#### **DIKSI**

Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 177-187 https://journal.uny.ac.id/index.php/diksi/article/view/46643 DOI: https://doi.org/10.21831/diksi.v30i2.46643

## Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post Covid-19 news articles representation: A critical discourse analysis

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to see the representation of Indonesian newspapers in English and Indonesian language. This paper used Critical Discourse Analysis to identify the ideology behind the news article in The Jakarta Post and Kompas.com by exposing the sort of ideology they hold. The pandemic which has become a part of our life since 2020 up until now inevitably changes our representation as well. English and Bahasa Indonesia-based are used to stress both the languages' representations. This paper employs Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Framework along with Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and Multimodality by Kress and Leeuwen to obtain further analysis. 20 news articles from each of the newspapers were selected with a total of 40 news articles for both of the newspapers on the Covid-19 related news for Critical Discourse Analysis. From the analysis, it is found that social, political, and cultural ideologies existed in the news articles. Both of the newspapers tried to give people awareness of Covid-19 by giving informative news articles.

Keywords: three-dimensional framework, systemic functional grammar, multimodality

Article history

Submitted: Accepted: Published: 29 December 2021 29 September 2022 30 September 2022

#### Citation (APA Style):

Firdausi, A. N. & Sahayu, W. (2022). Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post Covid-19 news articles representation: A critical discourse analysis. *Diksi*, 30(2), 177-187. https://doi.org/10.21831/diksi.v30i2.46643.

#### INTRODUCTION

The sudden emergence of Covid-19 brings catastrophic situations worldwide and has changed so many aspects of people's lives. Regarding the Covid-19 pandemic that urged in 2019 and first recognized in China, countries all around the world have done their best to prevent the severance of the pandemic on people. The pandemic (Covid-19) is related to the virus that causes critical respiratory syndrome (SARS) (Fauci et al., 2020). The spread of the pandemic across the world is also to the role of the media. The media, from electronic to paper, are trying their best to provide news about the current Covid-19 issues. Public opinions are built, and the media are one of many ways to build public opinion. The media holds the ability to shape and control society's ways of thinking and transform them into whatever they want.

However, within the huge power that the media holds, it is inevitably gauging. The media can lead to beliefs, ideologies, opinions, cultural relationships, and many more which can lead to positive and negative effects on society (Yoon, 2021). The readers need to be selective about the information that they read on the internet. Otherwise, they may become blunders and be eaten by the hoax. If people are not being selective, the media can cause misinformation and lead to a negative impression of the public (Cuello-Garcia et al., 2020). Nonetheless, with the appearance of the internet or digital and online media, the manipulative power that the media holds has become less impactful (Malinverni et al., 2022). Therefore, the media can still lead people and shape the ideology in society (Malinverni et al., 2022). People need to have critically thinking and be more selective about what they read and what they see on digital or online media (Puig et al., 2021).

With the occurrence of Covid-19 as a global virus, people are demanded to listen, obey, and understand the government's policies (Afdholy, 2022) by following mass media, whether printed or online. Media, whether online, printed, social media, etc., has become a crucial part of society. The

media gives us information and news related to the world. Language and the media hold so much power and are commonly used to manipulate, suggest ideologies, and used immaculate positive and negative means (Dezhkameh et al., 2021). It is important to study and dive further into the media's influence, which affects society's ways of thinking and life and shapes society (Chigona et al., 2021).

Thus, digital media such as *Kompas.com* and *The Jakarta Post* are among many newspapers out there that we can learn as credible sources of information. *Kompas.com* is an Indonesian language-based (Bahasa Indonesia) electronic newspaper (henceforth e-newspaper) and *The Jakarta Post* is an English language-based Indonesian e-newspaper. Both of them are produced in Indonesian but the languages they applied are different. Those alone have already created a huge gap in their ideology because English and Bahasa Indonesia have different typologies and cultures. Thus, the media are expected to deliver the right and ensure neutrality (Pradana et al., 2020).

Kompas.com, also known as Harian Kompas newspaper, was founded in 1965. It was originally named Bentara Rakyat but then get changed to Harian Kompas, as the one used until now. Founded by a member of the Indonesian army, the content of the news is mostly politically related. It was initially in paper form newspaper only but later adapted to the online newspaper form (enewspaper) known as kompas.com. The Jakarta Post kickstarted as a collaboration between four Indonesian media at the time derived by Indonesia's Information Minister Ali Murtopo and politician Jusuf Wanandi in 1983. The Jakarta Post only had the paper form, but later on, it was also featured as an online newspaper (e-newspaper) which is known as thejakartapost.com.

The power and influence that media holds have a profound effect on the public channel and have become the main channel for communication between people (Pratiwi et al., 2020; Sun, 2021). The propaganda that media can lead people to is not a new subject to be discussed. A lot of studies have been done concerning this. For instance, one study found that the use of neutral and leading news in China and the UK (China Daily and The Guardian) to see whether were there any differences in the news that was being delivered by both of the newspapers regarding the Covid-19 in lockdowns and after the lockdown was lifted (Yu et al., 2021). Next is the study on how the media, namely Kompas.com (Indonesian newspaper) was used to deliver political and ideological value on Covid-19 related news (Pratiwi et al. 2021). Another study was found on the analysis of *People's Daily* and The New York Times, e-newspapers, towards their perception of ideological value, whether negative or positive, on Covid-19 related news (Wang, 2021). The analysis of Multimodal Discourse Analysis was done by analyzing a novel cover and its relation to the readers' perception between the cover and the novel's content (Yanda & Ramadhanti, 2018). Another analysis of Multimodal Analysis using CDA is done by analyzing Covid-19 related posters to find their ideational meaning in it (Khusna & Hardjatno, 2022). Regardless of the studies stated, news media must cover and deliver righteous information to people (Gabore, 2020; Jain, 2021; Pradana et al., 2020)

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) originated in Europe. CDA was first introduced by Roger Fowler and fellow scholars in the 1970s and covers the study of applied discourse analysis. CDA discusses many aspects of the world which relate to society, culture, ideology, and power. One of many prominent figures of CDA is Norman Fairclough. CDA derives itself from the text and social analysis. Fairclough (2010) focuses CDA on social relations. In Fairclough's framework, text analysis and social value and criticism are used together, which created the three-dimensional CDA analysis framework which the study of it becomes broader by combining textual analysis and social relations. Fairclough's (1992) CDA framework is divided into three stages, they are description, interpretation, and explanation.

Fairclough (1992) believes that textual and meaning analysis should be featured in text analysis to create a deep analysis of CDA. He derives the framework from Hallyday's Systemic Functional Grammar (SFL), which describes the text's formal and structural features, including transitivity and modality. Coming from that, Halliday (2004) stated that language is a system of social symbols in which the meaning of each language is deeper than we know. His framework focused on explaining what a language is and how the language work. He then proposed the "interpersonal function" in which, when people interact using language, the language can affect the listener by listening to the speaker and even taking part to change the attitude of the listener by listening to the speaker's feelings, judgments, critics, and opinions about a certain situation. This interpersonal function offers the ability to recognize a speaker's attitude and its impact on the listeners. In this matter, the interpersonal function relates so much with the textual function of

language, and both are completing each other. In social practice, CDA and socio-cultural situations comply explanation of the world. In applying CDA as a tool, we must pay attention to cultural, political, ideological, institutional, and all the related social factors (Setiawan, 2014). By using social practice as a medium to analyze language phenomena, we can get a deeper result of analysis by explaining the power, ideological, and political topics on CDA. CDA helps to unveil power relations by focusing more on the structure of texts and utterances (Onoja et al., 2022).

Headlines and content are two different things. In the multimodal analysis, Kress and Leeuwen (2011) describe the term semiotic, called "mode". Kress and Leeuwen's framework emphasize the multimodal social semiotics approach by analyzing the material and source (mode). This multimodal social semiotics is derived from Halliday's (2004) semiotic term in Systemic Functional Grammar (SFL). The term covers: (1) conceptualization by connecting the text's features such as picture and sound by using lexicon grammar in the social and cultural context; (2) meta function which divides the mode into three meanings: ideational, interpersonal, and textual; (3) creating the relationship from the text to the systemic function. Kress and Leeuwen (2006) said that the multimodal analysis transfers meaning that concern one factor to another.

In the present day when social practices and norms are controlling our lives, the pandemic gives us a new experience of the world. Covid-19, which started in 2019, has impacted people in many structures of life. Including the news media given to the people. Covid-19 inevitably changes our life. The existence of the pandemic created a new color of life which also happened to change the world of language. During this time, the media massively took part in delivering up-to-date news about covid all around the world. The existence of the media, without being said, is one of the many factors shaping our opinion towards the pandemic. People can get discouraged, courageous, feel happy, or even sad depending on what kind of news they read (Häussler, 2021). This alone has already given us the function of media to shape society.

Related to the objectives above, this study selected the Bahasa Indonesia news media and English language news media in Indonesia, *Kompas.com* and *The Jakarta Post*, as the source of the study. English is seen as a lingua franca (Jenkins & Leung, 2014; Mufwene, 2010; Yahyagil, 2015) and Bahasa Indonesia is the national language of the people in Indonesia. The importance of both may serve different cultural typologies. This study aims to see the ideology and socio-cultural represented by both e-newspapers on the first urge of the Covid-19 outbreak (March-April 2020) and the present days (October-November 2021) when the Covid-19 has come to be handled in both newspapers' Covid-19-related news headlines. To investigate the data, Critical Discourse Analysis and Multimodal Analysis are used. Fairclough's three-dimensional model was taken as the literature (1995) and Kress and Leeuwen's Multimodality (2011) as the literature to analyze the multimodal text. Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post have been updating covid-19 related news since the pandemic's beginning. Due to that, the writer tries to break down those media's attitudes, ideologies, and opinions by using the following questions: (1) How did Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post represent the ideology on Covid-19 related news?; (2) How did picture headlines express the text's ideology?

#### **METHOD**

This study employed a descriptive qualitative design. To answer the questions which have been stated in the previous chapter, the writer used the Covid-19 news reports from March to April 2020 and October to November 2021 to both Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post. The news report data taken from each month are five (5) per month from each newspaper. By that means, the total data is 40 articles (10 articles for March, 10 articles for April, 10 articles for October, and 10 articles for November) for both newspapers (five (5) for each newspaper per month). The writer searched the 'Covid-19' keywords on both of the news sites and after reading the articles, the writer used descriptive qualitative to analyze the data.

Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post are both well-known as trusted sources of news for the people in Indonesia. Both have delivered well-structured and up-to-date news. Nevertheless, in the Covid-19 related news, both published different kinds of articles. On Kompas.com at the beginning of the pandemic, they were rapidly informing people about the virus and even provide an infographic about how to prevent Covid-19 spread, but in their latest news (October-November) they only provided news about the positivity rate and the updated number of infected people in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, The Jakarta Post is more consistent on its news topic The Jakarta Post's news reports from March to April and October to November were able to deliver the same value of news. They started the virus' effect on the world's economy, society, and many more in their articles. Both of them have their ideology on how to shape and control people's opinions on the Covid-19 related news article. Thus, to see what kind of power they hold and how they shape people's opinions, CDA research combined with multimodal analysis is necessary to be conducted. This research employs Fairclough's three-dimensional framework and Halliday's analysis tools within the CDA proposed by Fairclough by analyzing the transitivity, and modality, and investigating the ideology they shape on Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post and multimodal analysis by Kress and Leeuwen.

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### Results

Fairclough adapted Halliday's three-dimensional framework in his theory of Critical Discourse Analysis. This paper tries to describe, interpret, and explain by combining Fairclough's (1992) term with Halliday's and Kress and Leeuwen's (2011) term. Halliday (2004), in his Systemic Functional Grammar, differentiates six categories of transitivity process. In this section, Transitivity is analyzed, followed by Modality, and at last Multimodality.

#### **Transitivity**

Included in the textual perspective, transitivity derived from Halliday's term consists of six processes category. They are the verbal process that includes the process of someone speaking or delivering something. Signaled with 'say, said, tell, announced' and other similar terms that can be used to express one's idea. This process includes the person who say/delivers something, the verb used to express it, and someone who receives the information. Material process means the process of somebody demonstrating or doing something. In the material process, the subject, verb, and actions are needed to complete the process. The next process is the mental process which covers psychological reactions or phenomena. Such words as a reaction, reception, recognition, and cognition can be used to identify them. because the mental process is rather subjective and hard to be seen by somebody's action because it involves innate purposes, it cannot be seen often in the text. The behavioral process is the opposite of the mental process. It can be seen rather often than the mental process and it includes somebody's behavior, reflected by its name, it is used to convey physical purposes such as smiling, laughing, staring, crying, et cetera. Which can easily be seen by our perception. The next is the relational process, which describes somebody's activity or what somebody is doing in the text. The last is the existential process which tries to show the existence of somebody or something.

The data which have gathered by the writer consists of verbal, material, mental, behavioral, relational, and existential.

#### Verbal process:

"The Health Ministry announced 8,854 new confirmed COVID-19 cases on Wednesday, bringing the total number of infections nationwide to 788,402." (The Jakarta Post news article on March 2020)

The transitivity, including the verbal process has the criteria of signaling words say, tell, compliment, and describe. Those words are mostly used to explain transitivity's verbal process, as shown in The Jakarta Post news report on March 2020. In this news article, the word "announced" is used to comply with the verbal process. The health ministry is the actor, 'announced' is the verb, and '8,854 new confirmed Covid-19 cases' is the goal. This verbal process tries to lead the reader to believe the news by using the actor (The Health Ministry) as the subject.

"8 Maret 2020, Juru bicara pemerintah untuk Covid-19 Ahmad Yurianto **menyampaikan** dua kasus baru sehingga dalam sepekan telah ada 6 pasaien positif." (Kompas.com, March 2020)

In the case of the news article using Bahasa Indonesia, the verbal process include the words *menyampaikan*, *mengatakan*, *menyatakan*, et cetera. The word *menyampaikan* is used by the actor, Ahmad Yurianto, to express his goal of informing the people about the Covid-19 case update. The verbal process tries to have the news trustworthy by using a government official as the source of the news.

#### Material process:

"The respiratory virus SARS-CoV-2, which causes COVID-19, is rearing its ugly head in the country, it demands swift and strategic responses as we are racing against time, a luxury we can no longer afford." (The Jakarta Post news article on March 2020)

While the verbal process deals with something that can be done by exclaiming and delivering something using our verbal organs, the material process is known as a process that includes perception, reaction, and cognition. In this article which was taken from the piece of article in The Jakarta Post on March 2020, the words rearing and demand are used to tell the process in which it reacts to how to fight against the existence of the virus.

"Berdasarkan data yang dihimpun hingga Rabu (13/5/2020) pukul 12.00, **terjadi penambahan** kasus baru positif Covid-19 sebanyak 689 orang." (Kompas.com on March 2020)

The material process is the most objective because it has the means to describe the process of doing something done by somebody. The material process states the fact most objectively. Due to that reason, the material process can be found easily within the news article text which urges the writer to write news most objectively.

#### Mental process:

"Pandu analyzed the coronavirus spread in Indonesia with what-he-called the "NhPR model", counting the number of known cases per day, as well as the chance of contracting the disease and the average number of people encountering people with COVID-19 under the PSBB" (The Jakarta Post on April 2020)

'Analyzed' is included in the mental process. 'Analyze' includes the brain's process which is considered something that cannot be seen in the person's behavior. When we analyze something, the brain, thoughts, and mind are the main part of the body to perform it. The actor, Pandu, used his ability to perform a study on Covid-19 by using his analysis based on his brain, thoughts, and mind to be able to perform it perfectly.

#### Behavioral process:

"Kasus sembuh dan meninggal dunia Lebih lanjut, **melihat** data kasus meninggal dunia akibat Covid-19 hingga Rabu (13/5/2020), terdapat penambahan 21 pasien yang tersebar di tujuh provinsi." (Kompas.com on March 2020)

The behavioral process includes things we can do with our senses such as smiling, laughing, coughing, staring, et cetera. Which can be seen in somebody's move. The word 'melihat' which has the equivalence of 'see' in English, involves human eyes to be able to do so. Even though in that article's case the word 'melihat' is not the literal meaning of it but rather it wants to give more attention to the problem talked about.

#### Relational process:

"Penambahan **itu** merupakan paling banyak dalam satu hari sejak pandemi melanda." (Kompas.com on October 2021)

A relational process is described as a process used to further describe the events or the people included. The example that is shown previously emphasizes the use of 'itu' in the correlational context to connect one topic in a sentence to or from other sentences. It tries to describe that the increase of the case, in the news context, was the most in number since the pandemic struck. When a relational process exists, it tries to broaden the information by giving more important details of the context.

#### Existential:

"Rapid response task forces exist not only at the national level but also at the province, regency and city level" (The Jakarta Post on March 2020)

"Minggu (7/11/2021) pukul 12.00 WIB pemerintah mencatat **ada** 4.498 kasus suspek Covid-19 di Indonesia." (Kompas.com on November 2021)

The existential process is described using the word 'exist' in English and 'ada' in Bahasa Indonesia. both of the words employ the same meaning and information, which is to prove a certain thing.

#### Modality

Modality is a term brought by Halliday (2004) from an interpersonal perspective. Halliday, cited in Yu and Wu (2016), stated that modality can be graded as low, median, and high-value depending on the goal. The classifications are: can, could, may, and might as low-value. Will, would, should, would like to, would probably, and would usually are graded as median values. Must, should certainly, should always, have to, and ought to are graded as high-value. Those grading systems are used differently according to the user and what sort of thing one wants to employ (Yu and Wu, 2016). The grading system shows how was the writer's intention on the information found. The high grading modality can be found is shown by the following example:

"He said the current increase in cases of COVID-19 in European countries **must** be considered a valuable lesson so that people are more cautious" (The Jakarta Post, November 2021)

The word 'must' gives a high-value modality to state firmness. In the context of the previous sentence, the speaker is certain that the Indonesian government must be more cautious in learning from the sudden increase in cases of Covid-19 as what had happened in Europe. In the English language, the word 'must' is used as something to strongly suggest an action performed by somebody.

"Sementara dengan intervensi seperti yang dilakukan saat ini, yakni pembatasan sosial dengan cakupan rendah, bisa terjadi 1,8 juta orang **harus** dirawat." (Kompas.com November 2021)

The firmness of the word 'harus' in Bahasa Indonesia, gives off the demand that the person stated in the text must be given treatment from the context.

#### **Multimodality**

The multimodality is used to see how the news article's headline and picture headlines represent the news articles. Here are some results of the study:

#### Indonesian COVID-19 cases top 1,000



Figure 1. News headline and picture headline of The Jakarta Post on March 2020



Figure 2. News headline and picture headline of Kompas.com on March 2020

# COVID-19: More regions request PSBB status as Indonesia sees big jump in infections, deaths



Figure 3. News headline and picture headline of The Jakarta Post on April 2020



Figure 4. News headline and Picture headline on Kompas.com on April 2020

## Indonesia told to stay alert as the UK sees soaring COVID-19 infections



Figure 5. News headline and picture headline of The Jakarta Post on October 2021



Figure 6. News headline and picture headline of Kompas.com on October 2021

Public urged to follow health protocols as soaring COVID-19 cases seen in 20 regions



Figure 7. News headline and picture headline of The Jakarta Post on November 2021



Figure 8. News headline and picture headline of Kompas.com on November 2021

The figures taken from both The Jakarta Post and Kompas.com from March to April 2020 and October to November 2021 show the relatedness from both the picture and text headlines. To generalize the data, all of the pictures show how the headline describes the idea or the topic of the news article. In Figures 1 and 4, the use of the Government's spokesperson as the picture headlines is to ensure the readers that the news is credible as it is taken from the words of the person shown in the picture. In Figures 2 and 7, the news headline and the picture seem contradictory as the text said to stay at home but the picture showed people staying outside. The use of the contradictory image in Figure 2 is to attract readers to read and see what was the news trying to deliver. Later on, it was

figured out that the image showed the meaning to keep wearing a mask when you have to come outside but it is better to stay outside message. While in Figure 7, only shows the people who still do not obey the rule. Figure 3 and Figure 8 have the same structure. They give the correlational headlines to the picture which goes the same way and completes each other by giving the readers a feeling of connectedness. Figures 5 and 6 employ the mutual connection between the headlines. To be able to reach the headlines' objective, the activities in the picture need to be done.

#### Discussion

#### The socio-cultural representation of Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post

Fairclough explained that the analysis of CDA evolved around and it has become anything more than the analysis within the text's context. The analysis of CDA inevitably related to the social and cultural of the subject analysis (Fairclough, 2013). By deriving from the social and cultural context, a deeper analysis of a particular issue and other related matters to the topic can be done. Besides the findings that were stated previously, a discussion needs to be performed to reach the goal of answering the questions in the previous section. Thus, in this section, the writer will reveal the sociocultural aspect representation of both e-newspaper.

The social aspect includes the ideology that both of the e-newspapers want to employ (Fairclough, 2003). Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post are both Indonesian newspapers. Depending on the geographical factors, both convey the same ideology by giving and showing more attention to the covid-19 related news towards the effect on the people (Fairclough, 2013). The two e-newspapers were able to give education and detailed information at the beginning of the pandemic, struck by giving and demonstrating how to deal with the virus. Both of them mainly rely on the government's representative spokesperson for the data source of the news. In the social aspects, trustworthiness is needed from the media so that they can encompass their rules. This goes hand in hand with Pradana et al. (2020). The use of the government's spokesperson as the source of information is no other than because the government is the 'to-be-expected' most trusted source in an unknown pandemic situation back then. The citizen tends to rely on the government's decision. The shaping of media matters to gain people's trust (Jain, 2021). It was used to gain more audience attention while providing a piece of trustworthy news (Gabore, 2020). Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post are both objective in their news delivery. They give more data rather than the only statement from the experts.

The cultural aspect holds an important role in this paper. Even though both of the newspapers come from the same country, the culture may be differently related to the language they use. Due to the different typologies between Bahasa Indonesia and English, the culture may be stated differently (Yahyagil, 2015). The Jakarta Post news articles mostly wanted to give information about all life fields. From social, economy, culture and et cetera. While Kompas.com only gives what is trending. At the beginning of the pandemic, both of them provided useful information related to the pandemic such as how to wash hands properly, how to wear a mask properly, and the social distancing issue but in the latest news, only The Jakarta Post that still gives the consistent information while Kompas.com only updated on the numbers of the case while sometimes inserting the condition of the pandemic.

Those cultural differences may be caused by the readers. English language-based readers tend to be more open to the issue of the world by discovering the news from all over life section while Bahasa Indonesia language-based readers care more for the current issue in which news like how the covid-19 affect social life, economic, and political become less important. It is due to the use of English as a lingua-franca (Jenkins & Leung, 2014). English is used everywhere in this world (Jenkins & Leung, 2014). The issue that covers English-related may vary rather than the one using Bahasa Indonesia concerning the power of the language (Mufwene, 2010). English is seen as more powerful because of its massive use of it.

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

This article uses Fairclough's three-dimensional framework along with Halliday's systemic functional language and multimodality by Kress and Leeuwen to analyze the critical discourse analysis on 40 news articles on Kompas.com and The Jakarta Post and its representation of the ideology and socio-cultural matters. From the textual perspective, transitivity is used as a tool to analyze the text. Of the media despite having a barrier in the language, one employs English and the

other employs Bahasa Indonesia, in the beginning of the pandemic (March to April 2020) both stated the government's attitude and caution towards the news. They gave useful information about the basic information of Covid-19, and how to avoid getting infected by the virus by giving as many sources of information related to health and the risks. the objectiveness of the two e-newspaper is proved by the use of a credible source, in the verbal process of transitivity namely an actor who played a significant role in the government. It is shown also in the headlines and the picture headline that can be seen in Figure 1-8.

Next, in the interpretation perspective, The Jakarta Post used high-value grade modality such as must to emphasize the urgency of a certain situation. Kompas.com also used the Bahasa Indonesia high-value modality namely 'harus' to point out the highlighted information.

Then, in the explanation stage, the representation of those two e-newspapers is explained derived from socio and cultural. The social aspect shaped the political tendency on how the source of the news information relies heavily upon the government's data. This employs political reason behind it as the citizen would believe more in the government as the pandemic exists. Next is the cultural reason which shapes the readers' ideology through the variety of news both newspapers prepared, the differences in language caused different cultural perceptions. In their news, the Jakarta Post consistently reported the social, economic, and political relations on Covid-19. Up until now, the latest is October-November, the news is still trying to give and shape people's awareness by giving as much information as possible such as how to deal with the current pandemic and the current issues evolving. While Kompas.com gave ways to avoid covid-19 even some infographics at the beginning of the pandemic. In the present day, October-November, the news they delivered are mostly about the case report which gave people information on the current development of the case.

The research aims to see the representation of e-newspaper using transitivity, modality, and multimodality as the tools. The news media have a certain role in guiding readers' perception towards the ideology they want. Social, political, and cultural ideology shape both of the newspapers.

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