

Interpreting Tempo's Perspective on the Front-Cover of Tempo Magazine March 2020 – March 2022 Regarding Covid-19

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Abstract

The message conveyed by a communicator through a medium must have a motive to be conveyed by the messenger. Similarly, what Tempo.co is trying to convey when providing an overview of the condition of handling Covid-19 on the front cover which shows how the handling of Covid-19 is being carried out needs to be criticized. From the 35 front covers of tempo.co magazine from March 2020 when the first case of the Covid-19 virus was discovered until April 2022 to be analyzed using the Semiotics content analysis method from Roland Barthes, this paper tries to criticize government management through public policy messages that have been carried out by the government. during the time of covid-19. The results of the study show that the Government is experiencing uncertainty, confusion, poor management, and even a dilemma in dealing with the spread of the Covid-19 virus. Tempo.co explains well the policies made by the Government which not only met resistance from businessmen, religious institutions, political parties, and even communities that were divided after the 2019 Presidential Election. However, Tempo.co also well illustrated that there is still hope for improving management. public policy in handling Covid-19 by not creating confusion in the community and hoping to improve public welfare after the endemic epidemic by working together, not blaming. each other, and unite.

Keywords

Covid-19; front cover; government; semiotics; roland barthes; unite



I. Introduction

Hearing the word covid-19 has become commonplace in our ears because the word Covid-19 is not only associated with the spread of a virus, but the word covid-19 has become a word related to many things such as changes in the interaction between humans and their behaviour patterns with others. the concept of social distancing, wearing masks, washing hands, staying away from crowds; but also changing the policies of the Government as the authority that regulates people's lives, such as tracking, use of care and protection applications, Treatment of Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM) starting from level 1, level 2, and level 3. The outbreak of this virus has an impact of a nation and Globally (Ningrum et al, 2020). The presence of Covid-19 as a pandemic certainly has an economic, social and psychological impact on society (Saleh and Mujahiddin, 2020). Covid 19 pandemic caused all efforts not to be as maximal as expected (Sihombing and Nasib, 2020).

Let's take a brief look at the PPKM policy-making which not only causes good but also controversy. As written in an article in Beritasatu.com (CAR, 2021) citing a statement from the Chair of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD), La Nyalla Matalliti, "the government needs to evaluate the implementation of Emergency PPKM in the field which is too over-acting, even causing controversy". This statement is illustrated by the

operational implementation of PPKM which in the end hampers community activities, such as businessmen transporting goods which are finally late due to road closures so that costs are higher or food stall entrepreneurs are also affected due to non-adaptive implementation. But on the other hand, the PPKM rules seem to only be intended for certain members of certain community groups, but other community members are not subject to strong sanctions, for example, there are violators of the PPKM rules who are not given any sanctions when they do not carry out isolation after traveling to abroad and seem neglected.

When we talk about the controversy over the use and distribution of healing drugs from Covid-19, one of them is about the benefits of using the healing drugs. According to the information from the katadata.com article (Lidwina, 2021) that there were several drugs that at the beginning of Covid-19 were hunted by some members of the community because they were rumoured to have efficacy and speed to heal, it turned out that they were no longer used for healing, namely oseltamivir, and azithromycin. The conditions described above show how important it is for good management of a policy in preventing and overcoming the spread of Covid-19.

From March 2020 to April 2022, the effects caused by the spread of Covid-19 are not only economic problems, which have already been known to have eroded Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As stated on the website of the Ministry of Finance (Kementerian Keuangan, 2021) in 2019 where the Covid-19 Virus has not yet entered Indonesia, Indonesia's real GDP is Rp. 2,735 Trillion, while in the first quarter In the second quarter of 2020, due to the very fast spread of Covid, there was a decline in Indonesia's real GDP in the second quarter to reach Rp. 2,590 Trillion, but in 2021 it will increase again to Rp. 2,773 Trillion.

The decline in real GDP in 2020 indicates that there is a slowdown in the economy, not only because of restrictions on mobility but also focus on controlling the spread of Covid-19, for example by distributing medicines, health facilities, as well as personal protection facilities for workers on the front line, namely doctors and medical personnel. . However, in reality, this has become messy coordination, as if what the Government has conveyed through good programs is not well coordinated. One party said A, but the other said B, as happened between the Central Government and DKI Jakarta which was written by Kompas.com (Wiryono, n.d.), 'On March 30, 2020, Anies asked the central government to impose a regional quarantine in DKI Jakarta, however, the request for regional quarantine was immediately rejected by President Joko Widodo. The reason is that it disrupts the economy.

Different things are written on the Siliwangi University FISIP page (Barokah, 2021), "At the beginning of this pandemic entering Indonesia, public trust in the Government in overcoming the corona is still high. To this day, the Government's communication strategy, both at the central and regional levels, still has many problems, even when both parties should correlate the policies issued". This statement is indeed a sign that the management of coordination is not going well. And this is what Tempo.co is trying to describe on the front cover from March 2020 to April 2022.

The description of events is a good way to provide critical understanding not only to the reader but also to stakeholders in improving their performance. Image can be interpreted as a sign, where a sign can be understood as anything that can be observed or made observable. This means that when an image is displayed, this indicates that there is an event that should be of concern, because if we are based on an understanding of communication, then the message is a stimulus that has been thought of by the messenger to be understood or even as a means of criticism or improvement regarding an event and even expected to be a public discussion.

II. Review of Literature

Many events during the Covid-19 era became controversial and, in the end, it was used as an idea to create illustrations that describe events that occur in society. As Chandler (2017, p.XVI) said, "that all human experience is mediated by the sign". Chandler's statement indicates that experience is a representation of reality embodied in a particular medium. As a representation of reality, the signs conveyed, especially regarding Covid-19, can provide an understanding of the situation, conditions, methods, opinions, attitudes, behaviour, and policies both in visual and textual form.

Various studies on Covid-19, especially When focusing on semiotic studies, especially Roland Barthes' thinking model (Aji, Tilarse Lalu Muhammad Sagusti; Muhlis; Nur, 2021) focus on seeing semiotics as a social construction; while studies from (Rahardjo, Bianda Aprilia; Ari, Ida Ayu Dwita Krisna; Nuriarta, 2020), (Setiawan, 2020), (Diana, Marselin, Kusumastuti, 2016), and (Ahdiyati, 2021), highlight that the study of Roland Barthes is an interpretative meaning. From these studies, it can be seen that their focus is not on a critical perspective as Griffin said regarding Barthes (Griffin, 2019, p.320), " .. was interested in a sign that is straightforward but that subtly ideological or connotative meaning and perpetuate the dominant values of society".

The statement from Barthes above indicates that signs can be interpreted directly, but signs cannot be separated from a dominant ideology developing in society. The concept of ideology and dominance itself often indicates a class structure where there is a ruling class and a ruled class. Therefore, in Barthes' thought, understanding of ideology and the existence of a dominant group focuses on the analysis of the 'second significance order' or the second level of meaning or the level of connotations and myths. So it can be said that the position of the marker and the marker in the 'first significance order' refers to the denotation which at the same time is also referred to as the connotation meaning at the next level.

As West & Turner (2018, p.425) put it, "... the media contains both intentional and unintentional messages". This statement provides an understanding that the message conveyed by the media is not only a message as it is but also a message that has been constructed. The constructed message emphasizes that the message is ideological, a message that conveys thoughts, ideas, and concepts from those who represent the media itself, for example, the owner of capital, a source that has a great influence on society, maybe even the media itself because it has a strong influence. in society.

This condition is very relevant to what Gary Woodward said as quoted in West & Turner (2018, p.426), "if the media considers something important, then it is important; unimportant events suddenly become important. This means that it can be said that any information that occurs in society when it is raised by the media can be something that affects the perspective or perception, attitude, and even behaviour of the audience.

III. Research Method

In this paper, content analysis will be used, which in this case it is to provide an interpretation of a sign that appears on the front cover of Tempo Magazine from March 2022-March 2022. The method used as a scalpel for data is using semiotic analysis from Roland Bathes. This analysis from Roland Barthes will be divided into 2 (two) levels, namely the First Significance order which is always understood as the denotative meaning of a visual text, and the second significance order which is always understood as a connotative and mythical meaning.

Determination of the front cover as raw data that is used to analyse the ideology to be conveyed by Tempo Magazine based on several determining factors in designing a cover. As stated by (Widyokusumo, 2012) there are 8 (eight) things in designing a magazine front cover, but related to this writing, 3 (three) elements will be used, which are revealing the story (messages delivered), drawing attention (about condition/context/phenomenon), and strong identity (the perspective of tempo.co)

IV. Result and Discussion

The data obtained from the front cover of Tempo magazine in the period when the spread of Covid-19 was first detected, namely from March 2020 to March 2022, is a long period of understanding how the media tries to explain the events that occurred. As a paper that is published once a week, the 35 front covers can provide a comprehensive picture and understanding of the message the media is trying to convey.

The selection of the front cover of Tempo Magazine is determined by the title submitted by Tempo Magazine on the front page related to the Covid-19 incident itself, such as the title in March 2022 entitled 'Forced to live with Corona', or the title in January 2022 which entitled 'omicron in the eyelid'. Determination of the data taken based on the title and its connection with an event indicates a closeness between reality and the symbol conveyed.

The results will be divided into several key criteria, namely an understanding of the message based on the year the front cover was published, then an understanding based on social, economic, political criteria from the message conveyed, and finally, an understanding based on the overall picture or patterns conveyed by Tempo Magazine. to his readers. If we try to divide the data based on the number criteria and then based on the categorization of the issues displayed, then we can divide it as follows:

Table 1. Data on the number of Front-Cover and Categories of Issues

Years	Number of Front-Cover	By issue category	Themes
2020	16	The government's strategy, the momentum of the new economic system; test and protective equipment; party corruption	Jokowi's mitigation strategy + Doctors are working hard + Jokowi's coordination and the Minister of Health are in disarray. With increasing spending for handling covid + layoffs + changing the auction system, patients are at risk Doubtful accuracy of the covid test + tangle of social assistance covid + solidarity against covid + new normal order protocol The Doctor's contribution is an inspiration The chaos between businessmen and the government (protective equipment) + the tests carried out by BIN is problematic Changed: encouraging a green economy +corruption of social assistance for Party ' <i>banteng</i> ' +pandemic heroes
2021	17	Government policy; corruption; paid	Vaccines + social assistance ban 'bull drums' Scrambling for vaccines and falling for the

		vaccines and pcr; recovery and acceleration programs; political parties	wrong people Chaotic covid test kit + vaccine fatwa Compromising of 'Terawan' vaccine (Vaknus) Second wave: policies are not working Ivermectin's intrigue + slumped health facilities (covid spike) + paid vaccines + manipulative patient data for regional heads Fictitious donation Prevent the anti-covid campaign PCR 'cuan' connoisseurs Recovery momentum (3 sectors) + random quarantine + accelerated covid 19 vaccination programs
2022	2	Government strategies and policies	Government confused – what strategy will be used The government is preparing to change the status of a pandemic to endemic

Source: (Galeri Edisi Majalah Tempo, n.d.) and processed by researcher, 2022


From the data, it can be categorized that the narrative that emerged from the front cover of Tempo magazine did mostly focus on issues related to the Government, both in terms of strategies/policies to overcome the spread of COVID-19 both economically (economic recovery strategies and the costs incurred by the community for medical equipment). Covid-19 prevention tools), social (social assistance strategies that are not corrupted and on target), political (Government readiness, strategies, and policies in coordinating the prevention and prevention of the spread of Covid-19), but there is 1 (one) cover related to Social Assistance (Bansos) involving political parties. So it can be said that from a narrative perspective, almost all the front covers of Tempo Magazine highlight the government's performance during the Covid-19 period.

4.1. The Meaning of the Front Cover Based On Categorization

Based on what the Government should focus on

From the 35 data obtained, 24 front covers that highlight the activities and policies carried out by the Government starting from the confusion of the Government in tackling the spread of Covid-19 and public policies made by the Government in suppressing the spread of Covid-19 itself. The very large number of activities or management of Covid-19 by the Government shows that there are things that have not been well coordinated by the Government in handling Covid-19 at that time.

Table 2. Government Focus Front Cover

Signs	Denotative	Connotative	Myth
	Virus signs displayed bigger than President Jokowi, critical Phase Words, President Jokowi's mitigation strategy could worsen the situation	There is a good perception of 'worry' about the spread of the corona, but it's more about the policies that will be taken	Forms of distrust and doubt

	stammered, President Jokowi's profile (closing eyes) and Minister of Health Terawan both wearing one mask – messy coordination, how to handle – public panic	uncoordinated Impact on the public Inability	Irregularity / careless / disorganized /don't care about anything
	75 trillion is represented by the many 0 symbols Procurement and Distribution of Swimmer's Medical Devices	Impressive such a large fund but still messy use	Poor management
	Menkes face is covered with medicine	Want to change the drug procurement system, eradicate the pharmaceutical mafia, but patients are threatened because of the absence of drugs	Two opposite sides /dilemmas
	Bitter pills indicate the impact of an activity ending in a negative	It's impressive that people lied to	Pseudo; deceived because fascinated/believe in something
	The word <i>teperdaya</i>	The Government's inability to manage who is the recipient of social assistance	Disorganized data and powerlessness
	Hand holding antigen test kit	Give an overview of how hard doctors worked during the Covid-19 period	Appreciation for doctors
	People fall off antigen test kits	There is a secret in the USAP test result data	suspicion
	Words tangled/disorganized/overlapping/mistargeted associated with social assistance	Showing the doctor's role as a hero	appreciation

	The concept of TIME changes Green economy Image of Evolution ends at the sign of watering the plants	Expressing desire/hope and reducing environmental risks – improving human well-being and social equality	Desire to change
	Sign of 'security guard' about to hit someone who doesn't want to be vaccinated	Repressive measures for the good of many people	prosecution
	The line of people who want to get vaccinated	Want to force a test	hegemony
	Doni Monardo, head of the COVID-19 task force holding an automatic weapon – the bullet is a reagent bottle	Apparatus involvement in the use of medical devices and vice versa occurs when using domestic findings	distrust
	TNI soldiers are lifting syringes with the US flag + Minister of Health	The spread of covid is getting wider, the government is not ready to deal with its	helplessness
	The word Compromise – is associated with the vaccine of the archipelago	The government bears a huge burden due to the poor handling of Covid	distrust
	The profile of President Jokowi who is drowned by the covid-19 symbol – like screaming for help	Unequal distribution of vaccines	Disperse, separate, no longer concentrated
	Outbreak control is not working effectively	Manipulation of data from regions for imaging	Public distrust or deception

	Photo of the police seeing the 2 T message on the cell phone	Self-help from the community turned out to be a lie	lie
	Prank words, fictitious donations	The appearance of incorrect information, misinformation	Information manipulation
	Negligence of the <i>Kapolda</i> , questioning the motive?	Explanation	Recovery policy
	The Symbol of a person who is having an eye test and sweating	Shows the place as well as the attitude	Of arbitrariness
	<i>Kipi satu</i> , a thousand hoax	Appreciation of the role and performance of doctors	appreciation
	Prevention of anti-vaccine campaign	Appreciate the doctor and ask what's wrong	Questioning / doubting
	The word Momentum is associated with recovery	Coexist with the virus	Adaptation

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2022

4.2. Based on what the Society and other institutions should do



This category provides an overview of the role of the community and other institutions that Tempo Magazine is trying to convey. Although the quantity is very small, namely only 9 (nine) front covers, but very significant in encouraging related parties regarding the involvement of community elements in the Covid-19 incident, although some are positive and some are negative, namely corruption of social assistance intended for people affected by the impact conditions for the spread of Covid-19.

Events involving Political Parties

If you look at the number of front covers related to the activities of Political Parties in the Covid-19 incident, only 2 (two) data were obtained, and even then it was only related to 1 (one) Political Party which is also a Party supporting the currently ruling Government, namely PDI-Perjuangan (PDI-P). In this case, Tempo highlighted the social assistance that was corrupted through the Ministry of Social Affairs, which at that time was led by a Minister from the PDI-P. While the description of the relationship with religious institutions is 1 cover, the description related to businessmen has 6 covers.


If you look at the number displayed by tempo.co, tempo highlights that the economy is an emphasis that the Government must also pay attention to because the Covid-19 condition is not only a health issue for the community but also a question of how people can survive from adequate clothing and food daily.

Table 3. Front Cover Focus of Political Parties

Signs	Denotative	Connotative	Myth
	Social assistance in corruption	Shows party-associated favor	Corruption
	The bull camp: related to political parties with the bull symbol	Shows There is a game between board members with the help	Of Role-playing games


Source: Processed by Researcher, 2022





Table 4. Front Cover related to Religious Institutions

Signs	Denotative	Connotative	Myth
	Push and pull words Vaccine bottle symbol Stamp (picture of a pig) raised by a cleric	Beliefs associated with administering vaccines	Authority based on usage beliefs

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2022

Table 5. Front Cover Related to the Government-Entrepreneurs Attraction

Signs	Denotative	Connotative	Myth
	Pandemic luck	The dilemma in filling the need for prevention of covid 19	Indecision in deciding policy



	Chaos businessman-government protective equipment	Contemplating and thinking about life due to non-existent work	hope
	Doctors and medical personnel are not protected	attracting an interest	dilemma
	3 workers, sitting on their hands	Scramble to quickly get the vaccine	Irregularity
	An Outbreak of layoffs	Describe the delay in vaccine administration	Games for profit
	SIMALAKAMA said the new normal	Test tool as a business tool	Games for profit

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2022

Events involving the Community

In this section, tempo.co wants to provide an overview of how the Covid-19 event is associated with the involvement of community members in preventing and overcoming the spread of Covid-19. There are 2 (two) signs displayed by tempo.co about how doctors, nurses, and also medical personnel are trying to contain the spread of the virus even with limited equipment.

Table 6. Front Cover Related to Public Involvement

Signs	Denotative	Connotative	Myth
	Frontline, doctors, and nurses working	Business with energy amid limited equipment	appreciation
	Equipment 'increasingly' minimal	Describing all the roles that exist in the nation to support each other	Unite / gotong royong

Source: Processed by Researcher, 2022

4.3. Discussion

On a page on Tempo.id (*Tempo - Digital Sales Products*, n.d.) Goenawan Mohamad stated,

“Asas jurnalisme kami bukanlah jurnalisme yang memihak satu golongan. Kami percaya bahwa kebajikan, juga ketidakbajikan, tidak menjadi monopoli satu pihak. Kami percaya bahwa tugas pers bukanlah menyebarkan prasangka, justru melenyapkannya, bukan membenihkan kebencian, melainkan mengkomunikasikan saling pengertian. Jurnalisme majalah ini bukanlah jurnalisme untuk memaki atau mencibirkan bibir, juga tidak dimaksudkan untuk menjilat atau menghamba. Nilai budaya Tempo adalah tepercaya, merdeka, dan profesional. Tepercaya didefinisikan sebagai menjunjung tinggi nilai kejujuran, integritas, dan konsistensi. Merdeka adalah memberikan ruang untuk kebebasan, berfikir, dan berekspresi. Sedangkan profesional adalah memiliki kompetensi yang tinggi di bidangnya”

This statement when associated with the signs to be conveyed during the Covid-19 period is indeed a truth. Tempo on the front cover tries to honestly present the real reality that exists in society. The conveying of the meaning of the 35 front covers as a sign that is displayed in a balanced way. Balanced in this case is to provide an overview to all stakeholders in the conditions of the spread of Covid-19 starting from March 2022 to April 2022. However, when viewed in terms of numbers, the spotlight on the Government as one of the stakeholders is mostly raised, namely as many as 24 front covers, This indicates that Tempo.co is trying to question the Government's performance in handling cases of the spread of Covid-19, they question and even say that it is even more daring, namely a dilemma.

The 'dilemma' in dealing with the spread of Covid-19 is not only highlighted by what the Government has done alone, but also by what the Government has done to other stakeholders, such as businessmen, the community, and even religious institutions. An understanding of the 'dilemma' itself can be understood through several constructions of existing concepts such as panic, confusion, helplessness, disorder, asynchronous, ambiguity, inconsistency, even arbitrariness in carrying out all activities which on the one hand try to prevent and overcome the spread of the virus. Covid-19 and on the other hand is to give hope to the people of the nation about the future after the spread of Covid-19. As also stated by Andriyan (Ruslan Ramli, 2020) in interpreting the Front Cover of Tempo.co Magazine March 2020 where the symbol of the President and the Minister of Health wearing one mask together is "to fight over one policy or both to avoid the Covid-19 attack." what is happening at this time – and is interpreted as the government's unpreparedness in dealing with the epidemic”.

The question is why is the Government panicking and feeling 'giddy' when dealing with a pandemic. If we trace from the beginning of March 2020 when the spread of this virus appeared in Depok in case 1 and case 2, then the government's position is not very anticipatory and seems relaxed, such as the statement from the Minister of Health on January 27, 2020, "prevention of the corona virus is not to panic and be restless, “just “enjoy”, and eat in moderation; then the statement of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy in February 2020 'coronavirus cannot enter Indonesia because of complicated licensing'. These two statements indicate that the relaxed attitude that ultimately leads to unpreparedness hurts on people's trust. The people who did not all vote for the President became increasingly distrustful of the implementation carried out by the Government on the ground.

Government Policy Dilemma in Combating the Spread of Covid 19

The tripartite relationship between the Government, Employers, and Workers not only occurs when conditions are normal or if extraordinary events do not occur that can reduce the level of profitability of a business being carried out, but also experience a dilemma when the Covid-19 spread occurs. The Covid-19 condition requires the Government to minimize the spread by tightening the Health protocol rules, such as maintaining distance, wearing masks, and washing hands; but also limiting community activities in interaction, both in offices which are limited to only 25% with Social Restrictions, also carried out in places to eat, sports facilities, recreation, malls, to places of worship.

The dilemma of limited activities is that business activities are also limited and the impact is a decrease in profitability and ultimately has implications for reducing the number of workers. The reduction in the number of workers will then create new unemployment and this requires assistance to survive. The data presented by the Ministry of Manpower in 2021 that 72,983 employees received Termination of Employment (Bisnis Liputan6.Com, 2021). This was done due to the declining financial condition during the Covid-19 pandemic. So it is very clear that the description given by Tempo.co is trying to remind the Government as a stakeholder of a country to take wise steps related to the condition of the layoffs. Why do the media need to be reminded of the fourth pillar of democracy?

With so many workers who have lost their jobs, as well as the funds disbursed by the Government in the fight against Covid-19, as said by Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani (Pratama, 2021) that the total budget for the National Economic Recovery (PEN) fund rose to Rp. 744.75 Trillion. This posture shows that there is an increase in the budget for Health and social protection, while the budget for business actors and corporations decreases.

The results of research conducted by Change.org (Pranita, 2020) to 10,199 respondents showed that several things related to public perception regarding the handling of Covid-19 were considered negative in the sense of not being fast and effective, namely - against the Government by 42.8%, against the President by 36, 3%, against the Minister of Health at 35.1%, while against 2 (two) other institutions namely the National Disaster Management Agency (BNPB) it was considered positive, namely 43.6% and for Regional Governments (PEMDA) at 36.1%.

The perception level of distrust of institutions, namely the Government and specifically the President and the Minister of Health, is a sign of how bad the policies carried out by these two institutions are and is well illustrated in the absence of synchronization of movements carried out by the Government, irregularities, underestimation, and powerlessness in overcoming them until they reach the point of doubting or not believing in what the Government is doing. Why did it happen? Are all the people who doubt this? Of course not? But because of the amplification of the information conveyed by a small group of people, but with a continuous quantity, the information conveyed is stronger regarding these doubts. The conditions are well described by Tempo.co through the visual meaning of “close your eyes”; the bigger picture of the virus compared to the President”; even covered almost all parts of the President's body except the face.

The last look indicates that Tempo.co interprets that there is still a chance, there is still something the President can do because the eyes are still seeing, and the mouth is still open. If so far the public feels that there is no grip on stakeholders, they are vacillating about the steps that must be taken, in fact, according to the Tempo.co - writer, he has opened a discourse that there is a glimmer of hope that can be done to overcome the spread of Covid-19.

Push and pull the use of vaccines

The understanding of push and pull related to the use of Vaccines (Wikipedia bahasa Indonesia, 2021), so it can be understood that in English is associated with trade-offs or is said to be an effort to refer to an effort to improve the quality or aspect of something by reducing the quality or aspect of something else. In the case of the Vaccine distribution, Tempo.co well illustrates that the tug-of-war made by the Government in deciding policies is like making an 'exchange' as if a policy is to be decided, so the determination is made 'by trial' through the information that is disseminated.

The 'by trial' that was carried out was by throwing a public policy message carried out by the Government, then the message became a discourse that developed in society, became a conversation and then a dialectic ensued. When the community, be it businessmen, political parties, or individuals in the community, does not agree with the public policy discourse that will be carried out, then changes are made; but on the other hand, if the discourse is widely supported by community groups, the policy will continue to be implemented, it happens cause due to the split in the votes for and against is the impact of the 2017 gubernatorial election and continues to the 2019 presidential election. Another thing that happens is the determination of whether or not a government's public policy changes due to the sheer volume of information on social media, through certain hashtags, for example, public confusion about the lockdown vs. PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions) policy.

The condition that public policy is influenced by the discourse that develops in society, is following what Sudiby (2022, p.64) said, "no matter what is reported, the parameter is clicked. It doesn't matter what the quality and depth of the news are, what matters is that it generates lots of shares and comments." The quote from Sudiby's statement is an illustration of how the discourse that is discussed in the public becomes an important issue and can influence the public policy delivered by the Government. So it can be said that the audience prefers news that generates a sensation and the audience will continue to share when the message is a message that is following their interests and interests.

V. Conclusion

Poor management by the government, especially in the delivery of policies in dealing with the spread of Covid-19, confuses the public. The government does not seem ready to provide appropriate and firm policies, both in terms of prevention and mitigation. Then because of the impact of the division of society after the 2019 presidential election, distortion of information is often something that can be tolerated. Groups opposed to the Government often make statements that contradict the policies taken and this condition is exacerbated by the attitude and behaviour of Government officials who issue confusing statements, differing in conveying information about the policy steps to be taken by the Government in preventing and controlling the spread of Covid-19. As said by Sari (2021) in his conclusion when describing the Government's response in dealing with the risk of Covid-19, it was said that "the response of the Indonesian Government through communication in terms of securitization has shown a good direction, but implementation in this field has not been maximized".

From the 35 front covers displayed by tempo.co during March 2022-April 2022, it can be seen that the focus of government activities is at the forefront, then after that, it is related to business, political parties, and community involvement, and finally religious institutions. However, when referring to messages that have motives, then numbers are not

the main thing, because what is displayed by the communicator is a message about the picture of reality that gets the attention of the audience. Another thing that was shown by Tempo.Co shows a description of the processes that occur in society, ranging from dilemmas in determining the right policy to the occurrence of tug-of-war with other elements such as political parties, businessmen, religious institutions, to the community. In addition to criticizing the government's handling of Covid-19, it also illustrates that the Indonesian people can escape the pandemic by working together, not blaming each other, and being united.

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