

THE USE OF TERMS AND SENTENCES CONTAINING THE MEANING OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE BY OPINION LEADER IN LEGAL LANGUAGE IN THE CASE OF THE POLICY ON THE USE OF THE COVID-19 VACCINE

Achmad Nashrudin Priatna¹

¹Universitas Bina Bangsa

Email: nashrudin.achmad@gmail.com

Abstract

This article aims to discuss the discourse conveyed by the opinion leader regarding the policy on the use of the covid 19 vaccine. This article uses a qualitative method with critical discourse analysis and to access and retrieve data in the narrative displayed by online media using N Capture on the N Vivo 12 plus. The conclusion is that critical discourse by opinion leaders shows the existence of an ideology of interest, such as business vaccines or monopoly vaccines originating from one country, so the term "hammer and sickle vaccine" appears. There are manipulative deconstructions, such as the term "vaccine drama". Although the social practices carried out by opinion leaders in the critical discourse, there are also constructive ones, such as support for domestically produced vaccines and free vaccines.

Thus, the social practices carried out by opinion leaders are not completely destructive in dismantling the dominant discourse related to the Covid-19 vaccine. There are several policies that have the support of opinion leaders.

Keywords: Opinion Leader, Covid-19 Vaccine

INTRODUCTION

In recent years the word discourse often appears in both oral and written statements (Ismail, 2006). Usually this word appears when someone gives an oral or written statement in response to a particular topic. The topics in question are not only related to one particular field but also in almost many fields, such as politics, social, law, culture, art, and so on.

One of the main concerns in discourse analysis is about legal language (Susanto, 2016). As an object, legal language puts forward its tenacity with structural and linguistic characteristics. As a process, analysis is needed by examining the interactions in which legal language is used and explaining how legal language functions to create and maintain institutional power. As an instrument, he observes the language of law as a means to achieve social ends.

In enabling context, legal language is concerned with registering texts such as in laws and parliamentary acts, constitutions, legally binding treaties and the like. In the context of reporting, legal language relates to texts that make registers such as in police interrogations, statements in evidence, cross-examination in trials, and so on. (Matthiessen, 2009).

Although legal language is often encountered in courtroom interactions, it is related to the way in which legal meanings are produced and interpreted during the trial (Stygall, 1994; Mooney, 2014). It is also about the ways in which power relations in courts are realized and negotiated through the use of language (Olsson, 2004). For example, courtroom exchanges were observed to see the main roles of the parties in the court such as judges, prosecutors, lawyers and others.

Discourses conveyed by the government in the form of government policies often cause various reactions. Although, these reactions are often expressed by opposition groups, not infrequently reactions arise from various circles of society. The pros and cons of government policies are a form of legal language, because policy is a legal product.

The warmest example is the counter-reaction to the COVID-19 vaccine. In dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic, the Indonesian government has issued various policies. One of them is the vaccination program. However, not all of these policies support it. There are several parties who express criticism, so that the vaccination program causes various controversies, ranging from halal and haram vaccines, untested vaccines, vaccine business to fake vaccines. (Sulistyanto et al., 2021). These critical narratives are usually put forward by opinion leaders, from various cross-communities. In a theoretical perspective, the Covid-19 vaccination policy is the dominant discourse of the power structure (Sulistyanto et al., 2021).

The article discusses critical narrative analysis by raising critical narratives about covid 19 vaccination in Indonesia, delivered by opinion leaders and how big is the effect on the government and society?

THEORY

The following are some meanings of the word discourse quoted from the book Discourse Analysis: (Eriyanto, 2006). In the Collins Concise English Dictionary (Ismail, 2006) mentioned that discourse is 1) verbal communication, speech, conversation; 2) a formal treatment of the subject in speech or writing; 3) a unit of text used by linguists to analyze more units of a sentence. Meanwhile, J.S. Badudu (Ismail, 2006) stating that discourse is 1) a series of related sentences,

which connect one proposition to another, forming a single unit, so that a harmonious meaning is formed between the sentences; 2) the most complete and highest or largest language unit above a sentence or clause with continuous high coherence and cohesion, which is able to have a real beginning and end, delivered orally and in writing. The meaning of discourse is expressed (Yuwono, 2007) namely the unity of meaning (semantic) between parts in a language structure. A simpler understanding of discourse is expressed by Lull (Alex, 2006) which means the way objects or ideas are discussed openly to the public so as to give rise to a certain understanding that is widespread.

Is Critical Discourse Analytic commonly abbreviated as CDA? Critical Discourse Analysis does not have a unified theoretical framework or methodology. It is best seen as a shared perspective encompassing multiple approaches rather than schools of thought. Historically, CDA is an evolution of Critical Linguistics developed in the late 1970s by several theorists at the University of East Anglia (Fowler et alii, 1979 and Kress & Hodge, 1979) following Halliday's (1978) functional view, but has been influenced by critics other theorists such as Foucault, Gramsci, Pêcheux and Habermas. According to Halliday (1978), language performs simultaneously three macro functions: an ideational function (language represents the experiences speakers have about the world), an interpersonal function (language reflects the speaker's own experience of attitudes and evaluations and builds relationships between speakers and listeners) and textual functions. The textual function allows speakers to produce texts that are understood by listeners and, furthermore, to relate discourse to the text and its context.

Critical Discourse Analysis as proposed by Halliday (1978) and Critical Discourse Linguistics is a choice made by speakers (regarding vocabulary and grammar) consciously or unconsciously and systematically, which is based on an ideology. "Our words are never neutral" (Fiske, 1994), conveying the message of how we see ourselves, our identity, knowledge, values and beliefs. Words are politicized, reflecting the interests of those who speak.

CDA focuses on the ways in which texts are transformed into other texts over time, such as, the production of news in the press/media, the production of various types of educational texts and the production of medical notes from doctors' notes on consultations with their

patients. CDA analysts have gone so far and taken an explicit socio-political stance: “CDA sees itself not as an impartial and objective social science, but as involved and committed (to those who speak/speak or write it); it is a form of intervention in social practice and social relations” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258).

More specifically, CDA claims that discourse always involves power and ideology, and aims to explore in a vague way, the relationship between discursive practice, text, and events. Critical analysts have an interest in uncovering the ideological assumptions hidden in the structure of language to help people resist and overcome various forms of abuse of power. In addition to the question of power in discourse, there is the question of power over discourse, which is partly a question of access, as Fairclough argues (Amerian & Esmaeeli, 2015): “What is meant by critical discourse analysis is an analysis that aims to systematically explore the often blurred relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) broader social and cultural structures, relationships, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts emerge from and are ideologically shaped by power relations and power struggles; and to explore how the ambiguity of the relationship between discourse and society itself is a factor that secures power and hegemony.”

Meanwhile Foucault states that discourse is sometimes a field of all statements, sometimes as an individualization group of statements, and sometimes as a regulatory practice seen from a number of statements. (Ismail, 2006).

The conceptualization of discourse analysis has many meanings, which have changed over time. Stubbs calls the term discourse analysis an attempt to study the organization of language above sentences or above clauses; and therefore to study large linguistic units such as conversational exchanges or written texts (Nurfadilah, 2017).

Amerian & Esmaeeli, (2015) Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an academic research paradigm that aims to investigate “power relations, ideological manipulation, and hegemony”. CDA points to what was previously known as critical linguistics (CL) (Wodak, 2002) which emerged in the late 1970s (Fowler and Kress, 1979). Critical theory provides a critical perspective or attitude towards society (Rahimi & Sahragard, 2007).

Fairclough (1995a) defines critical theory as "any theory concerned with the critique of ideology and the effects of domination". CDA began to unravel and unravel the mystery of "the structural relationships of vague and transparent domination, discrimination, power and control" (Wodak, 2007). Wodak (2001) points out that "CDA sees language as a 'social practice', and considers the context of language use to be very important. (Weiss and Wodak, 2003) considers the three concepts of criticism, power, history and ideology as indispensable elements in all CDA.

Widdowson (2007) argues that CDA is the use (abuse) of language for the exercise of socio-political power. In other words, critical discourse analysis (CDA) investigates socio-political values and norms. Widdowson (2007) considers CDA as an analytical research method that finds traces of ideological bias in written or spoken texts and campaigns against the ideologies and beliefs of ruling systems that try to legitimize their control, power and domination. ideas and assumptions taken for granted try to maintain the status quo. To state the problem differently, CDA investigates ideas, assumptions or ideologies that try to maintain inequalities and biases between elites and non-elites and campaigns against those ideas and assumptions. (Widdowson, 2007).

Halliday (Amerian & Esmaeeli, 2015), views language as a central social phenomenon in practicing any CDA. Thus, viewing language as a social event is the first assumption of CDA. The second main assumption of CDA relates to the choice of vocabulary and grammar of speakers, to be principled and systematic. In other words, language is a social phenomenon that is full of ideology. Wodak (2001) explains that the main aim of CDA is to reveal "the ambiguity in discourse that contributes to the implementation, maintenance, or reproduction of unequal power relations". That is, the ambiguous utterances are explained to reveal the unequal power structure that governs society.

Van Dijk (1998) emphasizes that CDA is not "a theoretical framework of unity or particular direction". Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk are major scholars in the CDA domain. Fairclough presents a systemic functional linguistic perspective; Van Dijk is text linguistics and cognitive linguistics; and Wodak interactional studies (Amerian & Esmaeeli, 2015).

A. Norman Fairclough: Discourse as Social Practice

Norman Fairclough is one of the most influential researchers in the CDA domain who takes a certain intermediate range of theories based on Halliday's theory of systemic functional linguistics which suggests a "pragmatic problem-oriented approach". Fairclough emphasizes "social conflict in the Marxist tradition and tries to detect its linguistic manifestations in discourse, especially the elements of domination, difference and resistance". Fairclough assumes a semiotic element for every social practice which consists of dialectically related elements of "productive activity, means of production, social relations, social identity, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis". In Fairclough's view, CDA is "an analysis of the dialectical relationship between semiosis and (including language) and other elements of social practice". Fairclough's method is similar to Van Dijk's model which consists of three components of discourse, sociocognition and social analysis. The difference is, Van Dijk assumes "social cognition and mental models as mediations between discourse and society", but considers the practice of discourse as a part that mediates between the other two parts.

In short, Fairclough's framework consists of three parts, namely "whatness", "howness", and "whyness". Whatness refers to description, howness refers to interpretation and whyness refers to explanation.

The Fairclough model presented below has three dimensions, namely "text", "interpretation", and "context". His approach assumes a dialectical relationship between language and other social elements. This means that there is an oscillation between the text, interpretation, and context. A "text" is just a part of discourse. That is, "text"—both spoken and written—is the product of a process, and the process has two dimensions of production and interpretation. In other words, the text is a product of the production process, and a resource of the interpretation process.

Discourse analysis considers the formal nature of a text as a trace in the productive process and as a cue in the interpretation process. Fairclough emphasizes text interaction and "members resources (MR)". MR consists of three subcategories "social situation or immediate social environment", "social institutions", and "society".

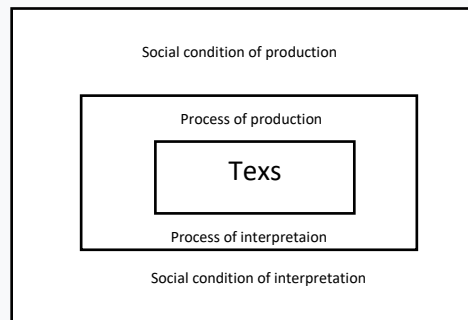


Figure 1. Norman Fairclough's CDA Model, Source: (Amerian & Esmaeeli, 2015)

B. Teun Van Dijk: Socio-cognitive Model

Van Dijk (1988a) is famous for his news discourse analysis because his analysis involves textual analysis and structural analysis of media discourse, and analysis and explanation “at the level of production and acceptance or understanding” (Amerian & Esmaeeli, 2015). Therefore, Van Dijk is known as a media discourse analyst.

Teun Van Dijk sees CDA from a socio-psychological perspective. His theoretical approach is a systematizing framework of "social reality phenomena". He has presented a triad of relationships between discourse, cognition, and society. His definition of discourse denotes "a communicative event, including the interaction of conversation, written text, and associated gestures, facework, typographical layouts, images, and other dimensions of semiotic or multimedia signification.

C. Ruth Wodak: The Sociological and Historical Model

Ruth Wodak introduced the “most linguistically oriented” model in CDA (Meyer, 2001). Ruth Wodak with Reisigl (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017) present a specific theory about CDA. Their model assumes discourse "as a complex collection of simultaneously and sequentially interrelated linguistic actions, which manifest themselves within and" across the sphere of social action as thematically interrelated semiotic, spoken or written signs, very often as "texts", which belongs to a particular kind of semiotics, namely genre” (Meyer, 2012). Effectively, Wodak has presented a historical model of discourse in which “relationships between fields of action”

(Grinith, 1996), genres, discourses, and texts are described and modeled" (Meyer , 2001, p. 22)
The focus of the historical discourse approach is on politics.

Wodak views language as a social process and interaction that involves three things which can be summarized as power and ideology, history, and interpretation; These points comprise the main features of the approach (Wodak, 2001). The historical term in Wodak's model is similar to Fairclough's intertextuality (Wodak, 2001).

To understand the concept of opinion leader, the author quotes from Sulistiyanto and his friends in their article entitled "Critical Narrative of Opinion Leaders in Covid 19 Vaccine Policy" (Sulistiyanto et al., 2021), which states that opinion leaders are people who influence the opinions, attitudes, beliefs, motivations, and behavior of others. According to Rogers (Sulistiyanto et al., 2021) An opinion leader is an individual who has higher competence compared to his followers due to his large exposure to mass media and maintaining strong contacts with change agents, which makes him an influential social participant (FlodgrenG, 2019). Weimann (2007) defines opinion leaders as distinguished by their level of personality strength, which reflects the construction of trust in leadership roles, their talent in shaping the opinions of others, and their perceived impact on social and political outcomes (Nisbet & Kotcher, 2009). Bamakan (2019) generally describes opinion leaders based on the characteristics and structure of their social networks, as shown in Figure 2.

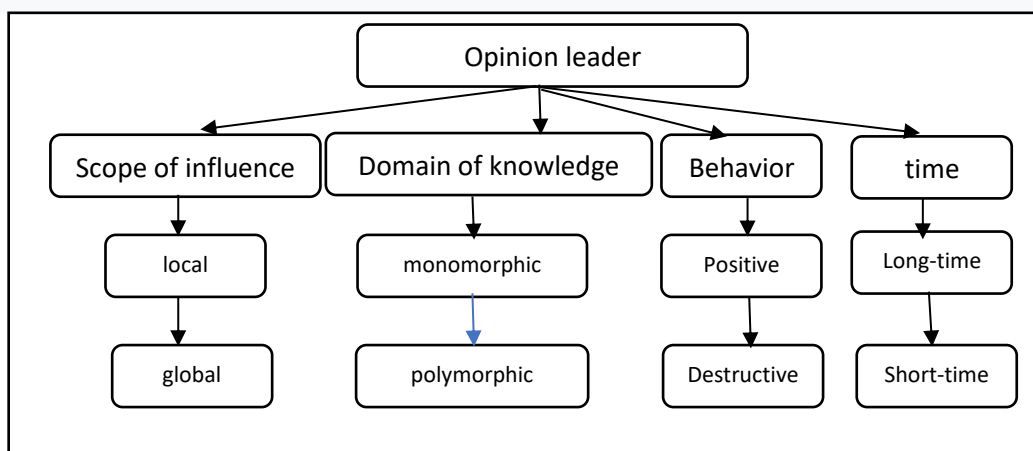


Figure 2. Character of opinion leader (Bamakan et al., 2019; Sulistiyanto et al., 2021)

Covid-19 disease is a disease caused by severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-Cov-2) (Yuan, Z., Xiao, Y., Dai, Z., Huang, J., Zhang, Z., & Chen, 2020). Until today, cases of Covid-19 patients continue to increase throughout the world (Tasnim, 2021). The death of Covid-19 sufferers is caused by several factors besides Pneumonia (World Health Organization, 2020c). Causes of death from Covid patients other than pneumonia, namely Comorbidities, which include coronary artery disease that has been suffered for 5 years, type 2 diabetes sufferers for 14 years, and chronic pulmonary obstructive disease for 8 years. Another disease is cerebral palsy when the individual has suffered for more than 10 years. Also pregnant women who experience complications.

Another cause of death for COVID-19 sufferers is HIV disease, which has been suffered for approximately 5 years. Likewise in Indonesia, to this day it continues to increase both the number of positive confirmed cases and those who have died. Based on <https://covid19.go.id/berita/data-vaccination-covid-19-update-17-juli-2021>, 2,832,755 were confirmed positive (as of July 17, 2021, 51,952 people were confirmed positive (+) and those who died 72,489 people (as of July 17, 2021, 1,092 people died).

Table 1. Covi 19 Exposure Data in Indonesia

Confirmed Positive for Covid-19		Recovering from Covid-19	
2.832.755		2.232.394	
specimen	Suspect	Active case	Died
251.392	239.294	527.872	72.489

<https://covid19.go.id/berita/data-vaksinasi-covid-19-update-17-juli-2021>

D. Covid-19 Vaccine

With conditions increasingly impacting the spread of COVID-19, WHO has encouraged countries to develop a Covid-19 vaccine. Currently, WHO has identified 42 potential COVID-19 vaccines that are being clinically tested (World Health Organization, 2020a). Of the 42 COVID-19 vaccine candidates, 10 of them have entered the 3rd stage of clinical trials, which are as follows:

Table 2. Candidates for Covid-19 Vaccines in Clinical Trials in the World

N O	Covid-19 Vaccine Developmen t/ Company	Platform Of Vvaccine	TIPE CALON VAKSIN	PHASE 1st	PHASE 2nd	PHASE 3rd
1	Sinovac	Inactivated	Inactivated	NCT04383574 NCT04352608 NCT04551547		NCT04456595 669/UN6.K EP/EC
2	Wuhan Institute of Biological Products/Sinopharm	Inactivated	Inactivated	ChiCTR2000031809 Interim Report		ChiCTR2000034780
3	Beijing Institute of Biological Products/Sinopharm	Inactivated	Inactivated	ChiCTR2000032459		ChiCTR2000034780 NCT04560881
4	University of Oxford/Astra Zeneca	Non-Replicating Viral Vector	ChAdOx1-S	PACTR202006922165132 2020-001072-15 NCT04568031 Interim Report	2020-001228-32	ISRCTN89951424 NCT04516746 NCT04540393 CTRI/2020/08/027170
5	CanSino Biological Inc./Beijing Institute of Biotechnology	Non-Replicating Viral Vector	Adenovirus Type 5 Vector	ChiCTR2000030906 NCT04568811 Study Report	ChiCTR2000031781 NCT04566770 Study Report	NCT04526990 NCT04540419
6	Gamaleya Research Institute	Non-Replicating Viral Vector	Adeno-based (rAd26-S+rAd5-S)	NCT04436471 NCT04437875 Study Report		NCT04530396 NCT04564716

7	Janssen Pharmaceutical Companies	Non-Replicating Viral Vector	Ad26COVS1	NCT04436276		NCT04505722
8	Novavax	Protein Subunit	Full length recombinant SARS CoV-2 glycoprotein nanoparticle vaccine adjuvanted with Matrix M	NCT04368988 Study Report	NCT04533399 (phase 2b)	2020-004123-16
9	Moderna/NIAID	RNA	LNP-encapsulated mRNA	NCT04283461 Interim Report Final Report	NCT04405076	NCT04470427
10	BioNTech/Fosun Pharma/Pfizer	RNA	3 LNP-mRNAs	2020-001038-36 ChiCTR2000034825 NCT04537949 Study Report1 Study Report2		NCT04368728

Source (Tasnim, 2021)

Meanwhile in Indonesia, according to information allegedly from the mass media, the Indonesian government has currently identified 3 candidates for the Covid-19 vaccine, namely as follows (Putri 2020):

Table 3. Candidates for the Covid-19 Vaccination Currently in Clinical Trials in Indonesia

No	Pengembangan Vaksin covid-19 Perumahan	Platform of vaccine
1	Bio Farma and Sinovac (China)	weaken the virus
2	Kalbe Farma-Genexine Inc (South Korea)	GX-19

3	Eijkman Institute of Molecular Biology	White and Red Vaccine (Indonesia)
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From several candidate vaccines that are being tested clinically both in countries in the world and in Indonesia, there have been concerns from various experts in Indonesia. Concerns raised to the public include the compatibility of the type of Covid-19 vaccine developed with the virus in Indonesia. Why do questions like those above arise because the corona virus or SARS-Cov-2 mutates very quickly.

Public anxiety is also what many virologists think. However, for ordinary people, the information obtained both through hearing and sight will certainly affect their perception of the Covid-19 Vaccine. Where human perception will affect his attitude later on the vaccine itself. Which in the end will affect people's behavior towards vaccines. In the sense that when someone has a bad perception of vaccination from a vaccine that has been tested later, it is clear that there will be a rejection of vaccination for protection against SARS-Cov.2. Thus, the program for the protection and control of Covid-19 will fail.

Thus, it is important to provide the right information to the public about the Covid-19 vaccine. Various campaigns have been carried out by the government through various media such as television, radio, seminars and social media. The campaigns carried out by the government to the community are mostly one-way, namely the public communication approach. Where this public communication is the interaction between the messenger, namely the government and the recipient of the message, the community tends to be less or limited (Nasution, 2020). In this case the community is treated as the object of a program. Several studies have explained that when the community is only used as the object of a development program, the success of the program tends to be less effective. The community must be the subject or actor in every program, including providing information about the Covid-19 vaccine and all aspects of the protection strategy against the dangers of Covid-19 transmission. However, in this era of the covid-19 pandemic, WHO has set several criteria as limitations in promoting health in the community, especially in red zone areas such as in Kendari City (World Health Organization, 2020b).

The principle of implementing health promotion to the public needs to pay attention to health protocols. It's just how effective a strategy model is in carrying out health promotion carried out by the community is not yet clear, especially in the era of the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, it is necessary to formulate a communication strategy that will be carried out by the community in helping to promote health regarding the Covid-19 vaccine and protection strategies against Covid-19.

By looking at the phenomenon above, several questions arise, including the following: 1) What is the public perception of the Covid-19 vaccine? 2) How is the public's willingness to be vaccinated with the covid-19 vaccine? 3) Is there a relationship between willingness to be vaccinated with the discourse war of opinion leaders?

From the list of vaccines above, from 208,265,720 target people, as of July 17, 2021 the total people who have taken vaccinations are as shown in the table below:

Table 4. Data on Covid Vaccines in Indonesia

First vaccination	Second vaccination
41.268.627	16.217.855
Target of national vaccine	
208.265.720	

<https://covid19.go.id/berita/data-vaksinasi-covid-19-update-17-juli-2021>

CONCEPT OF PERCEPTION

Perception is an activity to feel or the ability to feel; understand the soul of objects, qualities and others through the meaning of taste, awareness, comparison (Harisah, 2008). Perception is also related to deep knowledge, intuition or the ability of the five senses to understand something. In addition, perception is understanding, knowledge and others received by way of feeling, or special ideas, concepts, impressions and others that are formed. (Harisah, 2008). Therefore, perception is said to be part of the life process that is owned by everyone, from the point of view of people at a certain point. Then then the person creates what he sees for his own

world. Then the person tries to take advantage to his satisfaction. In other words, perception is the ability to respond to and feel an object. A sign is something that is used to represent something that is real and what it is.

Gestalt theory (Harisah, 2008), It is stated that the emergence of perception is influenced by architectural thinking. It is also based on the overall assumption that humans read the meaning of a form or melody into perception more than the sum of individual sensations. Thus, humans are able to see objects such as signs, symbols, spatial and others. Where all these aspects are a unity that cannot be distinguished. However, this Gestalt theory has weaknesses, namely in terms of time and repeated observations. And if someone uses a long time to record an object, the longer he observes, the more likely he is to see the parts and the more he can distinguish them, especially if the observations are made repeatedly.

In understanding how the public perceives the COVID-19 vaccine, studies have been conducted in several cities or regencies in Southeast Sulawesi province, most of which are domiciled in Kendari City. Considering that during the COVID-19 pandemic it is not allowed to have contact with someone or the community, a study to understand the perception of some people in the Southeast Sulawesi Province about the COVID-19 vaccine is carried out using the snow ball technique through social media, namely by sending a questionnaire link that has been developed via google forms. The respondents who have been netted and are willing to fill out the questionnaire through social media are 210 people with the characteristics as described in the following tables. The study was conducted from September 2020 to November 2020. To be precise, this study was conducted when the COVID-19 vaccine was not yet available and was still in the process of clinical trials both in Indonesia and worldwide. It is hoped that by understanding the public's perception of the COVID-19 vaccine prior to the availability of the vaccine, it will have a positive impact on the willingness of the community, especially in the parts of Southeast Sulawesi Province. With so many people willing to be vaccinated, the elimination of COVID-19 will occur. Or preventive measures through vaccination can occur maximally (Tasnim, 2021).

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research aims to understand social or human problems based on the creation of a complete holistic picture, formed with words, and report the informant's beam in detail and arranged in a natural setting (Nashrudin P., 2018), with a Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) approach. Critical narrative analysis is a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Narrative Analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014). CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to studying "language as a form of social practice", and CDA uses linguistic and social theory to investigate the interaction of ideology and power in discourse in macro contexts. (Putra & Triyono, 2018);(Kartikasari, 2020) (Fairclough, 2004). Narrative analysis is a micro-analysis that focuses on how people understand their experiences in society through language (Souto-Manning, 2014). Thus critical narrative analysis is a window into the process of making meaning in the world of life and can help to assess and understand institutional discourses and power in society in a more concrete way. Critical Narrative Analysis focuses on when individuals understand their experiences through narratives as a form of unification of micro (personal) and macro (social or institutional) situations. Thus, a discourse analytic approach that ignores context (macro) is considered an incomplete analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014). Meanwhile, to analyze the data using thematic analysis, that is, by identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) in the data", and examining the narrative material from opinion leaders analytically by breaking the text into relatively small content units and transforming and interpreting it. descriptively (Clarke & Braun, 2013). In this study, the narratives displayed in online media are narrative representations that provide pragmatic access to critical statements of opinion leaders. Through critical narratives, opinion leaders will provide an emic point of view regarding the government's Covid 19 vaccine program. At the initial stage, namely the data collection procedure by collecting data from online media reports about the statements of opinion leaders regarding the Covid 19 vaccine program. Through the search engine on "Google" with the keyword name opinion leader. For example, to collect a statement from Fadli Zon, in the google search engine it will be typed with the boolean "Fadli Zon Covid 19 Vaccine". The collection time is limited from early December 2020 to March 20, 2021. Of the 8 opinion leaders,

only 5 opinion leaders are consistent states a critical narrative against the government regarding the Covid 19 vaccine program. The illustration in table 1 is about opinion leaders, the number of narratives, and online media that display narratives. Furthermore, to access and retrieve data in the narration displayed by online media using N Capture on the N Vivo 12 plus.

The second stage, perform data analysis. This stage uses the principle of the grounded theory method and is carried out in three stages (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In the early stages, the captured narratives of opinion leaders are read and compared to identify possible differences in interpretations and emerging themes. The next stage is coding and conceptualizing the opinion leaders' narratives. In the coding based on Corbin and Strauss (1990), three stages of the coding process were used; open, axial and selective coding. Open coding is done by performing a line-by-line check of words. Within each line is traced, whether any implied or explicit reasons are given that can be defined as critical narratives. Open coding causes axial coding of data that rearranges data in new ways by making connections between categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Selective coding is also applied by integrating various axial categories, namely between themes with different concepts compared to the existing literature.

The handling of Covid 19 in Indonesia has entered a new situation, along with the news that the COVID-19 vaccine process has begun to find a bright spot. Whereas the clinical trial process (phase 3) is still ongoing, so that its efficacy cannot be ascertained, the government considers that the procurement of the COVID-19 vaccine needs to be carried out immediately as a preventive measure for the provision of vaccines. This preventive effort is also a response where all countries are vying for this vaccine so that the economy can quickly rise and citizens will recover (<https://national.kompas.com/read/2020/03/16/15454571/jokowi-kerja-from-home-learn-from-home-worship-at-home-needs-to-intensify?page=all>). In simple language, the purchase of goods before the goods exist or is in the process is known as *istilaj ijon*. Indonesia is selling the COVID-19 vaccine from China through three companies, namely Cansino, G42/Sinopharm and SinoVac. It is said that the vaccines from these three companies have already carried out phase three tests in various countries. President Joko Widodo in his speech at the UN general assembly on September 23, 2020 stated that this vaccine would be a game changer in

the effort to combat the COVID-19 pandemic.(Akbar, 2021). The optimistic attitude of the head of state regarding the path to be taken in eradicating the spread of covid 19, which of course needs to be seen how the realization of the policies that will be taken later. The issue of the covid 19 vaccine has indeed become a contemporary discourse that is more or less awaited by many people, after being hit by the covid 19 pandemic. This virus has succeeded in forcing everyone to refrain from social activities. This virus has also succeeded in forcing the government to use state power which in Max Weber's sense, can even legally use physical violence (Akbar, 2021). The government also regulates public order based on a legal system that is implemented and is therefore given coercive power (Akbar, 2021). Although there is a framework for protecting oneself and others that is continuously being campaigned, such as using masks, maintaining distance, washing hands, and so on, it is not considered a solution to carry out social activities freely. In this case, Indonesia is even predicted to become the center of the COVID-19 pandemic after Wuhan (Sari, 2020) as an assessment of the government's inaction in handling the spread. In mid-November 2020, there were more than 470 thousand people who were confirmed positive for Covid 19. This figure continues to increase and reaches more than 1 million at the end of January 2021. Of the number of people who have been confirmed positive, more than 29 thousand people have died, and more than have recovered. 852 thousand people (covid19.go.id, 2021).

Buying vaccines and vaccinating for COVID-19 is indeed the most rational way to break the chain of spread. However, how is the public's response to the government's efforts to buy vaccines even though they are still in the clinical trial stage? At the end of October 2020, the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia released the results of a survey, together with the Indonesian Technical Advisory Group on Immunization (ITAGI) regarding the public's response to the plan to carry out the covid 19 vaccination. As a result, 64.8% of the people were willing to be vaccinated, 7.6% refused and 26% still doubt (CNNIndonesia, 2020).

Everyone agrees that vaccination is something crucial to do. The government is also intensively socializing the importance of this vaccination to break the chain of the spread of covid 19. However, why is the public response not reaching the maximum number? (Akbar, 2021). Are

people still relatively not convinced that the vaccine will have an effect on increasing the body's immunity from the COVID-19 attack? Or, all of this is related to public trust in the weak Indonesian government. As stated by Chris Miller in COVID-19 Crisis: Political and Economic Aftershocks (Basrowi dan Binti Maunah, 2019), since the Covid-19 outbreak, there has been a crisis of trust (Problem of Trust) of citizens in power. Miller gave an example of a number of heads of state such as Moon Jae In (South Korea), Shinzo Abe (Japan), and Donald Trump (USA) who received a lot of criticism for their inability to deal with the virus and let the number of infected victims continue to grow. (Miller, 2020).

The discourse on the COVID-19 vaccine policy that was put forward by opinion leaders had an impact on various perspectives. From a political perspective, global opinion leaders have a greater ability to exert global influence in various national and international contexts, unlike the influence of local communities. According to the network structure, global opinion leaders have access to a mature and dense online community, comparable to local opinion leaders, who are mostly involved with several disparate or fragmented communities. (Sulistyanto et al., 2021). Moreover, because of the critical role of global opinion leaders in large networks, they have the highest chance of controlling the flow of information among a large number of followers (Dubois, 2015), Opinion leader characteristics are focused on action (behavior). This departs from their actions in criticizing the dominance of policy discourse that developed by power. Criticism is a social practice in the form of language (Fairclough, 2003). Through criticism, hidden ideological interests are exposed with the aim of changing the policy.

The criticism of opinion leaders is also a narrative conveyed through mass media and social media. Narrative is a purposeful rhetorical act of one person or group of people (Sulistyanto et al., 2021). Narrative is one of the most widely used ways to systematize human experience, infused with meaning (Sulistyanto et al., 2021). The message content of the narrative is the experience and knowledge of opinion leaders who seek to deconstruct government policy practices. The narrative developed by opinion leaders is like a double-edged sword. On the one hand, a positive narrative statement will have an impact on public peace and support. On the other hand, a destructive narrative causes confusion and public distrust of the Covid-19 vaccine

program, and can even become an attack on the government's credibility which results in crisis communication. Therefore, it is interesting to examine various statements from opinion leaders regarding the covid 19 vaccine program. So far, studies on Covid 19 are more related to the impact of the Covid 19 pandemic on the learning process, socio-economic impact. For example, the role of geography teachers and distance learning (e-learning) Google Classroom in the education of the COVID-19 pandemic disaster (Setianti, 2021). Parents and teachers' perceptions of learning during the COVID-19 pandemic in 8-year-old Speech Disorder children Disorder (Ramadhani & Supena, 2020) Meanwhile, the study of opinion leaders is more about studies on the role of positive opinion leaders, such as the credibility of opinion leaders in the tradition of underage marriage (Suyono, 2018). The study of opinion leaders focuses more on the positive role of opinion leaders. The role of social media accounts categorized as buzzer accounts in strengthening millennial farmer campaigns (Arianto, 2021). Meanwhile, studies on the destructive role of opinion leaders have not been widely reviewed. Therefore, this study focuses on critical narratives developed by opinion leaders in deconstructing government policies regarding the Covid 19 vaccine program. With critical narrative analysis, social practices can be identified through language against the dominance of government policy discourse. Through this study, it contributes to policy makers in planning communications for the socialization of the Covid vaccine program.

Table 5. Opinion leader and critical narrative

Nama Opinion leader	Jumlah Pernyataan	Media Online
Fadli Zon	12	Tribunnews.com, Republika.co.id, Warta ekonomi.co.id, Viva.co.id, Suara.com, Starjogya.com, Nusadaily.com, Tagar.id, Pikiranrakyat.co.id, Kabar24bisnis.com
Mardani Ali Sera	8	Tribunnews.com, AntaraNews, News detik.com, Sindonews.com, Viva.co.id,
Muhamad Said Didu	7	Inilah.com, Viva.co.id, News detik.com, Rmol.com, Akurat.co
Muhamad Rizal Ramli	4	Galamedia news.com, Viva.co.id, Bisnis. Com, SuaraJabar.id

Rocky Gerung	13	Rmol.id, PR.Tasimalaya, Viva Co.id, SuaraBogor.id, Grid.id, Terkini.id, Gelora.co, RadarTegal.com, CNN Indonesia, WinNetNews.com, WartaEkonomi.co.id
Tengku Zulkarnaen	7	Tempo.co.id, Bertaterheboh.com, Sumut Indonezone.co, Wartakora.com, Mrri.co.id, Viva.co.id
Total	44	

Source: Data Processing Results

DISCUSSION

Critical Narrative Opinion leader

In critical narrative themes, opinion leaders relate to the Covid 19 vaccine. The results of the study found that there were 5 themes, namely vaccine programs, types of vaccines, vaccine deviations, vaccine dramas, completion of the Covid 19 pandemic which is presented in Figure 3.

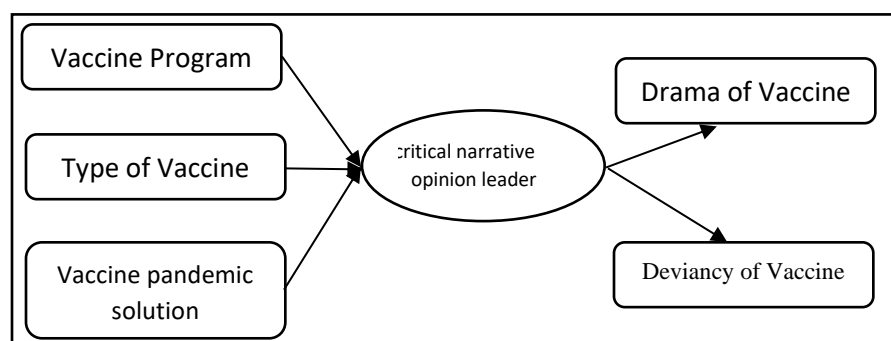


Figure 3. The completion of the Covid 19 pandemic

Vaccine Program "The Vaccine Program" is one of the themes of the opinion leader's critical narrative. Since the Government announced the Covid-19 vaccination program, there has been controversy regarding the "halal-haram vaccine". Opinion leaders, such as Tengku Zulkarnaen, stated that vaccines containing pork are haram. This is in response to the MUI fatwa, that the Covid 19 vaccine is haram because in the process of making the virus host, producers use trypsin from pig pancreas, but it can be used due to a health emergency. The vaccination program began in November with commitments to provide vaccines from a number of foreign vaccine companies.

Indonesia has secured commitments of 213.1 million doses of vaccine from four vaccine companies. Namely, Sinovac Biotech, Sinopharm, CanSino Biological, and AstraZeneca PLC.

Another problem that was criticized by opinion leaders related to the vaccine program was the distribution of vaccines. Mardani Ali Sera, the politician from the PKS criticized the Minister of Health Regulation Number 10 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Vaccination in the Context of Combating the COVID-19 Pandemic, which regulates independent vaccines. The regulation is considered too fast, because as encountered in the field, there are still obstacles, such as starting from the Covid-19 vaccine production process, distribution mechanism to injection, and PT Bio Farma is still having difficulty processing raw materials into finished vaccines. In the theme of "vaccine program" there is a dimension of post-vaccination health protocol violations. It started when public figure Raffi Ahmad who had been vaccinated came to the party without paying attention to the health protocol. This action drew criticism from Tengku Zulkarnaen. The treatment of Raffi Ahmad should be the same as that of Habib Rizieq who received legal action because of the crowd case.

Vaccine Type

When the vaccination program began to be socialized, controversy arose over the type of vaccine used. The government has announced that it has collaborated with Sinovac to procure vaccines. This is criticized by opinion leaders, that the vaccine produced by Sinovac has not been tested, is not effective. In fact, Fadli Zon called it the "China vaccine" or the "hammer and sickle vaccine". Mention as a vaccine from communist countries. China is a country with a communist system.

Table 6. Conceptual Framework for Critical Narrative Themes

Thema	Axial Coding	Open Coding	Narrative Quotes
1. Vaccine Program	Support Vaccine Policy	Halal vaccine	"The non-halal Covid-19 vaccine can still be used in an emergency"

		Vaccine with agree	"respect for the vaccination program of the Ministry of SOEs."
	Vaccine Constraints	Haram vaccine	"freeing the cost of Covid19 vaccine for the community"
	Distribution of Vaccine	Free vaccine	"Hopefully all Indonesian people can get vaccinated soon,
		Mass vaccine	"Artist Raffi Ahmad is a concern because right after receiving the Covid-19 vaccine, he immediately gathered around and without wearing a mask"
		Self-vaccination	
	Vaccine Program Violations	Violation of health protocol law	
2. Types of Vaccines	Indonesian Production Vaccines	Best Vaccines	"Believe in the ability of PT Bio farma to produce vaccines.
	Hammer and Sickle Vaccine	Untested vaccines	"because one of the best vaccine manufacturers in the world".
		Vaccines are not ready yet	"Don't Believe in Vaccines Made in China, "Choose Made in the US for Safety"
		Reject China's vaccine	"Requesting the government not only to depend on Sinovac as a Covid-19 vaccine in Indonesia"
	Vaccine of Pfizer	Vaccine Test Results	"The Government of Indonesia currently states that it is ready to start vaccination, but has not presented the results of the clinical trials of the vaccine"
		The effectiveness of the vaccine has been tested	"The government should import several types of vaccines, including Pfizer, which have been tested and

			used by many developed countries,"
2. Dramatization of Vaccines	Vaccine Theatrics	The doctor's hands are shaking	"Allegedly, doctors are unsure of the efficacy of the Sinovac vaccine
		Doctors are not sure about Vaccines	People's doubts about getting vaccinated are not about daring or not getting the injection, but rather they don't believe in the contents of the syringe."
		Needle lie	"This event (Covid-19 vaccination) should be historic. But the history of President Jokowi has been forgotten by people because too much history is made up."
	Making history	Vaccine license fraud	"Abu Janda, Ade Armando and Teddy should have been injected with the vaccine first".
		Vaccine program repeated	"The distrust of the national vaccination program using the Sinovac vaccine by President Joko Widodo is due to seeing the process".
		Psychology of the sick president	
4. Resolution of the Covid 19 Pandemic	Gotong Royong	Togetherness	"The concept of gotong royong needs to be interpreted as a government-private partnership for the benefit of the whole community".
	Economic recovery	Stock Management	"The target ended up being a news gimmick. The reason, continued Rizal, is that there are no sanctions against those who fail to achieve the 2-week target."

		News gimmick	"It is a recurring problem and messy management of Covid-19".
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For this criticism, the government stated that the use of the Sinovac vaccine was after obtaining an emergency permit from the Food and Drug Supervisory Agency (BPOM), which was based on the results of the third phase of clinical trials in Bandung and other scientific data. On the other hand, there are criticisms of not depending on Sinovac vaccines and prioritizing the use of domestically produced vaccines from PT. Bio Farma, because it is one of the best vaccine manufacturers in the world.

Vaccine Deviance The theme of "vaccine aberration" is formed because of the critical narrative that states about the vaccine business, vaccine corruption, vaccine monopoly, and opening schools. In the vaccine business, there are 3 problems raised by opinion leaders, firstly the problem of health services regulated by law, that everyone has the right to choose health services, including not choosing to be vaccinated. The coercion of vaccination means that there is an element of the vaccine trade.

Second, the government's desire is for many to be affected by Covid 19 so that the available vaccines can be sold. Third, the price disparity for the Sinovac vaccine, in Brazil the price is IDR. 28.000, in Indonesia it is IDR. 300,000, so there is a business interest in vaccine procurement.

To prevent vaccine corruption, opinion leaders warned the Government to present information related to parties involved in vaccine procurement and budget realization can be conveyed openly. Likewise, in procurement, do not rely solely on the production of certain vaccine factories so that there is no vaccine monopoly, and prioritize domestic vaccines.

The opening of schools is also part of the vaccine deviation. This is because it is related to the plan of the Minister of Education and Culture Nabeli Makarim to open schools after the vaccination of teachers and students is carried out.

Vaccine Dramatization

Various controversies about who should be vaccinated first, were finally answered after President Jokowi declared himself to be the first person to be vaccinated. Once the vaccination program was implemented, opinion leaders who were known to be at odds with the government stated that the procession when President Jokowi was vaccinated was a "drama" for his self-image.

Various satirical accusations have sprung up, such as doctors being unsure of the efficacy of the Sinovac vaccine, because doctors have read a lot of information related to the vaccine, which causes doctors to worry about Jokowi's health after being vaccinated. This can be seen, the doctor's hands trembled when vaccinating the President. Or a vaccine that is injected filled with water. Other satirical expressions, for example the vaccination event for President Jokowi can be said to be historic, but that history is forgotten by many people because too much history is made up. However, amid accusations of vaccine dramatization, positive sentiment emerged from other opinion leaders, the vaccination step taken by President Jokowi was the right and useful step.

Covid 19 Pandemic Resolution

The Covid pandemic that has lasted more than 1 year has an impact on all sectors. Various policies have been taken by the government to get out of this pandemic. One of the important sectors is economic recovery. At the beginning of the pandemic, President Jokowi announced 9 economic policies starting from the suspension of credit payments to tax relaxation (Ihsanuddin, 2020). Even though the government has tried to carry out economic recovery with various policies, there are opinion leaders who are pessimistic about these policies. Who said that people were confused about the government's priorities whether to focus on health or infrastructure, thus calling management in economic recovery during the Covid pandemic as "collapsed management".

Sentiment Opinion leader

Departing from the assumption that the critical narrative put forward by opinion leaders in government policies regarding the COVID-19 vaccine has a correlation to negative sentiment. The

findings in this study explain that not all policies are responded to negatively. There are some positive sentiments expressed by opinion leaders.

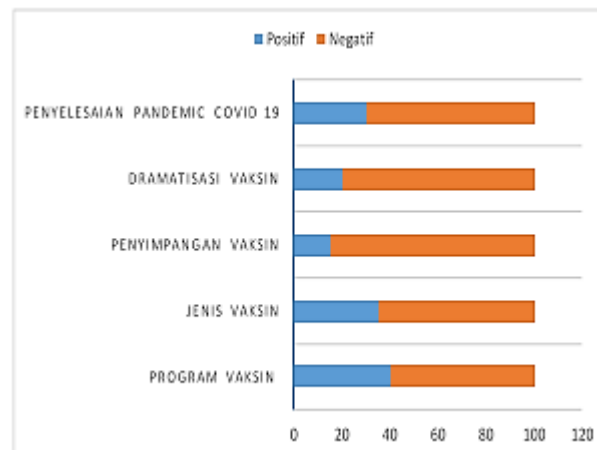


Figure 4. Sentiment Analysis of Opinion Leaders

Figure 4 illustrates the percentage of positive and negative sentiment. Each theme contains both positive and negative sentiments. This is because on a certain issue, some opinion leaders expressed negative sentiments but also some expressed positive sentiments. For example, it can be found under the themes of “vaccine type” and “vaccine programme”. Statement from M. Said Didu supporting the use of Biofarma's vaccines (inilahcom, 2020). Likewise, on the theme of the “vaccine program, PKS politician Mardani Ali Sera stated that he supports the 19 vaccine program, and also needs to vaccinate all Indonesian people. (Candraditya, 2021).

In the analysis of the critical narrative themes of opinion leaders regarding government policies regarding the Covid 19 vaccine program, the themes, vaccine programs, vaccine dramas, types of vaccines, vaccine deviations, and the completion of the Covid 19 pandemic were obtained. These findings at least enrich the findings of previous research regarding the vaccine program. (Kummervold et al., 2008) conducted research on the Ebola vaccine controversy. Rumors suggest strong emotional diversity as the uncertainty, fear and mistrust associated with the trials are drawn from the contemporary context of the Ebola outbreak, as well as Ghana's longstanding historical problems. (Kummervold et al., 2008). (Kang H, 2016) conducting research on vaccine semantic network analysis on social media. The results explain that the semantic

network of positive vaccine sentiment shows greater coherence in discourse compared to the negative vaccine sentiment network, the positive sentiment network centered around parents and focuses on communicating health risks and benefits. (Kang H, 2016). Similarly, research on vaccine trustworthiness, vaccine acceptance depends on public trust and confidence in the safety and efficacy of vaccines and immunizations, health systems, healthcare professionals and the wider vaccine research community (Larson et al., 2018).

The critical narrative theme of opinion leaders regarding the Covid 19 vaccine is the voice of a small part of the Indonesian people. However, the characteristics of an opinion leader cannot be ruled out. The influence as an opinion leader can form broader opinions that can cause disruption to the Covid 19 vaccine program. Therefore, positive narratives are needed that give confidence to the public about the effectiveness of vaccines in tackling the Covid 19 pandemic.

CONCLUSION

In an effort to deconstruct the dominant discourse on the covid 19 vaccine policy. Opinion leaders in social practice through critical narratives indicate that there are ideological interests, such as the vaccine business or vaccine monopoly originating from one country, so the term "hammer and sickle vaccine" appears. On the other hand, there are deconstructions that are manipulative, such as the term "vaccine drama".

Social practices carried out by opinion leaders in critical narratives are not always destructive, but some are constructive, such as support for domestically produced vaccines and free vaccines.

Thus, the social practices carried out by opinion leaders are not completely destructive in dismantling the dominant discourse regarding the Covid 19 vaccine. There are several policies that have the support of opinion leaders.

There are some limitations of this research. First, the ability to generalize the results to a wider population is limited due to the exploratory nature of the study. However, the main objective of this study is to obtain a description of the critical narrative themes of opinion leaders regarding government policies on the Covid-19 vaccine that are rich in textual understanding

rather than gaining statistical insight into a number of variables. Therefore, for future studies more quantitative research is proposed to validate these findings to make conclusions for the wider public.

Second, this study cannot examine how critical opinion leaders' narratives influence in creating public opinion. Therefore, it would be useful if in future studies, the focus of the study is directed at examining interactions on social media, such as twitter, facebook, or instagram in order to find out netizen responses so that it can be seen the impact of critical narratives of opinion leaders. Therefore, for the purposes of future studies, it is recommended to use a semantic network analysis approach in order to predict the impact of the opinion leader's critical narrative on the Covid 19 vaccine policy.

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