

**LINGUISTIC MANIPULATION AND ORDERING
IN ONLINE NEWS HEADLINES OF PSBB REGULATION**

THESIS

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
MALANG
2021**

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THESIS

Presented to
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in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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2021**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled "*Linguistic Manipulation and Ordering in Online News Headlines of PSBB Regulation*" is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that

Malang, 10 September 2021



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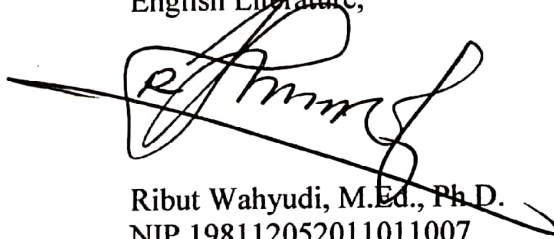
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MOTTO

“News is not a value-free reflection of fact”

-Roger Fowler-

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my great parents, Ibu Sumiati S. and Bapak Fakhruddin R.S. I also dedicate this thesis to my beloved young sister, Azzahna Salsabila Ramadhani.

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All praises to Allah swt. who is enlightening all worshippers, including me, at all circumstance until I achieve the Sarjana study in the Department of English Literature in UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Then all great salutation is delivered to Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) who deconstruct the ignorance becomes an excellent attitude.

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At last, I acknowledge that this craft has some imperfections and weaknesses. Therefore, the criticisms and advices are beneficial for its development. I hope this thesis contributes to the diverse study, especially in linguistics and critical discourse analysis, as the extended domain in developing critical thinking competency.

Malang, 10 September 2021

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Fadhlurrahman', with a horizontal line extending from the bottom of the signature.

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ABSTRACT

Fadhlurrahman, Fadhlurrahman. (2021). *Linguistic Manipulation and Ordering in Online News Headlines of PSBB Regulation*. Thesis. Department of English Literature. Faculty of Humanities. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor: Prof. Dr. H. Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si.

Keywords: *Classification, Critical Discourse Analysis, News Headline, Online News, Transformations*

Large Scale of Social Restriction (PSBB) as the policy that aims protecting people from the Covid-19 contract becomes the major concern of Indonesia's government. It is obviously portrayed on the government's will that needs the people's obedience towards this health quarantine policy. In this case, the media specifically including news outlets bridges the recent update stream from the authorities to the people as readers. However, the news outlets tend to reflect the recent circumstances related to the PSBB implementation as the designated showcase so that the news stories possibly remain diverse. Therefore, this study attempts investigating the diverse framing of PSBB implementation including the enforcing and loosening period within the news headlines posted by *www.thejakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* as the national news outlets. The news headlines are investigated due to its role at hard news type as the condensed text summarizing the whole news stories.

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative method within the critical discourse analysis. The researcher utilizes the approach of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (1995) that puts the main concern to the media discourse. In the textual practices, Fowler's (1976) transformations and classifications are employed to specify the textual analysis so that the investigation stays on the corridor of construing and elucidating the linguistic manipulation and ordering. Then, the discourse practices include *the Ideological-Discursive Formation* (IDF) and *the Order of Discourse* which aim to shed out ideological disclosure through the dialectical relation within discourses and social institutions. Eventually, the sociocultural practices analysis is conducted to portray the political aspect with respect to the concern of ideology and power relation in both news outlets.

The results of this study illuminate that both news outlets utilize the linguistic manipulation and ordering strategies textually. It also furtherly interpreted that the *www.thejakartapost.com* highlights the neutral delivery and support the notion PSBB obedience through thematization. Then, *www.en.tempo.com* shed out the agent deletion centering the readers' perception and utilizing the particularly lexical selections to support the PSBB obedience as the former news outlet does. Nevertheless, the contradiction in both news outlets remain obvious in the loosening PSBB that the former news outlet practices the power to deliver the contrastive response and the latter remains stable responding the notion of new normal (the loosening PSBB). Hence, in the explanation phase *www.thejakartapost.com* demonstrates the persistency in enforcing the PSBB regulation in the period of enforcement and the *New Normal* as the reflection of its ideology and *www.en.tempo.com* consistently translates the government regulation with no objection reflected its ideology as the element of states apparatuses in designating the public consensus.

ABSTRAK

Fadhlurrahman, Fadhlurrahman. (2021). *Manipulasi dan Penyusunan Linguistik pada Tajuk Berita Online tentang Aturan PSBB*. Skripsi. Program Studi Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Prof. Dr. H Mudjia Rahardjo, M.Si.

Kata Kunci: *klasifikasi, analisis wacana kritis, tajuk berita, berita online, transformasi*

Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB) bertujuan untuk melindungi masyarakat dari infeksi COVID-19 menjadi fokus utama pemerintah Indonesia. Oleh karena itu, Pemerintah Republik Indonesia mengimbau kepada masyarakat untuk mematuhi kebijakan karantina kesehatan ini. Dalam kasus ini, media khususnya penyedia berita menjembatani aliran informasi terkini dari lembaga terkait ke masyarakat sebagai pembaca. Namun, penyedia berita cenderung merefleksikan keadaan penerapan PSBB terkini dengan cara mereka masing-masing sehingga pola pemberitaan menjadi beragam. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini mencoba untuk mengkaji keberagaman *framing* penerapan PSBB yang meliputi periode pengetatan dan pelonggaran di tajuk berita *www.thejakartapost.com* dan *www.en.tempo.com* sebagai penyedia berita nasional. Kemudian, tajuk berita tersebut diteliti berdasarkan sifatnya yang merangkum keseluruhan isi berita.

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dalam melakukan analisis wacana kritis. Di awal proses analisis, peneliti menggunakan pendekatan analisis wacana kritis Fairclough (1995) yang berpusat pada tema wacana media. Kemudian, teori transformasi dan klasifikasi temuan Fowler (1976) digunakan untuk menganalisa secara tekstual dengan tujuan untuk menguraikan strategi manipulasi dan penyusunan linguistik. Selanjutnya, analisa praktik wacana meliputi formasi diskursif ideologis dan susunan wacana dilakukan dengan tujuan untuk mengungkap ideologi melalui hubungan dialektis dalam ragam wacana dan pranata sosial. Terakhir, analisa praktik sosial budaya dilakukan untuk menggambarkan aspek politik yang berkenaan dengan ideologi dan relasi kuasa pada kedua penyedia berita.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kedua penyedia berita menerapkan strategi manipulasi dan penyusunan linguistik secara tekstual. *www.thejakartapost.com* menekankan penyampaian berita yang netral dan mendukung kepatuhan PSBB melalui proses tematisasi. Selanjutnya, *www.en.tempo.com* menekankan aspek penghapusan pelaku yang memusatkan perhatian pembaca dan penerapan sebagian besar pilihan leksikal yang mendukung kepatuhan PSBB sebagaimana yang dilakukan penyedia berita pertama. Akan tetapi, kontradiksi diantara kedua penyedia berita tersebut terlihat jelas mengenai pelonggaran PSBB di mana *www.thejakartapost.com* menunjukkan praktik kuasa untuk menyampaikan tanggapan yang bertentangan dengan pemerintah. Tetapi, *www.en.tempo.com* terpantau stabil dalam menyampaikan tanggapan mengenai pelonggaran PSBB. Oleh karena itu, di tingkat penjelasan penyedia berita pertama secara ideologis menunjukkan keteguhan dalam pengetatan PSBB di waktu pengetatan dan penerapan *new normal*. Sebaliknya, penyedia berita kedua secara konsisten menerjemahkan aturan pemerintah tersebut ke dalam pemberitaan tanpa adanya perbedaan yang menunjukkannya sebagai alat negara dalam merekayasa konsensus publik.

مستخلص البحث

فضل الرحمن ، فضل الرحمن (٢٠٢١) ، التلاعب اللغوي والترتيب في عناوين الأخبار على الإنترنت للائحة PSBB. بحث الجامع. قسم الأدب الإنجليزية. كلية العلوم الإنسانية. الجامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج. المشرف: الأستاذ الدكتور الحاج موجيا راهرجو، الماجستير.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التصنيف، التحليل الخطاب النقدي، عناوين الأخبار، الأخبار على الإنترنت، التحولات

يصبح تنظيم PSBB باعتباره السياسة التي تحدف إلى حماية الأشخاص من عقد Covid-19 هو الشغل الشاغل للحكومة الإندونيسية. لذلك ، يتم تصويره على إرادة الحكومة التي تحتاج إلى طاعة الناس تجاه سياسة الحجر الصحي هذه. في هذه الحالة ، تقوم وسائل الإعلام ، بما في ذلك المنافذ الإخبارية على وجه التحديد ، بربط تدفق التحديث الأخير من السلطات إلى الناس كقراء. ومع ذلك ، تميل المنافذ الإخبارية إلى عكس الظروف الحالية المتعلقة بتنفيذ PSBB باعتبارها الواجهة المخصصة لذلك من المحتمل أن تظل القصص الإخبارية متنوعة. لذلك ، تحاول هذه الدراسة التحقيق في التأطير المتنوع لتنفيذ PSBB ، بما في ذلك فترة الإنفاذ والتخفيف ضمن عناوين الأخبار المنشورة بواسطة www.thejakartapost.com و www.en.tempo.com كمنافذ إخبارية وطنية. علاوة على ذلك ، يتم التحقيق في عناوين الأخبار نظرًا لنوع الأخبار الصعبة مثل النص المكثف الذي يلخص القصة الإخبارية بأكملها.

تبنى هذه الدراسة المنهج الوصفي النوعي في تحليل الخطاب النقدي. أولاً ، يستخدم الباحث مقارنة فيركلاف لتحليل الخطاب النقدي (١٩٩٥) التي تضع الاهتمام الأساسي للخطاب الإعلامي. بعد ذلك ، في الممارسات النصية ، يتم استخدام تحويلات وتصنيفات فاوئر (١٩٧٦) لتحديد التحليل النصي بحيث يظل التحقيق في ممر تفسير وتوضيح التلاعب والترتيب اللغوي. بعد ذلك ، تشمل ممارسة الخطاب التكوين الإيديولوجي الخطابي (IDF) ونظام الخطاب ، بهدف التخلص من الكشف الأيديولوجي من خلال العلاقة الديالكتيكية داخل الخطابات والمؤسسات الاجتماعية. في نهاية المطاف ، يتم إجراء تحليل الممارسة الاجتماعية والثقافية لتصوير الجانب السياسي للاهتمام بالأيديولوجيا وعلاقة القوة في كل من منفذي الأخبار.

توضح نتائج هذه الدراسة أن كلا المنافذ الإخبارية تستخدم التلاعب اللغوي واستراتيجيات الترتيب بشكل نصي. كما فسر أيضًا أن www.thejakartapost.com يسلط الضوء على التسليم المحايد ويدعم فكرة طاعة PSBB من خلال التخصيص. بعد ذلك ، قام موقع www.en.tempo.com بإلغاء حذف الوكيل الذي يركز على تصور القراء ويستخدم التحديدات المعجمية بشكل أساسي لدعم طاعة PSBB كما يفعل منفذ الأخبار السابق. ومع ذلك ، لا يزال التناقض في كلا المنفذين الإخباريين واضحًا في تفكيك PSBB ، حيث يمارس منفذ الأخبار السابق القدرة على تقديم الاستجابة الثنائية ، ويظل الأخير مستقرًا ، استجابة لمفهوم الوضع الطبيعي الجديد (تخفيف PSBB). ومن ثم ، في مرحلة التفسير ، يوضح www.thejakartapost.com المثابرة في تطبيق لائحة PSBB في فترة التنفيذ وأن المعيار الجديد يعكس أيديولوجيته. في حين أن موقع www.en.tempo.com يترجم باستمرار التنظيم الحكومي دون أي اعتراض يعكس أيديولوجيته كعنصر من عناصر أجهزة الدولة في تحديد الإجماع العام.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter portrays several essential aspects of the study, including the justification of appointing the topic, the arisen question within the problem of study, and the study's purposes. It also provides the scope and limitation and the significances of the study. Afterward, its key terms and previous studies are explained to keep in mind the gap of the study altogether. After all, this chapter administers the research methodology that illuminates the guidelines to carry out the study.

A. Background of the Study

Since January 2020, physical distancing has been modified and synchronized to decrease the spread of COVID-19 in Indonesia. After the initial case of two women who contracted SARS-CoV 19 because of having direct contact with the undetected patient of COVID-19 on a club in Jakarta (The JakartaPost, March 2nd, 2020), the government immediately announced the national emergency status with administering the specific public health quarantine regulation. It is well-known as *PSBB* (Large Scale of Social Restriction), which is massively entreated on mainstream media such as the announcements frequently posted on the social media of central government's official account, news report on television, also paper-based and online-based newspapers.

The online newspaper is considered to have a pivotal role in spreading the entreaty of PSBB implementation due to the ease of sharing with other online newsreaders, underpinned by the increase of gadget users in Indonesia. Then, the

significant citizens can access the affordable internet provided by the government and private companies. Due to those reasons, online news reports achieved a prominent position in many readers' facet. Moreover, the online news publisher includes *www.thejakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com*, specifically provide English news to inform the recent updates of the particular circumstances in Indonesia related to the COVID-19 stories. Those news outlets are selected due to their position as the national news corporation with considerable amount of readers. In relation to this study, *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* are also included in order to portray the comparison in ideological representation of PSBB enforcement. It is in line with the notion of news providers are possible to possess diverse ideological position.

The first news outlet, *www.thejakartapost.com*, is an online version of the imprint daily newspaper '*The Jakarta Post*' established on April 25th 1983 by *PT Bina Media Tenggara*. This news outlet was initiated by the minister of information's proposal, Ali Murtopo, and his politician colleague - Jusuf Wanandi, in *the New Order Period*. Tarrant (2008) state that "the establishment of The Jakarta Post was essential to avoid the biases constructed by the foreign news outlet" (p.47). This publisher provides news reports to the middle class and educated readers as the target market and is booming as the sole news company that survived in the Asia monetary crisis in 1997 (Gelling, The New York Times). Hence, it attained eminent Indonesia's daily newspaper award within the English version (Eklof, 2003, p. 14). Along with those appellations, *the Jakarta Post* plays

a significant role in producing media discourse at the national and international stage in the PSBB implementation coverage.

Steele (2005) state “*www.en.tempo.com* is an online version of the weekly news magazine, *Tempo* which Yusril Djalinus and Goenawan Mohamad initially enacted in *The New Order* authority period, March 6th, 1971”(p.47). It is the first news company unaffiliated with the government. As a weekly news magazine published by *Tempo Media Group*, the company also produces the daily digital version of a news report accessible on *www.en.tempo.com*. In its journey as a national news outlet, Mr. President H. M. Soeharto instructed the Minister of Communication, Harmoko to prohibit its magazine due to threatening national stability on June 21st 1994 (McCargo, 2003, p.77). Within its status as an independent press, the constructed discursive materials remain diverse in media facet, explicitly presenting the health quarantine regulation reports.

Based on the massive accessibility of those online news reports, the coverage of news material containing the entreaty of PSBB obedience has expanded to wider audiences or readers. The spread of such news updates keeps increasing because the readers participated to share each other to save lives from the COVID-19 contract. Then, the COVID-19 outbreak news stands as the trending topic due to the inconsistency of the COVID-19 status that has been investigated from its initial emergence in Hubei, China (World Health Organization, 2020). Hence, the social restriction regulation should be modified and synchronized in keeping with the updated condition of social activities. For instance, the former announcement of health quarantine involving *Social*

Distancing and *self-quarantine* from WHO was published due to coronavirus research. After a month, it was allocated by PSBB which solely restrict people to access red zone regions by providing the SWAB Test notes as the clearance. To disseminate such essential information, the press has a critical role in bridging the government and citizens concerning the news distribution.

The way publisher presents news to the readers would be nevertheless distinctive from one another. Moreover, news authors may have distinctiveness in writing stories. Consequently, the discourse formation ought to be varied in which it depends on the variability of ideology adopted by each news outlet. In the journalistic field, “the techniques of representing events includes sharpening, concretization; simplification; polarization; intensification; personification, and stereotyping” (Nordlund, 2003, p. 8). The news writers moreover employ 'the other strategies' to translate reality in writing forms. Therefore, this study puts concern on the other strategies that include linguistics manipulation and ordering. Later, the underlying aspect and the initial results of employing such strategies are settled as the concern of this study.

In discussing a news report as a whole text, the headline or title will be massively considered. It is based on the interface outward in which the headline traditionally utilizes the bigger font and summarizing the whole text of the news stories. Due to its characteristics, the readers are habitualized to decide the news headlines are sufficient to be the exclusive news text representation, so they suspect the rest of the stories are insignificant to comprehend. In the case of the online news report, a similar circumstance exists. The online news readers are

triggered to decide to continue to read the whole news based on the coverage of its headlines. This phenomenon is in line with the statement of Iarovici and Amel (1989) that declared news headline is capable of being self-governing text (p. 441). Furthermore, to reach out to a wide range of media discourse and uncover the ideologies contained in news stories, news headlines are worth investigating.

In reporting an actual event in writing form, the news outlets' ideologies have a significant role. It also inextricably frames the event's coverage reported and the Fowler (1991) stated that “ News is the product and does not naturally emerge straight from the phenomenon represented” (p.223). Furthermore, Fowler and Kress (1997) realized “This phenomenon and thus proposed critical linguistics” (p.80). They attempted to extend the study of sociolinguistics in which discussing the variety of language in use to media discourse. Within these practical tools, the ideology of the news writers will be unpacked. The critical linguistics analysis attempted to detect the underlying intention of the news writer within five headings: 1) grammar of sensitivity; 2) grammar of modality; 3) transformation; 4) classification; and 5) coherence. This theory becomes the contextualized rubrics of Hallidayan systemic functional linguistic, specifically in media discourse. Then, the other critical discourse analyst extended “the headings and condensed them into three inquiries: (1) modality, (2) transformation (3) classification, and (4) transitivity” (Fairclough, 1995b, p.25). It happened because he wants a more specific inquiry to detect the ideology contained in news text.

To target a specific area of study, the researcher utilizes the transformations and classification to uncover the news writers' ideologies. It is in

line with the aim of this research to analyze linguistic manipulation through transformation and linguistic ordering within the classification. Transformations include the strategy of nominalization in which the participants and the time remain unspecifically explained. The readers' perception is designated to the event directly without considering who gets involved and when it occurred. Next, passivization also works by directing the readers' attention to the event and the object or the affected otherwise dismiss the presence of the agent. The employment of such inquiries might be underpinned by the news outlets' intention to control the readers' consciousness in perceiving reality through a news report. Then, linguistics ordering applied through classification also try to handle the readers' insight within the strategy of re-lexicalization and over-lexicalization in which these unconsciously label the things based on the ideology of label inventor. In connection with the news headline and PSBB circumstance, the researcher attempt to shed light on underlying motives of the news writers who compose news report on *www.thejakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* within both strategies as textual analysis. For the extended investigation, the discourse practice and the political aspect of the dialectical relation between power and ideology in the linguistic domain will be attached concerning Fairclough's three-dimensional critical discourse analysis.

The previous studies within a similar framework had conducted unpacking the news writer ideology within the South Korean labor strike coverage to the former government in The American Times newspaper (Min, 1997). This study attempts to uncover the attitude of the news writer to report the event through

their strategies on composing the news headlines. However, the scope of the study was limited to a particular range of time and utilized the single corpus "The New York Times" newspaper published in the USA. This influences the study results in which the attitude and ideology detected merely covers the single point of view. Customarily, the diverse reactions and opinions would be found in the South Korean labor protest case. However, the other news corporations may have a different view from the USA government in which having a good relationship with South Korean authority in the socio-political lens. Furthermore, investigating more than one news corporation story is essential to portray the diverse reaction and ideology toward the recent issue. Therefore, this study works on two news companies' stories to enrich diverse responses that reflect the various ideologies of news writers.

In the same spirit, the study of shedding light on ideological interest in media discourse was conducted by Nordlund (2003) to detect the divergent political view and diverse attitude in news reporting. Within the linguistic analysis, including syntactic and lexico-semantic character, the implicit ideology of news reports published by several British news corporations, the political position is successfully unpacked. The Morning star openly presents the event in news forms within the selected fact and word choice. In contrast, The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian demonstrated the opacity through the employment of nominalization, passive voice, and distinctive modal expression. Furthermore, this present study beams the ideology of the Indonesian news companies through the

employment of the latter strategies and The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian applied in the political discourse domain.

To some extent, Doukha and Mansouri (2021) attempted to uncover the implicit view of the news writer not only in the facet of linguistic analysis but also in the extended analysis, Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. This study tried to illuminate the linguistic characteristic of vocabulary and grammar that might reflect ideological persuasion and power relation in discourse (Fairclough, 2001, p. 91) within the circumstances of manipulating people's view of the referendum campaign on The United Kingdom's membership in The European Union 2016. Nevertheless, the research object merely includes two news providers in which it is considered less representative remembering the other publishers such as The Daily Telegraph and The Daily Mail possess the considerably numerous media discourse consumers.

The reality of dominant ideology and practicing power through normalizing is tied in causal relation. The study of marginalization and minority group representation is the material form of that causal connection. In the normalizing process, news reporters utilize a particular frame to linguistically demonstrate the less dominant ideology, for instance, the framing of halal food in Norway and the stereotyping image of a Muslim citizen as an outgroup in Norway and the USA (Thomas and Selimovic 2015; Lemmouh 2008). Those earlier studies illuminate the Muslim outward in western societies portrayed by the western press within the critical linguistics in the textual stage and it did the extension to the critical discourse analysis, including discourse practice in news

media. Concerning Fairclough's framework of CDA, the last stage of analysis – social practice – will enrich the study's conclusion.

Those previous studies identified the diverse ideologies of news corporations reflected by language in composing a full-text news report (Nordlund, 2003; Lemmouh, 2008; Thomas and Selimovic, 2015; Doukha and Mansouri 2021). Then, some of them expand the analysis by which combine it with critical theory to investigate several selected news stories. However, the earlier research conducted by Min (1997) solely focused on the single news corporation and targeted its news headline only. The number of news reports textually analyzed was more significant than the recent. Furthermore, this present study keeps pace with the news headlines analysis within two critical linguistics (CL) analysis headings, transformation, and classification as the textual stage. Then, the extended discussion of power relations and ideology will deepen the investigation stage of discoursal and social analysis in the PSBB implementation portrayed by political discourse.

B. Problems of the Study

This study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How do the news outlets apply linguistic manipulation towards PSBB regulation during The COVID-19 pandemic on *www.jakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* news headlines?
2. How do the news outlets conduct the linguistic ordering towards PSBB regulation during The COVID-19 pandemic on *www.jakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* news headlines?

3. How do Linguistic Manipulation and ordering portray the political aspect of sociocultural practice towards PSBB regulation during The COVID-19 pandemic on *www.jakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* news headlines?

C. Objectives of the Study

Through this study, the researcher aims:

1. To construe how the news outlets apply linguistic manipulation towards PSBB regulation during The COVID-19 pandemic on *www.jakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* news headlines.
2. To elucidate how the news outlets conduct linguistic ordering towards PSBB regulation during The COVID-19 pandemic on *www.jakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* news headlines.
3. To portray the constructed political aspect of the sociocultural practice of the employment of those strategies towards PSBB regulation during the COVID-19 pandemic on *www.jakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* news headlines.

D. Significances of the Study

In deciding the proposed topic, this study attempts to contribute theory and practice in critical discourse analysis. Theoretically, this study attempts to expand the idea of uncovering ideology and power practices reflected in the structure and features of the language applied in the headline of the news text. It tries to investigate the written text published by the local English news provider *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo.co* which discuss the implementation of PSBB in

Indonesia through an online platform. Additionally, it also develops the previous studies by discussing the ideological disclosure merely using headings proposed in critical linguistic analysis in political discourse presented in the media field. Besides, this study is expected to reveal the linguistic manipulation and ordering strategy reflecting the ideology of news providers using Norman Fairclough's (1995a) three-dimensional framework. In the end, it will extend the critical linguistic findings in the domain of political aspect by analyzing those strategies that explain the concern of ideology and power relation reflected in the response related to the administered PSBB regulation. The study of ideology and power in media discourse usually refers to particular issues in a broader, international context. Therefore, this study examines the local political aspect in sociocultural practice constructed by Indonesian news corporations towards the government policy to stop the spread of COVID-19.

Practically, this study illuminates how news outlets of *www.thejakartapost.com* and *www.en,tempo.com* portrayed the political aspect of sociocultural practice with language manipulation and ordering strategies related to PSBB policy. This study is also practical for linguistic students to understand those strategies that reflect the political aspect of sociocultural practices originated from ideology and power relation of news providers and the other institution, e.g., the government in representing reality controlled through the linguistic features applied. Therefore, this study is helpful for the student regarding political and media discourse due to its concern of the particular phenomenon in local English providers in Indonesia. Eventually, these students can utilize the findings and

discussions in this study for further investigation to extend the identical framework in diverse fields.

E. Scope and Limitation

This study tries to inspect the linguistic manipulation and ordering employment in the ten titles of news reports posted by www.thejakartapost.com and www.en.tempo.com correlated with the specification of discussing PSBB implementation. The limitation of data are located on the time range of the posted report that start from April 10th to 6th June 2020.

The topic of news headlines ought to connect with the implementation of PSBB regulation circumstances. For critical linguistic analysis as the textual stage in the three-dimensional framework of CDA, the primary data are limited to the news headlines with transformations and classification heading. The allegorical interpretation and explanation as the second and third stages are provided to unveil the ideology as the particular discourse either sustaining or undermining the power (Fairclough, 1989).

F. Definition of Key Terms

There are some key terms in this study:

1. **Classification** is the strategy of constructing the linguistic ordering in terms of lexical features of the text to promote the writers' perspective towards particular phenomena. This study attempts to uncover the news

outlet's strategies of controlling the readers language perception through lexical selection towards PSBB exposure in media.

2. **Critical Discourse Analysis** is an approach that refers to the interdisciplinary aspects towards the discourse study which believe that language as the element of social practice. This study extend the textual and discorsal breakdown of PSBB in terms of ideological representation of media to the broader field, sociocultural practice.
3. **News Headline** portrays a brief sentence or phrase located on the top of a news report or article as the condemned element representing all of the story's content under the umbrella of PSBB presentation in local media.
4. **Online News** is the news report posted on online platforms that can be accessed through an interconnected network as a single or periodical publication. This study includes the exposure PSBB posted on The Jakarta Post and Tempo as online news providers.
5. **Transformation** is the strategy of projecting the representation of an entity, PSBB, within text in critical linguistics analysis as the effect of an interpersonal view of a particular phenomenon in online media discourse.

G. Previous Studies

In the initial period of critical linguistic trend, Min (1997) attempted to enclose the news report published by The New York Times within a socio-political issue. The prime issue includes South Korea's massive labor strikes that

are examined from critical linguistic perspectives. Specifically, the data source involves The New York Times news reports posted in August and September 1994, December 1996, and January 1997. This study extensively investigated the underlying political and ideological interest of the United States national newspaper. The combination of socio-political context with the coverage of news events results in the naturalization of political and ideological interest within the report texts represented by the linguistics construction. Under the theme "labor strikes in South Korea," the findings depicted that the news report portrayed capitalist ideology adopted, which considers the notion of pro-corporation and pro-government.

The news publisher afterwards includes the capitalists' interest as the national interest. Within the linguistic analysis of participant's processes and roles in transitivity structure, thematic patterns, macro-proposition, lexicalization, and rhetorical devices transformed political and ideological interest into social reality. The New York Times seems to be obedient to journalistic cannon about neutrality, objectivity, and balance. However, the deployed linguistic structure highlighted the bias to the event representation. Eventually, the research, unfortunately, limits the object of study in several sections of time and depends on a single newspaper, The New York Times. The other national newspaper provider should be adopted as the data due to the ideological and political interest variation.

Within a similar trend, Nordlund (2003) conducted the study to illuminate the divergent political positions linguistically display different attitudes when reporting the news. The data examined is collected from The Guardian as the

supporter of labor, the daily telegraph, a conservative newspaper, and The Morning Star, which underpinned the communist ideology. The topic as the barometer includes merely the political field. The linguistic features such as syntactic and lexico-semantic character will be investigated. The findings portray The Morning Star openly demonstrated its nature within the word choice and the selected fact.

The Guardian and the Daily Telegraph in contrast are less transparent due to passive voice, nominalization, and distinctive modal expression. The researcher solely investigated the linguistic features at the textual level. The implication of each newspaper provider's displayed attitude should be examined to obtain the underlying ideology and interest embedded.

Still discussing the marginalization of Muslims in western society, Lemmouh (2008) conducted a study to shed light on recurring lexical and syntactic features that contribute to a stereotyped image of outgroups in the newspaper. The focus of the study is on articles relating to Muslims in the New York Times. The analysis is based on the analytic paradigm of Critical Linguistics (CL) and Corpus Semantics (CS). The results show that the linguistic features analyzed point to a systematic 'othering' and stereotyping of Muslims compared to other participants. The study concludes with a discussion on how the grammatical features examined work together to project a stereotyped image of Muslims and how the analytical method of Critical Linguistics (CL) copes with a quantitative analysis of a great of randomly chosen data from a corpus consisting of newspaper from the New York Times. However, the representation of Muslims as another

group in western society was not compared with the other specific group such as Jews or Christian in the same treatment, so that the upcoming study should embrace it.

In a more extensive study of a particular minority group representation, Thomas and Selimovic (2015) explored how two Norwegian national online newspaper, *Dagbladet* and *Aftenposten*, have framed halal food in the past six years (2008-2014), a period conflating with a rise in Muslim demographics in Norway. Again, a mixed-method approach is used. Employing a Halliday's transitivity analysis and other approaches from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), clausal semantic structures, collocations, and nominalizations were explored to flesh out the ideological significance. Particular attention was given to the neologism - "covert-Islamization"- popularized by the populist right-wing Progress Party. The findings reveal that *Dagbladet* refracts halal food through a discourse of crime and other dubious frames tapping into topoi of Islamophobia. Halal is, in this manner, transformed into a synecdoche for deviance. This is contrasted with *Aftenposten*'s more "Halal-friendly" gaze, which interalia is attributed to greater access for Muslim contributors (over 40 percent), with nearly all authorship penned in the aftermath of the Breivik massacre of July 22, 2011. However, as comparative research that explores two newspaper-albeit with substantial national circulation- there is an obvious limitation. Future research could explore the content of *Verdens Gang*, the biggest newspaper in Norway, and perhaps incorporate iconic semiotic content.

Within socio-cognitive aspect in CDA, Lombardi (2018) investigated the language used in 50 online news headlines involving the Stoneman Douglas High School shooting report published in popular national news outlets. He utilized Fairclough's three dimensions within van Dijk's sociocultural approach. However, the top-down investigation- begins with macrostructure including socio-culture and discourse practice to microstructure, including textual practice- is employed to comprehend the hidden meaning and ideologies beside the obedience of professional journalistic values involving integrity and objectivity. The result frequently portrays the representation of the soccer coach that becomes the shield to protect students from the bullet. Then, the representation of the victim remains solely neutral involving 'school shooting.' Then, the political discussion of this research portrayed the offender as suffering mental health rather than a maniac. Finally, the victims' families delivered the question and the review of the bill owning a gun and the survivors, portrayed as the proposed subordinate discourse against the civil right owning a gun in American society.

In the theme of identity and power relation, Olaluwoye (2019) recommended the study of terrorist representation 'Boko Haram insurgency' within critical linguistic analysis due to the insufficiency of the previous linguistic-related tradition studies of the theme in Nigerian print media (The Punch, Vanguard, Daily Trust and Leadership). The analysis guideline combined critical linguistic and systemic functional linguistic. The study disclosed that power relations and inequalities are embedded in labeling, direct and indirect reporting, transitivity choice, and passivization. It thus raises unobjective, bias,

and value judgments in the representation of such conflict in news reporting. Therefore, the further investigation of Nigerian media outlets is worth investigating to provides a diverse ideological representation of that local insurgency.

In the concern of humanity rather than a social issue, Isti'anah (2018) investigated the Rohingya case in terms of the way of media portraying it in twenty news headlines. The media involves *Mmtimes* as Myanmar and *The Nation* as Bangladesh representation. Within the spirit of deconstructing the issue, Critical Discourse Analysis focusing on the textual investigation was employed to uncover the ideology reflected by the findings that came from the utilization of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar. The ten *Mmtimes* headlines are Actor, Goal, Carrier, Token, and Sayer, and the Nation headlines are Actor, Goal, Sayer and Verbiage. Myanmar newspaper headlines cover the Rohingya issue by blowing up the good deeds by the Myanmar government, while Bangladesh newspaper headlines show the actions done by Rohingyans to save themselves. Nevertheless, further analysis covering the discourse and sociocultural analysis tends to be essential to extend the analysis to the dialectical connection of power relation and ideology.

In a recent study, Doukha and Mansouri (2021) critically examined how the online press manipulated people's views in the referendum campaign of 2016 on the United Kingdom's membership in the European Union. It focuses mainly on the micro-level of study to unveil the implicit ideologies that the newspaper discourse is laden with. Norman Fairclough's model of CDA is the appropriate

approach for this study to analyze the linguistic characteristics of vocabulary and grammar, which reflect power relations and the ideological persuasion in discourse (Fairclough, 2001, p.91). the result reveals the use of experiential, expressive, and relational values by both campaigners meant to influence and direct the individual's vote on the day of the referendum. This research work has some limitations because the focus is spotted only on two British newspapers: the Guardian and the Sun. Such the other news publisher as Daily Telegraph and Daily Mail should be the data source remembering those maintain the large audiences.

H. Research Method

This segment contains a description of the research method that covers research design and instrument, data, data source, data collection, and data analysis.

1. Research Design

The proposed qualitative research encompasses an interpretive paradigm that is oriented to subjective and dynamic social processes (Rahardjo, 2018, p. 3). It can be stated because it focuses on the consequences of the conducted studies (Heigham and Crocker, 2009, p. 319). The proposed study attempts to uncover the effect of employing a transformation strategy to manipulate and direct the readers' focus to the particular phenomenon within the strategy embedded, such as nominalization that deletes the subject and object and passivization that bring the readers' concerns merely to the object. It raises the impact that the readers would have a similar concern with the writer as the discourse producer. Furthermore, this

study tries to unveil the consequences as a result of employing the strategy of transformation.

All of the data are analyzed based on the critical linguistics analysis (Fowler and Kress, 1979; Fairclough, 1995b). It is utilized as the first stage of critical discourse analysis because it conducts textual analysis embedded in the process of representing discourse as the assertion of Wodak and Meyer (2001) "It includes the predominant of CDA's concepts: the power, history, and ideology. That investigation's center point will be originated from transformations and classification as the textual investigation. Then, the investigation further involves discourse and sociocultural practices focusing on the political aspect. It is sufficient to be applied because the previous research merely dealt with the textual and discourse practice so that further discussion is needed involving the explanation of ideology and power. To conduct an – in-depth - study of news headlines, critical discourse analysis of Fairclough's three dimensions is essential to be conducted as Blom and Hansen's (2015) recommendation that suggests the critical discourse is needed to expand the field of news headline study and obtaining more comprehensive discussion. Eventually, the research perspective on news headlines would be varied not only on discourse analysis but also the more extensive stage, critical discourse analysis framework.

2. Research Instrument

This study's key research instrument is the researcher himself (Heigham and Crocker, 2009) as qualitative research. He conducted the entire process,

which is initiated by gathering the data and analyzing the data until concluding the study's result.

3. Data Source

The two different online media put the best light as the source material in this research: *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*. The data involves twenty news headlines from *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo*. They were accessed on the timeline of the first time PSBB was officially administered on April 22 until June 5 2020. It is considered due to the PSBB regulation should be obeyed by all citizens in Indonesia at that particular time and the loosening the administered regulation with the new everyday life under the strict health protocol. To some extent, as the data providers, the ideology of online media owners is significant to be considered. The organizational institution of media owners is considerably correlated to the representation of discourse. In an equal view, the political insight of media also affected the policies and life of the media. The Jakarta Post was built by the proposal of central government. Tempo, in contrast, was initiated by neutral journalists that actively portray the criticism to the government's decisions. Nowadays, news production cannot be separated from the importance of politics and the media's economy (Eriyanto, 2001).

4. Data Collection

Principally, the data collection procedure was begun with adopting the topic. The PSBB regulation portrayed by mainstream media ought to be

distinctive, remembering the news headlines produced posit as the discourse representation originated from the relation of power and ideology. With regard to data collection, researchers utilized the purposive selection of data. This method aims collecting news headlines that solely contain linguistic manipulation and ordering strategies based on the research questions. The Jakarta post and tempo were chosen as data sources because the two providers are Indonesian national news providers in English with a large number of readers. Therefore, twenty headlines from the Jakarta post and tempo were collected. This is also in line with the rationalization in comparative qualitative research that involves at least two or more objects to be compared.

5. Data Analysis

For the extended analysis, the three- dimensional framework of Fairclough (1995), including textual, discourse, and sociocultural stage, was utilized to disclose the implicit view or ideology that underlie the employment of those scenarios in the concern of its relation with the power. Due to the nature of critical discourse analysis, which involves the critical theory specifically in the social domain, the researcher utilizes them to deepen analysis in the second and third stages of the three-dimension framework. In the first stage, textual analysis involves Fowler and Kress's (1976) transformations and classifications is conducted in order to explore language practice as the PSBB representation in news report. This step answer the first and the second problem of study. Then, the discourse practice involves the analysis of *Ideological-Discursive Formation*

(IDF) and *Order of Discourse* to denaturalize the meaning of PSBB and illuminate the interaction of discourse which get involved. Last, the political concept of sociocultural practice explains the dialectical relation of power and ideology towards PSBB. Therefore, the second and third stage of CDA answers the third problem of the study. Finally, the researcher delivered a conclusion.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The explanations of theories related to the present study fulfill this chapter. In a critical linguistic domain, transformations and classifications are attached in the initial segment, following the theory of media discourse that focused on news headlines. In ad interim, the theories of critical discourse that specifically discuss ideology are elaborated at the chapter's end, its relation with political discourse and the discussion of Large Scale of Social Restriction (PSBB) implementation in Indonesia.

A. Critical Linguistics

Critical linguistics refers to the rubrics that aim to uncover language's role in constructing social events, issues, relationships and identities (Min, 1997, p.147). The theory sheds light on the idea that linguistic analysis is to investigate the linguistic data in general and explore and describe the function of language and linguistic process in terms of social function and reveal the political and ideological investments (Fairclough, 1992, p.315). It is based on systemic linguistic theory (Halliday, 1978-1985) that expanded linguistics analysis to ideology. This field was constructed by realizing meaning in the social system that undergoes disproportional power relations (Thompson, 1984, p.4). Also, Fairclough (1995) also mentioned that in critical linguistics, the linguistic choices that are decided in the text could bring ideological meaning (p. 25).

Critical linguistics is a type of discourse analysis. It therefor is considered as a field of both ideological processes and linguistic processes, and . . . there is a determinate relation between these two kinds of process' (Trew 1979b). Fowler and Kress (1979) proposed the five rubrics to detect the imbalanced power relation, especially news discourse. These include transitivity, the grammar of modality, transformation, classification, and coherence (p. 198). Transformations stand for the strategy of linguistic manipulation and classification the strategy of linguistic ordering (Fowler and Kress. P.198). In addition, Fairclough (1999) shortened the inquiry of critical linguistics into three headings that covers transformations, classification, and modality, which was related to the ideational function and interpersonal function in the notion of text regarded as multifunctional (1978,1985). For the sake of ideological investigation, this present study decides transformation and classification remained as the paramount consideration.

In Britain and Australia, linguists have applied critical linguistics methods to analyze how language may reflect underlying ideologies. In examining news text, they can demonstrate "How language is a vehicle of covert interpretation in supposedly neutral news reporting" (Bell, 1991 p.214). Critical linguistics considers that language is an integral part of the social process (Fowler, 1991). Critical linguistics attempts to find the ways ideology manifests itself in discourse structure and process and holds that discourse cannot exist without social meanings and that a strong relationship exists between discourse structure and social structure (Olaluwoye. 2019 p. 20 in Singularities, 2019). Li and Wang

(2020) noted that Critical linguistic and critical discourse analysis aims to analyze the relationship between language, rights, and ideologies, and the role of language in social and cultural evolution, and it also studies social problem such as inequality and racial discrimination from the perspective of language and tries to reveal the social meaning expressed by language by analyzing language structure (p. 163-164). Eventually, critical linguistics is to evaluates the ideological content implied in the text (p.170).

1. Transformations

The transformation consists of two-part which involve nominalizations and passivizations, which are wholly reflected in the news discourse (Xie, 2018, p. 401). In the case of nominalizations, the disappearance of modality and tense occurs. As a result, it obscures the time and the writers' attitudes. The other effect of nominalizations involves objectification which refers to the rendering process of a particular object. It results in lexicalization which forms the fixed object as an habitualized unit. Then, the passive kind of transformation owns a similar effect to this process, including lexicalization and disappearance of participants. Hence, it also involves thematization, which prioritizes non-agent participation in a particular sentence. This process affects the objects posited as a subject, apparently categorized as the primary consideration in discourse. Also, the employment of passivization directs the readers' concern to the particular instance emphasized and the objects' agencies.

Fowler and Kress (1979) then extend the transformation discussion into the three extended parts: negative-raising, raising of noun-phrase, and

extraposition (p. 209). The negative-raising directs the audiences' attention to the negated item rather than the others. In the same way, in syntactic relations, the readers' perception is re-oriented through the raising of noun-phrase. Last, extraposition locates predicate or verbal elements to the front positions, which indicates the main perceptual concern. Consequently, 'movement transformation' aims to direct and manipulate the readers' concerns in a complicated way.

In terms of formulating transformation, Nordlund (2003) stated that “transitivity involves transforming the sentence, such as the choice between active and passive voice structure” (p.9). Another effect of transformation into the passive is that it makes a total deletion of the actor possible (Marie Nordlund, 2003). “Transformations involve suppressing and distortion of material contained in the underlying linguistic structures” (Thompson, 1984, p.221).

In terms of investigating US news outlet ideological representation, Min (1997) suggested “the naturalization is achieved through linguistics transformation because it is the most effective way of drawing the picture of social reality in readers' minds” (p.155). At the textual level, linguistic analysis of participant's roles and processes in transitivity patterns, thematic patterns, macro propositions, lexicalization, and rhetorical devices reveals a transformation of ideological and political interests into social reality (Su Jung Min, 1997).

2. Classifications

Classifications specifically include the process of re-lexicalization and over-lexicalization. Re-lexicalization refers to the re-labeling of the whole or the significant area of the language. This process portrays the contemporary

perspectives of the speakers or writers in the particular domain, which distinct from the larger social group. Neologism is the first type of re-lexicalization that forces the reader to apply it when signifying the new concepts due to their novelty, such as "Skateboard" and "sputnik." In news discourse, a neologism is customarily applied in news reporting. Remembering the function of news involves reporting the recent story to people.

Re-lexicalizations, in contrast, are introducing new concepts to the reader and re-orienting the existing meaning of the word. This process depends on the particular context and field. For instance, the word "bad" has a similar meaning to "good" in the American context. Then, the term "people's court," "people's trial," and even "people's prison" appeared in the political language due to "The kidnapping of Aldo Moro" by Red Brigades. Those words are unrecognized in the context of English language media. In the end, those words were employed in news media when signifying the deviant values.

Over-lexicalization refers to a large number of synonymous or near-synonymous notions in a particular domain of experience. The significances for critical linguistics of over-lexicalization point that the massive pre-occupation should be investigated the peculiarities in the specialized group's ideology. In Fowler and Kress (1979) work, "the example of over-lexicalization was collected from *Observer* on March, 26th 1978, which designated the word 'loan' in a particular article: 'finance house loan,' 'personal loan,' 'credit alternatives,' 'overdraft,' 'low-interest-rate schemes,' 'special credit schemes,' 'low-interest finance,' 'credit deal' and 'credit bargain' (p. 211)." Then, over-lexicalization also

reveals in the application of positioning adjectives. It involves prenominal and predicative adjectives, which have a different impact on the particular utterance. Prenominal adjectives imply the classification of the things described due to the lack of modality. In any other way, predicative adjectives evaluate particular things described as long as it raises writers' commitment to a sense of the judgemental statement.

B. News Headline as Media Discourse

Inevitably, the newspaper provides merely a specific world's partial version. The process of selection, re-ordering, transformation, distortion, and suppression results in the final form of information obtained by people (Fowler et al., 1976, p.157). Each news publishers have a distinctive way of portraying the world condition. As readers, those options provided come from our varied expectations. As a result, the specific content created raises the systematic bias. Nevertheless, the content explains who it is with taking a position when interpreting reality.

It is initial orientation whether the news headline is either a text or a part of the text. The answer is that it can be both. The headline is a type of particular text which is capable of being the self-governing text. Jarovici and Amel (1989, p.441) maintains that the title is correlational to another text, which functions as a headline. In conclusion, the headline as follows grows into a text that is dependent on the other text. It also goes along with the statement of Halliday and Hasan (1976) that declares “semantic unit of meaning, which does not depend on the size and belongs to a unit of language in use” (p. 2). Within the news field, headline

means “the condensed summary of a news report, which refers to the semantic unit in the semantic-functional view and the part of full news report itself” (van Dijk, 1988, p. 36).

Traditionally, a news headline has the function of summarizing in the way of telegram-like of news items. It is in line with van Dijk’s (1988) notion “Every news report posted has a headline ... and many own a hint represented by primary inscription or not (p.37). Likewise, it represents “essential topics and initial summaries of stories” (Dor, 2003, p.697). The other function covers the relevance optimizers, which link the stories and the readers through negotiation (Daniel Dor, 2003).

Assuming the news headline as a mere performative discourse is quite contradictive in contrast. It can be stated due to Ruth Wodak’s statement (2009) that declares, “Furthermore, I distinguish between text and discourse; a text is a specific and distinctive representation of discourse, whereas discourse means the patterns and similitude of structures and knowledge (p.39)”. In contrast, van Dijk (2014, p.5) proposed the new perspective that states:

“The epistemic discourse field is being attracted on the one hand due to the most human knowledge constructed by discourse, on the other hand, due to language in use. Then, the understanding of discourse production is impossible without the massive amount of knowledge of the world’s activation.”

Eventually, based on that statement, the projection of news headlines as the language usage's product is regarded as the constructed discourse.

C. Ideological-Discursive Formation

In the ideological-discursive formation, the understanding of political discourse as the interaction result of power and ideology is essential. Fairclough

and Mauranen (1997) stated that “political discourse of the mass media could be described as an order of discourse which articulates and rearticulates together discursive practices which come from various other orders of discourse, including those of political systems, various area of academic and professional life, and the lifeworld or ordinary life” (p. 90). Political discourse involves “the formal exchange of reasoned views on which of several alternative courses of action should be taken to solve a societal problem” (Johnson and Johnson, 2000, p. 292). Then, as Wilson definition of political discourse, it belongs to a variety of general issues including power, conflict, control, and domination (Furko, 2017 p.3).

The discussion starts from the relation between language and politics formulated by Aristotle due to its popularity as the essential reference for many political discourse analysts and political theorists. Aristotle in *Politics* connects the political nature of man and the power of speech. He also identified speech as 'serving to indicate what is useful and what is harmful and what is just and what is unjust. This passage is similar to his writing "Rhetoric," which is distinguished into three genres: epideictic, deliberative, and forensic (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012, p. 19). Specifically, the deliberative or political rhetoric becomes the main focus of this research in which it concerns the deliberation of public affairs, focusing on what should be selected or avoided. Then, it becomes adequate to represent official discourse as the government role of this discourse's stakeholder.

This study specifically employed the Ideological-Discursive formation that comes from “the inseparable notion of ‘the way of seeing’ and ‘the way of

talking’ as the ideological formation” (Althusser, 1971, p.35) involving the ideological positions related within different forces in the institution and discursive formation covering the class struggle of sustaining ideological formation reflected on the discourse persuasion (Pecheux, 1982 p. 111). Linguistic manipulation and order become the way of talking in which both representations will be identified in discourse practice as the process of production and the ideological formation settling the ideological persuasion as the further implication.

D. PSBB (Large Scale of Social Restriction)

Initially, SARS-CoV 19 or Novel Coronavirus infection was reported by World Health Organization on January 4, 2020, as the pneumonia cases that causes no death in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China (WHO, April 2020). Then, coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic provokes such regulation administered since the first case was detected in Jakarta confirmed by authorities. It involves two Indonesian women which one of them went dancing in a club on February 14 with her Japanese colleague – recently being the patient with Covid-19 in Malaysia (The Jakarta Post, March 2, 2020).

Mr. President Joko Widodo furthermore announced implementing social distancing after confirming 117 cases of COVID-19 on March 14. Synchronously, the governor of DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan released the regulation of implementing PSBB for two weeks from April 10th to 23rd (KepGub DKI 380/2020, p.2) initial step of conducting the national social restriction. PSBB attributes to the term of public health quarantine in Indonesia. Ultimately, PSBB

or Large-Scale of Social restriction is spelled out as restricting the particular activity in the specific region is assumed to proliferate disease and being infected in order to thwart the occurrence of both possibilities (UU 6/2018, Chapter 1 Number 11). This regulation is administered to prevent the particular pandemic as a public health emergency in the specific space (UU 6/2018, Chapter 59 Number 2). Then, the restriction of public movements covers all activities conducted in school, workplace, house of worship, and public facilities such as bus and railway station, airport, harbor, and marketplace (PP 21/2020, Chapter 4 Number 1). Thus, the implementation of PSBB is strictly obeyed for two weeks of the SARS-CoV incubation period, or it must be prolonged as if the case of proliferation detected (Permenkes 9/2020, Chapter 13 Number 2). The authorities also provide penalties of the maximum one- year imprisoned and being stripped of a hundred million rupiahs (UU 6/2018 Chapter 93).

This restriction tends to be supported or disapproved by people due to the limitation of public movement. The discouragement massively comes from micro, small and medium enterprises (UMKM) performers that experience dropped profit rather than before. It was demonstrated by the dropping point of gross domestic product (GDP) into -5,32 percent in Q2 2020 (BPS, 2020, p.12). Because of it, the authorities officially revealed the economic stance of Indonesia falls recession.

The news media have heterogenic responses to PSBB as well as citizens. Those were demonstrated by the exposure of the published news report after the official announcement of national social restriction. On the one hand, some of them strictly warn the people to obey the health protocols and PSBB within the

frequent exposure of the amount of the death victims of COVID-19. On the other hand, the others frequently forecasted the unpleasant impact of PSBB implementation, such as the downfall of UMKM performers, the downfall of tourism and hospitality industries, and so forth. Those, as the results, raise the dialectical exchange in the context of political facet sourced from the concern of ideology and power. Focusing on news headlines, the present study attempts to unveil it in critical discourse analysis.

E. Three-Dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis

The theoretical framework utilized in this study refers to Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. It remains critical that the social practice and language utility is mainly bound up, and it thus includes the unconscious cause and effect under customary conditions (Bourdieu, 1977). It means the practice of power within language use is covert to people, specifically on the mass media facet. Therefore the CDA as an approach is adequate to sketch out the underlying power relation in language utilization centered on the ideological facet (Fairclough, 1995 p. 54). Then, it was respectively covering linguistic, discourse, and social and cultural analysis. The linguistic analysis stands as the initial phase of constructing the textual inquiries, which utilized the two rubrics of Fowler and Kress' Critical linguistics as mentioned before.

Then, the discursive analysis includes the discursive practices that possibly applied in news headline construction and the order of discourse referring to the political discourse of mass media (Fairclough and Mauranen, 1998, p. 90). Fairclough (1995) also decides the discourse practice in media as the creative

discursive practice due to its fluidity and social condition (p.60-1). Also, the discursive practices are reflected by extending the textual findings to ideology meaning (Xie, 2018, p. 401). The discourse practice involves the production of discourse involving the Ideological-discursive formation that refers to the way talking and seeing in conducting the identification of discourse persuasion and ideological formation. For the distribution process, the order of discourse is analyzed in search of the discursive practice's totality and the relation between government and news outlets. The CDA utilized in this circumstance aims to link language and discourse investigation with the social theory that specifically focused on a political domain.

Eventually, the socio-cultural analysis will reveal the social function of the uncovered ideologies in the context of PSBB regulation portrayed by both news companies that possibly possess contrastive ideology embedded in their publications. The scope of socio-cultural analysis solely covers on political aspect reflected by ideology and power relation concern that bring about the PSBB implementation within the facet of power and ideology. Those three-communicative event framework is utilized in this study for the sake of comprehensive orientation referring power and ideology practiced in media discourse (Fairclough, 1995 p. 62). Then, it also aims to establish the relationship between socio-cultural practices and the discourse under surveillance (Al-Qahtani, 2021, p.21)

F. Mass Media as Ideological Apparatus

According to Althusser (1971), “the reproduction of relations of production in capitalist societies is partially secured by the 'repressive state apparatus' (the government, the army, the police, etc.) and the 'ideological apparatus' (the educational system, the family, the mass media, etc.)” (p.40). The central issue in this study is located on mass media so that the concept of 'ideological apparatus' correspondingly adequate to be investigated. The ideological state apparatuses are organized into 'ideological formation' which incorporates class position (Louis Althusser, 1971). The expression has meaning in virtue of the discursive formations wherein they occur, for meaning is constituted by the relation between the linguistic elements of a given discursive formation. These relations of substitution, synonymy and paraphrase are called 'discursive processes.' It follows that “the meaning of an expression is not stable and fixed but is produced in a continuous process of slipping, of sliding, of metaphor” (Thompson, 1984, p.235).

Michele Pecheux and his associates established the relation of ideology and the analysis of discourse. His principal concept is “to explore the interconnection between the analysis of language and the assumption of historical materialism” (Thompson, 1984, p. 233). It is in line with the concern of this study that covers the ideological investigation through the analysis of critical discourse. In the theory of meaning, it is inseparable from the exercise of power.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter calls attention to the findings and discussions of research. The analyzed data as the research questions' answers are portrayed in the findings. In the interim, the profound amplification of the findings enacted to the critical theoretical framework is comprised in the discussion.

A. Findings

The selected 20 news headlines taken from www.thejakartapost.com and www.en.tempo.com about the implementation of PSBB are the objects of this research. These news headlines were published from April 15th to June 6th 2020 concerning the commencement and relaxation of PSBB effectuation. In the textual investigation, 20 news headlines are analyzed in terms of transformations for linguistic manipulation disclosure and classifications of linguistic ordering. The news headlines examination is separately conducted in two sections based on the news publishers' news. Either news headlines ought to have similar or different techniques applying nominalization and passivization. It consequently displays diverse implications of linguistic manipulation and ordering. Then, the second stage of analysis reveals the discourse practice, which points to the aspect of the intertextuality of each news headline's contents. Eventually, the precedent analysis reflects the level of sociocultural practice of PSBB implementation performed by Indonesians. In consideration, 20 data represent the entire data in findings.

1. The Jakarta Post (*www.thejakartapost.com*)

The analysis of ten news headlines in this news outlet involves linguistic analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Specifically, the data are labelled in Datum 1.1 to 1.17 in linguistic section.

a. Linguistic Analysis

In this part, the textual practice includes two significant schemes of linguistic investigation in terms of media domain which consists of transformations and classifications. Transformations stand for the intended arrangement of a text heading up the readers' perception of the particular circumstance. As a result, the employment of transformations scheme creates linguistic manipulation. At the same time, classification covers the writers' belief in the particular entity portrayed by the lexical choice utilized. So that it embraces the central goal of linguistic ordering. Within those schemes, the underlying belief and ideology of news headlines posted by *www.thejakartapost.com* will be uncovered in the theme discussing the implementation of PSBB regulation. The excerpts below are the employment of transformations portraying the story of PSBB regulation.

Datum 1.1

... the first day of PSBB implementation...(April 10, 2020)

In headline 1 (April 10, 2020), the PSBB becomes the modifier of 'implementation' in which it is constituted by employing nominalization. The employment gives the effect of objectification that portrays the consolidation of the new concept of 'PSBB' combined with 'implementation' as the established

regulation owning law enforcement. This scheme also sheds up the 'implementation' as the lexicalized verb of 'implement' into noun form to reform it as object-as-process. Furthermore, the readers' concerns are centered on object-as-processes rather than the extended details about the author and target of a rule. Also, PSBB regulation comes from the re-contextualization of the mainstream lockdown policy adapted to the local authority considerations. Eventually, *www.thejakartapost.com* contributes to introducing PSBB as its role as the bridge information connecting the government and citizen within this headline.

Datum 1.2

Provinces with PSBB...(May 13 2020)

Datum 1.3

... easing PSBB...(May 15 2020)

In datum 1.2, the personal participant of 'PSBB' is preserved due to the preposition 'with.' 'provinces' is the agent PSBB implementation and the affected covers the citizens who live in those provinces. However, the affected element is deleted in order to lead the readers to the personal participant. Also, the journalist intended to points to the highlighted personal participant because it settled down in subject position in full –headline i.e. Provinces with PSBB see the decline in COVID-19 cases, inpatients, say regional leaders (May 13, 2020).

PSBB is nevertheless settled down as the affected element in Datum 1.3. It thus portrays the deletion of the participant and represents the verb transformation 'ease' into 'easing' as a noun. As a result, such nominalization makes the verb-rooted noun available as the object position demonstrated by the headline in one

piece (Epidemiologist claims easing PSBB could prolong COVID-19 crisis until 2024 [May 15, 2020]). Then, this transformed noun phrase illuminates the absence of participants so that the significant consideration solely involves the affected. Also, the nominalization of 'easing' obscures the time of such activity performed and the publisher's attitude to it.

Datum 1.4

Indonesia's strategy to end COVID-19 outbreak... (April 25, 2020)

Datum 1.5

50 days of Indonesia's partial lockdown... (May 29, 2020)

In datum 1.4, Indonesia is the agent and 'strategy' remains the affected. This case portrays both agent and the affected as possessive utilization and the adjunct of purpose covering the rest of the noun phrase marked after preposition 'to.' The journalist achieves to locate the package of SVOC nominalization on the left-sided position i.e. Indonesia's strategy to end COVID-19 outbreak lacks effectiveness: Study (April 25, 2020) to slant the reader's syntactical perception.

It is evident that the possessive also mark the application of nominalization in datum 1.5. As mentioned in the previous datum, 'Indonesia' stands for the agent and 'partial lockdown' the affected. However, both are settled after the preposition 'of' to arrange them to become adjunct modifying '50 days'. Based on this formulation, it is clear that the journalist accentuates the duration of implementing PSBB. This nominalization result is also categorized as the news writer's statement: 50 days of *Indonesia's partial lockdown*, is it enough for the new normal? (May 29, 2020). This headline demonstrates the textual practice of

the journalist in the facet of experiential value to question the readiness of Indonesia to commence the new normal.

Datum 1.6

102 areas with zero COVID-19 cases allowed to start new normal...(June 1, 2020)

Passivization marked by the verb 'allowed' gives the thematization effect toward '102 areas with zero COVID-19 cases'. The noun phrase is shifted to the conventionally significant first place in the sentence. The affected seems to be significant consideration while reading. The employment of this kind of impersonality brings the agent's presence unnecessary. Nevertheless, the readers can infer which agent the journalist refers to, i.e. the Indonesian government.

Datum 1.7

...Vacant roads...(April 10, 2020)

Datum 1.8

... green light...(April 15, 2020)

Datum 1.9

...unprecedented daily spike...(June 6, 2020)

Prenominal modification exists in datum 1.7. It involves constructing the adjective (instance) 'vacant' as a modifier located before 'roads' (referent). This utilization implies the sense of unitary lexical item rather than concept analysis, which means it nearly approach classification than evaluation. Subsequently, the modality portraying the journalist's attitude is also slightly overt. Therefore, this noun phrase reflects the neutrality of the news producers in describing the effect of PSBB execution manifested in the complete headline : COVID-19: *Vacant*

roads little activity marks the first day of PSBB implementation in Jakarta (April 10, 2020).

In a similar configuration, 'green light' exist due to the prenominal modification. However, it signifies the permission to do the particular thing as the green light permits the vehicles to continue driving. In the headline, i.e. ten regions get the *green light* to enact PSBB as COVID-19 cases continue to rise (April 15, 2020), the noun phrase 'green light' signifies the granted permission for ten regions to enact because of the continuous spread of COVID-19. Then, the employment of the verb 'get' is well-questioned. According to the context in that headline, 'get' means 'to become or start to be' in which those region starts enforcing the citizen to do the PSBB obedience so the COVID-19 contract will be pulled down.

Within a similar trend of employing prenominal modification, the journalist applied the strategy within double-layered modification before 'spike,' i.e. 'unprecedented' and 'daily.' Despite emphasizing the classification sense, it also highlighted the overt modality. It informed the readers explicitly that unpredictable escalation of the covid-19 cases because of loosening PSBB to New Normal policy. In addition, the journalist attempts to avoid blaming the government in this headline so that he changes the covid-19 special task force which has a responsibility to records the updated covid-19 cases rate to 'Indonesia.' As a result, the utilization of prenominal modification in this stance indicates the journalist's cautious formulation in portraying the increasing cases of coronavirus outbreak.

Datum 1.10

... PSBB...(April 10, 2020; April 15, 2020; May 13 2020; May 15 2020)

The portrayal of PSBB appears in four headlines that indicate the principal concern of the news publisher in representing and introducing the health quarantine implementation in Indonesia. The granted effect involves the text's lexical features promoting PSBB as the new perspective in health quarantine rules. Also, the readers who find it out for the first time require some struggles to comprehend the meaning of PSBB, i.e. Large Scale of Social Restriction. Furthermore, PSBB is categorized as neologism which belongs to the form of relexicalization. The PSBB's frequent presence also demonstrates the news writers' attitude to the spread of Indonesia's health quarantine policy in which he supports the PSBB implementation.

Datum 1.11

... Indonesia 's partial lockdown...(May 29, 2020)

In this case, the journalist deploys a near-synonymous term to mention PSBB officially revealed as Indonesia's health quarantine policy, i.e. 'Indonesia's partial lockdown.' It can be said because the rules of PSBB force the people to stay in their region and not conduct a trip to the other region to pull down the spread of the covid-19. It means the tradition of homecoming before Eid is purposefully prohibited. For the extended explanation, that over-lexicalized noun phrase in "50 days of Indonesia's partial lockdown. Is it enough for the 'New Normal'?" shed light on the skepticism about the forwardness of citizen if the loosening PSBB or new normal is early embark.

Datum 1.12

...new normal...(May 29, 2020; June 1, 2020)

The Loosening PSBB raises the new relexicalized term of 'new normal.' This notion appears in media discourse after strict PSBB ought to be loosened for several considerations such as to repair the deficiency of Indonesia's economy, especially the affected daily wages workers and F&B industries. Then the medical company massively provides the screening equipment on detecting coronavirus infection such as antibody and SWAB test due to the advancement of the covid-19 medical studies. New normal signifies the sudden typical state of affairs that is unusual before (Collinsdictionary.com). Concerning the covid-19 outbreak, the loosening PSBB will be obeyed customarily in daily life, such as wearing a face mask outside, avoiding the crowd, and working from home. However, the partial lockdown is no longer implemented, and the across city travelers can enter their destination with the clearance of the covid-19 contract.

Datum 1.13

...mudik...(April 22, 2020)

Datum 1.14

...Ramadan exodus (April 23 2020)

In representing Indonesia's annual homecoming before Eid, thejakartapost.com utilizes its original lexicon 'mudik.' It reflects the journalist's exclusive attitude to the diverse readers that they might know origin outside Indonesia. It can be categorized as relexicalization for the foreign readers concerning their work out to comprehend its meaning. Then, 'mudik' employment

also grants the implication of cultural-bound terms and emphasizes its distinctiveness from the other countries' homecoming traditions, such as the US's Thanksgiving homecoming. Regarding its emergence in "*Coronavirus outbreak may end in June with 'mudik' ban: IDI*," the journalist tends to highlight IDI's suggestion to enforce 'mudik' ban and conducting the extended partial lockdown. In consequence, the positioning of 'mudik' within the previous headline remains 'negative.'

Within identical positioning, thejakartapost.com used 'Ramadan exodus' as mudik's overlexicalized outcome. It also reflects the newspaper view of mudik that is similar to mass departure during Ramadan. In reality, the phenomenon of Ramadan exodus is evident that the Muslims massively head to the birthplace on the occasion of Eid. The throng created by this annual event will increase the covid-19 contract so it remains prohibited with the government's plan to protect the citizens from coronavirus amid pandemic. Therefore, overlexicalization in this headline brings the news producer and the government in line ideologically.

Datum 1.15

Coronavirus outbreak...(April 22, 2020)

Datum 1.16

...COVID-19 outbreak...(April 25, 2020)

Datum 1.17

...COVID-19 crisis...(May 15, 2020)

There is no significant contrast between 'coronavirus outbreak' and 'COVID-19 outbreak' as their similarity in the synonymy relation. However, those appear due to the relexicalization process at different times. The label

'coronavirus' is exposed to signifies the virus infecting the respiratory system of humans and animals that cause acute respiratory infection. So the readers' concerns are directed merely to the virus. However, 'COVID-19' stands for Coronavirus Disease, and '19', the year it was detected (2019), denotes the respiratory disease caused by SARS-CoV-2 infection. The novel label is officially utilized to portray its distinction with the other disease caused by the other type of corona. Then, coronavirus and COVID-19 combined with 'outbreak' still in the overlexicalization because this dangerous virus suddenly damages the human respiratory system and causes severe disease in consequence. As a result, the employment of such a strategy also warns people to stay away from the covid-19 contract and to obey PSBB regulation.

Then, the 'COVID-19 outbreak' turns to 'COVID-19 crisis'. The latest overlexicalized noun phrase reflects the severer conditions in which the infection cases continuously increase, and the spike mortality rate remains inevitable. Then, the crisis also invades Indonesia's economic stability as the worker dismissions are massive. As a result, overlexicalization is employed to depict the emergency amid pandemics.

b. Discourse practice

The second phase analysis involves Ideological Discursive Formation and Order of discourse which conducting an interpretation of the previously descriptive analysis.

1. Ideological-discursive formation (IDF)

Ideological-discursive formation (IDF) will be the background in the formation of discourse in this research. For a more specific study, the researcher will detect IDF in the headlines issued by www.thejakartapost.com as a follow-up process in interpreting textual analysis in two concerns, namely linguistic manipulation and linguistic ordering. In linguistic manipulation, news givers hide their assessment of the implementation of the PSBB by applying an objectification strategy. They do this to remain neutral in presenting the news without having to take sides. Such treatment follows the nature of media discourse that reflects reality, in this case, the application of PSBB in official discourse. As it has been announced that PSBB is a product of the Indonesian government's health quarantine policy to protect citizens from coronavirus infection, this kind of official discourse is conveyed through media discourse which outwardly looks in line with using an objectification strategy.

In terms of removing agents, the news giver also aims to direct readers' perception towards the term PSBB. It becomes a naturalized component considering that the policymaker is the government. This kind of strategy tries to form a common sense in the reader's perception through habituation, namely by increasing the frequency of occurrence of the term PSBB. In conclusion, the emphasis on the term PSBB employment through objectification and eliminating agents has a role in introducing and in an advanced stage to naturalize the term PSBB initiated through official discourse with the intermediary of media discourse a bridge between the government and the people.

The Indonesian government finally decided to relax the implementation of PSBB in areas with no coronavirus infection cases during the implementation of health quarantine. However, due to the inseparable relationship between PSBB and official discourse, the exposure of regions permitted to relax PSBB is more emphasized and placed at the beginning of passively structured sentences, which creates a thematizing effect. Moreover, it has particular implications, which show cooperation between the official discourse that claims the success of the PSBB by announcing the provinces that have received easing and the media discourse that decides to inform the public about this kind of news.

The prenominal modifier is considered to be a tool to adopt a neutral attitude in categorizing something. In this case, the Jakarta post com uses the tool to neither support nor oppose the official discourse displayed in its media. At the beginning of the PSBB period, a 'vacant road' which was more directed towards the results of the categorization process rather than the decision process results, which tended to be judgmental, appeared in the news headlines. Furthermore, at the end of the strict PSBB period towards easing the term 'unprecedented daily spike,' it also did not cause a sense of judgment. News givers may respond by using more critical linguistic ordering features such as 'predictive positioning.' In the end, it is not applied in order to show the neutral attitude that is the nature of media discourse.

Linguistic ordering has provisions to control knowledge through lexical selection (Fowler, 1976). The use of PSBB also raises specific implications when viewed through a classification strategy, particularly in the process of 'neologism.'

It introduced a popular term when the coronavirus began to infect the Indonesian population. The high frequency of PSBB appearances in the news headlines also tries to control knowledge about the type of health quarantine policy that effectively targets Indonesia. This evidence places the government as a producer of official discourse and the news giver as a medium of discourse on one line of agreement.

The appearance of official discourse and media discourse with the same goal is also reflected in the process of overlexicalization of 'PSBB' into 'partial lockdown.' this contains the main objective of the official discourse, which requires residents not to return to their villages. It also underlines that the partial lockdown is also part of the PSBB.

In the process of over-lexicalization of '*mudik*' to 'Ramadan Exodus,' the media, moreover, faithfully supports the ban on the annual event because it will create a crowd that is included in the PSBB violation. It also changes the status of '*mudik*,' which is culturally recommended to be carried out to something forbidden, especially by using the term 'Ramadan exodus,' which emphasizes the interpretation of 'creating a crowd' rather than 'visiting hometown.'

In several headlines, covid-19 is labeled 'outbreak' and 'crisis.' each of them explained covid-19 at the beginning of the pandemic period until the PSBB extension period, the end of which was unknown. At the beginning of the pandemic, public perception was led by using the term 'covid-19 outbreak,' which refers to a disaster that suddenly paralyzes health due to viral infection. The use of this term also requires the public to be aware that this kind of situation is an

emergency. Afterward, 'covid-19 outbreak' was raised to 'covid-19 crisis', showing massive deficiencies caused by covid-19, such as increased infection cases to deaths from the coronavirus. In addition, other fields such as the economy also experienced significant obstacles such as the people's purchasing power which fell drastically, and physical distancing made many workers have to stop working. These two things show that media discourse and official discourse work together to control public knowledge to comply with government recommendations, including PSBB and its continuation.

To deal with the crisis caused by covid-19, the easing of the PSBB with the new name 'new normal' began to appear in official discourse and disseminated through the media. This relexicalized term is quoted directly from Mr. President Joko Widodo's speech. Automatically, the term easing is replaced with a more compact term. The knowledge control adopted when using the 'new normal' is more directed to a new life order by carrying out health protocols without carrying out a partial lockdown. This term also normalizes compliance with PSBB into a new and adaptive way of life. Finally, people accept the 'new normal' as an adaptive custom rather than still using the term PSBB which has an enforced image.

2. Order of discourse

Early identification of the types and genres of discourse is essential to detect the stability and familiarity of a type of discourse. The collection of news headlines analyzed is from www.thejakartapost.com, which has a construction derived from synthesizing and summarizing the news text so that it is considered

sufficient to represent the entire news text. In terms of genre, all news headlines come from a combination of colloquial discourse and official discourse.

Fairclough (1995) states that the order of discourse owns two aspects involving chain and choice relations. www.thejakartapost.com uses colloquial discourse as a sign that explains the bond between public discourse and private discourse that forms hybridity. The public discourse concerns implementing the PSBB health quarantine policy and private discourse that requires the civilians' obedience to the policy. Furthermore, in the chain relation aspect, media discourse acts as a transmitter with delivery in the colloquial discourse genre so that the public perceives it according to the will of the official discourse. However, the media as a synthesizer of official discourse also tends to represent PSBB obedience ideologically. It includes selecting and using vocabulary that controls reader acceptance to comply with the PSBB, exposure of statements quoted from elite government figures, and editorials' manipulative structure that leads reader acceptance to conform to official discourse.

On the political side, the translation of the PSBB compliance message by the media from official sources to colloquial discourses also strengthens the legitimacy of the two discourses in the first phase (enforcing PSBB). Official messages that publishers have abstracted through media discourse involving linguistic manipulation and ordering processes aimed at sustaining hegemony from social pressures that require compliance with PSBB.

In the second phase *The Jakarta Post*, however, proposed the contrastive response in translating the loosening PSBB in New Normal implementation. It

delivered criticism by selecting the news headline that ideologically remains different against the official discourse. Therefore, the discursive practice of the New Normal critiques delivered remains changeable because The Jakarta Post counters the too early loosening PSBB.

c. Sociocultural context

The repercussion of linguistic description and discourse practice interpretation directs to the sociocultural practice explanation (Fairclough, 2010). In the line of denaturalizing ideology that comes from linguistic manipulation and ordering investigation, the further explanation involves the political aspect that emerges from the concern of power and ideology. Each concern originated from the government as the official discourse stakeholder and www.thejakartapost.com as a media discourse representative footed by the headline of the PSBB regulation.

The immediate circumstances consist of enforcing and loosening PSBB that commenced in April and June 2020. *The Jakarta Post* had both similar and different views of the implementation of PSBB based on those periods. The enforcing period stands to fully support the government that aims to campaign and inquires civilian obedience to PSBB guidelines. The selected exposure of news headlines remains the proof of its support. Within its posted headline, linguistic manipulation and order are employed to centralize the circumstance during PSBB enforcement, including the scene of an emergency in Jakarta as a landmark and the capital and the centrally presidential settlement.

The news giver then encourages PSBB as the primary official discourse concern with the supply of abstracted-quoted statements of an independent

organization, IDI (Indonesia Doctor Association), that delivers the suggestion to extend PSBB enhancement into homecoming prohibition. Eventually, The afterward PSBB guideline on the homecoming ban is confirmed by the central government so that '*mudik*' remains prohibited and decided as the originator of coronavirus infection cluster. The power practice within the hybrid official and colloquial discourse successfully creates predominance and social force to control the people's perception throughout the PSBB implementation issue. Within this breakdown, the similar implicit conception of both government and media remains robust, and the translation of official to colloquial discourse evolves flawless.

The Jakarta Post, in contrast, had a different ideology with the government in loosening PSBB. It can be detected with the selected story posted on its portal since June 2020. The news provider attempted to build a contrastive discourse with the first one. The question of Indonesia's readiness to loosen PSBB and impose 'new normal' as the guideline replacement remains obvious. It is supported by the epidemiologist's statement that is abstracted as a headline. It declares that the loosening PSBB could prolong the pandemic range until 2024. 'Epidemiologist' becomes crucial in this stance because it has the adequate capacity to predict the end of a pandemic based on his/her expertise.

The news outlet directly delivers the questions about the readiness of Indonesia after conducting 50 days of PSBB. It thus demonstrates that the judicial review of loosening the PSBB plan is essential to consider, remembering the covid-19 possibly raise and the emergency status will be released. Nevertheless,

the government proposes such official discourse to recover Indonesia's financial deficiency in the economic facet related to the term 'covid-19 outbreaks' evolves 'covid-19 crisis.' This dialectical view highlights The Jakarta Post disagreement, and the central government is insisted to find out the other adaptive guideline in terms of protecting people from the covid-19. This kind of ideological practice invites readers to realize the inadequateness of loosening PSBB through media discourse, which means the translation of official discourse to colloquial discourse is inextricably affected by the implicit view of the news provider.

The loosening PSBB or New Normal is commenced in the region with zero cases of covid-19. There is no contrastive ideological formation in this stance even though the circumstance is exposed with linguistic manipulation. However, the quoted label that comes from Mr. Joko Widodo 'new normal' as the replacement of 'loosening PSBB' is extensively explained by the covid-19 special task force spokesman. He said that the cultural convention in the conducting activities outside the house with the obedience of physical distancing guideline and performing the sanitary etiquette including wearing the face mask, avoiding the direct contact with other people and making throng, and washing hand frequently.

On the other side, Zubairi Djoerban, as the Head of the Indonesia Doctor Association (IDI), states that 'New Normal' remains similar with 'loosening PSBB' due to the permission of performing outside activity involving going to work, school, conducting traveling, having meal in the restaurant and purchasing in Department Stores (KBR, May 26, 2020). It concludes that the government argues

to cancel the loosening PSBB by proposing the new term 'new normal.' In this case, the official discourse dominance is created to fight against the contrastive ideology formulated.

In the end, the apprehension of *The Jakarta Post* comes true with the presence of an unprecedented daily spike of covid-19 cases. Even though this news provider utilizes a predicative modifier to state that the exposure of the government's irrelevant consideration to replace PSBB to new normal remains obvious. Utilizing indirectness, The Jakarta Post relabeled the government as Indonesia so that its blameworthiness remains covert. This emphasis raises the powerful hegemony that manifested as a social force within the ideological representation of *The Jakarta Post* in the media discourse facet.

To recap, within media discourse, *The Jakarta Post* consequently grasp ideological representation to enforce PSBB and decide it as the ideal health quarantine guideline to protect citizens from the Covid-19. It is proven by its persistency to direct the readers' perception of PSBB obedience even though it furtherly remains loosened with the replaced term 'new normal.' The dialectical connection between *The Jakarta Post* and the central government through media discourse constitutes the dynamic interaction within the official discourse and colloquial discourse. The power practice performed by the central government to naturalize 'new normal' through the spokesman is well anticipated with the strategy of questioning the readiness of loosening PSBB. Linguistic manipulation and order as the media of ideological-discursive formation becomes the primary

consideration to softly re-constitute and naturalize the obedience of PSBB regulation.

2. Tempo (www.en.tempo.com)

The analysis of ten news headlines in this news outlet involves linguistic analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

a. Linguistic Analysis

The linguistic analysis as the initial phase is conducted to portray the descriptive breakdown through transformation and classification strategy. The data are specifically labelled by Datum 2.1 to 2.12.

Datum 2.1

PSBB Jakarta... (June 2 2020)

'PSBB Jakarta' tends to be the temporary arrangement in nominalization. Within the similar provision, that strategy directs the reader's concern, not to the facet of time and modality. It can be derived as 'PSBB regulated in Jakarta', which means the portrayal of certain places becomes essential to modify 'PSBB.' Then, the employment of such nominalization gives the effect of impersonality in which the participant remains no longer the main consideration. Then, indefinite time will be obvious within the process of nominalization because it is located after 'if' that explains the conditional state. As a result, the readers' perceptions were led to 'PSBB' rather than the government as a participant and Jakartans as the affected.

Datum 2.2

PSBB Relaxation...(June 4, 2020)

There is an essential emphasis on objectification as part of the nominalization strategy within this headline. 'relaxation' rooted from the verb 'relax' that inquire the process. It further portrays the rendering of the process-verb into noun form to fit in the object position. Objectification in this discourse product proposes the new concept due to its lexicalization result 'PSBB relaxation'... It decreases the tense that is strictly related to the time event. As a result, the specific circumstance remains opaque.

Datum 2.3

Mass prayers under physical distancing...(June 5, 2020)

Within direct quotation, the journalist provides the MUI statement of the regulation of congregational prayers amid pandemics. The underlying strategy applied includes predicative adjectives. It thus raises the sense of judging as the MUI deliberation in adaptation to the rituals of Islam and the current condition during coronavirus. This arrangement demonstrates the impersonality effect of nominalization in which the participant is not embedded in the constitution of 'mass prayers.' However, the participant can be understood as Muslims in Indonesia primarily settled on the red zone of the covid-19.

Datum 2.4

PSBB...(April 10 2020; April 11 2020) (May 15 2020)

In datum 1.5, 'PSBB (April 10, 2020; April 11, 2020)' becomes the state so that the readers comprehended this relexicalization result as the period when the

social restriction was enforced. Furthermore, the role of 'PSBB' embedded in those headlines seems to be the explanatory component and promotes and formulate the readers' consensus to stick around the social restriction. Nevertheless, the different position in the headline may affect the readers' attention, i.e. the first headline (April 10, 2020) posits 'PSBB' at the beginning that becomes quickly noticeable, and the second (April 11, 2020) settles the right-hand position which providing the landscape constituting context.

PSBB stands for the agent in the headline 'PSBB strongly suppresses COVID-19 cases: Govt'. The relexicalization depicts the package of rules issued to decrease and protect the citizen from the covid-19 contract. To convince the readers, the news writer provides the headline through quotation to transmit the Government statement. Also, the provision of relexicalization in this second discourse is apparent in that it portrays the news writer's effort to spread PSBB efficacy in media. As a result, the aims of controlling through a one-way stream of readers' knowledge about PSBB are achieved (Fowler and Kress, 1979).

Datum 2.5

Social Restriction...(April 10, 2020)

Over-lexicalization is also utilized in the headline to refer to large-scale social restriction or PSBB. However, the journalist uses 'social restriction' to be brief and the omitted 'large scale' is compatibly remembering the 'social restriction' embedded in this headline regulated partially and centered on the capital, Jakarta. Then, the rest of the headline after social restriction illuminates that the dine-in service is not available.

The intense preoccupation of 'social restriction' in the headline 'Anies Baswedan Bans private Vehicles during Social Restrictions' also came from a similar process. The news writer conversely locates it as the state to portray the private vehicle ban. Then the agent 'Governor Anis Baswedan' ought to get involved in the overlexicalization because social restriction was enforced specifically on Jakarta. In addition, the private vehicle ban stipulates the maximum occupancy of the passenger so that 'social restriction' as the 'overlexicalized PSBB' is correspondence.

Datum 2.6

large-scale social distancing...(April 12, 2020)

The Cabinet Secretariat of Republic Indonesia officially utilizes 'Large-Scale Social Restriction' to mention PSBB (setkab.go.id, posted on April 6, 2020). In contrast, the news writer over-lexicized the term into large-scale social distancing, which is slightly incompatible with the official version. In addition, large-scale social distancing also remains inadequate, corresponding to the narrow interpretation. The news writer term is solely denoted as the social distancing etiquette performed in public space. However, Large Scale social restrictions involve implementing social distancing etiquette and the vast social restriction requirements such as conducting the working and learning from home (WFH and LFH), avoiding the crowd, practicing prayer at home, prohibiting the trip across the city, and so forth.

Datum 2.7

physical distancing... (June 5, 2020)

Overlexicalization seems to be evident in datum 1.8 that 'physical distancing' derived from 'PSBB implementation.' Furthermore, the MUI contextualized statement in this headline specifies the PSBB rule applied in congregational prayers. The statement comes from 'MUI' because it is settled as the starting point of the quoted statement. Then, 'physical distancing' refers to its literal meaning that the congregants keep the distance from one another physically so that the infection of the covid-19 can be controlled. In conclusion, the news writer's contextualization through the overlexicalized term 'physical distancing' depicts correspondence.

Datum 2.8

panic buying...(April 11, 2020)

Not to promote the new perspective for the readers, relexicalization seems to be reorienting the definition of the existing words. PSBB tends to be the context generator of this headline, so the phenomenon of 'panic buying' occurs in the period of health quarantine. Then, the presence of Erick Thohir ought to be essential because it functionary as the head of the financial recovery of the Covid-19 Task Force. Due to his responsibility in recovering the financial deficiency in Indonesia, Erick Thohir reminds the citizen no longer to deal with the anomaly 'panic buying' because it will raise the dearth. It is related to the story of the citizens in several regions purchasing the unprecedented massive amount of groceries and physical distancing equipment including medical masks and hand sanitizer, so that those prices are significantly increasing. Eventually, the

reorienting definition of panic buying and constituted context implicitly delivers the caution of the crisis caused by 'abnormal cumulation.'

Datum 2.9

COVID-19 cases...(May 15, 2020)

'COVID-19 cases' tends to be customary to describe the particular coronavirus contract to people. It also denotes the principal cause of this respiratory disease, death. The headline attempts to be briefly straightforward to infused the term 'infection case' and 'mortality case' within relexicalized 'Covid-19 case.' it is adequate due to case covering "a problem, a series of events, or a person being dealt with by doctors ... (dictionary.cambridge.org)" is correspondence.

Datum 2.10

odd-even policy...(June 2, 2020)

In datum 1.11, the relexicalization process aims the meaning reorientation. It can be stated that the meaning of this entity is bounded by the preserved state provided in the utterance. In this heading, the classification strategy includes an 'odd-even policy' geared toward linguistic ordering in textual practice. In consequence, 'odd-even policy' may have multiple definitions. In the headline "Police to resume odd-even policy if PSBB Jakarta ends," 'police' and 'Jakarta' intend to specify the type of traffic regulation. Both are adequate to constitute the context and redefine the 'odd-even policy' as the traffic rule that requires the stipulation of 'license plate car with odd as the last number permitted through particular tollgates or roads on odd-number dates and the even are conversely

(Pergub DKI Jakarta, 2018 p.2-3). As a result, this kind of lexicalization seems to be employed to exclude the readers with no background knowledge of the term and suggest them to read more to comprehend the ‘odd-even policy’ definition.

Datum 2.11

*PSBB in Jakarta is **not effective yet**... (April 20, 2020)*

In this heading, the journalist attempts to quote the subjective statement delivered by the COVID-19 Task Force Head. The sense of evaluation is projected in the employment of predictive positioning embedded among the predicative complement 'not effective yet,' and subject 'PSBB in Jakarta' separated by the copulative verb 'is'. The quoted-type headline depicts such predicative positioning to announce the official clarification about the state of PSBB Jakarta. Furthermore, the speaker 'Doni Monardo' modality portrayal as Task Force head of COVID-19 is luminous. Also, the functionary that is specifically settled on the left-hand position as the speaker's label emphasizes political representation. As a result, the readers' focal point towards the political figure seems to strengthen the further statement depicted in predictive positioning.

Datum 2.12

***Mass prayers** under physical distancing are religiously valid... (June 5, 2020)*

In this headline, the separation of the predicative adjective 'religiously valid' and the noun phrase 'mass prayer under physical distancing' qualified by the copulative verb 'is' remains barely clear. Therefore, the journalist represents the headline, emphasizing the commentary-like aspect embracing the sense of literature and information. The previous predicative positioning usage portrays the

commitment of the news writer in evaluating and declaring the deliberation. However, the headline 'MUI: Mass prayers under physical distancing is religiously valid' explains that such deliberation is officially declared by the Indonesia Ulema Council (MUI) that possesses the authority of religious leadership in producing fatwa. That order of mass prayers under physical distancing requires the mosques to limit the number of worshipers to 50% from the current capacity to make the regulation of physical distancing is possibly obeyed (Fatwa MUI, June 4, 2020, p.11).

b. Discourse practice

The second phase analysis extend the previous descriptive breakdown to the process of interpretation which includes Ideological-discursive formation and Order of Discourse.

1. Ideological-Discursive Formation

Agent deletion was also detected in the headline of www.en.tempo.com, which flagged the use of a linguistic manipulation strategy. The tense embedded in and the lack of exposure of the Jakarta authority on 'PSBB Jakarta' hints the readers to pay attention to PSBB as the solution of being free from the pandemic. Furthermore, objectification also forms a process verb that takes the place of an object creating ambiguity with the PSBB relaxation period in the noun phrase 'PSBB relaxation.' Once again, the performing power reflected in the media is legitimized by the official discourse. Finally, news providers also limit the mention of a particular group by focusing on 'mass prayer.' the background knowledge readers can automatically comprehend about this interpretation

referring to the majority religion of the Indonesian population, Islam. In conclusion, transformation is used to control the reader's focus through a syntactic structure on the route of PSBB implementation.

Discursive ideological determination also includes linguistic ordering in the naturalization of new terms. In this case, only 30 percent of news headlines include the term PSBB. However, this new term still controls the reader's knowledge by being placed on the far left so that visually cognitive is considered to be the primary concern. Moreover, one of the news headlines also put this relexicalized term into a subject. It thus strengthens the significance of the PSBB as a solution to avoid coronavirus infection. Thus, it can be concluded, the exposure of PSBB, which has a high intensity, aims to introduce it and as a means of hegemony about its efficacy in protecting the community.

In its appearance as a result of the official discourse that takes precedence, tempo.co emphasizes the position of PSBB as a health quarantine policy by temporarily eliminating other regulations, namely the odd-even traffic regulation. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, PSBB has abolished the regulation by prohibiting private cars and limiting public transport loads to a maximum of 50 percent of the initial capacity that can be filled.

In the overlexicalization sector, the naming of the PSBB is divided into several parts, namely, based on the circumstances listed in each news headline. The first is a social restriction that has a vague meaning. The use of this term comes from the abstraction of statements by political figures referring to the application of PSBB in social activities that cause crowds. Then, the

overlexicalization of 'social distancing is used in the circumstance of 'congregational prayer,' which can only be performed with a congregational capacity of 50 percent of the original number. Such formulation aims to persuade the Muslim community to continue to worship and comply with health protocols. The media's negotiations in presenting this news are under the statement from MUI as the official discourse holder in this situation.

Finally, the official discourse presented by tempo.co adopts a predicative positioning strategy with abstracted statements from two elites who have functionaries related to the creation and implementation of PSBB. The head of the task force claimed that the PSBB had not been implemented effectively. It implies a robust official discourse and judges people who are still ignorant of health quarantine regulations. Once again, the practice of power looks evident due to the decision from the MUI, which religiously validates congregational prayers by keeping a distance. It remains a new phenomenon where the conditions for prayer validity inquires tight rows can be modified according to circumstances.

2. Order of Discourse

The order of discourse between public and private discourse in this stance becomes centrifugal due to its stability. As Fairclough (1995) stated, "Media discourse may formulate socially adjacent order of discourse and be shaped by them" (p.65). Within the exposure of PSBB implementation, the majority of headlines have a single voice with official discourse. Therefore, it remains stable due to its smoothness translating official discourse which imposes the enforcement and loosens of PSBB. The selected news exposures also depend on

the readers' interest involving the up-to-date information about the government resolution against the covid-19.

Upon the choice relation, en.tempo.com provides a boundary between private and public discourse with the arrangement of news headlines as the complex news components. It illuminates the two headlines that describe the apparent circumstances, such as the minimum operation in Soekarno-Hatta international airport, the prohibition of dine-in services, and the replacement of an odd-even traffic policy. Then, the rest projects the abstracted-quoted statement from the elites involving 'government', 'special task force covid-19 head', and Indonesia Ulema Council (MUI).

The employment of linguistic manipulation and ordering are categorized as the process in terms of chain relation. Those strategies imply the representation of PSBB regulation within the cooperatively ideological similarity between official discourse that intends the public obedience of PSBB and the agreement of loosening PSBB. It indicates that the media discourse in mediation positioning remains stable (centripetal) due to the correlative ideological representation that supports the official discourse translating to the colloquial one.

c. Sociocultural Practice

The dialectical relation between power and ideology becomes the underlying system of the production of contemporary media discourse. In this stance, ideology refers to PSBB implementation that aims to protect the Indonesian from the covid-19 contract. All headlines posted by www.en.tempo.com ideologically grant enormous support to the implementation

of PSBB. In the theme of unfolding PSBB's aftermath, this news outlet projects the success facet of PSBB regulation, which involves: the limited access to the main gate of Indonesia Soekarno-Hatta International airport; the prohibition of dining-in service enforced in F&B industries; advising people to avoid panic buying that might trigger the food dearth; declaring the effectiveness of PSBB in decreasing the Covid-19 cases; and having the optimistic that the pandemic will be over with the plan of odd-even policy re-implementation in Jakarta. Minimizing operation in Soekarno-Hatta represents the government's commitment to stop the foreign visitor stream that may bring the coronavirus from their origin.

The dining-in service prohibition, then, becomes an obligation to protect the purchaser from the possibility of being contracted with the virus throughout air-duplets from the others. After five weeks, PSBB is successfully reported as the ideal health quarantine marked by the decrease of the Covid-19 cases; last, the prohibition of panic buying as the side effect PSBB regulation is successfully delivered within the framing of The head of covid-19 task force in the specialty of empowering the economic stance of Indonesia. However, the contrastive facets of the implementation of PSBB are not overly exposed. 'minimum operation' results from the 'significance decrease of visitor' as the national income that comes from the official permission entering Indonesia (visa), the 'suggestion of takeouts service' might inspire the owner of F&B industries to 'reducing the amount of workers' they hire purposing the forceful efficiency. Then, the lack understanding about the dearth amid pandemic triggers 'panic buying' due to the PSBB announcement. Then, the power is discussed in representing elites giving

statements in the scope of quoted speeches. The achievement of PSBB that suppresses the covid-19 cases might badly affect the other side, such as the private company that suppresses the number of workers to keep the economic crisis's efficiency.

The commencement of PSBB in Jakarta is marked with the private vehicle ban limiting the number of passengers at fifty percent. Anies also boldly announces that the violators of PSBB will be sanctioned. For the wider area, the health minister permitted West Java to implement large-scale social distancing for the immediate prevention of covid-19 spread. At the national level, social distancing is the obligation in conducting the congregational prayers, as MUI stated. Jakarta becomes the primary consideration of PSBB implementation because it can represent Indonesia in regulating health quarantine policy. Therefore, its neighbor province asks the Health Minister's permission to implement PSBB to protect its citizen from the covid-19 contract. Health Ministers have the legitimacy of granting the permission of PSBB regulation as the government representatives in health affairs.

Tempo (www.en.tempo.com) moreover delivers criticism to PSBB within the statement of Covid-19 Special Task Force Head that declares the PSBB ineffectiveness in Jakarta. It is contradictive with the previous headline that exposes the central government claim about PSBB efficacy in suppressing the cases of Covid-19. It thus indicates the disobedience of citizens to health quarantine policy. This judgemental statement can be detected within the news writer's employment of linguistic ordering.

The fluidity of *en.tempo.com* that requires the correlative discourse representation with the official discourse shows that the media discourse as the translator to colloquial discourse is ideologically in line. The ideological representation directs to construct the hegemony that forces people to perceive all consent from the official discourse stakeholder. In the spectacle of history, *tempo.co* in the other platforms (news magazines in Bahasa) delivers massive criticism to the elite, especially the central government. Nevertheless, it stands contrastively in the translating official discourse that inquires the people obedience in the enforced and the loosen PSBB. In the end, the hybridity of official and colloquial discourse was achieved to designate the people's consent.

B. Discussion

This study has tried to unveil the political aspect as the dialectical relation of power and ideology of PSBB implementation, specifically centralizing linguistic manipulation and ordering (Fowler et al., 1976) in *www.thejakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* by investigating textual, discourse, and sociocultural practice in the news headlines. The textual practice is based on Fairclough's model analysis of communicative events in the domain of media discourse (Fairclough, 1995). The findings have illuminated the transformations and classifications employment portrays the dialectical interaction of asymmetrical power relation and the representation of diverse ideologies embedded in the news headlines from both online news outlets. Further, this

study's results fill up the unanswered gap and extend the discussion of critical discourse analysis in PSBB regulation theme.

Several previous studies employ CDA at the textual level under the umbrella of stereotype and the racial issue at the textual level (Isti'anah, 2018; Lemmouh, 2008; Selimovic, 2015;). Those previous studies respectively employ critical linguistic strategies (Lemmouh, 2008; Thomas and Selimovic, 2015) and Hallidayan Transformational Grammar (Isti'anah, 2018, p.36). Due to the Fairclough (1995) consideration of three facet community events remains as the unity to denaturalize ideological representation, this study extends the description of the discourse into the interpretation and the explanation of political facet as the dialectical relation of power and ideology, especially in Indonesia's context.

The interesting result founded in this study involves the contrastive ideologies of *The Jakarta Post* and *Tempo* in the loosening PSBB. In one hand, *The Jakarta Post* questions the appropriateness of New Normal as the substitution of the strict PSBB reinforcement. On the other hand, *Tempo* strongly supports the New Normal being implemented within the official statements. These contradictions indicate that *Tempo* plays a role as the government's public discourse interpreter and *The Jakarta Post* stands with the appropriate regulation to protect people from Covid-19 infection reflected by the different evaluation of loosening PSBB scenario with the government's design.

In the theme of discussing racism, Lemmouh (2008) investigated the critical linguistics and corpus semantic on the news representing Muslim media in USA media. It centralized the way how those linguistic strategies constitute the

systematic 'othering' and stereotyping in Muslim representation. Even though the study employs critical linguistics and corpus semantic, the primary concern is located on van Dijk's (1995) 'racism.' The news analyzed stand for the influential dominant group involving social action and cognition component (p. 87). The conclusion that comes from the textual analysis in Lemmouh's work is needed to be extended to the interpretation phase. This study, in consequence, conducts discoursal analysis that uncovered the ideological-discursive formation involving linguistic manipulation and ordering. It has reflected by this study result that declares *The Jakarta Post* sounds bolder to questions the government's readiness in implementing *New Normal* than *Tempo*. In conclusion, this study develops the textual analysis to the interpretation stage.

The other previous investigation also elucidates the official discourse genre in political interest (Doukha and Mansouri, 2021; Min, 1997; Nordlund, 2003; Thomas and Selimovic, 2015;). However, Min directly combined the socio-political context and linguistics analysis (Min, 1997, p.25). It is not in line with the Fairclough view that discourse practice is crucial to bridge the textual and socio-political context (Fairclough, 1995, p.135). This conducted study provides the discourse practice that portrays the discourse process within Ideological – Discursive Formation (IDF) and the order of discourse. The type and boundaries of discourse and the interaction of discourse participants in their distinctive social institutions.

The narrow range of ideological representation on Nordlund that comes from syntactic and lexico-semantic character investigation remains insufficient

(Nordlund, 2003, p.24). It provided the difference of the headlines with the sole utilization of the nature of media discourse that remains objective in translating reality and the particular linguistic feature that gives the effect indirect control of readers perception in comprehending the designated reflection of reality. As a result, the mere descriptive results are portrayed.

Thomas and Selimovic still select the linguistic analysis involving Halliday's transitivity, clausal semantic structure, and nominalization (Thomas and Selimovic, 2019, p.30). Those inquiries denaturalized the ideological facet of both media halal food' representations in Norway *Aftenposten* and *Dagbladet* news outlets. This aligns with the current study because it investigated two ideologically contrastive local media to the particular phenomena. It thus indicates the ideological difference in which *Aftenposten* is affirmative with the atmosphere of 'halal friendly' rather than *Dagbladet* that uses the aspect of deviance portraying the label '*halal*' food such as crime discourse. Due to the Breivik Massacre, a Muslim man commits suicide- bombing in public space. Furthermore, the right-wing government relabelled the presence of Muslims into neologism 'covert Islamization'.

In terms of studying media discourse, Doukha and Mansouri analyzed the socio-political issue that remains similar to these conducted studies. The analysis targeted the media manipulation during the referendum campaigning 2016 (Doukha and Mansouri, 2021, p.25). The press in this study involves The Sun and The Guardian that have contrastive ideologies in the Brexit issue. However, the research scope merely covers the textual practice, including the lexical and

grammatical features of a text. Therefore, it merely describes and omits to interpret and explain to gain the comprehensive discussion of power relationships and ideological persuasion. Due to that incomplete communicative event, this study provides all facets of communicative events in analyzing the ideological persuasion of PSBB implementation in Indonesia within two ideologically contrastive online news outlets.

The complete analysis of Fairclough's communicative event was conducted by Lombardi in the theory of van Dijk's sociocultural approach. Thus, it makes the alignment, and the contradiction is the feature-for-feature comparison with this study that utilized three-dimensional critical discourse analysis to uncover socio-political aspects. He conducted the macro analysis involving sociocultural concerned with value and identity and discourse practice and microanalysis involving textual practice. In contrast, this study completes the significant of social issue including power and ideology in projecting the report of PSBB between two different social institution, government and media providers. This recent study also uncovered that the two different news providers have different role, as the translator of official discourse (Tempo) and the neutral social institution that consider the appropriate policy to overcome the covid-19 crisis. .

In the discourse practice, van Dijk then considers the discourse production inquiring about the process of online news production, the publication policy of the selected news outlets, and their news values and newsworthiness. Then, the sociocognitive approach to analyze the readers as the discourse consumer is also being conducted. Nevertheless, the conducted study employed Fairclough

Ideological-Discursive Formation and order of discourse concerning the capability of media discourse constituting the readers' consent and the power relation involved in it.

In sociocultural practice, Lombardi (2018) emphasized the ideology persuasion within the identity and value representation of discourse participants. On the other hand, this study uncovered the dialectical relation between persuasive ideology constructed by official discourse intending the implementation of PSBB and new normal that supported by Tempo through how it presented the news headline. Then, the power relation is portrayed by The Jakarta Post contrastive argument including the unreadiness of implelemnting New Normal. It illuminates a deep discussion primarily on the practicing power within the designated people consents as the hegemony consequence.

The political aspect of sociocultural practice within this study fits the analysis of media discourse involving public (colloquial) and private (official) discourse. In the findings, linguistic manipulation and ordering employment portray the further interpretation of ideological discursive formation that demonstrates the ideological persuasion of www.thejakartapost.com and www.en.tempo.com as the National English news outlets. Each news provider ideologically has different views towards the implementation of PSBB regulations.

Thejakartapost.com demonstrated objectivity and integrity as the nature of the press. It is supported by the encouraging enforcement persistency of PSBB in the commencement of emergency status of the covid-19 outbreak. Afterward,

when Mr. President Joko Widodo attempt to overcome the economic crisis caused by the pandemic, *The Jakarta Post* struggles to remind the central government to find other alternatives except commencing New Normal (April 25;15 and 29 May; June 6, 2020). The translation of official discourse to colloquial one through the press in increasing the PSBB obedience rate had portrayed no significant improvement yet remembering the region labeled as the red zone had the continuous increasing covid-19 cases. It means the hegemony of enforcing the obedience of PSBB is less powerful, and it lacks effectiveness (April 25, 2020). Still, the Jakarta post remains objective in reflecting the regional leaders' claim of the covid-19 cases decline (May, 13). Therefore, new normal commenced on June 1 and the unprecedented daily spike of covid-19, in consequence, detected on June 6. The official discourse pressure to the new normal as unitary practice mediated by media discourse, in conclusion, is stable although the ideology persuasion performed in providing the news headlines attempt to change it.

www.en.tempo.com contrastively utilizes linguistic manipulation and ordering to support the pressure of official discourse that favors the people's obedience to PSBB enforcement and further new normal. So that the *Tempo.co* as media discourse merely translate the official to colloquial discourse with no contestation. Therefore, this news outlet is ideologically cooperative with the government as the ideological apparatus attempting to establish hegemony in people's obedience to the health quarantine policy and its loosening.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This chapter includes two essential points: conclusion and suggestion. The conclusion involves and thus condenses findings and discussions in the previous section. Then, the suggestion implies the new diverse area of the study for the readers and the further researcher who owns similar concern in investigating such issues of study in a similar trend, especially on theoretical framework facet.

A. Conclusions

The nowadays globalized period permits the rapid spread of the recently updated information through online platforms in which it remains accessible for the broader audiences or readers. In this case, the media are available to utilize the online platforms to publish the news stories for obtaining the internet users as the intended readers. In the tradition of reflecting reality as the nature of media, its role as the translator of official discourse to colloquial discourse is strongly related to the way they see and talk about the particular phenomena. The framing of particular updates such as 'the PSBB implementation' topic should be tempting for readers due to its importance in receiving the current condition amid the covid-19 pandemic. By employing the collaboration of Fowler's linguistic manipulation and ordering (1976) and Fairclough's three dimensions of critical discourse analysis focusing on media discourse (1995), this investigation can present a further conclusion.

In the linguistic analysis, *www.thejakartapost.com* and *www.en.tempo.com* employ the transformation strategy targeting the designated perception in the facet

of syntactical features and classifications controlling the readers' knowledge in the context of PSBB implementation within the lexical choice. The effect of both strategies employment brings to the linguistic manipulation and ordering. Hence, it means that the reflection of PSBB implementation at both media is under the distinctive frame of both news outlets. Therefore, the distinctiveness of both news providers' framing of PSBB implementation needs further interpretation in the second phase.

The analysis of discourse practice involves the discourse process and the order of discourse. The employment of the ideological-discursive formation provides the further implication of linguistic manipulation and ordering. First, *www.thejakartapost.com* utilized the transformations to reflect the PSBB implementation with the neutral deliver in case of highlighting the recent updates and supporting the notion of PSBB obedience through thematization highlighting the enforcement of PSBB in order to protect Indonesian from the covid-19 contract. On the classification side, the used term to describe pandemic and the prohibited activities can construct the sense of alarming for readers in terms of the crisis not only on public health but also on the broader aspect such as financial deficiency.

www.en.tempo.com then employed the strategy of linguistic manipulation and ordering. The agent deletions mean highlighting the regulation of PSBB rather than the executor, the government. The objectification also works in the same line to direct the readers' concern merely on the caution of PSBB obedience.

In the order of discourse, the contrastive interpretation in both news outlets becomes obvious. *www.thejakartapost.com* becomes changeable in translating implementation of PSBB involving the enforced and the loosened period. As a consequence, they demonstrate the contrastive view of loosened PSBB or New Normal. Media order of discourse in this stance works within the contemporary ideology that practices the power to deliver the critique and contrastive response. However, *www.en.tempo.com* remains stable in the relation of media and official discourse. There is no contrastive view regarding adopting a similar ideology toward PSBB and new normal execution. As a result, this media outlet translates the official discourse with no interruption as the work system of the conservative ideology of the press.

In the sociocultural practice focused on the political aspect, the dialectical relation through the power and different ideology remains evident in the news headline posted by the Jakarta Post. It appears at the transition of enforced PSBB to New Normal commencement. Through official discourse, the government wants people to adopt New Normal etiquette with the loose PSBB. In contrast, media discourse refuted it with government unpreparedness if the infection rate would increase. Nevertheless, *www.en.tempo.com* consistently translates the government regulation to colloquial discourse within similar concern in enforcing and loosening PSBB so that this news outlet involves as the element of state apparatuses in equalizing the people's consent.

B. Suggestion

Within this study, the researcher suggests several brief reflections to the critical discourse analysis of media under Fowler's (1976) linguistic manipulation and ordering and Fairclough's (1995) theoretical framework. This study might contribute to the extended discussion of linguistics to social research in which this investigation develops the textual analysis into discourse and sociocultural practice focusing on political aspects. Remembering the national media outlets is merely concerned in this study in PSBB implementation, the foreign media may have diverse framing to the regulation so that the further study will be worth investigating.

The researcher realizes the limitation embedded in the data and method of the study. Therefore, the researcher suggests the students of the Department of English Literature, as the further researchers, investigate data originated more than two diverse media outlets and expand the sociocultural practice on political aspect and the cultural, historical, and economic aspect that comprehensively discuss the implementation of PSBB. Then, the researcher also supports the result of this study as the triggering critical language awareness in reading news stories due to the ideology and power relation of media reporting has a crucial role in reflecting reality.

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CURRICULUM VITAE



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APPENDIX

Table 1. *The Jakarta Post* news headlines containing Transformation and Classification posted on April 10th to June 6th 2020 on *www.thejakartapost.com*

Jakarta Post	Date	News Headline
1	April 10, 2020	COVID-19: Vacant roads, little activity marks first day of PSBB implementation in Jakarta
2	April 15, 2020	10 regions get green light to enact PSBB as COVID-19 cases continue to rise
3	April 22, 2020	Coronavirus outbreak may end in June with 'mudik' ban: IDI
4	April 23 2020	Indonesia suspends all passenger travel across cities to prevent Ramadan exodus
5	April 25 2020	Indonesia's strategy to end COVID-19 outbreak lacks effectiveness: Study
6	May 13 2020	Provinces with PSBB see decline in COVID-19 cases, inpatients, say regional leaders
7	May 15 2020	Epidemiologist claims easing PSBB could prolong COVID-19 crisis until 2024
8	May 29 2020	50 days of Indonesia's partial lockdown. Is it enough for the 'new normal'?
9	June 1 2020	102 areas with zero COVID-19 cases allowed to start 'new normal'
10	June 6 th 2020	Indonesia records unprecedented daily spike in COVID-19 cases as 'new normal' commences

Table 2. *Tempo* news headlines containing Transformation and Classification posted on April 10th to June 6th 2020 on *www.en.tempo.com*

Tempo	Date	News Headline
1	April 10 2020	Minimum Operation: Soekarno-Hatta Airport Remains Open amid PSBB
2	April 10 2020	Social Restriction: F&B Industry only serves Takeouts
3	April 10 2020	Anies Baswedan Bans private Vehicles during Social Restrictions
4	April 11 2020	PSBB, Erick Thohir reminds public to avoid panic buying
5	April 12 2020	Health Minister sets large-scale social distancing in west java
6	May 15 2020	PSBB strongly suppresses COVID-19 cases: Govt
7	April 20 2020	COVID-19 Task Force Head: PSBB in Jakarta is not effective yet
8	June 2 2020	Police to resume odd-even policy if PSBB Jakarta ends
9	June 4 2020	Jokowi orders PSBB Relaxation in Economic Areas
10	June 5 2020	MUI: Mass prayers under physical distancing is religiously valid