* frames the terrorist act as a terror from the United States of America intelligence and its allies. Through a terror issue in Indonesia, *Republika* framed that Indonesian sources will be taken over by the United States of America. Separately, *Kompas* and *Koran Tempo* frame it as *Dalang teror misterius; penanganan lebih penting* 'Mysterious mastermind of the terror: The essential handling,' representing their ideology that prioritizes the comprehensive management of the terror than finding the perpetrators of the terror act.

In addition, an editorial consists of three parts, namely lead, follow, and evaluate (Bolívar, 2002), that are interrelated, establishing a unified discourse. Lead functions as an introductory part of the discussed issue or topic, while in follow, the topic is responded to by an in-depth analysis. The evaluate consists of an assessment of the discussed issues. A formal is used to accentuate the seriousness of the editorial (Koesworo, 1994).

Critical discourse analysis was selected to review the mass media's ideology represented in the editorial, specifically in discussing the COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. In the analysis process, ideology was defined as a viewpoint toward the world (Foucault, 2002). The ideology was semiotically positioned as fundamental in producing and interpreting a valuable symbol (Hamad, 2004). Essentially, critical discourse analysis is a process of describing a text (social reality) produced individually or by a specific group with a particular purpose. Therefore, it always contains significance in a certain context (Darma, 2009). In other words, a power rest in a piece of editorial (Asher & Simpson, 1993), thus, the editorial presents a power relation from a group of society (Renkema, 2004).

Discourse is one form of social practice (Subagyo, 2010) since it has the purpose to perform or attain authority. This social practice shows the presence of ideology in the construction of discourse. Thus, discourse analysis facilitates the identification of the discourse's purposes through analysis of the language.

As the directive, this study used Van Dijk's (2008) framework on discourse. A discourse should be comprehended as an action (Van Dijk, 2008) and a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 2005), consisting of related events with intricacies of contexts. Thus, discourse is capable of constructing a new social power (Van Dijk, 2008).

In analyzing and comprehending a discourse, context is essential (Van Dijk, 2008) since discourse is examined by extensively correlating language use and context. These two elements are substantial in identifying the sentence's coherence directed to attain a particular goal following the ideology. Therefore, discourse is divided into micro, super, and macro-structure. Microstructure represents the discourse's meaning that is reflected from the selection of dictions, sentences, and other lingual aspects. Therefore, the analysis of this structure focuses on the stylistic, syntaxis, semantic, and rhetorical aspects (Eriyanto,

2001). Meanwhile, its descriptive analysis circulates among the grammar, vocabulary, and text structure.

The superstructure is closely related to the framework of discourse. In this structure, the essential elements for the construction of discourse are analyzed. The superstructure is closely associated with the discourse's content. The analysis in this structure is directed toward the actor or perpetrators, time, place, and the scheme of content delivery to bolster the macrostructure formation (Van Dijk, 2008). Meanwhile, macrostructure is the theme of a discourse (Van Dijk, 2008). This theme is a construction of sub-themes coherence based on the facts that support the theme. The macrostructure analysis focuses on the title, summary, and conclusion of a discourse (Brown & Yule, 1996). These three van Dijk structure aims to associate the micro (lingual and structural aspects) and macro (the society where the discourse is formed) structures.

The three structures are complete units (Van Dijk, 2008). If placed in a pyramid, the three structures support the discourse theme that is placed at the top of the pyramid. The structures contain information that has been effectively arranged by the writer. Thus, the information shows the knowledge and belief of the writers, signifying the ideology. In short, a discourse always carries a singular ideology that is reflected through the thought deliberated or termed as the ideology of the system of thought (*sistem pemikiran/SP*). Besides, ideology is also reflected from the action or called a system of action (*sistem tindakan/ST*), while the ideology mirrored from the belief is named as a system of belief (*sistem keyakinan/SK*).

Method

This qualitative study used a critical paradigm. The discourse was positioned as an authority and comprehended as social practice. The discourse practice would show the ideological effects of constructing the imbalanced power relation, such as the relationship between social classes, women and men, as well as between the majority and minority.

The in the form of editorial on the COVID-19 handling in Indonesia were obtained through the review method followed by note-taking technique (Sudaryanto, 2015). The review was carried out by critical reading on the selected editorial. Further, the essential points relevant to the COVID-19 issues from the editorial text were noted.

The data were obtained from the written source, from the national newspaper, namely *Kompas* and *Koran Tempo*, due to their distinctive vision that affected their ideology in their report. The detailed data sources are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Research Data Sources

Data Sources	Editorial Title
<i>Koran Tempo</i> , 9 April 2020	<i>Perbaiki Koordinasi Pusat-Daerah</i> (Improve the Central-Regional Coordination)
<i>Koran Tempo</i> , 14 April 2020	<i>Jangan Persulit Pembatasan Sosial</i> (Do not Complicate the Social Restriction)
<i>Kompas</i> , 8 April 2020	<i>PSBB Jakarta Mulai Berlaku</i> (Large-Scale Social Restrictions in Jakarta has Started to Take Effects)
<i>Kompas</i> , 15 April 2020	<i>Koordinasikan Penanganan Covid-19</i> (Please Coordinate the COVID-19 Handling)

The obtained data were analyzed using a critical discourse analysis model. The Van Dijk's (2008) analysis framework was chosen. It was started by analyzing the microstructure and followed by the analysis of the super and macro structures on the editorial of COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. The analysis on the microstructure was carried out critically on the lexicon elements, syntaxis structures, and language style. Meanwhile, the superstructure analysis was completed perilously on the discourse framework. Lastly, critical analysis was also carried out on the discourse theme based on the results of micro and superstructure analysis.

Results

The ideology of the editorials on COVID-19 handling in Indonesia was represented in three structures of the Van Dijk model (2008). The ideological representation in the microstructure was observed in the lexicon element, syntaxis structure, and rhetoric. Lexicon element is the selection of words used by the editorial writer. Personal pronouns were the most dominant term used within the editorials, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Personal Pronouns in the Editorials

Vocabulary	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Koran Tempo</i>
<i>Pemerintah</i> (Government)	2	10
<i>Pemerintah pusat</i> (Central government)	0	7
<i>Pemerintah daerah</i> (Regional government)	0	2
<i>Pemprov DKI Jakarta</i> (Provincial Government of Jakarta)	1	1
<i>Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Barat</i> (Provincial Government of West Java)	0	1
<i>Pemerintah Provinsi Banten</i> (Provincial Government of Banten)	0	1
<i>Presiden Jokowi</i> (President Jokowi)	1	2
<i>Menteri Kesehatan</i> (Minister of Health)	3	1
<i>Kementerian Kesehatan</i> (Ministry of Health)	0	1
<i>Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan</i> (Ministry of Manpower)	1	0
<i>Gubernur DKI Jakarta</i> (Governor of Jakarta)	1	0
<i>Ketua Pelaksana Gugus Tugas Covid-19</i> (Chief of COVID-19 task force)	3	1
<i>kita</i> (we)	5	4
<i>ia/dia</i> (he/she)	0	3
<i>Asosiasi Pengusaha Nasional</i> (Association of National Entrepreneurs)	1	0
<i>warga dunia usaha</i> (business people)	1	0
<i>pekerja lepas</i> (freelancer)	1	0
<i>tenaga kerja</i> (workforce)	1	0
<i>tenaga kesehatan</i> (health workers)	1	0
<i>kepala daerah</i> (head of district)	1	0
<i>aparatur birokrasi</i> (bureaucratic apparatus)	1	0
<i>penegak keamanan</i> (security enforcer)	1	0
<i>penduduk dengan ekonomi terbatas</i> (citizen with limited economic capacity)	1	0
<i>pekerja harian</i> (daily worker)	1	0
<i>pemangku kepentingan</i> (stakeholders)	1	0
<i>orang yang meninggal</i> (dead person)	1	0
<i>pasien dalam pengawasan</i> (patients under supervision)	1	0
<i>korban</i> (victims)	0	3
<i>keluarga penerima bantuan</i> (beneficiary family)	0	1
<i>penduduk miskin</i> (poor people)	0	1
<i>keluarga miskin</i> (poor family)	0	1
Total	31	40

Table 2 shows that the persona of *pemerintah* (government) and *pemerintah pusat* (central government) are the most dominant pronoun found in *Koran Tempo*. Examples of how those pronouns were used are as follows.

- (1) *Pemerintah tak perlu memperlambat penetapan status PSBB di sejumlah wilayah penyangga Jakarta.* (The government needs to delay the stipulation of large-scale social restriction in the buffer areas of Jakarta.) (*Koran Tempo*, 9/4/2020)
- (2) *Sejujurnya, pemerintah memang tidak mudah mengambil keputusan dengan keterbatasan data seperti yang terjadi sekarang.* (Honestly, the government cannot conveniently make a decision with the currently available data.) (*Koran Tempo*, 9/4/2020)
- (3) *Sudah saatnya pemerintah pusat dan daerah meninggalkan perbedaan sikap politik untuk mengatasi penyebaran virus corona.* (It is the time for the central government and regional government to abandon the political differences, to speedily handle the COVID-19 transmission.) (*Koran Tempo*, 14/4/2020)
- (4) *Alasan ekonomi hendaknya tidak secara berlebihan menghalangi pemerintah pusat untuk menyetujui pembatasan.* (The economic reasons should not carry excessive limitations for the central government to approve the social restriction.) (*Koran Tempo*, 14/4/2020)

The pronoun *pemerintah* (government) in examples (1) and (2) refers to the highest institution in a country. Meanwhile, the *pemerintah pusat* (central government) in examples (3) and (4) represents the people with a central authority that encompasses all regional governments. The dominant use of the term *pemerintah* (government) and *pemerintah pusat* (central government) signifies *Koran Tempo* presumes government as the primary subject in the COVID-19 handling. The transmission of COVID-19 is perceived as the main issue requiring management from the government or central government. Thus, the government is the primary determinant of the success or failure of the COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. *Koran Tempo* even mentions that the citizens' safety is in the hand of the government.

In contrast, the most dominant term used in *Kompas* was the word *we*, as presented in the example below.

- (5) *Kita tahu, seringkali koordinasi tidak mudah dilakukan.* (As we know, most of the time, coordination is complicated.) (*Kompas*, 8/4/2020)
- (6) *Kita ingin Jakarta menjadi contoh pelaksanaan pembatasan sosial berskala besar setelah Menteri Kesehatan memberikan persetujuan pertamanya kemarin.* (We hope that Jakarta can be the example of large-scale social restriction implementation after the Minister of Health has given the approval.) (*Kompas*, 15/4/2020)

The use of *kita* (*we*) in examples (5) and (6) refers to the editor and the reader, as well as the entire Indonesian society. The word implies that the COVID-19 handling is the responsibility and concern of all Indonesia's citizens. *Kompas* perceives the management of a pandemic as the communal responsibility of all elements of society, not only the government. This message is also supported by the variety used of personal pronouns in *Kompas* but did not appear in *Koran Tempo*, such as *warga dunia usaha* (business people), *pekerja lepas* (freelancers), *penegak keamanan* (security enforcers), *tenaga kesehatan* (health workers), and so forth. Therefore, *Kompas* emphasizes that civilian safety in avoiding COVID-19 is a communal responsibility.

The amount of passive and active sentence selection from the selected editorials is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Quantity of Active-Passive Sentences in the Editorials

Type of Sentences	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Koran Tempo</i>
Active sentence	36	50
Passive sentence	11	9
Total	47	59

The examples of active sentences used in *Kompas* and *Koran Tempo* are shown below.

- (7) Pemerintah harus membantu daerah di sekitar Jakarta untuk mencegah dampak penetapan PSBB. (The government should aid the surrounding areas of Jakarta to regulate the effect of large-scale social restriction implementation.) (*Koran Tempo*, 14/4/2020)
- (8) Semua pihak harus bersedia bekerja di bawah koordinasi gugus tugas, termasuk menjaga komunikasi agar tidak menimbulkan kebingungan dan keresahan masyarakat. (All stakeholders should work under the coordination of the task force and maintain their communication to avoid confusion and restlessness among the citizen.) (*Kompas*, 15/4/2020)

The active sentence in example (7) consisted of the subject (S), verb (V), object (O), and adverb (Adv). Meanwhile, in example (8), there was subject (S), verb (V), complement (C), and adverb (Adv). Even with different sentence structures, the subjects in both sentences have an active role as a perpetrator of the action. The perpetrator is accentuated in the sentence structure with a particular purpose. The media emphasizes the perpetrator as the sentence subject to construct the dominant position of the perpetrators in a specific context.

Koran Tempo placed many more personas as the subjects of active sentences, such as the term *pemerintah* (*government*) as the subject of the example (7). This emphasis positions the government as the dominant actor of COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. Contrastingly, *Kompas* gave minimum specific and consistent emphasis, as shown in example (8), so it does not imply the dominance of a particular stakeholder in the COVID-19 handling. Aside from those structures, the projection of dominant stakeholders is also bolstered by the sentences used in the editorials. The *Koran Tempo* tends to show the dominant stakeholder, followed by a lower number of passive sentences, as presented in Table 3.

Similar to active sentences, the passive sentences also consist of S, V, and O. However, the passive sentence emphasizes no stakeholder as the ruling, dominating, dictating, and so forth. The passive sentence highlights a matter, action, or attitude, such as the example (9) and (10). In the following sentences, the media uses the stakeholder elimination strategy to marginalize a particular stakeholder so that the stakeholder maintains its great image in society's eyes. Examples (9) and (10) are presented below.

- (9) Tapi, data itu diyakini tidak mencerminkan gambaran yang sebenarnya. (But, the data is presumed to reflect the real depiction.) (*Kompas*, 8/4/2020)
- (10) Untuk itu, diperlukan koordinasi lebih baik. (Therefore, better coordination is required.) (*Kompas*, 15/4/2020)

Aside from the active and passive sentences, affirmative and imperative sentences were also used in the editorials. Different from the use of active and passive sentence selection that was based on their structure, the selection of the affirmative and imperative sentences followed their function. The detailed number of news and imperative sentence is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Total Number of Sentence of Affirmative, Imperative, and Hope

Type of Sentence	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Koran Tempo</i>
Affirmative	38	40
Imperative	9	19
Total	47	59

The example of the affirmative sentence is presented below.

- (11) Tanpa koordinasi Pemerintah Pusat dan Daerah, pembatasan sosial tak akan efektif mencegah penyebaran virus corona, terutama di daerah yang telah menjadi episenter virus. (Without coordination between the Central and Regional Government, the social restriction will not efficiently reduce the COVID-19 transmission, especially in the epicenter area.) (*Koran Tempo*, 9/4/2020)
- (12) Tidak ada jalan lain untuk menanggulangi wabah COVID-19 saat ini, kecuali mencegah penularan melalui penjarakan fisik dan sosial. (There is no way of handling the recent COVID-19 other than lowering the transmission through social and physical distancing.) (*Kompas*, 15/4/2020)

The use of affirmative sentences in examples (11) and (12) does not only function to deliver information. Those sentences are used by the media to persuade society, to shape a certain perception among them. In example (11), *Koran Tempo* establishes the perception of incorrect matters in the Regional and Central government regulation in handling CIVID-19. Meanwhile, *Kompas*, in example (12), perceives that the COVID-19 countermeasure can only be carried out through social and physical distancing.

The examples of imperative sentences used in the editorials is presented below.

- (13) *Selayaknya* pemerintah pusat malah proaktif memetakan wilayah yang layak memberlakukan PSBB. (The central government *supposedly* proactively map the areas that have to implement the large-scale social restriction.) (*Koran Tempo*, 14/4/2020)
- (14) *Jangan pula* pemerintah ragu menggeser pos anggaran yang tak perlu, seperti anggaran untuk mendirikan ibu kota baru, demi menyelamatkan keluarga miskin. (The government *should not* hesitate to shift the unnecessary budgeting post, such as the budget for constructing a new capital city, to safe the poor families.) (*Koran Tempo*, 9/4/2020)
- (15) Untuk itu, pemerintah *harus* kompak, berkomunikasi secara jelas, serta menjawab kekhawatiran dan memenuhi kebutuhan warganya. (Therefore, the government *should* be united, clearly communicate, provide the answer for people's anxiety, and aid people to fulfill their needs.) (*Kompas*, 15/4/2020)

The imperative sentences on both media serve as a specific lingual marker, such as the word *selayaknya* (*supposedly*), *jangan pula* (*should not*), and *harus* (*should*) on example (13), (14), and (15), respectively. The imperative sentence functions to give a command to the perpetrator to do something. Therefore, the sentences present the

tendency of a gap between the media and the perpetrator. On the other side, the media can also use imperative sentences to get close and unite with the readers, while its actual function is as the director. The three examples of sentences direct the government to conduct something significant for COVID-19 handling.

Additionally, another element that represents the editorial's ideology is the language style. The language style of repetition and metaphor were observed in the editorials of both newspapers. With repetition, a particular language unit is repeated due to its crucial role (Sumarlam, 2003). Meanwhile, metaphor is a direct comparison between objects that have similarities (Kridalaksana, 2013). The number of language style that appeared in the editorial is presented in table 5.

Table 5. Language Style in the Editorials

Language Style	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Koran Tempo</i>
Repetition	5	10
Metaphor	3	3

The language style observed in the editorials are shown in examples (16), (17), (18), and (19).

- (16) *Pemerintah* tak perlu ragu menambah jumlah keluarga penerima bantuan jika krisis ekonomi meluas dan menambah jumlah penduduk miskin, Jangan pula *pemerintah* ragu menggeser pos anggaran yang tak perlu, seperti anggaran untuk mendirikan ibu kota baru, demi menyelamatkan keluarga miskin. (The *government* should not hesitate to increase the number of beneficiary families during the widespread economic crisis and accelerate the number of poor people. The *government* should not hesitate to shift the unnecessary budgeting post, such as the budget for the new capital city to save the poor family.) (*Koran Tempo*, 9/4/2020)
- (17) Jadi, kalau proposal pembatasan dari daerah sudah lengkap, *pemerintah* pusat tidak boleh mempersulit. Toh, PSBB berbeda dengan karantina wilayah, yang menuntut tanggung jawab lebih besar dari *pemerintah*. Seharusnya, hal itu tak lagi membuat *pemerintah* ragu-ragu. Selayaknya *pemerintah* pusat malah proaktif memetakan wilayah yang layak memberlakukan PSBB. *Pemerintah* pusat tidak boleh menjadi juragan yang menunggu permohonan pemerintah daerah. (Thus, if the regional *government* has provided a complete proposal on the social restriction, the central *government* should not complicate the process. Besides, different from regional quarantine, the large-scale social restriction also put no higher burden on the central *government*. Therefore, the *government* should not hesitate. The *government* should rather proactively map the area that needs to implement the restriction. The central *government* should not just act as the boss and just wait for the regional government proposal.) (*Koran Tempo*, 14/4/2020)
- (18) Pada masa lalu pernah ada pelesetan untuk menggambarkan sulitnya koordinasi, integrasi, sinkronisasi, dan simplifikasi atau *KISS*. *KISS* lalu diplesetkan menjadi ke istana sama-sama, keluar istana sendiri-sendiri. (In the past, we have a parody illustrating the challenges for coordination, integration, synchronization, and simplification (*CIIS*) (8). *CIIS* is said that they go to the palace together while getting out separately.) (*Kompas*, 15/4/2020)

- (19) *Jakarta* memiliki jumlah orang terinfeksi virus korona COVID-19 terbesar. Hingga Selasa kemarin, di *Jakarta* ada 1.395 kasus positif COVID-19 dari total nasional 2.738 kasus. Dari 221 orang yang meninggal, di *Jakarta* ada 133 orang atau 10 persen dari total kasus di DKI. (*Jakarta* has the highest number of people infected by COVID-19. Up to Tuesday, there were 1.395 cases of COVID-19 in *Jakarta*, from a total of 2.738 national cases. From the 221 death, *Jakarta* has 133 dead, or 10 percent of the total case in *Jakarta*.) (*Kompas*, 8/4/2020)

The repetitions shown in the example (16) and (17) are in the term *pemerintah* (government). The repetition of the word *pemerintah* (government) illustrates the ideology tendency of *Koran Tempo*. This newspaper highlights that government should be the primary guide for COVID-19 handling through numerous strategies.

Contrastingly, in examples (18) and (19), the repetition is in the word *KISS* (*CIIS*) and *Jakarta*, which also reflects the tendency from *Kompas*. Similar to *Koran Tempo*, *Kompas* also brings repetition of personas. However, unlike *Koran Tempo*, *Kompas* does not put the highest responsibility of COVID-19 handling on the hand of the government thus, they have different repeated terms.

The examples of metaphors observed in both media are presented below.

- (20) Pemerintah pusat tidak boleh menjadi *juragan* yang menunggu permohonan pemerintah daerah. (The central government should not just act as the *boss* and wait for the regional government proposal.) (*Koran Tempo*, 14/4/2020)
- (21) Kecepatan menangani penularan virus COVID-19 menjadi *kunci* segera mengakhiri wabah. (The rapid management of COVID-19 transmission is the *key* to ending this pandemic immediately.) (*Kompas*, 8/4/2020)

The metaphors in examples (20) and (21) are based on the equation of an object to another object. Besides, the metaphor, such as in example (20), also represents the ideology of *Koran Tempo*, where, once again, the government is marginalized as the main actor for COVID-19 handling. This marginalization is reflected by positioning the central government as the *juragan* (*boss*), implying that the government is less proactive in COVID-19 handling. With its power, *Koran Tempo* criticizes and prohibits the continuation of that attitude.

In contrast, *Kompas*, as shown in example (21), uses the metaphor to sharpen an abstract concept of the policies related to COVID-19 handling by using the term the *kunci* (*key*) to highlight the action or policy. Ideologically, *Kompas* accentuates the policies implemented to regulate COVID-19, but it puts no pressure on the stakeholders involved in the policy's implementation.

Further, the ideology representation was also observed in the similarly arranged superstructures of the editorials. The analysis results suggest that the editorials were arranged sequentially, coherently, and functioned differently in the parts of the title, introduction, center, and closing. The introductory part or *lead* functions as the part that usher to the discussed topic or issue. Further, the center part or *follow* is used to respond to the last detail and maintain the discussed topic. In this part, the editorials contain the situational elements divided into episodes and backgrounds. Episodes consist of the central event and the effects of an event. Meanwhile, the background has other events correlated with the

primary events, completed by the interpretation from the editorials' writer supported by the ongoing events, values, and personal purpose to influence the readers. The closing part or *valuate* serves as the part that expresses the evaluation and expectation on a topic based on the last part.

The analysis results show that both media presents different ideology pattern. Editorials on *Koran Tempo* use the ideology framework of ST-SK-ST-SK, while *Kompas* uses the framework of ST-SP-ST-ST. Distinctive frameworks from each media signify planning prior to the editorial construction. Implicitly, it indicates an attempt to dominate a group systematically. Consequently, the ideology within the editorial is used as a guideline for society to evaluate and act in response to an event. This pattern also shows that the editorials are intentionally arranged in a particular way, placing the editorial as an ideological practice. In short, the editorial is made based on a specific interest of a group of people.

Lastly, the ideology representation was also shown in the macrostructure of the editorial. The macrostructure (theme) can be seen from the superstructure. Besides, the theme or topic is frequently placed in the title or introductory part. The examples of the theme from *Koran Tempo* are presented below.

(22)PERBAIKI KOORDINASI PUSAT-DAERAH (IMPROVE REGIONAL-CENTRAL COORDINATION)

Pemerintah pusat perlu segera mengkoordinasikan pelaksanaan pembatasan sosial berskala besar (PSBB) di wilayah Jakarta dan sekitarnya. Tanpa koordinasi antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah, pembatasan sosial tak akan efektif mencegah penyebaran virus corona, terutama di daerah yang telah menjadi episenter virus. (The central government should coordinate the implementation of large-scale social restrictions immediately in Jakarta and the surrounding areas. With no coordination between the central and regional governments, the restriction will not effectively end the COVID-19 transmissions, especially in the virus epicenter.)

(23)JANGAN PERSULIT PEMBATASAN SOSIAL (DO NOT COMPLICATE THE SOCIAL RESTRICTION)

Pemerintah sebaiknya jangan bersikap birokratis dalam menangani wabah COVID-19, termasuk dalam merespons permintaan daerah yang ingin menerapkan pembatasan sosial berskala besar (PSBB). Pengalaman sejumlah negara membuktikan bahwa PSBB lebih dini dinilai lebih efektif dalam menekan penyebaran virus yang kini telah menelan korban lebih dari 100 ribu orang di seluruh dunia tersebut. (The government should not act bureaucratically in handling the COVID-19 pandemic, including in responding to the regional request to implement the large-scale social restriction. From other countries, we learn that early implementation of social restriction is more effective in suppressing the virus transmission that has taken 100 thousand lives globally.)

As shown in examples (22) and (23), *Koran Tempo's* ideology in the editorial is to do something. As for the actions, *Koran Tempo* implies them on its titles and use of the word *perbaiki koordinasi* (*improve coordination*) in example (22) and *jangan persulit* (*do not complicate*) (23). The same ideas were also placed in the first and second sentences. Meanwhile, the second sentence on examples (22) and (23) shows the system of media belief. Therefore, *Koran Tempo* frames its editorials for a specific group to do an action based on a particular belief. It is used as a strategy in appointing a theme and detailed into smaller

sub-themes. The theme of *Koran Tempo* in both editorials exhibits the government as the key stakeholder in COVID-19 handling. This media demands the government to conduct every possible attempt to manage the COVID-19 transmission as they have substantial power. Besides, this media also indicates that the velocity of COVID-19 handling in Indonesia relies on the implementation of government policies.

The examples of titles and introductory parts of *Kompas* are presented below.

(24) PSBB JAKARTA MULAI BERLAKU (JAKARTA'S LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL RESTRICTION IS TAKING EFFECTS)

Kita ingin Jakarta menjadi contoh pelaksanaan pembatasan sosial berskala besar setelah Menteri Kesehatan memberikan persetujuan pertamanya kemarin. (We expect Jakarta to be the example of large-scale social restriction implementation after it obtains approval from the Minister of Health.)

(25) KOORDINASIKAN PENANGANAN COVID-19 (COORDINATE THE COVID-19 HANDLING)

Presiden Joko Widodo menetapkan pandemic virus COVID-19 sebagai bencana nasional non-alam. Koordinasi pencegahan penularan harus lebih baik. (President Joko Widodo has specified COVID-19 as a non-natural national disaster. Thus, better coordination for its transmission avoidance is required.)

Kompas tends to accentuate ideology as a thought and behavioral system. As shown in examples (24) and (25), *Kompas* ask a specific group of people to think and act. Therefore, in both editorials, *Kompas's* theme is on the collaborative planning and action required in COVID-19 handling. *Kompas* frames the article by positioning that coordinated action is more essential than blaming the responsibility for COVID-19 handling to a specific stakeholder.

Discussion

The results signify that *Koran Tempo* declares that the COVID-19 handling dynamic in Indonesia relies on the central government. The not yet positive results indicate that the government has not implemented the COVID-19 handling strategy properly. This attitude illustrates the ideology tendency of the media that government is the main stakeholder in the Indonesian COVID-19 handling and the COVID-19 handling is the responsibility of the government. *Koran Tempo* places a single actor to handle COVID-19.

In addition, *Kompas* presents that COVID-19 handling requires communal cooperation from all stakeholders and individuals. Thus, *Kompas's* ideology accentuates that collaboration from all stakeholders is essential for COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. Different from *Koran Tempo*, *Kompas* does not blame a single stakeholder. Therefore, *Kompas* does not look for the one guilty actor on the COVID-19 actors in Indonesia, but it focuses on the solution for COVID-19 management in Indonesia.

The results signify different findings from studies carried out by Al-Mwzaiji (2021) and Abbas (2020). Both studies use the context of the competition to be the world ruler between China and The United States of America as their fundamental of taking contrasting policies in handling COVID-19. Meanwhile, this presents study does not use any competition context between any groups from Indonesia or other countries. The context used in this

study is the stuttering attitude from the government in COVID-19 management and the presence of polarization of belief upon COVID-19 among Indonesian.

The results also suggest different attitudes from national mass media toward the government management of COVID-19, similar to what has been explained by Sultan and Rapi (2020). Sultan and Rapi (2020) perceive the issue from a single perspective of the Indonesian government means to communicate COVID-19 handling to the society. The government is placed as a leader on the COVID-19 management, dominated by the dissemination of positive information related to COVID-19 handling to enhance society's confidence. In contrast, we investigated the mass media as part of society in reflecting relatively non-maximum COVID-19 handling in Indonesia.

Our results also suggest that *Koran Tempo* does not always present a positive attitude toward government policies. This finding supports the study from Dezhkameh et al. (2021), primarily on the mainstream media's attitude in reporting the government policies related to COVID-19 handling. That study concludes that the mainstream media has the right to oppose government policies. Similarly, *Koran Tempo*, as one of the Indonesian mainstream media, presents an opposing attitude toward the government policies on COVID-19 handling.

Conclusions

The results suggest that the ideology of editorials from *Koran Tempo* and *Kompas* is represented from their correlated micro, super, and macrostructures. The ideology representation in the microstructure is realized in the lexicon elements of personal pronouns, syntaxis structure, and rhetoric language style. Meanwhile, in the superstructure, the representation ideology is presented in the different editorials' framework from both media and in the macrostructure, the ideology representation is highly connected to the editorials' framework pattern.

The themes of editorials from both media are different. *Koran Tempo* prioritizes the primary stakeholder in the COVID-19 handling by positioning the government as the key stakeholder. This newspaper also accentuates that the process of management is complicated by bureaucracy. Meanwhile, *Kompas* emphasizes essential solutions that can be adjusted for the COVID-19 handling in Indonesia. These themes are presented to Indonesian society because the editors recognize the social context related to national and global COVID-19 handling.

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