

Language, Symbolic Violence and COVID-19 Vaccination Policies in the Virtual Arena

Arief Nuryana^{1*}, Andrik Purwasito², Pawito³, Sudarmo⁴

¹Universitas Sebelas Maret ^{2,3,4} Universitas Sebelas Maret Email: ariefnuryana@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The language that netizens echo or tweet via Twitter is not without meaning. Interpreting the subtle vibrations of society in the virtual world of Twitter must be carried out continuously and continuously so as not to lose the trend which is always moving, developing, and dynamic. This study examines language as a tool of legitimacy power in the Indonesian Government's policy of the COVID-19 Vaccination program using data 516,116 Twitter with those obtained by employing the Astramaya Indonesia web crawler and analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis. The results of the study explain that public sentiment and perceptions regarding the COVID-19 vaccine, especially on Twitter, appear heterogeneous. In general, the positive camp still dominates, but there are also many negative and neutral camps. However, for the issue of the Chinese vaccine, netizen reactions tend to be negative. Interestingly, based on the data, many factors influence the perceptions of netizens, namely the opinions of figures, mass media coverage, events in other countries. Bot accounts and anonymous accounts that are suspected of being used as an agenda for setting power as a form of symbolic violence are carried out to smooth this vaccination program in Indonesia or offset the opposition which always rejects the policies of the government in power. This research also offers a demonstration of innovative ways in which technology is used in language studies on Virtual Culture.

Keywords: COVID-19, Critical Discourse Analysis, Government Policy, New Media, Symbolic Conflict.

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia for the first time confirmed the COVID-19 case on March 2, 2020. At that time, President Joko Widodo announced that two Indonesians had tested positive for the Coronavirus, namely a 31-year-old woman and a 64-year-old mother (source). The first case is thought to have originated from a meeting of the 31-year-old woman with a Japanese citizen who entered Indonesian territory. The meeting took place at a dance club in Jakarta on February 14. [1]

The myth of Indonesia being 'immune' to Corona was broken. At that time, at least 50 countries had confirmed cases of COVID-19. China itself reported to the WHO about the existence of several strange pneumonia cases in Wuhan in December 2019. Positive cases of COVID-19 in Indonesia reached 8,607 cases. COVID-19 cases have spread in 34 provinces with the most cases in DKI Jakarta [2].

Until now 81,475,053 Confirmed cases, 1,798,050 Confirmed deaths, and 216 Countries, areas, or territories

with cases. [3]. On February 11, 2020, the World Health Organization named the new virus Severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus-2 (SARS-CoV-2) and the name of the disease as COVID-19 [4]. Finally, it was confirmed that the transmission of pneumonia could be transmitted from human to human [5]. Until now this virus is quickly spreading still mysterious and research is still ongoing. The urgency of the presence of the COVID-19 vaccine is significant. The number of positive cases is still increasing and fatalities are still falling all over the world.

The COVID-19 pandemic that is sweeping across the globe has caused increased anxiety [6]. COVID-19 pandemic as being a challenge and associating it with negative expressions are in fact emotionally charged, revealing how public letters written by citizen journalists provide a much more comprehensive view of public stance on COVID-19 [7]. Scientists and researchers immediately took interests to find a vaccine. [8]. COVID-19 which attacks respiration and in its development



various mutations from this virus have brought the whole world to a halt [9]; [10]; [11]; [12];[13];

Many countries in the world have started coronavirus vaccination programs to get herd immunity from COVID-19 [14]. Vaccinations are carried out to stop the coronavirus pandemic that has spread for almost a year. Earlier this month, Britain became the first country in the world to begin vaccinating its citizens for COVID-19, which has been fully tested. The steps taken by the UK were followed by several other countries. The following is a list of countries that have approved and administered vaccinations reported from [15] the United Kingdom On December 8, 2020, United Arab Emirates on December 14, 2020, the United States on December 14, 2020, Canada on December 14, 2020, Saudi Arabia on December 17, 2020, Israel On 19 December 2020, Qatar on 22 December 2020, Mexico on 24 December 2020, Serbia on 24 December 2020., Kuwait on 24 December 2020, Chile on 24 December 2020, Russia on 13 August 2020, Switzerland on 23 December 2020, Costa Rica on 31 December 2020, Hungary on 26 December 2020, Germany on 26 December 2020, France on 26 December 2020, Slovakia 26 December 2020, Oman on 27 December 2020, the Czech Republic on 27 December 2020, Italy on 27 December, Cyprus on 27 December 2020, Spain on 27 December 2020, Denmark on 27 December 2020, Romania on 27 December 2020, Poland on 27 December 2020, Malta on 27 December 2020, Finland on 27 December 2020, Greece on 27 December 2020.

Through the use of vaccines, some diseases have been eradicated or are on the verge of elimination. In the current Coronavirus situation. Disease threat (COVID-19), vaccines seem the best and long-lasting solution to curb this global public health emergency [16]; [17]; [18].

Indonesia will hold free vaccinations nationwide in early 2021. Indonesia has determined six types of vaccines to be used for the vaccination program in Indonesia, namely Bio Farma, Moderna, Pfizer-BioNTech, Sinopharm, Oxford-AstraZeneca, and Sinovac. [19] starting from September 2020 until the first quarter of 2022.

Although vaccination is considered to be able to solve the current pandemic, the discourse of vaccine rejection that will be carried out was captured on Twitter when the government brought in 3 million doses of the Sinovac vaccine from China in December 2020. This symbolic war had made the virtual world chaotic so that on some the day this was announced there was a battle of hashtags between for and against.

In the era of cyber media, audiences are not only given space to interact in the mass media that converges technology to the internet but now the public has shifted even become competitors because the public is involved in the production and distribution of news and information. [20]. Enough with sophisticated devices such as mobile phones that are equipped with camera facilities, voice recorders, even image processors, and connected to the internet, the public can already spread the events he met right then and there. The increasingly affordable price of smartphones makes this technology a primary need and is easily owned by the public. This smartphone ownership makes the public tend to not only passively hit by the media but can be involved in the process of production and distribution of information. Computer technology and the internet as new media have varied and have even changed the way of communication. People once went online seeking the anonymity it offered [21].

Language cannot be understood as a purely internal linguistic mechanism and is not an isolated object in a closed space. Language should not simply be placed in pure communication relationships. Language must be understood as text and context as a whole. Text is not only interpreted as the words printed on a sheet of paper but also all kinds of communication expressions, speech, music, pictures, sound effects, images, and so on. Context is defined as all situations and things that are outside the text and affect language use, such as participants, situations, actions, and so on.

The interaction between social actors occurs in a field that refers to the whole conception of the social world which views social reality as a spatial typology. The social world consists of many arenas that have important relationships with one another. Anyone who enters an arena must understand the "rules of the game" that apply in that arena because the arena is a place of struggle, power struggle, a place of domination and conflict between individuals, between groups to gain their position [22]; [23]. This symptom can occur in various speech events, whether in political, economic, social, cultural, or educational situations.

The social arena is a battle arena between dominant discourse or prayer with other discourses that want to challenge it. In every arena, there is a dominant discourse and a marginal discourse [23]. The dominant discourse will continue to try to maintain its existence, while the marginal discourse will try to overthrow it. This symptom is very visible when observed in political discourse which contains the power struggle. The dominant group tries to defend itself while the marginal group tries to overthrow the dominant group.

In the study of critical discourse analysis, every discourse that appears is not seen as something natural, natural, and neutral but is a form of power struggle. The concept of power is one of the key relationships between discourse and society. The use of language is not only related to speakers, writers, listeners, or readers but also as a member of certain social categories and part of certain professional groups, religions, communities, and societies. This implies that critical discourse analysis



does not limit its study to the details of the text or discourse structure, but also links to certain social, political, economic, and cultural forces and conditions.

In symbolic power, political power has the ability to be unable to recognize its true form, violence, or arbitrariness. To hide its true motivation (i.e. domination), symbolic power often uses other, subtler forms so as not to be easily recognized. In this way, the dominated group often does not mind entering into a domination circle. This method by [23] is called symbolic violence.

Actors in political discourse accept symbolic violence as something natural because they have been implanted in them a form of symbolic violence continuously. According to Bourdieu in [24], the symbolic violence mechanism operates in two ways, namely euphemization and censorship. Euphemization usually makes symbolic violence invisible, works subtly, cannot be recognized, and is chosen "unconsciously". It can take the form of trust, obligation, loyalty, courtesy, gift, debt, reward, or mercy. The censorship mechanism makes symbolic violence appear as a form of preservation of all forms of values that are considered "moral honor" such as politeness, chastity, generosity, and so on which are usually opposed to "low morals" such as violence, crime, impropriety, immorality, greed, etc.

In line with the understanding of critical discourse analysis, all forms of social practice that exist in society are questionable. Behind the conditions of a society that looks productive is shrouded in a social structure that oppresses and deceives the public's awareness. One of them can be seen in the news in the mass media. The objectivity of the content of discourse in the mass media needs to be questioned because it can become a tool for the dominant group in society. In the discourse in the mass media, it could be that the domination of power is being established so that if people trust the media it could be that at that time the community is strengthening and believing in social structures that are unbalanced and false.

The COVID-19 vaccine is predicted to be a way out of the global pandemic. The Swedish herd immunity style did not work. Expecting Corona to disappear suddenly shortly, is impossible. The Indonesian government hopes that the COVID-19 mass vaccination can start in December 2020 or January 2021. Indonesian government officials may make policies, the problem is, do people want to be injected? Based on the explanation above, the discussion in this paper is focused on How does the symbolic violence mechanism in the vaccination discourse via Twitter to support the vaccination program in Indonesia?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The practice of scrambling can be carried out using critical discourse analysis. This is in line with the characteristics of critical discourse analysis as an approach that examines the interactions between language and social structures in order to explain the way social structures are formed by linguistic interactions of elite groups. Included in the language here is the use of photos and images. says that to avoid mere description and explanation, critical discourse analysis can be studied with pragmatic, semiotic, and discourse analysis and pay explicit attention to socio-politics and cultural presuppositions and discourse implications. Critical discourse analysis specifically examines the combined features of language to see how language is used to reproduce social structures. The focus of critical discourse analysis is on macro and micro level language patterns that describe the power and legitimacy of ideas. Included in this critical discourse analysis is the analysis of gender, rhetorical style, and reasons to produce and reproduce power and domination. Furthermore [25] using the views of [26] and [27] saying that critical discourse analysis tends to use written text data and speech notes of elite groups.

The understanding above has an impact on the work steps of the analysis. Bourdieu in [28]. In practice theory says that language is part of the way of life of individuals and social groups. Therefore, language must be understood as an instrument of action. As an instrument of action, language must be analyzed from objective structures that cannot be separated from the analysis of the origin of mental structures in the individual which is the result of the unification of social structures and the analysis of the origins of social structures themselves. In objective structural analysis, language is placed in a homogeneous communication situation and describes the effective use of language that is applied in concrete situations. In this section, language is understood in line with the parole [29]. As for the analysis of social structures and the origin of the social structures themselves, language is understood in relation to the socio-historical conditions that underlie the practice of language. In this case, language is said to be a manifestation of institutional authority. The definition of institution by [23] and [30] is understood as a relatively sustainable whole social relationship, which provides various forms of power, status, and life resources to individuals. From these two points of view, language is then placed as a game in which it has its own game rules. The rules of game one are not universal. Therefore, each language must be understood with its own grammar

In the arena of conflicting discourse on twitter, one group controls another group through discourse. Control is not always done physically but can also be mental or psychological. The dominant group may make other groups act as desired by it, speak and act as desired.



According to [27], dominant groups can exercise more control because they have more access than subordinate groups. The dominant group has more access to such as knowledge, money, education than the subordinate group.

In Frankfurt's thought, the media is only owned and dominated by the dominant group in society and is a means of affirming the dominant group as well as marginalizing and marginalizing minority groups. Therefore, the study of the media in this perspective is mainly directed at exposing the facts that have been distorted and falsified by the dominant group for their own interests [31].

The process of shaping reality is carried out by the mass media using language and politics of tagging [32]. Language by [29] is reduced to mere relationships of pure communication. The information in the message is more important than the communication event itself. In this view, what becomes the object of language study is the existence of language that has no causal relationship with human nature and life. However, according to [23] the communication relationship does not only extend to the language exchange process. The implication of this view is that discourse must be seen as an arena for social struggle and everything is articulated through language. Therefore, through the language on twitter it can be seen the motivation of speakers to form power. Vaccination program imagery relates to the way the twitter media shape meaning, control and define meaning. Twitter media in this study plays a role in conveying events or reality in a certain view and shows the role of ideology in group battles that exist in society. With that, the form of thought and the social community's perception of the truth depends on the communication process itself. The implication is the appearance of the messages and the reality that support the ideology appear real, natural, and true. The public does not realize that they are formed, controlled, and determined employing informing media, namely twitter in this research.

Critical discourse analysis is an approach that views discourse as a social practice. Discourse is studied in the dialectic between language and social structures. Critical discourse analysis is used to explain the way social structures are formed in the linguistic interactions of elite groups. In this case, discourse must be treated as a certain discursive event with the situations, institutions, and social structures that form it [23]; [33], [34]; and [27]. [23] states that social practices are treated as a result of dialectical dynamics between exterior internalization and interior externalization. External internalization is the internalization of everything that is experienced and observed from outside the social actor, while interior externalization is the disclosure of everything that has been internalized and is part of the social actor.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative-critical approach which states that qualitative research is interpretive, namely using multiple interpretations [35]. The nature of reality that is constructed socially, the close relationship between the researcher and the subject under study, and the pressure of the situation that shapes the investigation [36]. A critical approach emphasizes the responsibility of researchers to change injustice in conditions of the status quo [37]. There are several reasons put forward by researchers.

First, the opinion of [38]. which states that the critical view focuses on: a) domination and repression resulting from an imbalance of power in society, including domination, repression of ideology and belief; b) promoting emancipation, freedom, and equality by exploring social conditions that marginalize certain parties; c) efforts to provide solutions through theoretical and practical synergies to realize social change [39].

Second, the researchers chose Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in analyzing tweets about racial issues against Chinese products in Indonesia. One of the goals of CDA research is to show gaps in the text, reveal hidden meanings or interests, and so on [40]. [41]; [42]and [43] emphasize five important characteristics of CDA, namely action, context, history, power, and ideology. Norman Fairclough's CDA model was selected using three important dimensions, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice [33], [44], [45], [42].

The application of Fairclough's three-step focused analysis. First, the description stage. The text in the form of a tweet recorded in a Twitter tweet through the Astramaya Indonesia (AI) web-crawler was chosen to identify the discourse behind the text. The overall narrative of the text is not in a neutral position but is suspected of having various interests. Through critical linguistic analysis, the text can reveal the identity, representation, relationship, and intertextuality of the tweet.

The second, the interpretation stage. In discourse practice, researchers look at data from the AI webcrawler and then describe them from a critical perspective. Third, the explanation stage. The sociocultural practice focuses on situational, institutional, and social analysis. To reveal the practice of news text discourse. This is in line with the view of [46] that discourse has three functions, namely the identity function, the "relationship" or relational function, and the "ideational" function [46].

Data were collected via web crawler AI, web crawler is a software used to crawl and collect web pages which are then indexed by search engines [47]. Often also called a web spider or web robot. The basic idea is simple and similar to browsing web pages using a browser. Starting



at the starting point in the form of a website address link and opened in the browser, then the browser makes requests and downloads data from the web server via the HTTP protocol. Each hyperlink found in the displayed content will be reopened in a new browser window/tab, thereby repeating the process. [48].

Data analysis was carried out through data sorting, data selection, and data interpretation. Data sorting is used to see the strength of the data which refers to how the data should be understood or what focus is displayed. The results of sorting data are categorized data. Data interpretation is an activity to understand and dialogue with the theoretical insights of the researcher and the results of the understanding are presented as a result of the analysis. Speakers' utterances on Twitter are presented in the verbal form, not numbers. In conducting this study, the researcher acts as a key instrument, both in data collection and in interpreting data.



Figure 1. Trend of Total Mentions (Vaccine COVID-19) in All Media Types

The reason for choosing Twitter as the data analyzed in this study is because of the debate on netizens and the largest amount of content about the COVID-19 Vaccine compared to other social media including online news as displayed on the table below;

Table 1. Total Mention by Media Type 1 November 2020 - 31 January 2021

No	Type	Jumlah	Persentase %
1	Online News (Ind)	251,701	32%
2	Facebook	5,171	1%
3	Twitter	516,116	66%
4	YouTube	8,285	1%
5	Instagram	940	0%

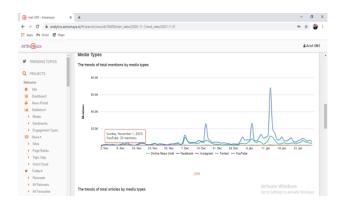


Figure 2. Trend of Total Mentions (Vaccine COVID-19) in All Media Types

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Wellcome Trust report, (2019) British health organization, states that the level of distrust of all kinds of vaccines is quite high in several regions of the world. These results were compiled through a process of observation of 140 thousand people in more than 140 countries.

In Europe, especially the West and East regions, for example, the figure could reach more than 20%. The same thing happened in North America, where 15% of the population does not believe in vaccines. Interestingly, this sight is not seen in Asia and Africa. In South Asia, for example, confidence in vaccines is high: 95%. Meanwhile, in East Africa, the figures are only slightly different: 92%.

Although this study only took a short time span, the results of this study were able to complement previous research from the Indonesian region regarding the trust program in Vaccination, in this study the COVID-19 Vaccine which began to be imported to Indonesia in November 2020. Vaccination Program COVID-19 began to be implemented in January 2021.

4. 1 Social Media as A Discourse Battle Arena

[49] explained that the rampant anti-vaccine propaganda can be seen in search results on Facebook and YouTube. The search results show more anti-vaccine propaganda than fact-based information. For example, if you type "vaccines" on Facebook, the results that appear will be pages like "Stop Vaccines Obligatory" to "Vaccines Truth Movement" which have members of more than 100,000 users.

Still citing [50]Facebook calls anti-vaccine propaganda "does not violate content provisions." They receive money from anti-vaccine groups in the context of business cooperation (advertising). YouTube is also worth three monies. If you type "vaccine" into a search engine, the YouTube algorithm will prompt you to view anti-vaccine propaganda videos. Public pressure on the two technology giants has also increased. YouTube



claims to have included anti-vaccine videos in the category of "content that could dangerously misinform users" and will reduce the number gradually. Meanwhile, Facebook itself plans to remove anti-vaccine posts because they are classified as containing information that could "provoke violence or physical harm" [51].

Linguistic aspects of individuals and communities, including euphemism and dysphemism, were affected by this global challenge because choosing appropriate words to express what speakers intend to say and to reflect what they value or disvalue is a basic part of communication. [52]. The framing can shape our understanding of the virus [53].

Seeing the data above, the researchers interpreted that there was a political motive behind the widespread refusal to implement vaccinations around the world. In the context of this research, it can be seen that groups who reject the vaccination policy in Indonesia are carried out by groups that have different political ideologies from the current government in power in Indonesia.

4. 2 Religion and Hoaxes

[54] also shows another symptom: the decision to take an anti-vaccine stance is more or less influenced by spiritual beliefs, in this case, religion. There are 55% of all correspondents who emphasize that they will use religious considerations, instead of sticking to science, if there is a conflict between the two. The US and Southern Europe were the biggest contributors to this category at 59%.

Vaccine affairs in many countries are often related to religion. Although many countries have laws that require schoolchildren to be vaccinated, however, the government also regulates exemptions for groups of people who want to refuse vaccines for religious, personal, and moral reasons, as well as medical [55]; [56]; [57]; [58]; [59].

This battle for vaccines and religion has a long historical history. After Edward Jenner developed the vaccine system for the first time in 1796, he immediately encountered resistance from clergy who called the vaccine "against God's will." [57]. Since then, the tension between vaccines and religion has become inevitable in many regions of the world. There is no major religion against vaccines. However, members within it often use religious authorities as a shield against vaccines. [60].

In Indonesia, especially where the majority of the population is Muslim, resistance to vaccines is equally strong. One of them is through the narrative that the vaccine comes from pig blood or enzymes. It is not uncommon for rejection to be shown in the form of haram fatwas issued by local state religious authorities, for example by the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI). [61]; [62];

The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology stated that hoaxes about vaccines often occur in public discussions that enter through social media. Expert Staff to the Minister for Legal Affairs at the Ministry of Communication and Informatics said hoaxes and myths are serious problems in society. It is often believed to cover up facts.

"Generally, hoaxes are spread and become talks in digital spaces such as social media and certain application conversation groups," Henri Subiakto in a Media Center discussion of the Committee for Handling COVID-19 and National Economic Recovery. He stated that there are even myths about vaccines, often considered the fact of which is that the side effects of vaccines make you sick. Kominfo stated that many hoaxes were related to the corona issue and the vaccine. The agency previously found many hoaxes scattered on social media and actions have been taken to address the issue [63].



For the general issue of the COVID-19 Vaccine in the period 1 November 2020 - 31 January 2021 in general, as shown in the following table;

Table 2. Total Mention by Sentiments (1 November 2020 – 31 January 2021)

No	Sentiment	Total	Percent (%)
1	Negative	147263	29 %
2	Positive	338388	66 %
3	Neutral	30465	6 %

4.3 Negative Sentiment on China's Vaccine on Twitter

The data collection period is from November 1 to 25, 2020. In monitoring conversations more specifically, using keyword filters: China, Tiongkok, Sinovac, Sinopharm, Cansino with data retrieval ranges from 1 to 25 November 2020. According to the data above, it was found that conversations about the COVID-19 vaccine issue from China were dominated by negative sentiment (66%), followed by positive (32%) and neutral (2%) tweets.



During the data collection period, it was observed that negative sentiment tended to be dominant, except in the middle of this period when positive sentiment had risen and peaked.

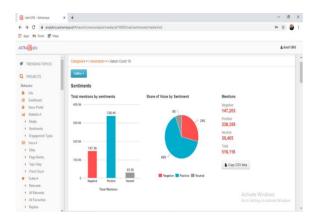


Figure 4. Sentiment Trends Against Issues of COVID-19 Vaccines from China.

Anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia recorded on Twitter through the COVID-19 vaccine imported from China was quite intensely exhaled by the opposition, which was unable to compete with Jokowi in the presidential election in the 2014 and 2019 elections. Accusations that Jokowi being Chinese as well as a communist have proven effective in undermining votes of support at the time.

4.4 Top Influencer

The top influencers on the conversation about the COVID-19 vaccine in general are President Joko Widodo; West Java Governor Ridwan Kamil, who participated as a volunteer for a vaccine trial; Dirga Sakti Rambe, Indonesia's first doctor and vaccinologist who graduated from the University of Siena, Italy; Tirta Hudhi, a graduate of the UGM Faculty of Medicine who now runs a shoe-washing business and is very active on social media; Hidayat Nur Wahid, politician and member of Commission VIII DPR RI from the Prosperous Justice Party faction; Pandu Riono, epidemiologist at the Faculty of Public Health, University of Indonesia (FKM UI); Fadli Zon, a politician and member of Commission I DPR RI from the Gerindra Party faction; and several other accounts.

One thing that stands out is that [64] has consistently spoken out loud about the COVID-19 vaccine from China. On August 25, the PKS politician distributed an article quoting an epidemiologist's statement advising Indonesia not to depend solely on China. The tweets have accumulated over a thousand responses.

Two days later, [64] again quoted an article that said Russia offered the COVID-19 Sputnik-V vaccine to Indonesia at a low price.

"If it is true and the fact that vaccine trials from China have not yet been successful, the government should have opened cooperation with Russia, as well as with Australia, South Korea, Britain and the US to present the vaccine," said Hidayat commenting on the news, which received more than two thousand responses.

Then on November 2, 2020, he again commented on vaccines while citing an article about Brazilians who refused the COVID-19 vaccine from China and stated that they were not guinea pigs.

"The government must also ensure this matter because Indonesian citizens are certainly not guinea pigs. The state is obliged by the Constitution to protect all Indonesian people," said Hidayat in the tweet, which almost received three thousand responses.

Why does Hidayat Nur Wahid criticize vaccines or is he in the anti-vaccine camp?

"Alhamdulillah, akhirnya vaksin COVID-19 tiba di Indonesia," kata Hidayat seperti dikutip Pikiranrakyat-depok.com pada Senin (12/7/2020).

"Surely we support vaccines, it is impossible not to support it because COVID-19 is a vaccine solution," HNW on Liputan6.com, Tuesday (11/24/2020).

Even so, he said the government had to make health protocols and other efforts, because no vaccine had yet been found. Meanwhile, another top influencer, President Jokowi, said that he was ready to be the initial recipient of the COVID-19 vaccine if requested by the team.

"If someone asks, 'will the president be in front or behind?', If the team asks me to be in front, I am ready," said Jokowi as quoted from [65].

4.5 Brazil Case Stirs Doubts About China's Vaccine

The specific conversation about the Chinese vaccine from November 1 to 25 involved more than 4 thousand tweets. In this conversation, Hidayat Nur Wahid has again become one of the top influencers, partly because of the tweet commenting on the attitude of Brazilians.





Figure 5. Hidayat Nur Wahid's tweet about Brazil's policy regarding vaccines from China

Indeed, the news about Brazil canceling orders for Chinese vaccines is one of the triggers of conversation on this topic. Then Peru did the same. The tweet from the official account of the local mainstream mass media that reported this news on Twitter was widely responded to by netizens as shown below



Figure 6. Tweets from Kumparan and Tempo's Twitter account about Brazil canceling orders for vaccines from China

4.6 Bot and Anonymous Accounts

Our findings on this issue are that many accounts enliven the hashtags #VaksinAman (# Safe Vaccines) and #UjiKlinisAman (# Safe Clinical Trials) created in September - December 2020. Many of these accounts have no followers at all, and some even use the default profile photo.



Figure 7. Vaccine Campaigns Involving Bot Accounts on Twitter



Figure 8. Vaccine Campaigns Involving Bot Accounts on Twitter

From the research, it is clear that the government in making policies related to the vaccination program encountered resistance driven by opposition parties. In this virtual war, one of the strategies implemented by the government is to use bot accounts to legitimize that this program has been positively welcomed.

The Opposition Party attacked this vaccination policy by using anti-Chinese sentiment which since 2014 has been used as a weapon against Jokowi's camp, who at that time competed in the general election to elect President and Vice President, which was won by Jokowi. This anti-Chinese sentiment has continued to be echoed during the Jokowi administration to date.

The negative sentiment from Twitter regarding the vaccine import policy from China continues to be echoed. This negative sentiment was heightened when the news about Brazil and Peru canceling orders for Chinese vaccines was one of the triggers for the conversation on this topic. Netizen responded to many tweets from the official accounts of the local mainstream mass media (@kumparan and TEMPO.CO) reporting this news by retweeting 500 times during the period of this research.

The symbolic conflict in the Twitter virtual arena created between media is carried out to strengthen and solidify the dominant ideology. Canalization is carried out to ensure that certain paradigms or platforms brought by the mass media work in the ongoing social process.



With the guarantee of the operation of this channel, the process of awareness and ideological of social groups is going on massively. Supplementation is carried out by mobilizing support for media messages and propaganda in the form of news or opinions by opening spaces for interaction between the public as recipients of and media actors. Through information supplementation process, the strengthening of the dominant ideology towards social groups seems to be a natural and rational process. With the above process, the media is no longer a free channel that all parties can take advantage of equally. The media has transformed itself into an agent for social construction that can define reality according to its interests [66]. In fact, media with its ability to interpret reality creates a new reality that is different or has no definite reference in real life [67]. This artificial reality becomes as if real and mobilizes people to replicate it in real life [68].

Language is an unlimited medium that carries everything in it, that is, everything that can fit into the field of human understanding. Being able to understand language will make it possible to understand forms of human understanding. The influence and function of language is very broad, language is able to print a personality and produce a certain behavior. This is because at first humans form habits through the language they use and then these habits shape humans.

The power of language means the use of words as a medium written or non-written information that may affect public for the meaning of the word presented. Language is often used as a medium of mastery; this is because language can impose a conceptual view of language users. In this way language is able to influence human thoughts and actions. The transformation of language into the medium of mastery usually takes the form of suggestions and can also take the form of imperatives. At the level of suggestion, language is functioned as an evaluator of reality and to influence listeners directly, suggestion language is motivational or approves all orders through the subconscious. While at the imperative level, language functions as an ordinary command sentence, but still has an effect as a form of mastery.

6. CONCLUSION

Once again, the language in this study is used to legitimize the ruler's program by using the theme #VaksinCOVID-19 in the form of the use of Bot accounts which significantly affect the perceptions of citizens. Apart from using the Bot account, the government also uses endorsement services from artists, community leaders in the first stage of the vaccination program. Opinions of public figures, mass media coverage, events in other countries have also influenced the trend of Twitter netizen sentiment towards the COVID-19 vaccination program in Indonesia. The bot accounts and

anonymous accounts from the results of this study are suspected to be related to determining certain agendas as a form of symbolic violence carried out to smooth the COVID-19 vaccination program in Indonesia.

Echoing the opinion of [23] All forms of domination must get recognition or be accepted as legitimacy. For this reason, symbolic power is needed, namely power that can force the ruled group to accept the ideology it implants and "force it" to become legitimate by hiding the power relations that underlie its power. It is in this symbolic field that class battles take place. This phenomenon can be observed in political discourse which contains battles using language symbols to "impose" their ideology so that all forms of social practice that exist in society are questionable.

However, this study expands the meaning of the arena with a virtual world concept and the use of language in the form of hashtags in recorded symbolic battles in the world of Virtual Twitter Indonesia. Behind the conditions of a society that looks productive is shrouded in a social structure that oppresses and deceives the public's awareness. One of them can be seen in the number of tweets via Twitter so that there seems to be no rejection of the COVID-19 vaccine policy in Indonesia. The objectivity of the content of a trending discourse needs to be questioned because it can become a tool for dominant groups in society. In the discourse in the mass media, it could be that the domination of power is being established so that if people trust the media it could be that at that time the community is strengthening and believing in social structures that are unbalanced and

This research only takes recorded data from Twitter tweets for the period November 1, 2020, to January 31, 2021, so that in describing the actual situation it is necessary to add data from other media as well as by interviews or surveys with the public regarding the phenomenon of COVID-19 vaccination policy in future research.

REFERENCES

- [1] Indonesiagoid, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://indonesia.go.id/narasi/indonesia-dalam-angka/ekonomi/kasus-COVID-19-pertama-masyarakat-jangan-panik.
- [2] D. News, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4991485/kapan-sebenarnya-corona-pertama-kali-masuk-ri.
- [3] W.H.O., "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://covid-19.who.int/.
- [4] W.H.O., "WHO Director-General's remarks at the media briefing on 2019-nCov on." 2020, [Online]. Available:



- https://www.who.int/dg/speeches/detail/who-director-generals-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-2019-ncov-on-11-february2020.
- [5] E. Relman, "Business insider Singapore." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.businessinsider.sg/deadly-chinawuhan-virusspreading-human-to-humanofficialsconfirm-2020-1/?r=US&IR=T.
- [6] S. Sultan and M. Rapi, "Positive Discourse Analysis of the Indonesian Government Spokesperson's Discursive Strategies during the COVID-19 Pandemic," GEMA Online® J. Lang. Stud., vol. 20, no. 4, 2020, doi: 10.17576/gema-2020-2004-14.
- [7] S. A. Joharry, "Examining Malaysian public letters to editor on COVID-19 pandemic: A corpus-assisted discourse analysis," GEMA Online® J. Lang. Stud., vol. 20, no. 3, 2020, doi: 10.17576/gema-2020-2003-14.
- [8] N. F. M. Nor and A. S. Zulcafli, "Corpus Driven Analysis of News Reports about COVID-19 in a Malaysian Online Newspaper," GEMA Online® J. Lang. Stud., vol. 20, no. 3, 2020, doi: 10.17576/gema-2020-2003-12.
- [9] R. Cauchois et al., "Early IL-1 receptor blockade in severe inflammatory respiratory failure complicating COVID-19," Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci., vol. 117, no. 32, pp. 18951–18953, 2020, doi: 10.1073/pnas.2009017117.
- [10] E. J. Giamarellos-Bourboulis et al., "Complex immune dysregulation in COVID-19 patients with severe respiratory failure. Cell host & microbe." 2020, doi: 10.1016/j.chom.2020.04.009.
- [11] Y. C. Li, W. Z. Bai, and T. Hashikawa, "The neuroinvasive potential of SARS-CoV2 may play a role in the respiratory failure of COVID-19 patients," J. Med. Virol., vol. 92, no. 6, pp. 552–555, 2020.
- [12] J. J. Marini and L. Gattinoni, Management of COVID-19 respiratory distress. Jama, 2020.
- [13] Y. Y. Zheng, Y. T. Ma, J. Y. Zhang, and X. Xie, "COVID-19 and the cardiovascular system," Nat. Rev. Cardiol., vol. 17, no. 5, pp. 259–260, 2020, doi: 10.1038/s41569-020-0360-5.
- [14] A. Fontanet and S. Cauchemez, "COVID-19 herd immunity: where are we?," Nat. Rev. Immunol., vol. 20, no. 10, pp. 583–584, 2020, doi: 10.1038/s41577-020-00451-5.
- [15] Kompas, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/12/20/07

- 0000965/update-persiapan-vaksinasi-COVID-19-di-indonesia-di-mana-vaksin-bisa?page=all.
- [16] S. P. Kaur and V. Gupta, "COVID-19 Vaccine: A comprehensive status report," Virus Res., vol. 198114, 2020, doi: 10.1016/j.virusres.2020.198114.
- [17] T. T. Le et al., "The COVID-19 vaccine development landscape," Nat Rev Drug Discov, vol. 19, no. 5, pp. 305–306, 2020.
- [18] J. Wang, Y. Peng, H. Xu, Z. Cui, and R. O. Williams, "The COVID-19 vaccine race: challenges and opportunities in vaccine formulation," AAPS PharmSciTech, vol. 21, no. 6, pp. 1–12, 2020, doi: 10.1208/s12249-020-01744-7.
- [19] Kompas, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/12/28/13 3000465/daftar-29-negara-yang-telah-memulai-vaksinasi-COVID-19-mana-saja-?page=all.
- [20] C. M. Lazo and P. F. Batlle, "Information quality and trust: From traditional media to cybermedia," in Communication: Innovation & Quality, Cham: Springer, 2019, pp. 185–206.
- [21] K. Y. McKenna and J. A. Bargh, "Plan 9 from cyberspace: The implications of the Internet for personality and social psychology," Personal. Soc. Psychol. Rev., vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 57–75, 2000.
- [22] L. Wittgenstein, The Cambridge Companion to Wittgenstein. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- [23] P. Bourdieu, "Theory of symbolic power," in Culture/power/history: A reader in contemporary social theory, 1994, p. 155.
- [24] D. Hesmondhalgh, "Bourdieu, the media and cultural production," Media, Cult. Soc., vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 211–231, 2006, doi: 10.1177/0163443706061682.
- [25] K. Remlinger, "Widening the lens of language and gender research: Integrating critical discourse analysis and cultural practice theory," Linguist. online, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 99, 1999.
- [26] R. Hodge and G. R. Kress, Language as ideology, vol. 2. London: Routledge, 1993.
- [27] T. A. Van Dijk, News analysis. Case Studies of International and National News in the Press. New Jersey: Lawrence, 1988.
- [28] R. Jenkins, Pierre Bourdieu. Routledge, 2014.
- [29] F. D. Saussure, "The object of study," in Lodge, Modernism, Criticism, and Theory, 1988, pp. 2–9.
- [30] K. Kaelan, "Filsafat Analitis menurut Ludwig Wittgenstein: Relevansinya bagi Pengembangan



- Pragmatik," Humaniora, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 133–146, 2004.
- [31] A. W. Eriyanto, Pengantar Analisis Teks Media. Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2001.
- [32] S. Hall, "Stuart Hall," Inf. Theory, vol. 130, 1996.
- [33] N. Fairclough, "Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis," Discourse Soc., vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 193–217, 1992.
- [34] N. Fairclough, Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research. Psychology Press, 2003.
- [35] M. Pozzebon, "Conducting and evaluating critical interpretive research: Examining criteria as a key component in building a research tradition," in Information systems research, Boston, MA: Springer, 2004, pp. 275–292.
- [36] N. K. Denzin, "The elephant in the living room: Or extending the conversation about the politics of evidence," Qual. Res., vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 139–160, 2009.
- [37] R. West, L. H. Turner, and T. A. McGraw-Hill Education .Van Dijk, "Introducing Communication Theory: Analysis and Application," in Case Studies of International and National News in the Press, New Jersey: Lawrence, 2018.
- [38] S. W. Littlejohn, K. A. Foss, and J. G. Oetzel, "The Theory of Human Communication." Illinois, 2017.
- [39] R. Kriyantono, "Innovative Thought of Critical Ethnography in the Dominance of Excellent Theory in the Research and Practice of Public Relations," Tuturlogi J. Southeast Asian Commun., vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–11, 2020.
- [40] J. Haryatmoko, "Critical Discourse Analysis (Analisis Wacana Kritis." 2016.
- [41] T. A. Van Dijk, "18 Critical discourse analysis," in The handbook of discourse analysis, 2001, pp. 349–371.
- [42] N. Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis," in The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Routledge, 2013, pp. 35–46.
- [43] R. Wodak, "Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis," in Discursive pragmatics, 2011, pp. 50–69.
- [44] N. Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis: The critic study of language," in Longman Group Limited, England: Longman Group Limited, 1995.
- [45] N. Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis. How to analyse talk in institutional settings: A casebook of methods." pp. 25–38, 2001.

- [46] M. Jorgensen and L. Phillips, "Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method," 2002, doi: 10.4135/9781849208871.
- [47] E. Gatial and Z. Balogh, "Identifying, retrieving and determining relevance of heterogenous internet resources," in Tools for Acquisition, Organisation and Presenting of Information and Knowledge, Research roject Workshop (NAZOU), in conjunction with ITAT, 2006, pp. 15–21.
- [48] I. Fahmi, "Drone Emprit: Software for media monitoring and analytics." 2016, [Online]. Available: https://pers.droneemprit.id/.
- [49] T. Guardian, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/nov/26/heres-how-to-tackle-the-COVID-19-anti-vaxxers.
- [50] T. Guardian, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2020/sep/19/e ngagement-anti-vaccine-facebook-posts-treblesone-month-coronavirus.
- [51] T. Guardian, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/ nov/16/vaccine-hesitant-anti-vaxxers-publichealth-experts-covid.
- [52] S. N. Olimat, "COVID-19 pandemic: Euphemism and dysphemism in Jordanian Arabic," GEMA Online® J. Lang. Stud., vol. 20, no. 3, 2020, doi: 10.17576/gema-2020-2003-16.
- [53] K. Rajandran, "A Long Battle Ahead': Malaysian and Singaporean Prime Ministers Employ War Metaphors for COVID-19," GEMA Online® J. Lang. Stud., vol. 20, no. 3, 2020, doi: 10.17576/gema-2020-2003-15.
- [54] W. Trust, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://wt-globalhealth.cam.ac.uk/programme-areas/infectious-diseases/pathogen-evolution-and-antimicrobial-resistance/Vaccine-Escape.
- [55] Z. Ahmad and A. Ahad, "COVID-19: A Study of Islamic and Scientific Perspectives," Theol. Sci., pp. 1–10, 2020, doi: 10.1080/14746700.2020.1825192.
- [56] S. Barmania and M. J. Reiss, "Health promotion perspectives on the COVID-19 pandemic: The importance of religion," Glob. Health Promot., vol. 1757975920, 2020.
- [57] A. I. Padela, "Islamic bioethics: between sacred law, lived experiences, and state authority," Theor. Med. Bioeth., vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 65–80, 2013.
- [58] A. Soveri, L. C. Karlsson, J. Antfolk, M. Lindfelt, and S. Lewandowsky, "Unwillingness to engage in behaviors that protect against COVID-19:



- Conspiracy, trust, reactance, and endorsement of complementary and alternative medicine." 2020.
- [59] T. Sturm and T. Albrecht, "Constituent COVID-19 apocalypses: contagious conspiracism, 5G, and viral vaccinations," Anthropol. Med., pp. 1–18, 2020.
- [60] C. Hitchens, God is not great: How religion poisons everything. McClelland & Stewart, 2008.
- [61] W. O. Z. Z. Toresano, "Integrasi Sains dan Agama: Meruntuhkan Arogansi di Masa Pandemi COVID-19," Maarif, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 231–245, 2020.
- [62] Kompas, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2020/12/13/08 4440765/kehalalan-vaksin-COVID-19-tak-boleh-diabaikan-bagaimana-prosedur?page=all.
- [63] CNNIndonesia, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20201219 135336-20-584172/ketua-mui-soal-vaksin-coronasecara-zahir-halal.

- [64] P. Rakyat, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://depok.pikiran-rakyat.com/nasional/pr-091073311/vaksin-COVID-19-pertama-sampai-diindonesia-hidayat-nur-wahid-semoga-aman-dantidak-ada-korupsi.
- [65] CNNIndonesia, "No Title." 2020, [Online]. Available: https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20201118 120617-20-571282/jokowi-soal-vaksin-kalaudiminta-tim-paling-depan-saya-siap.
- [66] P. L. Berger and T. Luckmann, The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge, no. 10). Penguin UK, 1991.
- [67] Y. A. Piliang, Sebuah dunia yang dilipat: Realitas kebudayaan menjelang milenium ketiga dan matinya posmodernisme. Mizan Pustaka, 1998.
- [68] J. Baudrillard, Simulacra and simulation. University of Michigan press, 1994.